

OLE HARCK, Arch ologische Studien zum Judentum in der europ ischen Antike und dem zentraleurop ischen Mittelalter. Schriftenreihe der Bet-Tfila-Forschungsstelle f r j dische Architektur in Europa, volume 7. Michael Imhof Verlag, Petersberg 2014.   69.00. ISBN 978-3-7319-0078-8. 649 pages with 186 figures and 4 tables.

After about twenty-five years of research, Ole Harck has finally published his *opus magnum* on the archaeology of Jewish settlements in southern Europe during Antiquity and in central Europe during the Middle Ages. Although parts of his results have been published previously, it is only with this massive book that the depth and the breadth of his overview become apparent. In the last two decades many new findings regarding medieval Jewish settlements have been published, but no-one has previously been able to handle and discuss the whole material in such a way as Ole Harck.

Basically, the work is about the archaeology of a minority, and the fundamental question of whether such a minority can be traced through material culture. The investigation is divided into two parts, one about Jewish settlements in Antiquity and one about Jewish settlements in the Middle Ages. In the first part, Harck gives an overview of synagogues, ritual baths, graves and gravestones, other inscriptions, symbols and various small finds that can be attributed to Jewish settlements from the first to the seventh centuries A. D. The mapping of these remains shows a clear Jewish presence in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions, but also in Pannonia. North of the Alps, however, only a few finds with an image of the seven-branched candlestick (menora) are known. Whether these rare finds actually represent a Jewish settlement is doubtful. In that sense, archaeology cannot solve the old and disputed issue of a possible continuity of Jewish settlement in central Europe from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Instead Harck is able to show how Jewish identity, represented through images and inscriptions, became more pronounced from the 4th century onwards. The menora as well as Hebrew were used more widely, probably as a reaction to the Christian cross and Latin, when Christianity during the 4th century successively became the religion of the majority in the Roman empire.

The second part is dedicated to medieval Jewish settlements in central Europe, basically the settlements of the Ashkenazi Jews in the Holy Roman Empire and some adjacent regions in the east, but excluding settlements of the Ashkenazi Jews in most parts of present-day Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. The main focus is on archaeological investigations in present-day Germany, but also in Austria and to some degree in Switzerland. Since 1945, the archaeological and historical knowledge of medieval Jewish settlements in the region has grown extensively, not least from major archaeological investigations in K ln (Cologne), Worms, Speyer, Basel (Basle), Erfurt, Frankfurt am Main, W rzburg, Regensburg and Wien (Vienna). In ten chapters, Harck presents and discusses the major sites of Jewish settlements, the synagogues, the ritual baths (mikva'ot), the graves and the gravestones, the hoards and the small finds.

A recurring picture is that the Jews lived together in certain neighbourhoods of medieval cities, sometimes intermingled with Christian households and sometimes in confined areas. Walls and gates around specific ghetto-like areas are known from written sources, but few such instances have been archaeologically confirmed. Another general trend is that many Jewish settlements were relocated after 1350, when Jews were again allowed to settle in some cities after the pogroms in connection with the Black Death in 1349–50. In most cases these relocations meant disadvantages for the Jews. They could no longer own their own houses, but had to rent them from town councils, and the houses were usually situated in the urban periphery far from commercially important urban centres, where the Jews had often lived previously. Apart from these patterns, the most obvious result of archaeological excavations in recent decades is that a medieval Jewish settlement is

very difficult to discern from material culture. Jews shared an urban material culture with their Christian neighbours, for instance houses and pottery. Only a few analyses of animal bones have confirmed the Jewish prohibition on eating pork. It is therefore a pity that animal bones from several important excavations have not yet been analysed.

In contrast to the ordinary settlements and most finds, the synagogues and the ritual baths stand out as clear Jewish remains. Harck gives an extensive overview of all relevant investigations of these ritual buildings. The survey is based on excavated synagogues, for instance in K ln, Marburg, Speyer, Regensburg and Wien, as well as on investigations of still preserved synagogues, for instance in Erfurt and Prague. He is able to discern two basic types of synagogues, on the one hand rectangular halls and on the other hand two-aisled buildings, often with an irregular shape. Sometimes entrances as well as special rooms for women were added to both types of synagogues. In addition, a lengthy discussion is devoted to the disputed issue of the dating of the synagogue in K ln. Here the author gives a very balanced view, emphasizing that there is no continuity from late Antiquity on the site of the medieval synagogue, but that this fact does not exclude some kind of continuity for a Jewish congregation mentioned in K ln in the early 4th century. However, from the present archaeological knowledge of the synagogue and the mikve, a Jewish settlement in K ln can be attested only from the 11th century.

The ritual baths (mikva'ot) are known in several different forms. The most monumental baths were constructed with a staircase going around a central shaft deep down to a pool with ground water. They are known only from cities in the Rhineland and adjacent areas, with the mikve in Friedberg in Hessen being an outstanding example, reaching 25 m into the ground. However, other forms of public ritual baths are also known, for instance the mikve in Erfurt situated only a few metres from the River Gera. Apart from the large ritual baths, Harck also discusses house mikva'ot, used for a household, and possible kelim mikva'ot used for cleaning objects made or previously used by Christians.

Another specific form of Jewish remains was the graveyard. In contrast to urban Christian churchyards, the Jewish graveyards were mostly placed outside the city walls, surrounded by stone walls, earthworks or ditches. Sometimes this location *extra muros* changed because new larger city walls were added later, which meant that the Jewish graveyards were given a secondary position between the inner and outer city walls. In contrast to the well-known excavation of Jewbury in York, few graves have been investigated in central Europe, partly because Jewish graves are not supposed to be touched according to Jewish customs. A few glimpses, above all from Basel, Halle and Prague, however, show that the dead were buried in rows and sometimes in several layers with earth added between the layers.

Much more systematic information can be gained from Jewish gravestones. In the outstanding example of Heiligen Sand in Worms, several hundred medieval gravestones are still standing in the miraculously preserved graveyard, but in most cases the gravestones have been found in secondary contexts. The most extraordinary case is the discovery in W rzburg in 1986–87 of about 1500 medieval gravestones that were found when a building was pulled down. Currently about 3000 Jewish gravestones from 1049 to 1500 are known from about eighty cities in central Europe. An overview of all dated gravestones shows a clear trend. Most gravestones belong to the period before the middle of the 14th century, when Jews were killed or expelled from most cities in pogroms related to the Black Death. However, many gravestones are also preserved from the period 1380–1500, as Jews were permitted to resettle in some major cities. From the dated gravestones, Harck is also able to create a typology of Jewish gravestone, divided into three main groups, covering different phases from 1050 to 1500. The author emphasizes that not all Jewish settlements had their own graveyard. In some cases the dead had to be transported long distances to be buried. One

such central graveyard existed in Regensburg, which was the burial place for Jews in a large surrounding area. From inscriptions on several of the gravestones in W urzburg it is also possible to get glimpses of the mobility of Jews in the high Middle Ages. The Jewish congregation in W urzburg consisted of people originating from a German-speaking region stretching from Strasbourg in the west, G ttingen in the north to Regensburg in the east, but also of individuals from further away, such as "England" and "France"

More disputed traces of Jewish origin are the hoards. Usually they are described as Jewish because they are found in Jewish neighbourhoods or contain clear Jewish finds, such as characteristic wedding rings. Harck underlines that it is often difficult to clearly distinguish Jewish hoards, due to the mixed neighbourhoods, with Jews and Christians living next to each other, and the common custom of pledging objects. However, after a source-critical examination, he is able to identify some hoards as being unquestionably Jewish. Among these is the recently found large hoard from Erfurt, deposited around 1350. The objects in the hoard are common silver beakers, silver bowls and dress ornaments, but not a single object is decorated with a cross or a Christian prayer. Instead many objects are decorated with six-pointed stars, early forms of the Star of David. The six-pointed stars, together with a Jewish wedding ring and the findspot close to Jewish houses, make the Jewish attribution of this hoard very secure.

Harck also discusses small finds with a Jewish background. Many of them are without any secure find context, and the only way of attributing them to Jews is, for instance, Hebrew letters. Other small finds can be identified as Jewish, only because they are known from other sources as ritual objects used in synagogues. Generally speaking, however, distinctive Jewish small finds are few, because Jews shared most material culture with their contemporary Christian neighbours.

In two concluding chapters, the author summarises his large survey. In the first concluding chapter he presents the results of all his surveys and investigations regarding medieval Jewish settlements in central Europe. It is difficult to trace Jewish settlements archaeologically, but the ritual buildings, some hoards, a few small finds and the food culture can be used to distinguish this important but often persecuted minority in medieval Europe. In the final concluding chapter, he comes back to the initial issue of continuity or not between Jewish settlements in the late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. He does not rule out the possibility of continuity, but he emphasises that the expressions of Jewish identity were very different, when Jews appear in the 11th century in the major central European cities.

The final 150 pages of the book are dedicated to a catalogue with several different entries. In this catalogue, the author gives an extensive presentation of all the archaeological and historical information used in the overviews in the different preceding chapters. The wealth of information is enormous, and consequently a natural starting point for anyone interested in this research field. Since most written sources about Jews in medieval central Europe are collected in *Germania Judaica*, the catalogue is centred on the material remains, although several investigations of historical topography are included as well.

The general impression of this book is overwhelming. Harck presents, describes and reasons about all material remains of Jewish settlements in Antiquity and the Middle Ages in a very balanced and informative way. In concrete examples he also discusses the buildings and objects in relation to texts and pictures. Sometimes, however, I lack a more general discussion about material culture in relation to written sources and images. For instance, is it possible to trace Jewish settlements through material culture only, in places or in periods without written records, or do the material remains always confirm already known circumstances? Having said this, however, I must

conclude that Ole Harck has produced an indispensable survey of Jewish settlements in the Mediterranean and in central Europe – and a gold mine for any future research in the field.

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WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Prehistoric Copper Mining in Europe. 5500–500 BC. Oxford University, Oxford 2015. £ 85,-. ISBN 978-0-1996-0565-1. 368 Seiten mit 130 s/w-Abbildungen.

William O'Brien hat ein Werk über ein Thema vorgelegt, das längst überfällig war, um „this specialist work“ einem breiteren Publikum zugänglich zu machen und es innerhalb des „mainstream of prehistory research in Europe“ zu platzieren (S. viii). Das Thema Kupfererzbergbau (Kupferbergbau meint *sensu strictu* eigentlich ja nur die Gewinnung von Gediegen-Kupfer) – ja, der prähistorische Bergbau allgemein ist ein Thema, das in der Perspektive vieler ForscherInnen häufig am Rand und in den Händen weniger Spezialisten liegt. Vertraut man bei technischen Fragen häufig blindlings auf die Spezialisten, so weiß man es bei den weiteren sozialarchäologischen Implikationen dann umso genauer: Stereotype Aussagen zur wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Struktur paaren sich somit häufig mit sehr einfachen Modellen zur Komplexität einer insgesamt verwobenen gesellschaftlichen Praxis.

Das Werk versucht einen Überblick in 10 Kapiteln, von denen Kapitel 1 (S. 1–35) in die geologischen und forschungsgeschichtlichen Grundlagen des Themas einleitet. Einen deutlichen Schwerpunkt erhält es in den Kapiteln 2 bis 7 (S. 37–193), in denen der Forschungsstand in einzelnen Landschaften detailliert abgehandelt wird. Es folgen übergreifend gehaltene Abschnitte zu „Technology and work practices“ (S. 195–243), zu „Mining, community, and environment“ (S. 245–278) und schließlich zu „Mining, economy, and society“ (S. 279–302). Beschlossen wird das Werk von einer ausführlichen Literaturliste (S. 303–339) und einem vergleichsweise kurzen Index (S. 341–345). Insofern folgt das Buch eher einer konventionellen Konzeption und versucht weniger methodische oder theoretische Perspektiven in das Zentrum zu stellen.

Dennoch werden zahlreiche Fragen angesprochen, die im Zentrum einer allgemeineren Debatte zum Thema „prähistorischer Bergbau“ stehen. Allerdings wird man den breiteren Blick auf den prähistorischen Bergbau allgemein und spezieller den prähistorischen Erzbergbau vermissen. Denn vieles was insbesondere im ersten Kapitel besprochen wird, kann breiter betrachtet werden, denn Erze, zumal solche mit polymermetallischer Zusammensetzung, ermöglichen durchaus nicht nur die Gewinnung eines Metalls, vielmehr wechseln häufig die Strategien zur Nutzung der Lagerstätten, wenn z. B. plötzlich Edelmetalle statt Kupfer in das Zentrum des Interesses rücken (z. B. in Schwaz). Insofern ist eine genaue Kenntnis der Lagerstätte und der Lagerstättenentstehung eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die Beurteilung.

Eine zentrale Angelegenheit ist die provokativ gestellte, aber letztlich nicht beantwortete Frage, ob Europa als Geburtsstätte des prähistorischen Bergbaus anzusehen sei: Die Tatsache, dass ältester Rötelerzbergbau aus Südafrika vor etwa 40 000 Jahren überliefert ist (P. BEAUMONT / A. BOSHER, Report on test excavations in a prehistoric pigment mine near Postmasburg, Northern Cape. South African Arch. Bull. 29, 1974, 41–59), mag hier eher vorsichtig stimmen und die vielen Nachweise, die man durch einen guten Forschungsstand aus Europa kennt, relativieren. Ein weiterer wichtiger Aspekt dabei ist die Frage, inwieweit vorindustrielle Gesellschaften die Nutzung von Rohstoffen vor einem kommerziellen Hintergrund oder eher im Sinne kommunal-