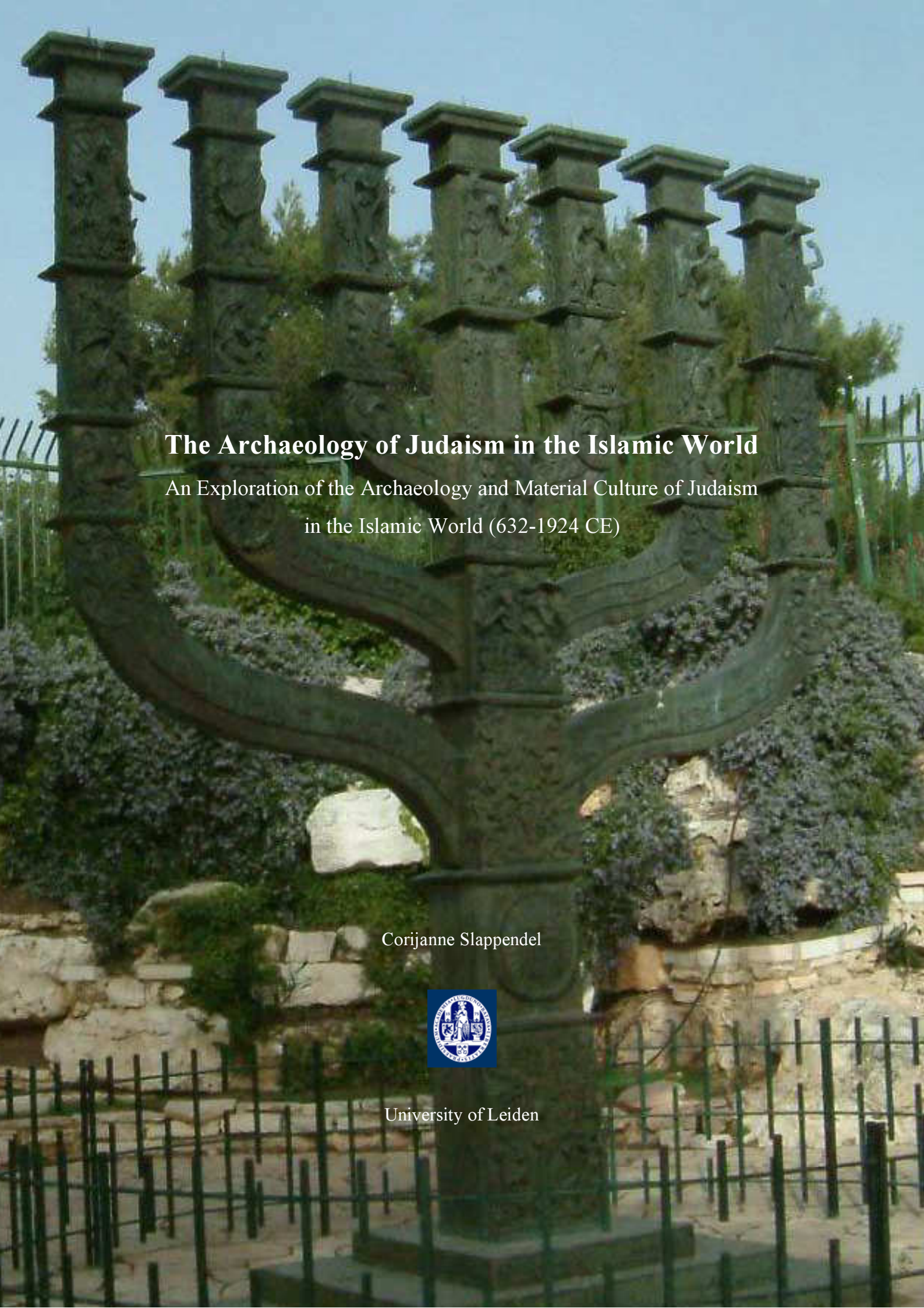

The Archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World

An Exploration of the Archaeology and Material Culture of Judaism in the Islamic World (632-1924 CE)

Corijanne Slappendel

University of Leiden

Cover figure. The menorah in front of the Knesset in Israel (Photo by the author in 2006).

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Preface

Already since I was fourteen I have been interested in religion. Growing up in a Protestant Christian family I became curious about the roots of Christianity. Beside that, my mother told me once about her uncles who were pursued by the Germans during the Second World War because they 'looked Jewish'. They indeed had a Jewish mother, although her parents had been Christians before she was born. My mother's own father was spared this fate because he missed 'the looks'. This raised my interest in Judaism, making me want to learn Hebrew, which led to the decision to study 'Semitic languages and cultures' at Leiden University in 1991, with Hebrew as first and Aramaic as second language. Due to personal circumstances I quit this study after I had received my certificate for finishing the first year in 1992. Over the years, the regret of quitting my studies grew and made me decide to go back to college in 2006, for studying archaeology this time. Language had been a means for studying the cultures of the past, and now, in archaeology, the material remains took that place. In this thesis all my interests come together and with that it feels like all these loose ends in my life fall in place, finally revealing their relevance.

First of all, I want to thank my thesis supervisor, prof. dr. John Bintliff, for believing in my subject and for his support and encouragement in many ways to go on with this subject in future research. Furthermore I want to thank prof. dr. Zangenberg and dr. Karel Innemee for reading the concept of my thesis and giving useful comments. Thanks go as well to dr. Edna Stern from the Israel Antiquities Authority and dr. Joanita Vroom from Leiden University for useful information and for keeping an eye open on the ceramic evidence. I want to thank Hanna Stöger Ph.D. for introducing space syntax to us as students and for her interesting lectures on Ostia and Delos. I also thank prof. dr. Peter Akkermans for his interest and support. Gethin Rees and Alexander Panayotov from Cambridge university deserve thanks for useful advise on literature about the Jews in the Byzantine empire and dr. Marina Rustow from John Hopkins University for an interesting series of lectures on the Cairo Genizah and useful advise at an early stage of my research. I thank prof. dr. Judith Frishman for bringing these lectures to my attention.

Studying while having three kids, in combination with working to be able to pay for my studies, has not always been easy. Without my parents, Pie en Ries Slappendel, my ex-husband Rob Neeleman, his father Wim Neeleman and the flexibility and understanding of my children, Lisette, Suzanne and Marc Neeleman, it would not have

been possible, so my sincere thanks go also to them and it is to them that I dedicate this thesis. Furthermore, my thanks go to prof. dr. Harry Fokkens, dr. Monique van den Dries and Sjoerd van der Linde Ph.D., my supervisors and colleagues in the jobs I had during my time at the University. We had instructive discussions and I learned a tremendous lot from them about editing, writing and how things work in the academic world. Moreover, these jobs made it possible to combine studying and working in the first place. I also want to thank my former colleagues of the Council of State for listening to all my enthousiastic stories about archaeology when I just started at the university. Especially Govert van Boxtel deserves thanks for encouraging me to realize my dream of going back to college and I doubt whether I would have had the courage to do so without him.

Last but not least I want to thank my dear study friends Anika Remery, Marlies van Vuuren, Coen Geerdink and Vincent Oeters for sharing both laughter and tears from the very beginning of our studies onwards. Also Judith Schoester and Clasine van Doorn have become dear friends with whom it was great to have interesting discussions on Near Eastern archaeology while enjoying a good home-made meal. Furthermore there are many, many other people at Leiden University whom I hereby thank for support, learning much and simply having a great time.

1 Introduction: the archaeology of medieval Judaism

1.1 Introduction

The Greek term '*diaspora*', has for long been associated with the shattering of the Jewish people from their homeland around the world (Safran 2005, 36). Generally speaking, it could be said that the first Jewish *diaspora* took place during the last centuries of the pharaohs in Egypt (Bowman 2005, 192). Nevertheless, it is more commonly understood as having started either with the Babylonian Exile following the conquests of Samaria and Jerusalem in respectively 722 BCE and 586 BCE or with the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE (Bowman 2005, 193). Since the latter unfortunate event the Jewish people have spread around the world, were often persecuted and have suffered under the burden of what is called '*galut*', meaning 'exile from the homeland as punishment for collective sin' (Bowman 2005, 192). It is commonly known that, although there have been hostilities before, the Jewish people were most heavily persecuted during World War II under the Nazi regime, and that soon after the war was over, the State of Israel was founded in 1948, mostly as the result of the Zionist movement (Cesarani 2004). An intriguing question is: what happened in the period between the destruction of the temple in 70 CE and the founding of the state of Israel in 1948? How did the Jewish people manage to hold on to their identity for this long period of almost two thousand years of *diaspora*? These questions touch both Jewish identity and the history of the Jewish people in their *diaspora*.

In search for answers, it appears that Jewish life has been extensively studied through the years, as can be seen from the enormous amount of books and other publications. These deal with a broad range of issues, both in contemporary and historical contexts as well as in scientific and non-scientific contexts. The Enlightenment, with its basic statements of human equalness, teleological cultural evolution and rational thinking, has not only been important to the development of the social sciences in general (Trigger 2006, 100-2), but can be also regarded as a turning point for the perception of Jewish history and identity (Hyman 2005; Rutgers 1998a). A Jewish variant of the Enlightenment, known as *Hashkalah*, emerged alongside similar trends in Europe, also in Germany in the early eighteenth century. Its aims were to make Jewish people responsible citizens through modernization and secularization (Feiner 2004 cf. Hyman 2005, 349). Jewish Studies as a scientific discipline arose during the first half of the

nineteenth century as '*Wissenschaft des Judentums*' in Prussia (Gruber 2011a, 437; Rutgers 1998a, 14-5). It started mainly as the search for what it meant to have a Jewish identity, after Jewish people had been gradually granted equal civil rights throughout Europe, beginning in France in 1791 (Rutgers 1998a, 13). It was the same period in which history was founded as a science and the intellectual climate was influenced by the philosophy of history and classical philology, which also had their impact on Jewish scholars (Rutgers 1998a, 15). Today, universities in America and Europe have departments that are dedicated to Jewish studies. Research questions dealing with social and economic aspects have gained importance, but an important issue that is still relevant has been the interaction between Jewish and non-Jewish cultures (Rutgers 1998a, 20-1). Jewish Studies nowadays include multiple disciplines in fields ranging from linguistics, history, and anthropology to religious studies. Nevertheless, the study of Jewish history is often still closely related to the study of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, since these languages are needed to be able to read the documents that can provide new information on the history of the Jewish people.

Meanwhile, the history of Jewish people through the ages has been studied thoroughly, and a lot is known about Jewish life from the rabbinic sources which developed from c. 200 CE on. These consist of the Mishna, the *Talmud* and the Midrash, and together they form an expansive collection of comments, explanations, discussions and notes on the *Torah*[1] and the oral traditions (see *e.g.* Musaph-Andriesse 1985; Neusner 1994; 2000b; 2005). They deal with the implementation of Jewish law (*halakha*) in daily life and include narratives and exegeses (*aggadah*) (Musaph-Andriesse 1985, 60; Neusner 1994, 10; 2000b, 97; 2005, 3). Apart from that, one of the most important sources of knowledge comes from the documents of the Cairo Genizah in the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fusṭāṭ or Old Cairo which started to appear in Western institutions around the end of the nineteenth century. These meant a real goldmine of knowledge about medieval Mediterranean society in general and Jewish life in particular in the medieval Islamic period. The work of S.D. Goitein in six volumes (1967; 1971; 1978; 1983; 1988; 1993) on the documents of the Cairo Genizah therefore became a standard work for every

[1] The *Torah* comprises the five books ascribed to Moses which are also included in the Christian Bible as the first five books (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium). The *Torah* is considered the basis of the Jewish faith containing the earliest history of the Jewish people.

scholar and student involved in Mediterranean medieval history and inspired a lot of other studies on a broad range of issues dealing with that era and macro region.

While going through the immense number of publications on Jewish history it struck me that archaeological sources are barely mentioned for the medieval period in general and the Islamic world in particular. Although Jewish material culture is mentioned in some cases it became clear that this really might be an empty niche in archaeological research that is only recently starting to get some, but still only a little, attention. The material from the Cairo Genizah itself for instance, is still barely compared with archaeological evidence. Moreover, for the Mediterranean area, archaeological research concerning Jewish studies seems to have been limited to Late Antiquity or the eighth century at the latest (Gruber 2011a, 439). Besides, it seems to have been concentrated in Israel, with a main focus on art and architecture. Therefore, the question that began to intrigue me was what archaeological sources are available actually for Judaism in the Medieval period.

1.2 Research problem

During my search for archaeological sources that could shed light on Jewish life in Medieval Mediterranean societies, these appeared not easy to find. The archaeology of Judaism starts in the home country of the Jews itself, which is mostly to be found in modern Israel and the Palestinian territories. Although scholars and archaeologists had been interested, and were working, in the region since the end of the nineteenth century CE, the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948 meant an impetus for the archaeology of Judaism within the borders of the new state. The basis had already been laid with the discovery of eleven synagogues in Galilee during a survey by Kohl and Watzinger in 1905-1907 (*e.g.* Levine 2002, 826; Small 2011, 476). The excavation of the synagogue in Tiberias by N. Schlouschz in 1921 under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Society, now the Israel Exploration Society, is considered to mark the beginning of Jewish archaeology (Levine 2002, 826). More synagogues have been uncovered in Galilee and the Golan since then, but also outside of Israel important discoveries were made, for instance in Delos (Greece), Ostia (Italy), Sardis (Turkey) and Dura Europos (Syria) (see *e.g.* Hachlili 1998). Furthermore, from 1953-1968 Goodenough worked on a study of Jewish symbols in the Greco-Roman period which has been of great importance for knowledge of Jewish art in this period (Goodenough 1988, ix; Levine 2002, 826).

In the whole Mediterranean, there has been attention for the archaeology of Judaism until Late Antiquity, which is defined here as the period lasting until the rise of Islam. This latter started almost immediately after the death of the prophet Mohammed in 632 CE and already between 633 and 650 CE Palestine, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and large parts of Iran were conquered by Muslim armies (Insoll 1999, 17).[2] In contrast, only little attention seems to have been paid to the archaeology of Judaism from the rise of Islam until the fall of the Ottoman empire in 1924 CE. Considering the large amount of publications on medieval Judaism, it may at first sight seem that a lot is known about Judaism in the Mediterranean during the Medieval and Pre-modern period, but by taking a closer look, it appears that most of what is known about Judaism during this period has been derived from the available textual sources. Actually, most information goes back to the rabbinic sources and the documents of the Cairo Geniza. Archaeological evidence is barely available until now. Moreover, it is specifically mentioned by both Fine and Gruber that during the first half of the twentieth century the term 'Jewish archaeology' was specifically used to describe ancient Jewish remains of the Greco-Roman Period (Fine 2010a, 1; Gruber 2011a, 439). Gruber (*ibid.*) also gives a plausible explanation by mentioning that two generations of scholars who started to pay attention to the archaeological remains of medieval Judaism in Europe were lost during the Holocaust. Therefore, it may be concluded that the archaeology of Judaism up to now, has actually been the archaeology of Judaism until no later than Late Antiquity.

Looking for possible sources of archaeological evidence for Judaism in a medieval context, an important feature of the medieval Mediterranean can be considered to be the rise and influence of the Islamic dynasties since the seventh century. At its broadest expansion, these dynasties together ruled an area stretching from India to the southern Iberian peninsula (fig 1, Insoll 1999, 16). This ended in 1492, when 'the last bastion of Muslim power', Granada, surrendered to the Christian monarchs King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella (Lowney 2005, 7). After that the Ottoman Empire remained a force to reckon with, covering an area from Egypt to Iraq (fig 2). In the area from Iran to

[2] Although it may be tricky to use political changes for defining archaeological periods (Schick 1998, 80; Whitcomb 1995), the period is defined here to conform with these commonly used markers in Near Eastern Archaeology in order to cover the period that has been neglected entirely. It is also in this sense that the title of this thesis uses the term 'Islamic World'; to include by that the entire period and area that has been under the rule of Islamic dynasties in some way throughout history.

Afghanistan the Islamic Safavids were succeeded by the Qajars and in India the Islamic Mughals remained in power. The last Islamic dynasty's reigns lasted until 1924 (fig 1).

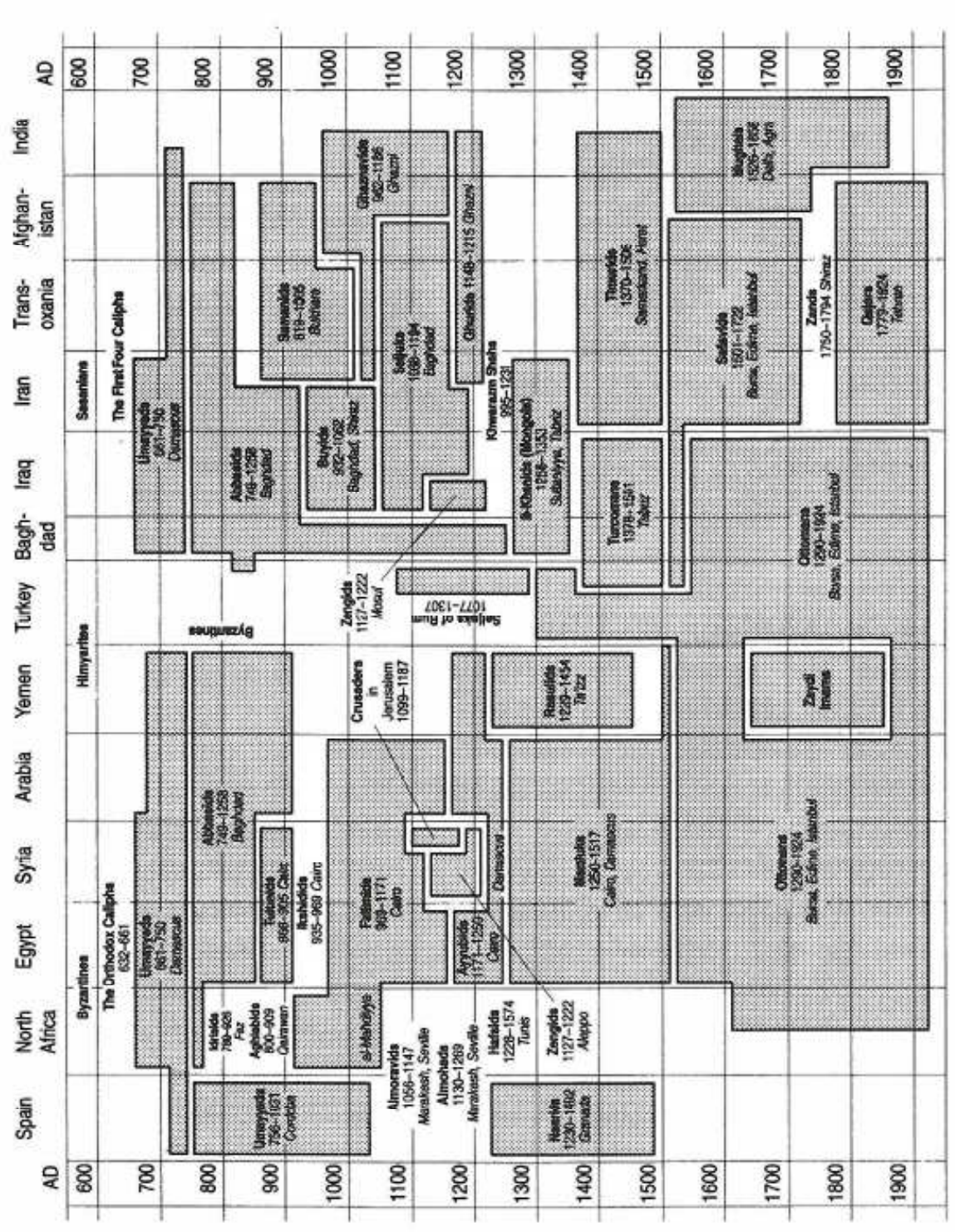

Figure 1. The major dynasties of the Islamic World from 632-1924 CE (Insoll 1999, 16).

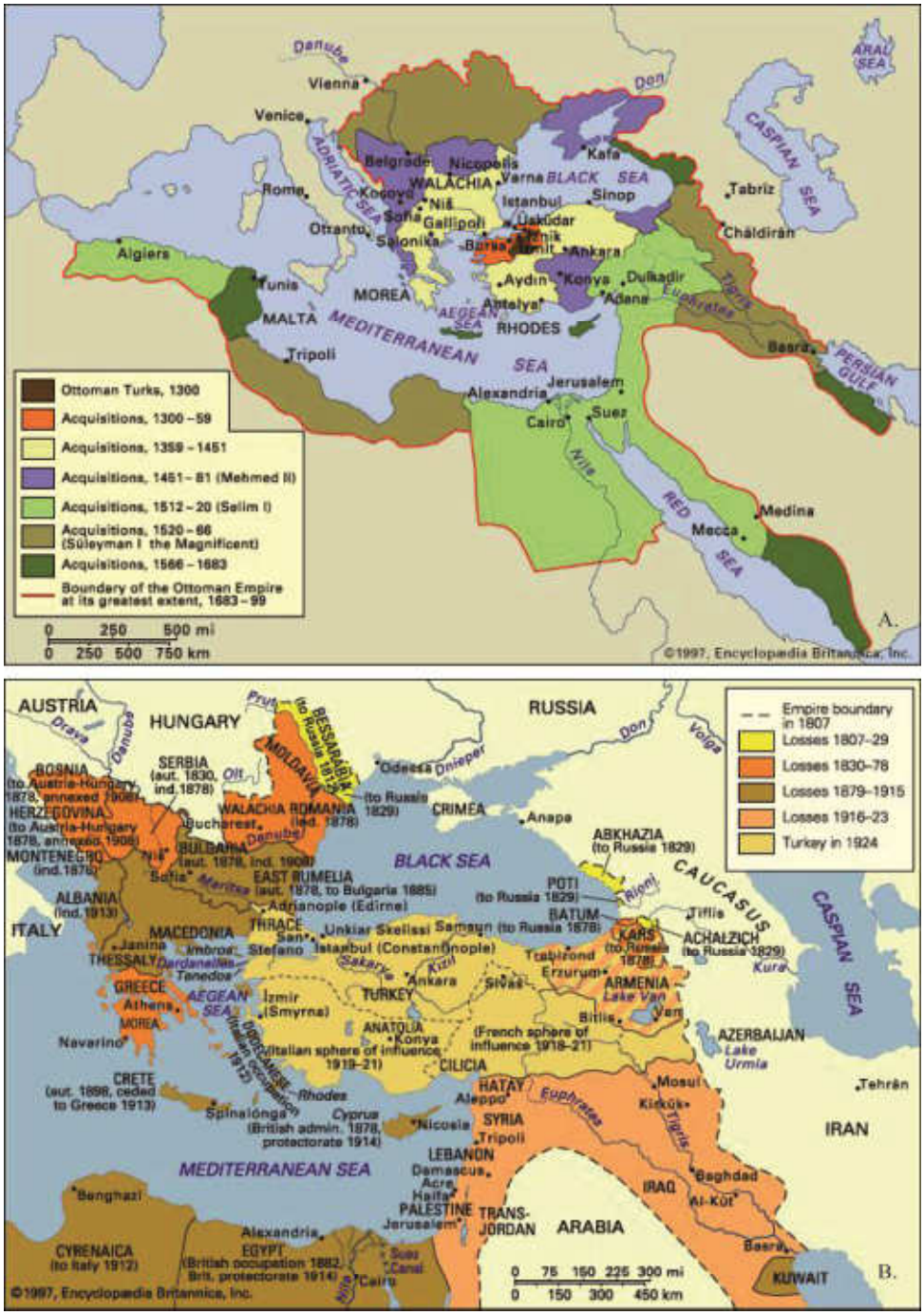

Figure 2. Expansion and decline of the Ottoman Empire.

A. *Expansion of the Ottoman Empire (Map by Andriy Miroshnychenko in Encyclopædia Britannica Online, retrieved 25th November 2012 at http://www.britannica. com/EBchecked/media/678/Expansion-of-the-Ottoman-Empire).*

B. *Anatolia: dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, 1807–1924 (Map by Encyclopædia Britannica Online, retrieved 25th November 2012 at http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/media/679/The-dissolution-of-the-Ottoman-Empire-1807-1924).*

Besides the Islamic empires, there has been the Byzantine Empire, which can be considered a continuation of the Roman empire, turning into the Byzantine Empire during the seventh century and flourishing from the mid ninth century CE until Constantinople was plundered in 1204 during the fourth crusade (Bintliff 2012, 382). After that the Frankish crusaders partly took over and a period of divided rule with former Greeks lasted until the final conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Empire in 1453. The region under Byzantine rule fluctuated through the ages but in the middle of its blooming period around 1020 CE, it covered an area from southern Italy, Greece and Bulgaria to most of Asia Minor (fig. 3).[3]

Figure 3. Byzantine Empire, AD 527 to AD 1360 (Map: Encyclopedia Brittannica Online, retrieved 18th November 2012 at http://www.britannica.com/ EBchecked /media/109222/The-Byzantine-Empire).

With respect to archaeological research in the medieval Mediterranean in general, the more mundane aspects of material culture, as well as rural and social contexts have come into the picture recently for the Crusader period and the Byzantine Empire (*e.g.* Boas 1999; Bintliff 2012; Crow 2010; Ellenblum 1998; Mol 2012; Vroom 2003; 2005). Looking from the angle of the archaeology of world religions however, there seems to

[3] For the timeframe of the Byzantine empire, I use the periods as defined by Bintliff based on his research in Boeotia on the rural landscape of the former Byzantine empire (Bintliff 2012, 382).

have been an overemphasis on Christian remains, at least up into the 1990s, probably as a result of the situation that most work had been undertaken in Europe (Crow 2010, 293; Insoll 2001, 2). This might also have something to do with the development of archaeology in western civilization and consequently, a western perception of other, including eastern, civilizations (*e.g.* Byrne 2008; Petersen 2005a, 102; Said 1978; Trigger 1981; Trigger and Glover 1981).

It can be imagined that Islamic society, while covering such a broad area for quite a long period has influenced the surrounding areas, including the Byzantine Empire, the Crusader States and even Western Europe. Despite this, western scholars have not paid much attention to the material culture of the Islamic World (Petersen 2005a, 101). Textual sources were available and for a long time this was apparently considered sufficient to cover the knowledge desired about Islamic society (Petersen 2005a, 102). Recently however, it was realized that Islamic society during the Middle Ages may have had much more impact on Western society than was realized before (Petersen 2005a, 103). Therefore the archaeology of Islam became subject to increased research, as archaeological sources might shed light on society in a way textual sources never can, and the archaeology of Islam is now developing at a faster pace (*e.g.* Insoll 1999; Petersen 2005a).

Jews in *diaspora* who were living in the Islamic World, were embedded in Islamic society, and the archaeology of Islam might therefore be a source for archaeological evidence of Judaism in the medieval period as well. Gathering knowledge about Judaism is however not the primary aim of Islamic archaeology. Even the excavations carried out in Fusṭāṭ, old Cairo, did not specifically have in mind the gathering of knowledge about the Jewish community as expressed in the documents of the Cairo Genizah. Goitein had not even published all his volumes (1967; 1971; 1978; 1983; 1988; 1993) at that time. The first excavations in Fusṭāṭ were carried out already in 1912 under the flag of the Arab (now Islamic) Museum and were not very coherent (Bahgat and Gabriel 1921; Scanlon 1965, 9). Between 1930 and 1964 scholars involved with the Museum kept working at the site, but almost no archaeological publications appeared (Scanlon 1965, 9). From 1964–1980 rescue excavations were undertaken under the direction of Scanlon after the announcement by the governorate of Cairo of plans for an urban renewal project (Kubiak and Scanlon 2003, 1; Scanlon 1965, 9). Japanese scholars continued working in Fusṭāṭ in the 1980s and 1990s, but also in these excavations Judaism has not been the primary goal, if it got any attention at all (Kawatoko 2005, 847). The only exception may be the

archaeological investigation of the Ben Ezra synagogue, but still this was part of a restoration project of a still standing monument rather than an archaeological project (Lambert 1994, 23). It may therefore well be stated that archaeological remains related to Judaism have not gained much specific attention or may have been overlooked. The same might be true for Byzantine archaeology and the archaeology of the Crusader period, since these are, speaking in terms of religion, primarily concerned with Christianity, and speaking in terms of society, influenced by and preoccupied with European society mainly.

For non-Byzantine medieval Europe, where Jews were living in *diaspora* as well, there has been attention to the architecture of medieval synagogues (Krautheimer 1927; Krinsky 1985), but the archaeology of Judaism in medieval Europe is also developing only recently. The earliest publications are in French. There is for instance a publication on the art and archaeology of medieval Judaism in France (Blumenkranz 1980). A first volume on the archaeology of medieval Judaism in Europe has been published only in 2011, but also in French (Salmona and Sigal 2011). It was the result of a conference held in Paris in 2010 and it contains papers on the excavations of synagogues, Talmudic schools and Jewish quarters in Europe. Within Spain, attention for Jewish remains is increasing, but also here most publications deal with the archaeology of medieval Judaism in Spain itself and seem to be in Spanish (*e.g.* Falcón 2006; Ayaso Martínez and Iniesta Sanmartín 2009; Pujante Martínez and Gallardo Carrillo 2004). In Cologne, the terrain containing the synagogue was already excavated in the 1950s but has been in use as a parking lot and public square until 1988 (Schütte 2011, 96). New excavations are being carried out since 2007.

In conclusion, scientific publications on the archaeology of Judaism in medieval Europe are still scarce and the publications that are present focus mainly on specific sites. A more general analysis and discussion of the results of several excavations is still lacking in scientific publications, although some attempts have been done to draw attention to this subject. For instance, an article on the archaeology of minorities was published with specific attention for the Jewish communities of Europe (Clemens 2009). In 2010, a paper by Silberman called for a more general approach towards the archaeology of Judaism in Europe (Silberman 2010). A year later, some paragraphs specifically dealing with the archaeology of Judaism were included in the second volume of a work dealing with the archaeology of medieval Europe (Gruber 2011a; 2011b;

2011c). Still, no volume dealing specifically with a broader analysis of the archaeology of Judaism in medieval Europe has yet appeared.

From the overview above it can be seen that the archaeology of Judaism in the medieval world, and in the Islamic world in particular, seems not to have gained specific attention until now and could still be considered a vacant niche in archaeological research. Surprisingly, leaving aside some useful information from the excavations in Fusṭāṭ perhaps, almost no archaeological research has been done specifically to confirm the world of the Jewish communities as expressed in the Cairo Genizah documents. Jewish material culture may be hard to distinguish from other contemporary material cultures, but building on what is known from the archaeology of Judaism from Late Antiquity, the archaeology of Islam, and the developing archaeology of Judaism in medieval Europe, little pieces of information, hints and indications may be retrieved.

1.3 Research questions

The main issue in my opinion is to show what the specific contribution is that archaeology can make to research on Jewish life for the medieval period. This could be achieved by involving two categories of sub questions. Research on possible archaeological indications for Judaism in the Islamic world would firstly involve an investigation of the range of material that might be considered as Jewish material culture from the seventh century CE on. Secondly, it would have to deal with the role of archaeology in general.

The first category, making an inventarization of Jewish material culture, would involve questions concerning the definition of 'Judaism' and 'Jewish'. Following that, the material culture and archaeological evidence that meet the requirements of this definition can be presented. It will also have to deal with the question how to connect a Jewish identity to material culture and to what extent this is possible. More specifically, it should be clarified on what grounds this link with Judaism can be made. Another aspect is how Jewish material culture can be distinguished from contemporary material culture, since Jewish people tended to adapt to their environment (Levine 2002, 829). Besides, it will be necessary to take into consideration regional differences and developments through the ages, and whether there actually is such a concept as one 'Jewish identity'.

The second category, defining what an archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World should deal with, will involve questions about the specific aims, approach, characteristics and pitfalls. It might for instance be interesting to see if the textual sources

can be verified by archaeology, but it could be questioned whether it is desirable to take these as a starting point. Also archaeology increasingly has to prove its value to society and it can be imagined there might be some tensions in paying attention to Judaism in the Islamic world, considering the current political situation in the area. Taking these sort of issues into consideration, it will be interesting to catch a modest preview on what would be the most promising fields of research to start with and what an archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world would have to deal with.

To cover all these kind of questions, the research question will therefore be defined as:
How could archaeology contribute to the knowledge of Judaism in the Islamic World?

- *What range of material culture can be related to Judaism through the ages in the regions of the Islamic world and on what grounds?*
- *What should the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world deal with? What should its specific aims be and what would be the most promising fields of research to start with?*

1.4 Approach

My aim is to investigate what an archaeology of Judaism could contribute to the knowledge of Judaism in the Islamic world. My intention is to present specific features that can be related to medieval Judaism in general and that should at least ring a bell when archaeologists who are excavating in this region encounter them. I chose to approach the archaeology of Judaism in a general approach rather than in a specialistic approach since I feel that the specialized studies of specific objects, categories of material or architectural or archaeological features that are revealing useful pieces of the puzzle have been undertaken more regularly and tend to get more attention within archaeology then the final picture itself. In order to know where to put these pieces, it is however necessary to give attention to the general framework of the final picture as well, for at least having a clue of how the pieces would relate to each other within the broader picture, but also to get insight into where the gaps are. To this purpose and also because the archaeological evidence of Judaism in the Islamic world from the seventh century on seems so scarce, I have permitted myself to involve in my inventarization available archaeological evidence and examples of material culture from the Islamic world in its broadest sense in the first instance, as well as examples from the wider *diaspora* in Europe. Although I am aware that there might be regional differences, this means that for

now I will be free to include in my conclusion examples and indications from the whole geographic area under Islamic rule at its broadest expansion and within the time frame from the rise of the Islamic dynasties from 632 CE on until the collapse of the Ottoman empire in 1924. This is not to pretend that my overview will be complete, but to strive that the largest possible range of medieval Jewish remains at this stage will be covered and included in the inventarization. It is an attempt to make it possible that Jewish remains can be recognized as such, will get the attention they deserve and will not get lost for future generations. It should be stressed again that my focus is not on a certain region or society here, but on the remains of a specific religious or ethnic group within the broader society. I hope this overview will serve as a starter for making the archaeology of medieval Judaism accessible for archaeologists, who are not specialists in Jewish studies and who may not be familiar with Judaism to start with. At the same time I hope this preliminary exploration of the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world may serve as a basis for further research in this field.

Since the archaeological evidence seems scarce and all available evidence will be helpful, I will also start with the widest possible interpretation of 'Judaism' in the first instance. Presenting the sources and the range of possible material culture and archaeological remains that could be associated with Judaism in this way will take up the largest part of my thesis. After that, I will discuss the grounds and definitions on which the presented material culture has been linked to Judaism and reconsider what 'Judaism' actually means. I will also discuss some specific issues that an archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world would have to deal with in relation to modern society. Finally, the research questions will be answered by narrowing down the range of presented Jewish material culture to what can be related specifically to Judaism in the Islamic world, and by presenting what I consider the most prominent issues and questions for future research.

Chapter 2 will be an introduction to the textual sources. The aim is to get a picture of the historical background of the period and to get an idea of what could be expected in terms of material culture and archaeological context, according to these textual sources. Since the archaeology of Judaism for the Islamic period has not yet been established, but Jewish studies on the other hand have been developing for years from a wide range of disciplines, this multidisciplinary approach should be taken into consideration while investigating the archaeological vacant niche. Since I am not a linguist or an historian, nor a specialist in Jewish studies, but an archaeologist, I can only discuss the textual

sources from an archaeological angle, building on the already extensive work of scholars from these other disciplines. I aim at an audience consisting of archaeologists who are working in the areas where they might encounter remains that could be related to Judaism, but who are not specialists in this field themselves either.

In the next part of this thesis I will discuss the useful archaeological sources. Chapter 3 will examine the existing basis of the archaeology of Judaism in Antiquity to serve as a starting point for investigating the material remains and architecture that are ascribed to Judaism. Furthermore the archaeology of medieval Judaism in Europe and the archaeology of Christianity and Islam will be introduced to see if any useful suggestions or comparisons can be retrieved from them. Chapter 4 will investigate the architectural features related to Judaism that have been or possibly could be encountered in the archaeological record. Chapter 5 will zoom in on the material culture that has been associated with Judaism over time, in an attempt to define the range of material culture that has been considered as 'Jewish' or that could serve as indications for the presence of Jewish people. This includes both ceremonial art and the more profane material culture used in daily life or related to crafts and trade.

The last part of this thesis will be used to discuss further issues and definitions that are needed for answering the research questions. Chapter 6 will therefore deal with defining 'Judaism', discussing issues such as identity, ethnicity, *diaspora* and religion. Also issues such as the role of textual sources and of archaeology in general will be considered, especially since it can be imagined that the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world may be a rather sensitive subject. Finally in chapter 7 the research questions will be answered by presenting a tentative model for the archaeology of Judaism from Late Antiquity on, including the Islamic World, with recommendations for future research.

2 Textual sources and Jewish studies

The available textual sources for Jews in the medieval Islamic World are dramatically fewer than for Christian or Latin Europe (Goitein 1960, 91; Rustow 2007, 41; 2010, 2). This has been much regretted by students and scholars of the history of the Mediterranean countries in the medieval periods and gave reason to consider the causes of this lack (El-Leithy 2011; 389; Rustow 2010, 2). The documents from the Cairo Genizah, that were discovered in the Ben Ezra synagogue (fig 4) in Fusṭāṭ or Old Cairo, could roughly be dated between c. 1000 and 1900 CE (Goitein 1967, 9), and are an important source of information (*e.g.* Rustow 2010, 3). The Genizah is not so much known as a potential quarry for Arabic documents (Rustow 2010, 4), but an abundance of material related to the history of the Jewish people in the Islamic world has been retrieved from it. Apart from the Cairo Genizah documents, there are the written religious sources that were composed by the sages (*rabbis*) of Judaism. Although these written, so-called 'rabbinic' sources mostly originate from before the Islamic period, they contain information that is essential for understanding Judaism. Besides, they were copied and probably edited in later periods and may therefore be useful for these periods too.

Figure 4. The Cairo Genizah in the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fusṭāṭ or Old Cairo.

A. *Exterior of the Ben Ezra Synagogue (Lambert 1994, 32).*
B. *Entrance of the Cairo Genizah, high in the wall at the east side of the northen women's gallery (Photo: Jacob Glickman, retrieved 25th November 2012 at http://www.theworld.org/2010/04/cairos-jewish-medieval-manuscripts/).*
C. *Interior of the Ben Ezra Synagogue (Lambert 1994, 187).*

Since all the work that has been done on these sources until now has mostly been the work of linguists and historians, the archaeological angle may be different than what has been customary in these disciplines. The relation between textual sources and archaeology will be discussed more elaborately in the last part of this thesis, although I would like to stress here already that in my opinion they should not be dominant in an excavation and that they are usually used with caution by archaeologists (*e.g.* Moreland 2006, 137).[4] Nevertheless, archaeologists should be aware that they exist and they should know where to look when they are searching for this sort of information. Therefore, in this chapter I will introduce these two main textual sources and some other possibly useful sources. While examining these sources, I hope at the same time to give an impression of the historical background of Judaism in the Islamic world to get us familiar with the subject.

2.1 Religious sources

According to Neusner (2000a, 15), the history of Judaism as a religion can be divided into four principal periods: the first age of diversity (c. 500 BCE–70 CE), the age of definition (c. 70 CE–640 CE), the age of cogency (c. 640–1800 CE) and the second age of diversity (c. 1800 till present). For this thesis the age of cogency, starting with the conquest of the Near and Middle East and North Africa by the Muslims, seems the most important. Nevertheless, to understand the Judaism of this period, some knowledge of the foundation of Judaism and the developments in the previous periods is essential as well.

Following Neusner (2000a, 15), the first age of diversity started with the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem by the Babylonians around 586 BCE. During the following exile to Babylon, the known writings and oral traditions were collected and written down in what is now known as the *Tenakh* by the surviving leaders and priests of the court and temple. The *Torah*, initially a collection of scrolls containing law, prophecy and narrative had become the holy book of the Jews already in 444 BCE, after the Jews had returned from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem to build the Second Temple under the leadership of Ezra (Neusner 2000b, 16). The *Torah* is mostly regarded as identical to what is nowadays known as the '*Pentateuch*' or the first five books of the bible, which

[4] For a detailed discussion on the relation between archaeology and history and the role of textual sources see for instance Moreland 2006. See also chapter 6.5 of this thesis.

are by orthodox believers considered to be revealed to Moses by God himself on Mount Sinai. At the same time it can be considered the 'constitution' of the Jews. The *Torah* is part of the *Tenakh,* which is equal to what many Christians call 'the Old Testament'. It is called *Tenakh* after the first letters of the Hebrew names of its contents, which consist of the *Torah*, the books of the prophets (He. *Nevi'im*) and the books of the (chronicle) writers (He. *Khetuvim*) (Musaph-Andriesse 1985, 7; Neusner 1994, 9; 2000b, 95).

The age of definition started in 70 CE with the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem by the Romans (Neusner 2000b, 16). It has not been rebuilt ever since and up to this day all that is left of it is known as the (remains of) the Western Wall, nowadays one of the most holy places of Judaism. After this disrupting event, the sages (*rabbis)* of that age developed a Judaism that combined the written sources of both Scripture (the *Torah* and *Tenakh*) and additional holy writings with the oral tradition of transmission by memory (Neusner 2000b, 17). This so called rabbinic Judaism can therefore be marked by the doctrine of the dual (written and oral) *Torah* (Neusner 2000b, 17; Stemberger 2000, 85). The sages of rabbinic Judaism produced a corpus of written works, among which are the *Mishnah*, the *Tosefta,* the *Talmud,* the *Midrash* and the *Targum* (Alexander 2010, 9; Davies 2000, 54; Neusner 1994; 2000b, 95-7). This so-called 'rabbinic literature' is written in Hebrew or Aramaic[5] and can be considered the precipitate of the oral tradition including the discussions at the rabbinic schools or academies (*yeshiva*) from what has been called the *Tannaic* to post-*Tannaic* periods (Musaph-Andriesse 1985, 29; Neusner 1994, 9; 2000b, 93-4; Van der Heide 2001, 24, 29). These periods have been called *Tannaic* (first two centuries CE) and post-*Tannaic* (third to eight century CE) (cf. Kalmin 1994, 156) after the *tannaim* ('repeaters' or 'memorizers'), the *rabbis* who lived

[5] It is generally believed that Hebrew ceased to exist as a spoken language at the end of the second century CE (Gebhart 1988, 14; Lettinga *et al.* 2000, 4). In this view Aramaic gradually displaced Hebrew as the spoken language of Palestine already since the return from the Babylonian exile. In the time of Jesus, Hebrew was presumably only still spoken in parts of Judaea. After the destruction of the temple this latest form of spoken Hebrew was preserved in the rabbinic sources. Since then, Hebrew only lived on in the language of the textual sources, and became a liturgical language associated with the reading of the Torah in the synagogue, until it was reintroduced as a spoken language by the Zionists in the person of Eliëzer ben Jehuda (1858-1922) (Gebhart 1988, 14). Hebrew, as the language of the Jewish scriptures, in contrast with the use of Aramaic in daily life, may increasingly have become related to piety and devotion, already from the third century BCE (Davies 2000, 47).

during the time of compilation of the *Mishnah*, roughly the first two centuries CE (Davies 2000, 52; Neusner 2000a, 95). This rabbinic Judaism that acknowledges the authority of the *tannaim* or *rabbis* and thereby of the 'rabbinic literature', survived of the diverse Judaisms that existed in the preceding period and became the dominant Judaism in the age of cogency (Neusner 2000b, 15-17; 2000b, 94).

Although Neusner (2000b, 94) uses a more strict definition of the canon of rabbinic literature, confined to the written sources that were produced roughly during the first seven centuries CE, others have understood rabbinic literature as the corpus of all texts in Hebrew and Aramaic that were produced within the rabbinic movement *and* its medieval successors (Alexander 2010, 9). For this thesis the latter definition is of course the most relevant. The rabbinic sources continued to be intensively studied by Jews through the ages, and therefore needed to be copied from time to time. In Jewish studies these works are now often considered to have been edited by medieval copyists and also the earliest prints are believed to be reworked (Alexander 2010, 12; Alexander and Samely 1991, 5). Presumably there was a distinction in how texts with a different canonical status were treated. The core texts of the canon, mainly the *halakhic* texts dealing with Jewish law, were most likely copied more exactly than the *aggadic* or narrative texts (Alexander 2010, 12). Jewish law and the explanation thereof influenced Jewish daily life in all aspects, therefore it can be imagined that small clues about medieval daily life may have been preserved in these edited works. The other way around, it can also be imagined that the observance of the vast body of prescriptions in Jewish Law could have resulted in recognizable traces in the archaeological record. To get an idea of what this 'rabbinic literature' is about, the main sources will be shortly introduced below.

The *Mishnah* can be considered the basis of rabbinic literature (Stemberger 2000, 85). It links the *Torah* and the oral traditions, discussing how the laws of the *Torah* should be applied in daily life while exploring the borderlines of Jewish law (*halakha*) (*e.g.* Stemberger 2000, 85; Musaph Andriesse 1985, 29). It is structured in sections dealing with subjects such as agriculture, holy seasons, women and family affairs, civil law and politics, everyday offerings and cultic purity (*e.g.* Neusner 2000a, 95; Van der Heide 2001, 29). Mostly it is the corpus of exegetical traditions and discussions that was consolidated in written form around 200 CE. It was followed by the *Tosefta* around c. 300 CE, which is an independent work that contains the *Mishnah*, but is also complementary to it (Musaph-Andriesse 1985, 41; Neusner 2000a, 95).

The next work is the Palestinian *Talmud* that appeared around 400 CE in Jerusalem, followed by the Babylonian *Talmud* that appeared around 600 CE in Babylon (Neusner 2000a, 96; Van der Heide 2001, 29). The *Talmud* is generally speaking a collection of comments on the *Mishnah*, using however the material from the *Tosefta* as a basis for exegetical compositions, although the writers of the Babylonian *Talmud* seem to have been unaware of the existence of the Palestinian *Talmud* (see Neusner 2000a, 96).

Besides the *Mishnah,* the *Tosefta* and the *Talmud* there is the *Midrash*, which is a collection of comments on the books of the written *Torah* and some other books of the *Tenach* (Neusner 2000a, 96). It contains comments and explanations, sometimes in narrative form, which are structured around these books. In this sense, *Midrash* is pre-eminently exegetical. Furthermore, *Midrash* can be divided into *Midrash Halakha* and *Midrash Aggadah* (Neusner 2000a, 97). To understand this, it should be noted that '*Midrash*' covers three related meanings: 1) a process of interpretation, 2) a particular compilation of the results of that process and 3) the write-up of the process of interpretation, applying to a single verse or a group of verses (Neusner 2000a, 106). The *Midrash Halakha* deals with the books of the *Torah* and the *Tenakh*. It discusses matters of law, including the *Mishnah* in this process, with attention to the differences between Scripture and the *Mishnah* (Neusner 2000a, 97). The *Midrash Aggadah* on the other hand is concerned with norms of belief, attitude, virtue and motivation. It includes folklore stories and is sometimes encased in narrative form (Neusner 2000a, 97). The earliest compilations of *Midrash* are dated to the third century and the latest to the sixth or seventh century (Neusner 2000a, 96).

Targum (lit.: translation) finally, is a genre of rabbinic literature comprising translations in Aramaic of Jewish scriptures in Hebrew (Davies 2000, 54). Both literal translations and elaborated ones are known from the caves at Qumran. The genre's roots may be found in the custom of the sequencial reading of the *Torah* throughout the year, which had to be accompanied by an oral translation into Aramaic in the Aramaic-speaking world (Davies 2000, 55). These Aramaic translations and explanations may have become standardized in written form, as Targum, roughly during the centuries around the time of Jesus (Davies 2000, 55).

Amongst the later textual works of Judaism are the works of Jewish philosophical and mystical thinking of the medieval period. Characteristic of the medieval periods are two trends, one being that Jews now lived amidst followers of religions that claimed to be its successors and secondly that, opposed to the polytheism of Late Antiquity, the unity of

the divine being was now beyond dispute (Breslauer 2000, 169; Neusner 2000b, 17). Judaism had been linked to philosophy already by Josephus Flavius and Philo of Alexandria in the first century CE (Breslauer 2000). During the medieval period four trends of Jewish philosophical thinking can be distinguished (Breslauer 2000, 168). The first trend emerged in Iraq, under the Abbasid Califate (c. mid ninth to mid tenth century CE) with men such as Isaac Israeli and several Karaite thinkers (a group of non-rabbinic Jews that take the *Tenakh* as their central focus, see *e.g.* Goitein 1967, 18; Rustow 2007, 38), using Arabic as their language (Breslauer 2000, 168). The second trend emerged in Muslim Spain and North Africa (c. mid tenth to early thirteenth century). It used Arabic too, and can be considered the 'Golden Age' of Jewish philosophy (Breslauer 2000, 168). Maimonides flourished in this second period and he also influenced the third period that emerged in Christian Spain (c. thirteenth to early seventeenth century CE) (Breslauer 2000, 169). The fourth trend emerged in Italy during the Renaissance. Hebrew, Latin and Italian were used in these last two trends (Breslauer 2000, 168, 169).

Gradually, from the twelfth century on, Jewish mysticism arose in Provence and Spain and resulted in the esoteric and mystical system known as the *Kabbalah* (*e.g.* Carr 2000, 150; Reguer 2000, 137). The central text to the *Kabbalah* is the *Zohar*, or the Book of Splendor, written by Moses de Léon who presented his work as the work of a second-century rabbi so that people would pay attention to it (Lowney 2005, 184). A central figure to the *Kabbalah* is Isaac Luria who was teaching in Safed in Israel from 1534-1572 CE (Reguer 2000, 136).

Since medieval times students of rabbinism have used the rabbinic texts to write history (Green 1983, 191; Stemberger 2001, 169). It can be questioned however, whether these texts are really suitable for this purpose (*e.g.* Alexander and Samely 2010; several papers in Neusner and Avery Peck (eds) 2001). During the last forty years the positivistic use of the rabbinic sources as established by the founders of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* has turned out to be problematic (Alexander 2010, 4). The critical attention to the rabbinic sources within Jewish studies has resulted in a shift in focus from their use as historical sources, and to their nature and character as literary sources (Green 1983, 192). The method that is mostly used for an historical approach consists of comparing it to contemporary (Greek and Latin) sources and correcting this picture with information from archaeology, inscriptions and papyri (Alexander and Samely 2010, 3). This has not been very satisfying up till now and some scholars have come to the conclusion that rabbinical texts are barely suited for historical study (*e.g.* Kraemer 2001, 212). The

general consensus on this issue among scholars of rabbinic literature is that these sources 'need heavy processing before its potential as a historical sources can be realized' (Alexander 2010, 19).

Archaeology has only played a modest role in Jewish studies until now. If it did play a role, this has been restricted mainly to the field of the Hebrew Bible (Meyers 1988, 74). With regard to the rabbinic sources, the archaeologist Meyers considered the *Talmud* suited for clarification by archaeology, mainly thanks to its concern with daily life and its mention of material culture, and he pleaded for the contribution that archaeology could make to Jewish studies (Meyers 1975, 29-30). He thought the use of archaeology in rabbinic studies was to be sought in providing a context for interpreting the textual sources and filling in the gaps by supplementing or clarifying texts and dating them through studying material culture, including food, housing, clothing, and physical environment (Kraemer 2001, 206; Meyers 1975, 30). His most crucial remark may be however that 'archaeology can set the lives and teachings of men in their true context' and that 'archaeology can tell a great deal about the impact or lack of impact of men on their fellowmen and their environment' (Kraemer 2001, 205-6; Meyers 1975, 31). Meyers pleaded for a multidisciplinary approach. According to him the literary historian tends to rely on written sources but is dependent on other disciplines for 'dealing with the problems of transmission, authenticity, provenance and date' in order to support the reliability of the evidence he finds in the textual sources (Meyers 1975, 33). The archaeologist on the other hand, being not a linguistic himself and therefore dependent on translations made for him, needs to be 'tuned into the problems of higher criticism of rabbinic materials before he accepts the judgment of another scholar; so too for his non-artifactual data which require substantial interpretation and study before they can be used'(Meyers 1975, 33).

Applying a multi-disciplinary approach, there certainly might be possibilities for archaeology to contribute to Jewish studies concerned with the religious textual sources. Archaeology could offer a genuine contribution when it would be recognized that the material remains offer an objective testimony of at least 'some reality' (Kraemer 2001, 206). But in fact this could be said of the texts as well, it just depends on the reality one seeks, and they could for instance be a real goldmine for religious studies or for catching a glimpse of the perceptions of the ancient writers and editors (Alexander 2010, 8; Kalmin 1994, 155). Although some critical remarks can be made, archaeological material often seems to contradict the textual sources (Kraemer 2001, 206), thus the research

possibilities that open up when zooming in on these religious sources actually seem promising but overwhelming and would preferably need a multidisciplinary team.

2.2 The Cairo Genizah

Apart from the religious sources, an important source for knowledge about medieval Jewish life is the Cairo Genizah, the depository of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fusṭāṭ, Egypt (fig 4). Fusṭāṭ, or Old Cairo, was the capital of Muslim Egypt from the Arab conquest in 641 CE until 969 CE, when the Fatimids founded a new Cairo three kilometres northeast of it (fig 5). Nevertheless, Fusṭāṭ remained the main city of Egypt during the whole period of Fatimid rule and was never entirely abandoned (Goitein 1967, 2).

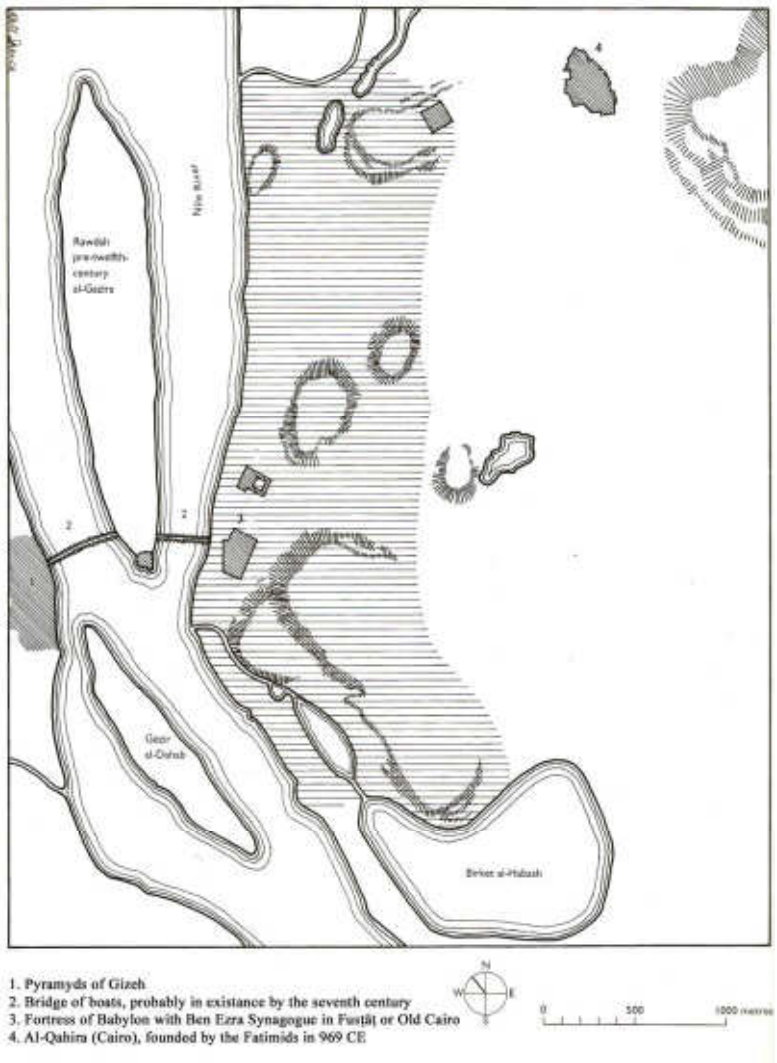

Figure 5. Map showing the banks of the Nile in the tenth century CE, with the locations of al-Fustat and al-Qahira (Cairo) (after Lambert 1994, 20).

Around 1000 CE there were two main groups of Jews: the Rabbinites and the Karaites (Goitein 1967, 17-8). The latter claimed only to rely on the Bible, while the Rabbinites followed the teachings of the rabbis and acknowledged the authority of the rabbinic sources (Goitein 1967, 18). Among the Rabbinites there were again two divisions: the Palestinians who acknowledged the religious authorities in Jerusalem and the Babylonians who acknowledged the religious authorities in Iraq (Goitein 1967, 18). The Ben Ezra Synagogue is presumed to be the synagogue of the Palestinians (Goitein 1967, 18). During the renovations of this synagogue in 1890 the Genizah's roof was torn down, revealing its content (Goitein 1967, 2).

A *Genizah* basically is the storage room beneath a synagogue, used to store texts written in the Hebrew alphabet that might contain the name of God (Goitein 1967, 2). These could not simply be thrown away, but should be buried. In practice, and what makes the Cairo Genizah so valuable, is that it also contained texts of a secular character, such as administrative and legal documents, letters and all kind of notes, probably the result of the habit to store whole family archives in the Genizah after a certain period of time (Goitein 1967, 14). Around 250,000 fragments (fig 6)were found in the Genizah (Goitein 1967, 13), now stored in several institutions around the world. The fragments of the *Taylor-Schechter* collection at Cambridge, the *Jewish Theological Seminary of America* in New York and the *John Rylands University Library* in Manchester are currently being digitized and uploaded to an online archive.[6]

Mostly these texts are written in the Hebrew alphabet, but some are in Arabic text, and some are even written in Arabic characters (Goitein 1967, 14). The Genizah contains texts from 1002 CE on and presumably had been in use until the contents of the Genizah were claimed for science by Solomon Schechter in December 1896 (Goitein 1967, 4).[7]

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[6] See the website of The Friedberg Genizah Project, 2008. *The Cairo Genizah.* Retrieved 17th September 2011 at http://www.genizah.org/.

[7] There has been a lively debate on the issue why the Cairo Genizah covers such a large period, since usually Genizas were emptied once in seven year to bury their contents at the local Jewish cemetery. A reason for this, according to Goitein although not confirmed by evidence from the Genizah itself, might have to do with historical events preceding the restoration of the Palestinian synagogue in 1025 CE, which led to the deliberate construction of a Genizah room which could contain its content for a thousand years in a way that it was only suited to serve this purpose (Goitein 1967, 16).

Nevertheless, the bulk of the documents can be dated to the period between 1002-1266 CE (Goitein 1967, 18). Another peak appears from the second quarter of the sixteenth century on, presumably as a result of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, since the language used in this period appears to be Spanish-Jewish (Goitein 1967, 19). Although most documents originate in Egypt, there are also documents coming from or addressed to Spain, Morocco, Sicily, Tunisia, Jerusalem, Christian Byzantium and even Southern France and the Italian city republics such as Genoa, Pisa, Gaeta and Venice (Goitein 1960, 97). Its latest known document, a letter of divorce made up in Bombay, was dated to 1879 (Goitein 1967, 9).

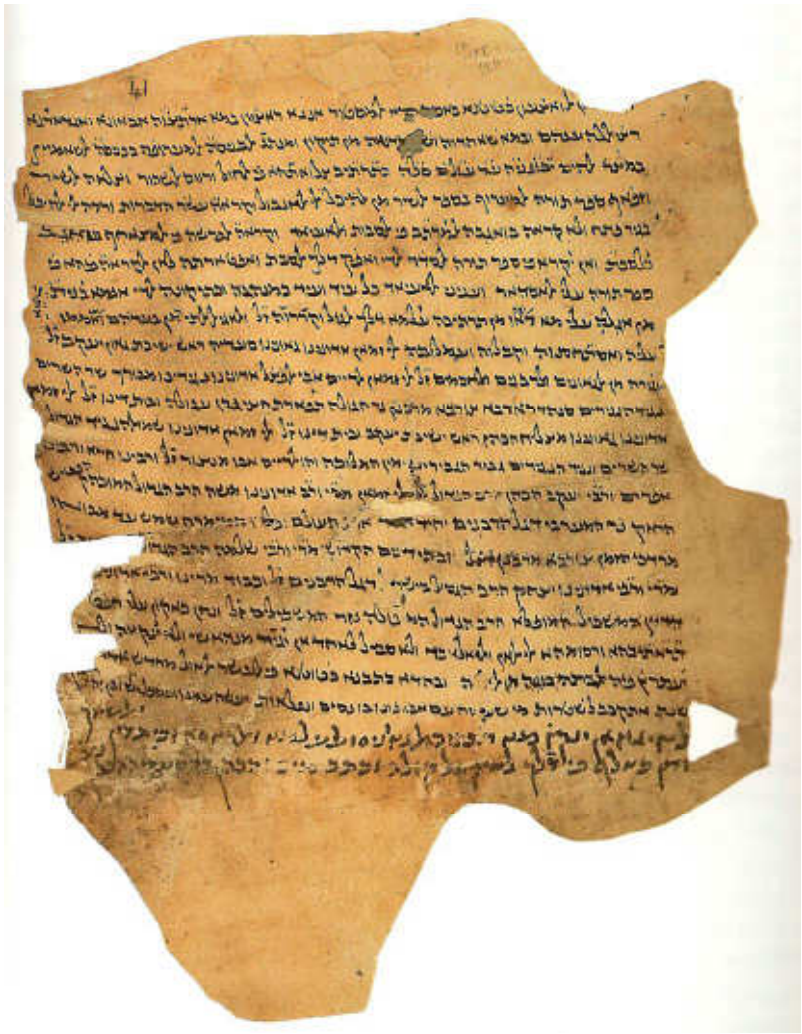

Figure 6. Fragment from the Cairo Genizah dating to the thirteenth century CE (Lambert 1994, 217).

Court depositions make up the largest group of documents. These comprise marriage contracts including inventories of marriage portions brought by the bride, bills of divorce, wills and deathbed declarations, deeds of manumission of slaves, releases, deeds of sale or gifts of houses and constitutions of partnership (Goitein 1967, 10). Remaining classes are correspondence, both business and private, all kinds of notes ranging from prescriptions, placards, horoscopes, charms for amulets, and last but not least papers dealing with public affairs (Goitein 1967, 12). Together they cover all aspects of daily life, as expressed in five volumes by S.D. Goitein,[8] a collective work called '*A Mediterranean Society*'. These volumes together cover the economic foundations, the community, the family, daily life and the individual in what is called the High Middle Ages, the period from the second part of the tenth century on into the following two centuries (Goitein 1967; 1971; 1978; 1983; 1988). Nonetheless, not all groups of society were evenly represented in the Genizah documents, and Goitein was aware that actually most documents were coming from the traditional section of the community (Goitein 1988, 4).

Goitein has emphasized that the Genizah is not an archive in which documents are preserved well after they are made up, in order to use them (Goitein 1967, 7). On the contrary, most of the Genizah's papers were disposed there after a long time, when they had lost all value to their possessors. Legal documents were often kept and inherited for generations, and since paper was expensive, all empty space was often used for writing exercises before a document was finally deposited into the Genizah (Goitein 1967, 7). Presumably, family archives may have been placed in the Genizah as a whole after a certain period of time (Goitein 1967, 8). Moreover, the Genizah remained in use for a

[8] Goitein (1900-1985) himself was born the son of a district rabbi and leader of a local Jewish community and was trained as a philologist in Arabic and Islamic studies, but he was an excellent classicist as well (Goitein 1999, xii). He spent more than thirty years studying the documents of the Cairo Genizah and can be considered the founder of Genizology as an academic research field (Goitein 1999, xiii). He was involved in both Jewish and Islamic studies and described himself as a sociographer (Goitein 1999, xv). In his sixties he transformed himself into an economic historian, acquired the skills of a social historian in his seventies, read a great deal in sociology and anthropology and became a 'historian of mentalité' (Goitein 1999, xvi). His work has served as the basis for most of what is known nowadays about the history of medieval Judaism in the Islamic world, at least for the Islamic Fatimid and Ayyubid periods and the Christian Crusader times.

long period and may have been searched for useful materials now and then (Goitein 1967, 9). For these reasons the documents may now seem to have been stored randomly, without any logical system. This and the fact that many papers, although paper, ink and handwriting were often of high quality, have become damaged through the ages makes doing research on the Genizah documents quite an enterprise (Goitein 1967, 8). Putting it more positively, the Genizah in this sense, can also be considered a true mirror of life (Goitein 1967, 7).

The Genizah indeed is an important and valuable source for knowledge about life in the Islamic world and Jewish daily life in particular. Nevertheless, while using the documents from the Genizah as a source, it should always have to be kept in mind that the largest part of its documents are from the eleventh to the thirteenth century and that they are coming from a specific part of the Jewish community in Fusṭāṭ, Egypt. Moreover, textual sources in general need to be approached with caution, since they mostly do not express an objective view, but merely the perspective of their writers. It should be clear that we cannot simply consider the information from these documents to apply to the whole of the Islamic World in its timespan from the rise of Islam to the collapse of the Ottoman empire. With these restrictions pointed out, I will in the chapter on material culture zoom in on some aspects of the knowledge derived from the Genizah documents that seem interesting to archaeology. Also, in the chapter concerned with defining Judaism in the archaeological record I will evaluate some of the results from the excavations in Fusṭāṭ in the light of the knowledge from the Genizah documents.

2.3 Other sources

Apart from the rabbinic sources and the documents of the Cairo Genizah there are additional textual sources. Goitein states for instance that in several Muslim and other mediaeval sources it is suggested that tanning was an exclusively or predominantly Jewish occupation (Goitein 1961, 190). At the beginning of this chapter it was already mentioned that Islamic sources may be scarce and that even fewer might be available than is the case for Christian Europe (Goitein 1960, 91). Nevertheless it may be derived from this as well that such sources exist. One example is the archives of the Ottoman Empire (Lewis 1951, 140). Most of them are still in Turkey but several documents are known to be stored in other countries (Yalniz *et al.* 2009, 1). Since the Ottoman Archives probably contain millions of documents, including title deeds and letters and orders, attempts are done to store and make them accessible digitally (Yalniz *et al.* 2009).

There are some other smaller sources as well, such as the history of al-Tabari, which has been translated in English and comprises multiple volumes extending up to 915 CE (Schick 1998, 75). All that is left from the Early Islamic period according to Schick (1998, 75), are several dozen of papyri from Nessana, dating through the end of the seventh century CE together with the papyri from Khirbet al-Mird, dating from the seventh to tenth centuries and the large number of Egyptian papyri. A most important find for the study of Mamluk Jerusalem, by some even compared to the Genizah documents, was that of the Haram documents in the 1970s (Johns 1988, 528, 529; Lufti 1985; Richards 1988). They were dated to the late fourteenth century and were associated with the Sufi monastery founded by Saladin in the former residence of the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (Johns 1988, 528).

Less scarce than the Islamic ones, but still also not abundant are the sources from Christian Europe. They mostly consist of historic accounts of Jews in the archives of the Christian churches and feudal lords in Europe. Likewise, some accounts of the Jews within the Byzantine Empire are known (Bowman 1985, 203ff; Starr 1970). Nevertheless it must be kept in mind that Christian documentary sources may have been of a biased and polemical character, influenced as they were by church doctrines (Silberman 2010, 18).

Also inscriptions could be considered as textual sources, such as the one that has been found at a synagogue in Kaifeng, near the Yellow River and dating from 1663, claiming that 'the religion' was transmitted from India, or just the West, to China already during the Chou dynasty (c 1000-221 BCE) (Foltz 1998, 13). This might have been just an example of a community claiming its origin in Antiquity, the more since only two other inscriptions are known, one from 1512 and one from 1679 that date the arrival of the earliest Jews in China to the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE) (Foltz 1998, 14). Besides, also in Palestine itself inscriptions were found (Schick 1998). These kind of finds already come close to, if not overlap with, archaeological sources which will be the subject of the following chapter.

3 Archaeological research related to Judaism

Having introduced the textual sources that have served as an important source of information on the history of Judaism, it is now time to evaluate the available archaeological sources for Judaism through the ages. As has been pointed out in the introduction, these archaeological sources for Judaism in the Islamic world from Late Antiquity on are scarce. So far, the excavations in Fusṭāṭ seem to be the only excavations that have been carried out that could be useful in confirming the information found in the documents of the Cairo Genizah (Bahgat 1921; Kawatoko 2005, 847; Kubiak and Scanlon 1989; Lambert 1994; Scanlon 1985).[9]

Comparing the results of these excavations with the Cairo Genizah documents seems an obvious starting point for an archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World. Scanlon (1985) already shed some light on what could be expected from this in a review of Goitein's fourth volume of *A Mediterranean Society*, by expressing his disappointment about the lack of overlap between the textual and the archaeological sources. This will be discussed more elaborately in chapter 6.5 of this thesis with regard to the role of textual sources in archaeology. Apart from this one review, no thorough discussion of the results of such a comparative research seems to be published however. Going through all these excavations reports in a thorough search for indications of Judaism in the archaeological record in comparison with the Genizah documents might be an exciting, but also a time consuming thing to do. Moreover, it would preferably require a multi-disciplinary team to do so, and therefore falls far beyond the scope of this thesis. Besides, in order to do so, one would need an idea of how to approach this sort of research and a sort of framework or reference point to relate 'Judaism' to. Therefore, as a first step, in this thesis I will

[9] Kawatoko (2005, 846-848) gives an overview of all excavations that have been carried out in Fusṭāṭ. He also mentions the excavation reports on the recent excavations by the Japanese , which have only been published in Japanese so far: Sakurai and Kawatoko 1979; 1980; 1981; 1982; 1984; 1986; 1987; 1992. Furthermore he mentions the excavation of Istable-Antar under the direction of Gayraud for which a final publication is planned, see http://www.ifao.egnet.net/archeologie/istabl-antar/. Preliminary reports have been published but are hard to come by, see Gayraud 1986; 1987; 1993; 1994; 1995a; 1995b as mentioned in Kawatoko 2005, 848. For Kubiak and Scanlon only the final publication is mentioned here, which focuses on Fusṭāṭ C. For more, preliminary, publications see Scanlon 1965; 1966; 1967; 1974a; 1974b; 1976; 1981a; 1981b; 1982 and 1984).

explore the possibilities for such an approach and reference point, and save the detailed examination of the Fusṭāṭ excavation reports for future research.

The aim of this chapter therefore is to get an overview of the archaeological research that has been carried out up till now that could somehow be of help in defining what the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World should deal with. Since the archaeology of Judaism started to develop in the context of Late Antiquity, this seems to be the best starting point for examining what the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World could expect to encounter. Following this, the archaeological sources from and developments within the Archaeology of Judaism in Europe and the Archaeology of Islam will be examined to complete the picture.

3.1 The Archaeology of Judaism in Late Antiquity

From the end of the twentieth century, art, architecture and archaeology gradually started to be recognized as separate disciplines within Jewish Studies (Levine 2002, 827). It was long thought, especially among Protestants, that the Second Commandment, prohibiting worship of any man-made objects, prevented Jews from creating distinctive art and architecture (Fine 2010a, 2; Levine 2002, 824). Nonetheless, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it was gradually realized that Jewish ceremonial objects could actually be considered as art and relevant museums started to appear throughout Europe, America and Israel, simultaneously stimulating the study of Jewish art (Levine 2002, 824-6). The study of Jewish art and architecture has however been concentrated mainly in Israel (Levine 2002, 825). Within Jewish art of the medieval and modern areas, Levine defined the following categories: 1) Life Cycle, 2) Annual Cycle, 3) Synagogue Appurtenances, 4) Books and 5) Paintings of biblical or post-biblical events and figures (Levine 2002, 825). These categories might be of help in research on Jewish material culture in general as well.

The origins of this distinctive Jewish art, but also of architecture, go back to Late Antiquity (third to seventh centuries CE, cf. Levine 2002, 826). Hachlili includes the period of the Second Temple but only from the second century BCE on (Hachlili 2001a, 96). The Second Temple Period is usually considered to extend from the return to Palestine after the Babylonian Exile (c. 6th century BCE) until the destruction of the temple in 70 CE or at the latest the Bar Kokhba War (132-135 CE) (Hachlili 2005, xxxvii). It therefore for the largest part coincides with Neusner's first age of diversity or at the latest with the Tannaic period (Kalmin 1994, 156; Neusner 2000b, 15). The

destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE was a major turning point in Judaism (Hachlili 2001a, 97). Up till then the Temple had been the centre of Judaism. This centre was now cut out and a truly different Judaism developed in the form of rabbinic Judaism. This was a period in which the Jewish people were living amongst surrounding cultures, making it necessary to adjust, but at the same time causing a counter-reaction of stressing a distinctive identity (Hachlili 2001a, 96).

Hachlili's two volumes on the archaeology of Judaism in the land of Israel (1988) and the *diaspora* (1998), as well as her chapter on the archaeology of Judaism in Late Antiquity in Tim Insoll's (2001) book on the archaeology of World Religions give a detailed overview of the available data in this period, both in Israel and the *diaspora*. In, her view, the archaeology of Judaism deals with 'the art, archaeology and material culture created specifically for the Jewish community' (Hachlili 2001a, 96). The emphasis of her work is mainly on an art historical approach, which was in her opinion a neglected part of the field (Fine 1995, 103; Hachlili 1998, 21).

Levine (2002, 826), who defines what he calls Jewish archaeology as 'the excavations uncovering the Jewish past in the post-biblical period', gives a short but useful overview of the development of the archaeology of Judaism. The first ancient synagogues to be discovered were the eleven synagogues from the survey in Galilee by Kohl and Watzinger from 1905-1907 (Kohl and Watzinger 1916; Levine 2002, 826). Although the excavation of the synagogue in Tiberias, discovered by N. Slouschz in 1921, may be considered the starting point for Jewish archaeology (Levine 2002, 826). The excavation at Tiberias was followed by excavations at Bet Alpha in 1929 and the discoveries of synagogues at Hammat Gader, Gerasa, Huseifa, Eshtemoa and Jericho (Levine 2002, 826). A discovery of another kind was made in Bet She'arim where a necropolis was found in 1936 (Levine 2002, 826).

Outside of Israel the synagogue at Dura Europos in Syria was the first to be archaeologically discovered in 1932. Other synagogues in the *diaspora* of the Greco-Roman period (fig 7) have been found in Apamea in Syrie, Gerasa in Provincia Arabia, Misis-Mopsuhestia, Sardis and Priene in Asia Minor, Delos and Aegina in Greece, Stobi in Macedonia, Plovdiv or ancient Philippopolis in Bulgaria, Elche in Spain, Ostia and Bova Marina in Italy and Hammam Lif and Lepcis Magna in North Africa (Hachlili 1998, 25; Levine 2002, 833). Rutgers (1998, 125-35) compiled a list of *diaspora* synagogues based on evidence from inscriptions, archaeology, literary sources and papyri. It should be noted however that this list only contains a fraction of all the

synagogues that must have existed in the *diaspora* (Rutgers 1998, 127), and that he is dealing here with the *diaspora* in the Roman world, conform to the earlier mentioned common understanding of 'The Archaeology of Judaism' as that of no later than Late Antiquity until the rise of Islam. From the *diaspora* synagogues of the Greco-Roman period, the synagogue in Delos and Ostia are the oldest, dating to the pre 70 CE period (Hachlili 1998, 17). The other synagogues are dated from the second century BCE to the early seventh century CE (Hachlili 1998, 27; Rutgers 1998b, 127-30). Together with the elaborate work of E. Goodenough on Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman period in Israel and the *diaspora* these finds provided convincing evidence for the existence of a distinctive Jewish art and architecture in Late Antiquity (Levine 2002, 826).

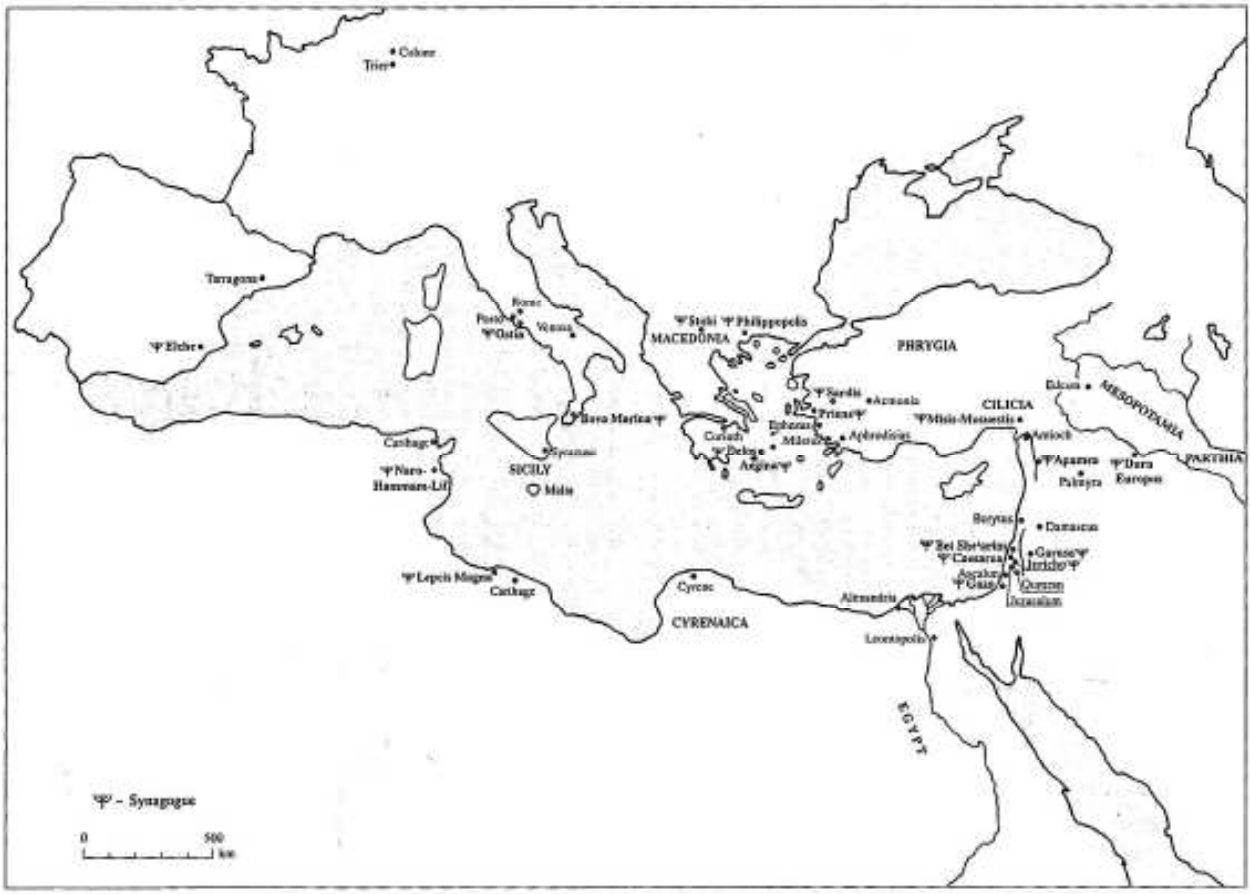

Figure 7. Synagogues in the diaspora in the Greco-Roman period (Hachlili 1998, 26).

Archaeology definitely got a boost with the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948 and the following establishment of Israeli universities and archaeological institutions (Levine 2002, 827). Archaeology for a large part owed its importance in the newly

founded state to the Zionistic notion that it was able to provide a link between the modern state and the Jewish kingdoms known from the Bible (*e.g.* Cesarani 2004, 16; Petersen 2005b, 859). It was considered to validate the claim on the land, and as such played a role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (*e.g.* Petersen 2005b, 859). That archaeology was highly regarded in Israeli society is reflected in the fact that some prime ministers and cabinet ministers had archaeological interests themselves (Petersen 2005b, 859). Archaeology almost developed into 'a national hobby' (Abu El-Haj 2001, 48). Whenever terrain was gained by the state of Israel during the wars with neighbouring countries the opportunity was taken to carry out excavations or surveys in these newly conquered regions. Since 1967 about 25 synagogues were discovered in the Golan region (Levine 2002, 827). Also outside of Israel interesting discoveries were made with the synagogues in Ostia in 1961 and Sardis in 1962 (Levine 2002, 827). Since this period the study of Jewish art and archaeology became part of the formal curriculum of the Art History and Archaeology department of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and several journals started to appear (Levine 2002, 827).

The range of remains that have been studied under the flag of Jewish archaeology comprises architectural structures such as synagogues, ritual baths (*miqwa'ot*) and tombs, but also artistic representations in symbols and iconography accompanying them or present on coins (Hachlili 2001a; Levine 2002, 831). Hachlili in addition discusses inscriptions, dietary remains and the domestic environment as possible archaeological remains to be studied, although the latter two make up less clearly recognizable categories (Hachlili 2001a). More recently, under influence of the *Annales* approach to history and the growing recognition of landscape archaeology, attention is growing for the rural landscape (Zangenberg and Van de Zande 2010, 179). Also aspects of daily life in general are getting more attention (Hezser 2010).

3.2 The Archaeology of medieval Judaism in Europe

The archaeology of medieval Judaism in Europe is only recently starting to develop (Gruber 2011a, 437; Mitterrand 2011, 5; Silberman 2010, 18; Valor 2007, 391). At the current moment, only a few publications that are specifically dealing with Jewish archaeology in Europe have been published. Even fewer have been published in English and most are in French, German or Spanish. There is for instance a volume edited by Blumenkranz on the art and archaeology of the Jews in France (1980, in French). Also an article on Jewish archaeology and a book on medieval Jewish inscriptions from

cemeteries in France were published by Nahon (1975; 1986, both in French). Attention to the synagogues of Europe from Antiquity to modern times has been drawn by, for instance, Krautheimer (1927, in German) and Krinsky (1985, in English) from an architectural perspective. Furthermore, many extant synagogues and surviving Jewish cemeteries are known.[10]

More recently, Clemens (2009, in French) drew attention to the archaeology of minorities, addressing the archaeology of Jewish communities in Europe, including medieval ones. When he wrote his article no interdisciplinary research on the Jewish heritage from the medieval period existed (Clemens 2009, 161). At least, the information gained from excavations was still too incoherent for providing a basis for comparison (Clemens 2009, 161). A first attempt for this kind of comparison can be considered the conference on the archaeology of Judaism in France and Europe which was held in Paris on 14th and 15th January 2010 and was organized by Paul Salmona of the *Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives* (INRAP) and Laurence Sigal, director of the Jewish Museum of Art and History. The conference resulted in an edited volume by Salmona and Sigal (2011, in French) with papers on the major excavations related to medieval Judaism in France and Europe. Also in Murcia, Spain, there has been a conference on the archaeology of Judaism in the Iberian Peninsula (Ayaso-Martínez- and Iniesta Sanmartín 2009, in Spanish).

Medieval archaeology is developing within Europe from the Second World War on when previously heavily built-on terrains had been laid bare through the destructions that came with the war (Silberman 2010, 18). This opportunity was seized for carrying out archaeological research in those areas and meant a boost for urban archaeology in Western European towns (Andersson *et al.* 2007, 18). These developments went hand in hand with the development of cultural heritage legislation (Silberman 2010, 18). In the 1980s the severe political concern with the uncontrolled loss of archaeological remains due to development projects initiated the negotiations for the so-called Valetta Treaty or Malta Convention of 1992 (Council of Europe 1992; Willems 2009, 89). Aside from the

[10] An example of a still-standing synagogue is the Santa María la Blanca in Toledo, that is dated to the twelfth or thirtheenth century (Krinsky 1985, 333). For an overview of extant Jewish cemeteries see the website of the International Jewish Cemetery Project from the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies at http://www.iajgsjewishcemeteryproject.org/

discussion on the pros and cons of the different ways of implementation of the convention in European countries (Willems 2009), this at least has the advantage that many things are excavated now that never would have been excavated otherwise. Among the archaeological data that are encountered during these excavations are the remains of minority groups, including that of Jewish communities (Clemens 2009, 159; Salmona and Sigal 2011, 12; Silberman 2005, 96; 2010, 18). From the 1960s through the 1990s most discoveries that were identified as Jewish remains were almost entirely accidental (Gruber 2002, 280; 2011a, 440). It can be imagined that a lot of evidence of minority groups has not even have been recognized for what it was, either deliberately or not (Gruber 2002, 270). In my opinion, this shows the importance of the archaeologist's capability and responsibility to recognize the material culture of minorities, including Jewish material culture (cf. *e.g.* Silberman 2005, 100).

The range of archaeological remains

The range of medieval archaeological Jewish remains in Europe largely overlaps with what is known from the Archaeology of Judaism in Antiquity, but there are also differences. For a long time there has for instance not been any archaeological evidence of Early Medieval synagogues outside Israel, although still standing architecture was known from Spain and they have been mentioned in the documents of the Cairo Genizah (Gruber 2002, 267). Although prohibitions to build new synagogues have existed in Christian Europe for most of the medieval period, they continued to be built, but mostly in a modest, discrete way (Gruber 2002, 268). Synagogues were also often simply built in urban houses and could easily be turned into churches when Jews departed (Gruber 2002, 269). The many private synagogues of medieval Spain most likely resemble the synagogues found in Islamic lands today and would probably only have been recognizable as a synagogue by their furniture (Gruber 2002, 279).

Archaeological evidence for synagogues dating back to as early as the eleventh century has been found for instance in Cologne (1000-1426 CE) and Speyer (end of 11th century CE) (Gruber 2002, 277, 279; Schütte 2011). Together with the still-standing synagogue of Worms these were among the earliest synagogues that have been discovered after the Second World War (Gruber 2002). Since then, other synagogues have been excavated in Regensburg in Germany (probably 11th century CE, see Codreanu-Windauer 2011, 145; Gruber 2002, 298), Vienna in Austria (13th century, see Gruber 2002, 294), Budapest in Hungary (1460-1696, see Gruber 2002, 280; Végh 2011),

Maribor in Slovenia (after 1190 CE, see Gruber 2002, 292), Toledo in Spain (before the last half of the 13th century, see Passini 2011, 105), Alghero in Sardinia (16th century, see Milanese 2011, 156), Montpellier in France (presumably 13th century, see Iancu 2011, 175), and Lorca in Spain (13th to 15th century CE, see Gruber 2011b, 485; Pérez-Asensio and Sanchéz Goméz 2009, 75). Remains of still-standing synagogues have been investigated in for instance Prague in the Czech republic and Erfurt in Germany (Gruber 2002, 288, 290).

Medieval ritual baths or *miqva'ot* (fig 8) have been excavated among other Jewish remains in Cologne (Schütte 2011, 94; Silberman 2010, 58), Regensburg (Codreanu-Windauer 2011, 149) and Speyer (Gruber 2011b, 484) in Germany, Buda (Végh 2011, 221) in Hungary and possibly in Metz (Decomps and Bourada 2011, 182) in France. Simpler so-called cellar *miqva'ot* have been discovered in Erfurt, Rothenburg, Sondershausen and Nuremberg (Gruber 2011b, 485). Private *miqva'ot* in domestic houses are known from Spain (Gruber 2011b, 485).

Figure 8. Medieval European miqva'ot.

A. *Cologne, 12th century CE (Photo :Willy Horsch via Wikimedia Commons, retrieved 3rd December 2012 at http://eo.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dosiero:Koeln-Altstadt-Mikwe2-P1010151.JPG*
B. *Speyer, 12th century CE (Photo: Chris 73 via Wikmedia Commons, retrieved 3rd December 2012 at http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/40/Judenbad_Speyer_6_View_from_the_first_room_down.jpg?uselang=de).*

In addition to the knowledge of surviving Jewish cemeteries, excavations have been carried out at the cemeteries of Toledo (Ruiz Taboada 2011), Roquetes in Tàrrega (Colet *et al.* 2011) and Lucena near Cordobá (Riquelme Cantal and Botella Orega 2011) in Spain, Nové Mesto in Prague in the Czech Republic (Wallisová 2011), Chateauroux in France (Blanchard and Georges 2011) and York in England (Silberman 2010, 60). Furthermore, a building that might have been a Talmudic school has been discovered in Orléans (Massat *et al.* 2011). A similar discovery had been made in Rouen where Hebrew graffiti was discovered in the basements of a building from the early twelfth century situated in the so-called 'Jewish street' (Gruber 2002, 286; Silberman 2010, 60). This building resembled the Benedictine monasteries of the region in that period and has therefore been defined as a Jewish School (Gruber 2002, 286; Silberman 2010, 61). According to Silberman (2010, 61), 'such similarities between Jewish religious learning and Christian monasticism had not been identified archaeologically before'.

Most of the synagogues, *miqva'ot*, cemeteries and other Jewish buildings have been related to Jewish quarters in the European cities. Besides the synagogue and the *miqweh*, a hospital, a bakery and some private houses were discovered in the Jewish quarter of Cologne (Silberman 2010, 58). These quarters should not be confused with the later compulsory *ghettos* however. Valor (2007, 392) mentions cultural, religious or constraints applied by rulers or authorities for the existence of specific Jewish parts of towns. Jews often occupied administrative and financial professions such as commerce or money-lending, that caused them to live in urban environments. Also Botticini and Eckstein (2005, 942) show that the widespread literacy of Jews thanks to religious and educational reasons, drew them into mostly urban professions. So far, excavations have revealed Jewish quarters in Cologne (Schütte 2011) and Regensburg (Codreanu-Windauer 2011) in Germany, Toledo in Spain (Passini 2011), Comtat Venaissin (Guyonnet 2011), Tretz (Molina and Thernot 2011), Saint-Paul-Trois-Chateaux (Lert 2011), Metz (Decomps and Bourada 2011), Orléans (Massat *et al.* 2011, 206), Ennezat (Parent 2011) in France and Alghero in Sardinia (Milanese 2011).

Archaeological Trends

Also for Europe, most of what is known about European Jews in the Middle Ages is based on textual sources, both Jewish and Christian. Written sources are usually not without bias and this is also relevant to the Christian sources in Europe. The Jewish

sources would mainly be made up of rabbinic writings and these tend to sketch an ideal world in the form of prescriptions for desired behaviour (Silberman 2010, 18). Archaeology has already proved that it can be of help in shedding light on the reality of medieval European Jewish daily life. Silberman (2010, 18) discusses some key questions that have come to the fore in recent archaeological research. These are questions concerning 1) the foundation of Jewish communities, 2) how or even whether they did distinguish themselves from the general population, 3) changes in Jewish religious customs and symbols, 4) ethnic minorities in the medieval period (Silberman 2010, 18). The most interesting of these questions is that this is not only useful for knowledge concerning Jewish communities and remains, but that it also reveals a lot about the diversity within Jewish communities and the cultural interaction of members of these Jewish communities with their environment (Silberman 2010, 58).

The most obvious example of diversity within the Jewish communities is that in Europe two major Jewish communities with distinctive cultures were present: the Ashkenazi community in East-Northern Europe and the Sephardic community in Southern-west Europe, mainly in Andalusia. These communities also had their own languages. The Ashkenazi community spoke Yiddish, a language that developed from the twelfth century CE on and is basically a mixture of German/Slavic and Hebrew, while the Sephardic community spoke Ladino, a mixture of Castilean (the major Spanish dialect) and Hebrew (Clemens 2009, 160; Goitein 1960, 95). It can be imagined that not only the cultural differences but also the different environments these groups lived in, are reflected in the archaeological remains.

An interesting result from the excavations that have been carried out thus far in Europe is that the boundaries between Jewish and Christian communities probably may not have been as strict as was assumed by historians, especially in the Early Middle Ages (Silberman 2010, 60). More likely is that these boundaries gradually became more strict over time, which is reflected in both a greater spatial separation between Jews and Christians and a more distinctive, especially Jewish material culture (Silberman 2010, 61). According to the archaeological evidence it has become plausible that Christians and Jews seemed to have known periods of reciprocal influence, although these regularly alternated with eruptions of anti-Jewish sentiments.

The Jews in medieval Europe have been subject to severe persecutions and suppression throughout the ages (Silberman 2010, 18). They were an easy target for being scapegoated when for instance the plague broke out (Lowney 2005, 228). The

prescription of a distinctive dress code has been common practice (Lowney 2005, 146; 200; Ravid 1990, 11; Silberman 2010). The conical Jews hat, prescribed by church authorities is probably the best known example of such prescriptions (Silberman 2010, 66). An archaeological confirmation of such persecutions was found in the Jewish cemetery of Tarrega where six mass graves contained the skeletons with severe traumas of 37 individuals; men, women and children (Silberman 2010, 65). The archaeological remains encountered so far, give reason to believe that from the early Middle Ages to the eighteenth centuries the boundaries between Jewish and Christian communities gradually became more rigid and the material culture more pronouncedly Jewish, 'in an orthodox sense' (Silberman 2010, 61). Evidence specifically indicating a Jewish presence has been found in pottery not predating the seventeenth century, that has been marked in Hebrew to separate the use of milk and meat (Silberman 2010, 65). Nevertheless conclusions concerning the extent to which dietary prescriptions were kept in comparison to the elaborate rabbinic laws, would require further research (Silberman 2010, 65). The outbreaks of violence from Christians toward their Jewish neighbours that occurred in the evolving cultural and economic symbiosis possibly helped in defining the identity of both groups (Silberman 2010, 60).

These tensions between Jews and Christians eventually led to a wave of expulsions. When the Jews were expelled from Spain by the Catholic King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella in 1492, most of the Sephardic Jews moved to Portugal, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Northern Africa, and also to Amsterdam in The Netherlands (Clemens 2009, 160; Lowney 2005, 256). In 1496 they were expelled from Portugal as well (Lowney 2005, 244). They had already been driven out of England and France respectively in 1290 and 1306 (Chazan 2006, 91; Lowney 2005, 241). Also, from that time on, Jews gradually were restricted to their own quarters, that by then became known as *ghettos,* after the Jewish quarter in Venice that was established in 1516 (Cohen 1990; Ravid 2001). At the same time however, the existence of a *ghetto* legitimized the presence of Jews in the city (Ravid 2001 10).

Among the reasons for the establishment of *ghettos* is often said to be the belief that among other minorities, especially Jews lured ignorant Christians into unholy practices (Ravid 1990, 12-13). On the other hand Jews were often literate and performed skilled occupations such as crafts, physicians, moneylenders or in commerce, which made them indispensible in medieval society, resulting in an ambivalent attitude towards them (*e.g.* Botticini and Eckstein 2007, 888; 2008, 166; Lowney 2005, 205, 229; Ravid 2001,

13). The riches and prestige that these occupations brought with them may have evoked jealousy from their non-Jewish neighbours. It should be noted however that these early *ghettos* have little to do with the *ghettos* from the Nazi period which had the aim of total isolation and finally destruction, that may be more familiar to the modern reader. The reasons for establishing these early *ghettos* had more to do with control and even protection in some cases than with isolating a specific minority group (Ravid 1987, 176). Besides, borders between the *ghettos* and the majority population were not closed, but remained permeable, allowing for interaction across them (*e.g.* Ravid 1987; 2001). Nevertheless, over time a tendency towards more pronounced divisions between population groups can be observed. According to Silberman (2010, 61) datable archaeological evidence of this process of growing spatial and material isolation culminating in compulsory *ghettos* can be found in four communities in France where Jews were protected by papal and Episcopal authorities, in the form of inward-facing houses and traces of easily closable entrance and exit gates around the fifteenth century.

In Cologne, Jewish material remains appeared not to be so different from the remains of the regular community, except for finds in the cesspits, with regard to the daily diet (Silberman 2011, 58). It may seem obvious to consult modern Jewish rabbis to identify certain remains and objects as specifically Jewish, but it should be noted that the interpretation of rabbinic laws changes over time. Modern interpretations of Jewish law can not simply be applied to ancient or medieval remains therefore (Silberman 2010, 58). Moreover, this may lead to circular reasoning in case archaeologists define something as Jewish based on the confirmation of modern rabbis who define something as Jewish because the archaeological remains suggest so, as has been done with the cemetery excavated in York in the United Kingdom (Lilley *et al.* 1994; Silberman 2010, 60). Archaeozoology provides another possibility by counting the amounts of bones of prohibited animals in a certain context and comparing the results to the results in a similar context that already is known to be Jewish. This method for instance helped to identify the Jewish quarter in Orléans (Massat *et al.* 2010, 207).

With regard to excavating Jewish cemeteries there is another issue that should be kept in mind: namely, that disturbing a Jewish grave is an offence to Jewish rabbinic laws and might therefore be considered undesirable by modern Jewish communities (Gruber 2011a, 441, 526; Silberman 2010, 60). Situations similar to those with indigenous peoples in the Americas might occur, involving conflicting religious and scientific values of the different stakeholders (*e.g.* Jameson 2008, 54-55; Hallote and Joffe 2002; Jiménez and

Mata 2001; Silberman 2010, 60). Nevertheless, opinions on this diverge, also among Jews themselves, depending on the way rabbinic laws are interpreted (Silberman 2010, 65). In Israel itself for instance, ultra-orthodox Jewish groups increasingly protested against the excavation of human remains, starting with the excavation in the city of David in Jerusalem (Hallote and Joffe 2002, 90). Since the ultra-orthodox do not believe there was a prehistory before the time recorded in the *Torah*, the safest approach was to consider virtually all human remains in Israel as that of Jews, including prehistoric ones (Hallote and Joffe 2002, 96). A solution may be found in advancing technological methods, making it possible to study the contents without disturbing the grave (Gruber 2010a, 441; 2010c, 526). Hallote and Joffe (2002, 98) suggest however that the ultra-ortodox protest is not simply addressed towards the excavation of human remains only but to archaeology in general, which in its core generated from the secular Zionist movement. The ultra-ortodox statement comes down to the suggestion that the Word of God as expressed in the *Torah*, stating that Israel is the promised land to the Jews, should be enough and that no prove beside that is needed.

3.3 The Archaeology of Christianity

Related to the Archaeology of Judaism in Antiquity and that in Europe is the archaeology of Christianity. Initially, in the first century CE, Christianity was a Jewish sect, but it soon became a 'gentile' religion by abandoning circumcision and the *Torah* reading ritual (Botticini and Eckstein 2007, 904; Lane 2001, 162). A dilemma is posed by the diversity in Christian denominations today, but also by an equation of Christianity with Western Christianity and hence with western beliefs and ideology, which makes it rather hard to find a good definition for '*The* Archaeology of Christianity' (Lane 2001, 148-49). Nevertheless, Lane (2001, 149) states that it is at least possible to study the material remains, such as religious buildings, iconography, burials and the physical trappings of religious orders and the clergy as important expressions of Christianity, bearing testimony to its practice. Also in the archaeology of Christianity textual sources have been dominant initially to illustrate or confirm the archaeological sources, resulting in some kind of checklists with traits that would occur in regions where the Christian faith was adopted. However, more recently it has been recognized that these are rarely universally applicable (Lane 2001, 150).

Among the main concerns within the archaeology of Christianity have been research on the spread of the Christian faith and the study of physical and iconographical

characteristics and art, architecture and archaeological remains in predominantly Christian contexts (Lane 2001, 150). These are also the terrains of possible overlap with the archaeology of Judaism. In many cases in Europe, Jewish and Christian material remains are indistinguishable, except for the rare occasions where there is a known Jewish context (Gruber 2011b, 479). The archaeological evidence of decorated artefacts is scarce for Judaism and non-existent for Christianity in the Roman World before 200 CE (Elsner 2003, 114).

An interesting case in the field of the Archaeology of Early Christianity in the Roman period, is that of the Roman catacombs and the materials found in them (Elsner 2003, Rutgers 1995; 1998b; 2000; Rutgers *et al.* 2005a; 2005b). These materials include wall paintings, sarcophagi, gold glasses, oil lamps, a glass amulet and a sculptural relief (Rutgers 1995, 50-99). Based on the study of these materials, Rutgers concluded that both pagan, Christian and Jewish communities ordered from the same workshops for sarcophagi, gold glasses and other artistic products (Rutgers 1995, 262). This led him to conclude that Jews were not isolated in their material remains and thereby to reject the earlier assumption that Jews lived in isolation, but instead that there was cultural interaction between Jews and non-Jews, although it remained unknown to what extent (Rutgers 1995, 93; 264). Especially interesting is the question posed by Elsner (2003, 114-5) on what grounds to distinguish between Jewish and Christian art, since this distinction might not be as straightforward as is sometimes suggested. Elsner (2003, 118) therefore states that Rutgers (1995, 92) has not gone far enough by still maintaining a distinctive Jewish and Christian art from the third and fourth centuries and questions whether the non-Jewish remains in Jewish contexts can be so easily dismissed as later intrusions through stating that the Jewish and Christian catacombs were strictly divided. Elsner (2003, 118) therefore suggests that religious boundaries may have been less fixed and identities may have been more fluid. Christian and Jewish art could in that respect perhaps better be regarded in the light of other religious art, such as Mithraean or Isis art, as part of the broad range of imperial Roman religion (Elsner 2003, 126).

Eric M. Meyers addressed the subject of Early Judaism and Christianity in the light of the archaeology of Roman Palestine (Meyers 1988). He discussed the question why archaeologists have not paid attention to the New Testament period. As a possible reason he mentions that the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* mainly influenced Old Testament scholars and that the time span of the New Testament is often assumed only to cover about two generations (Meyers 1988, 75). More crucial is that most New Testament

scholars have assumed that after the first revolt the Jewish-Christian community left Palestine for either Transjordan, Asia Minor, the Aegean Lands or Southern Italy (Meyers 1988, 75). Furthermore it was believed that the early Christians were difficult, if at all, to be traced in the archaeological record, since one of the hallmarks of this new religious ideology was the emphasis on belief, which was not linked to any geographical or physical location. Meyers (1988, 75) pleaded that this should however not be a reason to avoid confronting such questions, 'whether in Palestinian, Syro-Palestinian or European Jewish setting'. Anyhow, Meyers (1988, 75) stated that the archaeology of Judaism and Christianity may be of crucial importance for understanding both their independence and interdependence as separate faith communities.

Furthermore, archaeological evidence from both the Golan and Galilee show that early Christianity and Judaism co-existed in the same contexts during the first centuries (Meyers 1988, 76). In Sepphoris a pagan presence can be recognized as well (Meyers 1988, 76). More important in relation to the Archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World, is however that the Capernaum synagogue is now dated to the late fourth/fifth century and is believed to have continued into the Early Islamic period. Taken together with the evidence of the Church of St. Peter across the street this would mean that both Jewish, Jewish-Christian and Christian communities lived in harmony until at least the seventh century CE (Meyers 1988, 76).[11]

Meanwhile, for the purpose of studying conversions from Judaism to Christianity before 325 CE and from 325-700 CE, Botticini and Eckstein (2007, 900-908) put together an overview of the spread of Christianity in Mediterranean countries, based on epigraphic evidence from inscriptions, archaeological evidence from Christian churches, and textual sources. After the edict of Milan in 313 CE, which made Christianity a legal religion within the Roman Empire, the Council of Nicea took place in 325 CE. On that occasion some major foundations of Christianity were laid, which opened the way for conversion of larger groups of people to Christianity (Botticini and Eckstein 2007, 906-7). This has brought us to another aspect of the archaeology of Christianity, that has to do with the

[11] The Church of St. Peter is often called a 'Byzantine' Church, for its octagonal ground plan (Meyers 1988, 72, 76). Since I prefer to use the chronology used by Bintliff (2012, 382) for the Byzantine Empire, I have avoided the term Byzantine here and consider the era from the fourth century CE to the seventh century CE in the eastern Roman provinces that were lost to Islam from the seventh century CE, to be the Late Roman period.

Byzantine empire. Although there has been an interest in the art and architecture of the Byzantine empire (late 7th century to 1453 CE), with a more holistic approach already starting a century ago, Byzantine archaeology as the total integrated examination of society according to modern archaeological standards has barely begun, but is developing now thanks to a renewed interest in post-Roman urban deposits that had already been excavated before and regional surveys that have produced evidence of Medieval rural life in the Aegean (Bintliff 2012, 381). Among the remains encountered are cemeteries, town quarters, villages, monasteries, farms, isolated defences and castles, industrial zones and harbours (Bintliff 2012, 381).

The results from Byzantine Archaeology are of interest to the Archaeology of Judaism for several reasons. Jews have been present in the Byzantine Empire, for instance in its capital Constantinople from the fifth century on (Jacoby 1998, 31). There they lived in their own quarter within the city until they were banished to Galata or Pera, across the waters of the Golden Horn (Jacoby 1998, 31). According to Holo (2009, 78), much of what defines the communal life of Byzantine Jews as Jewish can be described in economic terms since the very nature of the Jewish way of life blurs the boundaries between religion and economy. There was for instance a specific Jewish demand for *kosher* edibles, capable scholars, scribes and emergency funds for the redemption of captives. It could be imagined that these specific Jewish economic traits are closely related to a material expression of 'Jewishness'. Nevertheless, it may be obvious, that to be able to distinguish between the material culture of Jews, Christians and Muslims, a profound knowledge of the features of all these material cultures, but also of the economies and obviously of the religions themselves may be useful. The knowledge gained of developments in the rural regions of the core of the Byzantine Empire may not be of help alone in understanding and comparing the developments in for instance the ground plans of churches, mosques and synagogues in other regions, but may also be of help in gaining knowledge of economic developments.

The Jews in Byzantium were connected to the Jews of the Muslim countries via international religious relations, trade networks and involvement in the silk industry (*e.g.* Holo 2009, 86, 198; Jacoby 1992, 486). Some textual sources seem to indicate that all Jewish silk workers from Thebes were deported to Sicily during the Norman invasion of the Balkans, but it seems that they were later replaced (Jacoby 1992, 486). Evidence for their involvement also comes from two Karaite Bible commentaries, but also from the documents of the Cairo Genizah (Goitein 1967, 50-1; Jacoby 1992, 486).

Another issue concerning the Byzantine Jews has to do with the so-called Pirenne-Ashtor thesis that has been disputed lately (Holo 2009, 193). Archaeology could possibly be of help in solving this dispute. From the seventh century on or earlier Jews known as the Radanite traders have long been considered to have dominated the western axis of the medieval Mediterranean trade network that was also connected to the silk route trade networks of the East (Foltz 1998, 12). According to this so-called Pirenne-Ashtor thesis, 1) their dominance was the result of an economically undeveloped West and 2) their religious neutrality made them the ideal middlemen between Muslims and Christians, until 3) their privileged position was gradually taken over by the Italian city states of Venice and Genoa (Holo 2009, 190). Holo (2009, 191) does not question the first part of the thesis, but states that the last two do not apply to Byzantine Jewry.

With concern to the second part it is now more generally accepted that there was no need for Jewish 'middlemen' for trade between the Christian West and the Muslim East (Holo 2009, 193). Besides, the route to the East via Egypt and the Red Sea, referred to as the India trade, had been used by western states before (Friedman and Goitein 2007, 6; Hourani 1995, 52).[12] From a Byzantine perspective, the Khazars in Central Asia were at the middle of a node connecting the east-west and north-south axis of the medieval Mediterranean trade routes (Holo 2009, 192). From the early tenth to the twelfth century this Khazar kingdom provided a way for Northern and Eastern Europeans to trade directly with Muslims from the Middle East (Holo 2009, 192-3). Interestingly, these Khazars eventually converted to Judaism (Foltz 1998, 12; Kovalev 2005, 221) and sometimes they have been associated with the later Azkhenazic Jews, but DNA studies seem to refute this theory (Atzmon *et al.* 2010, 850, 857; Clemens 2009, 160; Weinryb 1973, 20-1; Wexler 2002, 543). With concern to the third part of the thesis, he shows that the Byzantine Jews did not suffer from the rise of the Italian city states, but instead continued to enjoy their former international trade relations and network (Holo 2009, 198). Secondly the Venetian investment in the Theban silk industry, associated with the Jews, expanded the market (Holo 2009, 198). Thirdly, the Venetian interest in Jewish leather and textile was seized as an opportunity to evade Byzantine imperial legislation and Jews started to trade under the flag of the Italian city states (Holo 2009, 198-9).

[12] See also chapter 5.3 for a discussion of the medieval Mediterranean trade routes from the perspective of the Genizah documents.

3.4 The Archaeology of Islam

The archaeology of Islam is developing now, with recent publications by Tim Insoll (1999; 2003), Marcus Milwright (2010) and a series of articles in *Antiquity* on this subject (De Meulenmeester 2005; Insoll; 2005; McQuitty 2005; Petersen 2005a). These developments in knowledge of the Islamic material remains and ongoing excavations in the Islamic world may be of help in the search for archaeological evidence of Judaism as well. The best-known protagonist of the archaeology of Islam has been Tim Insoll with his book on the archaeology of Islam (1999). Insoll's basic statement is that religion can have an influence on all aspects of daily life and that therefore this influence might be recognizable in material culture (Insoll 1999, 2; 2001, 123). His research is of importance to the archaeology of Judaism because it shows how an archaeology of Islam could be set up making use of two scales of analysis, owing a debt to *Annales* theory: 'structuring principles' and 'cultural diversity' (Insoll 1999, 27).

In Islam these 'structuring principles' are dictated by the Qur'an, the holy book of Islam and the *shari'ah,* the law of Islam containing the essential principles of the Five Pillars of Islam (cf. Insoll 1999, 18). Although these structuring principles are the same for all Muslims, adaptation to the political and cultural context results in cultural or regional diversity (Insoll 1999, 27; 2001, 123). For instance, prayer, as one of the pillars of Islam, serves as a structuring principle of which the material manifestation would then be the mosque in all its many forms, allowing for cultural diversity in the form of architectural features or regional differences (Insoll 1999, 28; 2001). Although Insoll states that Islam is possibly the easiest religion to recognize in material remains compared to the remains of other religions (Insoll 2001, 123), perhaps something similar could be done for the archaeology of Judaism. Similarities can easily be imagined between the mosque and the synagogue as a central building with an equation in orientation of the interior related to prayer. Also both religions know certain, and even some similar prescriptions from religious laws. A good knowledge of the archaeology of Islam might be desirable or even indispensible at some points to be able to distinguish between Islamic and Jewish remains. Since the Jews of the Islamic World were embedded in Islamic Society it is necessary to have an idea of what Islamic society was like and what its spectrum of archaeological remains would be, for being able to distinguish between the two.

Prayer has already been mentioned as a structuring principle based on the second Pillar of Islam: daily prayer for five minutes in the direction of Mecca and is associated with the central building of Islam, the mosque. For completeness, the first Pillar has to do with the credo of *shahadah* (cf. Insoll 1999, 18), defining Islam as a monotheistic religion, just like Judaism and Christianity (although strictly, for the latter there is the issue of the Holy Trinity). The third Pillar is the Ramadan, the fast (*sawn*) in the tenth month of the lunar year, the fourth is the alm giving (*zakat*) to the needy (between 2.5 and 10 per cent of one's wealth) and the fifth is the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) at least once in a lifetime (cf. Insoll 1999, 18).

In a similar way as he discusses the mosque as the central building and the manifestation of the structuring principle of prayer, Insoll discusses features in the Muslim domestic environment; life, art, trade and ideas, death and burial and the community environment are potential manifestations of the structuring principles of Islam (Insoll 1999; 2001). In the domestic environment for instance, the concern with privacy and the seclusion of women can be recognized in the ground plan of the house as a deliberate inward orientation of space (Insoll 1999, 63). Although this concern for privacy and gender as a structuring principle is not restricted to Muslim homes and may differ per region, it is a feature that can be recognized in the whole spectrum of Muslim domestic architecture, from tents to palaces and in both horizontal and vertical ground plans (Insoll 1999). Interestingly enough Insoll also mentions that traditional Jewish houses in Yemen were restricted to only two storeys, so they could not overlook Muslim houses, and differed architecturally from Muslim houses in many ways (Insoll 1999, 71; Rathjens 1957; Lewcock and Serjeant 1983, 497).

With regard to daily life especially the diet possessed specific restrictions, often of such a subtlety that theoretically not only differences between various religious groups such as Jews, Muslims and Christians but even between different legal schools could be detected (Insoll 1999, 95). The dietary prescriptions could result in archaeologically recognizable features such as the absence of pigs and dogs, special butchery patterns or slaughter patterns and the composition of herds (Insoll 1999, 95). This does not only involve archaeozoological research. Archaeobotany may be involved as well with regard to the spread of certain crops specifically associated with Islam (Insoll 1999, 100). Besides, there is the ban on alcohol (Insoll 1999, 99).

In this respect I also want to mention the Islamic agricultural revolution as presented by Watson (1974; 1983). According to him, following the spread of Islam

many new crops started to appear and beside that most of the agricultural innovations appeared in the first four centuries of Islam (Watson 1974, 9). Among the new crops were fruit trees, grains and vegetables, but also plants used for other purposes, such as fibres for making textiles (cotton), condiments, beverages, medicines, narcotics, poisons, dyes, perfumes, cosmetics, nuts, wood, fodder, as well as flowers and ornamental plants (Watson 1983, 1). Although the amount of new crops and species was overwhelming, Watson only studied the origin and diffusion of seventeen crops, namely sorghum, Asiatic rice, hard wheat, sugar cane, old world cotton, sour orange, lemon, lime and shaddock, banana, coconut palm, watermelon, spinach, artichoke, colocasia, eggplant and mango tree (Watson 1983). Recently, Watson's thesis was challenged by Decker who states that there is pre-Islamic evidence for four of these crops, being sorghum, durum wheat, Asiatic rice and cotton (Decker 2009; Slappendel 2011a).

Furthermore, the use of food and drink can be related to feasts, fasts and festivals, which in turn can be related to the Pillar of *sawn* or the fasting during Ramadan and the Pillar of hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca (Insoll 1999, 106-7). Specific Jewish characteristics would in a same matter have to be sought in the dietary prescriptions from Jewish law and translated to expected archaeological features.

As other areas of daily life in which the influence of religious prescriptions from Islam can be felt, Insoll (1999) mentions education and health, pilgrimage and travel, personal possessions and dress, magic and talismanic protection and war. With regard to dress it is interesting to mention that colour plays an important role in Islam and was for instance also used to distinguish between Muslims and minorities (Insoll 1999, 121; 123). Green, being the colour of Islam, was restricted to Muslims, whereas Copts and Jews were only allowed to wear dull-coloured dress combined with black, light-brown, blue and grey turbans (Lane 1895, 43 in Insoll 1999, 121).

Muslim religious art may be characterized by a general absence of figural representation, the use of calligraphy in Arabic script, geometric and other motifs, for instance arabesques (Insoll 1999, 135). Importantly however, Insoll stresses that although an overall present reserved attitude towards figural representation became fixed in law by the ninth century, even culminating in Iconoclasm at some points, this does not mean it is fully absent in Muslim art (Insoll 1999, 137). Insoll sees a connection between art, trade and manufacturing through the agency of which artistic and religious ideas as well as manufacturing techniques are transmitted via trade (Insoll 1999, 134). Furthermore, coinage was not only a carrier of figural representation and calligraphy, but also gradually

became a token of religious identity which can serve as a source of evidence that can be used to trace back the development of Islam (Insoll 1999, 149).

Trade centres along the sea trade routes have already been archaeologically investigated, but no attention has been paid yet to the interaction between different religious and social traditions from an archaeological perspective (Insoll 1999, 155). It may be obvious that the archaeological research on trade routes is specifically interesting with regard to research into Jewish archaeological remains because of the many documents from merchants that have been found in the Cairo Geniza. The most important sea-trade route from the Islamic world in general was that across the Indian Ocean and beyond (Insoll 1999, 152). Land trade-routes even reached Scandinavia and beyond (Insoll 1999, 157) and also a connection with West-Africa existed (Insoll 1999, 158). There is however no evidence that communities of Muslim traders were established in Scandinavia (Insoll 1999, 157). The Muslim merchants seem to have reached no further than the Khazar region where they managed to create active trade with the Khazars who had rejected Islam and turned to Judaism instead (Noonan 1981, 52 cf. Insoll 1999, 157). The most important archaeological evidence for the trade between Muslims and Vikings are the Islamic silver coins in hoards at several locations in Scandinavia, the Baltic Coast and Russia (Insoll 1999, 157). The West-African connection is different in character since here trade-connections resulted in conversion to Islam and Islamization in general (Insoll 1999, 158).

Insoll stresses that certain commodities such as textiles, paper, perfumes, spices and slaves may not be represented in the archaeological record in many areas (Insoll 1999, 159). In case textiles were found, they have proved very useful in reconstructing trade routes, their importance, their use and manufacturing processes (Insoll 1999, 159). Apart from the commodities, the means of transport such as ships and remains of caravanserai may be found in the archaeological record (Insoll 1999, 159). Furthermore Insoll mentions music as a form of art that can be transmitted through trade and that similarities exist throughout the Islamic world in both musical styles and musical instruments (Insoll 1999, 162). Interestingly enough there have been studies of Jewish trade routes via music as well (*e.g.* Kartomi 2004; Randhover 2004; Spector 1997).

'Death and Burial' is a field in which a religious identity may be visible. Insoll sees three levels of analysis in this field: the treatment of the corpse, the patterning within the cemetery and the distribution pattern of cemeteries themselves (Insoll 1999). With regard to the corpse he mentions three main criteria. These are for Islam specifically, the

position of the body and the orientation of the grave pit, the lack of grave goods and the use of single interments where especially the genders are buried in separate graves. Furthermore usually no coffins are used and the body is laid on its right side with its face towards Mecca (Insoll 1999, 168). The grave is just deep enough that the deceased can still hear the *muezzins* call and can sit up to answer the questions of the two Angels that allow entrance to the afterlife (Insoll 1999, 169). A small stone or piece of wood (*shahid*) can be placed on the place of the head of the deceased as a grave marker, but nowadays great variation exists (Insoll 1999, 169).

The patterning within the cemetery can be determined by what Insoll (1999, 174) calls 'sacred geography', for instance defined by the presence of a saint's tomb or the proximity to the *qiblah;* the black stone within the Holy Sanctuary (*Ka'bah*) in Mecca. Another possibility would be specific locations for children's graves or suicide graves (Insoll 1999, 174). Interestingly, Insoll also mentions the archaeological recognizability of a Muslim graveyard in non-Muslim environments (Insoll 1999, 174). A different orientation of the graves would still be recognizable when surface indications would have been gone. Nevertheless, this would need more detailed research in comparison to the cemeteries of other minorities since it seems not very reliable as a distinguishing feature yet.

The position of cemeteries themselves may be related to their social position, although it should be kept in mind that especially in Islam signs of status might be completely absent since an essentially uniform funeral rite is maintained based on the idea that all are equal in death (Insoll 1999, 168; 180). The position of the cemetery can also be defined by the presence of a sacred place or that of a cemetery of other minorities, such as Jews (Insoll 1999, 175). Cemeteries may also emerge at nodal points along major routes or along borders (Insoll 1999, 175). Although the construction of funerary architecture and commemorative monuments has been subject to disputes in Islam (Insoll 1999, 168), built tomb monuments do exist in the Islamic world (Goodwin 1971; 1988). They vary per region, doctrinal or sectarian affiliation and personal preferences and wealth (Insoll 1999, 176). Examples are the garden tombs from the Mughal period (1626-1858) and the Taj Mahal in India (Insoll 2001, 177-9), but also the Muslim mausolea

from Timbuktu in Mali that are on the UNESCO List of World Heritage in Danger[13] as well as the three sultan's mausolea next to the Hagia Sofia in Instanbul (fig 9).

Figure 9. Mausolea of the sultans next to the Hagia Sofia in Istanbul, Turkey (Photo: Skept, retrieved 27th November 2012 at http://www.flickr.com/photos/skeptically/57328978/).

Insoll sees three reasons for this kind of display: status, love and muslim identity (Insoll 1999, 177-80). In a similar way, despite the disapproval in Islamic law, funerary epigraphy and iconography are present as well and serve as a valuable source of information (Insoll 1999, 187). Important concepts in Islam are that of water and life and heat and death. Related to these are the olive, apple and willow trees that were seen, at least by some groups, as symbols of life (Insoll 1999, 196). Symbolic Islamic gardens with a 'sacred geography' have been built around tombs as a methaphor for paradise (Goodwin 1988; Insoll 1999, 197). These may be archaeologically recognizable by the ground plan of a square or rectangle divided into four by two crossing axes (Insoll 1999, 197). An interesting phenomenon is that the garden motive also found its way into carpets since not everyone could afford a garden (Insoll 1999, 197).

Last but not least, in the community environment the Islamic city offers some features that makes it recognizable as an Islamic city. The 'Islamic City' has been subject

[13] See http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/119.

of studies on its 'order' and 'origin', but mostly with European cities in mind (Gottreich 2003, 119; Islam 2004, 33). The idea of an existing model for 'the Islamic city' was developed by (mostly French) colonial urbanists (Gottreich 2003, 119). Central to this idea was that the Islamic city was defined by Islamic law (Gottreich 2003, 119). Islam (2004) concludes that Islamic law indeed influenced the development and physical appearance, as well as other, intangible aspects of the Islamic city. Based on the point made by Rapoport (1969, 73) that 'houses settlements, and landscapes are products of the same cultural system and world view, and are therefore parts of the single system', Insoll (1999, 201) also suggests that apart from the environmental, economic and other more usual approaches to settlement and landscape archaeology, the social component, including religion, should not be overlooked.

Muslim urban settlements appear to be one of the most studied aspects of material culture in the archaeology of Islam and some standard elements were deduced, based on North-African and Syrian examples (Insoll 1999, 202). The most prominent feature of the later Islamic city is the central urban entity (*medinah*) containing the walled citadel (*casbah*) with the ruler's residence, a mosque and some barracks and stores (Insoll 1999, 203; Wirth 2002, 67). The *casbah* was not always located in the middle of the Islam city and especially in the early days of Islamic reign, rulers tended to built their residences or garrisons at the outskirts of the city to protect themselves (Lewis 1993), as can be seen in Cairo (fig 5) with the establishment of al-Qahira by the Fatimids at a distance of three kilometres from Fustat in 969 CE (Ahmed and Kamel 1996). Furthermore the *medinah* containes mosques (*jami'*), the market (*suq*) and shops, which were arranged according to the goods they sold (Gottreich 2003, 119; Insoll 1999, 203; Wirth 2002, 67). Houses would usually be courtyard houses with an inward orientation (Insoll 1999, 206). Alleys and streets were narrow and windy, which is regarded as especially characteristic of Islamic cities (Insoll 1999, 203). Understanding the basic elements of the Islamic city may be of help to locate the Jewish quarters in these cities and understand them better. Helpful in this respect is that groups with a specific ethnic or economic background tended to live in the same quarters (Insoll 1999, 203). It should be noted however that in the medieval period these boundaries were permeable and did not restrict relations or mixing with other minorities within the city (Wirth 2002, 352). By paying a certain tax fee, especially Jews and Christians maintained autonomy in religious and legal affairs (Wirth 2002, 352-3). From the nineteenth and twentieth century on a more strict division between the quarters of minorities such as Christians, Maghreb Muslims, Ottoman

Muslims, Armeniers and Jews can be seen, probably for reasons of better control and security (Wirth 2002, 353). Although the Christian and Jewish quarters of the Ottoman Empire were not locked or walled, the Jewish quarters seem to have been secured more clearly (Wirth 2002, 355). In the Maghreb the Jewish quarters (*mellahs*) that emerged from the fifteenth century CE onwards did have walls and only one entry gate that could be closed if necessary (Wirth 2002, 355).

Although some of the above mentioned features are not exclusively related to Islam or religious prescriptions and are inherited from Pre-Islamic periods (Insoll 1999, 206), they can serve as basic elements that make it possible to distinguish an Islamic city from a non-Islamic city from an archaeological perspective. These basic elements do not all need to be present either, especially in smaller villages and towns. There for instance the mosque and Muslims burials can serve as the basic indication of an Islamic presence (Insoll 1999, 207). Interestingly, it appeared possible to recognize a Muslim town even when it was later on turned into a Christian one (Qsar es-Seghir, Morocco: Redman 1986). Furthermore, archaeology would be perfectly suited to investigate what factors (economic, religious) are related to residential patterning within a settlement (Insoll 1999, 213). It may be interesting to see whether the Jewish quarters would be distinguishable archaeologically, even after later conversions. Furthermore, Insoll stresses the importance of regarding the city in relation to its surroundings. In that respect, rural villages, water supply systems and even the trails that connect cities, villages and so on, might be of importance and render clues that otherwise would be overlooked (Insoll 1999, 218-24).

Apart from the efforts of Tim Insoll, a series of articles dealing with the archaeology of Islam have been published in Antiquity in 2005. Petersen (2005a) gives a good overview of the history of Islamic archaeology and shows its relevance to modern society. It should for instance be noted that the medieval Islamic world covered a region more than twice the size of medieval Christendom (Petersen 2005a, 101). In order to explain the lack of attention paid to the Muslim world by British, European and North American archaeologists, he discusses some obstacles to the archaeological study of Islam. In his view these are firstly the fact that Islam has kept written archives from the start and as such has been a literate society for the whole period of its existence, and secondly concern Western attitudes, both academic and popular, towards Islam (Petersen 2005a, 102). Furthermore, Petersen (2005a, 101) points out two ways to define Muslim society. The first is defining Muslim society by religion as an Islamic society. The second

is to define it as a society in which the ruling class are Muslims, although its citizens may not have been (Petersen 2005a, 100).

De Meulenmeester (2005) shows that, just like the archaeology of Judaism and Islamic archaeology in general (Petersen 2005a, 100), Islamic archaeology in the Iberian peninsula and Morocco, has its roots in art history and architecture. Especially the architecture often referred to as 'Moorish' caught the attention (*e.g.* Barrucand and Bednorz 1992). On the other hand, he discusses some useful approaches towards Islamic archaeology. Islamic archaeology in the Iberian peninsula includes the rural areas, with for instance research on agriculture and irrigation systems (De Meulenmeester 2005, 838). Furthermore urban archaeology is of importance, mainly as a result of rescue excavations. In Spain and Portugal, just as in much of northern Europe rescue excavation tend to take priority over thematic research, as the result of developing policy and legislation following the Malta Convention (De Meulenmeester 2005, 839; Silberman 2010, 18). In Morocco, on the other hand, an ethnological approach dominates the archaeological research, since the country appears to be exceptionally rich in this field (De Meulenmeester 2005, 838). In this approach ceramics and potters are studied, often through surveys, or by using contemporary or recent evidence (De Meulenmeester 2005, 838).

4 Architectural features related to Judaism in the Islamic world

In this chapter the archaeological remains of Judaism in the Islamic world will be presented. First, for each category of material remains the features known from Late Antiquity and the medieval period will be presented to serve as a basis for discussing what is known or could be expected from the Islamic world. The criterion for including material remains in this overview from the Islamic World were that they had to be constructed or had mainly been in use under the reign of an Islamic dynasty. This means that for each region a different timeframe applies, following the overview of Insoll (1999, 16) included in the introduction of this thesis. It should be noted that most information on material remains from the Islamic world comes from historical or architectural sources.

4.1 Synagogues

Features of synagogues

Ancient synagogues have been studied thoroughly, both by their architectural features and by their interior decoration (*e.g.* Levine 1996; 2005; 2010; Fine 1996; Hachlili 1988; 1998; 2000). From these studies, it may appear that they are the most prominent category of archaeological remains that can be an indication of Jewish presence. Levine for instance starts his book with stating that 'as the Jewish public space par excellence, the synagogue building was always the largest, most monumental in any given Jewish community and was often located in the centre of the town or village' (Levine 2005, 1). This is however not self-evident for the medieval period in Europe (Gruber 2011b, 480). A complicating factor is that there are no prescriptions or required forms for a synagogue (Gruber 2011b, 480).

Synagogues probably already emerged during the Second Temple period, although the archaeological evidence is ambiguous (Hachlili 1998, 17). Some scholars have even suggested that their origins go back to the First Temple Period (Levine 1996, 426; 2005, 22; 2010, 522). They probably developed from assembly halls for the community that were used for legal and financial purposes and probably already for educational purposes such as studying the *Torah* (Hachlili 1998, 21). These early assembly halls were presumably not yet used for cult or worship purposes (Hachlili 1998, 21). This most likely changed with the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, causing a shift in

function. The main difference between the early synagogues and the later ones from Late Antiquity is that the latter gradually took over some, though not all, of the ritual practices that were concentrated before in the Temple (Hachlili 1998, 18). *Torah* rolls were preserved in the synagogue now for instance, resulting in the presence of a *Torah* Shrine located in the wall facing Jerusalem. In conclusion, the synagogue not only served as a place for worship and religious life, but also for educational purpose, legal, political and administrative affairs (Hachlili 1998, 24; Levine 2010, 521). Furthermore, all kinds of financial transactions, social events and charity activities could take place there, and libraries and community archives were often stored in the synagogue as well (Hachlili 1998, 24; Levine 2010, 521).

Figure 10. Torah Shrine in the wall facing Jerusalem of the synagogue in Dura Europos (Shanks 1979, 89).

Apart from the origin of the synagogue, another main issue in the study of the synagogues of Late Antiquity has been, needy as people are for order and clarity, the development of a typology of synagogues, dividing them by period and ground plan into three categories (Levine 2002, 833; 2005, 12; 2010, 526). The Galilean-type ground plan was considered to have existed until the turn of the third century, followed by the basilical type during the fourth to seventh century CE. The third type, the broad-house or interim type was considered to be a transitional type, linking the two other types (Levine 2002, 833). This typology was heavily challenged in the years to follow as new

synagogues were discovered. Over the years it has become clear that in fact synagogue plans differ from region to region and adapt to local conditions and customs (Levine 2010, 526-8). The only feature that all synagogues, whether in the homeland or in the *diaspora* have in common seems to be the *Torah* Shrine (*ehal*) (fig 10) that is located in the wall that is facing Jerusalem and can be considered one of the most prominent features of the synagogues since Late Antiquity (*e.g.* Hachlili 1998, 18; 2001, 105).

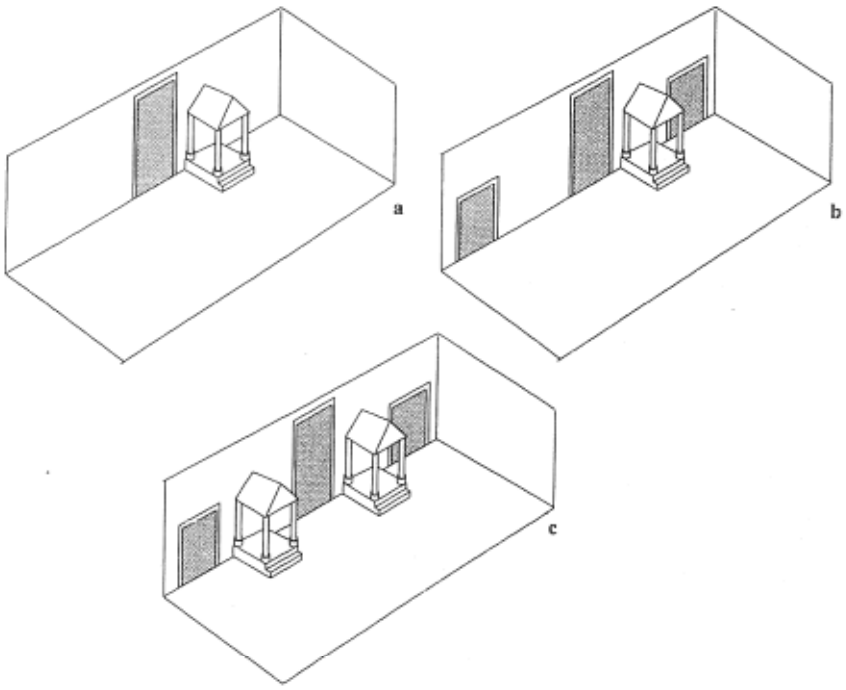

Figure 11. Schematic forms of aedicula (Hachlili 2000, figure 2).

The *Torah* Shrines themselves, designed for safekeeping the Ark of the Scrolls, have been divided in three different types; the *aedicula*, niche or apse (*e.g.* Hachlili 2000).[14] The Ark of the Scrolls usually is a wooden chest or ark containing shelves for the *Torah* Scrolls (Hachlili 2000, 157). The most common *Torah* Shrine in Antiquity is the *aedicula* (fig 11) which was usually formed as an interior addition to the Jerusalem-oriented wall, by a platform, two columns and a lintel (Hachlili 2000, 147). It was sometimes made accessible by steps (Hachlili 2000, 147). The niche was a possibly

[14] For systematic groundplans of synagogues with niches, aediculae and apses see Hachlili 2000, fig 3-9.

decorated stone structure extending from the Jerusalem-oriented wall into the hall accompanied by steps which could be semicircular or rectangular (Hachlili 2000, 149). Like the *aedicula*, the semicircular niche usually had a façade of two columns and a conch decorating the arch (Hachlili 2000, 149). The rectangular niche could possibly be the result of adjustment of an entrance (Hachlili 2000, 150). The apse appears as a feature in the *diaspora* in for instance the synagogue from Aegina in Greece that was dated to the fourth century and in the homeland it was dominant in most synagogues that were built during the late fifth or early sixth century CE on in the Beth-Shean valley and the southern part of the Holy Land (Hachlili 2000, 150). It was built along the entire width of the main hall for the purpose of housing the Ark of the Scrolls and could also contain one or two *menorahs* (the seven armed candelabrum)[15] (Hachlili 2000, 150).

The *bima* is a kind of platform or even a podium and was usually situated in front of the niche or the apse (Hachlili 2000, 151). The *bimas* in front of apses usually had steps (Hachlili 2000, 151). It functioned presumably as a podium for reading the *Torah*, for prayer or reciting the lessons of the week, but it also could simply have been a way of ascending the niche or apse or for displaying other ritual objects such as *menorahs* (Hachlili 2000, 152).

Other features that could be indicative of function and thereby probably of the age of a synagogue are the benches. Benches around all four walls facing the centre of the hall could thus be associated with the early synagogues (Hachlili 1998, 18). The focal point of the Later Synagogues shifted to the *Torah* Shrine which would be marked by the orientation of the benches towards the *Torah* Shrine (Hachlili 1998, 18). A division between men and women, common nowadays in the form of specific women's galleries or a separate section of the hall has not been encountered in ancient synagogues (Hachlili 1998, 24). Furthermore, the interior decorations of synagogues, when present, have been studied thoroughly as well, but this will be discussed under Iconography and Symbolism.

Apart from the central place of the synagogue in the community, Levine mentions the importance of a water source close to the synagogue in order to guarantee the purity of hands for performing tasks as eating, praying and touching the Holy Scriptures (Levine

[15] The *menorah* is the seven-armed-candelabrum which is clearly associated with Judaism nowadays and over time has developed into one of the, if not the most, important symbol of Judaism (see also Hachlili 2001b).

2005, 302). From the *diaspora* synagogues it is known that they indeed were located close to water or had another facility to provide in this, such as a cistern, bath or fountain in the courtyard or along the entranceways (Levine 2005, 20; 302). Also in the mosque an enclosed courtyard or *sahn* with a source of water near the entrance is known since cleansing before prayer was obligatory (Insoll 1999, 32). Probably this is the result of the interwovenness of Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the early days of Islam.

The region of the homeland of the Jews remained under Roman rule, turning into Byzantine rule until it eventually was captured by the Islamic Ummayads around the beginning of the seventh century CE. It seems obvious that Islam borrowed from its predessors Judaism and Christianity for establishing its own rituals. From this early period it is known that the only clue for identification of archaeological remains as a synagogue is sometimes the fact that it is a building with a distinct, possibly public function compared to the surrounding (domestic) buildings (*e.g.* Zangenberg 2010, 480). Recognizing the remains of a synagogue in the later Byzantine and Early Islamic periods would become very hard in that case, since these buildings could as well be a church, a mosque or some other kind of public building. From for instance Andalusia it is known that religious buildings were often converted into sanctuaries of the faith of the victors of each conquest (*e.g.* Lowney 2005, 193). The Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, nowadays a museum, is another example of a church, or cathedral that has been converted into a mosque. Also from Jordan examples are known of churches that could easily be turned into mosques (King 1983).

A first similarity between Islam and Judaism in contrast to the pagan temple, would be the use of a central building, based on the structuring principle of prayer. In Islam this is the mosque, in Christianity the church and in Judaism the synagogue. The mosque and the synagogue have for instance a specific orientation of the interior in common and this was possibly also the case for the early churches. The mosque is orientated in such a way that prayer is orientated towards Mecca, whereas the synagogue is orientated in such a way that the *Torah* Shrine is located in the wall that is facing Jerusalem. The apses of the earlier mentioned former Byzantine churches in Jordan were facing the east and may also have indicated a certain direction of prayer (King 1983, 134). These directions may however correspond in certain regions, making it impossible to distinguish the two solely on their orientation, but there are some other features that may be of help.

In a mosque the prayer direction is indicated by the *mihrab*, which is built into or salient from the *qiblah* wall (fig 12). The *mihrab* often has the form of a niche which can

be decorated and is in most cases surmounted by a dome. Usually the imam is standing before the *mihrab* while leading the prayers. The *mihrab* is accessible via the *minbar*, a flight of sometimes moveable steps (Insoll 1999, 31). The most prominent feature of the mosque is probably the *minaret,* a tower attached to or near the prayer hall, which is a physical representation of the call to prayer (Insoll 1999, 32). References to towers on the other hand have been common in *midrashic* literature and moreover, the tower has been used as a metaphor for the Temple in Jerusalem (Gelfer-Jørgensen 2004, 43-4). The tower is of course known from Christian churches as well.

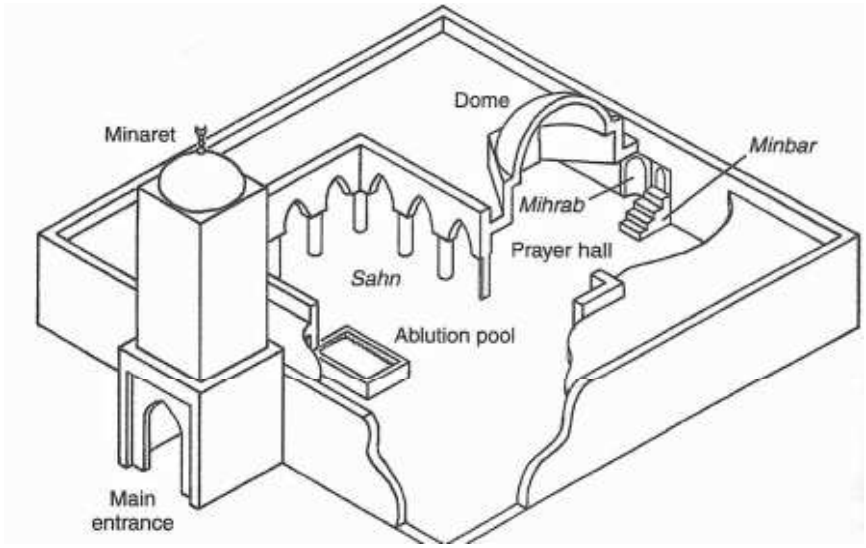

Figure 12. Schematic plan of an ideal mosque (Insoll 1999, 30).

Interestingly however, the mosque is even archaeologically recognizable in structures that have been converted from churches or other building into mosques and vice versa (Insoll 1999, 36ff). In Jordan this conversion was achieved by destroying or walling off the apse of the former church and using the space of the former apse for building a *minaret* or by turning the existing tower into one (King 1983). Interestingly there are gaps in the southern walls of these buildings, which could be an indication that a *mihrab* was built there to change the direction of prayer (King 1983, 134). Other features that may be archaeologically visible are the enclosed courtyard or *sahn* with a source of water near the entrance for ritual cleansing before entering the sanctuary (Insoll 1999, 32).

With regard to medieval synagogues in Europe, Gruber (2011b, 480) mentions as the 'key architectural elements defining a synagogue', the *Aron haKodesh* or Holy Ark which equals the *Torah* Shrine, being 'usually some sort of cabinet, either built in or free standing' in which the *Torah* scrolls are kept, and the *bima*. There are also other features, such as 'a place for women, a place for ablutions, special types of seating and various liturgical and ceremonial objects varied over time and from place to place' (Gruber 2011b, 480). Interestingly, there have been wooden synagogues in Eastern Europe, mainly in Poland, Belorussia and Lithuaia, but these were all destroyed during the Second World War. Most of these were built between the seventeenth and the early nineteenth century, sometimes in resemblance of earlier originals on the same location (Krinsky 1985, 53).

Synagogues of the Islamic World

Jewish communities and synagogues were abundantly present in Morocco (Amar 1998, 2), but also in other countries (Gruber 1989, 1). When the state of Israel was founded in 1948 many Jews emigrated to their new country, leaving behind their sometimes monumental buildings (Gruber 1989, 1). Recently some surveys have been carried out for instance by the Centre for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University (Amar 1998, 1) and the Jewish Heritage Council that was founded in 1988 by the World Monuments Fund (Gruber 1989,1). The survey in Morocco by Amar only included the synagogues that were still in use, but most of these were built from the colonial period onwards (Amar 1999). The synagogues in the overview by Gruber on Syria (1989) seem to be covered in that by Cassuto (2009). Gruber (1989, 4) additionally mentions that the synagogues of Damascus most likely were built from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century and that there was a pilgrimage synagogue at Jubar, but no exact dates can be provided.

Cassuto (2009) mentions three reasons that so little is known of early synagogues in the Islamic World. The first is that synagogues, as most other buildings, were built with mostly perishable materials such as wood, bricks and soft cement materials, making them survive only for 100 to 150 years. The second is that renovation or rebuilding of synagogues was obstructed by Muslim religious law, or more specifically a clause in the Pact of 'Umar, although often ways were found to get around these restrictions (Cassuto 2009, 423). A third reason may be that in the East, thanks to its climate, synagogues may have been open-air synagogues.

These open-air synagogues were mostly found in Iraq, parts of North Africa and several Central Asian countries, and the forebears of some of these still used synagogues, probably date back to the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods (Cassuto 2009, 424). Such an open-air synagogue basically could consist of a square giving room to a public and a bima from where the *Torah* could be read. From the rabbinic sources it becomes clear that a town square could have some sort of sanctity (*Mishnah Megilla* 3: 1-3 cited in Cassuto 2009, 424), and could in fact perfectly serve, among other public functions, as an open-air synagogue. In fact, from the *Talmud* and an example still standing found in Aleppo in Syria, it is known that summer and winter synagogues existed (Cassuto 2009, 425). Although the bad news is that the synagogues of the Islamic world with their architectural history and development, may be hard to trace in the archaeological record, the good news is that whenever these synagogues were rebuilt they 'tend to reflect their predecessors rather accurately'(Cassuto 2009, 424).

Furthermore, Cassuto (2009) mentions synagogues or replicas of them from the Islamic World that are still standing, or are known to have existed from historical sources, and discusses their specific features (Cassuto 2009). These features include the major features such as the type of synagogue building, the location and appearance of the *bima* or *teva* and *Torah* Shrine or *ehal* and also some additional information on the presence of a space for women (*mehitza*) or benches. According to Cassuto, different styles emerged, such as the basilican style and the 'Byzantine' style with a dome. These styles are also known from churches and it seems likely that there has been mutual influence between Jewish, Byzantine and Islamic styles of religious buildings. The basilican style is described by Cassuto (2009, 425) as 'two rows of pillars dividing the interior into three naves. The middle one is larger and higher than the two lateral ones; light penetrates the middle of the space from windows in the clerestory'. Examples are known from Damascus, Aleppo, Jerba, Tunis, Cochin and Kaifeng. The one in Aleppo is a combination of an open courtyard synagogue used in the summer and a basilican-style synagogue for the winter (Cassuto 2009, 425). The Byzantine dome style can be described as four large arches facing one another with a square space between them, which is covered by a pointed dome (Cassuto 2009, 426). This style is mostly found in Afghanistan and Palestine in cities such as Hebron, Hurva, and Safed. A rather unique synagogue style is represented by the Capusi synagogue in Egypt (Cassuto 2009, 428). This style is described as a bipolar, transverse style, meaning that the *teva* (the *bima*) and the sanctuary (for keeping the *Torah* scrolls) are located very close to each other and that

the space between them is covered by a high dome (Cassuto 2009, 428). It is associated with Lurian Kabbalah and shows resemblance with synagogue types from the Veneto region in Italy (Cassuto 2009, 428).

From Iran it is only known that about a hundred synagogues, designed along the same geometric principles as the buildings in their surroundings, have survived in cities such as Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz and Yazd (Gharipour 2009, 430). There is however one thing that might distinguish them from other religious buildings and that is their modest and small appearance, while their interior is usually below street level (Gharipour 2009, 430). The synagogues in Iran were often located close to the Friday mosques and the bazaar (Gharipour 2009, 430).

Another useful overview is that of Greek synagogues by Stavroulakis and DeVinney (1992). Most information presented by Stavroulakis and DeVinney is based on modern documentation, still standing replicas or the journals of ancient travellers such as the eleventh-century Benjamin de Tudela. It should be kept in mind however that the Islamic world in Greece, strictly, would only include the period under Ottoman rule from 1453 when the Byzantine Empire was overran by the Ottomans until the end of the Ottoman empire in 1924. Therefore, the Jewish communities and synagogues mentioned by Stavroulakis and DeVinney do not all belong to the Islamic World.

After 1492 CE, many of the expelled European Jews from Spain and Portugal found shelter in the Ottoman Empire. This sometimes resulted in a clash between the two Jewish traditions of the indigenous, or Romaniot Jews on the one hand and the newly arrived Sephardic Jews on the other hand (Stavroulakis and DeVinney 1992, 8). Interestingly enough, the result was a co-existence of different styles of synagogues. They mention for instance the Romaniote style, the Sephardic style and the Venetian style. The Romaniote style can be characterized as having a low and modest exterior with a communal leaf hut for the feast of *Sukkoth.* The interior resembles the basilica style with three aisles and rows of columns while there is an axial polarity of the *Torah* Shrine (*ehal)* and *bima*, with the *ehal* at the eastern side and the *bima* at the western site (Stavroulakis and De Vinney 1992, 80-81). Since the Romaniote Jews are supposed to be the descendents of the so-called Hellenized Jews of Antiquity or the Byzantine Jews (Stavroulakis and De Vinney 1992, 1, 5), it may perhaps not be surprising after all to find a basilican-like style in their synagogues. The Sephardic style is characterized by four columns marking off an area in the centre of the synagogue where the *bima* is located, with the *ehal* in the east wall (Stavroulakis and De Vinney 1992, 201). This one seems to

resemble some features of the Byzantine dome style, except that the dome is not explicitly mentioned. There is however one example, from the eighteenth century, of a synagogue with a dome in Komotini, while the interior resembles the Sephardic style (Stavroulakis and De Vinney 1992, 126). The Venetian style is mainly characterized by the fact that the actual synagogue is on the first floor, while the ground floor is used for communal activities. An example of this style is the seventeenth century Scuola Greca in Corfu (fig 13). Both Cassuto (2009) and Stavroulakis and De Vinney (1992) mention the existence of synagogues in former mosques or churches.

Figure 13. The Scuola Greca in Corfu dating to the seventeenth century CE.

A. *The ehal (Stravoulakis and DeVinney 1992, 57).*
B. *The bema (Stravoulakis and DeVinney1992, 59).*
C. *The exterior with the groundfloor reserved for communal activities and the synagogue on the first floor (Stravoulakis and DeVinney1992, 54).*
D. *The strong polar-axial alignment of the bema and the ehal, view to the southeast (Stravoulakis and DeVinney, 60).*

Some additional synagogues in Istanbul, Smyrna and Bursa are mentioned in the *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* (Stilmann 2012). Among them is the Etz Ahayim synagogue in Bursa, which is according to Erbahar (2012a) the first synagogue built in the Ottoman empire and resembled a mosque. It was built around the mid-fourteenth century and has been in use until the early fifteenth century. Its ruins were finally destroyed in a fire in the 1940s. For an overview of the synagogues presented in the sources above, see Appendix I.

4.2 *Miqva'ot* or ritual baths

Miqva'ot (ev. *miqveh*) or ritual baths make up another category of architectural remains which can be found in houses and in villages, close to synagogues but also at cemeteries and close to agricultural installations (Adler 2008; 2009; Berlin 2005, 451; Hachlili 2001a, 105; 2005, 59). They were first excavated and defined as ritual baths at Masada in 1960 and soon were discovered in Jerusalem as well (Amit and Adler 2010, 124). The basis for the research on *miqva'ot* was laid by Ronnie Reich in his unpublished Ph.D.-thesis in Hebrew (Reich 1990). A presumed dichotomy between the Second Temple Period, to which 90% of the 300 *miqva'ot* studied were dated, and the post 70 CE period to which the remaining 10% was dated, is now challenged by Amit and Adler (2010). Although they stress that research on *miqva'ot* dating to the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods still remains in its infancy they present additional evidence for this period (Amit and Adler 2010, 127).

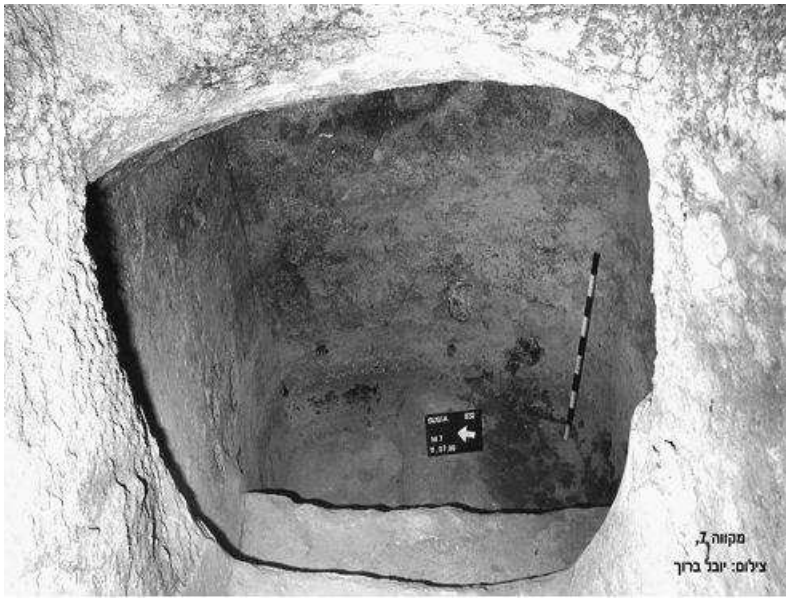

Figure 14. Interior of a ritual bath from Susiya (Amit and Adler 2010, 130).

Features of miqva'ot

Generally *miqva'ot* look like deep plastered basins (fig 14), but are distinguishable from common baths by their dimensions, that are prescribed by rabbinic purity laws. The *Mishnah* mentions that a *miqveh* should contain 40 '*seahs*' of water, but these units called '*seahs*' varied from region to region (Reich 2002, note 2). Generally speaking, this is a large amount of water, usable to distinguish *miqva'ot* from common bathtubs. The water for an ordinary bath was disposed of whereas the water in the *miqveh* was kept for a longer period and multiple immersions (Reich 2002, 3).

Other features of *miqva'ot* could be considered the use of multiple layers of plaster to prevent leaking and the need for 'living water' (Reich 2002). The *Mishnah* mentions six levels of water quality of which 'living water' is the highest level. Living water in this case means water that flows directly from a spring. The required water quality for the *miqva'ot* is level three, which can as well include rainwater gathered in basins or cisterns, as long as it flows in naturally and is not brought in by humans (Reich 2002, 2). These requirements can be of help in defining whether a bath is a *miqveh* or not, by examining their location and access to the required quality of water. Nevertheless the religious prescriptions have always been subject to differing interpretation and discussions. Besides, when the *miqveh* was to depend on rainwater alone in the southern Mediterranean climate, a period roughly from March to October should be bridged without fresh water supply (Reich 2002, 3). Therefore, in some cases water might have been added by human-hand since the *miqveh* was considered to be able to clean both the vessel and the newly added water (Reich 2002, 3). *Miqva'ot* could also be accompanied by an *otzer*, a sort of adjacent reserve pool (Reich 2002, 3). Furthermore they often seem to come in pairs and are located in dark basins to prevent the growth of algae (Reich 2002, 3).

Miqva'ot are commonly seen as an indication for the presence of observant Jews because of their relation to Jewish purity laws (Berlin 2005, 452). Berlin (2005, 452) mentions a maximalist and a minimalist position with regard to what 'observant' in this case means. The maximalist position holds that the laws from the later rabbinic (*halakhic*) texts are already reflected in the Second Temple Period *miqva'ot*. The minimalist position on the other hand holds that they reflect already strict personal, but not yet regulated *halakhic*, purity customs. The viewpoint of Berlin (2005, 452) seems plausible that these laws from a later period cannot simply be applied to *miqva'ot* of the Second Temple Period as an indication for the presence of observant Jews. Nevertheless it should be

noted that the ritual laws concerning purity are also present in the *Torah* itself (*e.g.* Leviticus) and could have been part of the oral *Torah* tradition.

The first known *miqva'ot* date from around the early-mid first century BCE (Berlin 2005, 542). In Jerusalem they seem to have been internal to houses, while in the Judaean villages they seem to have been located outside of the houses, serving as communal baths (Berlin 2005, 543). Adler (2008; 2009) studied the presence of *miqva'ot* in specific contexts such as adjacent to tombs or agricultural installations with the purpose to explain their function in these contexts in relation to Jewish purity laws.

Miqva'ot of medieval Europe

Recently, *miqva'ot* have also been encountered in Europe, for instance in Sicily and Rome, but most have been found north of the Alps in for instance Speyer, Cologne (see fig 8), Friedberg in Hesse, Andernach on the Rhine, Offenburg in Baden and Worms, all dating to the twelfth or thirteenth century (Gruber 2011b, 484), although the multistory mikveh in Cologne may even be older (Gruber 2011a, 439). Additionally, *mikva'ot* have been discovered in Buda in Hungary and perhaps also in Metz in France (Decomps and Bourada 2011). Silberman (2010) also mentions the *miqveh* of Regensburg. The European *miqva'ot* can be divided into two types: monumental and cellar, and have been found close to the synagogues, within the Jewish quarter (Gruber 2011b, 484). The monumental *miqva'ot* can be characterized by their depth to water level, staircases with steps continuing under water level, and shafts for air and light (Gruber 2011b, 485). The cellar *mikva'ot* show the most resemblance with the *mikva'ot* from Late Antiquity. They are mostly small rectangular stone or rock-cut pools that can be accessed by stone steps. These have been discovered in Erfurt, Rothenburg, Sondershausen and Nuremberg. Additionally, private *mikva'ot* in the cellars of houses have been found (Gruber 2011b, 484). This may also be the case in Metz (Decomps and Bourada 2011, 182).

Miqva'ot of the Islamic world

From the Islamic World only very little is known about *miqva'ot*. Stavroulakis and DeVinney mention the presence of *miqva'ot* for Hania on Crete, Halkis and Verroia, but the first two are filled in and not in use anymore. The one in Verroia is behind the synagogue 'where descent can be made in to the river'(Stavroulakis and De Vinney 1992, 201).

4.3 Funerary remains

According to Jewish law and tradition a cemetery is a holy place that is even more sacred than a synagogue (Gruber 2011c, 522). Since it was a duty for a new Jewish community to first establish a cemetery before a synagogue could be built, Jewish cemeteries and the related funerary remains - and not synagogues- may even be considered to be the main indication for the presence of a Jewish community (Gruber 2011c, 522). rabbinic law provides strict prescriptions regarding burials and mourning. One of these prescriptions is the responsibility to erect a grave marker or monument for commemorating the deceased (Gruber 2011c, 523). Apart from the function of commemoration this also serves to prevent stepping on a grave, since contact with a dead body was strictly forbidden for men from priestly families (the *Cohanim*) (Gruber 2011c, 523). For common Jewish men the prescriptions were less strict, but at least a ritual hand washing was required after contact with the dead, either as direct contact with a dead person or after visiting a grave (Gruber 2011c, 523). Other rules are for instance that a cemetery cannot be entered bareheaded or that it should not be used for agricultural purposes (Gruber 2011c, 523). Generally speaking, the dead and the sacred sphere of the cemetery should simply not be disturbed.

Features known from the research on ancient funerary remains

Just like synagogues, ancient Jewish funerary remains have been studied thoroughly (*e.g.* Berlin 2002; Fine 2010b; Hachlili 2005, Rahmani 1981a; b; 1982 a; b; 1994). Although some basic knowledge of the research into ancient Jewish funeral architecture is useful, the difference with medieval and modern times is considerable. This may have to do with the destruction of the Temple around 70 CE, resulting in the development of rabbinic Judaism. The research that has been done up till now mainly seems to have been dealing with the remains of the Second Temple period. Distinctive Jewish characteristics are for this period primarily found in the general composition and in some details of the decoration (Hachlili 2005, 29).

One form of interest is that of the pyramids on top of the so-called display tombs that are known from Jerusalem (fig 15), but only for a short period, most probably from the late second or early century BCE to 70 CE (Berlin 2002, 139; 2005). Fine (2010a, 61) states that these pyramid-topped funerary monuments seem to have been quite common throughout the Levant. Hachlili (2005, 339) mentions the pyramid in her chapter on the *nefesh* or grave marker, where it is described as a pyramid-capped obelisk. She also

mentions that the term literarily means 'soul' and could refer to the monument that was considered to serve as a dwelling place for the soul after death, or to the tomb itself (Hachlili 2005, 139). The pyramid is also explicitly mentioned in relation to the Royal Tombs of Jerusalem in I *Maccabees* 13: 27-9 (Hachlili 2005, 139).

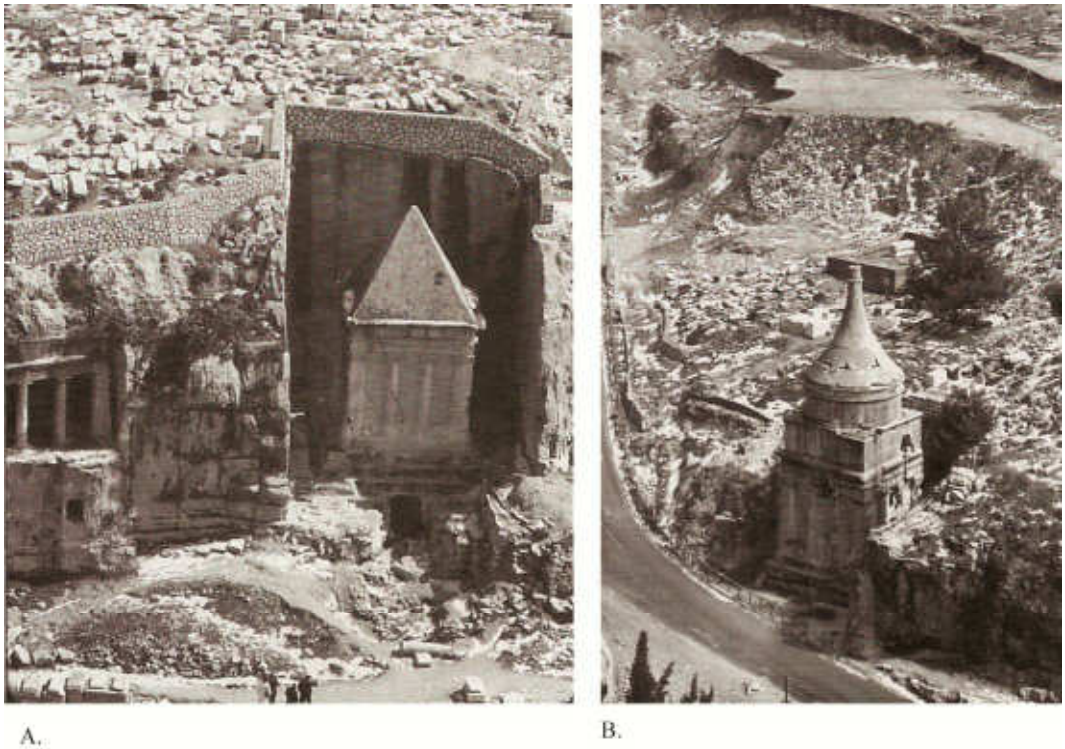

Figure 15. Jerusalem parallels to the Hasmonian tombs, crowned with pyramids, 1st century CE.

A. Tomb of Zecharia in the Kidron valley, Jerusalem (Fine 2010a, 62).

B. Tomb of Absolom in the Kidron valley, Jerusaem (Fine 2010a, 63).

Grave goods were present in both the wooden coffins of the primary burials and the ossuaries of the secondary burials in the Second Temple Period. Women and children's graves were the most likely to contain personal items as grave gifts (Hachlili 2001a, 106). These were put in the coffins while objects of daily use were found in the tombs themselves (Hachlili 2001a, 106; 2005).

Orientation towards Jerusalem seems not to have been of significance yet in this early period. No specific direction was used to place the bodies or the ossuaries in Jericho and Jerusalem (Hachlili 2001a, 105-6). This was however different at two other Jewish cemeteries at Qumran and En el-Ghuweir in the Dead Sea region, where the direction of the tombs could be defined as oriented in a north-south axis while the bodies therein

usually were oriented in the same direction (Hachlili 2001a, 107). This is however not an orientation facing Jerusalem as became customary in later periods (Gruber 2011c, 526; Silberman 2010, 60). At Qumran and En el Ghuweir no rock-cut tombs were discovered but graves were simply hewn out of the ground and covered with a pile of stones (Hachlili 2001a, 108).

From finds at Beth She'arim it became clear that a change in burial customs occurred in the third and fourth centuries CE, so probably in the period when rabbinic Judaism started to gain more influence. The burial place at Beth She'arim was in use until 352 CE, when it was destroyed, and it consists of burial halls along a corridor (Hachlili 2001a, 109). Mostly there is a frontal courtyard with doors made of stone resembling wooden doors with nails (Hachlili 2001a, 109). These so called *loculi* tombs that were hewn out in the rock are reminiscent of the catacombs in Rome (fig 16). The graves themselves were cut out into all four walls of the tomb as *loculi* or *arcosolia* types and contain mostly primary burials, sometimes in coffins or sarcophagi (Hachlili 2001a, 109). The walls of these tombs were richly decorated.

Figure 16. Loculus (upper) and arcosolium (below) wall graves in a richly decorated burial chamber in the Jewish Vigna Randanini catacomb in Rome (Rutgers 2000, 71).

The Jewish catacombs in Rome are perhaps the best known Jewish burial places in the *diaspora*, but also at other locations such as Alexandria and Gammarath Hill at Carthage in Tunis, Jewish burials are known (Hachlili 2001a, 110). *Loculi* tombs seem to be typical for Egyptian burial customs from the second century BCE to the first century

CE, but were also used in Tunis and resemble the tombs in Jerusalem and Jericho of that same period (Hachlili 2001a, 110). In Rome, a change from cremation to inhumation probably played a rol in the development of the catacombs, as more space was needed for inhumation compared to cremation. Already existing family mausolea were expanded into the ground and became underground *hypogea.* Eventually the publicly used catacombs may have absorbed some of these family *hypogea* during their expansions (Rutgers 2000, 68). The Jewish catacombs are located at Monteverde on the Via Portuensis, at Vigna Randanini, and at Villa Torlonia on the Via Nomentana (Hachlili 2001a, 110; Rutgers 1998b, 46; 2000, 146). Hachlili also mentions three smaller catacombs that are now lost at Via Lubicana, Viagna Cimarra and on the Via Appia Pignatelli (Hachlili 2001a, 110). Just like the pagan and Christian ones they consisted of a system of stairs and corridors, that probably were expansions of initial underground family graves in *hypogea* (Rutgers 2000, 148).

Most epigraphers and archaeologists believe the Jewish catacombs do not predate the Christian ones and date them no earlier than the late second century CE until the fifth century CE at the latest, although they may have been in use primarily during the third and fourth centuries CE (Rutgers 1998b, 49; 2000, 149). A puzzling questions has been, not alone for the Jews but also for the Christian population, where the dead were buried before that period (Rutgers 2000, 149; 2002, 54). Interestingly enough, more recent studies involving radiocarbon dating in the Jewish Via Torlonia catacomb and the Christian St Callixtus catacomb, based on pieces of charcoal found in the limestone that was used to seal off the loculi,[16] showed that the Torlonia catacomb came into use during the second century CE, which is a century earlier than the Christian catacombs (Rutgers *et al.* 2005, 339). The main difference by which the Jewish catacombs can be distinguished from the Christian and pagan ones are the symbols and inscriptions. For instance, Jewish sarcophagi do not bear portraits (fig 17) and generally speaking, scenes from the Hebrew bible are absent in the Jewish catacombs while they are common in Christian catacombs (Rutgers 2000, 151).

[16] See *e.g.* Rutgers 2002 and 2005a for dating of the Jewish Torlonia catacombs and 2005b and 2007 for dating of the Christian St. Callixtus catacombs.

Figure 17. Sarcophagus from Rome with a menorah instead of a portrait (Rutgers 2000, 71).

Jewish cemeteries in medieval Europe

In Europe no Jewish cemeteries have been found dating back to the Early Medieval period (Gruber 2011c, 524). One explanation for this may be that wooden grave marks have been used until stone became more common and less expensive around 1600 CE (Gruber 2011c, 525). Another explanation may be that there simply was no need for separate Jewish cemeteries until around 1000 CE, just as it has been suggested that Jewish populations were more mixed with the indigenous population in the Early Medieval period (Silberman 2010, 58).

For the later periods, roughly from the thirteenth century on, single examples of gravestones have been discovered in northern and central Europe, but these are mostly found out of their original context (Gruber 2011c, 524). They have been defined as Jewish, based on the presence of a presumed Jewish symbol or a Hebrew name, not necessarily in Hebrew script or language (Gruber 2011c, 523). Many Jewish cemeteries and gravestones have been destroyed during World War II in Europe in general and under the Communist regime in eastern Europe (Gruber 2011c, 524). Nonetheless, some gravestones that are still in their original position are known, for instance from Worms (Germany), Barcelona and Tarrega (Spain) (Gruber 2011c, 524).

From the excavations at the cemeteries at Prague (Czech Republic) and Tarrega it is known that some of the buried persons there, including women and children and aged individuals, suffered severe violence before they died around the mid-fourteenth century, possibly as pogrom victims (Gruber 2011c, 525). From the excavations at York and Worms it is known that the orientation of the graves there was different (fig 18) from the east-west orientation towards Jerusalem encountered at for instance Prague and Barcelona

(Lilley *et al.* 1994, 370; Silberman 2010; Wallisová 2011). It was southwest-northeast according to Silberman (2010, 60) and north-south according to Wallisová (2011, 282). In York some sort of shrouds or coffins with iron nails were used for interment (Lilley *et al.* 1994, 383, 385; Silberman 2010). Grave goods are not specifically mentioned by either Silberman (2010) or Gruber, but Wallisová (2011, 281) concludes from the graves excavated at Deza (Spain) that Sephardi graves contained more rich grave goods than the ones of Azkenazic Jews that were buried there. Nevertheless, this may as well be the result of other factors such as poverty. Almost no research has been done yet on the patterning within the cemeteries themselves (Gruber 2011c, 526). New cemeteries were often the result of epidemics, or simply of the fact that a cemetery had become enclosed by buildings (Gruber 2011c, 525).

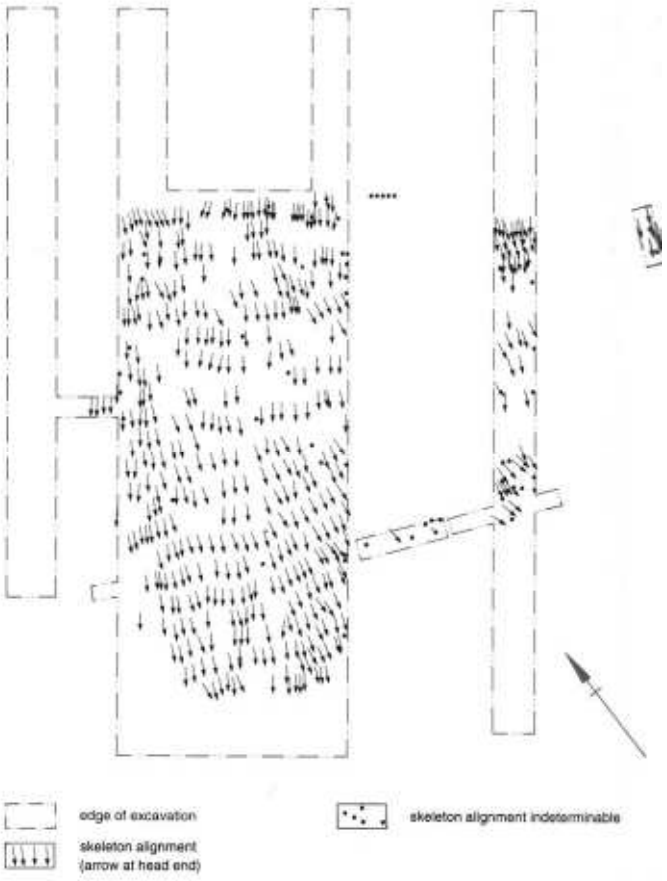

Figure 18. Plot of the alignment of skeletons at York (Lilley et al. 1994, 372).

Jewish cemeteries in the Islamic world

Information on Jewish cemeteries in the Islamic World is mostly known from Andalusia before 1492. Also Stavroulakis and DeVinney (1992, 81) mention some examples during

the rule of the Ottoman empire, such as the cemetery of Halkis and the one at Ioannina. The most interesting discovery of recent date however is probably that of a number of oblong cylinder shaped granite gravestones in and alongside a river in south-eastern Armenia near Eghegis in the Siwniq region, only in 1996 (fig 19).[17] Based on the Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions these gravestones were dated from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1337 CE (Gruber 2011c, 524). Although Armenia has been under Islamic rule for certain periods, it was ruled by the Orbelian dynasty who cooperated with the Mongols at that time (*Ha'aretz,* 4 February 2001).[18] Therefore it should be noted that this makes it a find in the Islamic World in terms of geography but it cannot be regarded as a cemetery from a Jewish community under Islamic rule in terms of religion.

Figure 19. 'Tsevi's gravestone' from the Armenian Jewish cemetery at Eghegis (Retrieved 7th December 2012 at http://yeghegis.syunikngo.am/?page_id=8&pid=68).

The cemetery of Salonika was completely destroyed by the Germans during World War II and the buildings of the University of Thessaloniki were erected over its former location. Some pieces of the destroyed marble grave markers have been reused and can be

[17] See the website of the project at http://yeghegis.syunikngo.am/.

[18] Lewy, D., The Lost Jews of Armenia, *Ha'aretz* (February 4, 2001). Retrieved 6 June 2012 from http://www.khazaria.com/armenia/armenian-jews.html.

encountered while walking through the city (Stavroulakis and DeVinney 1992, 185). The earliest grave markers of the cemetery of Halkis were some sort of slanted gabled superstructures with an opening at the head for insertion of commemoration stones (Stavroulakis and DeVinney 1992, 81). Some of the markers of the earliest graves, dating to the sixteenth century have been integrated into the synagogue as well as some markers of the even older but destroyed cemetery of the fourteenth century (Stavroulakis and DeVinney 1992, 81). The cemetry at Ioanninna, is by some of its community members claimed to be of the thirteenth century, but this cannot be confirmed (Stavroulakis and DeVinney 1992, 118). Some simple roughly quarried slabs of local limestone with no inscription may probably be considered as the oldest stones of this cemetery (Stavroulakis and DeVinney 1992, 118). Details such as the orientation of the graves are not mentioned and no excavations have been carried out.

In Andalusia Jewish cemeteries have been found in Lucena, Barcelona, Deza, Tarrega and Toledo. Especially the one at Toledo is of interest since Christian and Muslim cemeteries have been found as well, making it possible to compare Jewish cemeteries with these, although this is not always as straightforward as it seems at first instance (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 287). Actually, there are two Jewish cemeteries in Toledo. One is located at Pradillo de San Bartolomé, close to the ancient Roman cemetery that has been in use continuously until recent times. Established by the Romans in the third century the Roman necropolis has been expanded by the Visigoths in the fourth and fifth centuries followed by Muslims, Christians and Jews during the medieval period (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 288, 290). The other Jewish cemetery, Cerro de la Horca, is only used by the Jewish community (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 288). One of the distinguishing features in Toledo is the so-called *lucillo*, a kind of vault made of brick in which the wooden coffin was deposited which was used in Jewish burials only (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 292). This *lucillo* served as the demarcation of the graves below surface, while at the surface the graves were separated by pyramid-shaped stelae, that unfortunately did not survive (Ruiz Tabaoda 2011, 296).

Grave gifts have been encountered in both Barcelona and Deza, consisting of earrings, silver hair nets or bands of gold that were probably used for certain hairstyles and exceptionally a silver and even a golden ring with a Hebrew or an Arabic inscription (Wallisová 2011, 281). In Deza also some pieces of copper and seven pins were found (Wallisová 2011, 281). In Toledo, traces of black or green cushions were found beneath

the head, but no grave gifts were encountered, at least not in the individual tombs (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 296).

Furthermore there was a difference in orientation between the graves of the three religions at Toledo. Christian graves were oriented east-west or facing the church in an attempt to avoid any resemblance with the graves of Muslims (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 291, 298). The Muslims mostly had a north-eastern/south-western orientation (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 297) and the Jewish ones had a south-west or north-east orientation (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 291, 293). The Muslim graves were shallow, apparently dug without any specific structure and they were covered with bricks or rocks (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 297). The bodies were oriented in a north-east/south-west position and interred on the right side facing the south-east (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 298), which in Toledo is the direction of Mecca. The arms were in front of the body at the height of the pelvis. The bodies in the Christian graves, which were not very deep either, were deposited on the back with the arms on the breast, facing the choir or apse of the church. The Jewish bodies were interred on the back with the face towards the ceiling, the arms on both sides of the body and the feet paralel or superimposed (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 297).

The research on differences between Jewish and Muslim or Christian graves is something that deserves more attention, but also the differences between theory and reality are worth examining. One distinguishing feature between Islamic graves and Jewish graves, in theory at least, is that the Islamic ones had a modest grave marker with no inscription, while the Jewish graves usually have at least an inscription indicating the name of the deceased. Muslim graves, in theory, had no grave gifts, while it is known that some Jewish graves had grave gifts. This is specifically the result of a more deeply underlying different perspective on death in both religions. Islam, in theory, endorses the basic idea that all are equal in death and that no inscribed or ornamented grave marker should be placed on the grave. Instead, only a simple stone or wooden marker may be used for indicating the location of the head of the deceased (Insoll 1999, 168-9). For Judaism, the crucial point may considered to be the commemoration of the deceased, explicitly prescribing the marking of a grave for this purpose, as well as for maintaining the purity of the living, thereby keeping a certain distance between the sacredness of the dead and the purity of the living and especially the priests (Gruber 2011c, 523). It may be expected that this difference in perspectives will be visible in the funerary remains somehow, at least in theory. Interestingly, in Toledo most of these differences can indeed be observed in some way.

On the level of cemetery patterning, again in theory, the orientation between Muslim and Jewish graves may be expected to differ, since Muslim graves are expected to be oriented towards Mecca and Jewish graves toward Jerusalem. In practice this turns out to be far more complicated however and it would at least need further research to be usable in a way, if at all. One of the difficulties for instance would be that in some regions Mecca and Jerusalem are to be sought in the same direction. Nevertheless, a different orientation was observed between the Jewish and Christian graves in Toledo. Depending on the location of the grave however, these different orientation points were not always clearly distinguishable. Moreover, in Toledo there may have been a deliberate emphasis on these differences in an attempt to avoid any resemblance with the graves of the other religions (Ruiz Toboada 2011, 298). Another aspect at the level of cemetery patterning that deserves more attention is the layout of the Jewish cemeteries themselves, for instance with regard of specific areas for infant burials. In Toledo however, some graves of adults and infants were found relatively close near each other (Ruiz Taboada 2011, 297).

4.4 Jewish iconography and symbolism

Jewish symbols in synagogue and funerary art are often considered as the most powerful and useful indications of Judaism. Jewish iconography and symbolism started to appear from the first century BCE on, but became more prominent after the destruction of the temple and especially from the third century CE on (Hachlili 2001a, 112; Levine 2002, 831). The elaborate work of Goodenough from 1953-1968 on Jewish symbols has served as the basis for the study of Jewish symbols and symbolism (Goodenough 1988). With this study Goodenough tried to prove the presence of a more mystical Judaism, independent or even opposed to the Judaism of the rabbis, but this theory was rejected by almost everyone (Levine 2002, 828; Smith 1967, 65).

Jewish iconography and symbolism in Antiquity

The Jewish art in synagogal and funerary contexts of the Second Temple Period and Late Antiquity has been thoroughly studied by Hachlili in both the land of Israel and the *diaspora* and her research includes typologies, schematic drawings and distribution of different types of symbols (Hachlili 1989; 1998; 2001b). The most prominent symbols are the *menorah* (the seven-branched chandelier) and the ritual objects comprising the *lulav* (a leaf of the date palm), the *ethrog* (a kind of citrus fruit), the *shofar* (the rams

horn) and the incense shovel (a rectangular fire pan, in Israel) or the vase (in the form of an amphora, in the *diaspora*) (fig 20). Furthermore the shewbread table, the *Torah* shrine and the ark of the scrolls (*aron*) often appear in the art of Late Antiquity (fig 21) (Hachlili 2001a, 113). These symbols are associated with remembrance of the Temple and the rites once carried out there (Hachlili 2001a, 113; Levine 2002, 831).

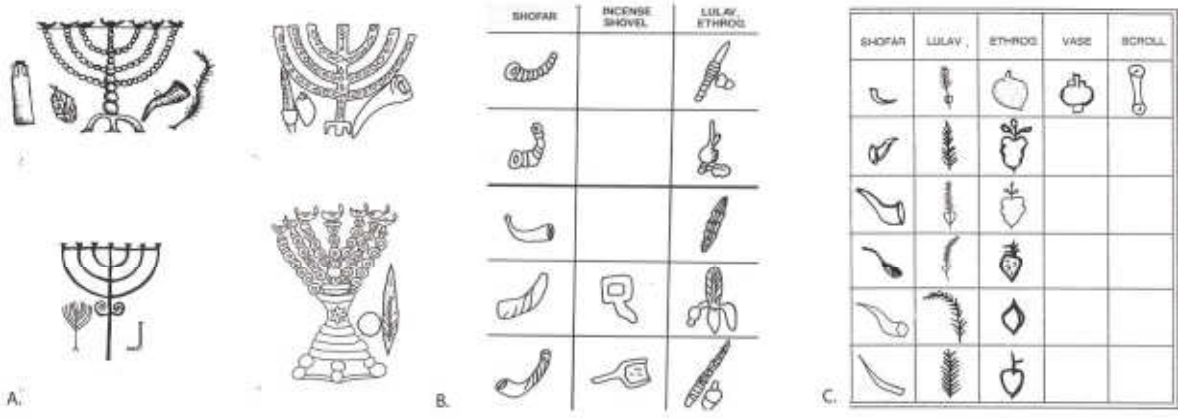

Figure 20. The menorah and other prominent Jewish symbols.

A. *Examples of the menorah, the seven-branched chandler, with flanking ritual objects from Venosa, Ostia, Sardis and Dura (Hachlili 1998, 347).*
B. *Examples of the shofar, incense shovel and lulav/ethrog symbols in the land of Israel from Ashkelon, Ashdod, Beth She'an and Beth She'arim (Hachlili 1988, 261).*
C *Examples of the shofar, lulav, ethrog, vase and scroll symbols in the diaspora from the Monteverde catacomb (Hachlili 1998, 351).*

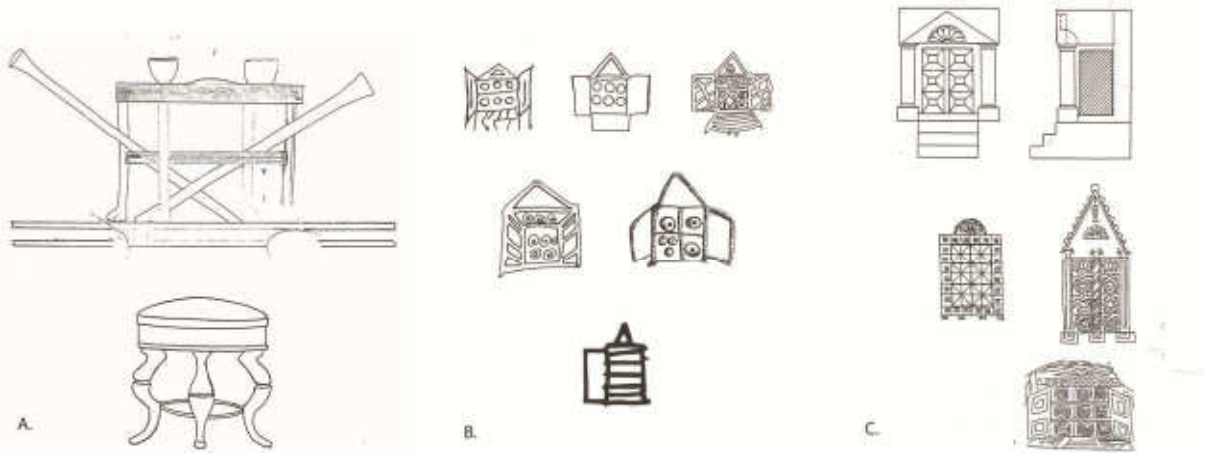

Figure 21. Shewbread tables, arks and Torah shrines.

A. *Examples of depicted Shewbread tables from the arch of Titus and Dura (Hachlili 1998, 345).*
B. *Arks depicted on Monteverde tombstones (Hachlili 1998, 365).*
C. *Schematic Torah shrine and ark (Hachlili 1998, 368).*

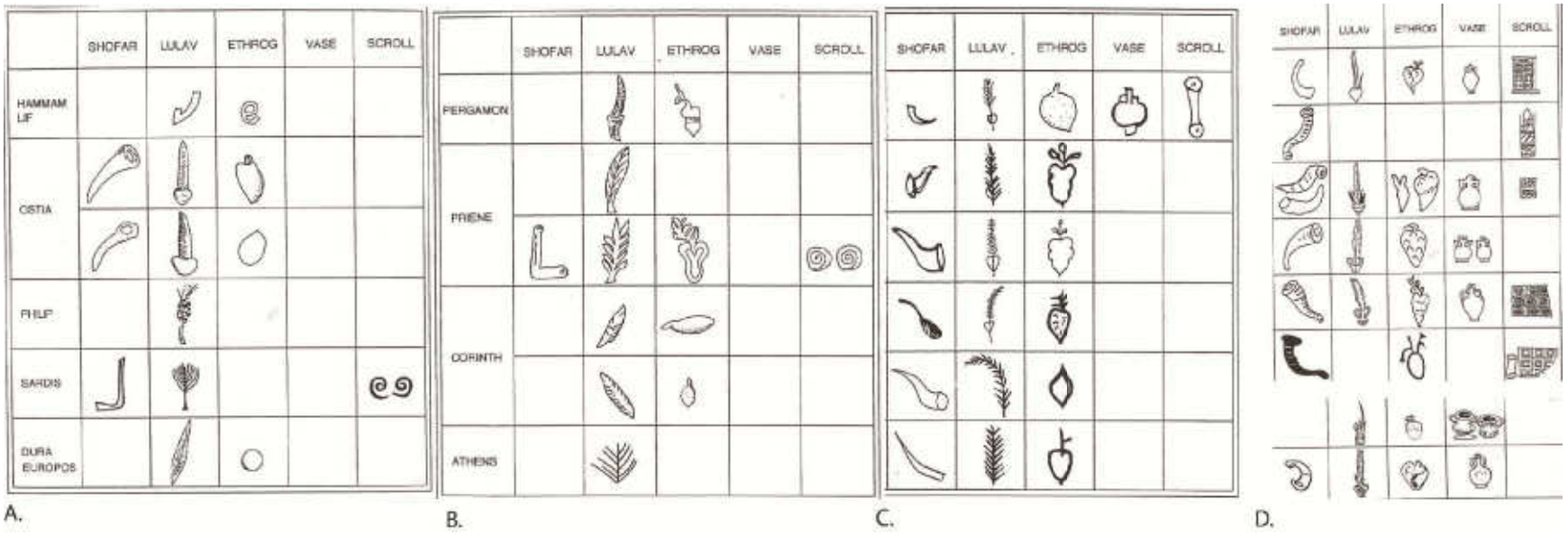

Figure 22. Symbolic representations of the ritual objects.

A. Ritual objects on synagogue mosaics and reliefs (Hachlili 1998, 348).

B. Ritual objects on synagogue reliefs (Hachlili 1998, 349).

C. Ritual objects in Monteverde catacomb (Hachlili 1998, 351).

D. Ritual objects on gold glasses (Hachlili 1998, 358).

Of these, the *menorah* has become the most important symbol associated with Judaism over the ages (Hachlili 1998, 344; 2001b, 204). Especially in the *diaspora* it was used as a representation of Jewish identity (Hachili 1998, 344; 2001b, 208). It has been suggested that the *menorah* evolved from the representation of a plant or tree, or even the in the Near East commonly used Tree of Life, but this suggestion has been refuted (Ameisenowa and Mainland 1939, 335; Goodenough 1988, 113; Hachlili 2001b, 38). It was often accompanied by one to four of the ritual objects associated with the feast of Tabernacles (*succoth*) (Hachlili 1998, 347; 2001a, 114). Levine additionally mentions the Temple façade as a Jewish symbol in Late Antiquity (Levine 2002, 831). Furthermore, Hachlili mentions the hanging lamp, which is present in the Jewish art of Late Antiquity in Israel but seems to be absent in *diaspora* contexts (Hachlili 1998, 348). In contrast, in the *diaspora* an additional symbol for the *Torah* scrolls has been encountered that has not been seen within Israel (fig 22) (Hachlili 1998, 348). Moreover, in the *diaspora* the vase or flask seems to have replaced the incense shovel (Hachlili 1988, 263; 1998, 348). The conch (see also fig 8) represents another often used motif in synagogal and funerary art, but it is not unique for Judaism and has its roots in preceding cultures (Hachlili 1988, 280). More general motifs that are known as elements in ancient Jewish art are plant ornaments such as the vine, the wreath, palm trees, the ivy and pomegranates, geometric ornaments such as the rosette, animal and bird motifs such as lions, horned animals, horses, eagles, peacocks, dolphins and fish, objects such as a bird cage, vases, jars, candelabra and candlesticks, and even human and mythological figures (Hachlili 1988, 315ff; 1998, 379ff).

Apart from symbols there are specific biblical themes recurring in the Jewish art of Late Antiquity. This is obvious in the wall paintings of the Dura Europos synagogue in Syria, dating to the third century CE, which may be considered the most important and unique Jewish art of the ancient world (Hachlili 2001a, 114). The paintings mostly represent biblical scenes in a narrative form, added with details from the *midrashim* and *addagot* (Hachlili 2001a, 114). The repertoire of these biblical scenes was not elaborate. Prominent scenes are that of the Sacrifice of Isaac, Noah's Ark, Daniel and the Lion's Den and King David (Hachlili 2001a, 115). Dura Europa definitely is not the only synagogue where this kind of art was present. Similar scenes have been discovered in mosaic pavements and wall pavements of synagogues both in the land of Israel and the *Diaspora*. The styles of these paintings differ and there does not seem to have been a common factor in style or origin (Hachlili 2001a, 115).

An interesting theme in synagogal art are the zodiacs discovered in several synagogues dating from the fourth to the seventh century CE, but thus far only in Israel (Hachlili 1977; 1988, 301; 2001a, 115). This seems an odd, pagan, feature for a synagogue but it has been discovered in too many synagogues to be accidental. In all occasions the zodiac occupies the centre of a three-panel mosaic floor and consists of two concentric circles inscribed within a square (fig 23) (Hachlili 1977, 62; 2001a, 116). The space between the inner circle and the outer circle contains the twelve zodiac signs, sometimes accompanied by the names of the twelve months in Hebrew or Greek and the four corners of the square contain the four seasons (Hachlili 1977, 62). Curious as well is that the sun god (Helios/Sol) is depicted in the inner circle (Hachlili 1977, 62). There are however parallels with early Christian contexts (Elsner 2003, 122; Talgam 2012, 444). It has been suggested that the use of the helios and zodiac motives in synagogues has served as a way of the construction of a Jewish identity, to confront Christianity, or simply as a way of depicting the calendar since time was an important factor in the liturgical cycle (Talgam 2012, 450). Elsner (2003, 124) on the other hand, stresses that the material evidence does not support the nowadays adopted emphasis on a distinctive Jewish and Christian arts apart from the general Greaco-Roman art and states it was instead part of that general art. These insights could perhaps shed light on the developments in art that led to the policy of iconoclasm emerging in the early Byzantine empire between 726-780 and 813-843 CE (Bintliff 2012, 403; Cormack 1985, 95), in combination with the more successful strict maintenance of non-figural religious art in Islam (Cormack 1985, 95; Insoll 1999, 135).

Levine (2005, 578) has shown that the interpretation of Jewish art and symbolism should be approached with caution. The still limited amount of available material and the dependence on literary sources and Christian artistic parallels brings the danger of projecting external perceptions of Jewish art or overlooking the possibility that literary sources were influenced by the art instead. Levine touches some crucial questions here and hopefully this will lead to an interesting discussion on the interpretation of Jewish art.

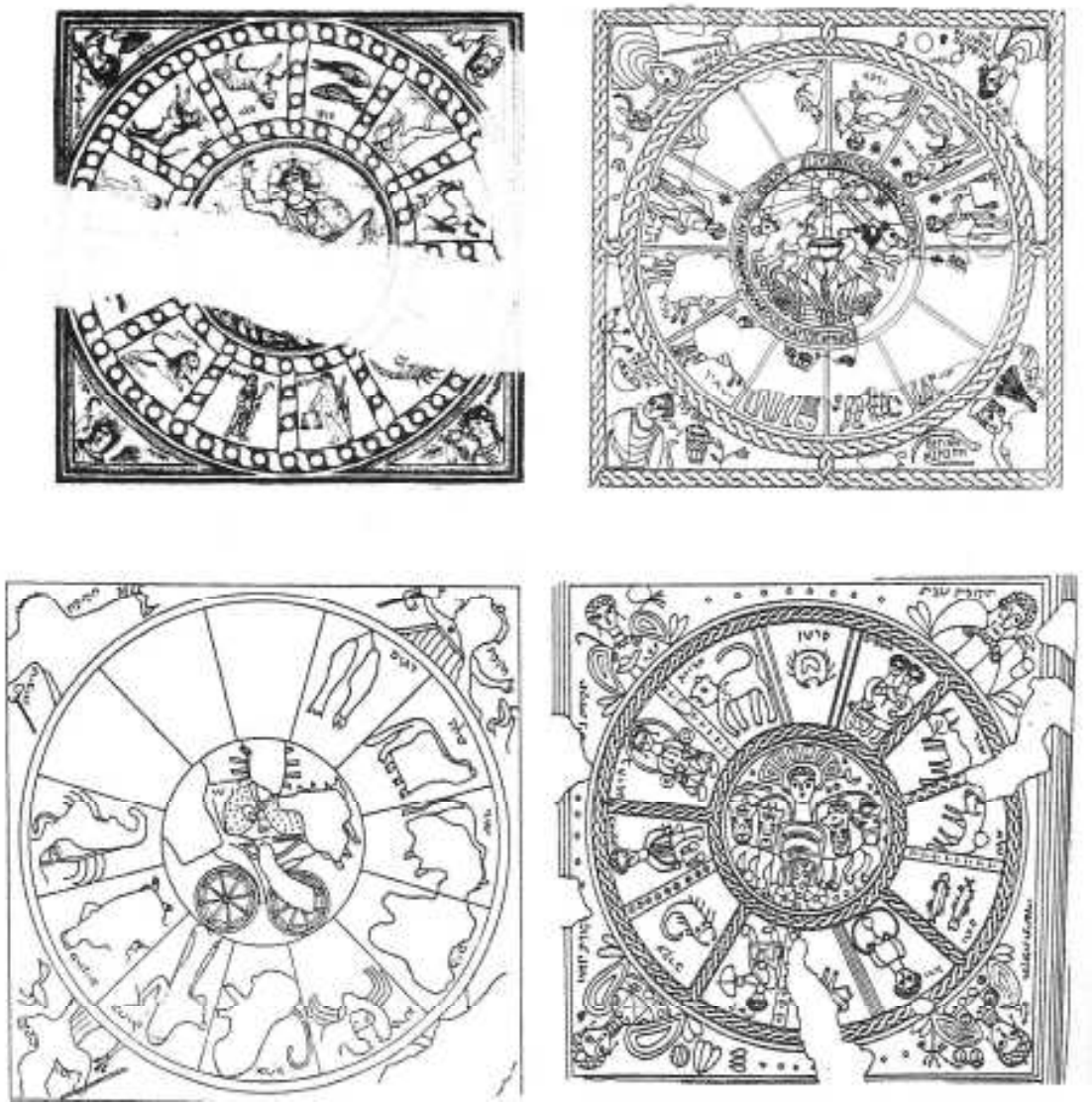

Figure 23. The zodiac design on four synagogue mosaic pavements in Israel, from Hammath Tiberias, Sepphoris, Na'aran and Beth Alpha (Hachlili 2001a, 116).

Medieval Jewish iconography and symbolism

Not much archaeological research has been done yet on the use of symbols and iconography to indicate a Jewish identity for the medieval period in Europe, let alone the Islamic World. From some of the more recent Jewish cemeteries in Greece, from a tombstone dating to 1885 from Rhodes for instance, it is known that symbols were used for indicating the craft of the deceased (Stavroulakis and DeVinney 1992, 156). Overall, it seems quite simply assumed that a *menorah* or another ritual symbol on a grave indicates the Jewishness of the deceased. Gruber for example mentions the carved symbols on Jewish tombstones from antiquity and early medieval periods in Pannonia

(Hungary) when Hebrew characters were not in use (Gruber 2011c, 523). From this it may appear that the Jewish symbols known from Antiquity had gained a status of unambiguous Jewishness by the medieval period, serving as a clear indication of Jewish identity. It could be questioned however to what extent this apparently accepted idea is influenced by a modern perspective of these symbols, which moreover, in turn is built on what we now know from Antiquity. Therefore, especially these symbols may represent an important field of research in the archaeology of medieval Judaism since it is so closely related to identification of possibly Jewish remains.

In an article on the Sacrifice of Isaac, some Jewish examples of this theme are mentioned from thirteenth century Germany, Naples and Spain, but these are all from manuscripts and not from an architectural context (Gutman 1987, 68). Another article draws attention to the use of the elephant as a motive in the art of the now destroyed wooden synagogues in Gwozdiec and Hodorov, former Poland, now Ukraine, and north European medieval manuscripts from about the thirteenth century on (Eppstein 1994, 465, 467). This article is especially interesting since it discusses the interaction between Jewish iconography as that of a minority group in relation to their majority surroundings and the methodology of research on this subject. More specifically it wonders for instance what can be deduced from the iconography adopted by the Jews about their perspective on their surrounding majority society (Eppstein 1994, 466). Studying Jewish iconography in this way may be interesting and rewarding, not only for medieval Europe but also for the Islamic world.

4.5 Inscriptions

Related to symbols and iconography are inscriptions, which are considered to provide a clear indication of Judaism as well. Sometimes they even make up the first or only one that reaches us (Hachlili 2001a, 117). Inscriptions can be found in both ancient synagogues and funerary contexts throughout the land of Israel and in the *Diaspora* (Hachlili 2001a, 117). Within synagogues, inscriptions are mostly dedicatory ones, indicating who helped in funding a building, or additional ones to mosaics mentioning the seasons or the months in the zodiacs. The other prominent group of inscriptions are epigraphs; the texts on tombs, identifying who is buried there, in order to commemorate the deceased. Hachlili mentions the use of inscriptions for getting insight in the geographical dispersion of Jewish communities, as well as other aspects of these

communities concerning organization, titles, names, relations, traditions, professions and religious ideas (Hachlili 2001a, 117).

Jewish inscriptions in Antiquity and Europe

Some 110 inscriptions in Aramaic and Hebrew and 50 in Greek have been found in synagogues in the land of Israel dating to the third to seventh centuries (Hachlili 2001a). These 'inscriptions' in synagogues can be either carved on stone or worked into mosaic pavements. Some are even only painted on plaster (Hachlili 2001a, 117). In the *diaspora*, especially the c. 600 inscriptions of the Jewish catacombs in Rome have been studied thoroughly which rendered a lot of information (Rutgers 2000, 149).

An overview of Jewish inscriptions in Europe, including those of the catacombs, has been published as a result of the Jewish Inscriptions Project from the Faculty of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. These two volumes contain over 800 presumably Jewish inscriptions (or inscriptions that can somehow be related to Jews). These inscriptions all originate from Western Europe and Rome, and most are dated from the first century BCE to the seventh CE (Noy 1993; 1995). Western Europe in this case means most of Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia, Spain and Gaul (Noy 1993). Five criteria have been used to define these inscriptions as Jewish; 1) the use of Hebrew and Aramaic, 2) the use of specifically Jewish symbols (*menorah, shofar, lulav, etrog*), 3) the use of Jewish terminology, 4) the use of distinctively Jewish names in the case of Sicily and Venosa, and Rome 5) provenance from a Jewish catacomb (Noy 1993, ix; 1995, ix). The latter criterion in my opinion seems a bit tricky since it holds the risk of defining something as Jewish, based on circular reasoning. This would mean that an inscription is defined as Jewish because it was discovered in a Jewish catacomb that was defined as Jewish based on the inscriptions (including symbols) found there.

Jewish inscriptions from around 800 CE on

Noy also mentions Jewish inscriptions that did not meet his dating criteria of between the first century BCE and the seventh CE, and included these in an appendix which includes some possibly medieval inscriptions (Noy 1993, 273). Inscriptions in the medieval period are mostly found on stelae or tombs, but some have been found on small objects. Noy for instance mentions an inscription in Hebrew on a golden ring found in the mountains of Sardinia of an unknown but probably medieval date (Noy 1993, 277). Furthermore some inscriptions in Hebrew on stamps are mentioned by Friedenberg in his article on Jewish

Byzantine stamp seals (Friedenberg 1995). Two stamps from fourteenth century Catalonia bear short inscriptions and were probably used to certify unleavened bread as *kosher* according to rabbinic rules (Friedenberg 1995, 8). A terracotta stamp bearing an inscription from the book *Jeremiah* in Hebrew is said to originate from Babylon between the fourth to tenth century and was probably used for sealing wine jars (Friedenberg 1995, 16). A wooden stamp bearing a *menorah* and an inscription in Greek was found in Egypt and is dated to the tenth to fourteenth century (Friedenberg 1995, 16). These wooden stamps were most probably used for stamping bread and cheese. Although the stamp bears a *menorah* it may as well have been a Christian stamp (Friedenberg 1995, 16).

The other inscriptions mentioned by Noy are mostly epitaphs in Hebrew or sometimes Latin or Aramaic, carved in limestone or in one occasion in marble and they date to the eighth to ninth centuries (Noy 1993, 273-283). Interesting in many respects are the inscriptions in Chinese found in a synagogue in Kaifeng, China, dating respectively to 1489, 1512, 1663 (two inscriptions), and 1679 (Foltz 1998, 13-14; Leslie 1972, 130). Unfortunately some of them have only survived as rubbings, but the ones from 1489, 1512 and 1679 have survived on stone (Foltz 198, 14; Leslie 1972, 131ff). These inscriptions are not epitaphs but are records of some important events in the life and origin of the Jewish community in Kaifeng (Leslie 1972, 130). Jewish presence in China probably goes back to classical times when Jews were involved in trade between the Roman Mediterranen and the Chinese Han dynasty, and might be related somehow to the origins of the radanite trade system (Foltz 1998, 12). For an overview of studied medieval Jewish inscriptions and epitaphs, see appendix II.

4.6 Domestic architecture

Ancient domestic architecture

Interest in the Jewish domestic architecture of Antiquity was initially born out of a desire to reconstruct the physical setting of well-known literary sources, primarily the rabbinic texts and the New Testament gospels (Galor 2010, 420). Excavations in Jerusalem in the area south of the Temple Mount enclosure wall by Benjamin Mazar in 1969 and in the Jewish Quarter by Nahman Avigad in 1983 revealed many domestic structures, but also the cities of the Negev caught the attention, for instance from Avraham Negev from 1980 on. The excavation at the village of Qatzrin in the Golan, which started during the 1980s,

was one of the first archaeological endeavours specifically aiming at domestic architecture of the Roman-Byzantine periods (Galor 2010, 422; Killebrew *et al.* 2003). Apart from the excavation at Qatzrin, domestic houses have been the aim of research in for instance Sepphoris in Lower Galilee and 'Ein Gedi at the western shore of the Dead Sea (Galor 2010, 422).

Galor points out that the rabbinic literature does not address chronological and regional variations, despite the at first sight many useful prescriptions and references to domestic architecture (Galor 2010, 423). Besides, from the archaeological data it has become clear that the variety of domestic structures is almost endless and that the dimensions of most houses do not correspond to the prescriptions in the textual sources (Galor 2010, 429). Instead, they seem to have been adjusted to the needs of the owner, the topography of the site and the historical and economic situation (Galor 2010, 429). The building materials that were used for domestic houses were mostly local materials such as stone, wood and earth, which basically needed the same building techniques over the years, making it hard to distinguish chronological developments (Galor 2010, 431). There was however a difference between the building materials for monumental and domestic building as for the former imported materials were used (Galor 2010, 431).

Medieval Jewish domestic architecture in Europe

In Europe, Jewish quarters have mostly started to be excavated recently and consequently research aiming specifically at domestic housing still has to be developed. Some earlier archaeological investigations are known, for instance from Comtat Venaissin, where the archaeological investigation in the western garden of Le Petit Palais d'Avignon in 1977 revealed a part of the ancient Jewish quarters with its streets and houses. These excavations never resulted in publications however, leaving the vast quantity of wall fragments with Hebrew graffiti waiting for analysis in the depots for over thirty years till now (Guyonnet 2011, 124). From the excavations in Regensburg, it has become clear that the Jewish houses did not differ in any respect from that of the Christian patricians (Codreanu-Windauer 2011, 149). In Cologne about seven houses from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century and earlier have been discovered which could perhaps be related to specific crafts, such as a bakery or a goldsmith (Gruber 2011a, 439; Schütte 2011, 101). From the written sources it was known that in Alghero on Sardinia the Jewish quarters were built around the synagogue and included both large houses and more modest houses with multiple stories (Milanese 2011, 157). Although it may be expected that the Jewish

houses in Europe differ per region and were adapted to the styles in their environment, combining the results from the excavations of the Jewish quarters of Europe could still be interesting and might perhaps produce at least some common traits.

Medieval Jewish domestic architecture in the Islamic world

Remarkably, quite a lot is known about the Jewish houses in the Islamic World. It should be noted however that almost none of this information is based on archaeological evidence but rather on architectural remains and oral and written sources. Goitein (1983, 48) states that according to the Genizah documents a transition in domestic architecture took place in the High Middle Ages. From the Genizah documents it has also become clear that Jews could be buying houses from Jews, Muslims or Christians, so a clear distinction between Jewish and the houses of other minorities is not to be expected (Goitein 1983, 49). This is a pity since excavations with special attention to domestic architecture have been carried out in Fusṭāṭ already from 1912 to 1920 by Ali Bahgat and Albert Gabriel and from 1960 by Gamal Mehreze as well as by George Scanlon and Wladyslav Kubiak (Goitein 1983, 53). Goitein considered these excavations as not as helpful as expected to test or clarify the written sources of the Cairo Genizah (Goitein 1983, 53). The reasons for this are firstly that Fusṭāṭ was abandoned gradually, leaving nothing of value, secondly that the most interesting parts of Fusṭāṭ are not reachable because of the more recent buildings on top of it, and thirdly that there is a discrepancy between the archaeological evidence and the known accounts of medieval visitors to the area (Goitein 1983,54).

Fortunately there are some areas where Jewish houses can be distinguished from those of their surroundings. Already in 1957, Carl Rathjens published a volume specifically dealing with Jewish houses, namely those of Sana', a city in Yemen where Jews have lived from about 500 BCE until they were forced to emigrate to Mauza' on the southern coast of the Red Sea in 1679 (Rathjens 1957, 11-12). A research of somewhat later date is that on the domestic architecture of the Jewish quarter or so-called *mellah* in Fez (Miller *et al.* 2001). Stavroulakis and Devinney mention the rather impressive still standing Jewish town houses of Salonika, but these are of a rather late date, mostly from the nineteenth century (Stavroulakis and Devinney 1992, 184).

In the Islamic world a large variation in Jewish houses existed. Still, all were primarily defined by the circumstances of climate, available building materials and local traditions (Goitein 1957, 5). An obvious differentiation was that between rich and poor,

but interestingly, differences between houses were also defined by religious prescriptions (Goitein 1957, 5). An important prescription from Muslim law for instance was that the houses of unbelievers should be modest in appearance and could not be higher than the houses of Muslims (Sura 9, v. 29 cf. Goitein 1957, 5). Another difference was that Muslim houses were defined by the separation between man and women, which did, theoretically, not apply to the Christian and Jewish minorities in an Islamic context (Goitein 1957, 5). However, within a Byzantine context, the groundplan of the courtyard house could support such a separation (Sigalos 2003, 204).[19] Actually there appear to be many differences between the Jewish houses and the Arabic ones in Yemen, except perhaps for the houses in the small villages (Rathjens 1957, 12).

The once Jewish houses in Sana' that have mostly Arabic owners now, are still recognizable as originally Jewish by the structures on the roof of the houses that were built there in order to easy establish a leaf hut for the Feast of *Sukkoth*,which commemorates that the Jewish people lived under the open sky for forty years after leaving Egypt (Goitein 1957, 6). Actually, the main feature of the Jewish houses in Sana' can be considered the presence of an open space (*Hijrah*) on the uppermost floor (Goitein 1957, 7), which served the need to built a Tabernacle for the feast of Succoth. Specifically this feature gives rise to speculations on the origin of Jewish domestic architecture in San'a (Rathjens 1957, 64ff). What makes the Jewish houses recognizable from the outside as well is that they are almost never ornamented, whereas the Arab houses are ornamented elaborately (Rathjens 1957, 17). With concern to the internal architecture the Jewish houses were intentionally planned to have different levels between floors, so all the rooms opening to the courtyard on the roof have different ground levels and could either be higher or lower than the ground level of the court (Rathjens 1957, 14). In contrast, the Arabic houses had rooms always at the same level as that of the floor they were on. This may have to do with the fact that the Jews needed storage space since they were mostly merchants and craftsmen (Rathjens 1957, 14).

The above mentioned features may not be recognizable archaeologically but the following might be. Jews were often craftsmen and merchants and as a safety measure they usually did not enter their workshops from their living quarters but through a

[19] The spatial separation between the genders has been subject to discussion recently in the archaeology of Jewish Antiquity (Baker 2002; Galor 2010, 436; Meyers 2003).

separate door opening to the street in order to avoid that the interior of a house was accessible by another way than that through the main entrance (Goitein 1957, 6). Furthermore, Jewish houses were built on foundations and cellars whereas the Arabic house was always directly built on ground level (Rathjens 1957, 14). Rathjens mentions three causes for this (1957, 15). The first is that Jews probably needed more space because of the restriction that their houses may not be higher than that of their Muslim neighbours. This actually meant that Jews could not build higher than c. nine meters which equals a maximum of three floors (Rathjens 1957, 13). Since Jews preferred to keep their belongings and their food in their houses and as most were craftsmen and merchants, their houses were often built on a network of store rooms involving the ground floor, the cellars and an intermediate floor between the ground floor and the first floor (Goitein 1957, 6). The second is that Jews are allowed to drink alcohol by their religion while Muslims are not. As a result, Jewish houses can be distinguished by the presence of a room for producing wine or brewing home-made brandy (Goitein 1957, 6; Rathjens 1957, 15). The third is the need for a safe place in times of hostility from their Muslim neighbours for which the cellars could serve as well. Additionally, the Jewish houses were often connected by a doorway in the cellars so a whole network of cellars developed through which they could flee when necessary (Rathjens 1957, 15).

In Fez on the other hand, Jewish houses are mostly recognized as such since they are situated in the specific Jewish quarter or *mellah* and they are not very different from the Muslim houses in the Muslim part of the city, the *medinah.* There are however some distinctive features such as the corridor at the entrance of the house that is straight in the Jewish houses, whereas it bends in the Muslim houses (Miller *et al.* 2001, 315). There are however also some differences in the exterior of the houses, as the external walls have almost no openings (Miller *et al.* 2001, 314). Furthermore, the small rectangle niche where the *mezuzot*, the small tubes containing a text from the *Torah*, had been attached to the door posts of Jewish households can still be seen on some houses (Miller *et al.* 2001, 318). The most remarkable feature may perhaps be that the outside window frames of the Jewish houses were colourfully painted in blue, yellow, rose and bright red (Miller *et al.* 2001, 318). Furthermore the roof is an important element of the *mellah* houses, for both domestic activity and socializing, including celebrating the Feast of *Sukkoth* (Miller *et al.* 2001, 315). At the same time the roof provided a safe place when the streets became dangerous and when the *mellah* was attacked in 1703 many Jews could escape over the roofs of their houses (Miller *et al.* 2001, 315). There are some similarities with the Jewish

houses in San'a as also the Jewish houses in Fez had cellars for storage which in some cases contained a hidden door giving access to the street, giving shelter or providing an escape route (Miller *et al.* 2001, 316).

4.7 Jewish quarters, and *mellahs* versus *ghettos*

Jews have lived outside their home country since the emergence of their specific religious identity, but even in their home country they may have been a minority for long periods (Zangenberg and Van de Zande 2010, 165). According to Galor (2010, 435), research on domestic housing in Roman Palestine has shown that information on the religious affiliation of the inhabitants of small towns and villages in the Late Roman and Byzantine period was more easily to obtain than that from the inhabitants of cities, since the population of cities was usually mixed. The methods that were used could be challenged however, since the information within villages was obtained primarily by looking at the location of a dwelling in relation to the general population structure of the village combined with whether a church or a synagogue was present as the central monumental building, thereby apparently assuming that population of villages and small towns were more homogeneous than that of cities (Galor 2010, 435). Apart from that, mostly *miqva'ot*, but also small finds such as stone vessels, oil lamps with symbols or inscriptions, and *mezuzot* served as indicators for a Jewish presence (Galor 2010, 435).

Jewish quarters have been present in many cities throughout Europe and the Islamic World from Antiquity on to more recent times (*e.g.* Anchel 1940; Miller *et al.* 2001, 311; Salmona and Sigal 2011; Stavroulakis and DeVinney 1992). According to Vossler, the Jewish quarters 'can be identified as a separate entity' in many towns or its presence somehow 'survives in street names such as '*Judengasse*' (Vossler 2011, 418). What is interesting about these quarters from an archaeological viewpoint is firstly, rather obviously, that they provide a context from which it is known that it is a Jewish context, but secondly, more interesting, that these quarters may have specific spatial characteristics which would make them recognizable in the archaeological record without necessarily knowing beforehand that one is dealing with a Jewish quarter. A specific spatial layout comprising specific characteristics, can be seen in the later Jewish quarters of Europe and the Islamic world. The early Jewish quarters were not strictly demarcated and especially in the Mediterranean, churches and synagogues are often found close together in the town centre, although this has also been encountered in Speyer (Vossler 2011, 418).

So far, excavations have been carried out in the Jewish quarters of Cologne and Regensburg in Germany, Toledo in Spain, Metz, Ennezat, Saint-Paul-Trois-Chateaux and the Comtat Venaissin in France and Alghero in Sardinia (Salmona and Sigal 2011). Comparing the maps of three Jewish quarters from about the thirteenth century, that of Cologne, Regensburg and Toledo, shows that common features are the synagogue with a courtyard or public square and the *miqveh* in its proximity (fig 24). Additionally, in both Regensburg and Cologne a public building such as a 'Dancing house' or 'Bride house' is present and all three quarters have a kind of hospital. It may be coincidence but in all three quarters this cluster of buildings is situated in the south-western corner of the Jewish quarter, while the hospitals are situated at the limits of the quarter. Interesting about the layout of the Jewish quarter of Regensburg is that the main street runs through the Jewish quarter which is associated with the Jewish involvement in trade. In Alghero, the Jewish quarter, which was established between 1322 and the early fifteenth century, could be identified despite the lack of religious objects by zoo-archaeological research on the remains of animals used for consumption (Milanese 2010, 160). In comparison to the remains in the other quarters of the city the Jewish quarter showed less remains of animals that were not allowed for consumption under Jewish law (Milanese 2010, 160). It might be possible to examine pottery and building techniques in the same comparative way in future research, which perhaps may give more insight in what could be considered indications of a Jewish presence (Milanese 2010, 160). Something similar was done in Cologne by comparing the remains in cesspits of Christian and Jewish households (Silberman 2010, 58).

It may be presumed that Jews initially deliberately flocked together, as was the case in San'a (Rathjens 1957, 11). In Fez a walled Jewish quarter was established around 1438 which became known as a '*mellah'* (fig 25) (Miller *et al.* 2001). Other *mellahs* emerged between 1553 and1573 CE in Marrakesh, around the seventeenth century in Meknesh and in smaller villages in the nineteenth century CE (Flamand 1969; Gottreich 2003, 290; 2004, 120).[20] The emergence of the *ghettos* in Europe and the *mellahs* in Morocco therefore seems to be a specific feature of the late medieval period. There is however a major difference between the two and the *mellah* is a specific Moroccan

[20] For an overview of *mellahs* in Morocco up till 1950, see Flamand 1969, 329-333. See also http://www.ouarzazate-1928-1956.com/les-communautes-juives/pierre-flamand.html.

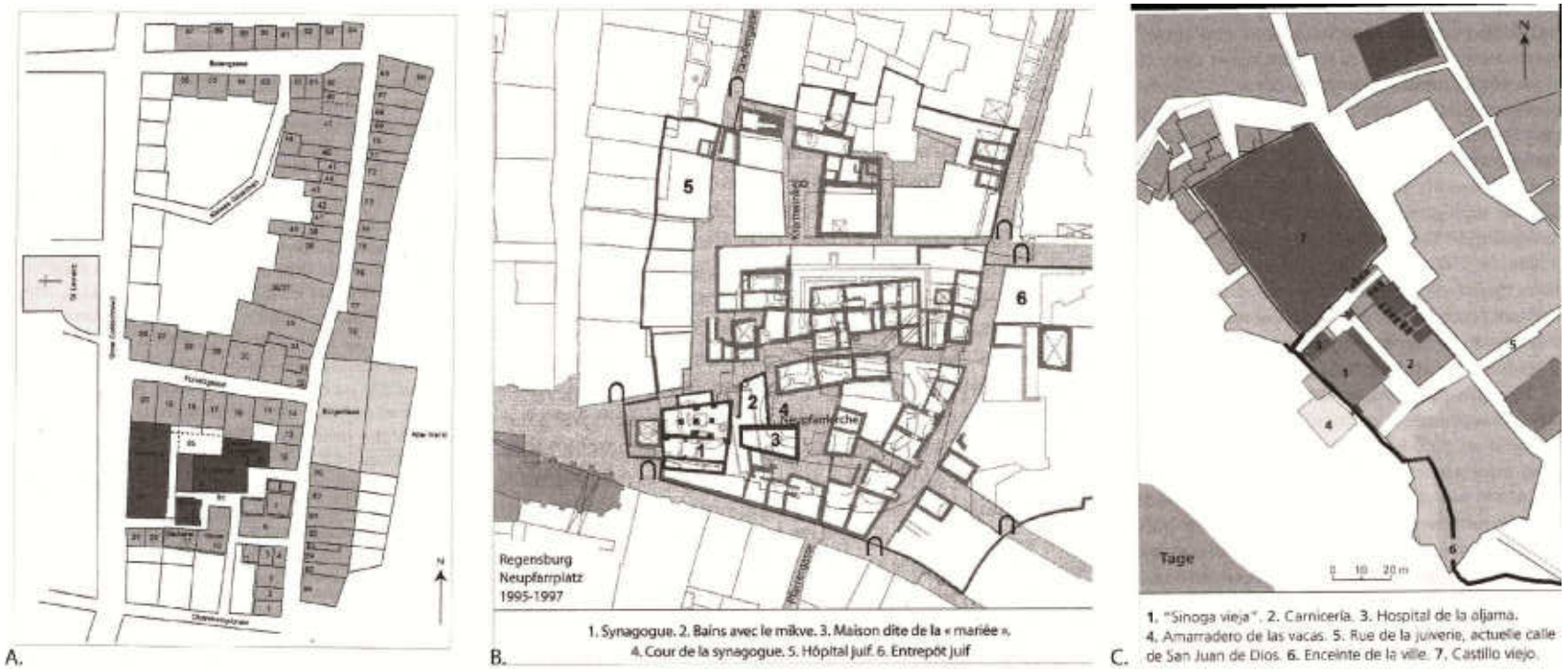

Figure 24. Maps of the Jewish quarters in Cologne, Regensburg and Toledo.

A. Cologne before 1349 CE (Schütte 2011, 95).

B. Regensburg, twelfth century CE (Codreanu-Windauer 2011, 149).

C. Toledo, Arriasa quarter around the thirteenth century CE (Passini 2011, 105).

invention, more the result of local circumstances than of Muslim precepts of isolation as proponents of the 'Islamic City' often too easily assume (*e.g.* Gottreich 2004, 119-20; Miller *et al.* 2001, 311). According to Gottreich (2004, 120), urban Jewish history is rarely studied in coherence with the general history of the cities they lived in and therefore the now challenged concept of the 'Islamic City model' also needs reconsideration from a Jewish perspective. According to Miller *et al.* (2010, 311), the *mellahs* were mostly established to protect the Jews and as a result they were often situated close to the royal palace, as was the case in Fez.

The *ghettos* in Europe, not to be confused with the later Nazi *ghettos* and to be seen in the light of the segregation of minorities in general as an inherent characteristic of medieval society, may perhaps be seen as a compromise between integration and expulsion.[21] At least this has been suggested for the one in Venice, that was the first to have been called *ghetto* (Ben-Shalom 2002, 177; Ravid 1990, 13). The origin of the name of the *ghetto* also comes from Venice and is probably to be sought in the Italian verb *gettare* which means to pour, or to cast, after the large foundries in the area (Ravid 1990, 13). A main characteristic of the *ghetto* can be considered that it is surrounded by a wall and could be locked off. In Venice, the *ghetto*[22] was established in 1516, mainly to control the Jews, who recently had become abundant in the city, in an attempt to make sure that they would not live in the same houses as Christians and would not be able to go wherever they wished (Ravid 1990, 13). Its ports were locked from sunset to sunrise and Jews were not allowed outside in that time of the day (Ravid 1990, 13). To secure this, Christian guards were appointed that had to be paid for by the Jews (Ravid 1990, 13). Therefore, it may seem strange that in Jewish history Venice is renowned for the freedom it left to Jews (Belinfante 1990, 7). Compared to the expulsions that were going on in other parts of Europe however, the obligation to live in an isolated quarter indeed may be considered mild, but was also the result of the ambiguous attitude of the Venetions towards the Jews. Venice heavily depended on the Jews as moneylenders to the poor, as a welcome source of income through taxes and forced loans and as pawnbrokers that were holding considerable Venetian property in pledge (Finlay 1982, 141).

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[21] See chapter 3.2, pages 47ff of this thesis.

[22] For a map and a schematic groundplan of the ghetto of Venice, see http://www.siger.org/joodse-geschiedenis-in-kaart/nl/diaspora-1.

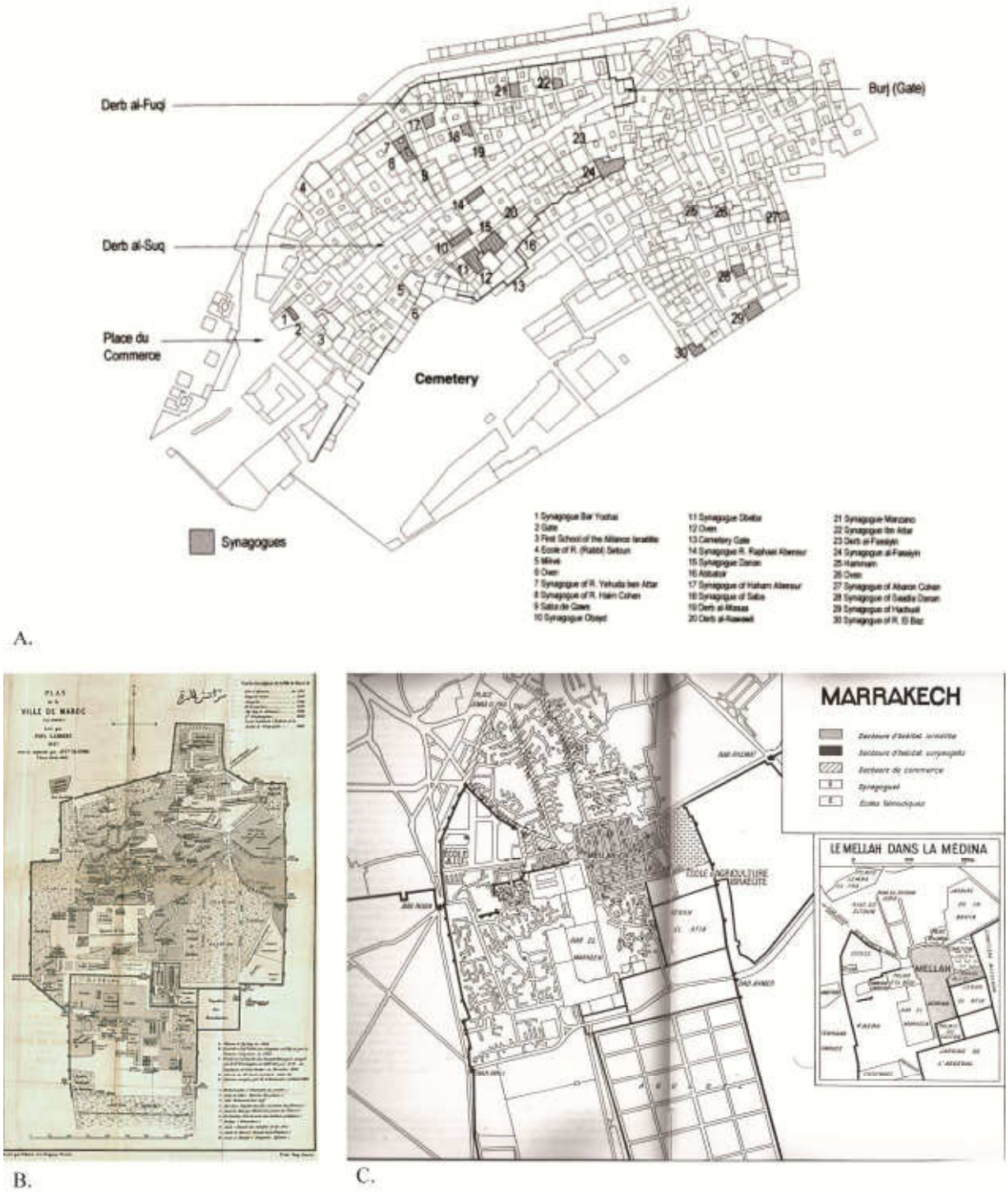

Figure 25. Map of mellahs in Fez and Marrakesh in Morocco.

A. The mellah in Fez (Miller et al. 2001, 311).

*B. The mellah in Marrakesh (Lambert 1968, retrieved 7th December 2012 at http://www.siger.org/jewish-history-on-the-map/en/*diaspora-*3).*

C. The mellah in Marrakesh (Flamand 1969).

The walled Jewish quarters or *mellahs* of Morocco can be found both in cities on the coast and in the interior and they evolved naturally adapting to demography, ecology and political change (Miller *et al.* 2001, 311). Another difference between the *ghetto*s of Europe and the *mellah* was that Jews could move around freely (Lewis1984, 8; Miller *et al.* 2001, 312). Jews in the Islamic world enjoyed the protection of the *dhimma* that permitted Jews to live in peace provided they paid their taxes (*e.g.* Lewis 1984, 21; Miller *et al.* 2001, 312). Jews often served as middlemen between producers and consumers and some had shops in the *medinah* (Miller *et al.* 2001, 312, 323). In the view of Miller *et al.* (2001, 312, 323) the *mellah* was 'an epicentre of a series of concentric circles linking its inhabitant to the city, the territory and the greater region'. They state the name of the *mellah* can be traced back to the fact that the Jewish quarter in Fez was established around 1438 in a piece of marshy or salty land known as *mellah* which spread as the name for all Jewish quarters in Morocco (Miller *et al.* 2001, 312). In the Mediterranean region, the *mellah* could be distinguished from the *medinah* by its greater density (Miller 1990, 318).

The *mellah* is entered through the main gate or *burj* that indicates the separation between the *mellah* and the *medinah* (Miller *et al.* 2001, 319). The street grid of the *mellah* is defined by the main road, the '*derb*' that starts at the main gate and the side streets opening to it (Miller *et al.* 2001, 319). The *mellah* in Fez was also bigger than the Jewish quarters known from Europe; the *mellah* in Fez contained fifteen synagogues, some of which were very small or private property (Miller *et al.* 2001, 320). Little differentiation was made between private and public space in the *mellah* (Miller *et al.* 2001, 321). In contrast to the ones at Rabat, Tetuán and Marrakesh, the *mellah* of Fez shows clear signs of adaptation and growth over time (Miller *et al.* 2001, 321). There also was a cemetery (Miller *et al.* 2001, 324). Nevertheless, the exact differences between the *mellahs* of Morocco and the *ghettos* of Europe are not clearly defined yet and archaeology might be helpful to shed light on questions concerning these differences.

5 Artefacts and material culture related to Judaism

Compared to the abundance of material from Late Antiquity the void in Jewish material from the medieval period is remarkable. Likewise, from more recent times a rich material culture of so-called Judaica, or ceremonial art, is known. Research on Judaica is carried out mostly nowadays from an art historian perspective.[23] The sources used for research on medieval Judaica are mostly literary sources, depictions and some still extant works (Mann 1988, 13). The evidence of these sources indicates that a continuous history of Jewish ceremonial art can be traced back to the High Middle Ages. From the Cairo Genizah for instance, two inventories of synagogue furnishings are known dated to 1080 and 1159 CE respectively (Mann 2009, 255). Especially the twelfth to fourteenth century seems to have been a prosperous period for Jewish art, either in the emergence of specific Jewish items or the adaptation of objects from their surroundings for Jewish use (Mann 1988, 13). This leaves however a gap between the objects known from excavations of Late Antiquity and the objects known from the High Middle Ages (Mann 1988, 13).

Since 'there is still no complete history or study of medieval Jewish art' (Roth 2003a, 51), archaeology might be of help in expanding these lines by filling in the gaps and the lack of material evidence through excavations. The material remains from Antiquity and the known objects of more recent times may serve as markers, both at the start and the end of the period under research, that can serve as the guidelines to start filling out the gaps. Using the results from research into the earliest known objects within a tradition of specific ceremonial objects, in comparison to more recent examples and with the help of clues in textual or visual sources, a relative typology could be set up, enhancing the possibility that earlier items in a tradition of specific objects will be recognized when they turn up in excavations. Meanwhile this research might also shed light on the development of ceremonies.

Apart from ceremonial art, a more ordinary material culture for use in daily life exists. Among these items are personal belongings, house furnishings, kitchenware and so

[23] Vivian Mann mentions in a footnote that the first publication on Jewish art was an exhibition catalogue of the Galerie du Trocadero in Paris in 1878 (Mann 1988, 22). Furthermore she mentions the work of Rachel Wischnitzer who devoted her career to making the Jewish art known (Mann 1988, 13).

on. Finally, some attention will be paid to trade items as part of Jewish material culture, although this may be hard to explicitly associate with Judaism in most cases, other than based on textual sources.

5.1 Ceremonial art

Jewish ceremonial art is all art that has been made to serve in the religious customs of Judaism. Levine (2002, 825) devides the ceremonial art of the medieval and modern eras into five categories, which are: 1) life-cycle, 2) annual cycle, 3) synagogue appurtenances, 4) books and 5) paintings of biblical or post-biblical events and figures. Although these ceremonial items serve the same purpose in Jewish communities, they most likely have been adjusted to local circumstances. Vivian Mann therefore states that Jewish art should always be studied within two frames of reference; firstly that of Jewish practice and secondly in relation to its place of origin (Mann 2004, 96).

5.1.a Life cycle

The life cycle includes all major events in life like birth, mostly in relation to circumcision, *bar-mitswah* (the event at the age of thirteen when a boy becomes a full member of the religious community), marriage and death.

Figure 26. Circumcision ceremony in Holland, Amsterdam, 1725 (Jewish Encyclopedia, retrieved 19th October 2012 at http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/5636-elijah-s-chair).

Circumcision is what could be considered as the first *rite de passage* in Jewish life (Sztulman 2004, 55). It is an operation which partly removes the foreskin of a Jewish baby boy on the eighth day of his life and it is carried out by the *mohel*. The baby is held by the *sandak* on his lap during the ceremony (fig 26). Since the Middle Ages the ceremony developed into a more formal event and a special chair for the *sandak* and a chair for the prophet Elijah who is presumed to be symbolically present, were added (Sztulman 2004, 56). These two chairs, the chair of Elijah and the chair of the *sandak* became specific ceremonial objects and the Italian examples discussed by Sztulman often bear dedicatory inscriptions in Hebrew characters (fig 27). Moreover, based on visual sources dating back to the fifteenth century from Italy and The Netherlands, Sztulman states that there were two different formal traditions; one with two identical chairs and one with a high *sandak's* chair (Sztulman 2004, 67).

Figure 27.The chair of Elijah (left) and the chair for the sandak (right), used in the circumcision ceremony, Italy, nineteenth century (U. Nahon Museum of Italian Jewish Art, Jerusalem, retrieved 18th October 2012 at http://www.jija.org/ENGLISH/JIJA/Items/ON0471/ON0471.html).

The Dutch visual source from the seventeenth century shows two equal chairs (fig 26), but the fifteenth century Italian visual source (fig 28) may be an indication that the high chair may have its origins in the fifteenth century already. Nevertheless, Italian examples of these high chairs are only known from the eighteenth century on (Sztulman 2004, 70). Other attributes related to the circumcision ceremony would be knifes or the cloth that was placed under the baby during the event but also cases made for the special purpose of holding the *mohels* attributes (fig 29).

Figure 28. High sandak*'s chair as depicted in a fifteenth century Hebrew manuscript form northerm Italy in the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma:* MS Parmense 3596, fol 268v *(Sztulman 2004, 69).*

Figure 29. Circumcision box, Amsterdam, before 1681, silver filigree, wood, silver, glass, agate (Cohen et al. 2004, 135).

At *bar-mitswah* a thirteen year old boy is called to read a piece from the *Torah* in perfect Hebrew and by doing so he becomes a full member of the religious community. In our modern times the more liberal Jews allow also girls to do the same in the *bat-mitswah* at the age of twelve. No specific items related to *bar-mitswah* are mentioned, probably since all attributes used in the ceremony are also used during regular ceremonies.

A popular wedding gift from the thirteenth until the sixteenth century among the Azhkenazi Jews was the double cup (fig 30) of which examples are found in the Lingenfeld coin hoard and on miniatures representing wealthy Jewish homes (Mann 2004, 98). Other characteristic items related to marriage are Jewish wedding rings with bezels in the shape of houses found in northern Europe (fig 31). The first of these was found in a hoard from Weissenfels dating to the fourteenth century (Mann 2004, 98). Also famous are the elaborately decorated marriage contracts and incidentally divorce documents. Some of these were found among the genizah documents as well (*e.g.* Goitein 1978, 95). This will be discussed under books or *ketubbah* below.

Figure 30. Double cup and case, Germany, second quarter of the fifteenth century. Silver, jaspis and leather (Mann 1988, 19).

Figure 31. Marriage rings in the form of houses.

A. *Various marriage rings in the form of houses, dating to the fourteenth century (Jewish Art Museum of Minnesota, retrieved 18th October 2012 at http://jewishartmuseummn.blogspot.nl/2008/03/14th-century-jew).*
B. *Marriage ring from Weissenfels treasure trove, Germany, dating to the fourteenth century. (Jewish Art Museum of Minnesota, retrieved 18th October 2012 at http://jewishartmuseummn.blogspot.nl/ 2008/03/14th-century-jew).*

Related to death are chiefly the funerary headstones (Levine 2002, 825), which have already been discussed in the chapter on architectural remains, together with grave gifts encountered in Jewish graves. By the seventeenth century societies were established, mostly in Christian lands, for communal use of items related to circumcision, marriage and burial (Mann 2004, 103). These societies sometimes owned specific inscribed sets of dishes and silver table ware, as well as flags used in the processions and sets of silver combs and nail cleaners used by the members for preparing the dead, silver frames and alm boxes for saying prayers and collecting alms during the burial ceremony (Mann 2004, 103).

5.1.b Annual cycle

Ceremonial objects connected to the annual cycle are the objects that are used in the specific feasts throughout the Jewish year. These include the weekly celebration of *sabbath* from Friday evening till Saturday evening and the annual feasts of *Rosh Hashanah*, *Yom Kippur*, *Sukkoth*, *Chanukkah*, *Purim* and *Pesach*.

Items related to the *sabbath* and other holidays are *kiddush* cups, used to start the family meal on these days with a blessing over a cup of wine or grape juice. Furthermore, there are the covers for the braided sabbath bread (*challah*) and *havdalah* sets for ending the *sabbath* or holiday, usually including a sometimes elaborately decorated box for spices (fig 32). These spices are meant for maintaining the remembrance of the sweet smell of the *sabbath* through the week. *Rosh Hashanah* is the Jewish New Year but in a religious sense it is the start of a ten day's period of reflection. The last day of this period, Yom Kippur or the Day of Atonement, is the most important one. Specific items related to this ten days period at the start of the Jewish New Year is the *shofar*, the ram's horn (fig 33), which is blown as a sort of wake-up call during several occasions. Plates with 'Rosh-Hashanah' or a good wish for the New Year are known from northern Europe from the seventeenth century on (fig 34). In German east European lands a specific lamp in the form of a star was used on Sabbath and holy days (Mann 2004, 103).

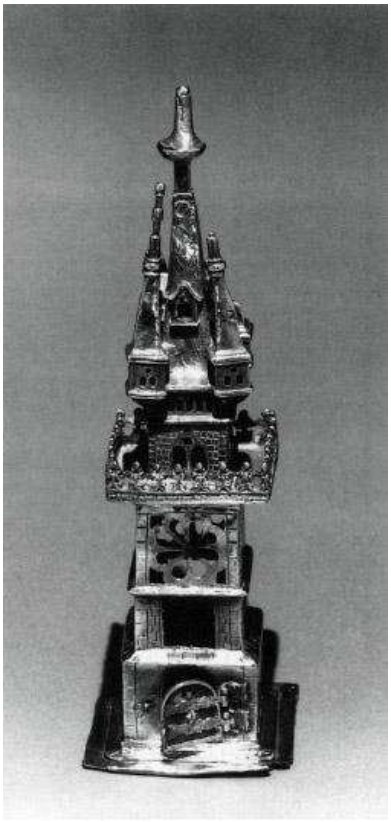

Figure 32. Silver spice container dated to c. 1550, presumably from Frankfurt (Mann 1988, 15).

Figure 33. Examples of the shofar, the rams horn, from several regions.

A. *Azhkenazic shofar (Olve Utne, Wikimedia Commons, retrieved 19th October 2012 at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Liten_askenasisk_ sjofar_5380.jpg#filelinks).*
B. *Shofar made of the horn of Capra ibex, unknown origin, used in Amsterdam by H.T. Tal. (Cohen et al. 2004, 211).*
C. *Yemenite shofar (Olve Utne, Wikimedia Commons, retrieved 19th October 2012 at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jemenittisk_sjofar_ av_kuduhorn.jpg).*

Figure 34. Plates with good wishes for New Year.

A. *Delftware plate with text 'Rosh Hashanah', early eighteenth century (De Vries 1968, 80, plate 4).*
B. *Delftware plate with best wishes for New Year, seventeenth century (De Vries 1968, plate 5).*

During *Sukkoth* or the Feast of Tabernacles Jewish people live in a sort of tent under the open air for seven days in remembrance of the journey of the Jewish people through the desert after they left Egypt. The roof of this tent or hut should be of organic material like wood, grass or other botanic material. At the same time it is a sort of harvesting feast as it is celebrated in fall when the harvest has been gathered. Important attributes to this feast are the *ethrog* and the *lulav* (fig 35). The *ethrog* is a specific kind of citrus fruit and the *lulav* is a bundle of plants consisting of a branch from the date palm, two branches of the willow and three branches of the myrtle (De Vries 1968, 98). From more recent times it is known that special boxes were made to contain the *ethrog* (fig 35).

Figure 35. Lulav, ethrog and ethrog box (Gilabrand, Wikimedia Commons, retrieved 18th October 2011 at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:EtrogC.jpg ?uselang=nl#metadata).

Chanukah is the Feast of lights which was established after the cleansing of the Temple after the Maccabean War in 164 BCE (Benjamin 2003, 35; De Vries 1968, 104). During the reign of Antiochus the Fourth the Temple had been used to worship Zeus and after the cleansing of the temple the legend tells that there only was one minor jug of kosher olive oil found that was suited to light the *Menorah* in the Temple. It was supposed to be enough for just one day but turned out to be enough for eight days which was enough to prepare new supplies of oil (De Vries 1968, 105).

The specific item related to this Feast are the *Chanukah* chandeliers, consisting of eight oil lamps that can be lit by using a ninth light (*shamash*) that is sometimes attached

to the chandelier as well (fig 36). During the eight days of the feast an additional light is lit every evening. Usually the chandelier was used in the synagogue whereas simpler *Chanukah* lights were used in the domestic environment (Mann 2004, 104). The *Chanukah* lamp can take all sorts of forms. Some really old examples of the *Chanukah* lights are known from north-western Europe, for instance one from Spain and one from Germany or Italy both dated to the fourteenth century (fig 37).

Figure 36. Chanukah chandelier from the Ashkenazi synagogue in Amsterdam, received as a gift in 1753 (Cohen et al. 2004, 173).

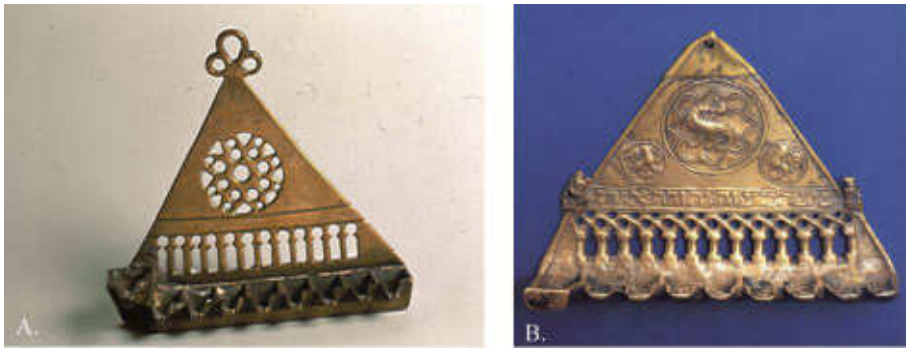

Figure 37. Chanukah lights.

A. *Brass Chanukah light from Spain, dated 1301-1400 (Magness Museum Online collection, retrieved 19th October 2012 at http://magnesalm.org/notebook_fext.asp?site=magnes&book=2179.*
B. *Bronze Chanukah light from Germany or Italy, dated to the fourteenth century (Herbert and Eileen Bernard Museum of Judaica, New York, retrieved 19th October at http://www.emanuelnyc.org/art/TEE collimage7.htm).*

A typological clue for relative dating may be that around the thirteenth century *Chanukah* lamps started to be hung on the wall instead of letting them sit on the surface (Mann 2004, 97). Usually the *Chanukah* light was placed opposite the *mezuzah*, the small tube attached to the door posts of Jewish homes (Mann 2004, 104. A second innovation took place at the end of the seventeenth century when *Chanukah* lamps started to be made in the form of a *menorah* in Frankfurt (Mann 2004, 104). Also the material that the lamps are made of, may give some clues to their origin. Italian *Chanukah* lamps for instance were all made of bronze while the lamps of Eastern Europe were usually made of brass (Mann 2004, 106).

With regard to the Islamic World there has been an exhibition in the Israel Museum of *Chanukah* lights from Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria specifically, but these are almost all from the end of the nineteenth to the early twentieth century (Benjamin 2003, 36). Interestingly, besides the common brass ones, stone and ceramic *Chanukah* lamps are known from southern Morocco, Yemen and Tunisia (fig 38) (Benjamin 2003, 128). The use of stone for *Chanukah* lamps probably symbolized time, tradition and nobility and often they were passed on from generation to generation (Benjamin 2003, 129). Nevertheless, stone lamps were considered more valuable then earthenware lamps and served as status symbols (Benjamin 2003, 129). How deep this tradition of stone *Chanukah* lamps goes, is illustrated by the fact that even in Tahalla, renowned for its fine silversmith's work, wooden *Chanukah* lamps remained in use (Benjamin 2003, 130).

Purim is the Feast of Lots, celebrating the deliverance of the Jews of Persia from destruction under the rule of king Ahasveros. It is based on the book of Esther who had been raised by Mordechai. Esther was chosen from many beautiful young women to become the wife of King Ahasveros, who made her Queen of Persia. When Mordechai, as a Jew, refused to bow for Haman, who was given a high position by the King, Haman was authorized by the King to kill all Jews. He defined the date for the destruction of the Jews by drawing lots. Nevertheless, Esther managed to avert the killing of all Jews in the kingdom by revealing her Jewish descent to the King. Sometimes special little hammers were used to knock every time the name of Haman was mentioned and some special cookies, called Haman's ears, are eaten (De Vries 1968, 116). Vivian Mann (2004, 105) mentions four forms of ceremonial art related to Purim. These are the illuminated scrolls (*megillah*), cylindrical cases for these scrolls, a special plate for sending gifts of food (*mishloah manot*) to friends and alms containers with inscriptions referring to Purim. Especially in the Arabic countries ornamental cases for the scrolls are common, while in

European countries these could also be bands with scenes of the Esther story in relief (Mann 2004, 105). The earliest known alms container is of Sephardic origin and is dated to the thirteenth century (Mann 2004, 105).

Figure 38. Stone and ceramic Chanukah lights

A. *Steatite (soapstone) Chanukah light from Tahala, Morocco (Benjamin 2003, 132 and 176, nr.98).*
B. *Stone Chanukah light made of Chloritoschist, from Tahala, Morocco (Benjamin 2003, 132 and 177, nr. 99).*
C. *Glazed earthenware Chanukah lamp from Ifrane, Morocco (Benjamin 2003, 136 and 178, nr. 107).*
D. *Earthenware Chanukah lamp with remnants of glaze, from Ifrane, Morocco (Benjamin 2003, 137 and 178, nr. 109).*
E. *Glazed earthenware Chanukah lamp from Djerba, Tunisia (Benjamin 2003, 141 and 179, nr. 112).*
F. *Glazed earthenware Chanukah lamp from Djerba, Tunisia (Benjamin 2003, 141 and 179, nr. 113).*

Pesach is the feast in remembrance of the Exodus from Egypt, which is one of the main events, if not the most important in the history of the Jewish people (De Vries 1968, 117). It is celebrated in spring. The original *Pesach* meal was a meal eaten in haste before going on the long journey leaving Egypt as described in the Bible. It consisted of a roasted lamb of which they had to strike the blood at the doorposts of their houses as a sign for the angel of death not to kill their oldest son. The Pesach meal was eaten with unfermented bread (*matzah*) and bitter vegetables (*maror*). In the *diaspora*, after the destruction of the Temple, roasted lamb was omitted from the Pesach meal but the *matzahs* and the *maror* were maintained. Instead of the lamb, often a bone with only little meat is used symbolically. Before the first day of Pesach every single crumb of leavened breath must be disposed of and usually specific fires were lit for this purpose (De Vries 1968, 121). Specific items related to *Pesach* are the *haggadot*, *seder* plates and the cup of Elijah. The *haggadot* are small booklets telling the *pesach* story. The *seder* plates are plates that are used to put the three *matzahs* on and sometimes they have three storeys for this purpose. The bitter vegetables are represented by a horseradish, sometimes accompanied by radish or lettuce (De Vries 1968, 124). A side dish called *Charoseth* with the colour of clay is often added to the *pesach* meal, as well as an egg, parsley, celery, vinegar and saltwater (De Vries 1968, 124). Last but not least, there is also wine, for toasting four times by every participant including children. This is where the so-called cup of Elijah comes in as an extra cup of wine is poured for him symbolically (De Vries 1968, 125).

5.1.c Synagogue appurtenances

Among the items used in the synagogue are the items used as decoration for the *Torah* scrolls, such as the *Torah* breastplates or shields, the *Torah* finials and crowns, but also the pointers (*yad*) to read the *Torah* scrolls. Furthermore there are the decorations for the ark (*parokhet*), the lectern and the eternal light as well as the more regular synagogue lights and any architectural decorational features.

To start with the *Torah* decorations, the finials, to be put on the staves of the *Torah* scroll, are especially interesting since they have different forms which possibly can be linked to a region of origin. At least two basic trends are visible; the 'pomegranate style' and the 'tower style' as well as what could be considered as mixed forms of these two

trends (fig 39).[24] *Torah* finials (*rimmonim*) have been mentioned on an inventory list found in the Cairo Genizah indicating that they already existed in the twelfth century (Mann 2004, 98). Most examples are made of silver and some had glass ornaments (Mann 2004, 98; Roth 2003a, 51). Finials that were fashioned from the wooden staves of the *Torah* scrolls themselves are known as well (fig 40a) (Mann 2004, 98). More simple forms in other materials are known from Yemen (fig 40b).

Rimmonim literarily means pomegranates and the earliest of these pomegranate shaped *Torah* finials known today is dated to 1601 or 1602 and was found in Budapest which was under the rule of the Ottoman empire at that time (Mann 2004, 98). Another example found in Istanbul dates to the nineteenth century (fig 39). The pomegranate form is mostly associated with a Sephardic origin (Mann 2004, 98). This spherical or fruit form continued to be used until the present day in the Eastern, Italian and Sephardic communities and has been found in North Africa as well. Sometimes they were combined with the *Torah* crown (fig 39e) (Mann 2004, 101). Although *Torah* crowns were mentioned and depicted in Spanish *aggadah* already in the fourteenth century, no early examples have survived (Mann 2004, 98). In the Ashkenazic communities the *Torah* crown was an alternative for the finials, mostly on holy days (Mann 2004, 101). The forms of these crowns were dependent on local practices for regalia (Mann 2004, 101).

The earliest surviving medieval finials are in the shape of a tower, were made in Sicily or Spain and are dated to the fifteenth century (fig 39a). Mann suggests this tower form is a resemblance of the heavenly Jerusalem which was also used by the Christians and closely resembles the ceremonial stave ends that were used in the church (Mann 2004, 98). Also Gelfer-Jørgensen (2004, 43-4) mentions the importance of the tower form as symbolic for the Temple in Jerusalem. They were favoured by the Azhekanic communities and from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on they have also been found in the eastern communities.

[24] See also the website of the Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem at http://cja.huji.ac.il/Objects/Sacred%20Objects%20List/Torah%20Finials.html

Figure 39. Torah finials from several regions and periods.

A. *Torah finials from Spain or Sicily, fifteenth century (Mann 2004, fig. 6).*
B. *Torah finials from Corfu, late seventeenth century (Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, retrieved 19th October 2012 at http://cja.huji.ac.il/Ritual_Objects/Greece/Torah_finials_Greece_Corfu_late_17th_JMG%20(78_25).html).*
C. *Torah finials from Israel, second half of nineteenth century (Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, retrieved 19th October 2012 at http://cja.huji.ac.il/Ritual_Objects/Eretz%20Israel/ Finials%20 Ottoman%20Empire/Torah_finial_Ottoman%20Empire_Erez-Israel_ Jerusalem_19th%20c[1]_ Sc_542-4.html).*
D. *Torah finials from Venice, 1790 (Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, retrieved 19th October 2012 at http://cja.huji.ac.il/ Ritual_Objects/Italy/Torah%20finials,%20Venice/Torah%20finials_Venice_%201790_ %20Sc-522_18.html).*
E. *Torah crown and finials , Istanbul last half of the nineteenth century (Mann 2004, figure 11).*
F. *Torah finials, Egypt, end of eighteenth, begin of nineteenth century (Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, retrieved 19th October 2012 at http://cja.huji.ac.il/Ritual_Objects/Egypt/Torah%20finials_%20 Egypt_%20end%20of%2018th%20c%20beg%2019th%20c_.html).*

Figure 40. Simple forms of Torah finials.

A. *Wooden Torah finials (Retrieved 19th October 2012 from Magness Museum at http://www.flickr.com/photos/magnesmuseum/4709607048/in/ photostream).*
B. *Torah finials from San'a, Yemen, beginning of the twentieth century (Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, retrieved 19th October 2012 at http://cja.huji.ac.il/Ritual_Objects/Yemen/Torah%20finial_Yemen_ San'a_20th %20c_%20Sc_542-12.html).*

From the sixteenth century on the *Torah* shield was introduced (fig 41), but only in the Azhkenazic world in the first instance (Mann 2004, 101). It served to indicate to what biblical book and chapter the scroll was rolled (Mann 2004, 100). The earliest examples were oblong in form but experimentation with all kind of forms from the later seventeenth century on, finally resulted in the most common vertical form which was in many case topped by a lion (Mann 2004, 100). The shields were usually decorated with specific Jewish iconography such as the offering of Isaac, Abraham and the three angels, the celebration of Jewish holidays and the furnishings of the Temple (Mann 2004, 100). To avoid the appearance of idolatry, the tips of noses and tops of ears were cut off in human forms (Mann 2004, 101).

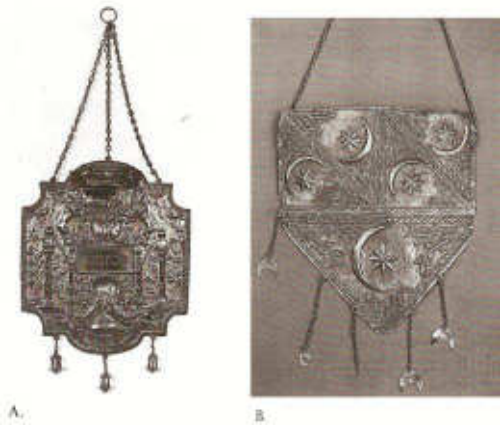

Figure 41. Torah shields

A. *Torah shield from Augsburg, c. 1725, silver, gilt (Mann 2004, figure 8).*
B. *Torah shield from Izmir, nineteenth century, silver (Mann 2004, figure 10).*

Figure 42. Example of a Torah mantle, probably from The Netherlands, after 1727-29, velvet, silk and metal thread (Swetschinski 1997, 114).

Figure 43. Example of a Torah curtain, probably from southern Germany, 1728, velvet, silk, metal thread and cotton (Swetschinski 1997, 83).

In Europe, the *Torah* curtain (*parokhet*) (fig 42) and mantle (fig 43) developed from the mid-sixteenth century on; an early example is known from Prague in 1592 which was inspired by a title page of a Hebrew text printed in Padua (Mann 2004, 101). Nevertheless, they are included already in an inventory of synagogue furnishings in one of the documents of the Cairo Geniza, dated to 1080 CE (Mann 2009, 255). Other objects that are mentioned in that inventory are textiles hung between the columns of the synagogue to demarcate spaces, ark curtains and copper lamps and utensils (Mann 2009, 255). Mann also mentions that the women in the Ottoman empire played a role of

importance in making textiles for the synagogue, such as ceremonial bedcovers, table covers, and dresses, which were all embroidered with gold thread (2004, 102). A distinguishing feature for the Ashkenazic curtains are that they used lions and other guardian figures in their decoration while this was avoided in the Islamic countries (Mann 2004, 102). For the Italian *Torah* curtains the fabrics itself were of excellent quality, making additional decoration unnecessary (Mann 2004, 102). Also, *Torah* cases (*tik*) were commonly used already from Antiquity on for storage of the *Torah* scrolls (fig 44). From the sixteenth century on, after the arrival of Sephardi Jews, inlaid wood Qur'an boxes appeared that resembled contemporary *Torah* cases, showing a possible Jewish influence on Ottoman art (Mann 2009, 259).

Figure 44. Example of Torah cases

A. *Torah case from Corfu, Greece, eighteenth century, Venetian (Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://cja.huji.ac.il/Ritual_Objects/Greece/Torah%20case_%20 Greece_%20Corfu_%20Sc_%20522-10.html).*
B. *Torah case from Ioannina, Greece, end of eighteenth century, Romaniot (Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://cja.huji.ac.il/Ritual_Objects/Greece/Torah_case_ Greece_Ioannina_ 18th_cen_Sc_525_51.html).*
C. *Torah case from Baghdad, Iraq, 1847 (Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://cja.huji.ac.il/ Ritual_Objects/Iraq/Torah%20case_%20Iraq_Baghdad_1847_Sc_015-3.html).*
D. *Torah case from Cairo, Egypt, 1893 (Center for Jewish Art of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://cja.huji.ac.il/ Ritual_Objects/Egypt/Torah%20case_Egypt_%20Cairo_%201893_%20Sc_258-36.html).*

Last but not least, binders (*mappah*) (fig 45) used for binding the *Torah* scrolls together when not in use, should be mentioned. They also show a difference between the Azhkenazic and Sephardic communities. In the Azhkenazic communities, the major component of the binders was the inscription with the name of a young boy, his zodiac sign, his father's name and all kind of blessings (Mann 2004, 102). In the Sephardic communities the binders were primarily used for commemorating a major life cycle event such as birth or marriage and both the floral or abstract decorations and the inscription had equal importance (Mann 2004, 103). In some cases, the fabric of the binders was considered delicate enough of its own, so no broidery was added at all (Mann 2004, 103).

Figure 45. Examples of Torah binders

A. *Torah binder from Germany, 1153, linen embroidered with silk threads (Mann 2004, figure 15).*
B. *Torah binder from Germany, 1803, linen and paint (Swetschinski 1997, 68).*
C. *Torah binder, probably from The Netherlands, 1760-1780 (Swetschinski 1997, 74).*

Another object that existed early already is the *Torah* pointer (fig 46), which was used for reading the *Torah* since it was prohibited to touch the *Torah* scroll with the naked hand or finger (Mann 2004, 99). Mostly they look like a stick, made of wood or metal, sometimes with a little hand with pointed index finger at the end. An example from Ferrara, Italy, dating to the fifteenth century has survived Apart from this early example, eleven examples from Rome dating to the seventeenth century have survived, as well as some German examples from the late sixteenth century, dated respectively to 1570 and 1600 CE (Feuchtwanger-Sarig 2004, 8-9). Some of these pointers could be dated rather precisely thanks to the inscriptions they bore. The main differences between the Italian examples from Ferrara and the ones from Rome is that the Roman ones have

longer shafts that are more elaborate (Feuchtwanger-Sarig 2004, 8). The difference between the Italian and German ones is that the earliest German one is rather short and that it has a chain (Feuchtwanger-Sarig 2004, 9). Feuchtwanger-Sarig states that this form with a chain seems to have become 'commonplace' in the Nuremberg region, but this is based only on two known examples from this region (2004, 33). The other German example, which has the form of a sceptre, lacks this chain however (Feuchtwanger-Sarig 2004, 9).

Figure 46. Example of a Torah pointer, eighteenth century, The Netherlands (Cohen et al. 2004, 155).

Furthermore an 'eternal' light (fig 47) is nowadays present in every synagogue, usually above the *Torah* shrine, which burns day and night (Cohen 2004 *et al.* 232). It is a remembrance of the lamp that burnt continuously in the Tabernacle and symbolizes the eternal presence of God. Also from Islam this equation of the Almighty with an eternal lamp is known (Mann 2009, 259).

Figure 47. Example of an eternal light, late nineteenth century, Germany, brass (Cohen et al 2004, 233).

5.1.d Books

The illumination of all kinds of books and manuscripts became a specific element of Jewish art during the medieval period. Although *Torah* scrolls could not be decorated, bible manuscripts and prayer books could be and definitely were illuminated. This included for instance the prayer books for Rosh ha-Shanah or Yom Kippur and the *haggadot*, the special prayer books for Pesach. Apart from that, legal, medical and scientific books as well as all kinds of other literary works were decorated (Roth 2003a, 38). A specific category of illuminated documents are the marriage contracts (*ketubbah*) that were elaborately decorated. A specific technique that was used was micrography, the use of miniscule letters to make an image, usually a geometric or floral one, but animal or even human forms are known as well (Roth 2003a, 38). This technique probably originated in Al-Andalus and it had been common in the Muslim world (Roth 2003a, 38).

The earliest illustrated Bible manuscripts that are known originate in Palestine and Egypt and are dated to the ninth to twelfth centuries (Roth 2003a, 39). Furthermore, two illuminated Pentateuchs are known from Persia as well as some fifteenth century ones from Yemen (Roth 2003a, 40). The Persian ones have the gifts to the Tabernacle and the tablets of the Ten Commandments as illustrations (Roth 2003a, 40). These early manuscripts have the so-called carpet pages with geometric motifs in various colours (Roth 2003a, 43). These carpet pages were probably an imitation of Muslim custom and may resemble decorative architectural elements, for example from the Alhambra palace in Granada (Roth 2003a, 40). Although examples from the Christian periods in Spain are known, no medieval examples from the Muslim period are known, so this link could not be confirmed (Roth 2003a, 40).

The *haggadot*, used for Passover (fig 48), probably were the most popular illuminated objects and a copy of it was needed for every individual (Roth 2003a, 44). As was the case with the bible manuscripts, some splendid examples made under Spanish Christian rule are known, but no early medieval examples exist from Spain under Muslim rule (Roth 2003a, 44). With regard to the other known prayer books for daily prayers (*siddur*) and holidays (*mahzor*) many examples from Germany are known of which the earliest is dated to 1272 (Roth 2003a, 46). These are informative on aspects of daily life and perception of the Jews. The baking of *mazzeh* for Pesach is for instance depicted on one Spanish and three German examples of which the Spanish and one example from Leipzig show that men are assisted by women while on the other German examples only the men are depicted. In a *mahzor* from Dresden, Moses is depicted as a Christian bishop

at the event of receiving the Ten Commandments while the Jews around him wear hats that have been associated with a typical prescribed Jew's hat (Roth 2003a, 47).

Apart from religious illuminated books including manuscripts from Maimonides and other books related to law, decorated mathematics, medical books, and even Hebrew literature books are known (Roth 2003a, 49). Furthermore, an illuminated book for teaching children how to read and write was found in the Cairo Genizah (Roth 2003a, 49).

Figure 48. Title page of the Venetian aggadah, first printed in 1609 (Yale University Library, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www2.library.yale.edu/judaica/exhibits/haggadah/oldfiles/VeniceHaggadah.html).

Figure 49. Kettubah, marriage contract, from Rome, Italy, dated to 1627, parchment, tempera, gold powder pen and ink (Sabar 1993, 55).

The earliest *ketubbot* are known from the regions around Israel and Egypt from the tenth to the twelfth century (Sabar 1993, 12). They have been found in the Cairo genizah as well (Goitein 1978, 95). Furthermore a single illuminated *ketubbah* is known from Austria, dated to the fourteenth century (Sabar 1993, 14). Dutch examples are known that were made by copper engraving (Sabar 1993, 14). In the Ashkenazi regions however, the illuminated *ketubbah* never became as important as in other regions (Sabar 1993, 14). In the Sephardic communities they were a popular personal document and some simply decorated examples from Spain have survived (Sabar 1993, 14). They remained popular after the expulsion and the art of *ketubbah* really flourished in Italy (fig 49) in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Sabar 1993, 14). The custom spread with the Sephardic communities over western-Europe, the western Ottoman Empire and North Africa. The examples from the Ottoman Empire are rather late ones dated to the nineteenth century mostly (Sabar 1993, 14). Especially in Morocco and Tunis the Spanish tradition was maintained. Mostly parchment was used by these Sephardic communities, but the local North African communities and the communities in the Ottoman Empire and the Near East also used paper (Sabar 1993, 14). In the Islamic world Persia was an important centre of *ketubbah* during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Sabar 1993, 15). Furthermore, even *ketubbah* from India and the Far East are known (Sabar 1993, 15). The tradition of *kettubah* died out when printed ketubbah became standard (Sabar 1993, 15).

5.1.e Paintings and iconography

Under reference to the paragraph on Jewish iconography and symbolism in architecture in the former chapter, it should be added here that movable objects bear iconographic indications as well. Iconography on *Torah* shields for instance have shown that human figures were sometimes used, especially in the Ashkenazic community, although sometimes they only could be displayed by cutting off the ears and noses (Mann 2004, 101). Furthermore an elaborated range of decorative motives is known from the *ketubbah* (Sabar 1993, 14). Starting with architectural, floral motifs and micrography in the early contracts, this range grew to include 'biblical scenes, the zodiac, allegorical figures, symbols of conjugal bliss and family life, the emblems of the twelve tribes, representations of Jerusalem, the Temple and its implements and so on' in Italy (Sabar 1993, 14). Dutch examples show allegorical wedding scenes and floral ornamentation. The Sephardic examples, probably in accordance with Islamic tradition, use mostly floral

and architectural motifs and only very rarely animals (Sabar 1993, 14). *Menorah*s were already found on oil lamps and continued to be a common motive through all ages up till now (*e.g.* Hachlili 2001b, 111ff; Rutgers 1995, 85-88).

The later *ketubbot* from the region of Israel, Syria, Egypt and Lebanon combine Islamic decorative traditions with Spanish influences and include miniature illustrations of the Temple and other holy places (Sabar 1993, 15). The *ketubbot* from Persia included floral and animal themes in brilliant colors in their iconography, but also carpets, coins and even manuscripts. The ones from India can be distinguished by the use of exotic birds and animals as well as lotus flowers and other exotic plants (Sabar 1993, 15).

Interesting for archaeologists might be the fact that Gelfer-Jørgensen (2004, 37), who studied Danish Judaica, has encountered a break in traditions between the eighteenth/nineteenth centuries and the twentieth century, stating that 'one of the problems encountered when researching Jewish ceremonial objects is that twentieth-century functionalism has tended to undermine the connection that existed between decorative motifs and their significance as symbols, thereby reducing ornamentation to the role of superficial embellishment'. I think this use of symbolism that might be unfamiliar to modern scholars, is something to keep in mind while looking at the material of earlier periods since it may contain clues that otherwise are easily overlooked.

Interestingly, with regard to manuscript decoration, Kogman-Appel (2001, 187) states that visual art can serve as a faithful mirror for cultural interchange, but that Jewish art has been more a receiver than a giver in this process. Nevertheless, Jewish art became a means of cultural-self identification through translating the iconographic idiom of the host culture into a specific Jewish visual language (Kogman-Appel 2001, 188). Not so much the lack of interaction between the Ashkenazi and the Sephardic communities, but rather the very nature of interaction with the host culture may be the cause of the different visual cultures of both Jewish communities, even though the patterns of borrowing may have been the same (Kogman-Appel 2001, 188).

Finally, a note on the six pointed star of David (*magen* David) should be added, which nowadays is commonly regarded as the symbol of Judaism par excellence. It was however used in Roman, Christian and Muslim art up till the fifteenth century and only then started to become a symbol of Jewish identity (Silberman 2010, 66). It was for instance also found on Greek wine jars from Thasos from the fourth century (Roth 2003a, 49). The use of the symbol most likely grew up in the Sephardic communities (Silberman 2010, 66).

5.2 Daily life

Lewis mentions (1993, 32) restrictions posed on non-Muslims in daily life such as regulations on clothes they were allowed to wear, the animals they were allowed to ride, the weapons they may carry and the places of worship they were allowed to build. Furthermore they had to wear special badges and were not allowed to make too much noise or show too much visual display in their ceremonies and had to pay additional taxes, the *dhimmis*.

5.2.a Dress

Jews often dressed differently than their contemporaries, either because of prescribed dress codes or by free will, to stress their identity. In Venice for example, after the initial charter (*condotta)* of 1387 that allowed them to stay for ten years to serve as moneylenders, with its expiration in 1397, Jews were officially allowed to stay only fifteen days at a time, on the condition that they wore a yellow circle on their outer clothing in accordance with the general Christian policy that Jews should be distinguishable (Ravid 1990, 11). This circle was soon replaced by a yellow hat in 1497 and this yellow one by a red one in 1738 (Ravid 1990, 11, 24-25). Silberman (2010, 66) mentions the conical hat that Jews had to wear in Christian regions, although sometimes interpretations from later dates have mistakenly interpreted certain features such as a bishops mitre as a Jew's hat (Roth 2003b, 53).

In the Muslim countries there were also regulations with regard to *dhimmi* dress, mainly to humble non-Muslims. In the Berber areas for instance, ornate clothes had to be worn inside out, so the embroidery was not visible (Mann 2003, 258). Insoll mentions the description of Lane (1895) of nineteenth century Egypt, where Muslims wore green turbans while Jews, Copts and other minorities were only allowed to wear dull colours such as black, light/brown, blue and grey (Insoll 1999, 121). In Yemen, the headgear decree of 1667 had great impact (Abdar 2009, 644). This decree forbade them to wear the clothes and headgear they were used to and that was similar to that of Muslims (Abdar 2009, 644). Also they had to grow long sidelocks (*zinnar*) to replace the sash they formerly wore as a sign of inferiority (Abdar 2009, 644). These distinguishing signs became more common in the later periods. However, in the late medieval Islamic world, non-Muslims in general had to wear some sort of badge, called *ruq'a* in the Middle East and *shakla* in North Africa (Hirsch 2009, 625).

Even for Antiquity the study of Jewish clothing is still in its infancy; more is known about the clothing habits of their contemporaries, mostly Roman ones in that case (Shlezinger-Katsman 2010). What is known about medieval Jewish clothing is mostly based on the descriptions in the Cairo Genizah (Goitein 1983, 150; Molad 2009, 622). Research on Arab costume was mainly based on Arabic literary sources, although according to Molad, artistic and more remarkable, archaeological sources have been used by Kalfon-Stillman (Molad 2009, 622). These studies mostly deal with Arab costume in general, but Kalfon-Stillman also included sections on non-Muslim dress (Kalfon-Stilman 2003, 101ff; Molad 2009, 622). The materials used for clothing were mostly silk, wool and cotton but also a blend of silk and linen or wool (*mulcham*) was used (Molad 2009, 624). Clothes could serve as an economic means of value and therefore were also used as items of investment (Molad 2009, 625).

Jewish attire could have all colours and shades and was abundantly ornamented with geometric shapes, animal and plant figures and inscriptions (Molad 2009, 624). In the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods Jews preferred light colours, especially blue and white and avoided black and yellow since these colours were associated with the caliphates (Molad 2009, 624). In the Mamluk period however, Jews were obliged to wear yellow and had to shorten their sleeves, while their turban windings were restricted to a length of seven ells (Molad 2009, 626). Some of the basic garments were used by both sexes and children often wore the same clothes as the adults. In accordance with the standards of the Islamic environment, a specific head covering seems to have been a standard part of the basic Jewish equipment for both men and women, completed by veiling of the face and head for women in public appearance (Molad 2009, 623).

According to Roth (2003b, 53) medieval Christian art rather accurately depicts Jewish costume and appearance; an anti-Jewish caricatural depiction is only rarely encountered, the first from English origin and dating to 1233 CE (Roth 2003b, 54). In Muslim art these depictions of medieval Jews do not exist (Roth 2003b, 52), although depictions of the garments of Muslim lands appeared in European art (Baginski 2001, 81). From the nineteenth and twentieth centuries examples of specific Jewish costumes are known, from North Africa, but also from other parts of the Ottoman empire, India and Yemen (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994; Slapak 1995; Stavroulakis 1986).

These modern dresses presumably go back in a long tradition and therefore may provide useful similarities when fragments of textile are encountered in archaeological excavations. To illustrate these long traditions, from the textual source of the community

regulations of Castile, dating to 1432, it is known that a dress existed that could only be worn by a Jewish woman in the first year of her marriage or in the period preceding the marriage when she was engaged (Mann 2009, 257). The prohibitions for other women, describing the features they were not allowed to wear, reveal a great deal about how this dress may have looked. At least it must be more than a coincidence that the dress that is now known as the wedding dress for Moroccan Jewish brides, has a lot of the traits that were described as forbidden for other women in the Castile community regulations (Mann 2009, 257). The prohibitions mainly concerned the gold embroidery that is elaborately used in the dress as well as its deep red colour. Moreover, this dress was only common among the Sephardi Jews that immigrated to Morocco after they were expelled from the Iberian peninsula. Jews who had lived in Morocco before the expulsion and who had lived among the Berbers had other customs and also other dress customs. Similar traditions may have existed in other regions, for instance in Yemen, or in Greece and Turkey under the rule of the Ottoman Empire and even in India. A superficial overview with pictures of mainly Jewish women's dress in these regions illustrates the distinctiveness per region (fig 50).

Figure 50. Jewish women's dress in several regions, mostly from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries.

A. *Jewish wedding dress from Morocco, nineteenth to twentieth centuries. (Center for Jewish History, New York, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www.flickr.com/photos/center_for_jewish_history/3551817349/).*
B. *'Great Dress' from Tetuán, Morocco, late nineteenth century (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=354369).*
C. *Morocco's women outfit, Tafilalet region, first half of the twentieth century (Mauro Magliani, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=362813).*
D. *Outfit of a woman from Gabès, Tunisia, first half of the twentieth century (Elie Posner, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=362765).*
E. *Jewish bride from San'a, Yemen, early twentieth century (Oleg Kalashnikov, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=199822).*
F. *Festive dress from San'a, 1930s (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994, 59).*
G. *Women's dress (zebun mesater) from San'a, early 20th century (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994, 57).*
H. *Algerian woman's ceremonial outfit, mid nineteenth century (Elie Posner, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=362822).*
I. *Ethiopian woman's attire, mid twentieth century (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=362805).*
J. *Georgian woman's attire from Tblisi, late nineteenth to early twentieth century (Elie Posner, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=362772).*
K. *Attire of a woman from Iraqi Kurdistan, early twentieth century (Elie Posner, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=362817).*
L. *Indian woman's attire, Bene Israel, late twentieth century (Elie Posner, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 20th October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=362798).*

In the Ottoman empire the Jews made some adaptations to the contemporary Ottoman dress with regard to colour and some minor adaptations with regard to cut (Stavroulakis 1986, 1). Jewish men were usually dressed in such a way to avoid envy or

any kind of negative attention, which made their clothes less distinguishable (Stavroulakis 1986, 2). Women on the other hand usually stayed at home and could therefore wear exuberant clothing. Research and documentation of the collection of costumes present in the Jewish Museum of Greece have resulted in some beautiful water colour paintings of dress from Greece and Turkey (fig 51), ranging from the tenth to the mid-nineteenth century (Stavroulakis 1986).

Figure 51. Examples from the water colour paintings of Jewish costumes by Stavroulakis

A. *Jewish costume from Adrianople, sixteenth century (Stravoulakis 1996, figure 3).*
B. *Jewish costume from Constantinopel (Istanbul) seventeenth century (Stravoulakis 1996, figure 4).*
C. *Jewish costume from Constantinopel (Istanbul) eighteenth century (Stravoulakis 1996, figure 5).*
D. *Jewish costume from Constantinopel (Istanbul) nineteenth century (Stravoulakis 1996, figure 6).*
E. *Jewish costume from Ioannina, mid nineteenth century (Stravoulakis 1996, figure 7).*
F. *Jewish costume from Thessaloniki, nineteenth century (Stravoulakis 1996, figure 10).*

Different styles and features of Jewish dress (fig 50) are also known from Yemen (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994) and India (Slapak 1995). Yemenite examples of garments are the *antari,* the scarf (*lahfeh*) and headgear (fig 52) worn by women from San'a, and the dresses from the Barat and Sharaf regions. Especially the festive and bridal dresses

were heavily embroidered including metal-thread cord and silversmithwork (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994, 50-70). A specific feature of many Yemenite dresses was their asymmetric ornamentation and a large pocket on the left side that was easily accessible to the right hand (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994, 54, 56). Child dresses from Sana' (fig 53) were enriched with cowrie shells which were believed to serve as a protective amulet specifically for children (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994, 64).

Figure 52. Woman's headgear from Yemen, San'a.

A. *Woman's 'velvet' headgear from Saná , early twentieth century (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994, 67).*
B. *Woman's 'full golden' headgear form San'a, Yemen, 1930s (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994, 69).*
C. *Young girl's 'triangled' headgear (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994, 71).*

Figure 53.Child's dress, San'a, Yemen, early twentieth century (Muchawsky-Schnapper 1994, 65).

Indian Jewish dress shows Christian, Muslim and Hindu influences. The Indian Jews have never been subject to restrictions with regard to clothing as has been the case in other regions (Slapak1995, 119). A cotton sari was a standard part of the outfit for both Indian women and Jewish women of the Bene Israel community in India (Slapak 1995, 119). Nevertheless, the Jewish women were distinguishable from their environment in the way they wore the cloths or in their choice of jewellery (Slapak 1995, 117). The Jewish women of the Cochin community in India wore the distinctive clothing of the Kerala region, the *podava* (Slapak 1995, 119). This was in fact no more than a rectangular piece of fabric that covered the legs down to the ankles (see Slapak 1995, 120). A third Jewish community in India, the Baghdadi Jews, initially continued to wear the dress of their country of origin, Iraq, but over time gradually adapted to their environment (Slapak 1995, 139).

For all regions, silk and gold-embroidered fabrics were reserved for special occasions (Slapak 1995, 119). Also colours could have specific meaning. In the Bene Israel community green saris were worn by brides at the henna ceremony while white saris were worn at the wedding itself and at Yom Kippur (Slapak 1995, 119). The distinctive clothing of the Kerala region reserved specific colours for the different religions; white for Christians with a tied back, Hindus wore ivory and Muslims and Jews wore chequered shirts with a distinctive colour for each group (Slapak 1995, 129). Within the Jewish community itself, specific colours or combinations of colours in chequered patterns were reserved for specific occasions (Slapak 1995, 129).

Archaeologically, the number of textiles uncovered in the Near East is growing (*e.g.* Baginski 2001). Unfortunately, textiles are a very fragile material not abundantly encountered in archaeological excavations. Nevertheless, especially in the Near East with its hot climate enough textiles have been preserved to make it possible to lay a foundation for a chronology of textiles (Baginski 2001). Moreover, techniques for studying these textiles are improving (Good 2001). Relatively speaking, quite something is known about men's and women's dress, whereas children's clothes as well as their role in society in general remain obscured, therefore the find of two children's garments discovered in Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt was very welcome (Vogelsang-Eastwood 1987). Dress specifically can be considered a means of expressing identity, related to social, economic and ceremonials aspects such as gender, profession, status, wealth and religion (*e.g.* Insoll 1999, 116; Molad 2009). When encountered in archaeological excavations, textile fragments therefore are a valuable source of information that can offer a relatively

significant amount of information about the past (Good 2001, 219). From the above it has become clear that Jews would most certainly be recognizable by their distinctive clothing. As such, and by knowing the specifically Jewish outfits from later periods going back in a long tradition, similarities with fragments in the archaeological record may be an indication of Jewish presence. Also the obligatory signs Jews had to wear to distinguish them from Muslims may function as rather direct evidence for Jewish presence. Given the relatedness to specific regions or communities, dress might be a means of tracing back the region of origin, which could be useful in reconstructing trade, travel or immigration routes.

5.2.b Jewellery and make-up

According to Molad (2009, 628), 'Jewish women customarily wore jewellery' and the use of jewellery is also mentioned in the *halakha* and Sabbath laws with regard to carrying objects on Sabbath. From research on the jewellery of Antiquity in Roman Palestine it is known that most jewellery is found out of context (Galor 2010, 394). When it is found in context it is mostly in Christian or pagan female tombs, or sometimes in hoards (Galor 2010, 394). Materials used for jewellery comprise gold, silver and other metals, glass, precious stones and sometimes bone (Galor 2010). Items that can be considered as 'jewellery' were necklaces, earrings, bracelets, armbands, finger rings, nose rings, diadems, brooches, clothes pins, ornamental chains, coins, seal rings, but also cosmetics hair pins, hair nets and even jewellery boxes and mirrors may be included (Galor 2010, 395).

The Jews of the Islamic periods seemed to prefer gold jewellery, pearls and amber (Molad 2009, 628). Apart from ornamental and practical use as fasteners for clothes it should be noted that jewellery also served as economic investments for widows and divorcees (Molad 2009, 628). An extensive description of jewellery based on the Genizah documents is given by Goitein (1983, 200ff). Pearls and, from around 1100 CE, amber seem to have been basic elements in Genizah jewellery (Goitein 1983, 207). Small artifacts were identified in the Genizah documents by using the names of fruits. Of these especially the pear was favourite, but also seeds, plants, geometrical figures or objects of daily life, such as sticks, tubes or spoons are mentioned (Goitein 1983, 208).

Mann (2009, 258) mentions that apart from the known silver jewellery made by the local Moroccan Jews, Sephardic goldsmiths in Moroccan cities made jewellery of gold and jewels, like crescent-shaped earrings, filigree, open-work, biconical beads and motifs

such as birds. The local Moroccan Jews had different dress styles requiring fibulae that were made of silver and enamel. Also heavy silver bracelets and necklaces were part of their repertoire (Mann 2003, 258). Furthermore, amulets were made in the shape of a hand, the so-called *hamsa* (fig 54), but this seems not to be specifically Jewish, as it goes back to the Phoenicians and was also known by Muslims as 'the hand of Fatima' (Mann 2003, 259). Nevertheless, it was very popular among Jews of the Islamic lands, especially in Iran, Afghanistan, Bukhara, Iraq and Kurdistan (Sabar 2010, 143). It was clearly associated with religious practices, symbolizing the blessing hands of the priests (Sabar 2010, 144). As such it was used in an almost magical way as a protective sign on all kinds of Jewish objects, both at home and in the synagogue (Sabar 2010, 143-144).

Figure 54. Hamsa amulet from Tangiers, Morocco, twentieth century (Oleg Kalashnikov, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 21st October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/ collections/ item.asp?itemNum=379514).

In the archaeological record, jewellery has been encountered as grave gifts in the cemeteries of Barcelona and Deza, consisting of earrings, silver hair nets or bands of gold that were probably used for certain hairstyles (Wallisová 2011, 281). In that case jewellery could be indirectly related to Judaism. From the nineteenth to twentieth century examples of Jewish outfits, it is known that jewellery made up an essential part of these outfits, and as such would be recognizable as Jewish on its own (fig 55).

Mirrors, kohl pots, combs, hair pins, oils, lotions and perfumes are known to be used by Jewish women in Mishaic and Talmudic times (Molad 2009, 628). In the Talmud, cosmetics and hair ornaments were gathered among jewellery (Grossmark 2010, 385). When encountered in the archaeological record, they would be hard to link to Jewish people on their own as they were used by Muslim women as well (Insoll 2001, 118).

Figure 55. Jewellery belonging to Jewish outfits.

A. *The jewellery of Jewish women in El Kelaa des Mgouna, southern Morocco (Elie Posner, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 21st October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=378389).*
B. *The jewellery of urban Jewish brides in Morocco, Sefrou (Elie Posner, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 21st October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=374406).*
C. *The jewellery of Jewish women in the Draa valley (Elie Posner, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, retrieved 21st October 2012 at http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=374457).*

5.2.c Personal items, prayer mantles and phylacteries

Slapak (1995, 117) mentions that Jewish men in India were, apart from their sidelocks, recognizable by the skullcap (*kita*) and the prayer shawls (*tallit gadol* and *tallit katan*) with ritual fringes (*tzitzit*). This most likely was the case also in other regions. In modern times, the sidelocks, skullcap and the white prayer shawl with blue or black stripes at the edges and fringes at four corners would be recognizably Jewish for most people (fig 56).

Since they are based on prescriptions from halakhah these features may serve as very direct evidence of the presence of even individual observant Jews. Also the phylacteries (*tefillin*), leather prayer straps to attach boxes with texts from the *Torah* on the forehead and arms, are specifically Jewish (fig 56).[25] The wearing of a skullcap (*kita*) goes back to the *Talmud* (Sjabbat 156b) and is worn the whole day by orthodox men, even under their hats, and by others only during prayer. The wearing of the fringes (*tzitzit*) containing a blue thread on the four corners of the *tallit katan* or the prayer mantle (*tallit gadol*) is based on the *Torah* (Num 15:38-40). The same is true for the command of wearing the *tefillin* (Deut 6: 6-8). The prayer mantle and the *tefillin* are not worn all day however.

Figure 56. Prayer attributes

A. *Soldier wearing tefillin during prayer (Yoavlemmer, Wikimedia Commons, retrieved 21st October 2012 at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File %3AIDF_soldier_put_on_tefillin.jpg).*
B. *Soldiers wearing tefillin and tallit (Israel Defence Forces, retrieved 21st October 2012 at http://www.flickr.com/photos/idfonline/4288133336/ sizes/o/in/photostream/).*
C. *Tallit katan with tzitzit (Blambi, English Wikipedia, retrieved 21st October 2012 at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tzitzskatan-ch.jpg).*

[25] A useful source containing detailed information on all these items is The Jewish Encyclopedia from 1901-1906 by Singer and Adler of which the full content was published online at http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/ in 2011.

5.2.d Pottery and stone vessels

A well known category of ceramic items from antiquity are the oil lamps from *diaspora* contexts (see *e.g.* Rutgers 1998b, 152) that then could be ascribed to Judaism if they had a *menorah* or another symbol associated with Judaism on them. This assumption can however be misleading, since they are often found together with lamps bearing early Christian iconography in the same context (Rutgers 1998b, 152). Cultural interaction between Jewish and early-Christian or other groups in Rome is studied from an archaeological angle by Rutgers (1995; 1998a; 1998b, 73ff) and has revealed that the Jewish community was not as isolated as had been assumed by scholars, with a possibility of mutual influence.

From Talmudic and Mishnaic times it is known that stone vessels were in use in Jerusalem, Judaea, the Golan and Galilee (Amit and Adler 2010, 139; Berlin 2005, 429). This use of domestic stone vessels has been related to the observance of purity laws concerning food, but interestingly, also to an expression of Jewish identity (Amit and Adler 2010, 125; Berlin 2005, 429, 433). The number of discovered fragments of stone vessels is still increasing and workshops have been discovered in Galilee (Amit and Adler 2010, 139; Berlin 2005, 430). There seems however to be no prove of a lack of this kind of evidence in non-Jewish contexts to support the suggestion of a uniquely Jewish use.

For the Late Roman (also commonly referred to as Byzantine) and early Islamic periods, there are some curious things going on when it comes to ceramics in Palestine. Where ceramics usually play an important role in archaeology, either as markers for relative chronologies or as part of the material culture of a certain culture or culture group, this is hard when it comes to Judaism. To start with, there is no consensus on how the Islamic period could best be subdivided in archaeological periods (Schick 1998, 80). Subdivision by ruling dynasty, which is actually a political subdivision, has been common practice for the Islamic period. For archaeology this is problematic since these political shifts do suggest discontinuity in the material culture but overlook the fact that these political shifts do not necessarily have effect on the material culture (Schick 1998, 80; Walsmley 2007, 57). Ceramics in Palestine in that period have been usually defined as Byzantine, Arab or Crusader wares (Meyers 1985, 61; Whitcomb 1995, 493).

A first explanation for the absence of Jewish ceramics may of course be that this has to do with the fact that Jews simply used the same types of ceramics as their surrounding cultures. This would mean that no distinction between Jews and the other inhabitants of a settlement can be made based on ceramics alone, or that the small details

indicating this difference are not known yet. A second explanation however could be that Jews preferred stone vessels over ceramics in relation to purity laws or identity, as has been suggested for the Talmudic and Mishnaic periods. In that case it would be interesting to see whether stone vessels are found in excavations from the later periods as well and whether they are less used in non-Jewish contexts. Coincidentally Whitcomb mentions the imitations of steatite vessels of the ninth century in relation to the importation date of 'this Arabian artefact' (Whitcomb 1995, 494). This brings us to a third explanation for the absence of 'Jewish' ceramics in the assemblages of the Islamic period, which in my opinion is the most interesting.

The Early Islamic period has often been reduced to a period of destruction and violence (cf. Whitcomb 1995, 488). Discovered remains of destroyed synagogues and churches led to the assumption that these destructions had been caused both by natural disasters such as earthquakes and invasions. The earthquake from 748 CE and the conquest of the Abbasids served as 'a convenient fixed point for change in period designation' (Whitcomb 1995, 488). The introduction of glazed wares and technological improvement of ceramics around the same time seemed to justify this breakpoint as a point of cultural change as well (Whitcomb 1995, 493). Archaeologically however, this discontinuity has been refuted (Walmsley 2007, 55). Schick (1998, 75-6) explicitly states that the Islamic conquest did not cause disruption in the region and that archaeological evidence for destruction caused by the Muslims is hard to come by. Also Meyers (1985, 63) states in his article on stratigraphic and ceramic observations from the Medieval Strata of Khirbet Shema' in Galilee, that 'in any event, there is strikingly little archaeological or literary evidence for cultural displacement or large population infusion during the early medieval period'.

Excavations at Pella, conducted by Walsmley in the 1980s, have provided a secure ceramic sequence, covering the period from the sixth to the tenth century that not only confirm un unbroken continuity from Byzantine times, but also justify the redating to the later Abbasissid and Fatimid periods of ceramic sequences that had been ascribed erronuosly to the Umayyad period and the supposed cultural break that had been related to the Islamic conquest (Walsmley 2007, 55). This redating filled up the gap of an almost 'dark age' that existed for these later periods archaeologically, showing that a rejenovation of existing regional ceramic styles occurred only in the early eighth century and an innovation, associated with the introduction of cream and glazed wares mainly, only in the late eight to the early ninth century (Walmsley 2007, 55). Furthermore,

Walsmley (2007, 58) mentions the appearance of hand made coarse pottery as another innovation from the eleventh century onwards.

These new insights obviously have consequences for the understanding of socio-economic developments after the mid-eighth century (Walsmley 2007, 55). The erroneous association of the rise of Islam with an essential improvement in the ceramics and the presence of a decorative glazing on ceramics has served as a 'pervasive marker for Islamic archaeology'(Whitcomb 1995, 493). This led to the identification of a settlement as 'Islamic' based on the ceramics alone, suggesting a homogenous Islamic population. In 1985 Meyers already warned that although 'many Near Eastern archaeologists refer to glazed wares as "Arab" or "Crusader", such designations do not necessarily reflect the ethnic or cultural context or identity of those artifacts' (Meyers 1985, 61). Now continuity has been confirmed, it may be assumed that the population was far less homogeneous.

It is known for instance that Jewish communities were present in the rural areas of lower and upper Galilee and the Golan during the Late Roman period prior to the Arabic conquest (Patrich 1995, 472) and in Galilee in the early Islamic period until the ninth century (Meyers 1985, 62). Although tribal Arabic groups were present in Palestine before the Islamic conquest, afterwards Arab-speaking immigrants occupied abandoned property or founded new settlements (*amsar)* adjacent to the older ones (Whitcomb 1995, 491). This founding of *amsar*, that traditionally have been characterized as primitive military camps, may have been part of a deliberate Islamic policy of innovation through urbanization for administrative, social and ideological reasons (Whitcomb 1995, 495). The local Jewish, Christian and pagan populations could therefore easily have imported the new wares or adopted the newly introduced techniques. Moreover, the presence of ceramic types are often analysed in percentages. This would mean that only a specific percentage of so-called glazed wares would have to be present to define a village homogeneously as 'Islamic', thereby completely overlooking the possibility that different minority groups may have been present in the same spot or only a short distance away.

This would coincide with the situation in Europe, where archaeology already has begun to show that Jewish communities may have been less distinct from the majority and other population groups within settlements (Silbermann 2010, 60). There is however one example (fig 57) of what might have been a kosher cooking pot, known from early Islamic Syria. These pots were probably made out of one piece, with an incision on the location where the lid should be separated from the pot, which would be done after the

firing of the pots (Vroom, pers. comm.; Walmsley 2007, 50). Therefore it might be rewarding to go through the excavation reports of previously carried out excavations from this new perspective.

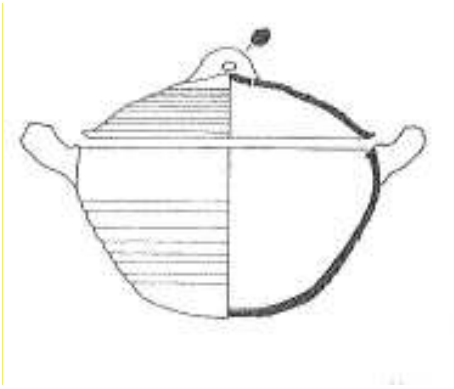

Figure 57. Cooking bowl (casserole) from Syria, eighth century, possibly used for kosher cooking (Walsmley 2007, 50).

For the late medieval period, apart from the already mentioned ceramic *Chanukah* lamps from Morocco, Yemen and Tunisia and the plates from northern Europe, there is evidence from the Iberian peninsula that lustreware ceramics were made in specific Jewish forms such as *Hanukka* Lamps and a plate, even as late as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Mann 2009, 257). These forms were brought to Iberia by the Arabs originally. Mann also mentions that the expelled Jews of Spain were involved in the establishment of the first majolica manufacturies in Italy (Mann 2009, 257).

5.2.e House inventories

Every Jewish household is supposed to have a *mezuzah* (fig 58) at its right hand doorpost when entering. This *mezuzah* can be made of all kinds of material but usually it is a wooden or metal tube holding a parchment with passages from the *Torah* in Hebrew, written in 22 equal lines (Deut 6: 4-9 and 11: 13-21).[26] A small glass window shows the name of God, Shadai (שדי). The gates of Jewish cities will most likely also have *mezuzot* as well as the rooms within houses that function as living areas (De Vries 1968, 51). It should be noted that Muslims in Egypt have a similar custom with glass cylinders on the doorposts of their dwellings and shops.[18] These show the name of God, their profession

[26] See the topic on *mezuzah* in the Jewish Encyclopedia by Singer and Adler 2011: http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10774-mezuzah.

or a passage from the Qur'an, but these are not in Hebrew. Therefore, finding a *mezuzah* in the archaeological record may afford rather direct evidence of Jewish presence, provided the parchment with the text is preserved.

Figure 58. Mezuzot from The Netherlands dating to the early twentieth century made of all kinds of material: wood, cotton, iron, brass, parchment and glass (Cohen et al. 2004, 243).

Furthermore, it can be retrieved from the Cairo Genizah documents that all kinds of chests, trunks and textiles were used in houses, such as pillows, rugs, carpets and so on (Goitein 1983, 105ff). These mostly have no indication of being used in a Jewish home, unless specific symbols or Hebrew characters may give a clue. The Genizah documents give no information on the observance of purity laws in the kitchen concerning the division of meat and dairy products. Only the use of a meal carrier is mentioned (Goitein 1983, 141).

For the synagogue textiles were used, such as the earliest surviving knotted rug in the form of a long narrow runner that could have been used for seating in the synagogue which conforms to the ones mentioned in the rabbinic texts (Mann 2009, 256). This particular rug from Spain shows small shrines that seem to resemble the mosaic floor of Beth Alpha from 527 CE, but this rug was dated to the fourteenth century and may therefore tell us something about traditions for this type of motif (Mann 2009, 256).

5.2.f Magic

Although the existence of Jewish magic can be disputed, Bohak (2008; 2009) states that several magical texts, including magical recipes, have been encountered in the Genizah documents. He discusses these texts in search for formulations dating back to Late Antiquity and notes that apart from Late Antique sources, the medieval Jews of Cairo

may have borrowed from their Muslim neighbours (Bohak 2009, 326). Bohak suggests that there may have been two different branches of Jewish magic going back to Antiquity, a Western and an Eastern branch (2009, 327). The Eastern branch practiced by the Babylonian Jews is represented by so-called 'demon bowls' or 'Aramaic incantation bowls' that have been found in Iran and Iraq (Bohak 2009, 326). These 'incantation bowls' bear magical texts in Hebrew characters, in the Aramaic language (*e.g.* Isbell 1976) and are dated from the fifth to the eighth century (Bohak 2009, 327). The Western branch is associated with the Palestinian, Syrian and Egyptian Jews and is represented by other objects related to magic practices such as amulets made out of metal or clay plates or lamellae with curses or erotic spells on them (*e.g.* Bohak 2009, 327).

Bohak studies the magic of Late Antiquity and explains the neglect of magic as a research field, by the common denial of the existence of a Jewish magic tradition within Jewish culture (Bohak 2008, 10). Jewish magic might at the first instance indeed seem in contrast with the biblical prohibitions, but it could be argued that the very existence of the biblical prohibitions are a prove in itself that magic was practised, otherwise it would not have been necessary to pay attention to the phenomenon at all, albeit in the form of prohibitions (Innemee, pers. comm.). Assuming that magic continued to be practised by Jews throughout the medieval period in Muslim or Christian contexts, we would have to deal with its own specific questions and explanations for its existence (Bohak 2008, 11). Items of which it is known that they were ascribed magical powers during the medieval period comprise all kinds of amulets, jewellery, and objects related to religious practices such as the earlier mentioned *hamsa*, but this equally accounts for the *mezuzah* and the *Torah* scrolls (Sabar 2009; 2010, 144).[27] This may represent a fascinating research field for the archaeology of Judaism. Although it may be hard to recognize 'magic' in the archaeological record, it may at least be helpful to keep the possibility of supposed magical items or rituals in mind.

5.3 Crafts and trade

Studies on trade and crafts of the Jews in the medieval Mediterranean have been based on the Genizah documents mostly. From these a tantalizing view emerged on medieval

[27] See also the topic on *mezuzah* in the Jewish Encyclopedia by Singer and Adler 2011: http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10774-mezuzah.

society and the trades and crafts that Jews presumably were involved in. Material from a wider *diaspora* context has already been presented and has given an impression of the available material for Judaism in general, but now I therefore want to zoom in on the Genizah context and discuss some of the issues and clues in those studies that in my view are specifically interesting from an archaeological perspective

5.3.a Trade

Among the documents in the Cairo Genizah are letters from merchants from India to Spain and almost everywhere in between. According to Goitein, doing trade with Europeans was attractive and lucrative to the local merchants of the Cairo Geniza, since the Europeans seemed to have been satisfied with second-rate merchandise (Goitein 1967, 45). Jewish merchants from both the East and Europe had the advantage of being able to use Hebrew as their common language, but although it could be assumed they used this in their trade contracts, they did not use it for business relations of any significance (Goitein 1967, 15; 211). Instead, their bonds were through culture, religion and philanthropy and the merchants from the Genizah documents exclusively seem to have traded with European Christians (Goitein 1967, 211). Moreover, the Arabic speaking Jewish merchants of the Mediterranean area (with Sicily and Spain as possible exceptions) seem to have been confined to the realm of Islam, and it was the Europeans who came to the hubs of the Mediterranean, Tunisia and Sicily, from at least the tenth and early eleventh century onwards (Citarella 1971; Goitein 1967, 212). As mentioned before in chapter three of this thesis however, Holo (2009) and Jacoby (1992) sketch a somewhat different scene from the Byzantine perspective.

There seems to have been an overlap of short and long distance lines; apart from the trade routes from Egypt to Tunisia and Sicily, some Genizah documents mention direct trade routes from Alexandria to the Atlantic and Mediterranean coast of Spain, with ports such as Seville, Denia and Almeria, but also with the ports from the Syro-Palestinian coast, reaching from Suwaydiyya, the harbour of Antioch in the north to Ghaza in the south, including Ascalon, Acre, Tyre, Tripoli and al-Ladhiqiyya (Goitein 1967, 212). Overland routes existed as well from for instance the trade centre Sijilmasa near the Tafilelt-oasis in Morocco, that served as a 'desert port', through Qayrawan to Egypt (Goitein 1967, 212). Smaller harbours on the coast between Alexandria and Tunisa were Tobruc, Barnik (Berenike) and Syrta. Barqa, the capital of eastern Libya, held a position between Tripoli and the smaller harbours (Goitein 1967, 212).

Besides the Genizah documents dealing with Mediterranean trade there are the documents dealing with the so-called Indian trade, a subject that highly interested Goitein (Friedman and Goitein 2007; Goitein 1999, xiii). Indian trade in this respect is to be understood as the trade and commercial activities in the region stretching from the ports of the Red Sea in the West to the shores of Sumatra, Indonesia, in the East (Friedman and Goitein 2007, 6). Some interesting studies have been done on the Jews as shipowners both in the Mediterranean and in the Indian trade, inspired by the term used for shipowner in the Genizah documents dealing with this (Friedman and Goitein 2007, 132ff).

The largest amount of the business correspondence in the Cairo Genizah, c. 80%, came from Tunisia and Sicily, places that are connected to the Maghrebi merchants, who 'commuted from the western to the eastern Mediterranean and partly settled there' (Goitein 1967, 20). 'There', however, in this regard is a broad concept, since the Mediterranean in the Genizah documents seems to be divided into three regions: 'The East', 'The Muslim West' or 'al-Maghrib', and 'The land of the Romans' or 'al-Rum' (Goitein 1967, 43). The East meant namely Egypt and the Muslim countries of southwestern Asia. 'Al-Maghrib' referred to all of North Africa west of Egypt, including Muslim Sicily and it considered Andalus (or Spain) as a subsection thereof. 'Al-Rum' referred to Byzantium, but also to Christian Europe in general.

The people figuring in the letters from the Genizah were mostly from the twin cities Qayrawan and al-Mahdivya in Tunisia. The main export crops, flax and indigo, were grown in the smaller places all over Egypt and the letters coming from these places are mainly from merchants from Tunisia as well (Goitein 1967, 20). In the eleventh century CE Tunisia was a great seat of Jewish learning (Goitein 1967, 21). There seem to have been close connections between the Maghrebi merchants and the Palestinian synagogue in Fusṭāṭ, probably as a result of their aid in times of need. Soon after the caliph Al-Hakim ordered the destruction of the houses of worship of both Christians and Jews around 1012 CE, he granted permission to rebuild them. In exchange for public offices and honorific titles the Maghrebi traders presumably, as confirmed by at least some documents found in the Genizah, took the funds needed for rebuilding the synagogue to their account and the Tunisians probably were the initiators for building the large Genizah room and for including secular texts as well in its store (Goitein 1967, 20-21).

Besides the trade with Tunisia and Sicily there were close commercial relations between the two main Syrian cities Damascus and Aleppo, but considerably fewer to

relatively almost no letters from these cities are found in the Genizah (Goitein 1967, 20). The same is true for Spain, although there certainly was direct traffic between Egypt and Spain, at least it is known that the products from Spain filled the Egyptian markets (Goitein 1967, 21).

A well-known trade item in the medieval Mediterranean was silk, which was produced all around the Mediterranean, even in countries where the climate was not optimal for sericulture, such as Egypt (Goitein 1961, 173). Especially the Byzantine silk products were appreciated in the Mediterranean countries (Goitein 1961, 175). The documents of the Genizah mention Spain and Morocco as leading production centres and Sicily as a second important centre (Goitein 1961, 173). Tunisia was a great export centre of silk products, but probably processed silk from Spain and other countries (Goitein 1961, 174). The silk from Lebanon, Syria and Palestinia is scarcely mentioned in the documents of the Geniza, probably due to the devastations by the Crusaders during the eleventh century, making Europe more profitable for products from the region than Syria itself (Goitein 1961, 175). Remarkably, the use of Byzantine raw silk outside the borders of the Byzantine Empire is not mentioned either in the Genizah documents, as it may still have been forbidden to sell raw silk for resale outside the city by Byzantine imperial policy based on the book of the Prefect from 911/912 CE (Goitein 1961, 175; Jacoby 1992, 491; 2004, 215; Lopez 1945, 28; Muthesius 1993, 10).

Some other commodities that are mentioned in the Genizah documents are brazilwood, as a raw material for red dye and potash alum which was used both for making dye and medicine (Goitein 1967, 45). One single merchant could trade in an 'almost bizarre diversity of goods', including dyeing plants, medical and culinary herbs, glass, silk, all kind of textiles, corals, perfumes, wax, millstones and a variety of clothes and household goods (Goitein 1967, 153). Goitein divided the about 200 items of wholesale business in four groups defined as silk and silk wares, flax and linen cloths, dyeing and varnishing stuffs and medical and culinary plants and considered it enough material for a Ph.D. dissertation on each group (Goitein 1967, 210).

5.3.b Crafts

The general form of production in Old Cairo as appearing from the Genizah documents was the workshop run by a single craftsman with up to five workmen (Goitein 1967, 81). The two main industries of the region in that period, those of sugar and paper, were the two exceptions to this situation. Sugar became an important monopoly of the Sultans in

Mamluk times and paper was exported and imported in large amounts, justifying the conclusion that paper was mass-produced as well (Goitein 1967, 81). Paper mills seem however to be confined to Fusṭāṭ.

In his paper addressing the crafts mentioned in the documents of the Cairo Geniza, Goitein states that ethnic and religious groups often specialized in certain crafts (Goitein 1967, 171). The Jews were specifically, although not strictly, involved in the textile industry, especially in silk and the dyeing of textiles (Goitein 1967, 171). Furthermore they were involved in glass production, all kinds of metalwork, but mainly silver-smithery, the food industry and pharmaceutica, which was at the time more closely connected with medicine, or '*materia medica*' (Goitein 1961, 171).

Lewis (1993) mentions that Jews specialized in crafts that the Muslim population needed, but, as a heroic military society, regarded as inferior. This involves services such as trade and finance. In the later centuries Jews were increasingly involved in the dirtier occupations such as cesspit cleaning and making fuel out of it, or tanning. Also they could be butchers or hangmen, or they were involved in what Muslims regarded as really dirty activities: dealing with the unbelievers in occupations such as diplomacy, commerce, banking, brokerage, espionage, business and customs affairs. Moreover, even gold- and silver working was regarded by Muslims as a danger to the soul, leading to an overrepresentation of Jews involved in this business (Lewis 1993, 40).

These crafts associated with Judaism may be recognizable in the archaeological record, either through characteristic objects or features, or a characteristic combination of objects and archaeological features indicative for parts of the production process. It must be kept in mind however, that this only renders no more than an indirect link to Judaism, based on the observations of Goitein in his studies on the documents from the Cairo Geniza. Specifically three of these crafts, being defined as the textile and dyeing industry, glass and metal-production and '*materia medica'*, may be of interest.

5.3.c Dyes and textiles

According to the Genizah documents, the textile industry involved the production of flax, silk and clothes. The textile industry was the major industry in the medieval Mediterranean (Goitein 1961, 172). Textiles were expensive but also more durable and less identical in appearance than in our time, which made clothing an excellent means of investment (Goitein 1961, 172). Apart from clothing, many types of carpets, couches,

cushions, canopies and draperies were used for house decoration (Goitein 1961, 172; 1967, 101).

Flax, from which linen was produced, can be considered the main industrial crop of Egypt and the main product in the medieval Egyptian economy (Gil 2004, 81; Goitein 1961, 178). Egypt was especially suited for growing flax, since flax requires large quantities of water, which could be provided by the Nile (Gil 2004, 81). Interestingly enough, the steps involved in processing flax are mentioned in the *Mishnah* and the *Tosefta*, but also in documents from the Cairo Genizah (Gil 2004, 82).

Silk was produced all around the Mediterranean, from Spain and Sicily, but also in Iraq, Iran and Persia and countries where the climatic conditions were not very favourable to sericulture, such as Egypt (Goitein 1961, 173). Nevertheless, the Egyptian silk, probably grown in the south, presumably in the Fayum, was of an inferior quality (Goitein 1967, 176). Silk is the product of the silkworm, living from mulberry trees (*Morus alba*). Silk could be traded in cocoons, raw silk[28] or finished products. In the Genizah documents it is mentioned that raw silk was brought to the small towns of the Egyptian Rif (or countryside) to be woven and dyed (Goitein 1961, 173). The Jews may have been dominant in more countries in the silk industry, probably as the result of the wide ranging travels of the Jewish Rahdaniyya (Radanite) merchants of the ninth century, who traded with China, or because sericulture was an ancient local industry in Palestine (Goitein 1961, 177).

Cotton, wool and sea wool (threads with a golden luster, see below) were some other materials produced by the textile industry, but with lesser impact than flax and silk. Cotton in its raw stated was mostly imported from Syria, Sicily and Tunisia, while cotton goods were one of the main imports, mainly from Tunisia and India (Goitein 1961, 179). Wool, as a product of sheep breeding, was most likely used for all kinds of clothing, since cheese production was very vital (Goitein 1961, 179). Sea wool, consisting of threads with a golden luster that could shift through various colours during the day, was produced by a large maritime mollusc and was considered a specialty (Goitein 1961, 180).

[28] The production process starts with eliminating the silkworm from its cocoon, after which the cocoons have to be unravelled and reeled. This can be achieved by cooking the cocoons in order to get rid of the glue in them. At this stage, silk is called raw silk (see *e.g.* Jacoby 1992; 2004).

Dyeing was almost a Jewish profession in all countries and it was believed the Jews had specific professional secrets (for instance that the best crimson was to be found in Spain and that only a certain group of Jews knew how to find it (Goitein 1961, 171, incl. note 3). According to Xinru the Genizah documents show that Jewish people under Islamic rule wore 'gorgeous, bright coloured clothes, whose quality was equal to that of garments made for Muslim rulers' (Xinru 1995,46). There was an enormous variety of colours, with many more nuances than today, requiring excellent skills and experience in using the available dyes (Goitein 1961, 180; 1983, 173-6). The preferences for certain combinations of colours could be linked to countries or regions (Goitein 1961, 181). Yellow for instance, seems to have been taboo for female clothing in the Genizah world (Goitein 1983, 175). Dyers seem to have been specialized in certain ingredients for making a specific colour. Among these ingredients are crimson, saffron, sumac, purple, vermilion or indigo (Goitein 1961, 181; 1967, 107; 1983, 172). Woad (*Isatis tinctorum*), also known as Syro-palestinian indigo, and brazilwood, the red-coloured wood of an oriental tree, [29] are mentioned as well (Goitein 1983, 172-173). Scientific analysis of the dyes of fifty fragments from carpets from the region around Fusṭāṭ has been done by Karapanagiotis *et al.* (2011) and of Coptic textile by Orska-Gawryś (2004; 2011).

Weaving and tailoring were also included in the textile industry. The weaver was supposed to clean the threads of their blackish crust with a pumice stone (Goitein 1983, 177). Before clothes could be used they had to be fulled, which means they were trodded in fuller's earth, a soapy substance by which it shrank, tightened and became bulky, and pressed to make it smooth and shiny (Goitein 1983, 178). They could be enriched with embroidery if desired (Goitein 1983, 178). Ready-made clothing seems to have been the rule after which the desired adjustments were made by either a tailor, darner, embroiderer or the women's folk at home (Goitein 1983, 179).

5.3.d Metal, glass, and ceramics

Just like the Moroccan Jews, as already mentioned in the overview of the material culture of daily life, also the Jews of the Genizah seem to have been specifically involved in silver smithery, but also in the working of other metals (Goitein 1961, 171). Mann

[29] Nowadays it is retrieved from a tropical tree of the species *Caesalpinia,* known for instance from Brazil, see *e.g.* http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/78361/brazilwood.

mentions that the Jews achieved a great deal of mastership in the craft of metalworking, even to such an extent that the Jews of Yemen had to teach their skills to Muslims before they were allowed to emigrate to Israel in the 1950s (Mann 2009, 254). Interestingly, Mann also mentions that an eyewitness Jean-Léon Africain who visited Morocco, wrote in the sixteenth century that most of the gold smiths in Fez were Jews (Mann 2009, 254).

Furthermore, especially glass working seems to have been a favourite Jewish occupation (Goitein 1961,186). This may have been the result of an old tradition, since 'Jewish Glass' was already a familiar term in France around the seventh century CE, but it may also have to do with the fact that glass vessels made it easier to deal with Jewish dietary and purity laws (Goitein 1961, 187). Apart from that, Jews were closely connected with minting, which used glass weights that precisely indicated fractions of grammes (Goitein 1961, 187). Some lamps used in synagogues, referred to as '*buqandalat*, or chandeliers, triangles and hoops', all bore glass vessels filled with water, oil (mostly olive and linseed oil) and wicks (Goitein 1983, 133). Glass vessels turned out to be very handy in pharmaceuticals as well, which is also considered to be a favourite Jewish occupation (Goitein 1961, 187). Fusṭāṭ seems to have been a major production centre for glass (Goitein 1961, 187).

In his discussion of the confusion caused by the definition of historical periods based on ceramic styles, Whitcomb (1995, 494) mentioned early handmade geometric painted wares from the Fatimid period. He uses these to show that these might be the beginnings of Islamic geometric painted wares and, interestingly, at the same time mentions that the patterns used on this handmade decoration show resemblance to basketry (and perhaps textile) decorations (see *e.g.* also Ziadeh 1995). Furthermore, he states that the presence of a glazed ceramic industry suggests a relation to the glass industry in this region (Whitcomb 1995, 494). Given the fact that Jews were presumably occupied in the glass and textile industries, the study of the interrelatedness of these production complexes might prove valuable for the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world. The earlier mentioned stone vessel workshops from the Talmudic and Mishnaic (Amit and Adler 2010) and the steatite vessels mentioned by Whitcomb (1995, 494) may suggest that this was a craft practised in the region too.

5.3.e Materia medica

Materia medica is a term that is related to the pharmaceutical practices in which Jews seem to have been specifically involved. There have been found around 50 Jewish

physicians in the fragments from the Genizah documents (Lev and Amar 2006, 430). The most famous of them probably was Maimonides. According to Lev and Amar, Goitein explains 'the phenomenon of Jewish predominance in medicine not as the continuation of the pre-Islamic tradition but as a contemporary development owing to the revival of the Greek sciences in Islam on the one hand and the efflorescence of trade with India and the Far East on the other. In his opinion medicine and pharmaceutics then experienced unprecedented exuberance and became almost new professions'(Lev and Amar 2006, 429). Therefore, it is not surprising that Goitein considered the medical aspects of the Cairo Genizah documents an important and potential field of research to be carried out by experts of the history of medicine (Goitein 1963; 1971, 240-272, 575-585).

This challenge has been taken up by Lev and Amar, who were trained as both botanists and historians, and which has resulted in a series of publications (Amar and Lev 2007; Lev 2007; Lev and Amar 2006; 2007; 2008a; 2008b) dealing with the *materia medica* in the Genizah documents. They distinguished between theoretical and practical use of drugs and in this way were able to reconstruct an inventory of 278 substances of medieval practical drugs that were used in the Genizah community (Lev and Amar 2008a, 26). They identified 242 drugs in 140 prescriptions and medical letters and 206 drugs that were sold in pharmacies and even were able to define a top ten of the most used drugs in medieval Cairo (Lev and Amar 2008a, 26-7). Most substances (233; 80,2%) are of botanical origin, some of animal origin (24; 8,6%) and some of inorganic substances (31; 11,2%) (Lev and Amar 2008a, 26). Apart from giving insight into the medical aspects, study of of *materia medica* also can be useful for studying medieval Mediterranean trade, as for instance has been done by analyzing the places of origin, production and demand for saffron and cherry plum (*myrobalan*) (Amar and Lev 2007).

For archaeology this opens up opportunities, especially in the field of archaeobotany, since most ingredients are of botanical origin. The lists of identified drugs and prescriptions retrieved from the analysis of the Genizah documents represent the textual evidence of these practices. When botanical remains would be encountered in the archaeological record that are on the list of identified drugs, or even a combination of them that could be linked to a specific prescription, this might represent the archaeological evidence of *materia medica.* Furthermore, this might provide an indirect archaeological clue for the presence of (Jewish) physicians or merchants from the Cairo Genizah community. Especially the mentioned top ten of myrobalam (cherry plum), rose (dog rose), almond, endive (chicory), pepper, saffron, licorice, spikenard, lentisk and

sugar cane seems promising for this purpose. A pitfall might be however that it would be hard to crosscheck this evidence, from a Genizah bias, with comparable datasets from other contexts.

6 Defining Judaism for archaeological purposes

The previous chapters have given an impression of the range of archaeological remains and material culture that has been associated with Judaism over time. Meanwhile, this already has shed some light on the grounds that have been used for linking material culture to Judaism, and thereby mainly provided the means for answering the first part of the research question. In this chapter I want to take a closer look at these grounds for answering the second part of the research question concerned with defining what an archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World should deal with. For instance a closer look at what 'Judaism' means, in terms of identity, ethnicity and religion is relevant. Also *diaspora* theory (*e.g.* Lilley 2004; Safran 2005) is relevant and will be discussed. Apart from these kind of anthropological issues, the role of textual sources, that mostly serve as a basis in historical and linguistic approaches, will be considered in relation to an archaeological approach. Last but not least, it can be imagined that the issue of an Archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world is not without complications and since it is more and more realized that archaeology can nolonger refrain itself from modern agenda's and politics (Meskell 2002), some remarks concerning the role of archaeology in modern society will be made here as well.

6.1 Defining identity and ethnicity in archaeology

The issue of identity and ethnicity is a widely debated issue in archaeology (*e.g.* Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005; Hall 1997; 2002; Insoll 2007a; Jones 1997; Meskell 2002). Actually, it could indeed be questioned, as Insoll (2007a, 1) has done, whether it would be possible to have an archaeology that is not concerned with identity. Social identity may refer to both individual or group identity (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1; Meskell 2007, 24). Ethnicity can then be considered as group or collective identity. To understand these concepts of identity and ethnicity better, archaeologists tend to turn to anthropology and sociology (Insoll 2007a, 1). Within these disciplines there has been a shift from a static understanding of cultures to a fluent, dynamic understanding of ethnicity. A turning point within anthropology has been the reconsideration of ethnicity by Barth (1969). For archaeology, among others, Sian Jones (1997; 2007) has recently argued for a new approach towards ethnicity and the reflection thereof in the archaeological record. Also Jonathan Hall (1997; 2002) has contributed to the discussion on ethnicity, mainly from the angle of ancient Greek and Hellenistic contexts. To understand the discussion on

ethnicity, a short reconsideration of the theoretical developments towards culture and ethnicity within archaeology will follow.

The initial approach towards past peoples within the developing discipline of archaeology has been a culture historical one (Jones 2007, 45). A growing interest in ethnicity resulted in an increasing acceptation of the concept of 'archaeological culture' around the end of the nineteenth century (Trigger 2006, 232). This culture historical approach assumed that collections of specific characteristics, customs, shared beliefs or ideas make up a culture which would than correspond to particular peoples, ethnic groups, tribes or races. Childe, who can be considered as one of the founding fathers of prehistoric archaeology, specified this idea for archaeology by stressing the implications for material culture as follows:

'*We find certain types of remains – pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, and house forms- constantly recurring together. Such a complex of associated traits we shall term a "cultural group" or just a "culture". We assume that such a complex is the material expression of what today would be called a "people".*'
(Childe 1929, v-vi cf. Johnson 1999, 16)

According to Jones (2007, 45), in the culture historical approach, culture is understood as a set of common ideas or beliefs that are maintained by interaction within a group. Transmission of cultural traits or ideas is generally defined by the degree of interaction. A homogeneous material culture is in this approach regarded as a result of regular contact, whereas discontinuities are regarded the result of less intensive contact. Also the swiftness of this process of acculturation is assumed to say something about internal or external influences; gradual change is regarded as the result of internal processes whereas a more rapid change is associated with external influences, such as diffusion or migration and conquest (Jones 2007, 45). This rather static definition of culture and its reflection in the material remains has been challenged by archaeologists over time. There have been for instance the functional-processual or the 'New Archaeology' in the 1960s and the post-processual or interpretive archaeology in the 1980s (Trigger 2006, 386).

Characteristic of the New Archaeology was the turn to a methodical, scientific, approach in studying the developments (or processes) and relations in and between social or cultural systems, grounded in a belief in cultural evolution (*e.g.* Johnson 1999, 22-30; Trigger 2006, 314). One of the proponents and initiators of New Archaeology was Lewis

Binford who presented it as a sort of breakpoint with the culture historical approach, although functional and processual trends had been influencing factors for a long time already in both American and European archaeology (Trigger 2006, 393). Another important scholar was Clarke (1968; 1973), who suggested that a 'loss of innocence' was needed in archaeology by challenging what he has defined as the *normative* and *polythetic* approach of cultural history (cf. Johnson 1999, 16). The *normative* approach assumed that specific beliefs or norms defined what culture is and that this was reflected in the material remains (Johnson 1999, 16). The *polythetic* approach assumed that specific traits should occur together before defining it as an archaeological culture (Johnson 1999, 17). Thereby attention was drawn to the pitfalls of regarding a specific collection of material culture as an archaeological culture and linking it to a supposed ethnic group in a simplistic way, assuming a one-to one relation (Johnson 1999, 17). The main critiques were that the focus is on differences instead of on similarities between cultures, as representatives of ethnic groups. This has been called *particularizing* (Johnson 1999, 17). Furthermore, Clarke (1968) argued that a normative approach more or less assumes that cultures are static and thereby does not leave room for changes over time or for variations within (cf. Johnson 1999, 17). These changes had been explained before as factors from outside, either through migration or diffusion, through moving of peoples or contacts between them (Johnson 1999, 18).

The neglect of human interaction, cultural norms and traditions in the strict analytical approach of New Archaeology eventually led to a growing dissatisfaction that resulted in the emergence of post-processual, or contextual, archaeology. Characteristic was the involvement of human thought and behaviour. This led to a more interpretative, relative approach to the past involving the context. Likewise, it led to the acknowledgement of subjective views, inherent of the subjective perspective that individual human beings tend to have with regard to their environment (*e.g.* Johnson 1999,101; Trigger 2006, 447). Awareness rose that also archaeologists themselves may have a subjective perpective when looking to the past, embedded as they are in a Western scholarly tradition that is rooted in the Enlightenment, with a teleological perspective on cultures that is inherent to evolutionary ideas (Insoll 2007b; Johnson 1999, 103; Trigger 2006, 102, 447). Moreover, archaeology has known stages as colonialism, nationalism and imperialism explicitly exhibiting a biased view (Trigger 1984; 2008). Apart from influences from Marxism and structuralism, Johnson mentions eight key points of the postprocessual approach (Johnson 1999, 101-8). These are in short, 1) a rejection of a

positivist view of science, 2) that interpretation is always hermeneutic, 3) a rejection of the opposition between material and ideal, 4) that thought and values in the past should be involved in research, 5) that the individual is active (agency), 6) that material culture is to be interpreted, 7) that the context should be involved and 8) that the meanings produced by archaeologists are always in the political present and as a result have political resonance. Interpreting the past therefore, is according to these views, always a political act (Johnson 1999, 101-8).

This last statement explicitly has to do with the role of identity and ethnicity, as group identity or nationalism, in archaeology (see *e.g.* Meskell 2002). Ethnicity has been a loaded concept in archaeology for a long time. This was mainly due to the theories of Kossina (1858–1931), who can be considered the father of the idea of an archaeological culture that formed the basis for the cultural historical approach within archaeology (Trigger 2006, 240; 243). In his later works Kossina presented racial differences to be identifiable with cultural and ethnic variations (Trigger 2006, 237). These ideas were later on misused by Hitlers Nazi regime to claim ethnic superiority of the Aryan race (*e.g.* Jones 1997, 3; Meskell 2007, 25; Trigger 2006, 237). Likewise, the misuse of archaeology for territorial land claims based on supposed links with ancestors groups or for building up ethnic or national identities is still an issue today (Insoll 2007a, 7; Rowlands 2007, 62). Therefore, a reconsideration of and a different approach towards ethnicity and identity is most welcome in archaeology.

Among others, Jones (2007, 45) has taken up this challenge and tried to redefine ethnicity for archaeology according to the newest insights in anthropology. A turning point in the anthropological considerations of ethnicity is the collection of essays published by Barth in 1969 (reissued in 1998). He regarded a common culture as the result or implication of an ethnic group organization (Barth 1998, 11). In his view the flaws of the traditional cultural historical approach that identified ethnic groups by the characteristics of a common culture of which they were considered to be the bearer, are that it entails a prejudged viewpoint on both developments through time and regional differences (Barth 1998, 12-3). This biased view can be prevented by shifting the focus to the social boundaries that define the group instead of the cultural stuff they enclose (Barth 1969, 15). In the preface of the reissued 1998 edition of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Cultural Difference,* the central points of his 1969 introduction are clearly summarized. This resulted in the statements that 'ethnicity is a matter of social organization', of 'self-ascription and ascription by others in interaction'

and that 'the cultural features of greatest import are boundary-connected' forming the criteria by which members of the same ethnic group evaluate and judge the actions of their co-members as well as their own (Barth 1998, 6). It was argued that ethnic identity is 'instrumental', meaning that it provided a specific social group with the boundaries and internal social organization that is necessary to survive in a specific socio-economic niche and as such, it could be stated that 'ethnic groups are a product of differential social-structural and/or environmental conditions' (Barth 1969; Jones 2007, 48).

This has led to a recognition of ethnic groups as 'fluid self-defining systems which are embedded in economic and political relations' (Jones 2007, 48). Hall (2002, 9) defines ethnicity as'both the self-consciousness of belonging to an ethnic group ("ethnic identity") and the dynamic process that structures, and is structured by, ethnic groups in social interaction with one another'. With this a break between culture and ethnicity was revealed as it seems 'unlikely that there is a one-to one relation between expressions of a particular ethnic identity and the entire range of cultural practise and social conditions associated with that particular group' (Jones 2007, 51). The nature of this relationship between ethnicity and culture has however been neglected in research (Jones 2007, 48). It could also be stated that 'individuals have a different disposition towards their social environment' (cf. Bourdieu's *habitus,* 1977) and by reproducing the existing social structures from their own disposition (or *habitus*), also shape, or structure, their social environment (Jones 2007, 48-9). As such, the habitual practices and experiences of the agents involved as well as the boundaries and inter social organization needed to survive in a specific social niche are at the basis of the cultural practices and beliefs that eventually may be expressed as material markers of ethnicity (Jones 2007, 49). Nevertheless, habitus and ethnicity are not congruent either and a similar break as that between culture and ethnicity can be observed (Jones 2007, 49).

This new understanding of the 'dynamic nature of ethnicity' is significantly different from the nationalistic and traditional social scientific notion of ethnic groups as culture-bearing units (Jones 2007, 48). Possible consequences for archaeology may be that ethnicity would have manifested as multiple overlapping boundaries that are supported by vaporizing, changing, transforming cultural differences that are also reproduced (Jones 2007, 51). Different social contexts and different levels of social interaction may result in different expressions in the material culture or different configurations of ethnicity, even for the 'same' ethnic identity in different contexts (Jones 2007, 52). Explicitly, this would mean that the common practice of dating material

assemblages on a relative typology based on knowledge from other contexts would not do justice to or simply overlook, the possibility of discontinuous boundaries through time and space (Jones 2007, 53). Instead, dating should be done purely on independent methods and stratigraphy, so any distinctive, non-random distributions, in different contexts, might be recognized as an expression of ethnicity (Jones 2007, 53). This would need 'a broad understanding of past cultural contexts' from a variety of sources and different kinds of data, as well as an 'adequate knowledge of past social organization', as 'the use of a diachronic contextual framework might reveal something about the contexts in which ethnicity is generated' (Jones 2007, 53).

Renfrew and Bahn (2004, 193) also recognize that ethnology should be re-examined within archaeology, but they have done this from the angle of an existing correlation between language areas and ethnic groups. They mention the following factors of ethnicity for archaeology: a shared territory of land, a common descent or 'blood', a common language, a community of customs or culture, a community of beliefs or religion, self-awareness, self-identity, a name to identify the group and a shared origin story or myth describing the origin and history of the group. Despite the stress on language, these more or less fit in the recent insights on ethnicity and may serve as a guideline for now. The idea of a 'common blood' seems however problematic and too closely related to the former racial notions of ethnicity and may therefore best be replaced by the term 'fictive kinship', as suggested by Hall (2002, 10).

6.2 Jewish identity, or identities

Given the recent emphasis on self-ascribed identity with regard to ethnicity, it seems useful to start with what Jewish people themselves have considered as a Jewish identity over the ages. The rise of Jewish Studies can actually be seen as a result of the search for identity and often history is involved in the search for one's roots (Rutgers 1998a, 14). Jewish history has been a history of interaction with the cultural context instead of the previously supposed isolated culture, throughout which Jews managed to hold on to their identity for almost 3000 years (Rutgers 1995, 261; 1998a, 9-10). It is especially this long time-span that makes the Jewish case so interesting in many aspects. Combined with the broad regional dispersal of Jewish communities it offers an outstanding chance for studies of ethnicity and cultural interaction.

Despite the differences that unavoidably do exist through time and space, there seems to be a 'core of Jewishness' that makes Jewish people ascribe 'Jewishness' to

themselves and acknowledge it in communities other than their own despite their temporal and regional distances. This is not to say that this core of Jewishness is static or that the different temporal and regional Jewish groups would connect effortlessly. In Israel itself there are for instance difficulties between the different population groups (Barzilai 2010, 27). Also in the medieval period there have been struggles in the form of exclusions from rabbinic Judaism (Rustow 2007; 2008), not to mention the clash between for instance the Byzantine Jewish communities and the Sephardic immigrants after the expulsions in Europe (Stavroulakis 1992, 8). In the early 1990s the idea of a multiple Judaism was subject of a scholarly discussion in which Neusner (1994, 12) has spoken of plural 'Judaisms' in order to do justice to the plurality of Judaism. Yet, this still brings with it a need to define the binding component of these Judaisms (Boccacini 2009, 25; Neusner 2000, 6). This appeared to be more problematic, but both Neusner (2000, 7) and Boccacini (2009; Gitelman 2009, 5) seek the answer in approaching Judaism in terms of ethnicity, as a sense of belonging or fictive kinship referred to as 'Jewishness', in combination with religion as the founding component of Jewish identity.

Boccacini (2009, 35) for instance defines Judaism as a combination of a religious component of 'Judaicness' that shaped and an ethnic component of 'Jewishness' that may vary in proportion and would also apply to a broader context including Christianity and Islam in the sense that Christianity can be considered a Judaism that lost its Jewishness and that Islam is a non-Jewish community that gained Judaicness. This would imply that Jewishness, understood as the sense of belonging or fictive kinship, is unique for Judaism and thereby that this ethnic component of Jewishness within Judaism is what distinguishes Judaism from both Christianity and Islam. On an individual level this may of course be more blurred however.

The religious component is just one of the factors related to a notion of ethnicity mentioned by Renfrew and Bahn (2004, 193). Applying these factors to a Jewish identity or 'ethnicity' reveals some peculiarities of 'Jewishness' when compared to other forms of ethnicity. The common state or territory for instance has for a long time not been a physical piece of land, but almost an illusionary land that only existed in the common memory or 'myth' of origin or descent. The notion of Jewishness survived even though several subgroups of Jews were dispersed all over the earth in the *diaspora.* Furthermore, the Jews indeed had a common language but for a long time, until the reintroduction of Hebrew as a spoken language by the Zionists in the person of Eliëzer ben Jehuda, this has only been a liturgical language (Gebhart 1988, 4). Alongside this common language,

regional Jewish languages developed that were used among Jews in daily life such as *Yiddish* and *Ladino* (Clemens 2009, 160; Gitelman 2009, 3; Goitein 1960, 95). Finally, the community of customs or culture and that of beliefs and religion seem to coincide or at least overlap. Religion seems to have formed the basis and the preserving factor of the Jewish identity by providing an origin myth, preserving the common language Hebrew as a sacred language in the liturgy and by providing a social organization of ideas and practices, yet nowadays there are many Jews that are not religious anymore but nevertheless consider themselves as Jews in a sense of fictive kinship rooted in the above mentioned religious factors that shaped Jewish identity.

It can therefore indeed be questioned whether a Jewish identity is related to ethnicity or religion (Gitelman 2009, 1). Gitelman's (2009, 304) answer is that the oldest conception of Judaism is that of a tribal religion, which would explain the interwovenness of religion and ethnicity in Jewish identity. Furthermore, Jewish ethnicity was initially formed by religion, but later on, 'religious diversity was confined within the boundaries of ethnicity, of a shared way of life' (Gitelman 2009, 2). Thus, a useful differentiation according to Gitelman (2009, 305) may therefore be that between Judaism and Jewishness; Judaism is in this view to be understood as 'a religion with a distinct set of beliefs and practices' whereas Jewishness would relate to 'a sense of being Jewish, in whatever way one, - or importantly, others -, choose to define it'.

In conclusion, there seems to be a component by which people consider themselves or others as 'Jewish', binding them through time and space. Kahn (2010, 12) has defined this binding component as two opposing concepts of Jewishness, related either to kinship or commitment. A persistent notion about Jewishness is that anyone born to a Jewish mother is a Jew, implicating that Jewish identity is something physical, yet Jewishness can also be acquired by conversion to Judaism and observing the religious prescriptions (Kahn 2010, 12). In fact this conversion through commitment would mean that one becomes part of the family in accordance with what has been called 'familism' as 'the key element of Jewish collective consciousness' (Liebman and Cohen 1990, 17 cited in Gitelman 2009, 303). The eight factors relevant to ethnicity according to Renfrew and Bahn, indeed seem to be covered by either one of these opposing concepts of kinship, to be understood broadly as (self-)ascribed, fictive kinship here, and commitment or both, therefore it will be these two components of Jewish identity to focus on for defining Jewish identity in the archaeological record.

6.3 Tracing Judaism in the archaeological record

The component of kinship

Renfrew and Bahn's factor of 'blood' or descent seems mostly related to the component of kinship with regard to tracing 'Jewishness' in the archaeological record as a physical or genetic characteristic. In Israel, a Jewish identity became equal to the right of citizenship, making it of great importance to define who is and is not a Jew. In order to define the Israeli citizenship status of children born from mixed marriages, Ben Gurion sought advice from Jewish sages in 1958 and received dozens of conflicting responses (Ben Rafael 2002; Khan 2010, 12). Despite the misuse of racial theories and eugenics in the first half of the twentieth century for discriminating them, today Jews themselves, including the ultra-orthodox, embrace genetic technologies for various reasons, ranging from tracing descent and geographic origin, medical and reproductive reasons (Kahn 2010, 13, 17).

Technologies used for tracing back descent are for example the research on haplotypes on the Y-chromosome which is inherited unchanged only via the male line and mitochondrial DNA that is inherited unchanged via the female line. Since Jewish priesthood can also only be achieved through patrilineal inheritage from father to son this offered an opportunity to investigate whether a specific priestly or 'Cohen-gene' could be isolated that would be unique and indicative of Jewish priesthood (Hammer *et al.* 1997; Kahn 2010, 13). According to the study of Hammer *et al.* (1997, 1) there were 'clear differences in the frequency of Y-chromosomes haplotypes between Jewish priests and their lay counterparts'. The difference was observable in both Azkhenazic and Sephardic communities, despite their geographical separation (Hammer *et al.* 1997, 1). With regard to the research on mitochondrial DNA the results showed that the diversity in mitochondrial DNA among the women of nine Jewish communities (among which were Moroccan, Sephardic, Ashkenazic and Georgian communities) was lower than that of the surrounding host populations (Thomas *et al.* 2002, 1414). The haplotype variation on the Y-chromosomes of the (non-priest) males in these communities did not differ much from the host populations however (Thomas *et al.* 2002, 1414). This met the expectations, assuming that Jewishness was supposed to be inherited via the maternal line (Kahn 2010, 12; Thomas *et al.* 2002, 1411). These techniques have also been used for tracing back the origin of the Ehtiopian Beta Israel Jews and the Indian Bene Israel Jews who have claimed Jewishness based on their ancestral stories of descent (Thomas *et al.* 2002,

1412). It should be noted however hat these studies only trace back the genetic line via one parent to one grandparent and so on, and thereby exclude the majority of genetic material of an individual (Elliott and Brodwin 2002, 1470; Kahn 2010, 14).

From the above it may be obvious that a genetic identity is not directly visible in the archaeological record. One possible application of this kind of research in archaeology could perhaps be the comparison of DNA retrieved from human remains to the genetic material that has been defined as related to Jewishness based on these modern studies. It should be noted that this can only supply indirect evidence dependent on populations that are considered Jewish nowadays and that it is based on comparison between these modern Jewish and non-Jewish populations. For groups that have become Jews through conversion, such as the Khazars, this would be problematic however. Another possible application would be the comparison of genetic material from cemeteries that with certainty can be defined as Jewish cemeteries to cemeteries from the same period that with certainty can be ascribed to the non-Jewish population. As known from the archaeology of Judaism in Europe, this could however been met with objection from the modern local religious Jewish communities.

The component of commitment

The notion of Jewishness through (fictive) kinship, as described above, would in theory make it unnecessary to practice Judaism as a religion. Nevertheless, since secularism is only a recent development and non-religion was in that sense practically unimaginable in Antiquity, Jewishness has been expressed in religious terms until modern times (Eliav 2009, 5; Gitelman 2009, 304-5). The component of commitment, expressed in social organization and individual behaviour emanating from religion, may be the clearest reflection of Judaism in the material culture that would still be traceable in the archaeological record (see *e.g.* also Valor 2007, 392).

Several definitions have been used in relation to Jewish material art and architecture in Late Antiquity. Hachlili stated that the archaeology of Judaism deals with 'the art, archaeology and material culture created specifically for the Jewish community' (Hachlili 2001a, 96). Levine (2002, 829) mentions a maximalist and a minimalist position. The maximalist approach would define all that has been made or used by Jews as Jewish art and architecture (Levine 2002, 830). The minimalist position would only include uniquely Jewish objects, motifs or connotations (Levine 2002, 830). Levine considered both approaches unsatisfying and instead proposed a third approach quite

similar to Hachlili's ideas, that defines Jewish art and architecture as anything that was intended for use in a distinctively Jewish setting, such as a synagogue, a cemetery or some context related explicitly to a Jewish community (Levine 2002, 830). Still these definitions do not pay attention to what is to be understood by 'Jewish' or 'Judaism' and assume an exclusiveness that does not do justice to the permeability that has come to the fore in recent insights. In my opinion these definitions therefore need reconsideration.

Although the discussion on defining Jewish identity and Judaism is still ongoing (see for instance the essays in Gitelman 2009; Glenn and Sokoloff 2010), and the existence already in Antiquity of a rabbinic Judaism has been questioned, the notion that rabbinic Judaism was dominant in the medieval period more or less survived (Eliav 2009, 18; Gitelman 2009, 2, 5). For the medieval period Judaism might therefore, as a first step, best be considered as the archaeology of rabbinic Judaism, since this was 'normative and defined Judaism in all parts of the Jewish *diaspora* until this radically changed in the western Jewish societies in the late eighteenth-nineteenth centuries' (Gitelman 2009, 2, 5). It should in this respect be noted that the view that rabbinic literature, containing the essence of Judaism as a way of life, was only founded in the Middle Ages (Eliav 2009, 18). The Mishnah itself is not a sort of law code but is more a summary of several sometimes opposing views on a specific subject (Eliav 2009, 18). Works with a more pragmatic approach to daily life only started to appear at the end of the Late Roman period and were discovered in the Cairo Genizah (Eliav 2009, 19). It could therefore be stated that 'the Mishnah was the *creator* (or at least the instigator) rather than the *creation* of the rabbinical movement'(Eliav 2009, 19).

Since the dominance of rabbinic Judaism in the 'rabbinic period' of Antiquity itself only started to be questioned in the 1970s, and had been taken for granted before, it might be stated that most of the architecture and material that has been related to Judaism over time, was based exactly on this notion of Judaism as rabbinic Judaism. Given that non-religion has been unthinkable until only recently and that social organization eminated from religion, rabbinic Judaism could therefore more or less be equated with the component of commitment, related to Judaicness, that in the medieval period became the defining component of Jewish identity and thereby indirectly also of Jewishness as the distinguishing component between both Judaism and Islam and Judaism and Christianity, as suggested by Boccacini (2009). At least, this model does meet the criteria of the recent insights that ethnicity is about social organization, self-ascription and ascription by others as well as social boundaries (Hall 1997, 13; 2002, 9). The angle of Gitelman (2009) to

understand Jewishness as a sense of being Jewish is slightly different but could still serve as the binding component covering both the components of fictive kinship and commitment as suggested by Kahn (2009), thereby leaving room for rabbinic Judaism in the component of commitment, but opening up the borders for other kinds of Judaisms and the opportunity for an only recently developing secular sense of Jewishness in the component of kinship.

Understanding rabbinic Judaism therefore as the core of medieval Judaism, surrounded by a periphery of 'Jewishness' in a sense of belonging, defined by both a component of commitment and a component of fictive kinship would for now probably be the most workable solution for starting up an Archaeology of Judaism for the medieval period. Combining this with the ideas of Boccacini about Judaicness and Jewishness, within a broader context that includes Islam and Christianity, I will regard Judaicness as the religious component of commitment within Judaism and Jewishness as the ethnic component of 'a sense of belonging' or fictive kinship. Judaism is than to be understood as a combination of both these religious and (fictive) ethnic components. The suggested model, as illustrated in figure 59, allows for permeable borders between more or less distinctive groups, meanwhile doing justice to the relations and influences between the monotheistic religions. Archaeologists should be aware of these discussions on Jewish identity and ethnicity, so they keep an open mind to other notions of Judaism or Jewish identity while interpreting the material remains.

Understanding rabbinic Judaism as the core of medieval Judaism would still allow to search for 'structuring principles' in *halakhah* that would be visible in material culture conform Insoll's *Archaeology of Islam* (Insoll 1999, 233). The rabbinic sources provide us with a unique account of rabbinic notions of social organization and Jewish identity through self-ascription, in written form. Moreover, they are not only still available today but also still have authority in religious matters concerning rabbinic Judaism, providing the opportunity for contemporary anthropological studies. These structuring principles would however have to be defined more clearly in cooperation with an expert on *halakhah.* They might more or less provide the most obvious or pronounced sort of evidence of Judaism, which would be distinguishable from the material culture of the periphery and the surrounding cultures and thereby could serve as a reference point for defining a scale of relatedness to Judaism. Since Jews tended to adjust to their environment (*e.g.* Levine 2002, 829), this definition of Judaism consisting of a core and a perifery would also be workable with regard to cultural interaction across these

boundaries. The *ghettos* and *mellahs* could be considered the harshest physical precipitation of these boundaries, which however still have been defined through both self-ascription and ascription by others and allow for permeability.

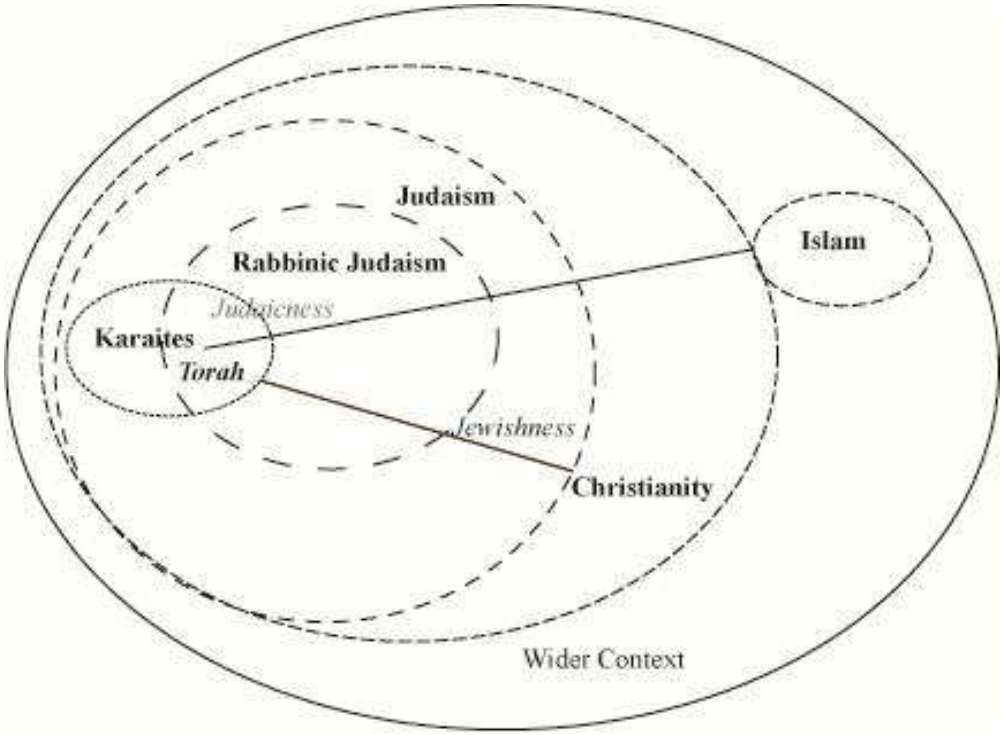

Figure 59. Schematic model for studying 'Judaism' within its broader context, allowing room for cultural interaction through permeability (Illustration by the author).

It should however be kept in mind that the textual sources, just as is the case with regard to structuring principles in Islam (Insoll 1999, 227), may sketch an ideal situation. Discrepancies between the prescriptions and reality are unavoidable, just as would be the case when comparing a modern state's law book to situations and individual behaviour in reality. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that interpretation of these sources might somehow be influenced by the perspective of the interpreter in relation to his own mindset and frame of reference in accordance with his social background and 'time spirit'. This is to emphasize that modern Judaism is not necessarily the Judaism of earlier periods and it would imply that Judaism of earlier periods can not be interpreted by modern standards of Judaism. Modern rabbis therefore, should not have the last word on

archaeological remains of for instance *miqva'ot* since the interpretation of what these should look like are influenced by a changing tradition of 2000 years (Reich 2002, 4).

This difference in interpretation is also reflected in the different subidentities in Judaism, such as for instance the Sephardic and Azhkenazic groups that each developed their own subculture. These subidentities even reach to such an extent that still today dress can be recognized as an identity marker of the different subgroups within Judaism (as mentioned in chapter 5 and see also Glenn and Sokoloff 2010, 7). Apart from these temporal and regional differences in interpretation there have been and still are variations in interpretation resulting in different groups or designations within the same region and timeframe, such as the modern differences between for instance secular, orthodox and ultra-orthodox Jews (Barzilai 2010, 29).

Nevertheless, given the known ideal prescriptions from Jewish law and the discussions thereof from the rabbinic sources, these offer a tremendous opportunity for archaeology to examine the archaeological reality through the ages and by that provide the means for comparison to what has been expected by scholars of Jewish studies based on these textual sources. Insoll states that a core contribution that archaeology can make in considering identities is assessing this phenomenon in a multicultural society (Insoll 2007a, 11). Knowing what the theoretical, ideal boundaries that contain this core of rabbinic Judaism may have looked like, these could indeed serve as a reference point for comparing cultural interaction through different regions and period, not only from the perspective of the rabbinic core, but also the other way around from the perspectives of the periphery and the wider context. In this sense the Jewish case may be very interesting and useful with respect to *diaspora* studies and cultural interaction.

6.4 *Diaspora* studies and cultural interaction

Diaspora theory relates to the last factor mentioned by Renfrew and Bahn, a shared origin story or myth, describing the origin and history of the group. Since they were the 'oldest' *diaspora*, Jewish *diaspora* has for long been considered unique and exemplary and therefore a few words should be addressed to it here (Safran 2005, 37; Sheffer 2005, 2). Characteristic of the Jewish *diaspora* was the loss of a homeland and the longing to return to it (Safran 2005, 37). This preoccupation with the homeland has also been called a long-distance nationalism (Safran 2005, 39). As such, this notion of *diaspora* touches upon politically-tinted issues. The Jewish *diaspora* has been referred to as 'victim *diaspora*' and as such R. Cohen also included the African and Armenian cases besides

other kinds of *diasporas* referred to as 'labour', 'imperial', 'trade' and 'cultural' *diasporas* (Cohen 2008, 26; Lilley 2004, 291).

Safran (2005, 37) mentions the following characteristics of *diaspora* communities: 1) dispersal from a specific "origin" centre to two or more peripheral regions, 2) a collective memory or vision about this homeland including physical location, history, achievements and often also sufferings, 3) a complicated and uneasy relationship with the dominant element in the host land, 4) an idealistic picture of the homeland and 5) a continuing relation to the homeland which is part of their identity, goes across political boundaries and includes a commitment to the maintenance of that home country, 6) the wish to survive as a distinct community and 7) a cultural, religious and economic reflection of the relation to the homeland in their communal institutions. It may be obvious that these characteristics have been derived from the Jewish *diaspora*. It can however be questioned to what extent the Jewish communities in Babylon, North Africa, Spain and the rest of the Mediterranean may be defined by their attachment to a lost homeland in Judaea (Clifford 1994, 305; Cohen 2008, 29). Instead, based on the documents from the Cairo Genizah as interpreted by Goitein, the picture emerges of a Jewish community that was linked to specific cities. In a personal comment Boyarin has pointed out that through the ages, Jewish people may have gathered several 'homelands or places of origin' from which they were expelled (Clifford 1994, 305).

As Lilley (2004, 290) points out, *diaspora* theory offers opportunities for comparative research on ancient and modern *diaspora*s. *Diaspora* theory studies the creation and maintenance of identity in communities that live among other peoples and the phenomenon that through processes of hybridity and creolization some groups of people adopt both identities at the same time (Lilley 2004, 287). As such, *diaspora* studies may not only involve 'orthodox empirical research and theories on colonization and colonialism, identity, migration, and nationalism', but also overlap with more recent theoretical currents as postcolonial and postmodernist perspectives, as well as globalization theory and cultural studies (Lilley 2004, 287).

Probably the most used *diaspora* for comparison is the more recent 'Black African' *diaspora* to the New World (*e.g.* Clifford 1994, 305; Lilley 2004, 287). Slavery can be considered an important characteristic thereof. Interestingly, the archaeology of slave studies in an African-American context has developed in to one of the most successful applies of historical archaeology since the 1960s (Orsen 2004, 277). An interesting study related to this is Webster's (2008) approach to slave studies. She pleads for a comparative

approach, both through synchronic and diachronic crosscultural comparison, for being able to define what material culture can be ascribed to slavery. To illustrate this, she discusses a comparison of slavery in the Americas, the Carribbean and Brazil to that in classical Greece and later republican Italy and Sicily from an historical perspective (Webster 2008, 109). Archaeologists have considered Roman slavery hard to retrieve archaeologically (Webster 2008, 110). It may be clear that material culture for slavery is scarce or that sometimes it is not known what to expect. Just like Jews, slaves, dependent as they were on their masters, have used the material culture available to them, while giving it an ethnic twist by using for instance their own colours or symbols (Webster 2008, 116).

In the case of slavery this scarcity of evidence is of course more extreme than it would be in the case of Judaism. Yet, if it even turns out to be possible to recognize some sort of distinct material culture for the archaeology of slavery, it might also be possible to recognize the more mundane aspects of Jewish material culture, even in contexts of which it is not known beforehand that Jews lived there. What these distinctive material features are, may be perceived through synchronic and diachronic comparative studies of cultural interaction between Jewish communities *in diaspora* and their cultural context. Moreover, they could not only shed light on Judaism itself in other contexts, but would also provide more insight in the social boundaries between Jewish communities and their environments and would therefore also be useful for the study of cultural interaction from the perspective of these dominant cultural elements in the host countries. Also, it would make it possible to compare the approach to Judaism of these societies from different contexts represented in the various host countries. Perhaps this could even shed light on the approach to minorities of the involved host societies in general.

In this respect it is interesting that Insoll (2007a, 11) suggests that archaeology could perhaps make a core contribution to considering identities in evaluating a multicultural society, which has become a much debated issue lately in Western Europe. Surprisingly, almost no attention has been paid to possible precedents of contemporary multicultural societies, either by historians or by archaeologists (Insoll 2007a, 11). Insoll discusses the parallel with Rome, but unfortunately and arguably, considers this example less useful since he considers it to be too different from the contemporary era (Insoll 2007a, 12). Insoll instead considers the possibility of using trade centres of the Arabian/Persian Gulf, Red Sea and Indian Oceans (Insoll 2007a, 13). The archaeological remains of these centres are usually considered as assemblages of different material or

architectural remains, while they might as well be considered as the remains of multicultural communities (Insoll 2007a, 13). Nevertheless, he concludes that this also would not work, since multiculturalism means something quite different in our modern era compared to past circumstances, mainly since the Enlightenment has argued for a merge of distinct identities into 'a single, universal, national society'(Insoll 2007a, 13). Insoll then suggests that a more useable contribution could be made by archaeologists through shifting the focus to understanding the potential variability of notions of multiculturalism cross-temporally (Insoll 2007a, 13). This is where the archaeology of Judaism could prove to be very valuable.

Moreover, recent insights have stated that Roman villages indeed may show parallels to modern multicultural society, since they were inhabited for a large part by freedman, former slaves from different backgrounds that had been brought to Rome, in what could be considered an enforced *diaspora* (Mouritsen 2011). This might imply that Rome could be usefull after all for studying the multicultural society. Furthermore, also research on port trade centres such as Ostia and Delos, combined with new techniques for studying material remains from a space syntax approach (Stöger 2011), might prove valuable in defining social stratigraphy which might also shed light on multi-culturalism in these cities (Slappendel 2011b).

6.5 The role of archaeology: some critical remarks

The role of textual sources in archaeology

When introducing the textual sources, I already stated that I believe that these should not be leading in an excavation. Although archaeology has long been considered just the handmaiden of history to illustrate the historical record with objects (Moreland 2001, 11), it has proven that it can do much more than that. The strength of archaeology may be considered that it can present data independently of the textual sources, based on material remains. The information retrieved from archaeology can then be used for comparison with the information from other sources rather than as a confirmation of or an illustration for that information. For the purpose of interpreting archaeological remains, archaeological theory arose. The three major streams of archaeological thought have already been introduced above when looking at identity and ethnicity. In the process of interpreting the material remains, comparison with anthropological and ethnical data plays a major role (Webster 2008, 104). In this way, social archaeologists can gain even

basic details on the social organization of prehistoric societies by working systematically (Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 177).

In contrast with cultural or social anthropology that addresses contemporary social organization, archaeologists can obtain 'an understanding of the social organization of societies at many different points in time, with all the scope that that offers for studying change and gaining an understanding of the processes of long-term change' (Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 177). This use and discussion of archaeological theory is standard procedure in prehistorical archaeology where textual sources are not available (see *e.g.* Andrén 1998, 3). The presence or absence of textual sources has led to the distinction between prehistoric and historical archaeology (Andrén 1998, 3). According to Moreland, historical archaeologists working in the post-medieval area, have often regretted the poverty of theory in their field and blamed it on the presence of written sources (Moreland 2001, 98). In America however, archaeological theory has been part of historical archaeology since the 1960s (Orsen 2004). More recently, archaeological theory based on that in America is also emerging in Europe with regard to historical archaeology, and some issues may be relevant to the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World as well.

With regard to the relation between archaeological and historical records, which mainly comprise textual sources, Feinman (1997, 371-375) reconsiders five points that are more or less rooted in culture history and that need reconsideration. These are firstly that documents are often given more weight than archaeological evidence, secondly, that documents are often used rather randomly by archaeologists to illustrate their interpretations, thirdly that tradition is regarded as basically immutable, fourthly that less attention has been paid to scale and spatial variability and finally, that a false dichotomy between science and history exists.

The first is related to the idea of archaeology as a hand-maiden of history. When contradictions between archaeological sources and textual sources appeared, this meant that the textual sources were accredited more reliable. Feinman (1997, 372) states however that contradictions do not necessarily imply that either one of them is wrong, but that contexts should also be evaluated. Both textual and archaeological data should be considered independently in a balanced interpretation.

The second states that textual sources have been used randomly by archaeologists to illustrate their archaeological interpretations, but in doing so, statements in the historical sources have often been accepted at face value (Feinman 1997, 372).

The third, in my opinion, is the most interesting in relation to the archaeology of Judaism since it has to do with a neglect of change in tradition (Feinman 1997, 373), and would correlate to a more fluid notion of ethnicity, as explained above and favoured by Jones (2007) and Hall (1997; 2002). Apart from archaeology's roots in cultural history as a cause for this neglect, the general neglect in archaeology of scale and spatial diversity, and political pressures of contemporary groups to find uninterrupted parallels between the present and past may play a role (Feinman 1997, 373). Examining broader temporal and spatial scales will unsurprisingly lead to greater variability (Feinman 1997, 373). Cultural traditions cannot be perceived as so all-encompassing or immutable as they frequently have been in the past. As already pleaded for by Clarke in 1968 as well, instead an approach, more in accordance with post-processual archaeology, may be adopted in which there is 'more concern with specific contexts' and in which 'the complexity of long-term change is more fully recognized, encompassing different spatial and temporal perspectives and divers societal segments'(Feinman 1997, 373). Only an independent interpretation of the archaeological record could provide empirical evidence for the differences and similarities between ancient and contemporary traditions (Feinman 1997, 374).

The fourth point zooms in on the neglect of scale and spatial variability and remarks that often single sites (in cultural history), regions (in processual archaeology) or individuals (in post-processualism) are used to draw conclusions on whole regions and cultures (Feinman 1997, 374). The *Annales* approach to history (*e.g.* Bintliff 1991; 2004; Braudel 1972) may turn out to be useful here, also with regard to spatiality. As has been proposed by Flannery (1976), the distinction in three levels of interacting historical processes defined as short-term, middle-term and longue durée of influencing events, may not only be applied to temporal changes, but also to spatial perspectives.

The fifth point has to do with a supposed contradiction between history and science, whereby science is associated with 'universality and deduction' and history is regarded as 'particularizing and non-comparative'(Feinman 1997, 374). Also in this respect *Annales* theory may provide the exact means to analyze historical processes in a scientific and systematic way. By using cross-regional and cross-temporal comparison and theoretical issues, still an appreciation for the contingent and complex nature of diachronic social change can be maintained (Feinman 1997, 375).

In summary, comparative approaches towards for instance Judaism, along broad timeframes and broad regions may be the most useful to shed light on social change over

time, in what have previously been considered as static traditions. In addition to that, it could be said that for understanding complex phenomena such as religion, archaeology becomes a discipline at the service of a whole range of other disciplines (Berqvuist 2001, 183). Also the suggestion of Matthews (2003, 129), of a multidisciplinary comparison by summarizing anthropological characteristics and their correlates in archaeological and textual sources, in his case to define empires in ancient Mesopotamian archaeology, may be applicable in defining the boundaries of Jewish ethnicity.

To speak with the words of Renfrew and Bahn (2004, 177), 'the data do not speak for themselves', meaning that 'we have to ask the right questions and devise the means of answering them'. In the case of texts however, one could say that in a way, these do speak for themselves, albeit in a biased way and often from the perspective of the elite, as has been recognized in historical source criticism (*e.g.* Andrén 1998, 77; Matthews 2003, 31; Moreland 2001, 22). This is not to say that archaeological sources are more objective in itself than texts, since all depends on how the available data, material remains and texts alike, are interpreted. It would however, as has been suggested for clay tablets in Near Eastern archaeology, serve both history, philology and archaeology better if textual sources that are discovered in archaeological excavations should be treated as archaeological objects in themselves at first instance (Matthews 2003, 32). For textual sources that are already available without being excavated, such as the rabbinic sources, this is of course different. Nevertheless, these sources could at least be considered against their original context, including the purposes for which they were written.

Discrepancies between written and archaeological sources might be of the utmost interest since these are the things that can shed light on the (shifting) boundaries between different groups in reality as reflected in the archaeological record and the discrepancies between an ideal situation and reality. Let me illustrate this by discussing Fusṭāṭ as a case study using a review by George Scanlon (1985) on the fourth volume of Goitein's *Mediterranean Society*. Also in Fusṭāṭ itself there seem to be discrepancies between the archaeological record and what was to be expected based on the documents from the Cairo Genizah (Scanlon 1985, 535). Sometimes preliminary reports have been postponed hoping for the appearance of a new volume by Goitein (Scanlon 1985, 534). Scanlon shows himself disappointed that so little overlap can be defined between the Genizah documents and the archaeological data now the volume finally appeared. As differences he mentions two kinds of discrepancies, one concerning things mentioned in the documents that are not retrieved archaeologically, but also features that have been

discovered archaeologically but which are not discussed in the Genizah documents. Specifically three points of disappointment are mentioned: 1) being of great importance to archaeology, glass and ceramics are not mentioned in the bridal and property lists of the Genizah, 2) a discrepancy in dating of the houses and 3) a discrepancy between expected and excavated groundplans suggesting that the groundplans mentioned in the Genizah have not been discovered archaeologically. Although Scanlon (1985, 535) doubts this, ceramics may not have been mentioned since they simply were too plentifull or not valuable enough to be included in the lists, but apart from that, these are exactly the interesting discrepancies that show the complementary value of both textual sources and archaeological sources. For Fusṭāṭ it also shows that there is still much work to do with regard to involving anthropological, and specifically ethnic, issues in a multidisciplinary comparison and reconsidering all the archaeological reports and correlating issues in the Genizah documents. This seems to be a first elaborate task, going far beyond the limits of this thesis, but nonetheless a possible starting point for the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World.

Archaeology of Judaism in Islamic countries?

Finally, I would like to make some remarks with regard to the role of archaeology in modern society. It has been stated that archaeology can not be a-political and especially in the Near East this seems to be true (Meskell 1998a; Petersen 2005b, 858).[30] Studying identity and ethnicity almost unavoidably relates to issues of power and political claims of ownership of objects or territory. Ironically the Jews have been subject to the misuse of racial theories for discriminating purposes, but are now using genetics to trace their origins. It is exactly their belief of a common land of origin that resulted in the foundation of the state of Israel in an attempt to give them a free haven. Archaeology, perhaps nowhere else has gained so much importance on the national agenda as in Israel and has been actively used in establishing and confirming a national identity. It can be imagined that this has not always been welcomed warmly by the surrounding Islamic populations (Abu El-Haj 2001; 2003). Besides, the Islamic period has been largely neglected in these archaeological efforts (Petersen 2005b, 859). It would therefore at least be a bit naive to

[30] Remarkably, as Petersen (2005, 859) notices, Israel is omitted from the discussion in Meskell's volume (1998b).

expect to be granted permission to dig in the surrounding Islamic countries for remains specifically related to Judaism. That is why, in my opinion, the stress and major interest of an archaeology of Judaism should not be on the remains of Judaism or on gaining knowledge on Judaism specifically but on cultural interaction.

Additionally, the role of western scholars in the archaeology of the Near-East in general, mostly Islamic countries nowadays, is unavoidably changing (Van den Dries *et al.* forthcoming; Van der Linde 2012). Islamic countries are developing heritage policies and training archaeologists themselves and it seems more and more patronizing to do research there as a Westerner without cooperating with the local archaeologists or to impose westerly orientated research goals on them (*e.g.* Starzmann forthcoming), while neglecting the archaeology of the Islamic period. Doing research on archaeological remains of Judaism in the Islamic world would therefore perhaps need a totally new approach. Combined with the notion that archaeological research should be carried out objectively in order to let the material culture speak for itself, it may not even be wishful to start carrying out archaeological research with a specific focus on Judaism (or Islam or Christianity) in mind. The archaeology of Judaism or that of ethnicity and religion in general would in that sense perhaps best be regarded as an archaeology of interpretation. This would imply that it only comes to the fore in the second stage of archaeological research, after the dry archaeological facts have been recorded. This would at the same time open up the opportunity to re-examine the dozens of archaeological reports and material remains that are available already or stored in depots, or to simply join in on the interpretative part of ongoing excavations. Recently, also some Israeli archaeologists suggested a cessation of excavating, since in many cases publication of the data does not keep up with the rate of excavations that are carried out there (Kletter and De Groot 2001). As has been seen from the description of the pottery from the early Islamic period in Galilee, there may be archaeological indications of minorities that have been largely overlooked due to the existing assumptions for that period that have just been taken for granted and have not been re-examined from a minorities or multicultural perspective yet. Besides the delay in publications, archaeological techniques are improving and excavating is usually still destructive and therefore a one-time opportunity. Instead of excavating, why not go through existing excavation reports from for instance the Israel Antiquity service , Fusṭāṭ and excavations that have been carried out already with attention for the Islamic period, but this time from the new perspective this thesis

suggests, to see whether any clues for the presence of minorities and of cultural interaction can be retrieved.

Given the sensitivity over excavating Jewish cemeteries (as well as Islamic funeral remains!), the use of more advanced methods that can do research without damaging the objects or graves should be examined and promoted. When possible, it may be considered wise to postpone research until such methods are available. Respecting the interests of all stakeholders may in the end be more rewarding and benefitting to all parties. In my opinion it would be a pity if Jewish communities that were objecting to the excavations of Jewish cemeteries would be considered as mere obtruders of scientific research. Some of them might be interested in the outcome and become welcome partners and supporters of the research when methods are used that respect their beliefs and do not disturb the dead.

7 Conclusion: the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world

Two major textual sources for Judaism in the medieval period exist: the rabbinic sources and the documents from the Cairo Genizah. A lot of information on the Jewish community in the Islamic world has been retrieved from the Genizah. Yet, the excavations that have been carried out in Fusṭāṭ, where the Cairo Genizah was found, thus far are the only excavations specifically related to Judaism in the Islamic World. However, they seem to bring to light more discrepancies than confirmation. For a long time, the archaeology of Judaism only applied to the archaeology of Judaism until Late Antiquity, where it was generally understood as an archaeology of the post-Biblical Jewish past in which Jewish art and architecture played a major role. 'Jewish art and architecture' was in that sense most commonly understood as that intended for use in a distinctly 'Jewish' setting. In Europe, the archaeology of Judaism is only recently starting to develop, although medieval archaeology in general has emerged already from the Second World War onwards. Also in Europe a discrepancy between the expectations raised by historical studies based on the textual sources and the archaeological record emerged, at least for the early medieval period. The boundaries between Jewish communities and their cultural environment seemed to be much less sharp than was expected however.

Often these discrepancies between historical studies based on the textual sources and archaeological information have been regarded as problematic and led to the precedence of either one of these sources. In my opinion however, these discrepancies are not problematic but instead could be regarded as a challenge, asking for an explanation. As such I am convinced that archaeology could deliver a contribution of major importance to the knowledge of Judaism in the medieval and post-medieval periods. For answering the question how this could be achieved, I chose to focus on the Islamic World since this almost seemed a *terra incognita* archaeologically speaking. The regional and temporal framework that I chose for reasons of scarcity of available archaeological evidence, may have seemed too broad at first to some of the people that I discussed my research proposal with, but it turned out that actually I had to depend heavily on material from other contexts than the Islamic world, to get an adequate picture of the possible range of material culture that has been ascribed to Judaism over time and that might be

encountered in some form in the Islamic World. Moreover, through my research, I got convinced that this broad approach, actually perfectly suits my aims of showing how archaeology could contribute to the multidisciplinary research field of Jewish Studies and in gaining knowledge of Judaism in the Islamic world, which will be shown by answering the research question:

How could archaeology contribute to the knowledge of Judaism in the Islamic World?

A. *What range of material culture can be related to Judaism through the ages in the regions of the Islamic world and on what grounds?*
B. *What should the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world deal with; what should its specific aims be and what would be the most promising fields of research to start with?*

Answering the main question of how archaeology could contribute to the knowledge of Judaism in the Islamic World, first draws the attention to material culture as the specific concern of archaeology. In archaeology different approaches have been developed to derive information from the archaeological record. This goes far further than simply digging objects for display, or providing illustrative material for historical sources as has been the case in the early days of archaeology. It also goes much further than simply correlating a specific range of material culture to a specified ethnic group as has been the case in the initial culture historical approach. Especially the New Archaeology developed systematic ways of deriving information from the archaeological record through a multidisciplinary approach and by using new scientific methods such as for instance ^{14}C-technology. During the following post-processual train of thought within archaeological theory, more attention was paid to the context, including the perception of the individual as well as the perception of archaeologists themselves in interpretation of archaeological data.

The first subquestion therefore seems a bit of a catch question and should be answered with caution. This is in my opinion something that has been overlooked or more or less has been taken for granted for long in the archaeological research on Judaism and needs reconsideration now. Anyhow, the grounds for ascribing certain material remains to Judaism should be clear before starting to define such a thing as 'Jewish material culture' in the first place. I also feel that 'Judaism' seems to have been taken for

granted too easily in the archaeological research that I have read thus far. Therefore I will have a closer look at these issues in answering the first sub-question.

7.1 The range of material culture related to Judaism in the Islamic world

For answering the question what range of material culture can be related to Judaism in the Islamic world, I will for now mainly focus on what has been associated with Judaism up till now. This range for a large part overlaps with the range of material culture known from the archaeology of Judaism in Antiquity and Europe. Yet there are some unique features specifically related to Judaism in the Islamic world. With regard to synagogues there are for instance the open courtyard synagogues. Furthermore, most synagogues were modest due to Islamic prescriptions and built of perishable materials. Almost all information is based on still-standing synagogues, renovations or replicas that are however known to rather accurately reflect the previous synagogues.

Apart from some examples from Greece, that are adjacent to synagogues, *miqva'ot* are not widely known from the Islamic world and would deserve more attention as they may have been preserved well underground. Although identification of *miqva'ot* is disputable sometimes as they can differ from modern rabbinic interpretations of what a *miqweh* should look like, once they are positively defined as such they form direct evidence of a Jewish presence.

Also Jewish cemeteries form easily recognizable and direct evidence for the presence of a Jewish community and deserve far more attention in the Islamic world. For getting insight into the differences between Muslim, Christian and Jewish cemeteries, especially that from Andalusia are interesting since they can be compared to the contemporary Christian and Islamic cemeteries within the same context. One of the distinguishing features in Toledo turned out to be the so-called *lucillo*, a kind of vault made of brick in which the wooden coffin was deposited, which served as the demarcation of the graves below the surface. It might be interesting to investigate whether there are links with the pyramid-topped tombs from for instance Jerusalem in the first century CE. Furthermore,the Jewish graves in Toledo had at least a marker with an inscription, whereas the Islamic graves were covered with brick or rocks, which would correspond to the expectations based on the theoretical prescriptions from the Holy books. Other differences could be observed in the orientation of the grave and the position of the body. Jews were buried on their backs, while Muslims were lain on their right side facing Mecca. This issue with orientation and cemetery patterning would

however need further research since it does not seems to be a very reliable indication of either Jewish, Christian or Muslim presence yet, mainly for overlap in the directions of Jerusalem and Mecca and for discrepancies between the theory from the Holy books and the actual situation in which there was interaction between population groups on a regular basis, which could have led to an emphasis on differences in identity.

Inscriptions related to Judaism are in the medieval period in general found on stelae and tombs, but also on small objects, such as stamps for certifying bread as *kosher* from Catalonia. They could be in Hebrew or in the language of the environment, stating a specific Jewish name or term. In Greece symbols have been used on Jewish grave markers for indicating the profession of the deceased. Nevertheless these would definitely deserve more research, both for an Islamic context as well as for a medieval context in general.

Knowledge of Jewish domestic houses in the Islamic world is mainly retrieved from still-standing houses in San'a in Yemen or the *mellahs* in Morocco. Distinguishing features of Jewish domestic houses in Yemen may be the open courtyard on the uppermost floor, their lack or ornamentation on the outside and the different levels between floors. Differences that would be archaeologically traceable within this specific context are the cellars and a groundplan that shows a separate entrance from the street to a room that was used as a workshop. The houses of the Jewish *mellahs* distinguished themselves from Muslim houses by their straight corridor, their lack of openings, the bright colours of their outside window frames, and possibly the niches for the *mezuzah* at the doorposts. The *mellah* itself, so-called specifically within a Moroccan context, but also emerging as a natural feature alongside the emergence of specific living quarters for other minorities within medieval cities in general, would certainly deserve attention in future research. Comparison with the emergence of the early Jewish living quarters and *ghettos* in Europe in a Christian context could be instructive, but also research on the *mellah* as an integrated part of the Islamic City deserves attention.

With regard to the material culture related to Judaism, I have used a distinction between ceremonial objects, objects for daily life and objects related to trade and crafts which proved workable. Also useful was the division of the ceremonial objects in objects related to 1) the life cycle of birth, marriage and death, 2) the annual cycle of Jewish feasts including the weekly celebration of the Sabbath, 3) synagogue appurtenances, 4) books and 5) paintings and iconography. Maintaining this division would also be a pragmatic one, for making comparison with earlier research possible. Most of these

objects are also known in European Jewish material culture, but some forms specifically can be related to the Jews of the Islamic World. I will only highlight these here. For instance, from the annual cycle, the feasts of *Sukkoth* and *Chanukah* seem to have left traces that are specific for the Jews of the Islamic world, such as the spaces of the roofs of the domestic houses for building the tents for *Sukkoth*, or the ceramic, stone and bronze *Chanukah* lamps, although the latter are from the end of the nineteenth to the early twentieth century.

With regard to the synagogue appurtenances, the *Torah* finials may be more or less related to regional preference. The pomegranate form was originally more related to the Eastern, Spanish, North African and Italian communities and the tower form was more preferred by the Azhkenazi communities. Also *Torah* cases might be linked to regional preferences. Of the eternal lamp symbolizing the eternal presence of the Almighty it is known that it had an equivalent in Islam. The art of micrography, often used in the making of marriage contracts (*ketubbot*), probably originated in Andalusia and was common in the Muslim world while the earliest *kettubot* themselves are known from Israel and Egypt from the tenth to twelfth centuries. With regard to iconography the star of David seems to have originated in the Sephardic communities, but only from the fifteenth century on became specifically associated with Judaism.

With regard to daily life, dress specifically seems important as a distinguishing feature for the Jews of the Islamic world, and could give clues on the presence of Jewish groups, even at a regional or subidentity level. Generally speaking, according to the Genizah documents they also preferred gold and silver jewellery, pearls and amber and had a reputation as silver and goldsmiths, which may expected to be traceable archaeologically somehow, although their products may be used by other population groups as well. The specific Jewish women's jewellery worn together with their unique dresses may however be an indication of Jewish presence. The *hamsa*, symbolic for the blessing hands of the priest, was popular as for instance an amulet, among the Jews of the Islamic lands, but was also used by other population groups and can not be considered a unique feature. Stone vessels may have been preferred to ceramic ones by Jews in Jerusalem, Juda, the Golan and Galilea for the sake of purity laws, but no evidence of a unique use by Jews has been provided. Also kosher cooking pots may have existed and may serve as a a clue for a Jewish presence when this can be confirmed.

With regard to trade goods and materials related to crafts, Jews have been involved in the omnipresent textile industry, but especially dyeing has been associated with the

Jews of the Islamic world. Furthermore, *materia medica* in relation to the profession of physician may via the documents of the Cairo Genizah specifically be related to the Jews in the Islamic world. They also have been involved in the glass industry and the minting of coins.

7.2 The grounds for relating material culture to Judaism

Definitions that have been used in the archaeology of Judaism for Antiquity state that the archaeology of Judaism includes all materials that are used or intended to be used by a Jewish community or within a Jewish setting. They do however not specify what is meant by 'Jewish' or 'Judaism' and seem to maintain a rather seclusive view of Judaism that does no right to the more recent insights of ethnicity as a fluid self-defining systems as well as to the far less clearly distinguishable material remains encountered in the archaeological record. Therefore the model I suggest (fig 59) could probably provide better grounds for studying material culture that can be associated with Judaism somehow. 'Judaism' in this model is approached as a core of rabbinic Judaism defined by 'Judaicness', that shaped Jewish identity through the component of commitment. On a second level this core of Judaicness is included in a periphery of less distinctive 'Jewishness' associated with 'a sense of belonging' or fictive kinship. On a third level this Judaism is part of and interacts with a cultural environment that is, in case of Christian and Islamic contexts, at least influenced by the Judaicness of Judaism but lacks its Jewishness.

Most of the material culture discussed however, seems to have been ascribed to Judaism with rabbinic Judaism in mind and thereby excluded the possibility of a more mixed material culture that nevertheless could be associated with Jewishness, albeit from the periphery however. The grounds that have been used to relate material culture to Judaism hitherto, may therefore be defined as a scholarly perception of rabbinic Judaism that is rooted in die '*Wissenschaft des Judentums'* emerging in Prussia in the first half of the nineteenth century, which was initially dominated by an art historical and architectural approach.

Secularism is only a recent insight and religion has been inseparable from daily life and social organization within rabbinic Judaism. Recent insights that ethnicity is about social organization, social boundaries and self-ascription and ascription by others, would therefore be applicable to the core of rabbinic Judaism when regarding religion as the component of commitment that shaped Jewish identity through social organization. Tthe

ideal structuring principles retrieved from the rabbinical sources could than serve as a reference point in comparative research on cultural interaction . Understanding the core of rabbinic Judaism as the component of commitment in a sense of 'Jewisness' that leaves room for other kinds of Judaism in the component of fictive kinship in the periphery, would therefore be the most pragmatic solution for starting up an Archaeology of Judaism for the medieval period. Taking what is known of the material culture of modern Judaism as a reference point for cross-temporal comparison, as has been done in the archaeology of Judaism in Europe, has with this been justified, at least for the medieval period.

Nevertheless, rabbinic Judaism is still a broad concept and subject to different interpretations as can been seen in for instance orthodox, ultra-orthodox and liberal Judaism today. Although interpretation in some way is always done from one's own perspective and mindset, doing objective research in my opinion is still possible when on an individual level, one is aware of one's own ways of gaining knowledge, conforming to the concept of 'world making' as suggested by Nelson Goodman (1978), and how that is related to the world views of others. So, as long as archaeologists are aware that they are interpreting Judaism from other times and regions from a specific – scientific - world view, they might as well try to define this view, for achieving consensus on a reference point that can be used for objective cross-temporal and cross-regional comparison. Of course there will always be individual interpretations of this agreed reference point, but this I regard the individual responsibility of the archaeologist and moreover, indispensible for effective discussions.

Despite the modern differences of interpretation, the textual rabbinic sources may still be regarded a useful reference point for rabbinic notions of social organization and Jewish identity through self-ascription. An advantage in research concerned with Jewish ethnicity is that these notions, that can be regarded to have structured rabbinic Judaism, are available in written form, and maintained with authority even today. They are in that sense substantially different from the textual sources that archaeologists usually encounter in their research. Still, these textual sources should not be leading in archaeological excavations, but should be used for comparison, and this only in the interpretative phase of the research, for seeking grounds for identifying specific material remains with Jewish remains. This is where anthropology, linguistics, art history and Jewish studies in general come in for defining modern Judaism in terms of ethnicity,

identity, religion and providing the grounds for archaeological correlates in material culture.

My conclusion therefore on the first sub-question is that the range of material culture that can be ascribed to Judaism in the Islamic world is not unambiguous and open to multiple interpretations, since it has not been defined properly before what is to be understood as Judaism for archaeological purposes. The grounds for ascribing material culture to Judaism have therefore not been firmly established before. It could however be said that rabbinic Judaism, that has been dominant in the medieval period, has by scholars more or less been taken for granted as the reference point for ascribing certain material remains to Judaism, implying however a rather seclusive approach to Judaism that does not do justice to the processes of cultural interaction and reciprocal influence between Judaism and its Islamic and Christian contexts as emerging from the archaeological evidence. For future research I would recommend the presented model (fig 59) in which Judaism in the medieval period is to be understood as consisting of a core of rabbinic Judaism associated with the component of commitment in the ethnic notion of Jewishness that could however serve as a reference point for comparative research. This would not dismiss any other forms of Judaism or differing individual perceptions as not Jewish, but leave room for them as differing from the core and persisting in the periphery. Also Christianity and Islam are included in this model for comparative research by using the terms Judaicness for the religious component within Judaism that initially shaped Jewish identity and was in a sense gained by Islam. Jewishness is than to be understood as fictive kinship or as a sense of belonging that Christianity has lost over time. Nevertheless, although further research is needed, this definition of the grounds for associating material culture with Judaism in the Islamic world seem to cover the range of material as presented above.

7.3 Aims for the Archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World

As we have seen, since they maintained their identity for so long while being in the *diaspora*, Jewish communities offer a unique opportunity to study the interaction between Jews and their environment in different contexts. The archaeological research on Judaism could offer a point of reference, not only for the archaeology of Judaism but also when studying the cultural interaction with a range of other peoples or communities that encountered them. In order to do so, the boundaries of Jewish identity should be defined in anthropological terms that may be translated to archaeological boundaries. Since

ethnicity turned out to be far more fluent and dynamic than had been assumed before, this may also be reflected in the archaeological remains in a different way. Instead of clear-cut stratigraphical boundaries that could be linked to pre-defined cultures via relative typology, a more braided, discontinuous, temporal and local distribution of assemblages may be expected.

Getting insight into the contexts in which ethnicity is generated and establishing a diachronic contextual framework, would need a thorough knowledge and understanding of various past contexts and social organization. In my opinion this is where archaeology comes in, as providing information on the material-culture-related-boundaries for setting up such a framework should be one of the aims of archaeology. Cross-temporal and regional comparative research on cultural interaction should therefore be the main aim of the archaeology of Judaism in general. It is however especially crucial for the archaeology of the Islamic world, given the modern social and political situation in the Near East, that the emphasis and major interest of an archaeology of Judaism should not be on the remains of Judaism or on gaining knowledge on Judaism specifically, but on cultural interaction. This would at the same time do justice to the long neglected archaeology of Islam and relate to examining the multicultural society. Moreover, it might open up opportunities for cooperation.

7.4 Promising fields of research

Some promising fields of research for starting up this kind of comparative research on cultural interaction in the Islamic world from the perspective of Judaism may be the *mellahs* of Morocco, the cemeteries from Andalusia, but also the stone vessels and ceramics in Israel and perhaps the use of symbols and iconography in the Early Islamic period and the *materia medica* known from the Cairo Genizah. The latter may shed light on trade routes and thereby provide insight on interaction between Jewish communities as well as between Jewish merchants and non-Jewish communities.

Jewish history has rarely been studied in relation to the cities they lived in and the *mellahs* provide an excellent opportunity to do research on cultural interaction since they can be regarded as a pronounced reflection in material culture of existing social boundaries. Furthermore a comparison with the Jewish quarters of Europe would be most interesting to define differences and similarities between European and Eastern contexts in terms of geography and between Christian and Islamic contexts in terms of ethnicity or religion. The ground plans of early synagogues, churches and mosques show overlapping

features that suggest that also in the Islamic world the boundaries were less strict than has been assumed by historians. This is however not suprising, when Christianity, Islam and Judaism are compared from an ethnical perspective regarding Christianity as a Judaism that lost its Jewishness and Islam as a non-Jewish community that gained Judaicness. Just as in Europe also here a gradual development towards more strict separation may be recognized in the emergence of *mellahs,* although the nature and causes of this development may differ. Research on the early ceramics and stone vessels may enforce the idea that boundaries were less strict and it would be interesting to see if any overlooked features that can be related to Jewish or other minorities would turn up when these so-called Islamic wares are examined more closely.

The Jewish cemeteries of Andalusia especially are interesting since cemeteries of all three religions are present. Comparative research may therefore give insight into differences and similarities in the Jewish, Muslim and Christian burial customs which could then be used for comparative research on cemeteries in other contexts. These may also be regarded as an opportunity to retrieve insight on the discrepancies between 'ideal' burials conforming to the textual sources and how these were carried out in reality. Excavating funeral remains is however a sensitive subject, especially in Judaism, but also in Islam. It may therefore be preferable to await more advanced technology for doing research on funeral remains without physically disturbing the grave. Respecting the interests of all stakeholders or postponing excavations until better methods are available may in the end render a better result.

With regard to symbols and iconography it has been suggested that Jewish symbols had gained a status as a clear indication of Jewish identity by the medieval period. This idea may however be influenced by a modern perspective of these symbols and of what we now know from Antiquity. The study of symbols from a more fluid perspective of social boundaries is mostly needed since it has sometimes been used for identification of minorities remains too easily. Studying iconography may also reveal information on how Jews perceived their cultural environment. With regard to manuscript decoration it has been suggested that visual art can serve as a faithful mirror for cultural interchange. As such it may have become a means of cultural-self identification by adapting the prevalent iconographic idiom into a specific Jewish iconography. In this process, the very nature of interaction with the cultural environment may be the cause of the emergence of different visual cultures for different Jewish communities and related subidentitities, even though the patterns of borrowing may have been the same.

The answer to the second subquestion on what the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world should deal with involves both its aims and promising fields as discussed above. From these it may be concluded that the archaeology of Judaism, next to issues of archaeological interpretation, may either willingly or not, have to deal with diverse stakeholders concerning social, political and ethical issues and developments as well as with textual sources and an intrinsic multidisciplinary involvement.

7.5 Conclusion

The answer to the main research question on how archaeology can contribute to the knowledge of Judaism in the Islamic world has to do with archaeology's unique concern with material culture. The basic strength of archaeology lies in the fact that it is able to retrieve information from the past, independent of historical sources, by examining material remains in their archaeological context. This is common practice in prehistoric archaeology, but may be as effective in historical contexts. The presence of historical sources may be an added feature, but only in the interpretative stage, after all basic archaeological data has been retrieved conforming with modern standards of prehistoric archaeology. Especially discrepancies between written and archaeological sources are interesting since these raise questions that can shed a different light on both the textual and the archaeological interpretations. As a result they may be essential in coming to a more balanced understanding or adopting a new approach.

A first contribution that the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic world could make, is providing the material evidence for establishing a framework for multidisciplinairy cross-temporal and cross-regional comparative research on cultural interaction and social boundaries. A first suggestion for the theoretical basis for such a framework has been suggested in the model of figure 59. Jewish ethnicity is based on a written form of social organization in the rabbinic sources and as such provides a core with ethnic boundaries that more or less are the same, irrespective of the context and which could serve as a reference point for setting up this framework, meanwhile leaving room for permeability. A second contribution related to the first may be sought in multicultural research on *diaspora* contexts and the ability to also recognize the more mundane material culture of Jewish communities and other minorities. A third contribution that archaeology could make to Jewish studies and to the knowledge of Judaism in the Islamic world specifically may be to re-examine already published excavation reports from the perspective of cultural interaction with attention for

minorities. While doing this, it should be kept in mind that boundaries may not have been as strict as assumed and that ethnicity may be considered more dynamic than acknowledged before.

Finally, but not least, referring back to Clarke's call for a loss of innocence in archaeology, the New Archaeology as introduced by Binford as a complete break with the culture historical approach can be considered the head-strong teenager-like stage in archaeology. Hodder's post-processual archaeology may be equated with a young adult's realization that their parents did not do so badly after all. Perhaps it is now time for archaeology to mature and become a responsible adult by taking part of modern society in all its aspects with a healthy balance between duties and rights and by safeguarding the human heritage for future generations in a constructive way. In my opinion the archaeology of Judaism as an archaeology concerned with (multi-)cultural interaction would offer a unique opportunity to contribute to that process. *Annales* theory, may provide a usefull approach for analyzing the historical processes involved in the development of ethnic boundaries within the multi-cultural environment in a scientific and systematic way by integrating the reciprocal influences of individual agency and conceptions of ethnicity within the broader social framework of fluid ethnicity through processes of (self-)ascription and social organization.

Abstract

Until recently 'The archaeology of Judaism' actually meant the archaeology of Judaism for no later than Late Antiquity. Recently, only the archaeology of Judaism for the medieval period in Europe has been developing, but almost no attention has been paid yet to the archaeology of Judaism in the Islamic World. Although much seems to be known about Judaism in the Islamic World, when taking a closer look, actually all this knowledge is based on textual sources such as the rabbinic literature and the documents from the Cairo Geniza. Apart from that, there have been specialist studies, focussing on specific objects, or architectural features from more recent times, mainly from an art historical approach. This thesis for the first time aims to give a general overview of all the available material and architectural features that could be associated with Judaism in the Islamic World and the wider *diaspora* and reconsiders the grounds on which the association of this material with Judaism has been made. It examines what contribution archaeology could make to the knowledge of Judaism, thereby paying attention to some issues related to the social responsibility archaeologists have towards society and presenting the most promising fields for future research.

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Appendix I. Synagogues of the Islamic World

Synagogues of the Islamic World

Country	Jewish Community	Name of Synagogue	Dating	Type of Synagogue	Context	Citation	Pages
Afghanistan	Afghanistan	multiple	-	Byzantine Dome	Regional overview	Cassuto 2009	426
China	Kaifeng	-	-	Open-Air	Drawing or painting	Cassuto 2009	427
Egypt	Cairo	Capusi Synagogue	17th, 18th	Bipolar, transverse	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	427
Egypt	Fustat	Ben Ezra Synagogue	since 9th	Former Church	Description	Cassuto 2009	427-8
Greece	Crete, Hania	Kal Shalom	1880-1941	Not specifically mentioned	Drawing or painting	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	96
Greece	Corfu	Poliezi	end 15th century	Not specifically mentioned	Description	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	53
Greece	Corfu	Scuola Greca	17th century CE	Venetian	Architecture	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	53
Greece	Crete, Hania	Etz Hayim	Late 17th CE-1941	Former Church	Architecture	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	97
Greece	Ioaninna	K'K' Yashan	1829 < 17th century CE	Romaniot	Architecture	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	115
Greece	Komotini	-	18th Century	Externally prominent Dome	Architecture	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	126
Greece	Larissa	Etz Hayyim	1945 <1860	Sephardic (?) Four columns around bema	Replica	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	140
Greece	Rhodes	Kal Shalom	1945 <1575	Basilican	Replica	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	144
Greece	Salonika	Achkenazi	1376-1917	Not specifically mentioned	Description	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	162
Greece	Salonika	Provenzia	1394	Not specifically mentioned	Description	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	162
Greece	Salonika	Old Italian Synagogue	1423-1917	Not specifically mentioned	Description	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	163
Greece	Trikkala	Kal Yavanim	1945 < 19th century CE	Sephardic (?) Four columns around bema	Architecture	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	190
Greece	Verroia		enlarged in 18th century	Sephardic (?) Four columns around bema	Architecture	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	200
Greece	Volos	Volos Synagogue	1945 <1865	Romaniot	Replica	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	215
Greece	Salonika	Etz Hayyim	100 CE-1917CE	Not specifically mentioned	Description	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	159
Greece	Halkis	-	> 1847 CE < 17th ?	Romaniot	Architecture	Stravoulakis and De Vinney 1992	80
India	Cochin	Cochin Synaogue	17th-18th	Basilican	Replica	Cassuto 2009	427
Iran	Iran	multiple	-	Persian Geometric	Regional overview	Gharipour 2009	430
Iraq	Baghdad	Salat al -Kabiri	1855 > 5th BCE	Open-Air	Replica	Cassuto 2009	425
Italy - Sicily	Palermo	-	>13th	Former Mosque	Description	Cassuto 2009	427
Italy - Sicily	Messina	-	>13th	Former Mosque	Description	Cassuto 2009	427
Kurdistan	Kurdistan	multiple	-	Open-Air	Regional overview	Cassuto 2009	426
Mahgreb	North Africa	multiple	-	Basilican	Regional overview	Cassuto 2009	428-9
Morocco	Salé	R. Jacob Bibas, R. jacob Ashraf synagogue	-	Not specifically mentioned	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428
Morocco	Fez	Ibn Danan	-	Not specifically mentioned	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428
Morocco	Marrakesh	Heqdesh	-	Not specifically mentioned	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428
Morocco	Rabat	Shalom Azawi	-	Not specifically mentioned	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428
Morocco	Tangier	-	-	Not specifically mentioned	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428

Synagogues of the Islamic World

Country	Jewish Community	Name of Synagogue	Dating	Type of Synagogue	Context	Citation	Pages
Morocco	Tetouan	-	-	Not specifically mentioned	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428
Morocco	Atlas Mountains	multiple	-	Square with four columns and raised ceiling	Regional overview	Cassuto 2009	428
Palestine	Jerusalem	multiple	since 17th century	Open-Air	Regional overview	Cassuto 2009	429
Palestine	Jerusalem	Ramban synagogue	-	Former existing building	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	429
Palestine	Safed	Al-Sheikh	-	Bipolar, transverse	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	429
Palestine	Hebron	Sephardi Avraham Avinu	-	Byzantine Dome	Unclear	Cassuto 2009	429
Palestine	Safed	Abuhav	-	Byzantine Dome	Unclear	Cassuto 2009	429
Palestine	Safed	Ashkenazi Ari	-	Byzantine Dome	Unclear	Cassuto 2009	429
Syria	Aleppo	-	6th	Basilican	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	425
Syria	Damascus	multiple	-	Basilican	Regional overview	Cassuto 2009	425
Tunis	Tunis	Great Synagogue	-	Basilican	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428
Tunis	Jerba	Hara Saghira	-	Basilican	Regional overview	Cassuto 2009	428
Tunis	Jerba	Hara Kabira	-	Basilican	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428
Turkey	Bursa	Etz Ahayim	mid-fourteenth	Resembles a mosque	Architecture	Erbahar 2012a	
Turkey	Ismir (Smyrna)	Bet Israel	1904	Unique	Architecture	Abuaf 2012	
Turkey	Istanbul	Yambol	-	Sephardic (?) Four columns around bema	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428
Turkey	Ismir (Smyrna)	Kal de Ariva or Algazi	1724	Not specifically mentioned	Architecture	Erbahar 2012a	
Turkey	Ismir (Smyrna)	Shalom	-	Sephardic (?) Four columns around bema	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428
Turkey	Ismir (Smyrna)	Biqqur Holim	-	Sephardic (?) Four columns around bema	Architecture	Cassuto 2009	428
Turkey	Istanbul	Ahrida Synagogue	1709 from <1453	Not specifically mentioned	Replica	Angel 2012	
Turkey	Bursa	Gerush	early-sixteenth	Not specifically mentioned	Architecture	Erbahar 2012a	
Yemen	Yemen	-	-	Not specifically mentioned	Regional overview	Cassuto 2009	429

Appendix II. Medieval Jewish Inscriptions

Medieval Jewish Inscriptions

Description	Nr Inscription	Dated	BCE or CE	Region	Object	Language	Script	Symbols	Material	Citation	Page
Epitaph		832	CE	Balkan	Tombstone	Hebrew	Hebrew		Stone	Starr 1970	viii
Epitaph	193 (CIJ i620)	9th century	CE	Italy	Stone?	Aramaic	Hebrew	Unknown	Stone	Noy 1993	273
Epitaph	194 (CIJ i633)	> 9th century	CE	Italy	Rectangular Plate	Hebrew	Hebrew	Geometric	Stone	Noy 1993	273
Epitaph in Latin and Hebrew	195 (CIJ i634)	8th century	CE	Italy	Limestone cippus	Latin	Hebrew/Latin	All four symbols	Stone	Noy 1993	274
Inscription inside Golden Ring	196 (CIJ i656)	Unknown	CE	Italy	Golden Ring	Hebrew	Hebrew	NONE	Gold	Noy 1993	277
Epigraph	197 (CIJ i655a)	8th to 9th century	CE	Spain	Plaque broken in two	Latin	Latin		Marble	Noy 1993	278
Epitaph	198 (CIJ i668)	8th-9th century	CE	France	Limestone Slab	Hebrew	Hebrew and Aramaic	Unknown	Stone	Noy 1993	282
Epitaph	199 (CIJ i669)	8th-9th century	CE	France	Limestone slab broken in peaces	Hebrew	Hebrew	Unknown	Stone	Noy 1993	282
Inscription on Unknown object	200 (CIJ 666)	10th Century	CE	France	Inscription on unknown object	Hebrew	Hebrew	Unknown		Noy 1993	283
Inscription	Foltz 1998 1/Leslie 3 and 4	1663	CE	China	Inscription stele Kai Feng	Chinese	Chinese	Unknown	Stone	Foltz 1998	13
Inscription	Foltz 1998 2/Leslie 1972 2	1512	CE	China	Inscription stele Kai Feng 2	Chinese	Chinese	Unknown	Stone	Foltz 1998	14
Inscription	Foltz 1998 3/Leslie 1972 5	1679	CE	China	Inscription stele Kai Feng 3	Chinese	Chinese	Unknown	Stone	Foltz 1998	14
Inscription	Leslie 1972 1	1489	CE	China	Inscription stele Stone Jewish presence	Chinese	Chinese	Unknown	Stone	Leslie 1972	130
Catalonian mazzah (unleavened) bread sealing (matrix)	134 no. 58	14th century	CE	Spain	Catalonian mazzah stamp seal	Hebrew	Hebrew	Unknown		Friedenberg 1995	7
Catalonian mazzah (unleavened) bread sealing (impression)	134 no. 59	14th century	CE	Spain	Catalonian mazzah stamp seal	Hebrew	Hebrew	Unknown		Friedenberg 1995	7
Jeremiah in Hebrew on terracotta stamp	Friedenberg 18	4th-10th century	CE	Baghda d-Iran	Terracotta stamp	Hebrew	Hebrew	NONE	Ceramics	Friedenberg 1995	16
Menorah and Greek letters	Friedenberg 19	10th-12th century	CE		Wood Stamp	Greek	Greek	Menorah and Palm Leaf	Wood	Friedenberg 1995	16