

## R A Z P R A V E — S T U D I E S

# Jews in Aquilea, Jewish Villages of 950–1100 in Southeastern Alps and the Origin of these Jews

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1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek  
UDK 94(4=411.16)"950/1100"

**Klemen Jelinčič Boeta: Judje v Akvileji, judovske vasi v obdobju 950–1100 v Jugovzhodnih Alpah in izvor teh Judov.** Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, Maribor 92=57(2021), 2–3, str. 5–37

Besedilo poskuša predstaviti judovsko življenje v Akvileji, s čimer na kratko prikaže tudi takratno judovsko prisotnost v Jugovzhodnih Alpah in drugih sosednjih regijah. Nadaljuje z opisom judovskega življenja v regiji po letu 452 n. št. v vseh regijah okoli kasnejše Notranje Avstrije do leta 950, da bi lahko razumeli kontekst in izvor Judov, ki so prebivali v kasnejših judovskih vaseh in drugih krajih Koroške, Štajerske in Kranjske do leta 1200.

**Ključne besede:** Judje v Akvileji, judovske vasi, Judenorte, Notranja Avstrija, Slovenija

1.01 Original Scientific Article  
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The text is trying to present the Jewish life in Aquileia, with which it briefly also presents the contemporary Jewish presence in Southeastern Alps and other surrounding regions. It continues with the description of Jewish life in the area after 452 A.D. in all

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the regions surrounding the later Inner Austria until 950 to understand the context and origin of Jews residing in later Jewish villages and other places in Carinthia, Styria and Carniola until 1200.

**Keywords:** Jews in Aquileia, Jewish villages, Judenorte, Inner Austria, Slovenia

## JEWIS IN AQUILEA AND THE SURROUNDING REGIONS

When in the second half of the year 12 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, king Herod the Great came to see Octavian Augustus in Aquileia<sup>2</sup> to ask him to solve his family and succession problems, we can be certain that some Jews already lived in the city. At that time, Aquileia, founded as a Latin colony at an already existing important point of commerce in 181 B.C., was already serving an important military function, was an important administrative centre and an important trade port, also with the Levant. As the numerous Jewish tradesmen from many Jewish communities, which started to grow after the onset of Hellenism on the entire East Mediterranean coast from Cyrenaica, Egypt along the entire shore all the way to Asia Minor and Greece, were active also in long-distance sea trade, some of them, by the time Rome took control of the entire Mediterranean, settled in the city too. In the next few generations, the Jewish community only grew and not only due to the fact that after the revolts of 70 A.D., 115–117 A.D. and 135 A.D., the Roman market was flooded with a multitude of Jewish slaves. Also, with the rise of Christianity, we witness a general rise in the amount of converts to Judaism and especially the so-called God-fearers, who only partially adopted Jewish customs, sometimes in combination with Christian ones. The fact is, Aquileia was in imperial times one of the world's largest cities with a population perhaps approaching 100 000 people,<sup>3</sup> a metropolis with numerous cults and religions of the entire Mediterranean basin, among which Jews and their sympathisers were one.

Even though the Aquileian Jews are often mentioned only at the time of Chromatius at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, there are a few archaeological finds that come already from an earlier age. As, in general, there are very few archaeological data on Jewish diaspora in north-western parts of the Roman Empire, they aren't many on Aquileia as well, yet they suffice to see the importance and size of the community. There certainly are data on Jewish presence in the wider region around Aquileia, including the Southeastern Alps, from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards. East and north of it, in the area of *Venetia et Histria*,

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<sup>1</sup> Kapera, *The Jewish Presence*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Flavius, *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, Book 16, Chapter 4, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Hornblower, Spawforth, Eidinow, *The Oxford Dictionary*, p. 129.

*Noricum*, *Pannonia* and *Illyricum* (or rather in the late Antiquity more specifically for the area *Venetia et Histria*, *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Savia* and *Pannonia Prima*) of the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> century, we find several examples of Jewish presence. We have a Jewish cemetery in Salona (close to present-day Split) from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E., a Jewish tombstone from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century from Senj, a synagogue in Mursa (Osijek) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>4</sup> oil lamps from the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. in Muć in Dalmatia,<sup>5</sup> an inscription regarding a Jewish woman or a God-fearer in Pula from 3<sup>rd</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>, and a Jewish community in Intercisa with some other findings elsewhere in Pannonia, namely in Szombathely, Estergom and Siklos,<sup>7</sup> which is in complete accordance with the multicultural nature of the Roman Empire, the part of which is also the already familiar pattern of Jewish presence above the narrow area of northern Mediterranean coast in all major centres of Latin speaking part of the Empire. From the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century we also have an oil lamp with menorah from Flavium Fulfinum, present-day Omisalj and Njivice on the Croatian island of Krk, found in ruins of a rustic villa. The area of the mentioned Roman provinces was at that time located between the two areas of relatively denser Jewish presence; a wider area of the river Po Valley until the eastern part of the Friuli Lowlands, including Istria (Mediolanum, Brixia, Concordia, Aquilea) and the area on the right Pannonian bank of river Danube (Mursa and Intercisa). West of Aquilea, towards the interior of the Apennine Peninsula, Ravenna from early 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Milan from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Brixia from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and Concordia are just the most known examples,<sup>8</sup> which enable us to reach a conclusion that despite the relatively poor archaeological and textual historical material we can nevertheless speak of a dispersed and individual Jewish presence in the mentioned region in between; the Southeastern Alps.

In this region, at that time Aquilea's hinterland, an oil-lamp with a menorah was found in Škocjan near Divača in the vicinity of Koper, which dates to 4–6<sup>th</sup> century C.E.<sup>9</sup> In Carinthia, several Roman tombstones with Hebrew or Oriental sounding names were found, of which the Jewish identity of the deceased is most plausible at the tombstone of a Roman horseman named Aggaeus (name, used by Vulgata for the Hebrew name Hagay) from Virunum and the tombstone of Titus from Teurnia, whose wife was called Herodiana.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Goldstein, *Jews in Yugoslavia*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Goldstein, *Židovi na tlu Jugoslavije*, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Simonsohn, *The Jews of Italy*, p. 107.

<sup>7</sup> Scheiber, *Jews at*, p. 189

<sup>8</sup> Simonsohn, *Ibid.*, pp. 105–106.

<sup>9</sup> Knific & Sagadin, *Pismo brez pisave*, p. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Babad, *The Jews in Medieval Carinthia*, p. 16.

In Styria on the Leibnitz Field, several coins with Hebrew inscriptions were found, such as *Iudea*, *Ascalon* and *Titus*.<sup>11</sup> Even though unsympathetic polemical notes on Jews by the bishop Victorin from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century ‘do not enable conclusions on the eventual Jewish presence in the town’<sup>12</sup> Poetovio (Ptuj), this could indeed confirm there was no Jewish community in town but individuals were, which would according to the size and importance of the town be quite logical. In favour of this speaks not only a fact that Jews are found almost in every larger Roman town and that this geographical region represented a transit area between the mentioned communities of northern Italy and the Danube region but also the finds from Škocjan, Styria and Carinthia that point to Jewish individuals that reside far beyond larger centres very deeply in the countryside.

The oldest archaeological find pertaining to Aquileian Jews is mentioning the freed slave L. Aiadius Dama serving as *por(it)tor* at the custom-house in Aquileia and coming from the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>13</sup> As said, we can undoubtedly suppose among the Roman legionaries and accompanying civil servants and merchants a certain number of Jews, some slaves or freed slaves, and the mentioned Aiadius already comes from a segment of population outside of the military framework. In Aquileia, ‘a Jewish community existed already in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE’.<sup>14</sup> In the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, we can already with all certainty speak of an organized community with a synagogue, which is testified by a tombstone of a certain Ursacia, daughter of *gerusarchos* (dean) of the synagogue in Aquileia, found in a Jewish catacomb in Rome and written in Greek.<sup>15</sup> Already before 1962, three oil lamps with menorah were found.<sup>16</sup> There is an epitaph concerning a Christian deacon of Palestinian, probably Jewish origin<sup>17</sup> and an epitaph concerning Kaiyynos Maiyomites from Maiuma in Gaza with probable Jewish origin from the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup> Not only that the ‘expansion of Christianity in Aquileia was based on the missionary activity of Christian Jews’<sup>19</sup> but the Aquileian church for a long time preserved certain characteristics of Judaism,<sup>20</sup> in connection with which we find in town in the first centuries of Christianity a great number of Judeo-Christians that

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<sup>11</sup> GJ I: 155.

<sup>12</sup> Bratož, *Verske razmere v Petovionii*, p. 324.

<sup>13</sup> Simonsohn, *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>14</sup> Bratož, *Kratek oris*, p. 205.

<sup>15</sup> Craco Ruggini, *Il vescovo Cromazio*, p. 363.

<sup>16</sup> Avneri, *Luzerne guidaiche*, pp. 466–468.

<sup>17</sup> Craco Ruggini, *Ebrei e orientali*, p. 262.

<sup>18</sup> Brusin, *Orientali in Aquileia*, pp. 62–63.

<sup>19</sup> Bratož, *Kratek oris*, p. 205.

<sup>20</sup> Biasutti, *Aquileia e la chiesa*.

originally came from Alexandria.<sup>21</sup> The great number of Jews in town and their, at least partial, connection with local Christians is proven also by a fact that the church building in the present-day Monastero next to Aquilea was built on the foundations of a synagogue.<sup>22</sup> This or potentially some other of the synagogues in such a large city was certainly in operation until 388 C.E., when it was, according to the writings of St. Ambrose of Milan, burnt by the soldiers of Theodosius I as a part of retributions at the time of demise of the emperor Magnus Maximus (383–388), who supported the Jews and was by Theodosius defeated in battle of Poetovio earlier in the same year.<sup>23</sup> Ambrose in his writing says Magnus Maximus, who was executed in Aquileia in 388, even became Jewish. The building obviously served relatively large Jewish community, though, there might still be some doubt whether the fire really broke out and destroyed that specific synagogue. The fact is, there are no traces of fire at Monastero and there are opinions that, indeed, no such act of violence occurred at all.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that the contemporary Aquileian bishop Chromatius (served 388–408) with his ordinances demands forced segregation of Jewish and Christian communities, among others accuses Jews of perfidy and blasphemy, and directs his wrath against Jews, heretics, mostly Arians, and the philosophers, namely pagans<sup>25</sup>, doesn't attest only to the new atmosphere of religious tensions in the late Antiquity. For the Jewish diaspora of Hellenic-Roman world, excellent relations with the surroundings are typical, where the Jews are integrated into the general society, but are still preserving their separateness and are not hiding their distinctiveness.<sup>26</sup> The Roman state based its official policy towards the Jewish faith on the principle of tolerance. The Jews had the right to possess their own organizations, autonomous administration and judicial system and were excused of participating in pagan ceremonies or duties, which would demand violation of Jewish religious laws, such as worshipping of the emperor. Despite the preservation of clear social and cultural boundaries and ideological self-sufficiency also the Jews did not reject people that desired to convert to Judaism and the Jewish sources of that period mention them with sympathy and sometimes even with admiration.<sup>27</sup> Not only that people did convert to Judaism, but there were also a great number of people that were sympathetic towards Judaism and without changing their religion

<sup>21</sup> Biasutti, *Il cristianesimo*, pp. 1–19.

<sup>22</sup> Cracco Ruggini, *Il vescovo Cromazio*, p. 353.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 363.

<sup>24</sup> McEachnie, *Chromatius of Aquileia*, p. 113.

<sup>25</sup> Cracco-Ruggini, *Il vescovo Cromazio*, pp. 373–379.

<sup>26</sup> Gruen, *Diaspora*, pp. 15–83.

<sup>27</sup> Goodman, *Jewish proselytizing*, p. 71.

even accepted certain Jewish customs. Such examples can be found among the Hellenes and the Christians and a certain part of antagonism towards Judaism that appears in the early Christian literature certainly derives from here and is not directed against Judaism itself, but rather against Christians, who were mixing the two religions, since Judaism then was not only religion from which Christianity developed but also religion that was extremely vital and attractive for many.<sup>28</sup> Christian writers from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries report that pagans also attended synagogues. Tertullian talked about pagans assimilating Jewish rituals and feasts, which was repeated by Cyril of Alexandria in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. People moved between religious communities seeking whatever benefits they could glean.<sup>29</sup> In general, the literary sources from that period emphasize and show the differences between the religious systems and are not covering the important common spaces of daily life. A textual representation of religious system is a representation of an ideal image, which excludes all those numerous examples of syncretism. In numerous cities of diaspora and of Palestine, Pagans, Christians and Jews lived on the same streets, shopped on the same markets, suffered the same diseases, epidemics and wars and usually spoke the same language. One of the examples is certainly the town of Edessa, where the analysis of magical texts clearly shows the intertwining of religious ideas and symbols, and even at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century we can observe that the entire population is celebrating a pagan festival.<sup>30</sup>

Certainly, in Aquileia pagans and perhaps Jews participated in major Christian festivals. It is certain the Christians did the reverse. One case of Jews participating in Easter Vigil is specifically mentioned by Chromatius.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the ordinances of Chromatius against the Jews, heretics and Hellenes can in general point to a prevention of the already mentioned syncretism of the entire Mediterranean, where the separation between the Jews and the Christians wasn't that sharp, and present no contradiction to the idea that the city's Jewish community continued into the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The syncretism and the elements of Judaism in Aquileian Christianity are confirmed also by the texts on apostolic symbols from around 370 C.E.<sup>32</sup> These processes of strong cultural integration are clear also from the former synagogue in Monastero not only from the fact that the church was beforehand a synagogue and that the church didn't erase all traces of its Jewish past, but also from the fact that the inscriptions on the mosaic floor naming its donors are a combination

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<sup>28</sup> Lieu, *History and theology*, p. 88.

<sup>29</sup> McEachnie, *Ibid.* 79.

<sup>30</sup> Drijvers, *Syrian Christianity*, p. 128.

<sup>31</sup> McEachnie, *Ibid.* 110–111.

<sup>32</sup> Biasutti, *Il cristianesimo*, p. 38.

of Hebrew names written in Latin and Greek, a widely-spread phenomenon known from both Palestine and diaspora. The mosaic floor is also replete with recurring interwoven motif known as the Solomon's knot or seal, a symbol that appears often in many Jewish structures of the period, for instance in Sicily or Ostia in Italy and Aegina in Greece. It is also found in mosaics of several private houses near the synagogue, a motif not found in numerous unearthed mosaics in Roman houses in a nearby, separate area of Aquileia.<sup>33</sup> Altogether, the 36 Greek and Latin inscriptions on Monastero mosaic name some 50 Jewish benefactors.<sup>34</sup> One of them dedicated a part of the mosaic to Lord of Sabbaoth.<sup>35</sup>

Aquileia throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> century not only played an important political role in the struggles between different contestants for the imperial throne or in the growth of the Church but also continued to have great economic significance. Ausonius (310–395) even placed it among the nine most famous cities of the Roman Empire at the time.<sup>36</sup> This economic importance laid also with its industries, for instance, the textile industry and the art of dyeing the textiles and glass industry, to name just the two that the Jews were at the time dominant in within the Roman economy. This can to a much smaller degree also hold for metalworking as the state of Aquileian metallurgy as well as some inscriptions weighs in favour of it being performed by the Easterners who formed the bulk of the industrial work force, among which the names of slaves are common. Yet the art of dyeing textiles at the stage of development at which it was practised in Aquileia continued to be virtually and exclusively Jewish occupation. The fact that glassware was imported from Judea is attested by some thirty samples of shards bearing the name Ennion, the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew name Anania, who is the best known of the few glassmakers whose names we know.<sup>37</sup> The Edict of Maximum Prices issued in 301 A.D. by the emperor Diocletian specifically mentions the first class quality of the textile from Scythopolis, a centre of weaving and garment production, which was also one of the centres of glassware production. The same edict also mentions only two categories of glassware; the *vitri Iudaici* or the Jewish glass and *vitri Alexandrini*, the Alexandrian glass, the production of which also was in the hands of the Jews. The importance of these two centres and Jewish predominance in textile and glassmaking industry, as well as the long tradition of Jewish involvement in these industries, is attested also in

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<sup>33</sup> Kurinsky, *The Eight Day*, pp. 281–282.

<sup>34</sup> Maieron Lenisa, *Aquileia*, pp. 26–28.

<sup>35</sup> Craco-Ruggini, *Il vescovo Cromazio*, p. 366.

<sup>36</sup> Gentili, *Politics and Christianity*, p. 193.

<sup>37</sup> Kurinsky, *Ibid.* 278–279.



other sources.<sup>38</sup> St. Jerome, who resided in Aquileia between 370 and 374, and who addressed Chromatius in his texts, explicitly mentions that the Semites controlled the export of industrial products such as those made of glass, silk, and leather. He cited glassmaking as one of the trades, by which the Semites captured the Roman world.<sup>39</sup>

The ambiguity of the iconographic symbols in regard to them being interchangeably ascribed to Pagan, Jewish or Early Christian context can be seen in numerous diaspora synagogues of the Roman period, completely in accordance with the general atmosphere of unclear boundaries between the religious communities. The synagogue in Delos, at least from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.<sup>40</sup> with blatantly pagan symbols is only one case in point.<sup>41</sup> In Byzantine times, many motifs and patterns appear in both Christian and Jewish frameworks.<sup>42</sup> The same holds for general early Christian iconography, especially in its interchangeability with Jewish iconography, because of which such examples of art were automatically classified with Christian and not Jewish art. This is the case also with three glasswork remains connected to Aquileia with Old Testament themes, two of them from Aquileia proper, who were by some classified as early Christian. One comes from the museum in Concoridia, where one plate is decorated with an incised depiction of Daniel in the lion's den. Another fragment features Abraham and Isaac in the foreground and the façade of the Jerusalem Temple in the background. The third one, a gold glass bottom of a bowl pictures Moses about to strike a huge desert rock to produce the flow of water.<sup>43</sup> All the three objects might direct to the conclusion they were purchased by people of upper classes. In this sense, there is a strong possibility that the mosaic floor from another basilica in Aquileia, called Basilica del Fondo Tullio, which seems to have been devoid of Christian identification,<sup>44</sup> actually also belonged to a synagogue. This is even more plausible, as the mosaic is almost identical to a mosaic in the synagogue at Sardis, specifically the semi-circular section of the floor laid at the foot of the seats of the elders at the far end of the synagogue.<sup>45</sup> The atrium of the synagogue of Sardis was completed between 360 and 380 A.D.<sup>46</sup> It seems, there is no doubt there were thousands of Jews (and God-fearers) living in Aquileia

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 219–220, 251–263.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 280.

<sup>40</sup> Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, p. 107.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 128.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 230.

<sup>43</sup> Kurinsky, Ibid. 284.

<sup>44</sup> Bertacchi, *Nuovi elementi*, pp. 48–76.

<sup>45</sup> Kurinsky, Ibid. 285.

<sup>46</sup> Levine, Ibid. 263.



and its vicinity,<sup>47</sup> confirmed among others by Greek inscriptions of the so-called Syrians in Concordia<sup>48</sup> that belonged to all classes of society, which, indeed, leads to a conclusion that in such a large city as Aquileia more than one synagogue, at those times serving also as a community centre in a wider sense, existed. Analysing certain features of the find, there is a possibility that even the earliest layer of mosaics in the main basilica of Aquileia, discovered in 1962, also belonged to a synagogue. This mosaic floor extends out to an undetermined end and is interspersed with the seal of Solomon. The entire system of buildings delineated by the layout of the floor is reminiscent of complex such as with the synagogue of Dura Europos.<sup>49</sup> The dedication to Theodoric, the fifth bishop of Aquileia (308–320), is so crudely imposed upon the overall design there is no doubt it was a later insertion, for instance, after the bishop's death, and that the mosaic had to be in existence before 320. Of all the iconography on the huge mosaic, the large scenes depicting the story of prophet Jonah, which are clearly connected to the life of Jews in exile, are the only really clearly understood story on the entire mosaic. The proposition that an installation of such immensity could have been accomplished by a newly formed church organisation, after severe persecutions legalised only a few years earlier in 313, still in throes of divorcing from Arianism, strains the imagination. Just the financial dimension of such a feat demands a significant number of factors contributing the funds, which could hardly be earned in these few years after 313. A number of attempts have been made to relate the subjects of mosaic panels to Christian hierology. The encounter between a rooster and a turtle, however, is found both in Jewish and pagan contexts. An imposing figure of Victory and a figure of good shepherd were named as the most credible evidence of Christian orientation, yet the figure of Victory also appears in Jewish catacombs of Rome, while the figure of a good shepherd was also used to symbolise Moses in Jewish iconography or Hermes in pagan one and being relegated to a far corner of the mosaic is hardly a place in which the central figure of Christianity would be placed in a community just rescued from severe persecutions. Between the buildings once standing under the bell tower and the structure underlying the basilica lie ruins of a structure, assumed to have been baptismal fount, which replaced an even older such bath predating organised Christian presence, but that may rather be a Jewish ritual bath. The marble-lined pool has steps leading down, so the person entering can be fully immersed into the water, and is supplied by a conduit that fed the pool with fresh-flowing water as prescribed by Mosaic

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<sup>47</sup> Duval, *Aquilee at le Palestine*, p. 263.

<sup>48</sup> Forlati Tamaro, *Iscrizioni greche*, pp. 383–392.

<sup>49</sup> Kurinsky, *Ibid.* 283.

law. In addition, both structures are oriented towards Jerusalem. So, perhaps, the story of St. Ambrose is correct and it was this synagogue that was burnt in 388, after which the building complex was transferred to Christians.<sup>50</sup> In 380 A.D., under Theodosius I, the Christianity became the official religion of the Empire, and in 381 there was a Church council in the city, which was considered to hold a stronger and deeper Orthodox tradition than Milan and at the council the Orthodox creed prevailed against the Arianism.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps, indeed, after the fire, the building complex was simply assigned to the freshly victorious and by now very powerful Church, allied with the emperor Theodosius I, and which was also already for a while receiving Jewish converts. The recent literature<sup>52</sup> is also involved in a deep debate about many aspects of the basilica before 452. Lehman,<sup>53</sup> among others, sees the mosaic scene of Jonah as the only Christian image there, and clearly says there is an unsettled debate about the years, in which all the so-called Theodore complex buildings were erected, spanning from mid-4<sup>th</sup> to mid-5<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>54</sup> though there is some general agreement, the northern basilica, where today the medieval tower is standing, was built in 360/370 and the slightly smaller southern one in 400.<sup>55</sup> Bratož also adds the church building isn't mentioned at all until 320 and that the majority opinion is, the Theodore inscription was added after his death, there are disagreements regarding the function of particular parts of the complex, that, indeed, the mediocre dimensions of the first episcopal seat cannot match the superb 1500 square metres large mosaics,<sup>56</sup> and that even though the church mentioned in 345 as under construction can in all probability be identified with one the buildings at the site, there still are certain opened questions.<sup>57</sup> What building the mosaics belonged to and other issues apparently aren't settled and further archaeological excavations in the large tracts of unexcavated Aquileia might in the future reveal new conclusions on this matter and the general question of Jewish settlement in the city.

The overview of events and findings of diverse categories around the entire Mediterranean truly reveals a pattern of growing religious persecution of Jews in the years between 313 and 430 A.D. but at the same time we can even in this period until the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century still reveal a high level of involvement of Jews in all, even the highest levels of urban life all over the Empire. It

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 283–285.

<sup>51</sup> Gentili, Ibid. 203.

<sup>52</sup> Cuscito et Lehman, *La basilica di Aquileia*.

<sup>53</sup> Lehman, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken*, p. 162.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. 172.

<sup>55</sup> Zettler, *Überlegungen*, p. 244.

<sup>56</sup> Bratož, *La basilica di Aquileia*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. 31.

seems that coexistence and conflict were only two sides of the same coin. This certainly hold true also for Aquileia, where even in times of Chromatius we still find some Jewish former city magistrates (*honorati*) and local landowners (*possessores*). We find the Jewish influences even in the Aquileian *Credo*, transmitted to us by the ecclesiastical writer Rufinus of Aquileia (344/345–411), born in Concordia. Also on the nearby island Grado, the Roman *ad Aquae Gradatae*, we find a tombstone of a wife of a Jewish imperial soldier from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and other important personalities of clear Jewish origin.<sup>58</sup> Apparently, as a part of dispersed Jewish settlement of the area, some Jews lived also in this port prior to 452, when Attila destroyed Aquileia and either killed or enslaved a large part of the population and the refugees swarmed Grado. It is in the Sant'Eufemia cathedral of Grado itself, partially built by these refugees, that we find under the floor a tombstone from around 465 of a baptized Jew Peter, son of a Jew Olympos. From the text on the tombstone, we can assume that at the time a Jewish community (*gens*) was present in the town, of which Peter was the only one that converted and was one of the donors contributing to the building of the church and thus buried under its floor.<sup>59</sup>

## EARLY MIDDLE-AGES

Since after the siege of Aquileia by Alaric in 402 and the destruction of the city by Attila there are no further destructions of entire cities and devastated countryside and matters under Theoderic the Great relatively calmed down, we can assume that the Jewish community in the following generations, despite conversions to Christianity and cultural integration, existed at least until the moment, when Istria came under the rule of Constantinople in 539. Despite the fact that the bloody war between the Byzantine and Eastern Gothic armies left the northern Italy exhausted and ready for conquest by Langobards in 568, who at that time also again destroyed to a smaller degree rebuilt Aquileia, this destruction probably indeed again reduced and damaged but did not interrupt the Jewish presence in northern Italy.

This is in this period, characterized by an extremely severe lack of all preserved written sources, shown by a mention of the Jewish community in Pavia, the capital of Lombards, in 661.<sup>60</sup> Even though in 568 the Langobards plunder and burn across Istria, which they repeat with the Avars and Slavs in

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<sup>58</sup> Maieron Lenisa, Grado, p. 72.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*, p. 41.

602, and the Slavs devastate Istria once more in 611, to which we must add the plague in 592,<sup>61</sup> this destruction did not mean a total destruction of the entire population of Grado or the nearby countryside. It is a fact that in the wider vicinity of the area Jewish life does not end, since from not so remote Pola at the tip of Istria we have an inscription with Jewish content from 641.<sup>62</sup> Also in Pavia, somewhere between 761 and 766, a religious discussion was conducted between the Christian scholar Peter of Pisa and a Jew, called Lullus or Julius, which was to Charlemagne reported in a letter by the English cleric Alcuin.<sup>63</sup>

From 791 there is a remarkable notice from the records of *Concilium Foro-juliense* in Cividale, led by Paulin, the patriarch of Aquileia, in which it is specifically stated that Saturday, '*quod Judaei celebrant*' (celebrated by the Jews), 'our countrymen observe as well' (*quod et nostri rustici observant*),<sup>64</sup> which attests to continued Jewish presence in the Aquileian countryside, where these rustics resided,<sup>65</sup> though this may nevertheless signify not a remaining Jewish presence but rather a preservation of Jewish elements within the local popular Christianity. But of course, it is possible that some Jews remained in the area even in this time. It is a fact, though, that documents attest to the presence of a Sabbath cult in Friulian Christianity even as late as on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of April 1499, the time in which there are many Jewish communities in the area, and even in the year 1603.<sup>66</sup> Extremely interesting, even though of legendary origin, is also the notice that in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Jews from Cividale celebrated their existence from already pre-Christian times.<sup>67</sup> Thus, according to this legend, Jews lived in Cividale at least 2000 years before Christianity, on which should, according to the author from 1689, testify a tombstone that was made '120 years after the Flood' and was carrying a year 2052 *Anno Orbis* (1708 B.C.) written on it. Another author from 1794 speaks of a tombstone from 2072 B.C. and mentions an 'ancient' document with Narvate as an old name for Cividale, which should in Hebrew mean 'The city of God'. According to this legend Cividale was connected to Jerusalem and also had its own Temple with priests.<sup>68</sup>

At the time the Lombards got established in Friuli, the hilly and mountainous areas to the east and north were at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century already called *Sclaborum provincia*, the province of Slavs. In the year 623, already a

<sup>61</sup> Štih, *Istra v času*, pp. 2–16.

<sup>62</sup> Leon, *Book Review*, p. 357.

<sup>63</sup> Roth, *Ibid*, 69.

<sup>64</sup> Biasutti, *Il Christianesimo*, p. 33.

<sup>65</sup> Maieron Lenisa, *Grado*, p. 72.

<sup>66</sup> Biasutti, *Il Christianesimo*, pp. 34–35.

<sup>67</sup> Roth, *Ibid*. 9.

<sup>68</sup> Vivian, *Le lapidi ebraiche*, pp. 89–90.

first Slavic state structure under prince/king Samo is organised and it was bordering the Lombard territory in Valcanale. For some 300 years, there was a linguistic continuity between old Slovenian and Slovak, Moravian and Czech dialects to the north. Even though the linguistic border until 1500 moved further southwards, the local Jews, who didn't live in the remaining Slovenian language areas but were a part of a network of communities across the three lands and the coast, at least to some degree stayed in touch with the language. In the discussed region, until 950, there might be no settled Jews, yet, concluding from the signs of Jewish life in the regions around, these Jews might have been travelling through this region in the years 600–950 as well, and potentially, even though we have no sources to confirm it, somewhere, even settled, perhaps just for shorter periods of time.

The first datum of Jews in the Alpine areas after the retreat of the Roman state, arrives from the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when the Archbishop of Salzburg Arno (798–821) sends to a certain count a request for a '*medicum iudaicum vel sclavaniscum*' (Jewish or Slavic physician),<sup>69</sup> 'which probably means a Jew, who lived in the land of Slavs'.<sup>70</sup> Here it seems the notice relates to the nearest land of Slavs to Salzburg, therefore Carantania. Also, Yosippon from the 10<sup>th</sup> century mentions that 'numerous tribes went to reside' in Illyria (*Sham alu shvatim rabim lishkon*),<sup>71</sup> which can be, though, related to a wide area stretching from Dalmatia up to Carinthia, as we know of Jews from both areas.

On the southern side of the Alps, we hear of a Jewish merchant in Treviso already in 806, though only in passing. He was Isaac, travelling to Charlemagne together with an elephant presented to him by the Caliph Harun al-Rashid.<sup>72</sup> In 905, the Jewish merchants are mentioned together with the Christian ones in the grant of king Berengar of Italy to the bishopric church of Treviso. This grant was confirmed by emperor Otto III in 991 and 996 as well as by the emperor Henry II in 1014, in each of which Jewish merchants are again explicitly mentioned with the Christian ones.<sup>73</sup> A Jewish landowner is present in Treviso in 972.<sup>74</sup> His name was Issac and was a previous owner of one of the grants in the area between Treviso and Vicenza of emperor Otto I (962–973) to monastery Innichen. One trade route from Treviso, through

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<sup>69</sup> Reg I, 1, note.

<sup>70</sup> Lohrmann et al., *Wirtschafts*, p. 21.

<sup>71</sup> C. XIV – in Mieses, *Di Jiddische Sprache*, p. 284.

<sup>72</sup> Wenninger, *Iudei et ceteri*, p. 234.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 225.

<sup>74</sup> Wadl, *Geschichte der Juden*, p. 18.

the port of which the trade was also conducted by Venice, also lead through Valcanale and Carinthia towards the Danube and Bohemian lands.<sup>75</sup>

If in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries we can count on occasional trade contacts between *Sclavinia* ('Land of the Slavs'), Friuli and Istria, in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, after the consolidation of Carolingian presence, we speak of development of even long-distance traffic and trade. In addition to the trade routes through Alps between Italy to Salzburg, Regensburg and on the 'Venetian highway' through Carinthia and Styria, here in one direction we speak of trade from Byzantium through Bulgarians and Pannonia all the way to Moravia and in the other direction of a part of an extensive trade between Asia and Europe, which was from the Caspian Sea via Ukraine and the Carpathian Mountains directed to the Frankish West.<sup>76</sup> The famous Radanites from 846, who travelled to India and China, and that '*speak Persian, Romean, Arabic, Frankish, Spanish and Slavonic. From the West they carry castrates, female slaves, boys, silk, furs and swords ... and on their way back bring musk, aloë, camphor, cinnamon and other products of the East*',<sup>77</sup> certainly are connected to one of the branches of these trade routes going through old Carantanian area to the Adriatic, as are the merchants mentioned in Raffelstätt toll order on the northern side. There, in addition to the communities from Champagne, Franche-Comté and Lorraine, and the communities of Rhineland, namely the medieval *Loter* and *Ashkenaz* (if we accept that the designation *Ashkenaz* at that time meant Germany and not the Slavic lands<sup>78</sup>), we can locate the oldest Jewish settlements in Bavaria, especially Regensburg from the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards, and in Prague, either on the border or already within the so-called *Knaan*. It is here, at the border region between *Ashkenaz* and *Knaan* that in 904–906 the Jews are specifically mentioned in the 9<sup>th</sup> article of the *Inquisitio de thelonensis Raffelstättensis*, regulating the trade along the Danube between Bavaria and the eastern lands on the territory of present-day Austria and famously naming '*Mercatores, id est iudei et ceteri mercatores...* (Merchants, i.e. Jews and other merchants...').<sup>79</sup> In addition to understanding that the opinion that until recently prevailed in almost entire academic world that the Jews, including those from the Latin world, predominated in the slave-trade, is actually merely an '*idée fixe*, for which the time has come to part with',<sup>80</sup> and that nevertheless Jews did participate in such a trade, as is nevertheless clear also from Raffelstätt text and Koblenz toll

<sup>75</sup> Wenninger, *Iudei et ceteri*, p. 234.

<sup>76</sup> Kosi, *Potujoči sredni vek*, p. 20.

<sup>77</sup> Lohrmann, *1000 Jahre*, p. 287.

<sup>78</sup> Das, Wexler, *Pirooznia et Elhaik*, *The Origins of Ashkenaz*, pp. 2–4.

<sup>79</sup> Reg I, 1.

<sup>80</sup> Toch, *Jews in Europe*, p. 63, Toch, *Peasants and Jews*.



order from the 11<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>81</sup> it seems understandable the Jews participating in such travelling merchant companies partly also originated in the areas these companies were travelling through. It seems the Jews from Raffelstätt toll order may have included Jews living on imperial side of the border and on the other side of it, who haven't travelled with their goods all the way to the Iberian Peninsula on land but have rather went to different ports on the Adriatic,<sup>82</sup> also through former Carantania, from 976 onwards raised to the Duchy of Carnithia, to Friuli and also Treviso. In the named text we also find two individuals named *Ysac* and *Salaman*, where it is interesting that the two are designated as noblemen from the surrounding area, which shows not only 'that Jews were settled in the area of present-day Upper Austria already around 900, but that above all they belonged to the leading stratum'.<sup>83</sup>

If the origin of Jews from the western and northern edges of later Carinthia is sufficiently clear, the question of origin of Jews that arrived through Slavonic lands and Pannonia is more complex. Knaan is in this sense mentioned for the first time in Yosippon from the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and from that period on Knaan occurs in the sources very often. Up to the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the boundary between Ashkenaz and Knaan ran along the Thuringian and Bohemian forests along a line of Magdeburg, Erfurt and Regensburg, and in these border cities the Jewish communities were at least partially Knaanic. Even in Vienna and probably in other cities of Austria, a part of the Jewish population was Knaanic. The great scholar Rabbi Isaac, son of R. Moses, the author of *Or Zarua*, lived for a while in Vienna and is regarded as one of the highlights of Knaan. The Jewish communities of the Elbe basin, Bavaria and Bohemia are designated as western Knaan and the settlement that simultaneously to this one developed among the eastern Slavs in Kievan Russ, eastern Knaan. Up to what measure Yiddish and Knaanic lived along each other is not completely clear, but it seems that by the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Yiddish was already victorious.<sup>84</sup> Some speakers of this Knaanic, in sources mentioned for the area of Bohemia, Slovakia, Poland and Ukraine, knew no other language, also said in the famous letter to the community in Thessaloniki from around 1000 '*knows neither Hebrew, nor Yavanic, nor Arabic, only the language of Knaan that the people of his native land speak...*'<sup>85</sup> Bohemia had famous rabbis, who spoke old Czech and some students, who spoke the language, were visiting yeshivas in France and Ger-

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<sup>81</sup> Wenninger, *Iudei et ceteri*, pp. 228–231.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* 241–242.

<sup>83</sup> Lohrmann, *1000 Jahre*, p. 287.

<sup>84</sup> Weinreich, *History of the Yiddish*, pp. 80–81.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* 87.



many, where old Czech words even entered the commentaries of Gershom ben Yehuda (960–1028) and Rashi (1040–1105) as well as of commentaries of rabbis in Bohemia and Moravia.<sup>86</sup> As the data demonstrate, ‘during the Middle Ages West Knaan played a major role in the Jewish settlement of Central and Western Europe’.<sup>87</sup>

Ibrahim Ibn Yaqub approximately in 965 mentions Jews and Muslims from Hungary in his report on merchants in Prague,<sup>88</sup> there were Jews in the salt mine upon the river Saale in eastern Germany,<sup>89</sup> and there is also evidence of such Jewish trade of that period from Bohemia and Poland. The responsa of Rabbi Judah of Mainz, who died around 1070, mentions Jews that trade between Hungary and Mainz and some Jewish settlements were in Hungary at least already in the 12<sup>th</sup> century based on trade routes with Austria, which includes trade connections with Ptuj, Völkermarkt and Judenburg, and as the responsa literature shows, Jewish commerce between Hungary and neighbouring lands was based on informal partnerships (*chevruta*), a form of Jewish trade associations, familiar also from Western Europe and Genizah of Cairo.<sup>90</sup>

Chasdai ibn Shaprut, a vizier in Cordoba, in his letter to Jewish Khazars around 955 mentions Jews in Hungary that were in touch with the land of Russ<sup>91</sup> and two Jews, Mar Josef and Mar Shaul, who were members in the delegation of a Slavic king Hunu (or Duku) in the land at the lower stream of the river *Donoi*.<sup>92</sup> Ibn Shaprut has sent his letter to the Khan Josef through Croatian, Hungarian, Russian and then Bulgarian Jews,<sup>93</sup> in which he explicitly states that the letter reached him thanks to the *king of Gvalim, who are El-sqlab*,<sup>94</sup> apparently meaning ‘Dalmatians, who are Slavs’, as the Arab writers were with this name (*gebl* or *jeb*l being ‘rock’ in Arabic) designating the mountainous coast of Dalmatia, with which Iberian and other Arabs were in commercial contacts. Ibn Khaldoun describes the eastern shores of Adriatic as the *Saqalib* Coast (The Coast of the Slavs) and Ibrahim Ibn Yaqub, who traveled through the lands of the Southern Slavs around 965, names the Croats as *Saqalib*, i.e., Slavs.<sup>95</sup> In Split, there are serious assumptions that Jews

<sup>86</sup> Van Straten, *The Origin of*, pp. 263–264.

<sup>87</sup> Beider, *A Dictionary*, p. 209.

<sup>88</sup> Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, p. 61.

<sup>89</sup> King, *Migration and Linguistics*, p. 422.

<sup>90</sup> Berend, *Ibid.* 110–113.

<sup>91</sup> Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World*, pp. 227–232.

<sup>92</sup> Graetz, *History of Jews*, IV, p. 18.

<sup>93</sup> Kriwaczek, *Yiddish Civilisation*, p. 48.

<sup>94</sup> Eventov, *History of Jews of Yugoslavia*, p. 42.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* 429.

settled in the town already in the 7<sup>th</sup> century together with other inhabitants of Salona, who moved to the former palace of Diocletian.<sup>96</sup>

A look at the system of rivers in eastern and central Europe shows clearly that western Knaan is an offshoot of Yavan, the Greek world.<sup>97</sup> One side the Jews of Byzantium continued their path northwards along the Danube and through the Vltava connected to the Elbe basin, while on the other side they reached the Vltava through the Balkan Peninsula, Adriatic Sea, Alpine valleys of Carinthia along the line of 'Jewish villages/settlements' and the Danube in Austria. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, we therefore already witness Jewish communities in Prague, Meissen, Merseburg, Halle and Magdeburg and the Old Synagogue in Prague was following the Romanic, i.e., Byzantine, custom as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>98</sup> It was in the Danube basin that the meeting point of Jews from Byzantium, Italy, the Rhineland, and Knaan occurred.<sup>99</sup> With all this, the mentioned meeting function of the old-Carantanian region, being on the western edge of Western Knaan, becomes very obvious.

In addition to these, another cultural-ethnic component of first Knaanic and then Ashkenazi Jews is important. We hear of Jewish communities on the shores of the Black Sea<sup>100</sup> and the Crimean Peninsula in a long period from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. until the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>101</sup> and it was these communities, who were the first to make contact with the waves of into Europe arriving nomadic clan groups, first of all Scythians and then Sarmatians, Alans, some Goths, Huns, Avars, Bulgarians, Khazars, and Hungarians. From a very limited number of sources, it is clear that in contact with these clan/tribal groups mixing and conversion to Judaism occurred as well. Some of the Alans have according to the Schechter Letter from the Genizah of Cairo 'respected the laws of the Jews'. On a tombstone, found in Partenit, the most important of the coastal cities of the Crimean Goths, a name '*Herefridil ha-Kohen*' was found, being a Germanic name with a hereditary Hebrew priestly designation.<sup>102</sup> The 10<sup>th</sup> century Abbot Heriger of the Abbey of Lobbes in today's Belgium wrote that the Huns claimed to be proud of their Jewish origin, which can possibly point to a presence of a certain number of Judaised Turkic-Mongolian (Uralo-Altay) nomads.<sup>103</sup> That the Khazar king Bulan embraced Judaism in 861 and with him some members of the Khazar upper classes is a well-known fact and

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<sup>96</sup> Goldstein, *Židovi na tlu Jugoslavije*, p. 115.

<sup>97</sup> Weinreich, *Ibid.* 83.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* 82–83.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* 333.

<sup>100</sup> King, *Ibid.* 423.

<sup>101</sup> Van Straten, *Ibid.* 256–257.

<sup>102</sup> Kriwaczek, *Ibid.* 44.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.* 45–46.

from the land of Russ, we possess a Khazar Jewish document from around 930 from Kiev, where, by the way, we encounter also personal names Pesach and Chanukah,<sup>104</sup> both later on appearing in Slovenian lands as well. Chanuka, being a unique name in the entire Central and Western Europe and has possibly arrived from the Middle East,<sup>105</sup> is mentioned in connection to Slovenj Gradec, Maribor and Völkermarkt in years 1328, 1338, 1347, 1374, 1384, and 1391,<sup>106</sup> while Pesach, which very rarely appears in bilingual Slavic-German regions and often in Slavic areas,<sup>107</sup> is mentioned in connection to Ptuj, Gorizia, and Trieste in years 1360 and 1364.<sup>108</sup> It appears, it is in connection to mentioned Turkic-Mongolian tribal structures that, by all means a fantastic legend, written in the *Chronicle of the 95 Dominions* from the period of Albert III, was composed, which speaks of twenty-two Jewish princes that were supposed to rule Austria before the arrival of Christianity,<sup>109</sup> as the names on the list clearly show a Turkic origin.<sup>110</sup> Of a rather more certain meaning are the archaeological finds from the southern edge of Pannonia, the place of Celarevo in the vicinity of Novi Sad, where an Avarian burial ground was unearthed, next to which also graves with Jewish artifacts were located. Next to graves from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century some 450 pieces of brick were found, into which Jewish symbols like *menorah*, *shofar* and *etrog* were carved, but also *lulav* and small stars of David. In some places even Hebrew inscriptions Jerusalem and Israel were found. In the vicinity of the burial ground, later on, a large settlement, in which both communities resided, was uncovered. The findings point to a Mongolian descent also for the Jewish group, though with certain differences in comparison to Avarian characteristics. It is a fact that these pagans and Jews shared the same settlement and graveyard.<sup>111</sup>

### ‘JEWISH VILLAGES’ AND OTHER *JUDENORTE*

Despite the offensive of Hungarians from 862 onwards and especially between 894 and 955, when Pannonia was devastated and the Hungarians through Carniola even invaded Italy, the trade did not die out and after the renewal

<sup>104</sup> Wexler, *The Ashkenazic Jews*, p. 140.

<sup>105</sup> Beider, *Ibid.* 81.

<sup>106</sup> Jelinčič Boeta, *Judje na Slovenskem*, pp. 237, 239, 265, 266, 273.

<sup>107</sup> Wexler, *Ibid.* 139–140.

<sup>108</sup> Jelinčič Boeta, *Judje na Slovenskem*, pp. 301, 317, 318.

<sup>109</sup> Mieses, *Ibid.* 278–279.

<sup>110</sup> Kriwaczek, *Ibid.* 51–52.

<sup>111</sup> Bunardžić, *The Menoroth*, Goldstein, *Jews in Yugoslavia*, p. 28.

of Empire with the Ottonian dynasty we can witness strengthening of old commercial routes in directions known from Carolingian times. With final settlement of the Hungarians and their final defeat on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August 955 along the river Lech by Otto the Great, King of the Eastern Franks, which brought to the creation of new marches, for instance, Carantanian and Eastern March (*Ostarrichi*), the trade in larger volume returns also to Pannonia. With all this lively trade between the East and the West that was passing through the Danube region and the Eastern Alps, some of these trade routes led to the territory of wider Carantania, where Karnburg and Maria Saal already represent important local centres and certain settlements already received market rights, such as Ptuj (977, perhaps in 890), Friesach (1016), Villach (1060), Judenburg (1103),<sup>112</sup> among which Friesach existed at least from 860 and Villach from 878.<sup>113</sup>

For Jewish traders, who had to cross the region of Southern Alps, for which existed already in the Roman times established roads, due to security and organizational reasons a whole system of outposts and trade settlements developed, where traders not only rested but also conducted commerce with the local ruling class. And a sign of that certainly are the along important trade routes positioned 'Jewish villages' in Eastern Alps. 'This chain of posts commences with Judendorf next to Villach, leads through Judendorf next to Klagenfurt and then next to Maria Saal and Judendorf by Friesach all to Judenburg. Here the path splits: one leads through Judendorf by Tamsweg to Salzburg and Regensburg, the other through Judendorf by Steyr until Judenu by Tulln'.<sup>114</sup> On the way to Hungary are located Ždovlje – Seidolach and Ždinja ves – Seidendorf<sup>115</sup> and then Völkermarkt (*Forum iudeorum*) and, of course, the already mentioned Judendorf (Ždovše) by Maria Saal. In the northwest direction we find Jewish villages in the Salzburg region, but also in the northeast direction, i.e., in Middle and Upper Styria. In addition to Judenburg, mentioned already in 1074–1087,<sup>116</sup> we also have '*villa que nuncupatur ad Judeos*' or *Judendorf* by Graz from 1147<sup>117</sup> and 24 km south of it Judendorf near Hausmannstätten, and then *Judindorf* by Murau from 1120,<sup>118</sup> for which Wenninger<sup>119</sup> explains, that Friesach is meant, with which, though,

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<sup>112</sup> Kosi, *Ibid.* 30.

<sup>113</sup> Wadl, *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, p. 96.

<sup>114</sup> Wadl, *Geschichte der Juden*, p. 19.

<sup>115</sup> Kranzmayer, *Ortsnamen buch II*, p. 204.

<sup>116</sup> Zahn UB I, 91.

<sup>117</sup> Zahn UB I, 272.

<sup>118</sup> Zahn UB II, 129.

<sup>119</sup> Wenninger, *Die Siedlungsgeschichte*, p. 210.

Krawarik<sup>120</sup> doesn't agree and locates the 'village' near Neumarkt. In addition, there is *Judendorf* by Leoben, mentioned in 1269.<sup>121</sup>

Furthermore, if we examine the map, we discover that in addition to the Jewish villages there are also other kinds of so-called 'Jewish places' (*Judenorte*), such as Judenberg (Jewish Hill) in southern Burgenland on the way from Radkesburg to Jennersdorf on Raba River and the nearby Judengraben (Jewish Trench),<sup>122</sup> as well as numerous other localities in both Austrias, Salzburg region, Bavaria, Franconia and even Saxony. Altogether there are more than 50 such locality names and the list is all but finished. And as shown by Wenninger,<sup>123</sup> all these settlements appear nowhere else than on the eastern border of the Frankish state, first Carolingian and then Ottonian, i.e. on the junction points of the eastern trade in Bavaria and Franconia already in the 8<sup>th</sup> century at the consolidation of Frankish presence, while in Carantania, Salzburg and Saxony only from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Thus, we find in the names of these places the suffix 'hof' (for instance, Judenhof, meaning Jewish Court) almost exclusively in Franconia and Bavaria, while localities with the suffix '*dorf*', '*vas*' or '*ves*' (meaning 'village') only in Saxony and in the interior of the Alps eastwards of Tyrol. Only Judendorf by Steyr is at the northern Alpine slopes.

On the age of the Jewish villages on the old-Carantanian territory testifies the fact that they all appear in the area of old settlement and not later colonization,<sup>124</sup> and that all the places with the suffix '*dorf*' were founded before 1100,<sup>125</sup> which also holds true for the Slovenian suffix '*vas*' or '*ves*'.<sup>126</sup> Along all the presented diversity in the character of these 'Jewish villages', they represented only small settlements or even mere trading posts, which were not necessarily permanently populated or only Christians resided in them after the foundation of urban settlements, to which the Jews moved, or were even just cemeteries.

Analysing the three Jewish villages with Slovenian name,<sup>127</sup> we discover that the names Ždovlje – Seidolach (or in literary Slovenian Židovlje), Ždinja ves – Seidendorf (Židinja vas), and Ždovše – Judendorf (Židovišče) can indeed be etymologically derived from the Slovenian word '*Žid*' (Jew) and not, as for instance in cases of Ždovlje – Seidolach and Ždinja ves – Seidendorf from the

<sup>120</sup> Krawarik, *Die Judendörfer*, p. 426.

<sup>121</sup> Brunner, *Geschichte der Juden*, p. 75.

<sup>122</sup> Wenninger, *Die Siedlungsgeschichte*, p. 203.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.* 206.

<sup>124</sup> Neumann, *Zur frühen Geschichte*, p. 369.

<sup>125</sup> Kranzmayer, *Ortsnamenbuch I*, pp. 87–89.

<sup>126</sup> Grafenauer, *Zgodovina*, p. 166.

<sup>127</sup> Čop, *Nedoslodnosti v rabi*, pp. 89–90.

dialect word 'žida' or in German 'Seide', meaning 'silk'. Also Kranzmayer<sup>128</sup> states that they are older than their German versions and are deriving from the Slovenian word 'Žid', which is confirmed by Neumann,<sup>129</sup> and by Pohl.<sup>130</sup> Krawarik,<sup>131</sup> indeed, can on the basis of its settlement historical development not identify Seidendorf with the rest of the 'Jewish places' but the fact that a document from 975 mentions only 'Slavic farms' in the place does not necessarily mean that there never was a Jewish settlement there, as it is not necessary that all the so-called *Judenorte* developed from permanent Jewish settlements or courts (*hof*) the author mentions with other settlements. Due to the strategic position of the locality, there could, perhaps, be only a temporary seasonal trading post or a fair, whose existence cannot be confirmed by studying the land-register and construction data. Additionally, the same toponym appears in its Slovenian and German form also with Ždinja vas in Lower Carniola.

In case of Friesach, where '*qui dicitur vi(ll)a iudaeorum*' is already named in 1124,<sup>132</sup> which should according to Wadl be read as '*via*' and not '*villa*' and would thus confirm the existence of a community within the town already at that time,<sup>133</sup> and then '*villa que dicitur Judendorf*' in 1144,<sup>134</sup> the Jews are explicitly mentioned within the town already on the 1255 V 12,<sup>135</sup> while the existence of a 'Jewish village' can be presumed already in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>136</sup> In case of Friesach in 1144 and Klagenfurt in 1162, it is already clear Jews no longer resided within the Jewish villages, as Judendorf by Friesach was for the needs of collecting the tithe donated to the city hospital<sup>137</sup> and the monastery St. Georgen am Längsee in 1162 collected the tithe '*ad Judendorf IV mansorum*' (four houses in Judendorf),<sup>138</sup> i.e. in the Jewish village next to Maria Saal, which means that Jews certainly didn't live there anymore, as they weren't bound by ecclesiastical tithe.<sup>139</sup> And even though the Jewish village

<sup>128</sup> Ortsnamenbuch II, p. 204.

<sup>129</sup> Die Juden in Villach, p. 411.

<sup>130</sup> Koroška, p. 51.

<sup>131</sup> Krawarik, Ibid. 438.

<sup>132</sup> MC III, 605/I.

<sup>133</sup> Wadl, Zur Geschichte, p. 96.

<sup>134</sup> MC 1896: 307.

<sup>135</sup> MC IV, 2591.

<sup>136</sup> Neumann, Zur frühen Geschichte, p. 373.

<sup>137</sup> MC III, 777.

<sup>138</sup> MC III, 2745.

<sup>139</sup> Neumann, Zur frühen Geschichte, pp. 368–369.

with a cemetery next to Villach is mentioned for the first time in 1331<sup>140</sup> it is already clear in 1255 that Jews reside within the city itself.<sup>141</sup>

Furthermore, as examples show, Jewish villages were founded only where at the time there was no existing market or city settlement, which later on did or did not develop and thus in some cases represent a sort of predecessors of urban settlements in the region.<sup>142</sup> Judenburg exists at least from 1074–1088, while Judendorf by Tamsweg in western Salzburg region at least from 970–980,<sup>143</sup> which testifies to a Jewish presence prior to receiving the market rights and holds true also for Graz, mentioned for the first time in 1128, that is 19 years before the Jewish village is mentioned in 1147, when Graz still didn't hold the market rights. In the time this Jewish village was mentioned, Jews already lived in Graz.<sup>144</sup> Next to Tamsweg the 'Jewish village' is named between the years 1130–1135, even though Tamsweg becomes a market town only in 1246. The notice of a Jewish village next to Klagenfurt arrives from 1162, which is before the town was mentioned as a market town (1193–1195), and can only be referring to Maria Saal,<sup>145</sup> where at that time Jews can no longer be found. As it appears, it is necessary, as said, to date the appearance of Jewish villages into the 10<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>146</sup> which would somehow be consistent with the cessation of Hungarian danger. This would mean that these Jewish villages are older than the market towns, to which they 'belong'. Krawarik is setting the appearance of Jewish villages near Villach into the late 10<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>147</sup> near Neumarkt or Murau between 970 and 980.<sup>148</sup> The same dating is set also for Seidolach – Ždovlje, Seidendorf – Ždinja ves and Judendorf (Ždovše or Židovišče) near Maria Saal.<sup>149</sup>

And thus in 1103 Judenburg is already '*mercatus*', in which Jews lived from the time of founding the place named after them.<sup>150</sup> The same holds true for Völkermarkt, named in a source from 1105–1125 as '*forum iudeorum*'.<sup>151</sup> We even possess a preserved tombstone from 1130, bearing an inscription that '*Shabtai, parnas, who was killed in Ungrabn in 4890 after the creation, gave his soul for the honor of his name and was all his days innocent and fair v.v.d.l.*

<sup>140</sup> Ibid. 374.

<sup>141</sup> MC IV, 2598.

<sup>142</sup> Popelka, Der Name Judendorf, p. 60, Neumann, Zur frühen Geschichte, p. 371.

<sup>143</sup> Krawarik, Ibid. 412.

<sup>144</sup> Brunner, Ibid. 77.

<sup>145</sup> Neumann, Zur frühen Geschichte, pp. 369–370.

<sup>146</sup> Popelka, Ibid. 59, Neumann, Zur frühen Geschichte, p. 371.

<sup>147</sup> Krawarik, Ibid. 420.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid. 429.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid. 439.

<sup>150</sup> Neumann, Zur frühen Geschichte, p. 37.

<sup>151</sup> MC, annex I–IV, 520a–3048.



(*let strike them and rise his blood upon his enemies*)'. According to Babad, the text testifies on a persecution of Jews in Völkermarkt, after which not many Jews were left in the town and the name was therefore changed from 'Judemarkt' (Jewish market) to 'Volchenmarkt' (People's market).<sup>152</sup> Disregarding the question whether the inscription points to a collective persecution of Jews or only to an individual attack on one person, this tombstone also suggests an existence of a community, to whose leader the tombstone is dedicated. It is interesting 'that with the word *mercatus* on old-Carantanian soil Judenburg (1103) and Völkermarkt (1105–1126) are those, mentioned for the first time',<sup>153</sup> while the fact that in the vicinity of Judenburg and Völkermarkt no Jewish villages are recorded shows that both market settlements by all probability developed from an older pre-market trade settlement, i.e., Jewish village, in which the Jews after the foundation of a market simply stayed.

But it is not necessary that all 'Jewish villages' were pre-market settlements, which was shown in case of Villach and Friesach already by Neumann.<sup>154</sup> For the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it is already clear the Jews no longer live neither in Judendorf at Friesach nor next to Villach, but already in the cities themselves. Villach becomes a market in 1060 and in 1016 Friesach, whose Jewish village also came into existence in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Taking into account that appealing of the inhabitants of the village Judendorf by Villach in the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century to older rights points to a non-peasant nature of first (Jewish) inhabitants, it can be assumed that Jews first settled in the village, even though we possess no explicit sources for that, which they later abandoned in favour of the market and preserved within the village only the cemetery, mentioned in 1331 and confirmed by two tombstones from the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>155</sup> With Friesach, it seems that Judendorf has from its beginnings served only as a cemetery, which Rudolf von Liechtenstein on Nov 5, 1352<sup>156</sup> promised to protect. It appears that Jews already at the beginning settled in both places and not next to them.<sup>157</sup>

Among the Jewish villages, Seidendorf – Ždinja ves and Seidolach – Ždovlje, mentioned already in 1246 represent a special case. They do not develop into market or urban settlements and by the time of forming the market settlements in the 12<sup>th</sup> century die out as Jewish settlements. Also in case of Maria Saal that 'causes greatest problems' with dating, we can see that the appearance of Jewish villages cannot be explained with one single cause,

<sup>152</sup> Babad, *Ibid.* 18–19.

<sup>153</sup> Melik, *Mesto*, p. 301.

<sup>154</sup> Neumann, *Zur frühen Geschichte*, pp. 374–375.

<sup>155</sup> Neumann, *Die Juden in Villach*, p. 382.

<sup>156</sup> Neumann, *Zur frühen Geschichte*, p. 369.

<sup>157</sup> Wadl, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 96.

as the settlement Maria Saal clearly already existed, when the Jewish village was founded. Due to the fact that Maria Saal was located as an important ecclesiastical centre in the immediate vicinity of Karnburg, the early medieval *civitas Carantana*, and following a German toponym for the Field Zollfeld there also existed a toll station, which could by any means represent a reason for early Jewish settlement in the area,<sup>158</sup> even though a mere presence of ecclesiastical center and a secular court in the immediate vicinity certainly can represent a sufficient economic impetus for arrival and settlement of traders.

There are also three so-called Jewish places that we can add to the present list in the literature. Two of these are located along the river Raba in a present-day Hungary right across the border with Slovenia, a few kilometres along the way forth from the already attested Judenberg and Judengraben in South of Austrian Burgenland, located along the trade route of the time, namely the former village and a present-day neighbourhood of Szentgotthard called Zsida – Židovo (At Jews') and some kilometre south of it a small village called Zsidahegy – Židovski vrh (The Jewish Peak), both having also a Slovenian toponym.

Also the third locality is in complete accordance with the model presented by Wenninger (1985). Ždinja vas near Novo mesto was, judging by its name, formed prior to 1100, i.e., before the town of Novo mesto was established, it is located near the river Krka immediately next to the junction where the trade route turns to Novo mesto itself and on the southernmost boundary of the Empire at the time. In addition, remnants of a Roman road are clearly visible under the village.<sup>159</sup> Additionally, the present-day name is identical to the Slovenian name of the 'Jewish village' in Carinthia, which is also clear from the German name preserved from the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries that do not differ greatly from the name Seidendorf: Sittichsdorf and Sittingendorf in 1250, Sydingendorf in 1252, Sidingendorf in 1321, and Sidendorf in 1365,<sup>160</sup> though we have no record of Jews settling in the town of Novo mesto after it was founded.

'From the first notice of a name 'Jewish village' next to Friesach (1124) exactly 100 years pass until Jews are mentioned in Friesach (1224) and another 105 years pass until 1329 that the first Jew is mentioned by name'. Even though in Villach we find a tombstone from already 1130 the Jews of Villach are mentioned only in 1255. First individual naming can be traced only to 1301 and the mention of a Jewish village in 1331. In Völkermarkt, which is in 1105–1126 once called a Jewish market and from which we possess one

<sup>158</sup> Wadl, *Geschichte*, p. 20.

<sup>159</sup> Savnik, *Krajevni leksikon*, p. 547.

<sup>160</sup> Kos, *Gradivo*, pp. 696–697.

tombstone from 1130, Jews are mentioned in documents only in 1292.<sup>161</sup> That there is no Jewish village next to St. Veit, can be explained by the fact that it was transferred into the ownership of the Duke only in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and became important when these villages were no longer being established.<sup>162</sup> Even though already in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Jews in town are so numerous to be mentioned in the town statute, the first mention of an individual is found only in 1356.<sup>163</sup> But, as the examples show, these large time gaps between the individual testimonies in no way lead to conclusion that there were almost no Jews in the area.

At this time, also news on Jews from Friuli resurfaces. One is the Jewish tombstone of Tabor family from Aquilea, dated to 1140,<sup>164</sup> which affirms more than just individual Jewish presence, as surely someone must bury the deceased one and carve the tombstone. Some remarks in the response literature hint also at the possibility that some Jews resided in Aquileia in times of Benjamin of Tudela in the years 1165–73.<sup>165</sup> In addition, the book *Or Zarua* mentions for 1239 that a *bet din* had a court meeting in Cividale,<sup>166</sup> which can bring us to an assumption, an organised community already had to be there, meaning it existed for already a few years before it was mentioned, perhaps already in 1200 or, due to the regional importance of Cividale, even before that. Also in Maribor, there is a possibility that some Jews resided there a few years before the town is mentioned as a forum in 1209.<sup>167</sup> With Ptuj, due to the regional importance of the town on the trade route with Pannonia, there is also a possibility, Jews lived there before 1286, when they are mentioned for the first time.<sup>168</sup> The same holds for Ljubljana, in which Valvasor in 1683 mentions that the Jews rebuilt their synagogue in 1213 and in 1290 there was a conflict with their non-Jewish neighbours, which might indeed be possible, even though it cannot be confirmed with the preserved historical sources.<sup>169</sup>

As examples show, we can reliably speak of a not so sparse Jewish settlement in Carinthia and Styria already in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, which arrived from the Italian and other directions along the trade routes through the Alps to Bavaria, Eastern March and the Danube region. Jews along the commerce routes establish trading posts that later on either wither (Seidendorf,

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<sup>161</sup> Neumann, *Zur fruhen Geschichte*, p. 376.

<sup>162</sup> Wadl, *Geschichte*, p. 20.

<sup>163</sup> Neumann, *Zur fruhen Geschichte*, p. 376.

<sup>164</sup> Stafuzza, *Gli Ebrei*, p. 120.

<sup>165</sup> Roth, *Ibid.* 76.

<sup>166</sup> Zenarola Pastore, *Cividale del Friuli*, p. 34.

<sup>167</sup> Jelinčič Boeta, *Medieval Jewish*, pp. 170–171.

<sup>168</sup> GJ II 2: 650.

<sup>169</sup> Jelinčič Boeta, *Judje na Slovenskem*, pp. 73–74.

Seidolach, Ždinja vas) or acquire market rights (Judenburg, Völkermarkt), settle within the established settlements (Tamsweg and Graz) or in the already existing ones (Friesach, Villach, Ptuj) or settle alongside an important centre temporarily (Maria Saal). Until the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, we thus certainly encounter permanent Jewish settlements in Villach, Friesach, Völkermarkt, Judenburg and possibly to some degree also in Aquileia, Cividale, Ljubljana, Maribor, and Ptuj. Then Jews already settle within larger market centres, they no longer reside in Jewish villages, and new, numerous Jewish communities are being formed within many new towns and cities that start to appear in the region, especially in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

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## JUDJE V AKVILEJI, JUDOVSKÉ VASI V OBDOBJU 950–1100 V JUGOVZHODNIH ALPAH IN IZVOR TEH JUDOV

### Povzetek

V Akvileji so Judje zabeleženi že v prvem stoletju pred našim štetjem, ko je bilo mesto že pomembno vojaško in upravno središče, prav tako je bila že pomembno пристanišče, ki je trgovalo tudi z Levantom. Akvilejska judovska skupnost se je nahajala na robu pogostejše judovske prisotnosti v Italiji in od Grčije navzgor po Jadranu, vendar je znake judovske prisotnosti moč opaziti tudi na Koroškem in Štajerskem. Akvilejska skupnost je v naslednjih stoletjih rasla, o čemer priča kar nekaj arheoloških najdb, razumevanje takratne gospodarske dejavnosti v mestu in področja, v katerih so bili Judje še posebej aktivni. Poleg potrjenih ostankov ene sinagoge obstaja možnost za še dve sinagogi, kar bi ustrezalo potrebam tako velike skupnosti. Tamkajšnji Judje so bili že zgodaj povezani s krščanstvom, kar je očitno tudi iz tega, da so ostanki ene sinagoge ohranjeni v kasnejši cerkvi. Zapisi o Judih v mestu se nadaljujejo vse do začetka 5. stoletja.

Po Atilovem uničenju mesta leta 452 in po langobardski osvojitvi Furlanije je v regiji vseeno moč zaslediti dokaze o prisotnih Judih. V notranjosti, se pravi na Kranjskem, Koroškem in Štajerskem sicer nimamo nobenih tovrstnih sledi, vendar kažejo viri na nemalo teh v vseh okolišnjih regijah. Tako so Judje omenjeni v Benečiji, Salzburgu, Bavarskem, Zgornji Avstriji in Panoniji, pri čemer pa ne gre zgolj za posameznike, temveč tudi za že oblikovane skupnosti, ki so bile medsebojno povezane, naj bo to preko trgovskih mrež in judovskih trgovskih združb ali pa preko intelektualne izmenjave med učenjaki, kot na primer med slovansko govorečimi Judi na Češkem in Moravskem in tistimi v nemških in francoskih deželah. Glede na trgovske poti iz Podonavja in Panonije do Jadrana ali Italije, ki so vodile čez naše ozemlje, je povsem verjetno, da so ti Judje, del katerih je govoril slovanska narečja, potovali tudi preko tega območja že pred letom 950, ko smo že gotovi, da so se ti Judje pri nas tudi nastanili.

Po letu 950 so namreč prav v sklopu teh trgovskih mrež in poti vzdolž celotne vzhodne meje Svetega rimskega cesarstva nastale tako imenovane judovske vasi, trgovske postojanke ali celo stalne naselbine, kar velja tudi za naše ozemlje, ter nekaj tako imenovanih judovskih krajev, na primer, kraja Velikovec in Judenburg, ki sta prvi tržni naselbini na starokarantanskem ozemlju. Ena teh vasi, morda najstarejša, je pod imenom Židovišče ali Ždovše nastala poleg Gospe Svete, druge pa v bližini Brež, Beljaka in Gradca. Poleg teh so nastale še Ždinja vas in Ždovlje na Koroškem in še ena Ždinja vas poleg Novega mesta. Usoda teh vasi, ki so vse nastale pred letom 1100, je sicer bila različna, vendar ta celotna mreža judovskih skupnosti predstavlja začetek judovske diaspore kasnejše Notranje Avstrije, se pravi najprej Koroške, Štajerske, Kranjske in nato še Goriške ter Trsta. V tem smislu je morda smiselno razumeti, da so tudi Judje v Čedadu, Ljubljani, Mariboru in Ptuju tu živeli že okoli leta 1200 ali celo prej.

## JEWS IN AQUILEA, JEWISH VILLAGES OF 950–1100 IN SOUTHEASTERN ALPS AND THE ORIGIN OF THESE JEWS

### Summary

According to records, Jews lived in Aquileia as early as the first century BC, when the city was already an important military and administrative centre, as well as important port trading also with Levant. The Aquileian Jewish community was located on the edge of a more frequent Jewish presence in Italy and from Greece northward along the Adriatic, but signs of Jewish presence can also be found in Carinthia and Styria. The Aquileian community grew in the following centuries, as evidenced by several archaeological finds, an understanding of the economic activity in the city at the time, and areas in which Jews were particularly active. In addition to confirmed remains of one synagogue, there is the possibility of two more synagogues, which would correspond to the needs of such a large community. Aquileian Jews there were associated with Christianity from an early age, which is also evident from the fact that the remains of one synagogue are preserved in a later church. Records of Jews in the city continue until the start of the 5th century.

After Attila's destruction of the city in 452 and the Lombard conquest of Friuli, there is still evidence of Jews present in the region. In the interior, i.e. in Carniola, Carinthia and Styria, there is no such evidence, but sources point to many Jews in all nearby regions. Thus, Jews are mentioned in Venice, Salzburg, Bavaria, Upper Austria and Pannonia, not only individuals but already established communities that were interconnected, be it through trade networks and Jewish trade associations or through knowledge exchange between scholars, such as between Slavic-speaking Jews in Bohemia and Moravia and

those in German and French countries. Given the trade routes from the Danube region and Pannonia to the Adriatic or Italy that led through the Slovenian territory, it is quite probable that these Jews, some of whom spoke Slavic dialects, also travelled through this region before 950, when we know for certain that these Jews settled here.

After 950, as part of these trade networks and routes, so-called Jewish villages, trading posts or even permanent settlements were formed along the entire eastern border of the Holy Roman Empire, which also includes the Slovenian territory, as well as some so-called Jewish settlements, for example Velikovec and Judenburg, which are the first market settlements in the Old Carantanian territory. One of these villages, perhaps the oldest, was founded under the name Židovišče or Ždovše next to Gospa Sveta, while others were founded near Brežice, Villach and Graz. Other settlements founded were Ždinja vas and Ždovlje in Carinthia and another Ždinja vas next to Novo mesto. The fates of these villages, all founded before 1100, vary, but this whole network of Jewish communities represents the beginning of the Jewish diaspora of later Inner Austria, i.e. first Carinthia, Styria, Carniola and then Gorizia and Trieste. In this sense, it may make sense to understand that Jews in Cividale del Friuli, Ljubljana, Maribor and Ptuj also lived here around 1200 or even earlier.

## JUDEN IN AQUILEA, JÜDISCHE DÖRFER VON 950–1100 IN SÜDÖSTLICHEN ALPEN UND DER URSPRUNG DIESER JUDEN

### Zusammenfassung

In Aquileia werden Juden bereits im ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr. verzeichnet, als die Stadt bereits ein wichtiges Militär- und Verwaltungszentrum und bereits ein wichtiger Hafen war, der auch den Levante-Handel betätigte. Die jüdische Gemeinde von Aquileia stand am Rande einer häufigeren jüdischen Präsenz in Italien und von Griechenland bis zur Adria, aber auch in Kärnten und der Steiermark sind Spuren jüdischer Präsenz zu erkennen. Die Aquileia-Gemeinschaft wuchs in den folgenden Jahrhunderten, wie zahlreiche archäologische Funde, ein Verständnis der damaligen wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten der Stadt und Gebiete, in denen Juden besonders aktiv waren, belegen. Neben den bestätigten Überresten einer Synagoge besteht die Möglichkeit zweier weiterer Synagogen, die den Bedürfnissen einer so großen Gemeinde entsprechen würden. Die dortigen Juden wurden schon früh mit dem Christentum in Verbindung gebracht, was daran zu erkennen ist, dass in der späteren Kirche Reste einer Synagoge erhalten sind. Aufzeichnungen über die Juden in der Stadt dauern bis zum Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts.

Nach der Zerstörung der Stadt durch Attila im Jahr 452 und der Eroberung Friauls durch die Langobarden gibt es noch immer Spuren von Juden in der Region. Im Landesinneren, also in Krain, Kärnten und der Steiermark, haben wir keine solchen Spuren, aber Quellen weisen auf viele davon in allen umliegenden Regionen hin. So werden in Venedig, Salzburg, Bayern, Oberösterreich und Pannonien Juden genannt, nicht nur Einzelpersonen, sondern auch bereits etablierte Gemeinschaften, die miteinander verbunden waren, sei es durch Handelsnetzwerke und jüdische Handelsvereine oder durch den geistigen Austausch zwischen Gelehrten, etwa zwischen slawisch- sprechende Juden in Böhmen und Mähren sowie in deutschen und französischen Ländern. Angesichts der Handelswege von der Donau und Pannonien an die Adria oder Italien, die durch unser Gebiet führten, ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese Juden, die teilweise slawische Dialekte sprachen, auch vor 950 durch dieses Gebiet reisten, als wir bereits feststellten, dass diese Juden sich bei uns angesiedelt haben.

Nach 950 entstanden innerhalb dieser Handelsnetze und -wege entlang der gesamten Ostgrenze des Heiligen Römischen Reich Völkermarkt und Judenburg, die ersten Marktsiedlungen auf dem Gebiet der Altkarantanien. Eines dieser Dörfer, vielleicht das älteste, wurde unter dem Namen Židovišče oder Ždovše neben Unserer Maria Saal gegründet, andere in der Nähe von Breže, Villach und Graz. Darüber hinaus entstanden Ždinja vas und Ždovlje na Koroškem und ein weiteres Ždinja vas neben Novo mesto. Das Schicksal dieser Dörfer, die alle vor 1100 entstanden, war unterschiedlich, aber dieses ganze Netzwerk jüdischer Gemeinden stellt den Beginn der jüdischen Diaspora des späteren Innerösterreichs dar, zuerst Kärnten, Steiermark, Krain und dann Görz und Triest. In diesem Sinne mag es sinnvoll sein zu verstehen, dass hier um 1200 oder noch früher auch Juden in Čedad, Ljubljana, Maribor und Ptuj lebten.