Jews through Christian Eyes: The Jewish 'Other' in Thirteenth-Century Papal Documents, Artwork, and Sermons.

by

Jacob Lackner, B.S.

A Thesis

In

HISTORY

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of Texas Tech University in
Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for
the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Approved

Dr. John Howe
Chair of Committee

Dr. John McCulloh

Dr. Stefano D'Amico

Peggy Gordon Miller
Dean of the Graduate School

May, 2012

Acknowledgments

This Master's Thesis would not have been possible without the valuable advice and helpful editing of Dr. John Howe of Texas Tech University. The advice of all of the members of my committee, including Dr. Howe, Dr. John McCulloh of Kansas State University, and Dr. Stefano D'Amico of Texas Tech University has been essential in creating this final product. Also, I would like to thank the History Department at Texas Tech University for giving me a Travel Research Grant that enabled me to visit both the Vatican Library and the *Ecole Francaise de Rome* to pursue research on this project. Finally, I would like to thank the Getty Research Institute for awarding me a Library Research Grant that allowed me to consult the Getty Library's vast collection of images featuring *Synagoga*, most specifically their copy of the *Index of Christian Art* and the Getty Photo Study Collection.

Table of Contents

Abstract

This thesis examines the Jewish Other in thirteenth-century Europe and argues that it was a proto-colonial Other. It examines a period of great upheaval within the Church and argues that the anxiety resulted in a more intense Jewish Other that had to be heavily regulated and persecuted. It analyzes these constructions through papal documents, artwork, and sermons and uses them to compare and contrast various images of the Jewish Other. The result of this reconstruction is that thirteenth-century images of Jews were malleable and ambivalent, allowing authors and artists to construct multiple images of the Jew that helped deal with a multitude of Christian anxieties.

List of Illustrations

Chapter I

Introduction

Non-Christians in the Middle Ages had lived fairly symbiotically with Christians. Jews regularly lived in Christian cities without major incidents, and Muslims, Jews and Christians lived fairly peacefully for centuries in Spain. However, the thirteenth-century witnesses major changes in the way non-Christian Others were constructed. One way to analyze these changes is to use a cultural lens. Many other scholars and historians have examined the way that the medieval Christian world understood these minority groups. Some, such as historian R.I. Moore have argued that the construction of this Other was largely dominated by the Church, and especially the papacy, and a kind of trickle-down of this construction occurred, disseminating the ideas of the elites to the entire western world.[1] Other historians, such as David Nirenberg, have argued that common people took an active part in the construction of medieval minority groups, and that popular medieval ideas of what constituted the "Medieval Other" were actually constructed by the community, not by the Church.[2]

Historical works have regularly referred to non-Christian minority groups in the Middle Ages as an Other, but a real analysis of the type of discourse that helped to fashion the Medieval non-Christian Other has yet to be achieved. Cultural hegemony, a concept proposed by Antonio Gramsci in his *Prison Diaries*, can be useful in examining

[1] See R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 3.
[2] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 9.

the discourse that resulted in the construction of the medieval non-Christian Other . Gramsci argues that hegemony "which the dominant group exercises throughout society," is achieved in every culture by creating a dominant culture that directly affects the values of the entire society.[3] This sort of power relationship can often result in the construction of subordinate groups as the Other, as was discussed by, among others, Michel Foucault in the context of madness,[4] Edward Said in the context of the Orient,[5] Homi Bhabha in the context of the colonial Other,[6] and Stuart Hall in the context of the African Other[7]. This study will employ terminology posited by Gramsci and Foucault relating to the idea of power/knowledge such as "discourse" and "cultural hegemony". It will also employ terminology from the post-colonial model of the Other such as "projection," "introjection," and "Othering".

The thirteenth century is especially interesting in the examination of Medieval Others because it is a century in which Christianity is being assaulted on all sides by non-Christian forces. Great upheavals characterized the twelfth century – and this tumult continued into the thirteenth century. The once promising crusading movement was failing, with Jerusalem lost in 1187, an indicator that Islam, continuing to expand at the expense of Christianity, could prove to be an even greater threat than the Church had

[3] Antonio Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 12.
[4] All of Foucault's work deals with power relationships and the construction of the Other in some sense, whether in the context of sexuality, the spread of knowledge, or the prison system. But his first work that makes use of the power-knowledge framework that Gramsci discusses is *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York: Random House Books, 1965), in which he discusses madness as a social construction that varies throughout time, making use of Gramsci's idea of cultural hegemony to explain the phenomenon.
[5] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House Books, 1978).
[6] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).
[7] Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publishing, 1997), esp. "The Spectacle of the 'Other,'" 223-290.

originally imagined. Holy Roman Emperors were also regularly challenging the authority of the papacy. And perhaps most frighteningly of all, heretics regularly challenged Church doctrine: the Cathars emerged in the Languedoc region of France in the 1150s; the Waldensians sprang up in 1177 in Italy, southern France and Germany. Concern within the Christian community resulted in the erection of stronger boundaries between the Christian Self and the Medieval non-Christian Other. With Muslims defeating Christianity and heresies regularly emerging and growing, the accuracy and authority of Christianity was challenged. Anxiety about the Self is always necessary for the construction of Others. A period that created this much anxiety resulted in the construction of more extreme Others.

This thesis examines the construction of the thirteenth-century Jewish Other. Geographically, it focuses primarily on medieval France, and the Holy Roman Empire, referring only peripherally to medieval Italy, largely in connection with the pope's residence. The area north of the Alps seems to have transmitted fantastical images of the Jew well before Italy did. While analyzing medieval Italian culture in an attempt to explain the different constructions north and south of the Alps is out of the scope of this thesis, it seems likely that the longevity of the Jewish communities in Italy contributed to a diminished feeling of xenophobia south of the Alps, while the more recent movement of Jews north of the Alps generated anxiety. Additionally, while the historiography of each of these topics has been briefly touched upon here, the specific historiography on each of these sources is discussed in more detail at the beginning of each of these case studies' respective chapters.

This thesis argues that the thirteenth-century Jewish Other is not completely constructed by the mendicants and the papacy and that popular culture played a role, as evidenced by the sermons discussed below. Earlier authors have foreshadowed aspects of this thesis. Jeremy Cohen in *The Friars and the Jews* and *Living Letters of the Law* has already argued that the thirteenth century was a period of great change in papal policy towards the Jews, largely due to the actions of mendicant orders.[8] Gavin Langmuir, in *Toward A Definition of Anti-Semitism*, claimed that the thirteenth century in many ways gave birth to anti-Semitism.[9] This thesis argues that this change did not only occur among the popes and mendicants, but was pervasive throughout thirteenth-century western society, and some ideas that would later be expounded by mendicants and the papacy in the mid-thirteenth century and later may have already been popular long before they became official policy.

The concepts of the Other and Orientalism can help explain a great deal about thirteenth- century Jewish-Christian relations. Orientalism, first expounded by Edward Said, asserts that the west has defined what the east is only by discussing it as "not western".[10] This sort of construction most certainly occurs in the thirteenth century, as Jews largely become part of a binary Other that is simply "not Christian". Said and other cultural theorists note that the Other typically emerges when the cultural group perceiving that Other has a great deal of anxiety about its own identity, and this anxiety results in the

[8] Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983) 7; also *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 38.
[9] See Gavin Langmuir, *Toward A Definition of Anti-Semitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), esp. 63-99.
[10] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 5.

projection of traits onto the subordinate group and results in the construction of a binary Other.[11] While Others exist in every culture, the construction of the Other becomes more intense during periods of anxiety. In response to this anxiety, the dominant cultural group tends to erect stricter boundaries between itself and the Other, and attempts to make the differences very clear. Said's book was initially very controversial, but his idea of the Other eventually became widely accepted in academia and began to be applied not only to the way in which Europeans construct the Orient, but also to the way that all dominant cultural groups in a given region discuss the Other. Conversely, there even seems to have been Occidentalism, or fantastical eastern constructions of the western world.[12] Because of this, it is possible to apply the idea of Otherness throughout history, as every culture throughout time has constructed and marginalized foreign groups in a stereotypical fashion. This is certainly the case with the way that the Christians constructed Jews in medieval Europe. This thesis elaborates on the idea that the Jewish Other is constructed out of anxiety about the Christian self.

This thesis asserts that change in the construction of the Jewish Other resulted in the construction of a proto-colonial Jewish Other. The term proto-colonial is used throughout this thesis to signify that the Jewish Other was a precursor to the colonial Others that would emerge in later centuries. In her article "The Use of the Jew in Colonial Discourse," Tudor Parfitt effectively argues that the religions of colonial Others

[11] Ibid., 40
[12] See Sadik Jalal al-'Azm, "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse," in *Orientalism: A Reader* ed. Alexander Macfie (New York: New York Univeristy Press, 2000), 217-238.

were all viewed through the lens of the Jewish Other.[13] The present thesis further develops this idea by arguing that the reason the Jew would be used in this way in later centuries was because the Jewish Other was the precursor to the colonial Other. Many elements of colonial Otherness can be applied to thirteenth-century Jews. While they are not colonized in a technical sense, Christian hegemony is extended over them to a greater level than had ever existed before in a kind of proto-colonial discourse. Viewing the Jews as a "proto-colonial" Other, suggests that the Christian community used the Jewish Other in the thirteenth century to legitimize the actions of the Church and the Christian community and to justify efforts to acculturate, assimilate, or eliminate Jews. It also suggests that the Jewish Other is a result of widespread anxiety about Christian identity. This perception seems to indicate an Other very similar to those discussed by Homi Bhabha and Stuart Schaar in their discussions of colonialism and imperialism respectively. This is largely reflected by papal support of mendicant-driven anti-Jewish policy that centered on the removal of exegetical texts from the Jewish community, and also increasingly emphasized conversion rather than toleration of the Jews.[14] Before the thirteenth century, Jews had been granted spiritual autonomy under what is usually termed an "Augustinian" policy. Under this policy, originally put forth by Augustine of Hippo (d. 430), Jews were not to be harassed because of their religion inasmuch as, by divine plan, they served as witnesses of the execution of Christ and bearers of the Old Testament.[15] In the same letter, Augustine goes on to argue that the scriptures of the Jews

[13] Tudor Parfitt, "The Use of the Jew in Colonial Discourse," in *Orientalism and the Jews* ed. Ivan Kalmar and Derek Penslar, 51-68, esp. 56.
[14] Innocent IV, *Letter to Louis IX* (1247), *ASJ* 1:196-197 (doc. 187).
[15] Cohen. *Friars and Jews*, 38.

can be used to convert skeptical pagans, because the Old Testament can prove that Christianity did not create Christ, making Jews and their cherished scriptures unknowing supporters of Christianity.[16] Augustine and later Church leaders believed that Jews had been preserved by divine providence so they could be converted at the end of days. In a letter Augustine seems to have written in response to a query about Jews, he says "Do not slay them…so that they do not forget your law" in reference to the Jews.[17] Augustine largely based this ideology on Psalm 59:11 that states "Kill them not, lest my people forget," and expanded this to allow Jews spiritual autonomy whereby the Church would not interfere with Jewish affairs, instead allowing Jews to deal with their own spiritual issues internally.[18] Gregory the Great supported protection of Jews in their religious activity.[19]

This changed greatly in the thirteenth century, when the Church authorized mendicants to determine what books Jews should and should not use and allowed them to force Jews to attend sermons;[20] during the Talmudic controversy popes granted mendicants inquisitorial power to deal with what should have been an internal Jewish controversy.[21] Such moves indicated the Church's need to expand hegemony over the Jews in an attempt to acculturate or assimilate them, whether or not they are a part of the

[16] Fredriksen, *Augustine*, 326.
[17] St. Augustine of Hippo, Letter 139. This letter can be found in an English translation in Paula Fredrikeson, *Augustine and the Jews: Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 326-327.
[18] Cohen, *Friars and Jews*, 39.
[19] Gregory the Great. *Letter to Bishop Paschasius of Naples* (602) ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:23-24 (doc. 28).
[20] Innocent IV, *Letter to Archbishop of Tarragona* (1245) ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:183-185 (doc. 173).
[21] Cohen. *Friars and Jews*, 117.

body of the Church; eventually Jews would be equated with heretics.[22] This thesis argues that the Christian community rationalized this expansion of hegemony by creating a proto-colonial Other. This thesis does not go so far as to say that the Jewish Other is purely colonial, because that term could only be applied if the Jews had their own territory that was encroached upon – instead thirteenth-century Jews are an internal and proto-colonial Other.

While the Church officials only advocated the assimilation of Jews, popular movements wished to eliminate the Jewish community. Jews did not become the common targets of concentrated popular violence before the mid-twelfth century. One exception to this is the massacre of the Jews in the Rhineland during the First Crusade. However, as Robert Chazan argues, this was mostly an isolated event and not a harbinger of things to come in that it was a result of a temporary religious fervor incited by the crusades.[23] It is also an event that is isolated geographically, whereas in the thirteenth century violence against Jews occurs across the map.

Some of the ideas put forth by post-colonial scholars further develop the idea that the thirteenth-century Jewish Other is proto-colonial. In his article "The 'Other' Question," Bhabha states that "Otherness exists in order to justify conquest and establish systems of administration and instruction."[24] Bhabha expanded the idea of the Other,

[22] Clement IV, *Turbato Corde* (1267) ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:236-237 (doc. 230).
[23] Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 324.
[24] Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question," In *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge Publishing, 1994), 101.

using it to also explain the way in which Europeans constructed their colonial subjects.[25] Writers such as Stuart Schaar, argue for the use of the Other in rationalizing the expansionist policies of imperialism.[26] Both of these authors seem to argue that an extension of a dominant culture and the extension of power from this culture both result in the construction of the Other. The idea of the Other, especially as explained by Bhabha and Schaar, seems to apply to the Christian construction of Jews in the Middle Ages, because the Church vigorously attempted to extend its hegemony over the Jewish community in ways that it never had before, resulting in, or perhaps reflecting, a change in the construction of the Jewish Other.

Some scholarship specifically connects Jews and Orientalism. A collection of articles called *Orientalism and the Jews* asserts that orientalism "was formed…and continues to be formed in inextricable conjunction with Western perceptions of the Jewish people."[27] This primary assertion is very important in the arguments which this thesis makes, but this book employs a blanket orientalism instead of examining the changes in the ways in which Jews were treated over time. This thesis will reconcile this by examining a point at which the Jewish Other seems to become a product of proto-colonial fervor, resulting in the creation of a proto-colonial Jew. The reason that this thesis does not consider the Jew before the thirteenth century as a product of colonialism is because many of the factors that Said and Bhabha note as elements of that type of construction are not present in the Jewish-Christian relationship before the thirteenth

[25] Ibid., 109.
[26] Stuart Schaar, "Orientalism at the Service of Imperialism," in *Orientalism: A Reader* ed. Alexander Macfie, (New York New York University Press, 2000), 181-194, 187.
[27] Ivan Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar ed. *Orientalism and the Jews* (New York, Brandeis University Press, 2005), xv.

century. In earlier centuries, the Christian community did not as frequently attempt to extend hegemony over the Jews, and this lack of hegemony resulted in a more tame and realistic construction of the Jewish Other. As Said notes, there has to be a large degree of fantasy mixed with the truth, rather than attacks on the actual cultural practices of a given group.[28] Before the middle of the twelfth century, Jewish culture and theology were attacked as obsolete and incorrect but the earlier Jewish Other was not regularly assigned fantastical elements such as the ideas of ritual murder, magic, and host desecration.

This thesis uses cultural theory to approach the topic of the construction of the Jewish Other within Christian culture. It attempts to explain not only how the Christian community constructed the Jewish Other, but also why it constructed the Jewish community in the way it did. Following the tradition of cultural study put forth by Edward Said, Stuart Hall, and Homi Bhabha, it attempts to explain not only the operation of the Other, but the power relationships implicit in its construction. Additionally, by examining the creation of the Jewish Other, this thesis attempts to reconcile a gap that exists to some degree in the way Jewish historians and medieval historians talk about the medieval Jew. To fully examine why western Christians constructed the thirteenth century Jewish Other in the way they did, it is necessary to discuss the wider context of events in the thirteenth century, rather than focusing on the Jews alone. This will result in a more complete picture of the medieval Jewish Other.

The change in the Jewish Other can be clearly seen in the thirteenth century, when canon law introduces legal support of the differences between Christians and Jews,

[28] Said, *Orientalism*, 59.

especially at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, when sumptuary laws made clear who was a Jew and who was not, and laws gave more emphasis to the prohibition that Jews could not employ Christians in their homes.[29] The Christian community needed to show that Jews were different and enacted laws to do so. This indicates the presence of a well-defined Jewish Other in thirteenth-century Europe.

Was this a change perpetrated by the elites within the Church or was it a response to popular movements? Popular ideas also seem to have changed. Ritual murder accusations and the associated violence against Jews were first recorded in the mid-twelfth century[30] and the idea of Jewish host desecration then spread throughout Europe.[31] At the end of the thirteenth century Jews were expelled from England,[32] and by the beginning of the fourteenth they would be expelled from France.[33] Expulsions in many ways illustrate the endgame of the construction of the Jewish Other, in that Christians erected such powerful boundaries that they eventually felt Jews did not even belong among them. Various popular movements such as these in the late twelfth century and in the thirteenth century illustrate this process.

---

[29] Pope Innocent III, *Letter to Philip II Augustus* (1205). In *The Apostolic See and the Jews: 492 – 1404*, ed. Shlomo Simonsohn, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 82-83. The rest of the references to Simonsohn's volumes of papal documents within this thesis will include the papal name, a title of the letter indicating to whom it was sent, followed by the years in parentheses. The abbreviated title *ASJ* will be used, followed by the volume number and page numbers where the cited document is located. For instance, this document would have been: Pope Innocent III, *Letter to Philip II Augustus* (1205) ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:82-83 (doc. 79).

[30] John McCulloh, "Jewish Ritual Murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and the Early Dissemination of the Myth," *Speculum* 72 (July 1997): 698-740, esp. 706-709.

[31] Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. 7-39.

[32] Gloria Cigman, "The Jew as an absent-presence in late Medieval England," The Seventeenth Sacks Lecture of the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies (Oxford: Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, 1991), 7.

[33] Ibid., 7.

This thesis uses a series of three case studies to discuss the construction of the Jewish Other in various aspects of Christian culture. These case studies are chapter two, which examines papal documents, chapter three, which analyzes artwork, and chapter four, which analyzes sermons. These source materials were chosen because, while it is largely agreed that there was a change in the way in which Jews are treated in the thirteenth century, little work has been done on exactly how this change in treatment was reflected in Christian culture itself. Instead most work on the subject only examines the change in the treatment of the Jews. By examining these types of sources, it becomes possible to compare and contrast the way that Jews are constructed in these various media, and it also becomes possible to create a more complete image of how the Jewish Other was constructed.

While medieval elites created, directly or indirectly the sources examined in these case studies were all created either directly or indirectly by medieval elites, they did not necessarily invent the constructions of the Jewish Other contained within them. Before this more fantastical construction of the Jewish Other emerged in documents generated by the elite, there had already been widespread anti-Jewish sentiment in Europe. This is clear in the fact that before the thirteenth century there had been many popular movements that made fantastical claims against Jews such as ritual murder in the twelfth century,[34] and this coincides with the first Jewish documentation of acts of

[34] "Ritual Murder Accusation at Blois, 1171," English translation in *The Jew in the Medieval World* ed. Jacob R. Marcus (New York: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000).

violence associated with ritual murder being committed against them in Blois in 1171.[35] Additionally, the artwork and sermons examined here were made by the elite but had a broad audience that certainly included common people and it is arguable that these sources were created with an intent to appeal to broader Christian society. In the thirteenth century there is a major change in elite culture that reflects this wider concern about the Jewish community that had begun in popular movements of the twelfth century. These case studies will each assert that this massive change is reflected by a change in the way the Jewish Other is constructed.

Chapter two discusses the way in which the Jewish Other appears in thirteenth-century papal documents. Scholars have examined the evolution of papal policy toward Jews but not changes in how popes constructed Jews.[36] This chapter looks specifically at how popes refer to Jews, and examines shifts in papal policy that seek to erect firmer boundaries between Jews and the Christian community. These papal documents reveal how powerful popes constructed and presented the Jewish Other in the Middle Ages. Of special importance are the largely formulaic *Sicut Iudeis* bulls. These bulls, which had existed for centuries before the thirteenth century were reissued then with changes that

[35] Israel Yuval, "Vengeance and Damnation, Blood and Defamation: From Jewish Martyrdom to Blood Libel Accusations," *Zion* 58 (1993): "Summary," vi-viii, argues that the myth actually began during the massacres of 1095-1096, when Christians saw Jews killing their children and themselves rather than be murdered by Christians, and it seems likely that the idea of the myth was present in the mind of Christians before it was first documented, but the myth is first documented around 1154 by Thomas of Monmouth as argued by John McCulloh in "Jewish Ritual Murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and Early Dissemination of the Myth", full citation in note 20.

[36] See Edward Synan. *The Popes and the Jews In the Middle Ages: An Intense Exploration of Judeo-Christian Relationships in the Medieval World* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1965), and Shlomo Simonsohn , *The Apostolic See and the Jews: History* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997), and Solomon Grayzel, *The Popes and the Jews in the XIIIth century: 1198-1254* (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1933), and Solomon Grayzel, *The Popes and the Jews in the XIIIth century: 1254-1314* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989).

highlight how the Jewish Other was constructed before and after. Chapter two also examines new papal traditions such as the introduction of the *Turbato Corde* bulls. Finally, it examines common adjectives and phrases that are used in conjunction with Jews, how popes felt about the Jewish community, and the way in which popes constructed the Jewish Other.

Chapter three discusses the construction of the Jewish Other in thirteenth-century public art, specifically through the lens of two popular images, the two metaphorical figures *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, feminine representations of the Church and the Synagogue respectively. By examining artwork as an element of Christian culture, it is possible to understand what messages the illiterate masses were receiving in regard to the Jewish Other. Current scholarship on *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* does situate the statues into the context of the thirteenth-century paradigm shift in the relationship between Jews and Christians.[37] It also makes it possible to examine the way that the Jewish Other was constructed independent of mendicants and the Church, who are often cited as the major driving forces for the change in the way Jews are treated.[38] This chapter will address the increased popularity of artwork featuring *Ecclesia et Synagoga* in the thirteenth century, as well as the changes that are made to *Synagoga* during that century.

Chapter four discusses sermon *exempla* featuring Jewish characters. *Exempla* are illustrative stories delivered by preachers as part of a Church service or recorded by preachers for educational purposes. It has been argued that sermons were the closest

[37] See Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), and Wolfgang Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature* (New York: Ungar Publishing, 1970).
[38] See Cohen, *Friars and Jews*, esp. 40-58.

thing to mass communication in Medieval Europe,[39] and this chapter will proceed upon that assumption. These *exempla* reveal the way in which the medieval Jewish Other was constructed for an audience of common people or novices, and the way in which that construction changed in the thirteenth century. The appearance of Jews in medieval sermons has not been addressed much in scholarship, with *Devils, Women, and Jews* offering only a cursory glance at the phenomenon,[40] *Gentile Tales* offers only one chapter on *exempla* about Jewish host desecration,[41] and Ivan Marcus' article "Images of Jews in the *exempla* of Caesarius of Heisterbach" only covers the *exempla* of a single author.[42] This chapter notes the way in which Jews are invoked in thirteenth-century *exempla* and puts these constructions into the larger context of the medieval world and the proto-colonial discourse that was working upon the Jewish Other. Because sermon *exempla* were a kind of mass communication many preachers used similar illustrative stories in their sermons, and even more frequently used similar Jewish characters. Some preachers seem to be using earlier stories as a template, with changes to make the *exempla* suit their purposes. The most widespread example is the various incarnations of the story involving a Jewish father who throws into an oven his boy who had taken communion.

[39] D.L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris Before 1300* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 7.
[40]See Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews*: *Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), esp. 128-170.
[41] Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 12-37.
[42] Ivan Marcus, "Images of Jews in the Exempla of Caesarius of Heisterbach", in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbadden: Harrowitz Publishing, 1996), 247-256.

Chapter five concludes this thesis by comparing and contrasting the ways in which the Jewish Other is constructed in these three media. It also attempts to explain the differences and similarities between three seemingly unrelated sources and how they reflect a big picture of the Jewish Other in thirteenth-century Europe. Specifically it addresses how each of these types of evidence constructs the Jewish Other, and also proposes a tentative model of the construction of the thirteenth-century Jewish Other while also discussing transmission and discourse relating to the spread of new ideas about Jewish identity.

Papal documents, *Ecclesia et Synagoga*, and sermon *exempla* were chosen because these sources have antecedents before the thirteenth century. By examining these specific types of documents, both before and during the thirteenth century, it becomes possible to understand exactly how the construction of the thirteenth-century Jewish Other changed. While each of these chapters will largely focus on thirteenth-century evidence, there will also be regular references to earlier forms of these sources as a way of illustrating how they changed.

It should also be noted that in regard to the place-names that occur throughout this thesis the common English name will be used. In terms of place-names, the common vernacular name will be used. For instance, instead of discussing sermon *exempla* of Iacobus Vitracensis, this thesis cites the sermons of Jacques de Vitry. This thesis presents the names of popes in their commonly used English-language forms. All translations cited within this work are mine unless otherwise indicated.

The following case studies illuminate how medieval Christians viewed their Jewish neighbors in an increasingly tendentious manner. However, the cultural construction of the Other is not something that is isolated to the world of medieval Europe. Dominant cultures have constructed subordinate Others throughout history. By examining the ways in which medieval Christians constructed specific Jewish Others, perhaps light can be shed on the way in which cultural groups have constructed the Other throughout history, and perhaps even on the way in which the Other is constructed today.

Chapter II

Papal Documents: Jews as a Lingering Concern

Historiography & Background

In medieval Europe, papal documents were the primary way for popes to communicate with rulers and laypeople. A "papal document" is a document officially issued by the papacy and bearing its seal, including not only the more personal documents, such as a letter written to a European ruler or a provincial in the Dominican Order, but also the most formal decrees, papal bulls, so-named for the *bulla* or the particular kind of lead seal at the end of the document. In the Middle Ages bulls often address "*omnibus fidelibus*" or *"universis Christi fidelibus,*" telling every member of the body of the Church where the Church stands on a given issue, and serving as mass communication. Papal documents, extensively preserved from Innocent III on, have been widely edited and published. They allow historians to examine the ideology and political policies of a given pope and to see attempts at putting these ideologies and policies into action. This chapter will focus most on thirteenth-century papal bulls and papal correspondence and on the way in which these documents construct the Jewish Other, arguing that they reveal a major shift.

Some monographs have examined papal policy towards the Jews solely through papal documents. The earliest is Solomon Grayzel's *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, first published in 1933. Here, Grayzel analyzes papal policy towards the Jews in the period from 1198 to 1254, and also includes the full texts of many documents.

He argues that various policies can be found in these documents, including some that defend Christianity, some that degrade Jews, and some that protect Jews.[43] This book set in motion a great deal of scholarship on papal policy and the Jews, much of which was Grayzel's. The second volume of Grayzel's *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* was published posthumously in 1989, edited by Kenneth Stow. It covered the years 1254 to 1314.[44] Grayzel's work surveys papal policies towards Jews as expounded in papal documents and is an invaluable contribution to the field. His first volume contains a short introduction discussing some of the changes occurring in the thirteenth century,[45] but he does not systematically discuss the papal documents as part of a larger social change in the way Jews are constructed or relate these documents to larger changes occurring in the Christian world.

Grayzel also wrote an article which examines the genesis and history of the *Sicut Iudeis* bulls, which extend papal protection over the Jewish community. Grayzel examines the various times in which these bulls were issued, and concludes that they were primarily ceremonial, especially near the end of the series.[46] While Grayzel makes some important assertions, such as noting some changes to the thirteenth-century *Sicut Iudeis* bulls,[47] he does not situate these in the larger context of the changing Jewish-

[43] Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century 1198-1254* (New York: Hermon Press, 1966), esp. 22-76.
[44] Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIITh century vol. 2: 1254-1314*, ed. Kenneth Stow (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2009).
[45] Grayzel, *Church and Jews*, 1:1-4.
[46] Grayzel, "The Papal Bull *Sicut Iudeis*," in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict: From Late Antiquity to Reformation*, ed. Jeremy Cohen,(New York: New York University Press, 1991) 231-259, 250
[47] Ibid., 238.

Christian relationships emerging in this time period. This chapter relates the changes in the *Sicut Iudeis* bull to emerging Christian anxiety.

Another notable work that uses papal documents to illuminate Jewish-Christian relations is Edward Synan's *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages*. This book, published in 1965, adopts a more *longue durée* perspective on papal policy towards Jews, examining documents from the sixth to the fifteenth century.[48] While Synan notes a number of major changes that occur in papal documents over a long period of time, he does not address the thirteenth century as a period of great change in papal policy towards the Jews. Grayzel and Synan probably would have discussed changes in papal policy in the thirteenth century if they had written after Jeremy Cohen's 1982 publication of *The Friars and The Jews*, which presents the thirteenth century as a turning point in terms of anti-Judaism, when mendicants began to accuse Jews of heresy.[49] Cohen notes that in this century for the first time, canon law and papal policy are extended over Jews, as a product of mendicant activism and popes seeking to extend their power.[50] His argument is effective, but it does fail to note that the equation of Jews with heretics did not originate with mendicants.

Interestingly, while Cohen's well-reviewed work effectively argues for this change in the thirteenth century, some scholars for whom medieval Judaism is not a central interest have not accepted the idea. In James Brundage's 1995 historical survey

[48] Edward A. Synan, *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages: An Intense Exploration of Judaeo-Christian Relationships in the Medieval World* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), 4.
[49] Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*: *The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 16.
[50] Ibid.,14.

Medieval Canon Law, he notes that canon law expands over non-Christians in the thirteenth century but he argues that this change is not caused by changes in the Jewish-Christian relationship because "Jewish populations…tended to be relatively small, stable, and peaceful. They certainly posed no military threat to Christian rulers…" instead he argues that this expansion of papal hegemony was prompted by the threat of Islam.[51] This seems to be a flawed argument, especially because while the Jews may have been the smaller population, they were much more frequent subjects of papal decrees, and as this thesis will argue, the way they are referred to in papal documents drastically changes in the thirteenth century. While anxiety about the Muslim world coming ever-closer to Europe probably played some role in the construction of the thirteenth-century Jewish Other, it is problematic to argue that anxiety about this specific Muslim Other was purely to blame for the change in canon law. This chapter and others argue that anxiety about Jews was pervasive and not just the result of concern about Muslims. A similar case to Brundage's can be found in Elisabeth Vodola's *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*, in which she does not note how excommunication was eventually extended over the Jewish community as has been noted by Synan,[52] instead she limits her discussion to way that early Jewish tradition affected excommunication.[53]

Another important contribution to the study of papal documents and medieval Jews is Shlomo Simonsohn's *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, which consists of five volumes of Latin papal documents from the fifth century to the seventeenth, from which

[51]James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1995), 163.
[52] Synan, *The Popes and the Jews*, 101-102.
[53] Elisabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 31.

the majority of the documents in this thesis are translated; Simonsohn also includes an introductory analysis of these same documents.[54] Here, he examines how the popes dealt with Jews in legal terms, dividing his book into sections that discuss specific issues. He traces the beginning of Augustinian policy, and takes his analysis all the way to the seventeenth century. This book is another example of a long survey of papal documents, but it also does not note a major change in the thirteenth century Jewish Other, despite its publication after *The Friars and the Jews*. Instead, Simonsohn simply discusses how popes responded to specific events that were occurring throughout Europe, without noting a change in the way papal documents invoke the Jewish community or noting some important changes in thirteenth-century *Sicut Iudeis* bulls.

These major works focus on specific changes in canon law and papal policy and do not examine the various adjectives and phrases used in conjunction with Jews. Additionally, no work other than Jeremy Cohen's *The Friars and the Jews*, which only peripherally refers to papal policy in its examination of mendicant friars, effectively examines papal documents in the context of a thirteenth-century shift in the way Jews are viewed. Works that do not focus on Jewish history, but feature Jews peripherally, such as Brundage's and Vodola's, seem to have a more monolithic idea of papal policy and the Jews, without noting any real change over time. However, as Cohen has argued, the thirteenth century witnessed a change in the way the Christian community constructed the Jewish Other, and this change is reflected in papal documents in more ways than just their policies. Specifically, this change can be seen in how popes speak about Jews.

[54] Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews: History*.

Other works about canon law and the Jews focus instead on major events in the history of Christian-Jewish relations and the way in which canon law and papal policy applied to the specific situation. An example of this is John Gilchrist's "The Perception of Jews in Canon Law in the Period of the First Two Crusades", which examines the way in which canon law is discussed in regard to the massacres of the First Crusade, and the Jews that already lived in the Holy Land.[55] Another article in this vein is Benjamin Kedar's "Canon Law and the Burning of the Talmud," which discusses the way canon law justified the seizing and burnings of the Talmud in Paris and across Europe in 1240.[56] Both of these articles, while valuable in understanding how Jews were viewed in canon law during periods where it seems Jewish-Christian relations had already reached a breaking point, do not account for the way in which Jews were referred to in the periods leading up to these breaking points. This thesis reveals that there are traces of the ideas that lead to breaking points in Jewish-Christian relations embedded within papal policy, and as is argued in other chapters, in popular culture.

This thesis, which examines the thirteenth century, deals extensively with the Christian perception of the Talmud. In regard to the major breaking points in Jewish-Christian relations, the question becomes: were these spontaneous or did they occur as a result of cumulative anxiety about Jews? This chapter also addresses the presence of the proto-colonial Jewish Other in papal documents. Specifically, it will examine those written from 1193 to 1300, encompassing the papacies of twenty popes from Celestine III

[55] John Gilchrist, "The Perception of Jews in Canon Law In the Period of the First Two Crusades," *Jewish History* 1, (1988) 9-24, esp. 9.
[56] Benjamin Kedar, "Canon Law and the Burning of the Talmud," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law 9, (*1979) 79-82, esp. 79.

to Boniface VIII. This chapter analyzes forty papal documents from the thirteenth century, ten of which are variants of the bull *Sicut Iudeis*. Regular references to earlier papal documents establish what had been the norm before the thirteenth century. While every thirteenth-century pope wrote at least one letter concerning the Jews, some were especially active. The letters of Innocent III (1198-1216), Gregory IX (1227-1241), and Clement IV (1265-1268) make up sixteen of the forty letters on the Jews that will be discussed in this chapter including the three *Sicut Iudeis* bulls they also contributed.

It is important to keep in mind the context of these letters. Thirteenth-century popes faced many similar problems such as the failures of the crusades, the spread of Islam, and the rise of heresy. Additionally, papal power was challenged by the Holy Roman Empire, which was in the hands of the Hohenstaufens. This had begun in the twelfth century, and would continue well into the thirteenth. Another source of concern was political turmoil in Rome itself, as various familial factions began to oppose the pope and compete for the papacy.[57] Thirteenth-century popes responded to these pressures by being some of the most activist popes of the Middle Ages, and this is reflected to some degree in the way in which they deal with the Jewish communities, as are their anxieties about the state of the Church itself. This chapter analyzes the papal documents of the period in the context of these concerns and how they are reflected in the way the Jewish Other is constructed.

[57] See Robert Brentano, *Rome Before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth Century Rome* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), esp. "Who Ruled Rome?". 91-136 and "The Popes," 137-170.

Innocent III and the Transformation of *Sicut Iudeis*

One of the clearest ways of examining the change in the way Christians constructed the Jewish Other is to examine the *Sicut Iudeis* bull, a type of bull, was part of papal policy from the sixth century[58] to the fifteenth century,[59] which advocates papal protection of the Jews. These bulls are named for the first two words that begin the majority of them. The first bull to extend papal protection, a letter that began with *Sicut Iudeis*, was issued by Gregory the Great at the end of the sixth century.[60] Single bulls extending papal protection over the Jews were issued in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries but they did not become routine until the twelfth, when four different popes issue bulls discussing the protection of the Jews. *Sicut Iudeis* bulls from the twelfth century and earlier are largely formulaic, and they reassert many of the things that Gregory had asked for in the original bull such as Jews being able to "celebrate their festivals unhindered."[61] They also, just as Gregory did, request that Christians not force Jews to convert, and in general request that Jews be reasonably treated. In many cases these letters use the exact same Latin that Gregory uses, sometimes they are essentially copies of earlier *Sicut Iudeis* bulls, and one directly refers to Saint Gregory within the text[62].

The last two *Sicut Iudeis* bulls of the twelfth century, which were issued by Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) and Pope Clement III (1187-1191), exemplify this formulaic

[58] Grayzel, "The Papal Bull *Sicut Iudeis*," 233.
[59] Ibid., 250.
[60] Ibid., 233.
[61] Gregory the Great, *Letter to the bishop of Naples* (602), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ*. 1:23-24 (doc. 28).
[62] Alexander III, *Sicut Iudeis* (1159-1181), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:51 (doc. 49).

Gregorian model. Alexander asks that no "Christian should compel them [the Jews] to come to baptism", that those Jews who do convert should "be brought in without defamation", and he directly repeats Gregory's instruction that "A Christian should not without power of a judge harm their [the Jews'] earthly possessions or kill them or presume to steal their money or goods…Especially during their celebrations of their festivals."[63] These all reflect Gregory's policies in that the lives of Jews should not be interfered with unfairly. Alexander III adds a section that seems to reflect the Jewish tradition of the respect for the buried and the dead in stating "that no one should dare to mutilate or invade cemeteries of Jews, with the intent to dig up human bodies for money."[64] If a Christian should violate any of these things, he is to be excommunicated. Clement III's bull is for the most part no different, only adding that Jews should not be the target of ritual murder accusations,[65] which had become more and more common since the accusations began in the mid-twelfth century.

There are ten *Sicut Iudeis* bulls from the thirteenth century, and their many changes indicate a major change in the papal stance towards Jews. Pope Alexander III and Clement III's bulls serve as a good point of comparison against which to evaluate the thirteenth-century bulls, as they are the last of the bulls that seem to completely carry on the ideas of church fathers such as Gregory and Augustine. In September of 1199, Pope Innocent III issues what at first seems to be a fairly similar document, but he includes some very important differences. While earlier *Sicut Iudeis* bulls note that Jews do not

[63] Ibid., 51.
[64] Ibid., 51.
[65] Clement III, *Sicut Iudeis* (1188), ed. Simonsohn 1:66-67 (doc. 63).

follow Christianity, Innocent III takes this statement to a greater extreme stating that they deserve protection despite the fact that "they persist with stubbornness to the writings of the prophets and the eternal secrets of the Old Testament."[66] Most interestingly, the letter concludes that "we only wish to extend this protection to those [Jews] who have not been subverting the Christian faith."[67]

The fact that Innocent III feels the need to extend protection only to those Jews who were not subverting the Christian faith is significant. Alexander III and Clement III's *Sicut Iudeis* bulls, and all earlier *Sicut Iudeis* bulls, had extended protection over the Jewish population of Christian Europe without any qualifiers. The change suggests that the papacy now viewed at least some Jews as villainous and interested in undermining Christianity. Because the bull does not define what constitutes "subversion of Christianity," it is no longer clear who it protects. Anyone could encroach on a specific Jew's rights by claiming that that the specific Jew in question was subversive.

While Pope Innocent III is unclear in his *Sicut Iudeis* bull about what he means by Jewish "subversive activity," examining some of his other letters might give a clearer picture. Innocent III's register of letters indicates the types of "subversive" activity that might have prevented Jews from being protected by the bull. On January 16, 1205 Innocent III sent a rather long papal letter to Philip II Augustus discussing the actions of Jews within Phillip's kingdom that upset him. Among them are the facts that Jews in Sens built a synagogue that was taller than a neighboring church, the usury of the Jews,

[66] Innocent III, *Sicut Iudeis* (1199), ed. Simonsohn 1:74-75 (doc. 71).
[67] Ibid., 71, "*Eos autem dumtaxat huius protectionis presidio volumus communiri, qui nichil machinari presumpserint in subversionem fidei Christiane"*.

Jews having employed Christian servants, and Jew giving evidence against Christians in court cases. Innocent III also accuses Jews of "secretly killing Christians", referring to a Christian body that was found in a ditch on Jewish land[68]. It seems reasonable to assume that Innocent considered all of these activities subversive. While some of these reported actions, such as Jews employing Christian servants were prohibited in Roman Law, and had also been concerns of Gregory the Great,[69] Gregory had still been willing to offer protection to Jews without a qualifier.

Popes from the twelfth century and earlier had also complained of some specific Jewish activity, most frequently Jews who refused to pay the tithe on properties that owed it and Jews who were employing Christian servants. Innocent, in addition to weakening the *Sicut Iudeis* bull, had also added to the list of papal complaints about the Jews. Innocent's list of complaints would be replicated by other popes throughout the century. His complaint about Jews secretly murdering Christians, however, is one of the few references the papacy makes to such stories, indicating the degree of concern Innocent III had about Jews when compared to his predecessors. While the papacy never asserts that Jewish ritual murder is a reality, and in fact it protects Jews from the accusations in some cases,[70] it seems that some of the ideas that are associated with Jewish ritual murder, such as the secret murder of Christians, had made their way to Rome. These concerns are typical of those that Innocent III would raise throughout his

[68] Innocent III, *Letter to Philip II Augustus* (1205), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:82-83 (doc. 79).
[69] Gregory the Great, *Letter to the Bishop of Luni* (594), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:15 (doc. 12).
[70] Gregory X, *Sicut Iudeis* (1272), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:242-243 (doc. 234).

papacy in letters to European leaders such as Alfonso VIII,[71] and to bishops such as William de Seignelay.[72] It seems likely that these issues are what Innocent III considered "subversive" activity.

The question becomes: why was Innocent III's *Sicut Iudeis* bull different from the bulls of his predecessors? Why did he fear the subversiveness of Jews more than his predecessors had? Why does he mention Jewish activity that no previous pope had? For those answers, we must examine major events in Christendom between Pope Clement III's *Sicut Iudeis* bull and that of Innocent III. Clement's bull was issued in 1188, and Innocent's bull was issued in 1199. Is it possible that enough changed in the interim between these two protective bulls so that Innocent would no longer be willing to offer the unqualified protection to the Jewish community that his predecessors were willing to offer, or is it more likely that there was simply a different philosophy about papal policy between these two popes? It was probably a little bit of both.

Clement III and Innocent III had very different papal styles. Innocent is famous for reasserting papal power in a number of ways, namely reinvigorating the crusading movement, beginning inquisitorial investigations, and stamping out various heretical movements. In general, Innocent was very much concerned with non-Christians within Christian communities, as is evident from the decrees of the Fourth Lateral Council which he called in 1215. Clement had summoned the Third Crusade, but it largely failed. He was not nearly as active in the office of the papacy as Innocent would be.

[71] Innocent III, *Letter to Alfonso VIII* (1205), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:85-86 (doc 81).
[72] Innocent III, *Letter to the Bishop of Auxerre* (1207), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:91 (doc 86).

Additionally, there is only one other surviving bull of Clement's that deals with Jews, and in it Clement allows male Jews who have converted to Christianity but whose wives have not converted to continue living with their wives.[73] So it certainly seems that these two popes' attitudes towards Jews, as reflected in their respective *Sicut Iudeis* bulls, represent different approaches to their office.

Yet Innocent's different attitude may also have been a product of contemporary events. Between 1188 and 1199, the Third Crusade had failed, and Innocent, like all the Christians in the West, was worried about the loss of Jerusalem. The continuous expansion of Islam and the construction of an aggressive Muslim Other had an impact on the way that Christians constructed the Jewish Other.[74] This impact is reflected in the change of the *Sicut Iudeis* bull. The Muslim Other was external, and since anxiety that the Christian world was feeling about the Saracens (a group which they sometimes seem to have had a hard time discerning from Jews[75]) could not be directed effectively at them, instead it was directed at another group of Abrahamic non-believers, the Jews. Innocent III could not reissue a bull protecting the Jewish community that did not have only conditional protection; just in case the Jewish Other began to act as the Muslim Other did.

But the failure of the Third Crusade and the ongoing loss of the Holy Land were not the only major changes between 1188 and 1199. There was also the fact that two

[73] Clement III, *Letter to the Bishop of Segovia* (1187-1191), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:65 (doc. 62).
[74] Cohen, "The Muslim Connection: On the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology", in *From Witness to Witchraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Harrawotiz: Wiesbaden, 1996), 141-62, esp. 143.
[75] Ibid., 144.

heretical groups became well-known to the papacy during this time period. The Cathars and the Waldensians had already been active in the later twelfth century; the two groups had become well-known to all of Christendom by 1199, indicating that heresy had returned as a major issue of the Church. Once again, Jews offered a target for anxiety that was in many ways related to another group. They were easy to target, as they were a non-Christian group that lived in Christian communities. Like Muslims and heretics Jews had a different theology and certainly were not Christians. They were an internal Other that had different beliefs and different customs, just as those external Others had. By examining papal documents, it is clear that this anxiety was not only present in the Christian community, but was also present at the highest position any Christian could hold. By 1263 the papacy would also associate Jews with heretics, as illustrated by the *Turbato Corde* bulls,[76] discussed later in this chapter.

While the twelfth century was rife with popular movements that seemed to result out of fear of Jews, such as ritual murder accusations, the papacy had yet to acknowledge that there was any reason to be seriously concerned about the Jewish community. Instead, the papacy regularly acquiesced to requests from the Jewish community for bulls of papal protection during times of need.[77] The major territorial losses at the end of the twelfth century and the dawn of a new century had changed this.

[76] Clement IV, *Turbato Corde* (1267), ed. Simonsohn *ASJ* 1:236-237 (doc. 230).
[77] Grayzel, "The Papal Bull *Sicut Iudeis*", 232.

Jews, Saracens, and Heretics: Different but the Same

As discussed briefly in the previous section, fear of the Muslim Other and of heretics affected the way that the Christian community interpreted the Jewish Other. This can be illuminated by examining papal documents from the thirteenth century that associate these two groups despite their differences. This association can be seen earlier, most notably in the writings of Peter Damian, who wrote a treatise against all three groups and seemed to have similar concerns about each of them,[78] in the thirteenth century these concerns become more widespread, eventually reaching the papacy. Throughout the thirteenth century, Jews and Saracens had the same canon laws applied to them, the biggest example being the sumptuary laws of the Fourth Lateran Council. But there are also examples in specific thirteenth-century papal documents that illustrate this joint fear of both Jews and Muslims. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said noted that the Jewish Other and the Muslim Other were inextricably linked in the twentieth century.[79] Thirteenth-century papal documents indicate that this link began well before.

Jews and Muslims are most commonly lumped together in papal letters sent to the rulers of Spain and Portugal, naturally so because Iberia was the only region within medieval Europe that had a large Muslim population. One example can be found in a papal letter sent in 1245 to the Archbishop of Tarragona. Here, Innocent IV recommends that mendicants in the region should force the two religious minorities to go to their

[78] See Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order And Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000-1150)* trans. Graham Robert Edwards (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), esp. Part III "Christian Universality: Peter the Venerable's *Adverus Iudeus* and *Contra Sectam Saracenorum* and Their Background", 265-358.
[79] Said, *Orientalism*, 286.

sermons because "every Saracen and Jew holds ignorance and darkness to the way of the truth, which is Christ."[80] In another letter, sent to Alfonso III sometime during Clement IV's papacy (1265-1268), Clement berates Alfonso for allowing both Jews and Saracens to go without wearing the badge that was required by the Fourth Lateran Council.[81] He also implies that Alfonso of unfairly incarcerating people, and that people who wanted to avoid incarcerations were "...fleeing to the churches in those cases, and they ought to be defended by the Church, but they are violently made to leave by Saracens or Jews."[82] This particular letter is interesting for a number of reasons. First, the fact that the pope faults Alfonso III for not enforcing the wearing of the badge for both Jews and Muslims indicates that the two entities are seen as similar. When Alfonso decided that wearing of costumes for both Jews and Muslims was unnecessary, he simultaneously applied this laxity to both, even though they were two different religions and cultures. The letter accuses that Alfonso III is working with Muslims and Jews to subvert Christians in the region. Jews and Muslims, at least in Iberia, were a monolithic Other.

While it is most common in Iberia, examples of this juxtaposition exist outside of Iberia as well. In 1233 Gregory IX wrote to King Andrew II of Hungary about wrongs committed in the region by both Jews and Muslims.[83] In 1239, Gregory IX wrote to Bela IV of Hungary instructing him to sell royal revenues to both Jews and Saracens, without noting what portion should be sold to which group.[84] It makes sense in some ways for popes to construct Muslims and Jews in a similar matter. Both practice an Abrahamic

[80] Innocent IV, *Letter to Archbishop of Tarragona* (1245), ed. Simonsohn *ASJ* 1:183-184 (doc. 183).
[81] Clement IV, *Letter to Alfonso III* (1265-1268), ed, Simonsohn *ASJ* 1:228-229 (doc. 223).
[82] Ibid., 228.
[83] Gregory IX, *Letter to King Andrew II of Hungary* (1233), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:147-148 (doc. 138).
[84] Gregory IX, *Letter to King Bela IV of Hungary* (1239), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:175-176 (doc. 167).

religion and are very much oriental in their origin.[85] The argument here is not so much that the Jewish Other and the Muslim Other were one and the same in every way, but that the Muslim Other may have influenced the construction of the Jewish Other.

Jews are also associated with heretics and in some cases they can be treated as such under the law. The thirteenth century seems to usher in this idea, largely as a result of the growing anxiety in Europe about heretical groups. One of the earliest examples can be found in the letter that Pope Innocent III sent to Philip II Augustus in 1205 (the one discussed earlier for its views on subversive Jewish activity). At the end of a long list of complaints against the Jewish community Innocent III adds "Moreover, eliminate the heretics in your kingdom with force."[86] While Innocent III certainly distinguishes the two groups, the fact that a letter mainly concerning the Jews which lists their supposed subversive activity concludes with a line regarding heresies seems to indicate that the problematic activities of both groups similarly concerned the papacy. Associating the Jews with heretics is usually attributed to mendicant polemics later in the century,[87] but documents such as this seem to indicate that the idea was already present, albeit to a lesser extent. In other words, mendicant ideology was not *ex nihilo*.

As the century proceeds, there are definite signs that Jews are seen as heretics or at least as another group with beliefs that do not agree with those held by Rome. This is most evident in the way that the papacy deals with the Talmud and other Jewish exegetical texts. Before the thirteenth century, the abbot of Cluny Peter the Venerable

[85] Ivan Kalmar , Derek J. Penslar ed. *Orientalism and the Jews* (New York, Brandeis University Press, 2004), 4.
[86] Innocent III, *Letter to Philip II Augustus (*1205), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:82-83 (doc. 79).
[87] Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 15.

(1092-1156) was the only Christian scholar known to have written about the Talmud and the effect it had on Jews: in his treatise *Adversus Iudeos* he blames the book in part for Jewish obstinacy,[88] but he never wrote of it as if it were heretical, as would popes a century later. Beginning in the 1230s, the Talmud became a major concern for the papacy. In 1236, a Jew who converted to Catholicism named Nicholas Donin came to Pope Gregory IX, asserting that Jews were now reading the Talmud instead of the Old Testament.[89] By 1239, Gregory IX wrote a papal letter to all the rulers of major European states, to request that they seize religious texts from the Jews during their Sabbath when they would all be gathered in their synagogues, and give these texts to the mendicants to be examined.[90] In a more specific letter written to the bishop of Paris and the leaders of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Paris, Gregory requests them to burn books that contain material that the Church does not agree with.[91] While the movement to investigate and deal with Jewish books died down for a brief period, it was effectively revived under Clement IV (1265-1268).[92] Before 1239, the Church had not interfered with theological matters within Jewish communities. In extending its power over Jewish spirituality, the Church was treating the Jews as if they were a part of the body of the Church that had incorrect beliefs. Jews were like heretical groups who were being questioned about their beliefs. Additionally, Gregory IX, who also issued a *Sicut Iudeis*

[88] Peter the Venerable, *Adversus Iudaeos* ed. Yvonne Friedman (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), *capitulum* 5, line 517 and 1338-1340 among others.
[89] Gregory IX, *Letter to the Bishop of Paris* (1239), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:171 (doc. 162).
[90] Gregory IX, *Letter to Archbishops of France, England, Castile and Leon* (1239), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:172 (doc. 163) and Gregory IX, *Letter to King Sancho II of Portugal* (1239), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:173 (doc. 164).
[91] Gregory IX, *Letter to the Bishop of Paris, the Minister of the Franciscans in Paris, and and the Prior of the Dominicans in Paris* (1239), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:174 (doc. 165).
[92] Clement IV, *Letter to Archbishop of Tarragona* (1267), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:233-234 (doc. 228), and Clement IV, *Letter to King James I of Aragon* (1267), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:235-236 (doc. 229).

bull,[93] must have viewed Talmud-reading Jews as subversive to Christianity inasmuch as he was willing to violate the rule against interrupting Jewish services and festivals. Even though Jews kept the Talmud and other rabbinical texts to themselves, Gregory IX saw them as a real threat to Christian spiritual well-being. They were heretics now since they were no longer reading just the Old Testament, as the Church wanted.

While Innocent III's statement is more subtle, and Gregory IX only implicitly connects Jews to heretics, Pope Clement IV directly associates Jews with relapsed heretics. In 1267 Clement issued the bull *Turbato Corde* to deal directly with what he terms "Judaizing Christians."[94] In this bull, mainly a mandate for inquisitors and for Franciscans and Dominicans, Clement discusses Christians who have some Jewish beliefs. He also discusses Jews who had converted to Christianity but had then relapsed to some degree. Clement instructs inquisitors who encounter such people to "proceed against them as heretics."[95] Here individuals who were once Jews are associated with heretics. A document such as this indicates a definite change in the way the Jewish Other is constructed. Jews had been converting to Christianity for centuries but before 1267 no pope had expressed concern about these converts. The Jew, who had once been a relatively tolerated Other, had been equated with a much more hostile Other. Heretics were viewed as being a threat to spiritual well-being, and Jews now shared this quality, as indicated by many of the papal documents discussed above. By the time of Clement IV's papacy, this resulted in regularly associating Jews and heretics. It should be noted that

[93] Gregory IX, *Sicut Iudeis* (1235), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:154 (doc. 144).
[94] Clement IV, *Turbato Corde* (1267), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:236-237 (doc. 230).
[95] Ibid., 237.

Clement IV's association of Jews and heretics is not only restricted to *Turbato Corde*. Also in 1267, in a letter to Jean de Salins, he requests that Jean support the actions of inquisitors in his region who are in pursuit of "Judaizing heretics."[96] In 1278, Nicholas III would also issue a *Turbato Corde* bull requesting the same treatment of Judaizers that Clement IV had requested.[97] In 1288, the *Turbato Corde* bull would once again be reissued by Nicholas IV,[98] and it was reissued many times following this. It had become official papal policy that Judaism had heretical qualities or at the very least those who had once converted to Christianity had these qualities. It seems possible to conclude from these examples that the idea that Jews are a threat to the spiritual well-being of Christians comes directly from the way that the officials of the Church and the rest of the Christian community view heretics.

The argument made here is not that the construction of the Jewish Other resulted from the anxiety that the Church felt for other groups it viewed as dangerous, rather the evidence suggests a great deal of anxiety within the Church about both heretics and Saracens, and that some of the more menacing qualities of the two groups – the aggression of the Saracens, and the ability to destroy the Christian faith of the heretics – were beginning to be applied to the already existing Jewish Other. Before the end of the twelfth century, Jews were not completely free of accusations of wrong-doing, but these accusations were largely restricted to such matters as usury or failure to pay tithes on land acquired from Christians that owed tithes. The massacres during the First Crusade had

[96] Clement IV, *Letter to John of Salins* (1267), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:237-238 (doc. 231).
[97] Nicholas III, *Turbato Corde* (1278), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:248 (doc. 241).
[98] Nicholas IV, *Turbato Corde* (1288), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:266 (doc. 258).

brought a glimpse of how hysteria and anxiety about one Other could result in the massacre of another; this occurred again at the end of the twelfth century and certainly at the beginning of the thirteenth century when the Saracens had successfully defeated the Christian West in a series of campaigns and heretical groups had been growing at an alarming rate. This time however, it would not only last for a few years. These papal documents indicate that anxiety about heretics and Saracens resulted in the creation of an even more foreign Jewish Other, an Other that would become the target of popular violence throughout the thirteenth-century, and an Other that would be expelled from France in 1306.

Commorantes Iudei

This work has discussed the various qualities that the Jewish Other seems to absorb from the two other non-Christian Others in Medieval Europe. But what qualities did popes assign to the Jews themselves? Thirteenth-century popes regularly used the same phrases and adjectives to describe Jews. Examining this terminology reveals that the papacy associated many negative qualities with the Jewish Other, problematizing its presence within the Christian world. There are also some canon laws pertaining exclusively to Jews, most specifically a special form of excommunication formulated to deal with subversive Jews.

One of the more interesting phrases that regularly comes into use is the use of the participle *commorantes*, or "lingering" to describe Jews who live in a given region. Occasionally the verb *manere* or "to remain" is also used. The idea of a "lingering" or

"remaining" Jew is widespread in thirteenth-century papal documents. It appears first in the registers of Gregory IX (1227-1241), the pope who made the most use of it. In 1229 he wrote to the bishop of Palencia regarding the actions of Jews in his diocese, lamenting that "those Jews who are lingering in your city" are not paying tithe on Christian lands they have obtained, and he accuses these same lingering Jews of violence against clerics.[99] In 1236 in a letter to King Louis IX in which Gregory asks that violent acts against Jews be stopped, he begins by explaining that "We have received lamentable word about the lingering Jews in France…"[100] In 1239, in the previously mentioned letter which Gregory sent to western European rulers about the seizure of Jewish books he refers to "Jews remaining in the French kingdom and nearby provinces."[101] In an undated letter[102] that consists of a list of offenses against Jews in Poland, Clement IV (1265-1268) refers to acts committed by "certain Jews lingering in parts of Poland"[103].

When in the thirteenth century popes regularly refer to Jews as lingering or remaining they suggest that Jews had overstayed their welcome and did not belong. It is important to note that the use of the word "lingering" is not specific only to those regions where Jews had been expelled, inasmuch as there are letters written to Spain, France, Poland, and the Empire that term the Jews as "lingering". By seeing them as "lingering" or "remaining" rather than "living" or "habitating," like the Christians who are discussed

[99] Gregory IX, *Letter to the Bishop of Palencia* (1229), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:129-130 (doc. 125).
[100] Gregory IX, *Letter to King Louis IX of France (*1236), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:165 (doc. 155).
[101] Gregory IX, *Letter to the Archbishops of France, England, Castile and Leon* (1239), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:172 (doc. 163).
[102] Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, 2:111, speculates that the letter was written in "early 1266 or late 1265" using the Council of Breslau as a point of reckoning.
[103] Clement IV, *Papal Bull containing List of Complaints Against Jews in Poland* (1265-1268), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1: 225-226 (doc. 221)

in papal documents, there is a clear line between the two communities. Christians have a right to live in the Christian-dominated west, while Jews are there only temporarily – perhaps until the dominant Christian community can find something to do with them. It is also possible that the popular story of the Wandering Jew had something to do with the development of the concept of Jews as lingering, living impermanently as penitential wanderers, as was the fate of the Jew who taunted Christ carrying the cross.

The use of "lingering" or "remaining" to describe Jews is not restricted to the papacy. It also occurs in secular legal documents, as in a letter written in 1299 by Albert I of Germany which refers to "*quod Iudei nostri in opido Tremoniensi vobiscum commorantes.*"[104] It was also present in aspects of popular culture, such as sermon *exempla*, which are discussed in more detail in a subsequent chapter. Popes would continue to use the image well past the thirteenth century. In one of many fourteenth-century examples, Urban V, while discussing usury, refers to "Jews [who were committing the crime of usury who were] lingering in the diocese of Comtat Venaissin".[105] As late as 1494 Alexander IV refers to "Jews lingering in cities."[106] It is unclear whether the secular world or the papal office first made use of the term, but both spheres of society spoke of "lingering" or "remaining" Jews by the end of the thirteenth century. This indicates that this image was pervasive and may well have contributed to the expulsions that would occur in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

[104] Herman Hoogeweg, *Westfälisches Urkunden-Buch: Die Urkunden Westfalens Vom J. 1201-1300* (Munich: Nabu Press, 2010), 1231 (doc. 2560).
[105]Urban V, *Addendum 11* (1366), In *The Apostolic See and the Jews: Addenda, Corrigenda, Bilbiography, and Indexes* ed. Simonsohn (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieaval Studies, 1991), 10.
[106]Alexander IV, *Letter to King Francis I of France* (1494), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 2:1442 (doc. 1155)

Another image that seems to have become more common in thirteenth-century papal documents is the image of the Jew as Christ-killer. In 1205, in a letter written to Phillip Augustus regarding the various subversive activity of Jews in the region, Innocent III concludes that Jews, as a punishment for their murder of Christ, should be placed "in perpetual servitude."[107] In 1265 or 1266[108] Clement IV issued a letter similar to Pope Innocent III's in that it was a list of complaints against Jews in a specific region, this time in Poland. Here, Clement IV states that "They [the Jews] not only treacherously denied, saying in foolishness 'He is not God.', they wickedly whipped and crucified him, summoning damnation upon their own blood and their children to be."[109] Clement IV goes into more detail than his predecessors and instead of simply placing some degree of culpability for the death of Christ on the Jews; he implies that they directly performed the actions that led to his death. Additionally, he claims that the descendants of Jews should be and are still being punished for these actions. Clement IV even goes so far as to say "They are unwilling to understand the meaning of their own diaspora [*dispersiones*]," [110] suggesting that Jews have been dispersed as a result of their actions during the life of Christ, a concept that may also shed some light on the idea that Jews are "lingering". While the idea that the diaspora of the Jews is punishment for their ignorance of the divinity of Christ is not a new one, the fact that Jews are simultaneously accused of murdering Christ is novel in the thirteenth century. Additionally, Clement compares the Jewish people to the biblical figure Cain, referring to Jews as "having been made a

[107] Innocent III, *Letter to Philip II Augustus* (1205), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:82 (doc. 79)
[108] See note 101.
[109] Clement IV, *List of Offenses against the Jews in Poland* (1265-1268), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:225-226 (doc. 221).
[110] Ibid., 226.

fugitive like the fratricide Cain,"[111] for killing Christ who was their brother. Clement must have felt this comparison was apt and powerful, because he makes the same accusation in another papal document.[112] While these two examples are the most explicit claims of Jewish guilt for the death of Christ, there are many other implicit accusations throughout the century, usually lumped into long lists of accusations against Jews.

In addition to the more standard images of the Jew as "lingering" or the Jew as Christ-killer, occasionally some popes used other revealing phrases. 1258, Alexander IV wrote a letter to the archbishops of France about clergy who had been pawning their vestments to Jews. While the aim of the letter is to prohibit such things, it also notes that it is even more shocking that they would be willing to pawn anything to Jews who are "themselves unpleasant enemies of the Cross and the Christian faith."[113] This is the only occurrence of this phrase in extant papal documents, but it indicates a binary idea between the Christian community and the Jewish community, with the Jews being classified as a clear enemy.

Descriptions of Jews as murderous and aggressive are also somewhat common in papal documents, though not as pervasive as many of the other images discussed here. This idea is likely the product of both the renewed accusations of the Jews as Christ-killers and the projection of some of the traits of the aggressive Muslim Other. In Innocent III's 1205 letter to Phillip Augustus in which he complains of some of the actions of the Jews – the same letter in which he concludes Jews should be in perpetual

[111] Ibid., 226.
[112] Clement IV, *Letter to King James I of Aragon* (1266), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:230-232 (doc. 226).
[113] Alexander IV, *Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of France* (1258), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:214-215 (doc. 210).

servitude for their role in the death of Christ – Innocent III notes that Jews "are secretly killing Christians" because "a poor scholar was found in one of their ditches".[114] Is there a connection in this letter between the idea that Jews have to be punished for killing Christ and their apparent recent killing of a Christian man? While the papacy never fully embraces the popular belief of Jewish ritual murder, the idea that the Jew is aggressive and murderous seems to have reached the papacy by the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the thirteenth century there are also two letters that deal with a Jew laying his hands on a priest in anger.[115] There are no extant examples of a similar accusation by the papacy before this time. It seems possible that these accusations result from the new idea that Jews are an aggressive people.

The 'Judgment of the Jews'

The papacy developed a special legal way to deal with the Jewish community at the end of the twelfth century. Because Jews were technically immune from excommunication as they were not part of the body of the Church,[116] the Church could not excommunicate those who were not behaving the way that it felt they should. To discipline Jews, the Church developed indirect excommunication. This kind of excommunication already existed to a degree in that any Christian who interacted with an excommunicated individual would also in turn be excommunicated.[117] At the end of the twelfth century, this kind of punishment was extended to those who interacted with a Jew

[114] Innocent III, *Letter to Philip II Augustus* (1205), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:82-83 (doc. 79)
[115] Innocent III, *Letter to the Bishops of Langres* (1212), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:96 (doc. 91) and Gregory IX (1229), *Letter to the Bishop of Palencia*, ed. Simonsohn *ASJ* 1:129-130 (doc. 125).
[116] Vodola. *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 47.
[117] Ibid., 104.

who had been condemned by the Church. Celestine III (1191-1198) was the first to use the policy when he ordered that Jews who would not pay the tithe on their property would not be allowed any interaction with the Christian community, under the punishment of excommunication for any Christian who attempted to do business with the Jews.[118]

Innocent III made heavy use of this procedure, which is sometimes specifically referred to as the "Judgment of the Jews,"[119] like Clement he first uses this unique form of excommunication in a letter regarding Jews who were not paying the tithe on land they had obtained from Christians. In response to this, Innocent explicates the logic behind the "Judgment of the Jews": "since they [the Jews committing these acts] cannot be compelled by ecclesiastical censure… in the district it will be forbidden to Christians by excommunication to have commerce with them [the Jews not paying the tithe]."[120] Celestine and Innocent had found a way to punish Jews. The "Judgment of the Jews" would become increasingly common as the century wore on. In 1212, Innocent III made use of the idea once more when he wrote to the bishop of Langres regarding a Jew who had apparently laid hands upon a priest and recommended that the bishop "interpose through ecclesiastical censure to the Christians not to presume to exercise commerce with the Jew."[121] At the Fourth Lateran Council, the idea of indirect excommunication was discussed and, as J.A. Watt writes, it was decided that "where Jews had to be coerced by

[118] Celestine III, *Letter to Various Clergymen in Rouen* (1193), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:69-70 (doc. 66).
[119] Synan. *The Popes and the Jews In the Middle Ages*, 101-102.
[120] Innocent III, *Letter to the Bishop of Auxerre* (1207), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:91 (doc. 86).
[121] Innocent III, *Letter to Bishop of Langres* (1212), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:96 (doc. 91).

ecclesiastical power, the appropriate means was to deny them contact with Christians."[122] Innocent IV and Gregory IX would be sure to include the "Judgment of the Jews" in their *Decretals*.[123] Indirect excommunication had officially become the main way to deal with recalcitrant Jews.

One of the more interesting uses is in a letter written by Clement IV to various ecclesiastical authorities in Iberia complaining about the actions of Alfonso III against the Church, including his apparently granting Jews and Saracens rights over Christians. In this document, Clement IV is most concerned with court cases against Christians where the jury was largely made up of Jews and Saracens. Clement urges the bishops and archbishops to have Alfonso overturn these cases, and he threatens Alfonso, the Jews committing these acts, and the Saracens with the "Judgment of the Jews".[124] The fact that here it is being applied to more than just Jews but still retains the name indicates that indirect excommunication had been given to Jews so commonly that it had become associated with them. By this time period, the term "Judgment of the Jews" had come to apply to any shunning of an individual from Christian society which was sanctioned by an ecclesiastical authority.[125]

[122] J.A. Watt. "The English Episcopate, the State, and the Jews: The Evidence of the Thirteenth-Century Conciliar Decrees," in *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Conference 1987* ed. P.R. Coss et. al (Suffolk, England: Boydell Press, 1987), 135-147, esp. 139.
[123] William C. Jordan. "Christian Excommunication of the Jews in the Middle Ages: Restating the Issues," *Jewish History* 25 (1986), 31-38.
[124] Clement IV, *Letter to Canon of Narbonne* (1265-1268), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:227-228 (doc. 223).
[125] Simonsohn. *ASJ:History*, 103.

Conclusion

What do all the things discussed so far have in common? The answer is that the changes that occur in the construction of the Jewish Other in all of these thirteenth-century papal documents led to the construction of a new more diabolical Jewish Other that the Church must regulate. These changes may seem disparate, but connections link everything from Innocent III's modified *Sicut Iudeis* bull at the century's beginning to the idea that Jews are Christ-killers at its end. None of what has been discussed here occurred in a vacuum. Instead, each document built upon its predecessors, helping to construct this new Jewish Other out of anxiety and fear, and it would reach a boiling point by the end of the century when Jews would be expelled from various European states

As many of the papal documents have demonstrated, the thirteenth-century Jew was seen as a threat to Christian spiritual well-being. To deal with this threat, the popes weakened their traditional papal protection of the Jews, and eventually sanctioned a large-scale investigation of Jewish spirituality in the form of the investigation of the Talmud. Other papal documents demonstrate an increased degree of anxiety about Jews and Christians "intermingling" and regularly began to assert that Jews should not have Christian employees of any kind in their households, most specifically maids and wet-nurses.[126] While these prohibitions were long present in European law, the popes had reached the point where they felt that they were not being adequately followed, and they

[126]Clement IV, *Letter 221* (1265-1268), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:225-227 and Innocent III, *Letter 79* (1205), *ed.* Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:82-83, among others.

encouraged the secular world to observe these laws. The Church increasingly felt it was dangerous for Christians and Jews to associate with one another more than was necessary, as this association was a danger to Christianity. All of these things reflect a Jewish proto-colonial Other, an Other that needs to be regulated and told how to behave properly in a society that is dominated by a different group. The Church had begun to more actively apply its cultural hegemony.

Chapter III

Ecclesia et Synagoga: Therapy for the Masses

Historiography & Background

In the thirteenth century, a specific artistic motif called *Ecclesia et Synagoga*, an allegorical depiction of Church and Synagogue, became very popular in Northern Europe, most specifically in medieval France and the Holy Roman Empire. Images of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* had appeared as early as the ninth century in private contexts such as liturgical books.[127] They become common fixtures in public artwork in the late twelfth century and proliferate in the thirteenth. This chapter argues that the popularity of this art, which depicts a victorious and powerful Church and a weak and defeated Synagogue, resulted from the anxieties about Jews also attested in papal documents. Concerns about the state of the Church in the face of heresy, the failure of crusades, and the constant challenge of the expansion of Islam promoted anxiety. The popularity of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* seems to have been a kind of mass culture therapy for northern European Christians, allowing them to envision themselves as strong and powerful over the weak and defeated synagogue.

A number of published works examine the way in which Jews and other minorities are constructed in artwork. This chapter relies especially upon Ruth Melinkoff's *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, a discussion of the ways in which various minority groups were constructed in

[127] Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 7.

Christian art in the Middle Ages. In a section dedicated to the Jews, Melinkoff examines the artistic images as literal constructions of the Other, and attempts to analyze what this construction indicates about the way in which a particular Other is perceived by the northern European community. [128] This chapter does the same, building upon Melinkoff's discussion of Jews in the period, but focusing specifically on the motif of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. Another book that examines various Others and the way they were constructed in medieval artwork is Debra Strickland's *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, which has a chapter specifically examining portrayals of Jews in medieval art. It notes a number of inflammatory artistic motifs such as Jews desecrating hosts,[129] Jews as cohorts of the devil,[130] and Jews helping to crucify Christ.[131] However, as this argues, Strickland overlooks the fact that the images of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* also embody the artistic tradition of negative depictions of Jews.

Some works specifically examine the way in which Jews are constructed in medieval art. Among these is Heinz Schreckenberg's *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History*, which collects images depicting Jews from Roman art to the Renaissance and is a valuable source for images of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. [132] Additionally, David Nirenberg and Herbert Kessler's *Judaism in Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism* examines this trend over even more centuries by means of articles on how the Jewish Other has been constructed in art over

[128] Ruth Melinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), for example 41-43.
[129] Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 107-114.
[130] Ibid., 122-130.
[131] Ibid., 116-121.
[132] Heinz Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History (*New York: Continuum, 1996).

time.[133] Mitchell Merback's *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, collects a number of articles that examine this idea. One of the more influential for this study is Karen Ann Morrow's "Disputation in Stone: Jews Imagined on the Saint Stephen Portal of Paris Cathedral" which examines thirteenth-century artwork at the Paris cathedral that depicts Saint Stephen being harassed by Jews, an image that Morrow argues reflects a shift in thirteenth-century art depicting Jews, [134] the same shift that will be examined here through the lens of Ecclesia and Synagoga.

Ruth Melinkoff has done additional work on Jews in art. In *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, she examines aspects of Judaism presented in artwork, such as the *Judenhut* or the Jew-hat.[135] She also discusses the use of Hebrew in Christian art as representative of evil.[136] Her most well-known work is her analysis of *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* which challenges the widely held idea that the horned Moses is solely the result of a mistranslation in the Vulgate Bible.[137] However, neither of these works takes real notice of a change in thirteenth-century artwork.

While there have been a number of studies examining Jews in artwork, there has not been a great deal of scholarship specifically on *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. In 1970,

[133] *Judaism in Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. Herbert Kessler and David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 3.
[134] Karen Ann Morrow, "Disputation in Stone: Jews Imagined on the Saint Stephen Portal of Paris Cathedral," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell Merback (New York: Brill Publishing, 2008), 63-86, esp. 85.
[135] Melinkoff, *Outcasts, 91-94*.
[136] Melinkoff, *Outcasts*, 95-111.
[137] Melinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1970), esp. 2.

Wolfgang Seiferth published *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages*, the first extensive English-language monograph on the subject, which analyzes the course of the motif from its inception to the end of the middle ages. Seiferth views the motif as consistently anti-Jewish up until the beginning of the thirteenth century, which he claims shows an enhanced image as a "reward for *Synagoga*'s suffering."[138] This chapter argues the opposite. On the surface, *Synagoga* might appear to be represented better in some ways in the thirteenth century but the introduction of new ominous elements that became regular attributes of *Synagoga*, coupled with the increased popularity of the motif, indicate that *Synagoga*'s lot did not improve.

Seiferth's work was essentially the only major study on the topic for decades, until a renewed interest began in the 2000s, resulting in a number of new works. In the previously mentioned collection *Beyond the Yellow Badge*, there is an article by Elizabeth Monroe titled "'Fair and Friendly, Sweet and Beautiful': Hopes for Jewish Conversion in *Synagoga*'s Song of Songs Imagery." This article discusses the symbolism *of Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* as brides of Christ,[139] something that will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, and most interestingly notes a major difference in the way in which Synagoga is depicted, depending upon whether or not she is being featured in a Crucifixion scene or an End of Days scene.[140]

The most recent work on the subject, published in 2011 by Nina Rowe, is *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth*

[138] Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 41.
[139] Elizabeth Monroe, "'Fair and Friendly, Sweet and Beautiful': Hope for Jewish Conversion in Synagoga's Song of Songs Imagery," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge* ed. Merback, 33-62.
[140] Ibid., 58.

Century. In this work, Rowe argues that there is certainly a shift in thirteenth-century *Ecclesiae* and *Synagogae*, and relates this to a need to expand secular power.[141] Rowe's argument is powerful, and this thesis does not seek to contradict it. However, this chapter will also add that the proliferation of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* in this century is related to clerical power over and general anxiety about the Jews. In other words, not only are the images used to explain the subversiveness of Jews to European nobility, but they also indicate a general subversiveness of Jews in the face of Christianity, a subversiveness that begins to be widely constructed as a result of anxiety about the state of Christianity itself.

To understand the major shift that occurs in *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* in the thirteenth century, it is necessary to discuss the long history of the motif. As Seiferth signaled in his work, the Western use of female allegorical figures representing conquered groups of people dates back to the Romans, who would regularly feature such images in commemoration of the conquest of a new province.[142] The first image of a woman representing all of the Jewish people was actually found on the Arch of Titus as a sign of his conquest of Palestine.[143] The personification of groups of people as women was later adopted by Christians, and is first evident in the writings of Augustine, who describes *Synagoga* and the Old Law as necessary precursors to *Ecclesia* and the New Law.[144]As the centuries progress however, *Synagoga* is typically cast as a former bride of God who is an adulteress. For instance, in the ninth century a pseudo-Augustine wrote an *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, presenting a marital case where *Synagoga* is claiming

[141] Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City*, 3.
[142] Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 4.
[143] Ibid., 4.
[144] Ibid., 30.

to be the bride of Christ. *Synagoga*, who is presented as a widow, is described as "once so rich and powerful" and is accused of adultery and idolatry.[145] She is replaced by *Ecclesia* who is the ruler of the world on the basis of her chastity[146] and the fact that she received the New Law.[147] Saint Jerome wrote that the biblical character of Leah symbolized the synagogue in that Jacob eventually rejected her, the same way God rejected the synagogue.[148] This is fairly typical of early stories that featured the pair in allegories that describe how the Church came to replace the Synagogue, and rationalizing this change by attacking the morality of the latter. As Seiferth argues, in early Christianity this was likely an attempt to differentiate Christianity from Judaism, and served as a kind of creation story that could explain why Christianity is more correct than Judaism.[149] These stories, however, are primarily polemics used to explain why the Church has replaced the Synagogue.

Ecclesia and *Synagoga* began to appear in artwork in the ninth century, and gradually became more popular. By the twelfth century, *Synagoga* in art has new elements. When she is presented in artwork, she is almost always given a blindfold. By 1185 *Synagoga* begins to occasionally wield the instruments of the passion of Christ. By the thirteenth century, she may possess symbols of usury such as a pouch hanging from her waist band, [150]and the Old Testament which she had seemed to guard in earlier

[145] Pseudo-Augustine, *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae* ed. J.N. Hilgarth (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), line 262.
[146] Ibid., line 12
[147] Ibid., line 217.
[148] Saint Jerome, *Epistula* 123.14, from *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae* ed. Isidorus Hilberg, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* vol. 56 (Vindobonae: F. Tempsky, 1910),89-91.
[149] Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 7.
[150] Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 99.

artwork seems to be very far from her attention, in some cases almost being dropped. The introduction of these new symbols and what they mean in the larger context of Jewish-Christian relations in the thirteenth century is what is primarily analyzed by this chapter. It proceeds symbol by symbol and, in doing so, makes use of around seventy examples of thirteenth-century *Ecclesiae* and *Synagogae*, referencing earlier examples of *Synagoga* to illustrate the great change that had occurred. Twenty-Four *Synagogae* are directly discussed in this chapter, and descriptions and locations of the rest that were consulted can be found in the Appendix to this thesis.

Early *Ecclesiae et Synagogae* reflect the concordance between the Old Testament and the New Testament that had been proposed by Augustine in the fifth century. The early statues make Synagoga less than *Ecclesia*, a necessary precursor to the New Testament and *Ecclesia*. *Synagoga* is frequently shown guarding the tablets of the Old Testament, a role which, according to Augustine, served the purpose of convincing pagans that Christianity had not forged the many prophecies in the Old Testament which predicted the coming of the messiah in the form of Christ. In short, earlier *Synagogae* showed the Synagogue as serving the purpose that doctrine indicated she should serve. However, this all changes in the thirteenth century as ideology shifts and the concern about the Jewish community becomes more intense.

The Spear: *Synagoga* as Christ-Killer

One of the more interesting changes in thirteenth-century *Synagogae* is the increased presence of the spear. In the twelfth century *Synagoga* begins to appear with a

spear, but this is fairly rare while in the thirteenth century every monumental sculpture and almost every illumination of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* features a spear-wielding *Synagoga*. This broken spear seems to have evolved from the earlier use of a broken standard which was common before the thirteenth century. The broken standard typically signified the idea that Jews had once been the flag-bearers for God, but now the Christian community had become the new chosen people. Before the thirteenth century, images such as those below were more common, where *Synagoga* is wielding a standard rather than a spear, and is certainly not depicted as piercing the Lamb of God.

 [151]

Figure 3.1, detail of a Carolingian ivory plaque featuring *Synagoga* (on the right) at the crucifixion of Christ. Here she appears with her banner completely intact.

[151] 9th century Ivory plaque featuring *Synagoga*, from Stanley Ferber, "Crucifixion Iconography in a Group of Carolingian Ivory Plaques," *Art Bulleti*n, XLVIII (1966) , 323, fig. 4

 [152]

Figure 3.2, Miniature from Essen Missal (ca. 1100) featuring a crucifixion scene and *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* holds her banner upside down.

 [153]

Figure 3.3, Miniature of an End of Days scene from the *Liber Floridus* (ca. 1100). Christ is in the center, removing *Synagoga*'s blindfold while she holds a broken banner.

[152] Miniature from Essen Missal, ca. 1100. From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 87. Here, *Synagoga* is shown holding her standard upside down.
[153] Miniature from Lambert of St. Omer's *Liber Floridus* (ca. 1100). From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 88. Here, *Synagoga* is holding a broken standard.

The introduction of the spear in the thirteenth century represents a larger change in the way in which Jews are constructed. As discussed in earlier chapters, before this century Jews were typically viewed as being responsible for the death of Christ, but only through ignorance.[154] Beginning in the thirteenth century, as is first evident in mendicant polemics, Jews are portrayed being well aware of the divinity of Christ but wanting him murdered anyway. This is reflected by the spear, commonly discussed as one of the instruments of the passion of Christ. The increased popularity of spear-wielding *Synagogae* in the thirteenth century is likely a reflection of an increased emphasis on the Jew as Christ-killer, an emphasis that was also found in papal documents. The broken spear, when compared to the powerful staff that *Ecclesia* typically wields, conveys the loss of power. In addition to the spear, *Synagoga* also regularly has a crown falling from her head, indicating that she had once been the bride of God, but has since been replaced by the newly crowned *Ecclesia*. This crown *topos* is common throughout the Middle Ages, and not just in the thirteenth century, but the spear only becomes commonplace in the thirteenth century.

While she may wield one of the weapons that led to the death of Christ, her power no longer exists because of her actions. Not only was she blind to Christ as earlier artwork indicates, but she was also willingly part of the attack on Christ. This is most evident in artwork that actually depicts Synagoga piercing the Lamb of God with *Synagoga*'s spear simultaneously breaking as *Ecclesia* collects the blood of the lamb in

[154] Cohen, *Living Letters*, 339.

her chalice, such as those below. There is no surviving art depicting this scene before the thirteenth century.

 [155]

Figure 3.4. *Synagoga* piercing the Lamb of God while *Ecclesia* gathers blood in her chalice.

[155] Illustration from a French liturgical book, ca. 1200. From Heinz Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History* (New York: Continuum, 1996), 46.

 [156]

Figure 3.5. *Synagoga* piercing the Lamb of God while *Ecclesia* gathers blood in her chalice, an allegory of the sacrifice of the Mass.

[156] Allegory of the Sacrifice of the Mass, ca. 1250. From Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages*, 108.

 [157]

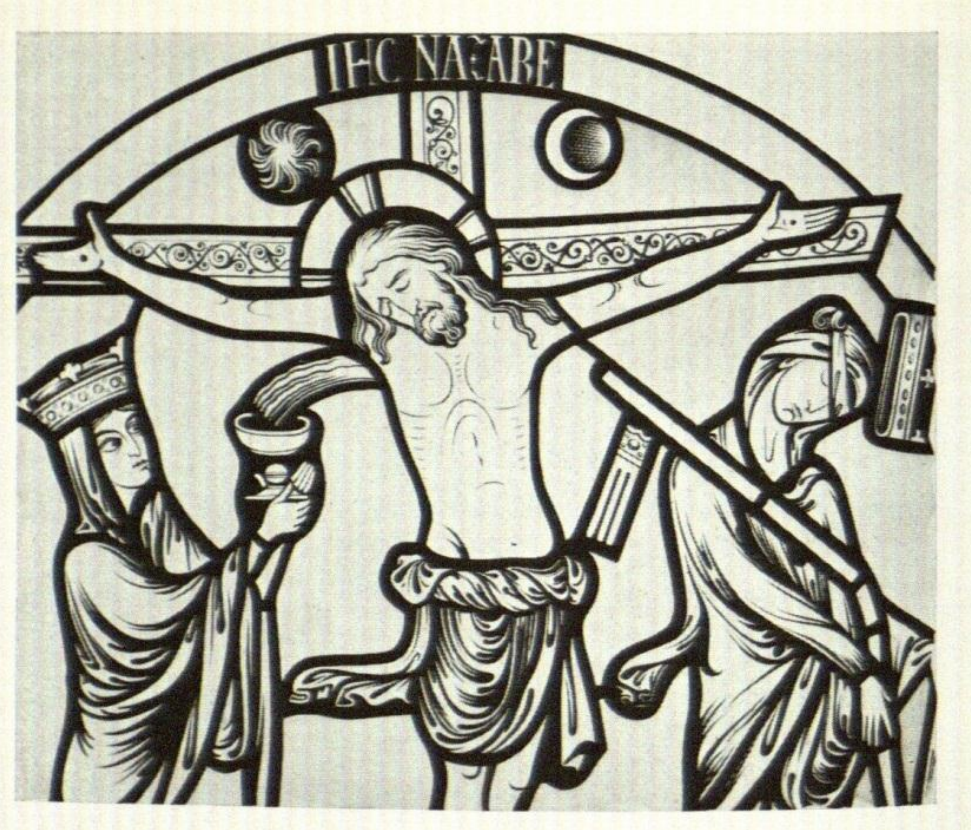
Figure 3.6. Spenstrum Cathedral *Synagoga* piercing the Lamb of God while *Ecclesia* gathers blood in her chalice.

[157] Church mural in the arch of the apse at Spenstrum Cathedral, Denmark, ca. 1200. From Schrecknberg, *The Jews in Christian Art*, 46.

[158]

3.7. Detail of a historiated initial containing *Ecclesia*, *Synagoga*, and the *Agnus Dei*. *Synagoga*'s spear is piercing the Lamb.

[158] Ca. 1250 Parisian Missal, Bibliotheque Nationale LAT.112, f.113, photo from J. Paul Getty Collection 0294598.



[159]

Figure 3.8. *Synagoga* piercing Christ while *Ecclesia* gathers the blood.

In addition to constructing an image of the Jew as killer of Christ, images such as this have a plethora of other implications. Among them is a possible reference to Jewish host desecration, not specifically recorded in writing until the late thirteenth century. In these late thirteenth century stories, Jews are typically depicted as seizing the host and stabbing it with various instruments, causing it to miraculously bleed.[160] These images seem to depict something similar, with the symbol of the Jewish community piercing a different symbol of the body of Christ and causing him to bleed, and in the case of the last image a literal representation of *Synagoga* piercing Christ. While it is difficult to

[159] Medallion: *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* beanath the cross, Circa 1230. Passion window cathedral, Bourges, from Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 103.
[160] Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 25.

pinpoint these images as precursors to the myth of Jewish host desecration, the Christian psyche in this time period certainly seems to be working toward the image of the Synagogue, the symbol of the Jewish community, as inflicting pain upon their messiah. If these images are not direct references to the idea of Jewish host desecration, they very likely indicate the same type of thought as the late thirteenth-century host desecration myths. *Synagoga* never appears in scenes where she is piercing the *Agnus Dei* before the thirteenth century.

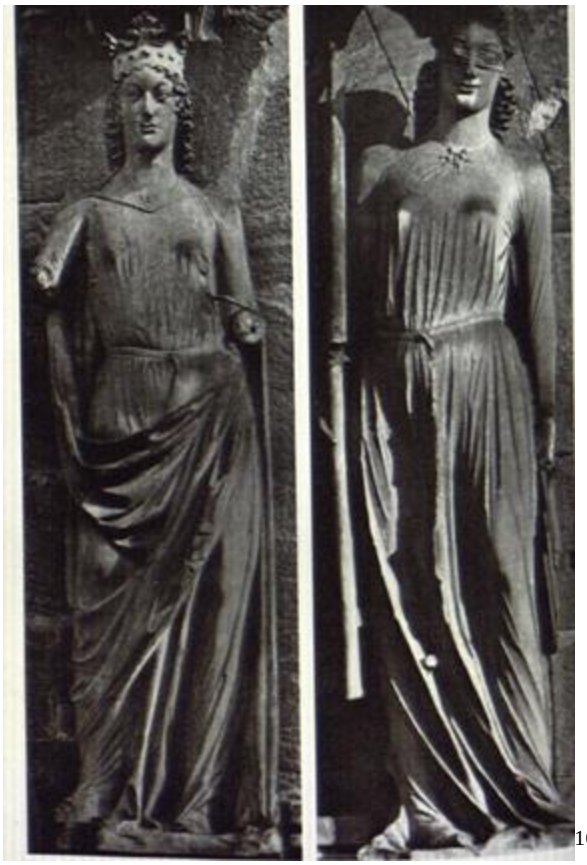
In thirteenth-century monumental sculpture, *Synagoga* is not ever shown piercing the Lamb of God, but she is frequently depicted with a spear. In most examples, *Ecclesia* is also shown wielding a large and powerful staff. Here, the spear not only serves to place guilt upon the Jews for the death of Christ, but it also serves to emphasize further the message that the Synagogue is less powerful than the Church. This message is inherent in the monumental sculptures at Bamberg and Strasbourg, seen below.

Figure 3.9. *Ecclesia* at the Strasbourg Cathedral.

 [161]

3.10. *Synagoga* at the Strasbourg Cathedral.

[161] Strasbourg *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* ca. 1230. From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 51.

 [162]

3.11. *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at the Bamberg Cathedral.

These sculptures, with a number of binary opposites, also use the broken spear to emphasize the difference between the Church and the Synagogue. In the Strasbourg example, *Ecclesia* wields a powerful staff, while *Synagoga* wields a broken spear that seems to be dangerously close to wounding her. Both women use their respective instruments to support their weight, with *Ecclesia* standing upright under the strength of her staff, and *Synagoga* hunched over and using the bottom broken part of her spear as a cane. All of these things emphasize the strength of the Christian faith and the weakness of the Jewish faith. *Synagoga*'s spear, broken and coming dangerously close to her head,

[162] Bamberg Cathedral *Ecclesia et Synagoga* (1230-1240), from Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, figure 30.

indicates that the actions of the Jews towards Christ had taken away their power and damaged their relationship with God, perhaps even implying that the very spear that indicates Jewish culpability in the death of Christ now threatens the Synagogue. *Synagoga*'s staff is not only broken, but extremely crooked. Her spear suggests the crooked and illogical path of Judaism, a theme that many mendicant authors would elaborate, such as Reymond Penyafort later in the thirteenth century.[163] In contrast to *Ecclesia*'s staff representing the "straight-and-narrow" path to Christ, as is indicated by the cross at the top of the staff maker her powerful.

Finally, as is the case with much of the symbolism in *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, the presence of the broken spear and the powerful staff in this artwork was therapeutic. As already noted, the increased prevalence of heresy, the issues with maintaining possession of the Holy Land, and conflict between the papacy and the emperors had generated a great deal of anxiety within the Christian community. This anxiety was exacerbated in the north by an increased numbers of Jews settling there. While Jews had traditionally been much more common in southern Europe, they were relative newcomers to the northern part of the continent.[164] The appearance of these non-believers in the north, coupled with anxieties about the general state of the Church, resulted in the popularity of these images. The spear here, as a symbol of the lost power of the synagogue, may serve as a way to project doubt about the power of Christianity on to *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* is weak, while *Ecclesia* is strong and powerful. Robert Chazan's *Fashioning Jewish Identity in Medieval Western Christendom* describes how polemics often help deal with

[163] Cohen, *Friars and Jews*, 103-129.
[164] Chazan, *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom*, esp 77-198.

communal anxiety in cases where another culture may be attractive to members of the culture fashioning the polemic.[165] In this case, the Christians may be using these images not only to convince others of the weakness of Judaism, but also to convince themselves about the strong position of the Church. If the Church is strong, Christians will not stray from the orthodox path. These statues asserted how powerful the Church really was, in addition to representing a centuries old allegorical meaning.

Many of authors discussed earlier in this chapter, such as Wolfgang Seiferth, argue that the thirteenth century is actually the point where *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* becomes less inflammatory towards the Jews, stating that *Synagoga*'s suffering "was rewarded when, in the thirteenth century, her picture was placed beside *Ecclesia* on an equal status, and she was endowed with such a consummate expression of human life and suffering that we view her with more sympathy than we do *Ecclesia* in her regal dignity."[166] But instances where *Synagoga* is depicted as piercing the Lamb of God or is portrayed with her spear broken make it very difficult to argue that *Synagoga*'s position improved, especially when one considers that these images with spears, whether they are broken or piercing the Lamb of God, only become commonplace at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

While *Synagoga* may be constructed in an artistic style more attractive to the modern eye, especially in the monumental sculptures that become common in the thirteenth century, this does not mean that *Synagoga* no longer represents a binary Jewish

[165] Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity in Medieval Western Christendom* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) , 19.
[166] Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 41.

Other. In earlier artwork, in the absence of the spear, the message is simply that Jews were once the standard-bearer for the God of Abraham, but they had made mistakes that led God to choose *Ecclesia* as the new bearer. This *topos* constructed Jews as obsolete, but not necessarily as enemies of the faith responsible for the death of Christ. The increased frequency with which the spear occurs in the thirteenth century suggests the idea of Jewish guilt in the death of Christ and, contrary to the reconstruction of Seiferth, as greater enemies of Christ and Christianity in the thirteenth century than they had been in previous centuries.

The Tablets: *Synagoga* as Abandoning the Old Law

Another common symbol in the artwork featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* is *Synagoga*'s stone tablets. These represent the Old Testament, and were sometimes included in the eleventh and twelfth century to indicate that Jews were guardians of the Old Law. Thanks to the Jewish witness, Christians could point to the Old Testament as an ancient and authoritative storehouse of proof-texts demonstrating that Christianity was correct. Before the thirteenth century, Christian writers were largely patient, expecting that Jews would be converted when the events of the Book of Revelation came to be, so there was no need to force them to convert or even to proselytize them. As was also indicated in the previous chapter, this reasoning which had been expounded by Augustine in the fifth century,[167] falls out of favor in the thirteenth century.

[167] Fredriksen, *Augustine*, 326.

Most pre-thirteenth-century *Synagogae* that feature the Old Testament typically show her carefully doing her assigned duty as bearer of the Old Testament, as the examples below illustrate.

.

[168]

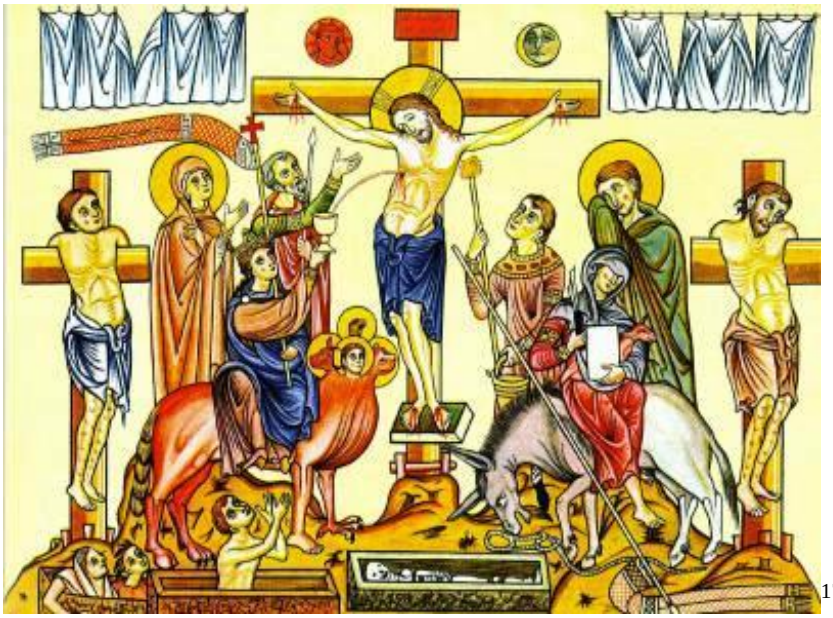
3.12. *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at the End of Days with Christ lifting *Synagoga*'s veil.

[168] Pencil of a Stainglass window at St. Denis, circa 1145. Schrecknberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 66.

 [169]

3.13. *Synagoga* holding the prophets of the Old Testament.

[169] Synagoga with Moses, Abraham, and other prophets, miniature in Hildegard of Bingen's *Liber Scivias* ca. 1180. Schrecknberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 68.

 [170]

3.14. Crucifixion scene. *Synagoga* on the right, riding a donkey to symbolize her stubbornness, but firmly holding the Old Testament to her chest.

 [171]

3.15. Christ at the end of days with *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. Here, *Synagoga* holds her tablets of the Old Testament toward Christ.

[170]Illustration from the *Hortus Deliciorum* ca. 1180, in Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 71.

[171] *Ecclesia et Sinagoga* in a historiated character in the preface to the order of the mass ca. 1150, Tours. Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 73.

 [172]

3.16. A nimbed, sympathetic looking *Synagoga* at the crucifixion.

These images all depict *Synagoga* doing the duty assigned to her and the Jewish community by Augustine and by subsequent Church doctrine. In the first and third image, *Synagoga* is present at the second coming of Christ. In the first image, she is having her veil lifted, as if to indicate that through all her years of duty as the custodian

[172] Ca. 1100 drawing from a missal from Anjou, from Eric George Millar, *Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927) , 83.

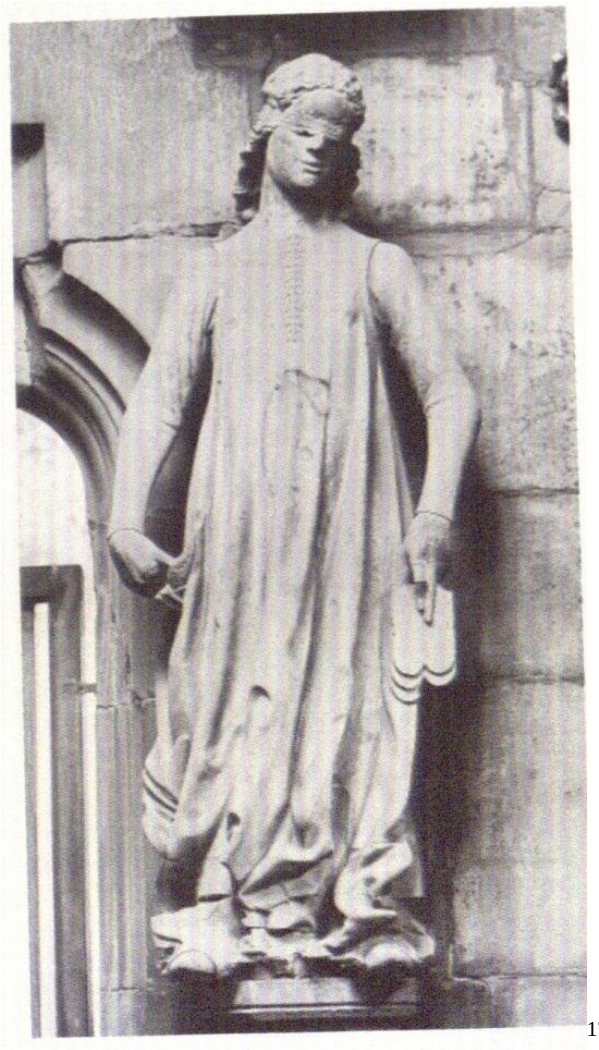
of the Old Testament, she can now understand the messages buried within the text that indicate that Christ is the messiah. The third image is similar, though less dramatic. *Synagoga* seems to be indicating to Christ by holding out the tablets of the Old Testament that she has done her duty, and she also seems to be acknowledging Christ instead of looking away from him blindly as is typical in artwork depicting *Synagoga*. However, the second of these images is perhaps the most interesting. Here, *Synagoga* is shown as holding to her chest miniature versions of many of the Old Testament prophets, with the tablets of the Old Testament in the hands of a small Moses. *Synagoga*'s eyes are closed here, indicating that she is still blind to the truth that these great prophets proclaim but she is still dutifully doing her duty of preserving their testimonies.

While it is not true that all pre-thirteenth century *Synagogae* are carefully guarding the Old Testament, *Synagoga* rarely appeared as a reckless custodian of the text. Out of nine pre-thirteenth century *Synagogae* that have the tablets present somewhere in their compositions, two are dropping the Old Testament, and one of these images is from 1195. Out of thirty-six examples of *Synagogae* that have the Old Testament present during the thirteenth century, *Synagoga* is either dropping or holding the tablets far from her body or holding them upside down thirty-three times.

Why did this change? In the thirteenth century, mendicants begin to actively proselytize Jews, and the papacy begins to attempt to regulate the books that they could read. Central in these arguments is the Old Testament. The 1236 revelation to Pope Gregory IX by Nicholas Donin concerning the Talmud's new priority over the Old

Testament had caused a great stir.[173] This apparent shift had undermined the Jews' role as necessary guardians of the Old Testament. It may have influenced images of thirteenth-century *Synagogae*. Where earlier *Synagogae* often seem to be taking great care to protect the Old Testament, *Synagoga* in the thirteenth century suddenly seems to be much less interested in the Old Testament, as the images below indicate, where *Synagoga* appears to be dropping or losing control over the tablets of the Old Law.

[173] Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, 58.

 [174]

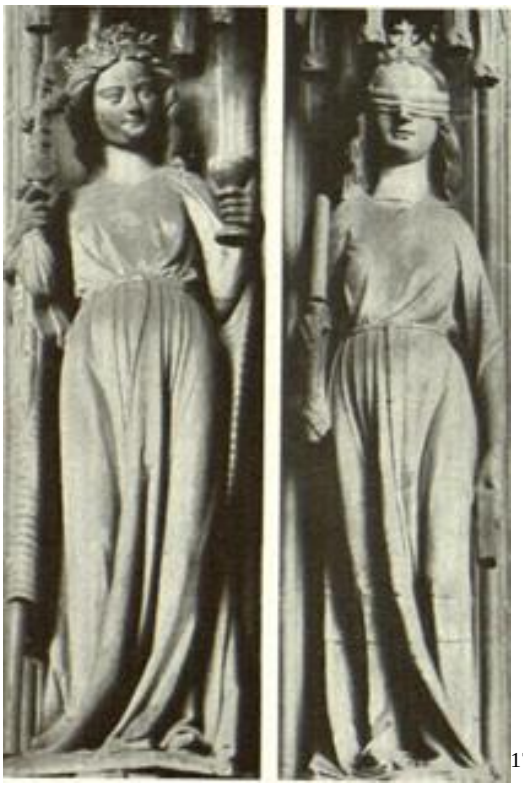
3.17. *Synagoga* at the Magdeburg Cathedral.

[174] *Synagoga* at Magdeburg Cathedral, circa 1245. From Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art*, 49.

 [175]

3.18. *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at the Cathedral at Trier.

[175] Ecclesia and Synagoga at Trier, circa 1250. From Konrad Schilling, *Monumenta Judaica*, 70.

 [176]

3.19. *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at the Munster Cathedral.

[176] *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, Cathedral at Munster, circa 1300. From Schilling, *Monumenta Judaica*, 69.

[177]

3.20. Historiated initial featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*.

These images may have helped support the argument that contemporary Judaism was different from the Old Testament Judaism that Augustine and Gregory sought to protect. In the first, it is clear that the Old Testament is no longer the major concern of *Synagoga*, as she is holding it far from her body and the tablets seem to be falling towards the ground. The second of these images depicts *Ecclesia* with a tight grip on her chalice, a symbol of the truth of Christianity, while *Synagoga* seems to be losing her grasp on the Old Testament. The final image is similar, only *Synagoga* holds the tablets

[177]Detail from a 13th century Parisian Bible, from the Piers Morgan Library Collection in New York.

to her side. In many ways constructing a Jewish Other who is no longer honoring the Old Testament enabled Christians to contrast their own religion which held fast to its almighty truth. Jews were no longer simply blind to the signs that Jesus was the messiah in the Old Testament, but they were blatantly letting go of the Old Testament itself.

In some cases, artwork goes beyond the image of *Synagoga* losing her grip on the tablets, and portrays her as having lost her grip on the tablets completely. This is indicated by the examples below.

 [178]

3.21. A detail from the Psalter of Blanche of Castile showing *Synagoga* completely abandoning the tablets.

[178] Henry Martin, *Psautier de saint Louis et de Blanche de Castille; 50 planches reproduisant les miniatures, initiales, etc., du manuscrit 1186 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*. (Paris: Impr. Berthaud frères, 1909) XXX.

 [179]

3.22. Detail from a historiated initial in the Ramsey Psalter featuring Synagoga dropping the tablets.

[179] Ca. 1300 detail from a historiated initial in the Ramsey Psalter, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, III. (Kärnten, 1907) 83-84; fig. 4.

 [180]

3.23. Detail from a historiated initial in a pontifical featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* has completely let go of the tablets and allowed them to break.

[180] Historiated Initial in a Reims Cathedral Pontifical, ca. 1220. Rouen, Bibliotheque Municipale, A.34(370), f.38, photo from Getty Center Photo Archive, 0306528.

 [181]

3.24. Detail from a scene featuring *Ecclesia*, *Synagoga*, and the *Agnus Dei*. Here, *Synagoga* is only holding on to one of the tablets and has let the other fall to the ground.

[181] Historiated Initial from a Missal from St. Pierre-le-Vil, ca. 1200-1250, Sens Bibliotheque Municipale, 18f.231, photo from Getty Center Photo Archive 0306609.

In the first of these images, *Synagoga* seems to have completely abandoned the tablets, as she is making no attempt to reach for the loose tablets and they are far from her body. In the second image, *Synagoga* seems to have just dropped the tablets, indicating that the Synagogue no longer values them. In the final two images, *Synagoga* has wandered so far from her role as the guardian of the Old Testament that she has allowed the tablets to break. While this image of *Synagoga* allowing the tablets to break is not extremely common, images that so clearly show it indicate that many in the Christian community felt that *Synagoga* and the Jewish community had become neglectful of their assigned roles as custodians of the Old Testament that they had allowed it to fall into disarray, perhaps in favor of the Talmud.

Some of this artwork precedes papal opposition to the Talmud. The presence of these earlier thirteenth-century statues and manuscripts, and in some cases even earlier examples, seems to indicate that the idea – or at least the germ of such an idea, was already present in the minds of the Christian community. It seems that suspicions that the Jews were no longer honoring the role that had been assigned to them as caretakers of the Old Law were not generated but vindicated when Nicholas Donin came forward. His testimony supported pre-existing anxiety about the possibility that contemporary Jews were not like the Jews of the Old Testament.

R.I. Moore argues in his article "The Birth of Europe and Anti-Semitism" that part of the reason the Jewish Other begins to be constructed differently in the thirteenth century is because of increased anxiety that the continued presence of the Jewish

community may attract some Christians to Judaism.[182] For apologetical purposes it would have been useful to emphasize that contemporary Jews were by no means the same as the Jews of the Old Testament that every Christian read about. Doubting Christians could not wonder if the Jews were in fact practicing the proper religion if modern Jews were not the same Jews who had been God's first chosen people.

The Money Pouch: *Synagoga* as Usurer

Another item that begins to appear in association with thirteenth-century *Synagogae* is the money pouch. This money pouch, usually strapped to the waist of *Synagoga*, symbolizes the money-lending activity of the Jewish community. Jews had been increasingly marginalized in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and north of the Alps they had been largely limited to the occupation of money-lender. Jeremy Cohen argues that money-lending was the result of Jewish persecution, not the cause of it,[183] at least not the cause of the earliest forms of Jewish persecution in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Usury had always been a major concern of the Church, even before Jews had become increasingly associated with it. Lending money with the intent of making a profit was forbidden, and popes as early as Gregory the Great wrote to bishops about curbing usury in their respective dioceses. As would be expected, these early references to usury usually refer to Christian rather than Jewish offenders. It was only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that Jews became more conspicuous as money-lenders after they

[182] R.I. Moore, "Anti-Semitism and the Birth of Europe," in *Christianity and Judaism*, ed. Diana Wood, Studies in Church History 29 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 33-57.
[183] Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 366.

were no longer allowed to work in their more traditional industries such as slave traders, grocers, merchants, and doctors. Jews were drawn to money-lending because it was a niche they could fill inasmuch as the ecclesiastical prohibitions on money-lending did not apply to them.

Kenneth Stow has argued that the popes saw value in these Jewish money-lenders,[184] and for the most part avoided legislating against them, only mentioning Jewish money-lenders during crusades when they typically asked the Jewish community to stop charging interest on those away on crusades. However, the general public seems to have had more anxiety about Jewish usury. Many sermons, some of which will be discussed in the next chapter, seem to argue that the Christian community was threatened if Jews had power over Christians in need of loans. Secular rulers also regularly harassed Jews from whom they had borrowed money, and in some cases they expelled Jewish communities when they realized that then they would not have to repay them.

This anxiety seems to be reflected in the thirteenth-century *Synagogae*, who appear with money pouches about their waist. As seen above, early *Synagogae* were representative of the Jewish religion rather than the Jewish people themselves. The introduction of the spear discussed earlier coupled with the introduction of the money pouch seem to indicate a change in what *Synagoga* is meant to symbolize. Both of these things indicate that *Synagoga* is beginning to take on traits of the practitioners of

[184] Kenneth Stow, "The Good of the Church, the Good of the States: The Popes and Jewish Money" in *Christianity and Judaism,* Studies in Church History(New York: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1997), 237-252, esp. 240.

Judaism, even if those practices have very little to do with Judaism itself. Synagoga is now responsible not only for the death of Christ, but also she is a usurer.

The Blindfold: *Synagoga* as Blind to the Truth

Synagoga wears a blindfold in almost every representation. The blindfold had been present since the earliest days of the figure and is not a novelty introduced in the thirteenth century. However, it may have led to the increased popularity of *Synagoga* in the thirteenth century because it symbolizes the idea that Jews are completely ignorant of the truth that is present in the Old Testament. This Truth, according to Augustine and others, was the fact that the Old Testament contained many prophecies that indicated that Christ was the messiah. In general, the Jewish community, despite living among the absolutely correct Christians, refused to recognize this truth and continued its stubborn and "stiff-necked" ways.

The success of Islam and the continued proliferation of heresies generated anxiety within the Christian community about its own religion. Islam was expanding throughout the world, often at the expense of Christianity. Was Christianity really the divinely ordained religion? Were there reasons that so many heretics doubted Catholic Christianity? As has been indicated in other chapters, disparaging the Jews as an internal non-Christian group became a way to deal with this anxiety. The blindfold allows the Christian community to project its own doubts about the accuracy of their religion onto the Jewish community, while simultaneously constructing the Christian community as powerful, divinely ordained and correct.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined *Synagoga* as not only a representation of the synagogue but as a representation of the Jewish Other. The Other represented by *Synagoga* was a Jewish Other who had murdered Christ and was beginning to neglect their Church-ordained role as guardians of the Old Testament. These attributes were added to *Synagoga* more regularly in the thirteenth century than they had been previously indicating that the Jewish Other had changed in the thirteenth century. These attributes also were prevalent in papal documents as discussed in Chapter two. As is argued in the next chapter, some of these attributes were also present in sermons.

Chapter IV

Sermon *Exempla*: The Jewish Other in Mass Communication

Historiography & Background

Thus far, this thesis has discussed the construction of the Jewish Other in thirteenth-century papal documents and thirteenth-century artwork. This present chapter, the third and last of these case studies, will examine how Jews appear in thirteenth-century sermon *exempla*. An *exemplum* is a relatively short illustrative story that tells a tale conveying a moral. Sermons have existed throughout religious history, but the sermon *exemplum* only becomes widespread as an independent source and object of contemporary study in the thirteenth century.[185]

David D'Avray has argued in much of his work that sermons were the closest thing to medieval mass communication.[186] Because the sermon *exemplum* is designed to communicate to the masses, it is possible to view some of these stories as a way for preachers to share their construction of the thirteenth-century Jewish Other with the rest of Europe. It is also possible that these preachers constructed Jews in the manner that they did because they knew that their audience would be entertained by them. It is also likely that they were a highly effective way to spread these constructions, as in most

[185] Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women and Jews: Reflection of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1997), 4.
[186] David d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture Without Print* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3.

cases they were performed in front of an audience, often in the vernacular language,[187] making it possible for the uneducated to participate in the experience in a way not possible in purely written mediums. However, it is important to note that the fact that written sermons were not necessarily mean that they were ever preached, and it is likely that if they were the written text served as the basis for a more impromptu performance because the sermons are recorded in Latin but would have been preached in the vernacular languages.[188]

Medieval sermon studies has attracted scholarly attention, both to investigate sermons themselves and to use sermons to analyze specific aspects of medieval culture. Works such as Larry Scanlon's *Narrative, Authority, and Power* have deconstructed the narrative structure of medieval sermons and the purposes they served, arguing that "through the sermon *exemplum,* the Church attempted to establish its ideological authority among subordinate classes it had previously largely ignored,"[189] and also that "The sermon *exemplum* will amplify the deference to institutional authority already present in the monastic tradition."[190] A collection of articles titled *Charisma and Religious Authority* uses Max Weber's idea of charisma to discuss the way in which preachers were able to change the views of others as well as move them to action.[191] While Scanlon may attribute too much power to the narrative of the sermon *exemplum,*

[187] B.M. Kienzle, "Introduction," in *The Sermons* , ed. B.M. Kienzle, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 81-83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 147-174, esp. 170.
[188] Ibid., 171.
[189] Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 58.
[190] Ibid., 65.
[191] Katherine L. Jansen and Miri Rubin ed., *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching, 1200-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 4.

the basic premise that the sermons serve the purpose of spreading ideas from the educated to the uneducated is of great importance in this chapter, which assumes that many of these ideas, while likely a product of both lay and clerical ideology, were spread throughout the Christian community in northern Europe by sermons, and it also follows the premise of *Charisma and Religious Authority* in assuming that these sermons had a large effect on the medieval perception of the Jewish Other.

Another Weberian study of medieval sermons is D.L. d'Avray's *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis*, while not focusing solely on sermons but on Medieval religiosity on the whole, he frequently uses sermons as evidence of rationality or nonrationality in medieval religion. In his introduction when d'Avray is explaining how he will apply Weber's idea of rationality, he uses the example of myths regarding Jews, and argues that Jews being a scapegoat in medieval culture was in fact rational due to the fact that the Jewish Other was cast as a murderous host desecrator in sermons.[192]

Other works use sermons to reconstruct a specific aspect of the medieval world, for example *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University* which analyzes the way preachers learned to write sermons, and the way that sermons reflected various major aspects of medieval society, most notably city life.[193] Other works have used sermons in an attempt to reconstruct the lives and ideologies of specific preachers, for

[192] D.L. d'Avray. *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3-4.
[193] Jacqueline Hamess, et al., eds. *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*. Textes et études du moyen âge 9 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 1998).

example *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society*.[194] Both of these approaches have inspired this chapter. Here *Exempla* are used to help understand the broader ideas of the medieval construction of the Jew and they are also used to some degree to gain a better understanding of how certain preachers thought about the Jewish Other.

Some works have done things very similar to what this chapter intends to do, albeit with a different Other. Carolyn Muessig's *The Faces of Women in the Sermons of Jacques de Vitry* examines the way that Jacques de Vitry constructed women in his sermons, much in the same way this chapter uses them to examine the Jewish Other. However, she takes a considerably more biographical approach, relating the sermons to Jacques de Vitry's regular interactions with women and especially his affinity for the holy woman Marie d'Oignes,[195] rather than examining how major events in Medieval Europe may have affected his view of women. This chapter will take an approach inspired by cultural theory and attempt to examine the cultural atmosphere of medieval Europe and the effect this atmosphere could have on the writers of sermons.

While scholars are actively pursuing the study of medieval sermons, how Jews appear in sermons has not been addressed in a single monograph. Mark Saperstein, in an article titled "The Medieval Jewish Sermon" has examined the way in which Jews used the medium of the sermon, but does not examine how medieval sermons construct the

[194] Edward Tracy Brett. *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society*. Studies and Texts, no. 67 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984).
[195] Carolyn Muessig. *The Faces of Women in the Sermons of Jacques de Vitry* (Toronto, ON: Peregrina Publishing, 1999), 9.

Jewish Other.[196] Works such as *Devils, Women, and Jews* have emerged that examine the construction of the three titular characters within sermon *exempla*. There are also a few articles on the subject, for example: Ivan Marcus' "Images of Jews in the *Exempla* of Caesarius of Heisterbach," which examines the way that Jews are constructed in Caesarius' sermons, but does not attempt to explain the reason behind the construction and does not invoke cultural theory.[197]

This chapter examines the sermons of three different clergymen of the thirteenth century: Caesarius of Heisterbach (1180-1240),[198] Jacques de Vitry (1160-1240),[199] and Hugo von Trimberg (1230-1313).[200] Brief biographies of these three men are necessary to fully understand the context of their *exempla*. Caesarius was a Cistercian monk who became the teacher of novices at Heisterbach. His collection of sermons, the *Dialogus Miraculorum*, was largely written for these novices.[201] These sermons are inspired by Gregory the Great's style in his *Dialogues*.[202] He is well known for writing a number of homilies and saints' lives often in a lively and whimsical style. Jacques de Vitry was born in France and was extremely well-educated. He eventually rose through the ranks and became a member of the College of Cardinals. Unlike Caesarius of Heisterbach and Hugo von Trimberg, who were largely sedentary in their careers, Jacques traveled

[196] Marc Saperstein, "The Medieval Jewish Sermon," in *The Sermon* ed. B.M. Kienzle, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 81-83. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000, 175-201.
[197] Ivan Marcus. "Images of Jews in the Exempla of Caesarius of Heisterbach", in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbadden: Harrowitz Publishing, 1996) 247-256.
[198] Ibid., 247.
[199] Carolyn Muessig. *The Faces of Women in the Sermons of Jacques de Vitry* (Toronto, ON: Peregrina Publishing, 1999), 8.
[200] David Wellberry et. al., *A New History of German Literature* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2004), 136.
[201] Jay Williams, *Life in the Middle Ages* (London: Nelson, 1967), 37.
[202] Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power*, 65-66.

throughout Europe and even visited the Holy Land He is well-known for publishing a number of treatises such as the *Historia Occidentalis*,[203] and for his different sermon collections, most notably the *Sermones Feriales et Communes* which were used to educate preachers,[204] and the *Sermones de Sanctis* which contains sermons for saints' feasts,[205] and the *Sermones ad Status* which discuss common people,[206] all of which have been collected into the *Sermones Vulgares*.[207] Hugo von Trimberg is somewhat different from the other two heavily-educated preachers. There is no record of his ever attending university, and he was not in a high position within the Church as Caesarius and Jacques were. Instead, he was a teacher at the church school of Saint Gangolf.[208] Hugo's best-known work is an epic poem titled *Der Renner*, unlike the best-known works of Jacques and Caesarius of Heisterbach which are collections of sermons. However, Hugo also published 160 sermons in *Das Solsequium*, which was a collection of sermons intended for schoolchildren.[209]

Each of these men, while ministers of the Church, seem to have led a very different life. Caesarius was associated with the Cistercians, Jacques de Vitry held a number of offices in the secular church, and Hugo von Trimberg was a freelance writer for the most part, not affiliated with any specific ecclesiastical community. Hugo and Caesarius wrote their sermons for the purposes of education, though Hugo wrote his

[203] Muessig, *The Faces of Women*, 8.
[204] Ibid., 12-13.
[205] Ibid., 13.
[206] Ibid., 13.
[207] Jacques de Vitry. *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the* Sermones Vulgares *of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas Crane, (Liechtenstein: Kraus Printing Limited, 1967), 4
[208] Wellberry et. al., *A New History of German Literature*, 136.
[209] Ibid., 137.

sermons for children while Caesarius' targeted novice monks. Despite these differences, these men seem to have constructed very similar images of Jews within their sermons.

All of these preachers made heavy use of sermon *exempla*, as was common for the time period. They all wrote *exempla* featuring Jewish characters. In some, the Jewish character is the focal point, while in other the Jew or Jews are a minor aspect of the story. Jacques de Vitry wrote four *exempla* that featured a Jew or Jews as major characters; Hugo von Trimberg wrote five and Caesarius of Heisterbach wrote eight. This chapter primarily analyzes these sermons. While the number of individual stories is not great, the detailed stories are dense in the way they present Jews, making their explication rather long.

These preachers largely lived north of the Alps so, as much of this thesis has done, arguments will only be made about northern Europe. While these three men are the sources of the sermons, the subchapters will not be divided based on authorship, but rather each of the sections within this chapter will examine a certain construction of the Jewish Other. It may have become clear in the previous chapters that no single construction of the Jewish Other exists, and Stuart Hall would argue that no single construction of any Other in any society exists since "the same [image] can carry several, quite different, sometimes diametrically opposite meanings,"[210] and in fact a single Other typically has "…many variations and modifications allowing for differences in time, medium and context."[211] The Jewish Other can carry many traits at the same time, and

[210] Stuart Hall, "The Spectacle of The 'Other'," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publishing, 1997), 223-290, esp. 228.
[211] Ibid., 251.

also seems to take on different roles based on context. While this has been evident in the chapters examining Jews in papal documents and Jews in artwork, it seems to be the most evident in these narrative stories. In each story the authors wanting to use Jewish characters seems to have picked the construction of the Jew that most assisted the moral. For instance, if the author of an *exemplum* wanted to show that Jews really all wanted to be Christian and knew Christianity to be the true faith, he could construct the Jew as what is termed in this chapter an "empty vessel." If the author of a sermon instead wanted to construct a Jew as a villain, the Jew could be portrayed as a manipulative usurer, an inimical murderer, or as a desecrator of the host. This chapter examines these constructions of the Jewish Other.

The Manipulative Usurer

One of the most common Jewish characters contained within medieval *exempla* is the Jew as usurer. In these stories, Jewish characters often use their position of power as money-lenders to attempt to persuade Christians to do something against their faith. There are also instances of Jews using their positions as pawn-brokers to delay returning goods of a holy nature even after the loan has been repaid. These stories clearly indicate the concern that the Christian community had with usury and its potential put the supposedly inferior Jew above the superior Christian. Usury could upset the natural order of things by reversing the accepted social order.

A villainous Jewish usurer can be found in an *exemplum* written by Jacques de Vitry, in which a gambler who lost much of his money is tempted to sin in exchange for wealth.[212] In the story, a debt-ridden Christian gambler goes to visit a Jew who tells him to "Deny Christ and his mother and the saints, and I will make it so that you will have more money than you had before."[213] The Christian refuses, stating that his love of the Virgin Mary is too great for him to consider such a proposition. Days later, the gambler is walking the streets of his city when an image of the Virgin Mary bows and speaks to him. When she asks what it is that he had done for her he says "A certain Jew wished to make me wealthy if I would deny holy Mary, but I have preferred to remain a poor man than to deny her."[214] Upon hearing this, Mary grants the man "exceeding wealth".[215] This story not only seems to illustrate the dangers of the vice of gambling, but also the dangers of the Jewish usurer. The hero of the story is able to resist the offer of a gift of wealth from the Jew because his faith is strong, and in the end Mary grants him more wealth than the Jew offered him, indicating that preserving faith in the face of temptation can be extremely rewarding. This character serves as an example of how all Christians in need of money from a Jew should respond to such an offer. It is unclear as to whether or not Jacques de Vitry believes this to be a common occurrence, but the fact that he uses the temptation offered by a Jew as a device in his *exemplum* must indicate that his audience thought this event plausible. The story assumes that Jews have a strong interest in damaging the spiritual well-being of Christians.

---

[212] Jacques de Vitry, "Sermon CCXCVI," in *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane (Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), 124-125.
[213] Ibid., 124.
[214] Ibid., 125.
[215] Ibid., 125.

Hugo von Trimberg also wrote an *exemplum* that reflects concern about the role of Jews as pawn-brokers or money-lenders in the Christian world. In this story an archdeacon from the west visits Byzantium to find an interesting festival being celebrated. The people tell him the story of a time when an important relic was missing from the church because it had been pawned to a Jew.[216] The archdeacon learns that this was the result of the actions of a "certain extravagant Christian" who "having been consumed by certain things sent a portrait of the virgin and child to a Jew for money."[217] He then learns that the man had tried to repent and he had "returned the money in a certain case over the seas" but "the Jew refused to return the image."[218] The locals gathered up a group of people to confront the Jewish pawn-broker. When they arrived at the house of the Jew, "the Jew said he did not have it, but the image of the child of the virgin opened his mouth and spoke the truth, revealing the location of the image in a case under the bed of the Jew."[219] This story contains a moral about the dangers of falling into excess, and it uses a Jewish character as the villain. Here, a Jew is attempting to damage Christians spiritual well-being by unjustly withholding an item important to the local Christian community. The image is only rediscovered thanks to a miracle, when the image of Christ reveals itself to the Christians who are desperately searching for it. Hugo von Trimberg seems to have the same concerns as Jacques de Vitry about the presence of Jewish money-lenders and pawn-brokers within the Christian world. In this story, the power of Christianity was able to trump the greed and sneakiness of the Jew, indicating

[216] Hugo von Trimberg, Book II, *Exemplum* 5, in *Das "Solsequium" des Hugo von Trimberg: Eine Kritische Edition* ed. Angelika Strauss (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Publishing, 2002), 169-170.
[217] Ibid., 169.
[218] Ibid., 170.
[219] Ibid., 170.

that despite the Jewish usurer's position of power in some situations, Christianity is still more powerful.

In addition to their position as money-lenders, Jews are also shown regularly trying to use their wealth to get their way. In a story where a Jewish daughter converts to Christianity, "Having learned of her conversion, the infidel father was pained, offering a large sum of money to the Duke"[220] in an attempt to get him to disregard the baptism and return his daughter to the family. In stories where a Jewish son has converted to Christianity, the parents, in an attempt to get him to renounce his new religion "offer money to him."[221] These stories indicate that preachers viewed Jews as having a great deal of money and a willingness to use it to corrupt the Christian faith, either by attempting to get their own convert children to renounce it or by getting those who come to them for loans to renounce it. This indicates anxiety not only about the roles of Jews within society, but also about the money that these preachers seem to believe that Jews had at their disposal.

The Inimical Murderer

One of the many common Jewish archetypes in medieval sermon stories is that of the angry, violent father. In these stories, the child of this Jewish father typically does something that upsets the father a great deal, often something related to conversion to or

[220] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dist* II *Capitulum* XXV, in *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum* , 2 vols, ed. Josephus Strange (Brussels: H. Lempertz and Company, 1851), 1:97.
[221] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Exemplum* 119, in *Erzahlungen des Mittlealters*, ed. Joseph Klapper (Breslau: Verlag von M. & H. Marcus, 1914), 327.

interest in Christianity. In response the enraged father either threatens or carries out violent acts. There seem to be two types of stories that contain this element. The first of these are stories in which a Jewish father attempts to kill his young son after learning of his activities with Christians, the other type features an enraged Jewish father whose daughter has had some sort of relationship with a Christian man.

The more popular *exemplum* concerns the Jewish father who attempts to kill his son. One common thirteenth-century version is the story of the Jewish child and the oven, which has been closely investigated by Miri Rubin in *Gentile Tales,* though her analysis is more concerned about the host desecration that figures in the story than about the role of the angry father. This story is so popular that all three of the preachers this study examines present their own versions.[222] The basic elements remain the same. The son of a Jew, while socializing with Christian children who are about to take the Eucharist, sees a vision of the Virgin Mary and takes the Eucharist. Upon returning home, he tells his father. Enraged, the father hurls the son into an oven and lights it. Christian neighbors hear the ruckus, approach the house, and behold the Virgin Mary appearing and protecting the child. This story constructs the Jewish father as being completely enraged by his son's Christian actions, and definitely conveys the idea that Jews will do anything to prevent the spread of Christianity into their community, even murdering their own children.

[222] Hugo Von Trimberg, *Exemplum 39*, ed. Seeman, 70, and Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Exemplum* 119, in *Erzahlungen des Mittlealters*, ed. Klapper, 326-327.

Caesarius wrote another story involving the Jewish child being thrown into the fire.[223] This time, the Jewish boy had decided to convert to the Christian faith. He tried to hide the conversion from his parents but "finally they came to have suspicions about the boy"[224] and when they uncovered the truth "they were shocked and thought to kill him."[225] Enraged, they threw the boy into the lit oven, but the angelic face of a woman saved him. The boy "described a certain woman with purple vestments" whom all the Christian witnesses understood to be Mary.[226] This construction of an inimical Jew would help the audience of this sermon understand and develop anxiety about the Jewish community. This is the same time period during which host desecrations were rampant, so stories about Jews murdering children – including their own children -- would further dehumanize the formerly human Jewish Other.

There are also numerous stories about an enraged and violent Jewish father who discovers that his daughter has had a relationship with a Christian man. The Jewish women in these stories are frequently noted to be "even more attractive than the other women of her kind,"[227] indicating an interesting stereotype concerning the attractiveness of young Jewish women. An angry Jewish father can be found in a lengthy *exemplum* included in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miracolorum*.[228] In this story, a young clerk becomes infatuated with an extremely attractive Jewish woman and sleeps with her. In the midst of the night, the Jewish girl's father walks in and his immediate reaction is

[223]Caesarius of Hesiterbach, *Exemplum* 119, in *Erzahlungen des Mittlealters*, ed. Klapper, 326.
[224] Ibid., 326.
[225] Ibid., 326.
[226] Ibid., 327.
[227] For example, Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dist* II, *Capitulum* XXIV, ed. Strange, 94-95, and Dist II, Capitulum XXIII. Ibid., 92-94
[228]Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dist* II, *Capitulum* XXIII. ed. Joseph Strange, 92-94.

"wanting to kill them both."[229] The clerk happens to be related to the bishop of the city, and the Jewish father states "Why are you here, O wicked Christian? Where is your faith, where is your religion? You are by the just judgment of God delivered into my hands. If I did not fear my lord bishop, I would kill you."[230] After the Christian is removed from his home, the Jewish father gathers up other Jews within the community and heads towards the Church. They enter the Church "enraged and blaspheming"[231] on what happens to be Easter, but as soon as the clerk confesses his sins to the bishop, the Jews are struck dumb. The point of this story is the importance of confession, but the role that the Jews play is quite interesting. Here, the entire Jewish community is mobilized by anger and even enters a Christian church during a holiday. The fact that the Jews are mystically struck silent once the clerk confesses indicates not only the importance of confession, but also the fact that Jews have no right to speak against anyone within a Church, no matter what their crime.

In a similar story written by Caesarius of Heisterbach,[232] a Christian clerk falls in love with a Jewish woman and impregnates her. He instructs her to tell her family that she is a virgin but is pregnant anyway. The clerk pretends to be the voice of God, and tricks them into believing she is pregnant with the messiah, and the Jewish girl carries on the ruse. The entire Jewish community comes to believe that she is pregnant with the messiah, and they are all present at the birth. Following the birth of the child, the stereotype of the angry, murderous Jew makes an appearance. When the child is born

[229] Ibid., 92.
[230] Ibid., 92.
[231] Ibid., 93.
[232] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dist* II, *Capitulum* XXIV. ed. Josephus Strange 94-95.

and it is a daughter, "One of them [the Jews] with great indignation took hold of her little foot, bashing the baby in pieces against the wall."[233] This story indicates not only that Jews are easily fooled with tales of their own messiah but also that they can become murderous when disappointed. It may have some resonances of Jewish deicide. While the child is not the messiah, the murder of a child many Jews had expected to be the messiah, but then no longer believed was the messiah, is not dissimilar to the story of Christ: just as with Christ, the Jew in this story did not believe the child to be the messiah and thus killed it.

Caesarius also has an *exemplum* where a group of Jews murder a young Christian boy.[234] In this story, a young boy with a beautiful voice sings every morning at a church that is apparently near vineyards owned by Jews. The Jews, doubting their faith because of the words that the boy sang, "led him to their vineyards and killed and slayed the student."[235] As the Jews went their separate ways they "began hearing the amazing voice and they said: 'Behold, we hear the boy whom we killed living.'"[236] Once again, the Jews play the role of murderous foes that will stop at nothing to stop the words of truth, spoken by the boy in the form of song. As has been a common theme in these *exempla*, the actions of the Jews are trumped by a Christian miracle.

In another of Caesarius' *exempla*, a clerk convinces a young Jewish girl to convert to Christianity.[237] In this story, the clerk kidnaps the girl and takes her to be

[233] Ibid., 95.
[234] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Exemplum* 83, ed. Joseph Klapper , 301.
[235] Ibid., 301.
[236] Ibid., 301.
[237] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dist* II, *Capitulum* XXIV, ed. Josephus Strange, 94-95.

baptized. She is then held in sanctuary at a convent. Similar to Caesarius' other story featuring a Jewish daughter and a Jewish father, the enraged father mobilizes the Jewish community and marches to where the daughter is being held. The Jews eventually get a trial, during which the Jewish community attempts to prove that the daughter was coerced. In the end, the pope steps in and her baptism is upheld. This story, while not presenting violent acts or even Jews thinking of violent acts, represents a consistency in the way that sermon writers, or at least Caesarius, thought of the Jews. In another *exemplum* in which a young Jewish woman converts to Christianity, she asks a local lord to protect her so that her father cannot try to get her to return to Judaism.[238] The lord "stationed soldiers around the cemetery that would oppose a Jew who tried to enter."[239] This story and others indicate that Jews are constructed as dangerous and able to mobilize their whole communities when necessary, indicating a degree of Christian anxiety about the size and power of Jewish communities. Jews were a relatively new addition to Northern Europe and their numbers continued to increase and this may also have increased anxiety about the possibility of Jews mobilizing to get their way.

In general, various Latin words that denote anger such as "*iratus*" and "*indignans*" are regularly attributed to Jews. In the sermons discussed here, anger and Jews seem to be inseparable. In the Jacques de Vitry sermon discussed earlier, the Jewish money-lender who tempts the gambler "having been enraged, expelled the Christian from his home."[240] The Jewish father in the stories about his son who had converted to

[238] Hugo Von Trimberg, *Dist* II, *Capitulum* XXVI, Ibid.,98-99, ed. Seeman , 98.
[239] Ibid., 99.
[240] Jacques de Vitry, "*Exemplum* CCXCVI," ed. Thomas Frederick Crane ,125.

Christianity or his daughter who had slept with a Christian man is always "*furens*" or "*iratus*". In general, sermons seem to associate Jews with anger, and Jews are presented as capable of horrible deeds at the drop of the hat, such as killing a boy singing nearby or a female child who was not the expected messiah. These sermons spread fear about a Jewish community which could easily become enraged, mobilize in large numbers, and murder children. It is of particular note that the Jews in these sermons, when committing murder, always murder children. The idea of ritual murder became a fixture in popular culture in the thirteenth century, especially for Hugo von Trimberg and Caesarius of Heisterbach, who regularly wrote stories about the murder of children at the hands of Jews, perhaps indicating that such stories were especially popular in Germany. The regularity with which these stories appear seems to indicate that stories about ritual murder were not limited to secular popular movements, but seem to have been supported in some way by clergymen, something that was also indicated in a letter by Innocent III in which he discusses Jews "secretly killing Christians".[241] Fear of murderous, inimical Jews seems to have spread through every level of society by the thirteenth century.

The Host Desecrator

An examination of medieval sermon *exempla* also seems to indicate that the idea of host desecration was present in the minds of medieval Christians well before the

[241] Innocent III, *Letter 79* (1205), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:82-83.

typically cited date of the first "incident" in 1293. This idea has been established by Miri Rubin in *Gentile Tales*, and this thesis has found more evidence to bolster the argument that well before 1293 not only did stories hint at the desecration of the host by Jews but also *exempla* that showed Jewish characters directly desecrating the host.

Subtle references to Jewish host desecration, discussed by Miri Rubin in detail, involve those stories featuring a young Jewish boy who takes the Eucharist when he is moved by the Virgin Mary. When his father finds out, he attempts to murder him. These *exempla*, discussed earlier in this chapter in the context of Jewish anger, are argued by Rubin to have played a large role in the development of host desecration stories and accusations. Rubin states that "The centrality of the figure of a child, and its convergence with Christ in the host, recurs repeatedly and invokes pathos. People were moved by the vision of the child and the host and by the complementary image of a child observing it…strong fears of abuse and loss could be crystallized. Indeed, in the tales of the abuse of the host, it is often the wounded Christ Child who comes forth to proclaim the suffering Eucharistic presence."[242] In short, Rubin believes that elements of that *exemplum* were absorbed into the idea of desecration of the host by Jews.

In addition to these sermon *exempla* that seem to have elements of proto-host desecration, there are also *exempla* that directly refer to host desecration. Hugo von Trimberg wrote an *exemplum* about a Jew sneaking into a Church and stealing the Eucharist for malicious purposes.[243] In this story, a Jew disguises himself as a Christian,

[242] Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 24.
[243] Hugo von Trimberg, Book I, *Exemplum* 32, ed. Angelika Strauss, 148-149.

and having received the Eucharist, runs out of the Church. However, upon removing the Eucharist from his mouth, "God in the form of a small boy smiled at him."[244] Upon seeing this, the Jew was frightened and buried the boy nearby. Feeling guilty, the Jew quickly admits his sin to a local priest, and the Jew led them to where he had buried the child when "upon opening it the boy was found living and cheerful."[245]

This story has many layers to it. There is a clear reference to concern about Jews not wearing the costume assigned to them at the Fourth Lateran Council in that a Jew used the guise of a Christian to infiltrate the Church, but this story mainly focuses on host desecration. Later stories of host desecration follow a similar narrative, in which a Jew somehow infiltrates a Church and steals the Eucharist. However, in later stories the Jew typically stabs the host with a knife or even more pointedly, with a spear. Following this, the host typically bleeds. Or, as noted above in the story Rubin cites, the Christ-child appears to protect the Eucharist. In this story, it is never clear what the Jew had intended to do with the Eucharist, as guilt overwhelms him as soon as the host becomes a boy. Still, the appearance of the Christ child immediately defends the host from any malicious activity the Jew would have committed, an element that would become common in later desecration stories.

Host desecration, and the various stories that preceded it, served the purpose of creating an even more hostile Jewish Other. By the middle of the thirteenth century, Jews had been accused of killing Christian children for over a century. By also adding

[244] Ibid., 148.
[245] Ibid., 149.

that Jews were willing to assault the Eucharist, one of the most sacred elements of Christianity, Jews were clearly direct "enemies of the faith,"[246] as Alexander IV specified in 1254. Additionally, the elements of the stories seemed to follow logically the accusations of host desecration, as well as the new role Jews had taken on as intentional killers of the messiah. The Jew serves as a channel for Christian anxiety about their own religion, and simultaneously becomes a more hostile Other as a result of this anxiety. Stories that featured the Eucharist transforming into the Christ-child such as the one above, as well as stories that feature a bleeding host, legitimize the Eucharist, proving that it is in fact the body of Christ as doctrine indicated. Additionally, stories that construct doubts about the Eucharist as a defining characteristic of the Jewish community would be a way for the preacher to tell good Christians not to share these doubts.

The Empty Vessel

However, after having discussed the numerous hostile constructions of the Jewish Other in thirteenth century sermon *exempla*, it is important to note another construction that is less directly hostile. This is the construction of the Jew as an empty vessel, or Jews that appear to be waiting to be converted. Interestingly, many of the sermon stories that were discussed above, which contain a hostile depiction of the Jewish Other, also contain potential Jewish converts. In some instances, this character is the same as the hostile

[246] Alexander IV, *Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of France* (1258), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:214-215 (doc. 210).

Jew. This characterization dealt with Christian anxiety in a different way. Instead of constructing the Jew as hostile in order to deal with various anxieties that were emerging in the thirteenth century, the Jew is constructed as being ready to convert to Christianity. This way, the Jewish Other can be removed entirely, and so can some of the anxiety about Jewish presence within the Christian community. Of all of the proto-colonial constructions of the Jewish Other within thirteenth-century sermon stories, this one seems to have the greatest similarity to colonial discourse, bearing a great similarity to the "White Man's Burden" ideology of colonialism. The Jews are in need of the help of the Christian community, or else they will be lost.

This image of the Jew is probably most evident in an *exemplum* written by Jacques de Vitry that is his own take on a story contained in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*. In this story, a Jew is riding from one city to another and is caught in the wilderness at nightfall. He heads to a temple of Apollo and spends the night there. An evil spirit attacks the Jew in the temple and "through fear he [the Jew] made the sign of the cross" and "because of this, the demon was unable to harm him."[247] The demon returned to his companions and said in reference to the Jew whom he could not harm "I found an empty vessel having been marked"[248]. When the Jew realized he had been protected from the demon due to the sign "he accepted the deliverance of the virtue of the Christ in his time of need, and was made Christian."[249]

[247] Jacques de Vitry, *Exemplum* CXXXI, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane. 59
[248] Ibid., 59.
[249] Ibid., 59.

Like most sermon stories, there are complex elements contained in what is a fairly simple narrative. First, the Jew is immediately aware that his own faith is incapable of defending him from the demon. He makes no attempt to pray in Hebrew, and does nothing related to his own faith before resorting to the sign of the cross. Instead, upon seeing the spirit, he immediately invokes the cross knowing that it will defend him. This indicates that, as mendicant polemics argued at the time, Jews were well aware that their faith was the incorrect one, but "stubbornly persisted in their own ways."[250] It took a moment where the Jew's life was at risk for him to admit that Christianity is in fact the correct faith.

When the demon returns to the area where the other demons are, he also confirms that Christianity is the correct religion. He calls the Jew who had made the sign of a cross an "empty vessel," but one that had been marked. Because of this, he was protected. This implies that the demon could have easily harmed the Jew if it were not for his use of the sign of the cross, perhaps implying that Jews are regularly attacked or possessed by demons. By referring to the Jew as an "empty vessel" he is also effectively saying that Judaism is an empty and untrue faith, one that perhaps contains no truth. The final element of the story is the fact that by converting to Christianity the Jew fully admits that Christianity is the proper faith. Like all of these stories, this one helps the Christian community deal with latent anxiety about its own faith by showing that Judaism is incorrect.

[250]Caesarius of Heisterbach, Exemplum 83, ed. Joseph Klapper, 301.

Many of the *exempla* discussed here present a Jew committing a horrible act, but then the might of Christianity triumphs. Once the Jews realize their folly, they convert to Christianity, having been shown the proper faith by the miracle that had occurred. After Jews murder a singing boy and he is mystically resurrected "the Jews converted to the catholic faith."[251] In one of Caesarius of Heisterbach's *exempla*, after a Jew steals the Eucharist with the intent to desecrate it and it mystically transforms into the Christ-child, he "converted to the catholic faith".[252] These stories indicate that the even the stubbornness of Jews can be shattered by Christian miracles. They also indicate that that Christianity can trump Judaism, even the violent tendencies that have been shown to be inherent in the Jewish Other in the minds of the medieval Christian world by these *exempla*.

Young adult Jewish girls and very young Jewish boys are also very frequently constructed as empty vessels that very much want to convert to Christianity. Earlier in this chapter, this was seen in stories where the Jewish father was angered by the conversion of his child. In one *exemplum*, a Jewish woman is described as "burning with desire for the divinity of baptism,"[253] but more often the conversion is almost completely passive for a young Jewish person. The young Jew is in some cases simply asked if he wants to convert to Christianity, as is the case in one story where the young boy simply replies "yes" and is immediately baptized.[254] In other stories, a young Jewish girl upon

[251] Hugo von Trimberg, Book I, *Exemplum* 32, ed. Strauss., 149
[252] Hugo von Trimberg, Book I, *Exemplum* 32, ed. Strauss., 149.
[253]Caesarius of Heisterbach, ed. Strange, 98-99.
[254] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Exemplum* 119, ed. Klapper, 326-327.

interaction with a Christian man is converted to Christianity, but there is rarely any mention of her own intentions or desire, instead it is something of a footnote at the end of the *exemplum*, noting the fate of the couple that featured prominently in the story.

Of the seventeen sermons examined there is not a single record of an adult Jew, male or female, ever converting to Christianity without some type of miracle. Instead, Jews who convert without miracles are always children still under the guardianship of their family. Indeed, the parents of the converted children (and usually solely the father) always respond with hostility when they discover that their child has converted or experienced some kind of Christian ritual. This may indicate some degree of hope in the Christian community that the newest generation of Jews will be less stubborn and stiff-necked than the generation that these preachers are all used to dealing with. In any case, the older generation of Jews is portrayed as extremely stubborn and indeed hostile, and in some cases murderous, towards Christianity.

Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed the multitude of constructions of the Jewish Other in sermon *exempla*. It has argued that two major categories of the Jewish Other emerged in sermon stories in this century. Preachers either constructed Jews as attempting to subvert Christianity in any way possible or as being willing to convert to Christianity. These two separate types of constructions allowed preachers to construct Jewish characters who could have negative aggressive traits projected onto them. It also allowed preachers to

construct Jews, who had become problematic in the community, to show Jews as willing to assimilate. Finally, these sermons also constructed Jews as always being defeated by Christianity. This allowed preachers to reinforce the idea that Christianity is the proper religion despite the continued existence of the Jewish community.

Chapter V

Conclusion: The Thirteenth-Century Jew as a Proto-Colonial Other

This thesis has attempted to correct a number of problems in the dialogue between the history of medieval Europe and medieval Jewish history by integrating parts of both narratives while simultaneously using aspects of cultural theory to explain the construction of the Jewish Other. By discussing major events of Medieval European history as having a major effect on the thought process of the Medieval Christian community, especially in regard to the way in which it constructed the Jewish Other, this thesis has explained and illustrated the massive change in the way in which the Jewish Other was constructed in the thirteenth century. This conclusion will compare and contrast the various ways in which the Jewish Other was constructed in the three case studies, and will recapitulate the theoretical framework of the "proto-colonial" Jewish Other discussed here.

The thirteenth century saw a major change in the way the Jewish Other was constructed. This change was necessitated by anxiety about the Christian community, and resulted in a more malicious and binary Jewish Other. This change is very much comparable to the change in the way in which Europeans constructed Africans beginning in the colonial period. Before the colonial period, African saints were not exactly commonplace but they existed. There was even a mythical king in Africa named Prester

John who was believed to be a loyal supporter of Christianity and the crusades.[255] The image of the African changed when colonialism began and the conquerors used their position of power to construct an African Other, and eventually their image was changed to that of the "Hamite", named after the biblical character of Ham whose offspring were to become slaves for the rest of time.

While the image of the Jew does not shift all the way to slavery, the change in the Jewish Other in the thirteenth century is strikingly similar to the shift in the African Other and other colonial Others. The Church and the Christian community became anxious about the Jews within their midst, and sought to regulate and control them through both secular and ecclesiastical law. Popes began to construct Jews as subversive and lingering Christ-killers, while artists were commissioned to construct images of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* that regularly show the Jews as simultaneously subversive to Christianity and in need of the help of the Christian world. Preachers constructed Jews both as subversive to Christianity and willing to convert to it. In the article "The Use of the Jew in Colonial Discourse," Tudor Parfitt effectively argues that the religion of colonial Others were all viewed through the lens of the Jewish Other.[256] This may be because the Jewish Other served as a direct precursor to the colonial Other.

In his discussion of what he terms "colonial discourse," Homi Bhabha notes a number of things about the construction of the colonial Other in the nineteenth century

[255] Otto of Freising, *Chronicon*, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH SSRG* (Hanover: Hahn, 1867), VII, 33, translated by James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History*, (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1962) , 334-335.
[256] Tudor Parfitt, "The Use of the Jew in Colonial Discourse," in *Orientalism and the Jews* ed. Ivan Kalmar and Derek Penslar, 51-68, esp. 56.

that also seem to apply to the thirteenth-century Jewish Other. Bhabha notes that "The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and establish systems of administration and instruction."[257] This certainly seems to be the case for the way in which the papacy began to construct the Jewish Other in the thirteenth century. Before the thirteenth century, the papacy attempted to stem violence and cruelty against the Jewish community, but then this changed. The papacy, responding to anxiety about heretics, the expansion of Islam, hostile emperors, and local warfare among nobles in Rome, began to deal with the Jewish community more actively. By 1199, the papacy could no longer offer protection to the entire Jewish community due to the presence of subversive Jews. By 1239 the papacy had legislated what were the proper books for the practice of Judaism, and Jews were forced to attend mendicant sermons. By 1263, mendicants and other inquisitors were ordered to keep an eye on recent converts to Christianity who had once been Jewish. Jews most certainly began to be the target of the "systems of administration and instruction" that Bhabha discusses. In this case, these systems are being placed upon a community by the papacy instead of a powerful and external nation-state, as is typically the case with colonialism. While the entire construction of the thirteenth-century Jewish Other is not predicated solely upon these changes in papal policy, they most certainly played a role contributing proto-colonial traits to the Jewish Other. At a minimum, the papacy contributed a proto-colonial discourse to an already increasingly inimical and subversive Jewish Other, and this

[257] Bhabha, "The Other Question", 101.

discourse -- which also seems to be present in artwork and sermons -- became the official policy of the Church.

In discussing colonial stereotyping Bhabha also notes that ambivalence is always present in the construction of a colonial Other. He notes that colonial discourse "On the one hand…proposes a teleology – under certain conditions of colonial domination and control the native is progressively reformable. On the other, however, it effectively displays the separation, makes it more visible."[258] Once again, in discussing what he believes to be colonial discourse, Bhabha seems to be describing the type of discourse present between thirteenth-century Jews and Christians. In thirteenth-century Europe, these ambivalent dual constructions allowed for multiple outlets for anxiety about the Jewish community, and these multiple constructions of the Jewish Other are also not dissimilar to colonial constructions of the colonized. In the colonial period that Bhabha discusses, the people who inhabited colonial lands were sometimes cast as overly savage and hostile, murdering the members of the dominant cultural community on a regular basis for no particular reason. Jews were also constructed in this manner, taking on "savage" traits in the thirteenth century as they are accused of murdering Christian children and their own children in an attempt to subvert Christianity.

Peoples who inhabited colonial lands were also regularly constructed as blank slates who wanted to convert to Christianity and become "civilized" as part of the "White Man's Burden." This was also indicated in thirteenth-century constructions of the Jewish Other, most specifically in the way in which Jews are constructed in images of *Ecclesia*

[258] Bhabha, "The Other Question", 118.

and *Synagoga* and in sermons. *Synagoga* is long-suffering and can have her blindfold lifted with the help of *Ecclesia*, while Jewish children often have a great desire to convert to Christianity, and Jewish adults may convert to Christianity after a Christian miracle. These two types of Others are most certainly analogous with the "savage" and the "blank slate" colonial Others.

While these types of Others are present in all three case studies, the various case studies do construct them differently, and the Jewish Others presented in these chapters, while having some great similarities, are far from identical. Jews in papal documents are for the most part much more subtly associated with negative imagery, with the occasional comparison of the Jew to Biblical Cain, or direct accusations of Jews whipping Christ. It should be noted that in thirteenth-century papal documents there is only one reference to Jewish murder of Christians, made tangentially by Innocent III. However, Jewish aggression is present in papal documents, albeit without regular reference to murder, with multiple references to Jews laying their hands on clerics. Despite this, Jewish anger in papal documents is much less intense than in sermons, which seem to regularly depict Jews committing murderous acts. Additionally, artwork featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* features violence as well, especially in the images of *Synagoga* piercing the Lamb of God, but this violence is fairly symbolic. While *Synagoga* typically wields a spear, she is not constructed as a figure with great anger as has been described in sermons. It is safe to say that of the three case studies in this thesis, medieval sermons constructed the most inimical image of the Jewish Other. This is likely because of the three case studies, medieval sermons allow for the most sensationalized and stereotyped image of the Jewish

Other due to their narrative nature and the fact that sermons are also closest to the masses. Stuart Hall defines a stereotype as an Other being "reduced to their essence" at least from the point of view of the dominant population.[259] Papal documents are fairly formal and avoid sensationalized constructions for the most part. *Synagoga* certainly carries some Jewish stereotypes, such as the Jew as Christ-killer and the Jew as blind and ignorant, but the iconography of *Synagoga* has to be such so that she is still recognizable. The very nature of art is also fairly static, making it so that characters cannot be described as fluidly as they can be in sermons. Finally, sermons are intended to be entertaining stories that simultaneously educate. By constructing an aggressive and inimical Jewish Other, the villain of the story is clearly defined and the audience can rejoice when the power of Christianity defeats the Jew.

The image of the Jew as usurer is also present in all of these case studies. However, when popes refer to priests who had "pawned their vestments to the Jews,"[260] they are largely berating the priests, though in this context they do refer to the Jews as "enemies of the Church." Kenneth Stow has argued that the Church largely supported Jewish usury, as it understood it to be a necessary part of society and saw the Jews as useful in that respect,[261] as Christians could not lend money on interest, and this seems to be largely reflected by the papal documents examined above. *Synagoga* is regularly associated with usury, indicating the connection between money-lending and the Jew in the medieval mind, but it is not purely negative imagery. On the other hand, sermons

[259] Stuart Hall, "The Spectacle of the 'Other'", in *Representation*, 249.
[260] Alexander IV, *Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of France* (1258), ed. Simonsohn, *ASJ* 1:214-215 (doc. 210).
[261] Kenneth Stow, "The Good of the Church," 240.

seem to construct a very negative image of the Jewish pawn-broker or money-lender, featuring Jewish characters that abuse their apparent position of power to make attempts at subverting Christianity. This disconnect between papal documents, artwork, and sermons can be explained by the fact that sermons once again have much more freedom and a more complex narrative that allows them to construct more detailed and thus more stereotypical Jewish characters. Additionally, the fact that the papacy never associates Jews with usury in a negative manner largely has to do with politics, not with the way in which the papacy viewed Jews.

Additionally, papal documents do not seem to construct a Jew that desperately wants to convert to Christianity, while sermons and artwork featuring *Synagoga* seems to clearly convey this image. However, papal documents in many ways seem to be taking on administrative action that is proto-colonial in nature which is an indication that the papacy has a sort of proto-colonial idea of a Jewish Other who needs to convert. Examples of this are any papal documents that attempt to regulate or educate Jews, such as documents that suggest that Jews must attend sermons so that they can be brought to the proper faith, documents that call for the regulation of Jewish books, and documents that call for formerly Jewish converts to Christianity to be closely watched. These types of documents, discussed in chapter two, all indicate that the papacy felt that Jews must convert to Christianity in time, and cannot preserve their own corrupted religion. As long as they attempt to preserve their religion, they must accede to having it regulated by the Church in terms of their books and regular attendance of mendicant sermons.

These common constructions are all results of the Jewish Other taking on characteristics of heretics and Muslims, a process that began in the mid-twelfth century. The introduction of aggressive traits such as murder and anger, and the idea that the Jewish religion could corrupt Christianity and was not being performed adequately are indicative of traits that the Jewish Other gained in this period from these two Others who had long been constructed as dangerous for Christianity. Jews, who had been constructed by Augustine and Gregory as important for Christianity,[262] were now placed into illustrative sermon stories as much more negative characters, were constructed in increasingly binary artwork featuring the Church and the Synagogue, and began to be more heavily regulated by the papacy who now viewed them as Christ-killers and dangerous for Christian spiritual well-being.

The theory proposed by Jeremy Cohen has been that a change largely occurred because rabbinical Judaism became equated with heresy.[263] However, this thesis has shown examples of this new more negative construction of the Jewish Other before 1239 when Gregory IX ordered that Talmuds throughout Europe be seized and burned.[264] Jacques de Vitry's sermons, the Strasbourg statues, and numerous papal documents all seem to attribute to Jews certain characteristics consistent with this more negative idea. Jacques de Vitry constructs a Jewish father as committing infanticide in an act of proto-host desecration, the Strasbourg statues have a *Synagoga* who seems less than interested in performing her duties as the guardian of the Old Testament, and Innocent III and his

[262] Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 20-22.
[263] Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 60-62.
[264] Ibid., 64.

successors are all suddenly concerned with Jewish subversiveness. These are just a few examples of Jews gaining new more negative traits before the papacy becomes aware of "heretical" rabbinical Judaism in 1236. It is difficult to say that there is a single origin for the more negative construction of the Jew that emerges in the thirteenth century, but it is clear that numerous outside forces – rather than specific actions or perceived actions of the Jews, played a role in this new construction. Cultural theorists are in near-universal agreement that anxiety about the Self results in the construction of an Other who can be used in numerous ways to deal with this anxiety. The Jewish Other in the thirteenth century is no different. It seems likely that the construction of rabbinical Judaism as "heretical" in the thirteenth century may actually be the result of the overall change in the way in which the Jewish Other was constructed, rather than the cause.

While there are certainly differences in gradation of certain things within these three case studies, there are three constructions of Jews that appear in various degrees of intensity in all three of these studies. These constructions are the Jews as violent, Jews commonly associated with usury, and the Jewish population constructed as needing help to reform their own religion or convert to Christianity. The commonality of these constructions, whether in the sermons of Jacques de Vitry, the papal registers of pope Innocent III, or the Strasbourg *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* indicates a certain degree of communication regarding the Jewish Other north of the Alps.

Bibliography

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Blumenkranz, Bernard. "Géographie historique d'un thème de l'iconographie religieuse: les représentations de *Synagoga* en France." In *Mélanges Offerts à René Crozet*, edited by Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou, 135-147. Poiters: Societe d'Etudes Medievales, 1966.

Branner, Robert. *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis*: *A Study of Styles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.

Brundage, James. *Medieval Canon Law*. New York: Longman Publishing, 1995.

Brentano, Robert. *Rome Before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth Century Rome*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990.

Brett, Edward Tracy. *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society*. Studies and Texts 67. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984.

Caesarius of Heisterbach. *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*. Edited by Joseph Strange, 2 volumes. Brussels: H. Lempertz and Company, 1851.

Chazan, Robert. *European Jewry and the First Crusade*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

_____. *Fashioning Jewish Identity in Medieval Western Christendom*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Cigman, Gloria. *The Jew as an Absent-Presence in Medieval England: The Seventeenth Sacks Lecture of the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies*. Oxford: Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, 1991.

Cohen, Jeremy. *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.

_____. *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

_____. "The Muslim Connection: On the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology." In *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, edited by Jeremy Cohen, 141-162. Harrowitz: Wiesbadden, 1996.

d'Avray, David. *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

_____. *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

_____. *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Ferber, Stanley. "Crucifixion Iconography in a Group of Carolingian Ivory Plaques." *Art Bulletin* 48: (1966).

Foucault, Michel. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. New York: Random House Books, 1965.

Fredrikeson, Paula. *Augustine and the Jews: Defense of Jews and Judaism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Friesing, Otto. *Chronicon*. Translated by James Brundage. In *The Crusades: A Documentary History*, edited by G.H. Pertz, 334-335, Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1962.

Gilchrest, John. "The Perception of Jews in Canon Law in the Period of First Two Crusades." *Jewish History* (1988): 9-24.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

Grayzel, Solomon. "The Papal Bull *Sicut Iudeis.*" In *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict: From Late Antiquity to Reformation*, edited by Jeremy Cohen, 231-259. New York: NYU Press, 1991.

_____. *The Popes and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*. 2 vols. (the second edited by Kenneth Stowe). Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1933 / Detroit: Wayne State University, 1989.

Gregg, Joan Young. *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflection of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1997.

Hall, Stuart. "The Spectacle of the 'Other'." In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, edited by Stuart Hall, 223-290. London: Sage Publishing, 1997.

Hamess, Jacqueline ed. *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*. Textes et etudes du moyen age 9. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.

Hoogeweg, Herman. *Westfälisches Urkunden-Buch: Die Urkunden Westfalens vom J. 1201-1300*. Munich: Nabu Press, 2010.

Hugo von Trimberg. *Das "Solsequium" des Hugo von Trimberg: Eine Kritische Edition*. Edited by Angelika Strauss. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludgwin Reichert Verlag Publishing, 2002.

_____. *Hugo von Trimbergs Lateinische Werke*. Edited by Eric Seeman. Munich: George D.W. Callwey Publishing, 1914.

Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism and Islam (1000-1150)*. Translated by Graham Robert Edwards. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Jacques de Vitry. *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the* "Sermones Vulgares" *of Jacques de Vitry*. Edited by Thomas Crane. Liechtenstein: Kraus Printing Limited, 1967.

Jalal al-'Azm, Sadik. "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse." In *Orientalism: A Reader*, edited by Alexander Macfie, 217-238. New York: NYU Press, 1998.

Jansen, Katherine L. and Rubin, Miri. "Introduction." In *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching, 1200-1500*, edited by Katherine L. Jansen and Miri Rubin, 1-18. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

Jerome. *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae* vol. 2. Edited by Isidor Hilberg. Vindbonae: F. Tempsky, 1910.

Jordan, William Chester. "Christian Excommunication of the Jews in the Middle Ages: Restating the Issues." *Jewish History* 25 (1986): 31-38.

Kalmar, Ivan, and Derek J. Penslar ed. *Orientalism and the Jews*. New York: Brandeis University Press, 2004.

Kedar, Benjamin. "Canon Law and the Burning of the Talmud." *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* (1979): 79-82.

Kessler, Herbert and Nirenberg, David editors. *Judaism in Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Kienzle, Beverly Maine. "Introduction." In *The Sermons*, edited by Beverly Maine Kienzle, 147-174. Typologie des sources du moyen age occidental, volumes 81-83. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Klapper, Joseph ed. *Erzahlungen des Mittlealters*. Breslau: Verlag von M & H Marcus, 1914.

Langmuir, Gavin. *Toward a Definition of Anti-Semitism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Marcus, Ivan. "Images of Jews in the *Exempla* of Caesarius of Heisterbach." In *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, edited by Jeremy Cohen, 247-256. Wiesbadden: Harrowitz Publishing, 1996.

Marcus, Jacob R. *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book, 315-1791*. New York: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000.

Martin, Henry. *Psautier de saint Louis et de Blanche de Castille; 50 planches reproduisant les miniatures, initiales, etc., du manuscrit 1186 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*. Paris: Impr. Berthaud frères, 1909.

McCulloh, John. "Jewish Ritual Murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and the Early Dissemination of the Myth." *Speculum 72* (1997): 698-740.

Melinkoff, Ruth. *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness In Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

_____. *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

Millar, George. *Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts* vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927.

Monroe, Elizabeth. "'Fair and Friendly, Sweet and Beautiful': Hope for Jewish Conversion in Synagoga's Song of Songs Imagery." In *Beyond the Yellow Badge*: *Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, edited by Mitchell Merback, 33-62. New York: Brill, 2008.

Moore, R.I. *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*. New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001.

Morrow, Karen Ann. "Disputation in Stone: Jews Imagined on the Saint Stephen Portal of Paris Cathedral." In *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, edited by Mitchell Merback, 63-86. New York: Brill, 2008.

Muessing, Carolyn. *The Faces of Women in the Sermons of Jacques de Vitry*. Toronto: Peregrina Publishing, 1999.

Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Parfitt, Tudor., "The Use of the Jew in Colonial Discourse." In *Orientalism and the Jews*, edited by Ivan Kalmar and Derek Penslar, 51-68. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2005.

Peter the Venerable. *Adversus Iudaeos*, edited by Yvonne Friedman. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985.

Pseudo-Augustine. *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, edited by. J.N. Hilgarth. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006

Rowe, Nina. *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Rubin, Miri. *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Random House, 1978.

Saperstein, Marc. "The Medieval Jewish Sermon." In *The Sermon*, edited by Beverly Maine Kienzle, 175-201. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Scanlon, Larry. *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Schilling, Konrad. *Monumenta Judaica: 2000 Jahre Geschichte Und Kultur Der Juden Am Rhein; Handbuch. Im Auftrage Der Stadt Koln*. Koln: Koln Press, 1964.

Seiferth, Wolfgang. *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*. New York: Ungar Publishing, 1970.

Simonsohn, Shlomo ed. *The Apostolic See and the Jews: 492-1404*, 6 volumes. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988-1991.

_____. *The Apostolic See and the Jews: History*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997.

Schaar, Stuart. "Orientalism at the Service of Imperialism." In *Orientalism: A Reader*, edited by Alexander Macfie, 181-194. New York: NYU Press, 2000.

Schreckenberg, Heinz. *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History*. New York: Continuum Publishing, 1997.

Stow, Kenneth. "The Good of the Church, the Good of the State: The Popes and Jewish Money." In *Christianity and Judaism*: *Studies in Church History*, edited by Diane Wood, 237-252. New York: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1997.

Strickland, Debra Higgs. *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Synan, Edward. *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages: An Intense Exploration of Judeo-Christian Relationships in the Medieval World.* New York: Macmillan Company, 1965.

Tubach, Frederic C. *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1981 .
.

Vodola, Elisabeth. *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1986.

Watt, J.A. "The English Episcopate, the State and the Jews: The Evidence of the Thirteenth-Century Conciliar Decrees." In *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of theNewcastle Upon Tyne Conference, 1987*, edited by P.R. Coss, 135-147. Suffolk, England: Boydell Press, 1987.

Wellberry, David. *A New History of German Literature*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Williams, Jay. *Life in the Middle Ages*. London: Nelson, 1967.

Appendix

Corpus of Images used in Chapter 2: *Ecclesia et Synagoga*: Therapy for the Masses

Many of these images were gathered at the Getty Research Institute at the J. Paul Getty Center in Los Angeles, California. The Index of Christian Art and the Getty Photo Study Collection were used. Both of these collections cite books as sources for the images contained within them, resulting in references to books in this appendix that are not in the bibliography. It should be noted that the Index of Christian Art was in computerized form and was accessed March 5th-8th, 2012.

I. Pre-thirteenth century

875, Ivory relief from a liturgical book of the crucifixion. *Synagoga* sits enthroned and with a crown, holding an orb to symbolize her power. Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 32.

9th c, Drogo Sacramentary, features what many consider a male *Synagoga* sitting to the right of Christ and holding an orb with his arm pointing towards Christ, while *Ecclesia* gathers the blood in her chalice. Rudolf Wesenberg, *Frühe mittlealterliche Bildwerke* (Dusseldorf: Schwan, 1972), 269.

9th c, Carolingian ivory of a crucifixion scene featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* to the right, with fully intact banner and no blindfold. In Stanley Ferber, "Crucifixion Iconography in a Group of Carolingian Ivory Plaques," *Art Bulletin* Sep-Dec 1966, 323-334. (Figure 3.1)

Ca. 1025 ivory plaque of a crucifixion scene. In Ferber, "Crucifixion Iconography".

Ca. 1050, ivory plaque at the cathedral of St. George in Cologne with a crucifixion scene featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. A *Synagoga* not blindfolded stands to the right of Christ, holding an intact banner. From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 68.

Ca. 1100, Miniature from Essen Missal featuring a crucifixion scene and *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* holds her broken banner upside down. (Figure 3.2). From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 87.

Ca. 1100 drawing from a missal from Anjou. At the crucifixion, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* both stand to either side of Christ nimbed and holding books to their chest (Figure 3.17). from Eric George Millar, *Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, vol. 1 Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927 , 83.

Ca. 1100, Inhabited character in a Citeaux missal featuring Christ enthroned as he crowns *Ecclesia* and pushes *Synagoga* away. *Synagoga* has been heavily damaged (perhaps intentionally by the owner), but it clear she wears a crown and holds the Old Testament to her chest. Charles Oursel, *La Miniature du XIIe siècle a l'Abbaye de Citeaux: d'apres les manuscrits de la Bibliotheque de Dijon* (Dijon: Venot, 1926), VIII.

11th c. Byzantine illuminated manuscript, crucifixion scene featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Ecclesia* is being brought into the frame by an angel, while a blindfolded *Synagoga* is being pushed out. In *Evangiles avec peintures byzantines,* published by Paris Bibliotheque Nationale, 51.

Late 11th c, Salerno Ivories. Crucifixion scene featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. Ecclesia is being brought into the frame and *Synagoga,* only recognizable because she is labeled as such (no spear, blindfold, tablets) is being pushed out. Robert Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories: Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 130.

Ca. 1100, Miniature of an End of Days scene from the *Liber Floridus* (ca. 1100). Christ is in the center, removing *Synagoga*'s blindfold while she holds a broken banner (Figure 3.3). From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art,* 88.

Ca. 1108, Mural of a crucifixion scene at the monastic church of Kleinkomburg, ca. 1108. *Synagoga* stands to the right of Christ, a crown falling from her head. She tightly holds a scroll symbolizing the Old Testament. Schreckenberg, *Christian Art*, 36.

1145, St. Denis Stain-Glass Window depicting Christ, *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at the end of days. Christ crowns *Ecclesia* and lifts *Synagoga*'s blindfold (Figure 3.12). Schrecknberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 66.

Ca. 1150, Baptismal font at the Abbey of Saint Larmes in Selincourt, Christ lifts *synagoga's* blindfold. Photographie Giraudon Collection 95485/RL8846.

Ca. 1150, Ornate Cross from the Guelph Treasure featuring small sculptures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* under each arm of the cross. *Synagoga* holds the tablets of the Old Testament tight to her chest.

Ca. 1150, Relief of *Synagoga* at Malmesbury Abbey, *Synagoga* holds a broken staff and a crown falls from her head. K.J. Galbraith, "The Iconography of Biblical Scenes at Malmesbury Abbey," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* vol. 28, 38-56, 1965.

Ca. 1150, Full-page illumination from the Gospels of Henry the Lion. Features *Synagoga* in the lower-right medallion with crown firmly in place, no spear, and no tablets. She is making the same gesture of blessing as *Ecclesia*. Herzog August Bibliotek Guelf.105.Noviss 2, f. 271, photo from Getty Center Photo Archive 0001995.

Ca. 1150, An End of Days scene in a historiated character in a liturgical book from Tours. Christ at the end of days with *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga*, without a blindfold, holds her tablets of the Old Testament toward Christ (Figure 3.15). From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 73.

Ca. 1160, Enamel on alter in Augsburg featuring a crucifixion Scene. *Synagoga* is to the right of Christ, blindfolded and holding a broken spear. In Joseph Braun, *Meisterwerke der deutschen Goldschmiedekunst* (Munich: Riehn and Rusch, 1922), 26.

1165, Enamel on the portable altar of Stavelot, features *Synagoga* underneath Christ in a medallion, wielding a spear and blindfolded. In Otto van Falke and Heinrich Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittlealters* (Frankfurt: J. Baer, 1904), 78.

Ca. 1170 Cross of Scheldewindeke,. Right terminal of the cross features *Synagoga*, wearing a crown and wielding a broken banner. Image from the *Musee Royaux d'art et d'Histoire* in Brussels.

Ca. 1170, Book cover from the Cathedral of Trier. Crucifixion scene, with a blindfolded *Synagoga* pointing to Christ with her right hand and holding a spear in her left hand. Her crown is at her feet. In Falke and Frauberg, *Deutche Schmelzarbeiten*, 103.

Ca. 1175, Hildesheim Portable Altar. Crucifixion scene with blind-folded *Synagoga* to the right, wielding a spear in her left hand and pointing to Christ with her right, in *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* XXXVI, 1949.

1180, miniature in the *Liber Scivias*. *Synagoga* holding Moses, Abraham, and other prophets (Figure 3.13). From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 68.

Ca. 1180, Illustration of the crucifixion from the *Hortus Deliciorum. Synagoga* is to the right of Christ, wearing a blindfold, holding a broken banner and holds the Old Testament tightly to her chest as she rides a donkey to symbolize her stubbornness (Figure 3.14). From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 71.

Late 12th century, historiated initial featuring *Ecclesia* standing on a blind-folded *Synagoga*. From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 42.

Ca. 1185, Crucifixion Scene featuring *Synagoga*. She wields the symbols of the passion in the sponge and the spear, and holds the tables of the Old Testament to display them. Abbey of St. Vitus. Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 38.

Ca. 1195 relief of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at the cathedral of Monreale. *Synagoga* holds a broken staff, but has no blindfold and is wearing her crown. Domenico-Benedetto Gravina, *Il Duomo di Monreale* (Palermo: Stab. Dip. Di f. Lao 1851), II.

Ca. 1197, *Synagoga* in the Pamplona Bible, blindfolded by a snake, with broken banner, from Francois Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 259.

II. Thirteenth Century

Ca. 1200, Crucifixion Scene featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, Ingeborg Psalter *Synagoga* to the right of Christ, wielding a broken staff and holding the tablets of the Old Testament below her waist and upside down as her crown falls from her head. Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 44.

Ca. 1200, Church mural in the arch of the apse at Spenstrum Cathedral. *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* stand beneath the *Agnus Dei*. *Synagoga* pierces the Lamb with her spear as it breaks, and *Ecclesia* collects the blood in her chalice. From Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art*, 46.

Ca. 1200, Illustration from a French liturgical book. *Ecclesia*, *Synagoga*, and the *Agnus Dei*. A blind-folded *Synagoga* pierces the lamb as her spear breaks and *Ecclesia* gathers the blood in her chalice (Figure 3.4). From Heinz Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 46.

Ca. 1200, full page illustration from the Psalter of Blanche of Castile. In the right medallion, *Synagoga*, blindfolded and holding a broken staff, has completely abandoned the Old Testament as it lays out of her reach. From Henry Martin, *Psautier de saint Louis et de Blanche de Castille; 50 planches reproduisant les miniatures, initiales, etc., du manuscrit 1186 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*. Paris: Impr. Berthaud frères, 1909, XXX.

1200-1250. Manuscript cover with a scene of the deposition from the Cross featuring *Synagoga*. She is to the right of cross, and has allowed her banner to fall to the ground as her crown falls from her head. Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 47.

1200-1250. Historiated Initial from a Missal from St. Pierre-le-Vil, *Synagoga*, *Ecclesia*, and the *Agnus Dei*. *Synagoga*, blind-folded and holding a broken spear, is holding only one tablet of the Old Law, with the other having fallen to the ground (Figure 3.24). Sens Bibliotheque Municipale, 18f.231, photo from Getty Center Photo Archive 0306609.

1211-1291, Monumental sculptures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at the Notre Dame Cathedral in Chatres. A crown falls from the head of *Synagoga*, but she holds the Old Testament tightly to her chest. Wilibald Sauerland, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270* (H.N. Abrams, 1972), 483.

1214-1222, Full-page illustration from the Psalter of Robert de Lindesey. Crucifixion scene featuring a medallion of a blind-folded *Synagoga* in the upper right, holding the tablets of the Old Testament far from her body, crown falling from her head. In Edward

George Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century* (Paris. G. Van Oest, 1926), 69.

Ca. 1220, Historiated Initial in a Reims Cathedral Pontifical. *Synagoga* holds a broken banner as her crown falls from her head. She has allowed the Old Testament to fall to the ground and break (Figure 3.23) Rouen, Bibliotheque Municipale, A.34(370), f.38, photo from Getty Center Photo Archive, 0306528.

1220-1250, Corbie Abbey Bible, full-page illumination of Christ crowning Mary as the Queen of Heaven, with *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* flanking them. The blindfolded *Synagoga* is holding the Old Testament beneath her waste, and has a broken bannered-spear. Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), fig. 204.

Ca. 1230, A medallion showing *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* beanath the cross from a passion window at the Bourges Cathedral. A Blind-folded *Synagoga* pierces Christ's side with a broken spear and a crown falls from her head as *Ecclesia* gathers the blood in her chalice (Figure 3.8). From Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 103.

1230-1240, Statues of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at the Bamberg Cathedral. *Synagoga* is blindfolded, holds a broken spear, and holds the tables of the Old Testament beneath her waist as they slip out of her hand (figure 3.11). From Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, figure 30.

Ca. 1230, Strasbourg *Synagoga* statue. A blind-folded *Synagoga* looks away from *Ecclesia* as she holds a broken spear, the Old Testament is slipping from her hands and is beneath her waist (Figure 3.10). From Schreckenberg, *Jews in Christian Art*, 51.

Ca. 1235, Minden Cathedral *Synagoga*. Badly damaged sculpture, but *Synagoga* is clearly blindfolded and looking away from her companion *Ecclesia*.

Ca. 1235-1245, Rouen Cathedral Missal, historiated initial featuring featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* holding tablets beneath her waist, blindfolded, and wielding a broken spear. Rouen Bibilotheque Municaple, Y.50 (277) f.167, photo from Getty Center Photo Archive 0306544.

1236-1265, Fresco on the wall at Saint Peter and Paul Abbey in Krems. Featured in a crucifixion scene, *Synagoga,* without a blindfold, holds the tablets of the Old Testament upside down and beneath her waist and a broken spear in her other hands. From Otto Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1970), 306-307.

Ca. 1240 Stained-glass window in Church of St. Elizabeth in Marburg featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* is blindfolded, has a broken spear holds the head of a scapegoat, and has a money-belt around her waist. From Schilling, *Monumenta Judaica,* 68.

Ca. 1240-1260, Missal from St.-Maur-des-Fosses, Historiated initial featuring *Ecclesia*, *Synagoga*, and *Agnus Dei*. *Synagoga* holding tablets beneath her waist,wielding broken spear as her crown falls from her head. BN LAT.12054 f.150v, photo from Getty Center Photo Archive 0294563.

1247, Relief of *Synagoga* at the shrine of St. Eleuthrius. A crown is falling from her head, she wields a broken spear, and holds a chalice upside down. From Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 123.

Ca. 1245, Chartres Cathedral Stain-glass Window. *Synagoga* wearing a blindfold and wielding a broken spear while a devil shoots in arrow into her eye, indicating a permanent form of blindness. From Wolfgang Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 68.

After 1247, Inhabited character in a Parisian Missal inhabited by *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* has a veil instead of a blindfold, a crown firmly on her head, but holds the tablets upside down. BN LAT.9441 f.87, photo from Getty Center Photo Archive 0294577.

Ca. 1250, Detail from an inhabited character from a Parisian bible. A blind-folded *Synagoga* holds a broken spear and holds the tables of the Old Law beneath her waist (Figure 3.20). From the Piers Morgan Library Collection in New York.

Ca. 1250. *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* on either side of the *Agnus Dei*. A blind-folded *Synagoga* pierces the Lamb as her spear breaks while *Ecclesia* gathers blood in her chalice (Figure 3.5). From Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages*, 108.

Ca. 1250, Detail of a historiated initial from a Parisian missal containing *Ecclesia*, *Synagoga*, and the *Agnus Dei*. A blindfolded *Synagoga*'s spear is piercing the Lamb as it breaks, a crown falls from her head, and she holds the tablets of the Old Testament upside down and beneath her waist. (Figure 3.7). Bibliotheque Nationale LAT.112, f.113, photo from J. Paul Getty Collection 0294598.

Ca. 1250 Parisian Franciscan Missal, a historiated initial contains *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* holds the tablets of the Old Testament upside down, and a broken spear in her other hand as a crown falls from her head. Assisi, Sacro Convento, f. 79. Getty Photo Collection Archive 0295405.

Ca. 1250, sculpture of *Synagoga* being crushed beneath St. Jerome's feet at the cathedral of Notre Dame in Chartres and seems to be frantically trying to get his attention and pointing to a scroll of the Old Testament she holds in her hand. James Austin Collection, 757/4, Getty Photo Center Archive 0086959.

Ca. 1250, Statues of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at Trier Cathedral, circa 1250. A blind-folded *Synagoga* holds a broken staff and also holds the tablets to her chest but inverted (Figure 3.18). From Konrad Schilling, *Monumenta Judaica*, 70.

Ca. 1260, Crucifixion Scene from the Psalter of Bonmont featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* to the right, looking away from Christ, blindfolded and holding the tablets of the Old Testament below her waist, also wielding a broken spear. In Hans Swarzenki, *Die Lateinschen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein fur Kuntswissenschaft , 1936), 128.

After 1261, Parisian Franciscan Missal, featuring a historiated initial with *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Synagoga* holds the Old Testament upside down far below her waist and a broken spear as a crown falls from her head. Padua Bibloteca Capitolare, D. 34, f. 113, Getty Photo Center Archive 0291975.

Ca. 1270, Crucifixion Scene from the Lectionary of Regensburg, featuring *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. *Ecclesia* is being brought into the frame by an angel, while *Synagoga*, wielding a broken spear, is being pushed out of the frame by another angel. In Swarzenki, *Die Lateinschen*, 111.

1275, Historiated initial in Seitenstetten-Gradual-Sequential-Sacramentary featuring *Ecclesia* and a figure that may be either a personification of death or a male *Synagoga*. In George Millar, *Library of Chester A. Beatty* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 24.

Ca. 1275, Crucifixion Scene from the Missal of Cambrai, *Synagoga* featured in lower right-hand corner, holding tablets below her waist, blindfolded, and wielding a broken spear. In Bernhard Blumenkranz, "Geographie historique d'un theme de l'iconographie religieuse: les representations de *Synagoga* en France," in *Melanges Rene Crozet* (Poiters: Societe d'Etudes Medievales, 1966), 1148 fig. 13.

Ca. 1275, Northeastern French Bible, at the Morgan Library. *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* featured in a historiated initial, *Synagoga* holds the tablets of the Old Testament far from her body.

1270-1300, Wimpfen im Tal Stiftskirche, South Transept features a relief of a crucifixion scene. *Synagoga* is to the right of Christ, holding the Old Testament which is slipping out of her hand to her side, and a broken spear in her other hand as her crown falls from her head. Julius Baum, *Gotische Bildwerke Schwabens* (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1921), fig. 97.

Ca. 1287, Relief of *Synagoga* on the side of a choir stall in Pohdle Monastery. Blindfolded, she holds the head of a scapegoat and a broken bannered spear as a crown falls from her head. From Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church*, 185.

Late 13th century French Ivory, features a *Synagoga* to the right of the main composition, head severely turned away from Christ (who is in the center), holding a broken spear and the tablets of the Old Testament below her waist and almost behind her back. In Raymond Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques Francais* (Paris: Picard, 1924), 52.

Ca. 1290, Reliquary of St. Vincentius of Auverge. Crucifixion scene, features *Synagoga* to the right, holding the tablets of the Old Testament just off the ground. She is also blindfolded and holding a broken spear. Unpublished image, *Index of Christian Art* number: 43 S22V4 Ch R3,1 B2 082181.

Ca. 1300, Statues of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at the Cathedral of Munster. A blind-folded *Synagoga* holds a broken staff and the tablets of the Old Testament to her side and beneath her waist (Figure 3.19). From Schilling, *Monumenta Judaica*, 69

Ca. 1300 historiated initial in the Ramsey Psalter. In the lower part of the initial, *Synagoga* has allowed the tablets to fall from her hands upside down (Figure 3.22). From *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, III, Kärnten, 1907 83-84; fig. 4.