Shaping the "small things of common experience:" Migration and Adaptation in Ashkenazi Food Practices from Alsace to America

Angela Hanratty

Abstract: This paper demonstrates how some of the most iconic Jewish foods that became signifiers through popular culture in the last century have their origins in Alsace in the early Middle Ages. The historical development of a distinctly Ashkenazi Jewish cuisine will be traced from its roots in the Alsace region of France through its movement to Jewish settlements in Eastern Europe, and later to America with the mass immigration of the 19th and 20th centuries. The aim is to come to an understanding of how perception of what are considered to be some quintessentially Jewish foods has been shaped by developments in Alsace. The relatively unchallenged view of Ashkenazi food from contemporary commentators is that it developed in Eastern Europe, specifically Poland and the former Russian Empire. While aspects of the cuisine were adapted after migration, this paper demonstrates that a number of key dishes in the Ashkenazi tradition can be traced back to the Alsace region of present-day France, a territory of the Germanic Holy Roman Empire in the early medieval period when the Jewish community developed. The findings show that certain key dishes considered to be quintessential to Ashkenazi tradition developed or were adapted in Alsace, migrated to Eastern Europe with members of the Jewish community seeking refuge in the Polish commonwealth, and eventually crossed the Atlantic with further waves of migration.

In his foreword to *The Story of the Jews,* Simon Schama refers to the importance of the seemingly "small things of common experience."[1] Yet it is within these shared experiences that evidence of the history and development of culturally distinct groups can be found, and the preparation and consumption of food is a daily experience common to humanity the world over. The diet of the Jewish community in particular, subject as it has been to a history of constant movement, migration, and adaptation, provides a fascinating insight into centuries of exile and persecution, and how the resultant resilience and ability to modify ingredients and practices have had an impact on Jewish food culture as we understand it today. The Ashkenazi tradition is particularly interesting, given that "since the ancestors of the majority of Ashkenazim came from the Slavic regions of eastern Europe (Poland and the Ukraine), it is this form of Ashkenazic cooking that is most widespread and that most Americans associate with Jewish food."[2] Yet, the history of the Ashkenazi community extends further back in time, to the area of the Rhine valley, with particular relevance to the Alsace region. Indeed, "the distinctiveness of Eastern European Jewish foodways arises from [...] the historical legacy of early Western Ashkenazic traditions."[3] To acquire a 'big picture' of Jewish food history, it is important to recognise the roots of this cuisine in North-Eastern France in the Middle Ages, and trace the development of some classic Ashkenazi dishes with the movement of the community from Alsace to Eastern Europe, and eventually across the Atlantic with Jewish emigrants to America.

History

Jewish involvement in France stems back to the Roman Empire. The first recorded settlers came with the exiled King Antipas, son of Herod, who settled in the Haute-Garonne region of France in 39 CE. After the Siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of its temple in 70 CE, Jews were banished from their holy city and dispersed around the known world.[4] Many relocated to Rome from whence they travelled to Gaul which had been conquered by Julius Caesar. For hundreds of years the Jewish community developed, particularly under the rule of Charlemagne who granted special privileges to them due to their involvement in the trade of spices, grain, and dried fish. As Henri Pirenne noted, "if the Jews were so favoured, it was only because they were indispensable."[5] With economic stability came increased investment in education and culture and so Talmudic scholars dispersed throughout France and Germany from the 8th century, establishing centres of learning. The most prolific of these was Rashi, whose writings inform much of what is known about Jewish communities in France during the early medieval period. However, with the First Crusade at the end of the 11th century a wave of anti-Semitic attacks and pogroms began. As a result of this, many of the Jewish community left the South of France and either moved to Spain (establishing the Sephardic tradition there) or moved northwards. Blumenkranz and Catane identify that "the first evidence of Jews in Alsace is reported by Benjamin of Tudela who mentions (c. 1170) Jews in Strasbourg."[6] While there seems to be a range of explanations for the term 'Ashkenazi', the foremost historians of Jewish food[7] agree that the term Ashkenazi stems from the area of the Rhine valley, with Joan Nathan distinguishing this variant of Judaism as stemming from the "group of Jews [who] settled in Ashkenaz, the valley between the Rhine River and the Vosges Mountains extending beyond into present-day Germany, and developed the Yiddish language, a corruption of German and Hebrew."[8]

It is important to note that national territories of medieval Europe prior to the unification of kingdoms had very different boundaries in comparison to the modern map. Hence, Alsace in the 12th century was under the jurisdiction of the Holy Roman Empire and for much of its history it would move between the rule of Germany and France. The resultant cultural dichotomy is evident through both French and German influences in the cuisine of the Alsatian Jewish community.

Consequences of Migration

To turn to the food related issues of this displacement, there were consequences for the Jewish diet as a result of this north-eastward migration. The Jews who settled in the Alsace region after moving from the South of France faced a difficulty regarding cooking fat. As Gil Marks explains "whereas in the Mediterranean region, olive oil was ubiquitous, in northern Europe oil of any sort was expensive or unavailable."[9] While their Christian neighbours used lard, the Jewish community had to look for a kosher alternative. That alternative came as a by-product of goose farming. But why geese? We need to look further back into Jewish history to discover the choice of this bird. Joan Nathan makes a compelling case for Alsace as the origin of both chopped liver and foie gras, explaining that the practice of force-feeding geese (gavage) can be traced back to the Egyptians, with hieroglyphic representations adorning some of the tombs of Pharaohs.[10] Enslaved by the Egyptians, the ancient Israelites learned and developed the technique, eventually bringing it to France. Such was their expertise that Jews were considered to be the best producers of foie gras and were the preferred source for Bartolomeo Scappi, chef to Pope Pius V in the 16th century.[11] While pâté de foie gras was invented by chef Jean-Pierre Clause in the 17th century, the goose liver used was raised by Alsatian Jews.[12] Although foie gras was a lucrative by-product of the need to source kosher fat, the Jews and their gentile neighbours both enjoyed the resulting meat. As a delicacy, foie gras was in greater demand at Christmas, so roast goose became a common choice for both the festive Christian table and the Jewish Hanukkah feast. Geese were killed in the winter so the resultant goose fat, or schmaltz, was stored in jars and used over the course of the year. This original goose fat schmaltz has now been replaced by chicken fat, but the transition only came in the twentieth century.[13] Claudia Roden identifies that the practice of using goose fat was a feature of the Rhineland and later, was brought to Eastern Europe, opining that "once upon a time, the smell of rendered goose fat permeated every Jewish home, clinging to the walls and furniture."[14]

What is the link then, with the chopped liver that continues to constitute part of the Friday night dinner in countless Ashkenazi households worldwide?[15] Despite Jewish expertise in producing the delicacy, the amount of cooking required to remove all trace of blood from goose liver in accordance with kashrut rules rendered the meat so tough that it was inedible. An alternative was found in chicken livers, yet they too needed to be thoroughly cooked. By the addition of chopped egg, onion, and goose or chicken schmaltz, the meat was made edible and traditional Jewish chopped liver was born[16]. Gil Marks notes that the dish "dates back to the medieval Alsatian communities, renowned for the soft livers of their force-fed geese."[17] One of the foremost authorities on Alsatian Jewish history notes

> By tradition, the goose was the poultry of the Shabbat; we used our fat for the kitchen, we sold our feathers and its down, and its liver was used to make pâtés" (*Par tradition, l'oie était la volaille servie au repas du Shabbat; on utilisait sa graisse pour la cuisine, on vendait ses plumes et son duvet, et son foie servait à confectioner des pâtés*)[18]

Considered to be one of the oldest Jewish dishes still in existence,[19] chopped liver was born in the kitchens of the Jews of Alsace and travelled worldwide with Jewish migration, remaining as one of the foremost signifiers of Jewish food culture to this day.

A stalwart of the American Jewish kitchen that has earned the alternative title of 'Jewish penicillin', and which Darra Goldstein considers to be the most iconic dish of all,[20] is chicken soup. Although not exclusive to Alsace, the French practice of the *pot-au-feu*, a pot of soup or stew constantly simmering near the fire, lent itself to Jewish preparations for the Sabbath,[21]and is still described as an important part of Friday night tradition for Ashkenazi Jews from a range of backgrounds.[22] It had the added benefit of utilising a hen that had stopped laying and providing several meals for the weekend, the soup made more filling by the addition of *kneidlach*, dumplings formed from matzah meal. Freddy Raphaël considers both *pot-au-feu* and *soupe aux quenelles* (soup with dumplings), which he terms *marikknepfle*, as traditional Alsatian Sabbath dishes.[23] Hence, the internationally recognised Jewish dish of chicken soup with matzah balls, or *kneidlach,* has important links to the Alsatian tradition.

Somewhat less well known outside the Jewish community, but hugely important to their food culture, is gefilte fish. Originating in medieval Germany[24] (which would have included the Alsace region at that time) in the fourteenth century,[25] the term gefilte comes from the German word for stuffed - *gefüllte*. The earliest gefilte fish recipe used pike, as it was "the most prevalent freshwater fish in Germany and thus the type commonly used for making gefilte fish."[26] However, carp would become the favoured choice of fish after being introduced to France and Germany by Jewish traders in the mid-13th century, leading to it becoming "the most popular fish in Europe during the Middle Ages, and the Sabbath fish par excellence for the Jews of Alsace Lorraine."[27] Gil Marks notes that "from Alsace to the Balkans, Jews were

instrumental in spreading and breeding this newcomer: thus, it became associated with Jewish cuisine."[28] Alsatian historian Jean-Pierre Lambert considers that migrating Alsatian Jews were responsible for the popularity of carp even in non-Jewish communities in Poland, stating that it is

> widely used in Jewish cooking where it is by far the most popular fish! As it was in France in the medieval period [...] French ingredients were migrating with Jews to Alsace and then to Germany and Poland. In fact, in Poland, carp is very popular, numerous recipes are used, sometimes more and generally less similar to Jewish gefilte fish.[29]

Such was the desire to use the freshest of ingredients, that live carp was often kept in a container of water or, more recently, a bathtub, until the gefilte fish was to be prepared.[30] Born out of the necessity to make a little food go a long way, this Jewish dish remains a favourite in many parts of the Ashkenazic diaspora.

Another dish that will be familiar to Ashkenazi Jews worldwide is the slow-cooked Sabbath stew known as cholent. As cooking is one of the thirty-nine categories of work that is forbidden on the Sabbath in Talmudic law,[31] so it was incumbent on Jewish families to find a way to prepare a hot meal in advance. The word 'cholent' stems from the French words for hot (*chaud*) and slow (*lent*). Claudia Roden proposes that it is related to the French dish of cassoulet, justifying this by explaining that "the Jews in the region of the Languedoc, where cassoulet originated, were expelled in 1394 and headed for Germany."[32] John Cooper agrees with this assumption, specifying Alsace-Lorraine as the destination for the Languedoc Jews and as the centre for the knowledge of "the slow stewing process."[33] Cholent, then, originated as a Jewish cassoulet, with the Alsatian Jews adapting the recipe to use beef brisket which was slow-cooked over Friday night to provide a hot meal on the Sabbath, evolving to incorporate whatever ingredients that were available as the Jewish community moved eastwards to colder climates. Another example of a recipe designed to provide maximum sustenance on a minimal budget, cholent is considered a classic "straight from the old country"[34] by the descendants of Eastern European Jews, yet its provenance can be traced to the Alsace region:

> First French, invented in the Middle Ages, it went to Eastern Europe to return [...] modified (with potatoes!) in the luggage of Russian and Polish immigrants (*D'abord Français, inventé au Moyen-Âge, il va parti ren Europe de l'Est pour revenir [...] modifé (avec des pommes de terre!) dans les bagages des immigrés venus de Russie ou de Pologne*).[35]

Central to establishing the link between an Ashkenazi tradition originating in France and eventually crossing the Atlantic with Eastern European Jews is the origin of pastrami, perhaps the most quintessential element of all New York Jewish delis. Ted Merwin observes that for "most of the twentieth century, a pastrami sandwich was more likely than a piece of fruit to trigger thoughts of New York,"[36] such was its iconic status. While Merwin acknowledges that "cured meats and sausages entered the Jewish diet during the eleventh and twelfth centuries when Jews were living in the Alsace-Lorraine region of France,"[37] he goes on to claim that pastrami originated in Turkey and became a speciality in Romania, a widely held belief stemming from an anecdotal account of a Lithuanian Jewish immigrant, Sussman Volk, storing a trunk for a Romanian friend and being rewarded with the recipe for a cured meat called *pastirma*, eventually selling it in his shop.[38] Claudia Roden is one of the few to dispute this commonly held view, calling pastrami "one of the great inventions of the American deli,"[39] explaining that Romanian *pastirma* is airdried mutton, while the pastrami served in America is brisket which has been salted, smoked, and steamed. A differing perspective is that pastrami is "not so much a food as a method of preparation that involves a heavy dry rub of salt and spices to cure and season the meat, and later smoking to cook it fully,"[40] and it is of note that the first recorded use of the term pastrami was in the Syracuse Herald in 1916.[41] Contrary to these arguments, an Alsatian butcher shop claims that

> Cured beef, finely sliced and very popular with New Yorkers, pastrami has existed in Alsace since the dawn of time and in particular at the famous butcher-delicatessen Geismar (*Viande de bœuf séchée, finement tranchée et très prisée des new-yorkais, le pastrami existe en Alsace depuis la nuit des temps et notamment à la fameuse boucherie-charcuterie Geismar)*[42]

There is clearly an element of doubt and guesswork as to the origins of this much-loved staple of the American Jewish deli.

The need to preserve kosher beef led to a wide range of Jewish charcuterie, and "Alsace in particular is known for its Jewish specialities"[43] which include beef *pickelfleisch*, the word originating from the German words for pickle and meat, and its variants, *beckelfleisch*, *dürrfleisch*, and *homen*, a cured and smoked brisket particular to Alsace.[44] However, an important connection between Alsace and the delis of America can be found in the charcuterie of Eastern Europe – particularly the salt beef of Poland and the pickle meat of the former Russian Empire, itself a direct translation of *pickelfleisch*.[45] When Jewish immigrants arrived in America from Eastern Europe, dependent on the country or city of origin, the cured meat would be prepared in a slightly different manner, and when delicatessens eventually opened, they prepared a meat that would appeal to all their customers. A descendant of an Eastern European family that settled in New York's Lower East Side believes that both national and local community links from the old country were preserved even after the Jewish immigrants settled:

> You would look at the Lower East Side of Manhattan and say "that's where the Jews are". But on every block [...] when the Jews started coming over and settled on the East Side, each one would have their own synagogue [...] and the congregation of their own town. Such as if they came from Warsaw then you would have this synagogue. They would find each other [...]There would be the synagogue and how did they prepare [...] the pastrami there. On the next block or maybe on the same block, how it was prepared in Vienna and, let's face it [...] the concentration of population of the Lower East Side was [...] the greatest population of [...] anywhere in the world in history. So [...] everything melded together and while somebody used this much garlic and somebody used that much pepper [...] when somebody opened up a delicatessen on that block they would make, they would prepare it for their, for the customers that were there.[46]

That meat became known as pastrami, but it is really an amalgam of the variety of cured and smoked meats that were developed in Eastern Europe in the style and tradition of Alsatian *pickelfleisch*. Therefore, in this sense, pastrami can be said to have links to the Alsace tradition and the Ashkenazi culinary practices that evolved in Eastern Europe as a relatively modern fusion of a 'pickled' or cured brisket. Hence, the Alsatian legacy to contemporary American Jewish food culture is very much evident in pastrami.

Eastward Migration

How were these food traditions transported to Eastern Europe and, later, America? To return to the history of the diaspora, the influx of Jews into the Alsace region prompted persecutions and pogroms, with records of mass murders of families, including the infamous St. Valentine's Strasbourg massacre of 1349 just before the Bubonic Plague arrived. Due to a variety of reasons (ghettoization, non-reliance on public water sources, superior hygiene due to dietary laws and rituals) the Jewish communities were less affected by the plague and were blamed for poisoning the wells to kill Christians. However, the Strasbourg Massacre occurred before the plague arrived in the city, at which stage half of the 2000 strong Jewish population had fled, and half had been burned to death. Jews were not to return to the city until 1520,[47] settling instead in the surrounding rural area or moving eastwards. Where did these communities go? As already noted, Poland and Lithuania were two key locations for Jewish migration,[48] but the diaspora eventually spread to Austria, Hungary, Romania, the Ukraine, and other Baltic states.[49] With them they took their traditional recipes and culinary practices and settled in harsher climates, adapting familiar dishes to include unfamiliar ingredients.

It is worth delving deeper into the history of Jewish settlement in Poland to explain the association of Ashkenazi traditions with this region and the former Russian Empire in particular. At a time when the persecution of Jews in Western Europe began to gather momentum, Poland offered sanctuary. The Statute of Kalisz in 1264 gave Jews permission "to settle, follow their religion, be protected from harm, engage in various occupations, and even play a role in the minting of coins."[50] This charter was ratified and expanded upon by King Kazimierz (Casimir the Great 1310–1370). Such was the attraction eastwards that by the mid-16th century, a staggering eighty percent of the global Jewish population lived in Poland.[51] In 1569 Poland and Lithuania unified, after which Poland annexed the Ukraine. Jews were sent to populate these regions, and the expanded territory became known as the Polish Commonwealth. The commonwealth began to lose power after an uprising (1648) and eventually was carved up between Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the period from 1772 to 1795. Hence, these countries inherited the large Jewish population with the Jewish community in Russia alone rising from 50,000 to 610,000.[52] Waves of persecution followed, prompting many families to make the decision to cross the Atlantic to seek a better life.

America

Mass immigration from Eastern Europe occurred during the later years of the 19th century and into the 20th century. Between 1881 and 1924, 2.5 million people emigrated from Eastern Europe.[53] By 1927, 44% of American Jews had settled in New York.[54] To put that in context, the next biggest settlement was in Chicago with only 8%.[55] Darra Goldstein identifies the Lower East Side as the locus for Jewish immigration, giving an estimate of 500,000 Jews in a square mile radius,[56] although this is disputed by Hasia Diner who puts the figure at 60,000 between 1880 and 1890, and that in a twenty-block square.[57] Regardless of the varying accounts of population density, it is clear that this area became the perfect cradle for Jewish culture to develop in the city, not least with regard to food.[58] What is crucial to this discussion is that "suddenly, the foods of a people dispersed for nearly two thousand years came together in one corner of Manhattan."[59]

Demand for familiar food began with pushcarts and street vendors, eventually becoming permanent delicatessens. These delicatessens originated as kosher butcher shops specialising in cured meats, eventually branching out into serving food on the premises.[60] Interestingly, Darra Goldstein sees a particular link between New York and Ashkenazi food, stating that "one of the things it's important to note about Ashkenazi food in America is how closely identified it is with New York [...] and what it means to be a New Yorker."[61] This is an important consideration when forging links between the Ashkenazi traditions established in the Alsace region in the Middle Ages and present day American Jewish cuisine, particularly given that it is these traditions that are communicated

through popular culture emanating from America.[62] It provides verification for Hasia Diner's belief that "East European Jews in America also retained a commitment to foods emblematic of their culture. Certain foods anchored them to the past and tradition. They celebrated those foods and waxed eloquent about their sensory satisfaction, even while pursuing novelty."[63] Hence, the legacy of the medieval practices developed in the Alsace region can be seen not only in the Jewish food of Eastern Europe but also in the Ashkenazi food culture of modern America.

Conclusion

Displacement and migration have been hallmarks of the shared experience of the Jewish community for centuries. Movement from a homeland with a Mediterranean climate to harsher conditions in the north and east of Europe necessitated the modification of a range of everyday activities, not least food production and preparation. For the Ashkenazi people, this involved the adaptation of a variety of culinary practices, several of which developed during their time in the Rhine Valley and the Alsace region. The resultant variations would eventually make the journey across the Atlantic in the lived experience of Eastern European Jews seeking a better life in America. Some, like chopped liver and cholent, would remain roughly the same; others would meld the practices of different nationalities to form hybrid products, such as pastrami. However, all of these foods would eventually come to inform our understanding of Ashkenazi food, the "small stuff of common experience"[64] with a history that "has been anything but commonplace."[65]

Notes

1. Simon Schama, *The Story of the Jews: Finding the Words, 1000 BCE-1492 CE* (London: Vintage, 2014), xvi.
2. Gil Marks, *The World of Jewish Cooking* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 2.
3. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Food and Drink", *Yivo Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, (2010), https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Food_and_Drink.
4. Marlena Spieler, *The Jewish Heritage Cookbook* (New York: Lorenz Books, 2002), 10.
5. Joan Nathan, *Quiches, Kugels, and Couscous: My Search for Jewish Cooking in France* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 10.
6. Bernhard Blumenkranz and Moshe Catane, "France: Alsace", *Jewish Virtual Library* (2019) https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/alsace.
7. Nathan, *Quiches,* and speaking to the Library of Congress (2011), https://www.loc.gov/item/webcast-5106; Claudia Roden, *The Book of Jewish Food: An Odyssey from Samarkand and Vilna to the Present Day* (London: Penguin Books, 1996); Gil Marks, *The World of Jewish Cooking* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996) and *Encyclopedia of Jewish Food*. (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 2010).
8. Nathan, *Quiches*, 14.
9. Marks, *Jewish Cooking*, 109.
10. Nathan, *Quiches*, 49; Michael Ginor, *Foie Gras: A Passion* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999), 2-3.
11. Nathan, *Quiches,* 49.
12. Marks, *Jewish Cooking*, 17.
13. Michael Wex, *Rhapsody in Schmaltz* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 2016), 41; Marks, *Encyclopedia,* Gribenes entry.
14. Roden, *Jewish Food,* 55.
15. Angela Hanratty, "From Alsace to America: The Development and Migration of Ashkenazi Jewish Cuisine from its Origins in Eastern France" (MA thesis, TU Dublin, 2021), https://arrow.tudublin.ie/tfschcafdis/6/; Nathan, *Quiches*, 51.
16. Marks, *Jewish Cooking*, 17; *Encyclopedia,* Goose entry.
17. Freddy Raphaël, *La cuisine juive en Alsace* (Strasbourg: La Nuée Bleue, 2005), 81. (Author's translation).
18. Wex, 77.
19. Darra Goldstein, "The Ashkenazi Kitchen in America" (UPenn Jewish Studies Program, 2020), https://youtu.be/gYk6mxYVwVk.
20. Marks, *Jewish Cooking*, 53-4; Nathan, *Quiches*, 8.
21. Interviews conducted by Hanratty in "From Alsace to America".
22. Raphaël, 22.
23. Marks, *Jewish Cooking*, 72; Roden, *Jewish Food,* 95.
24. Marks, *Jewish Cooking*, 72.
25. Marks, *Jewish Cooking,* 72; Roden, *Jewish Food,* 95.
26. Nathan, *Quiches,* 152.
27. Marks, *Jewish Cooking,* 74.
28. Hanratty, 175.
29. Hanratty, 163 & 75; Roden, *Jewish Food*, 94.
30. Marks, *Jewish Cooking*, 123.
31. Roden, *Jewish Food*, 42.
32. John Cooper, *Eat and Be Satisfied: A Social History of Jewish Food* (New Jersey: Jason Aronson, 1993), 107.
33. Hanratty, 119.
34. Hanratty, 171. (Author's translation).
35. Ted Merwin, *Pastrami on Rye: An Overstuffed History of the Jewish Deli* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), 3.
36. Merwin, 20.
37. Marks, *Encyclopedia,* Pastrami entry.
38. Roden, *Jewish Food*, 72; 'Jewish Food: Claudia Roden and Simon Schama in Conversation', (The British Library, 2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MC741f9e1k . Gil Marks also notes that "Modern pastrami is a relatively recent American innovation" in *Encyclopedia,* Pastrami entry.
39. David Sax, *Save the Deli: In search of Perfect Pastrami, Crusty Rye, and the Heart of Jewish Delicatessen* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009), 20.
40. Marks, *Encyclopedia,* Pastrami entry.

41. Alix Baboin-Jaubert, "Pastrami, oh oui!", *Maison.com*, June 11, 2014, https://www.maison.com/cuisiner/produits-rares/pastrami-oh-oui-7922/.
42. Roden, *Jewish Food*, 116.
43. Hanratty, 177; Raphaël, 24.
44. Hanratty, 84-5, 109. Comments from interviewees include "We didn't grow up knowing about pastrami in my day. But we did have pickle meat. And pickle meat is very similar" and "It's brisket, pickled brisket, that's what salt beef is [...] I'd have that in preference to pastrami. We get pastrami now in packets [...] I do think that's an American thing."
45. Hanratty, 128.
46. David B. Green, "1349: A Valentine's Day Massacre in Alsace," *Haaretz,* February 14, 2013.
47. Jonathan Brumberg-Kraus, "Food in the Medieval Era," in *Feasting and Fasting: The History and Ethics of Jewish Food*, edited by Aaron S. Gross, Jody Myers, and Jordan B. Rosenblum. (New York: New York University Press, 2019), 83-109.
48. Marks, *Jewish Cooking,* 2.
49. Radslow Wójcik, "A 1000 Year History of Polish Jews". *POLIN Museum of the History of the Polish Jews*, (2021), https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/a-1000-year-history-of-polish-jews/wR4060gq.
50. "Poland Virtual Jewish History Tour", *jewishvirtuallibrary.org* (2021), https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/poland-virtual-jewish-history-tour.
51. Wójcik, "Polish Jews".
52. Library of Congress, "From Haven to Home: 350 Years of Jewish Life in America", https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/haventohome/haven-century.html.
53. Hasia R. Diner, *The Jews of the United States, 1654 to 2000* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 105.
54. Diner, *United States,* 105.
55. Goldstein, "Ashkenazi Kitchen".
56. Diner, *United States,* 105.
57. Of note here is oral history testimony in Hanratty, "From Alsace to America", 128: "let's face it, the concentration of population of the Lower East Side was greater than that of, what was the hellhole in India? It was the greatest population of any, anywhere in the world in history."
58. Sax*,* 20.
59. Goldstein, "Ashkenazi Kitchen."
60. Goldstein, "Ashkenazi Kitchen."
61. For a discussion on Jewish food in popular culture, see Hanratty, 7-8.
62. Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America* (USA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 178.
63. Schama, *The Story of the Jews,* xvi.
64. Schama, *The Story of the Jews,* xvi.