

Chapter 2

THE OTHER AS WITNESS TO THE TRUTH

POSITIVE RESPONSES TO SHARED RELIGIOUS VENERATION AMONG JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN PILGRIMS TO THE MIDDLE EAST FROM WESTERN EUROPE

Introduction

In the region stretching from Iberia to Central Asia, Muslims, Jews, and Christians frequently participated in one another's religious festivals, made pilgrimage to sites holy to two or more religious groups, and venerated one another's "very special dead."¹ Superficially such inter-communal sharing indicates considerable harmony between members of different religious populations, however, these joint holy sites and festivals were often either strongly contested by religious leaders or interpreted in such a way as to demonstrate the superiority of a given writer's own faith. Toleration or celebrations of sharing, however polemical in tone, are frequently found in travel narratives, pilgrimage guides, chronicles, and hagiographies.

Beginning in the late eleventh century, the increase in pilgrimage from Europe to Jerusalem and surrounding regions, the tensions of conquest, crusade, or the fear of either, especially in Iberia, Sicily, and, eventually, the Levant and Egypt, all contributed to intensifying and variegating the nature of contact between Jews, Christians, and Muslims. At the same time these factors also made contact more problematic.² Periodic waves of immigration, prompted by outright expulsion, such as the 1492 expulsion of Jews from Spain, worsening political and social circumstances, such as the shift in policy toward *dhimmi* and dissenting Muslims under Almohad rule in parts of the Maghrib and al-Andalus from the twelfth to the early thirteenth centuries, or piety, such as the Franciscan movement to preach in Muslim lands, beginning with Francis of Assisi's own mission there, brought new peoples, along with their customs, rituals, and attitudes, into

1 While I will touch upon Northern Europe, Persia, and parts of Central Asia, the focus of this study is on Mediterranean lands. One could expand the study to include South Asia, however, this is beyond the geographic and linguistic scope of the book.

2 Fierro, "Christian Success"; Joranson, "Great German Pilgrimage." My thanks to Prof. Nicholas Paul of Fordham University for this reference. Obviously in some regions Christians and Jews, or Muslims, Christians, and Jews had been living side by side and interacting for many centuries, for example, Jews and Christians throughout Western Europe and Byzantium, Jews, Christians, and Muslims throughout the Muslim world. However, these sets of events brought new tensions and consequences even between old neighbours, for example the crusader attacks on Jews in the Rhineland, or Muslim suspicion of Coptic Christian administrators and fear of collusion with Crusaders. Chazan, *European Jewry*; Krebs, "Crusading Threats?". David Nirenberg notes that the policing of inter-religious sexual encounters in Iberia became harsher as anxiety about inter-communal relations increased: "Conversion, Sex, and Segregation."

permanent contact.³ Population shifts during this period (ca. 1050–1650 CE) caused potential difficulties and sharing not only between religious minorities and the religious majority, but also between “native” and “new” co-religionists.⁴ Shrines, tombs of the holy dead, and festivals served as loci of intra- and inter-group encounters. Western European writers, whether Christian or Jewish, who described the phenomena of voluntary shared practice interpreted events as reaffirming their own religion’s “truth” over and above that of “visitors.” In so doing, these authors recognized the potential of shared practices to challenge or even destroy religious boundaries and worked to reinterpret these behaviours to strengthen rather than weaken a sense of group belonging and distinction from the religious other. Nevertheless, in doing so, these authors also frequently granted the religious other a theological place as legitimate witnesses to the “truth” and thus members, albeit inferior ones, of a community of worshippers that had been widened to include multiple confessions. Yet, while any religious other could serve as an external witness to the truth of Judaism or Christianity, depending on the religious affiliation of a given author, Muslims were particularly favoured. As holders of political power, they brought prestige to a Jewish or Christian holy figure, but they lacked the same degree of negative associations which European Jews and Christians had for one another. Thus, as we shall see, failure to mention the presence of another group was also a polemical choice, which created hierarchical levels of belonging, partial belonging, and exclusion.

Common Festivals and Scriptural and Extra-Scriptural “Saints”

Christians, Jews, and Muslims jointly recognized a number of prophetic figures and places associated with them as holy because of parallels between the Qur’an and Jewish and Christian scriptures. Such commonalities laid the groundwork for shared veneration of saints or celebration of festivals and fasts, however, they were not the sole cause. The observance of festivals or the veneration of the holy dead regularly extended beyond traditions that could be explained by the Tanakh, New Testament, or Qur’an, to extra-scriptural figures or festivals and even to ones that directly countered basic tenants of the scripture of particular participants. For example, Muslims celebrating Easter involved commemorating the death and resurrection of Jesus; events explicitly rejected in the Qur’an.⁵ Yet the indications of holiness, the rituals at gravesites and shrines, and

3 Tolán, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*; Moses, *Saint and the Sultan*; Mandalà, “La migrazione”; Jotischky, “Mendicants as Missionaries”; Cuffel, “Call and Response”; Roest, *Reading the Book of History*, 102–5, 264–66; Mancini, “La custodia di Terra Santa”; David, *To Come to the Land*; David, “The Spanish Exiles”; David, “Demographic Changes”; Goitein, “A Maghrebi Living in Cairo”; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1:32, 56–57, 63, 2:136, 153–54, 167, 293, 300; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 145.

4 Russ-Fishbane, *Judaism, Sufism, and Pietests*, 178–79; Russ-Fishbane, “Between Politics and Piety,” 69–97; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 2:136, 153–55, 164–68; Cuffel, “Call and Response”; David, *To Come to the Land*, 7–8, 15–23, 26, 31–32, 62–88, 100–14, 116–17; MacEvitt, *The Crusades*; M. Frenkel, *The Compassionate and Benevolent*, 9; Weber, “Traveling Through Text”, 303–22.

5 Qur’an 4:157.

the level of delight or frustration expressed by observers remained the same regardless of whether the holy person or day was one rooted in the Bible or the Qur'an or was derived from later practice or a scriptural tradition not accepted by all. Benjamin Kedar, in his study of the Marian shrine of Saydnaya, near Damascus, distinguishes between three types of "convergent" worship: 1) convergence without any genuinely shared rituals or interreligious services; 2) "inegalitarian" convergence, in which one group controls a site which two or more groups hold holy, and finally 3) "egalitarian" convergence in which two or more religious communities come together in shared rituals.⁶ While Kedar's divisions are a fair characterization of religious events involving more than one community, very often those who observed these various "comings together" did not recognize the distinction between types one and three. Furthermore, authors imposed religious hierarchies in their description of events, even when there were minimal external ones. Similar behaviours and shared presence led writers to assume members of the religious other attended shrines or festivals with similar motivations to their own. These parallels in ritual and interpretation derive from a common symbolic language or culture of sanctity that extended throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, into parts of Northern Europe and farther East. Regional differences existed, but enough remained analogous that certain signs and customs would be meaningful as much to a Northern European Jew as to a Coptic Christian or a Maghribian Muslim.⁷

The Christian festivals that seemed to attract Muslim as well as Christian participants, focused on aspects of Jesus' life, such as Epiphany or Palm Sunday, or were linked with the holy family, especially Mary. Many of the rituals associated with these celebrations incorporated symbols which were common to all religious a holy person—a prophet for the Muslims, the messiah for the Christians.⁸ Others, however, such as *Tishba' Av* (Ninth of Av), which marks the destruction of the Temple, have no theological or environmental common ground with Muslims or Christians, yet Jewish sources indicate that some Muslims respected or observed these holidays, either in conjunction with Jews or separately.⁹

6 Kedar, "Convergences...Saydnaya and the Knights Templar"; Kedar, "Convergences...Saydnaya." My thanks to Prof. Irven Resnick of University of Tennessee Chattanooga, for alerting me to these references. Compare Kedar's observations regarding Saydnaya and Catherine Mayeur Joyen's remarks about the seemingly "shared" mawlid of Copts and Muslims. She maintains that despite some shared locales and similar customs, the two are quite separate: *Pèlerinages d'Égypte*, 14–19, 28–33. Also see: Albera "Chemins."

7 On the convergence of religious symbols and customs see Chapter 1.

8 Kaiser, "La Madonne et le marabout"; Milwright, "The Balsam of Maṭariyya." On the modern phenomenon see, for example, Stadler, *Voices of the Ritual*; Sered, "Rachel's Tomb." Other scriptural figures include the matriarch Rachel and prophet Elijah, often associated with the qur'anic figure al-Khidr. See Meri, "Reappropriating Sacred Space"; Wolper, "Khidr and the Politics of Place"; Stadler, *Voices of the Ritual*; G. Bowman, "À l'ombre de Rachel!"; Strickert, *Rachel Weeping*; Sered, "Rachel's Tomb."

9 Meshullam ben Menachem da Volterra, *Mas'a*, 72; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 190.

Unequal Witnesses and the Powerful Dead

Western European Jewish and Christian travel-writers revelled in the presence of the religious other, especially Muslims. By contrast these Jews and Christians only occasionally recognized one another, even at sites that were venerated by members of all three religions such as the graves of the patriarchs at Hebron.¹⁰ Aryeh Graboïs hypothesizes that Christian pilgrims did not describe Jews in Palestine and Egypt because Jews were a known element in Europe and therefore uninteresting, an explanation that would apply equally well to European Jews' apparent disinterest in Christians.¹¹ Yet Martin Jacobs has shown more recently that while Muslims appear more frequently in Western Jewish travel narratives, Christians are in fact present, especially in those written during the crusading era. In most instances, Jewish discussions of Christians are in a polemical context (and visa versa).¹² I would further suggest, however, that European Jews and Christians saw in Muslims a potent rival to Christianity. Precisely because Muslims were martially powerful, their "endorsement" added to the esteem and validity of a given saint, ritual, or site and, by extension, to the religion to which the saint or holy space "belonged." Christians were not good candidates for such a role for European Jews, because of the frequent animosity between the two groups in Europe, whereas for Christians, veneration on the part of Jews could not greatly enhance the status of a saint

10 In the late fourteenth century, Frescobaldi and one of his travelling companions, Giorgio Gucci, do indicate that both Jews and Muslims revere Hebron, just as the Christians do. See Frescobaldi, *Viaggio di Lionardo*, 138; Frescobaldi, Gucci, and Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places*, 68; Gucci in Frescobaldi, Gucci, and Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places*, 123. They are something of an exception. The Christian pilgrims Niccolo of Poggibonsi, Felix Fabri, Anselme Adorno, Bertrandon de la Broquière, Burchard, and Affagart all visit the graves of the patriarchs in Hebron and mention the devotion of Muslims and other Christians for the place, but none comment on the presence of Jewish pilgrims there. See Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltramare*, 1:246–48, Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *A Voyage beyond the Seas*, chap. cxv, 58–59; Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*, pt. 2, vol. 2, fols. 8a–10a, pp. 384–54; Adorne, *Itinéraire*, 249–51; Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, 16–18; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, 81; the edition of Bertrandon's narrative includes excerpts of a French translation of the German translation of the itinerary by the German pilgrim, Burchard or Brochard, commissioned at the same time as Bertrandon's. See also *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, 17n2, 18n1; Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte*, 138. For Jewish accounts of Hebron see Petachia of Regensburg, *Sivuv*, and Jacob ha-Kohen, in *Ozar masa'ot*, 55–56, 59, 61 respectively and in *Mas'ot 'Erez Yisra'el*, 53–54, 56–57, 60–61; Meshullam ben Menachem da Volterra, *Mas'a*, 68–69; Obadiah Bertinoro, *ha-Mas'a li-'Erez Isra'el*, 33–34, and *Mikhtav me'at nos'e almoni* 1495 in Bertinoro, *ha-Mas'a li-'Erez Isra'el*, 70–71; Obadiah, *Mi Kitvei Mas'a 'Uvadia mi-Bertinora* in *Ozar masa'ot*, 116–17; *Mikhtav Mas'a li-hakham Venizi'ani almoni*, 1495 in *Ozar masa'ot*, 130; Moses b. Mordecai Bassola, *Mas'a*, 147; Aescoly, *Sipur David ha-Reuveni*, 23–24; Petachia of Ratisbon; Jacob ha-Kohen, Meshullam ben Menahem de Volterra, Obadiah of Bertinoro, and *Sipur David ha-Reuveni*, transl. in Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 89, 92–93, 98, 185–89, 233, 260–62 respectively; Weber, *Traveling through Text*, 154–57.

11 Graboïs, "Medieval Pilgrims," esp. 72. Nicole Chareyron also notes the tendency of western Christian and Jewish travellers to ignore one another and local Jews and Christians respectively, with occasional exceptions. Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 82, 90, 108, 120. However, see Weber, *Traveling through Text*, 120–43.

12 Jacobs, *Reorienting the East*, 5, 65–66, 84–87, 89–93, 98–100, 109–10, 122–24, 158–62.

because Jews lacked political power and were already subservient to Christians according to cannon law.¹³ When Christian pilgrims did write about Jewish veneration they did so in such a way as to demonstrate that of all the peoples Jews were lowest in the religious hierarchy.¹⁴ However, whether writing about Muslims or the rival religion with which they were most familiar, European Jews and Christians regularly portrayed the dead saint tricking or punishing the “unbeliever” until the person behaved in an acceptable fashion either toward the saint him or herself, or toward the “true believers,” the identity of those varying depending on the religion of the author. Such tales simultaneously served to assert the “correct” religious hierarchy of believer over outsider, yet also created a space and an essential role for the religious other within the community of the faithful. Pilgrimage and shared ritual therefore, both “stretched” and redefined communal boundaries, *and* they served as a vehicle for European Christians and Jews to *reassert* such boundaries through their interpretations of these shared festivals and saints.

Jewish and Christian pilgrims regularly noted the presence of members of other religions at “their” holy places and festivals or described the participation of multiple faiths in a particular festival without offering any value judgment about such mixing. In the account of Petachia of Regensburg’s travels in the late twelfth-century, “Ishmaelites” and Jews alike gather in front of the grave of the biblical prophet, Ezechiel during the Jewish festival of *Sukkot*, and both make pilgrimage to his grave and ask that he protect their goods.¹⁵ The narrator neither praises nor condemns Muslim presence. The Dominican, Burchard of Mt. Sion (fl. ca. 1280), notes the devotion of “Saracens” at a monument which they claimed marked the grave of Joshua. What Burchard finds problematic or interesting is not the presence of Muslims, but rather whether the tomb has been correctly identified. Based on Judges 2:9, he refutes the claim, but does not thereby completely discredit the site. Instead, he suggests that it is tomb of Canaan son of Ham, son of Noah or “another of the sons.”¹⁶

This inclination on the part of Western pilgrims—Jewish or Christian—to note the presence of Muslims at holy gravesites or other shrines continued into the late Middle Ages and early modern period. In 1384, the Christian, Leonardo Frescobaldi, informed his readers that “the Saracens pay reverence to the Virgin Mary and to St. John the Baptist, and to St. Catherine and to all the patriarchs of the Old Testament,” and went on to explain Muslim attitudes toward Jesus. In his narrative he makes little comment except

13 Christian presence as well as Muslim could serve as validation for Judaism, however. Weber, “Sharing the Sites.”

14 Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 119, 152, 182.

15 Petachia of Regensburg, *Sivuv in 'Ozar Masa 'ot*, 50–51; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 74–76. On Petachia of Regensburg see Jacobs, *Reorienting the East*, 35–37. On the Tomb of Ezechiel as a shared site between Jews and Muslims in Iraq: Jacobs, *Reorienting the East*, 119–20; Weber, *Traveling through Text*, 151–52.

16 Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, 28. This suggested identification could in itself be polemical, since the sons of Ham were believed to have been cursed to serve the descendants of the other sons of Noah. See Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham*, 150–75. Since Burchard allows for the possibility that the grave’s occupant could be a different son or grandson of Noah, the polemical thrust of the comment, if intended at all, is mild.

to observe that “in many things they (the Muslims) draw near to our faith.”¹⁷ Another fourteenth-century Tuscan pilgrim, Niccolo of Poggibonsi, describes Muslims coming to venerate the tomb of the Virgin Mary and even the Holy Sepulchre without expressing approval or disapprobation.¹⁸ Similarly, the thirteenth-century Jewish pilgrim, R. Jacob, notes Muslims’ presence or veneration of the Jewish holy dead, remarking merely that “it is the custom of the Muslims to make their prayer houses upon the graves of the righteous.”¹⁹ Another Jewish pilgrim, Meshullam of Volterra, writing in the late fifteenth century, says that Muslims had erected a monument over Rachel’s tomb and that both Jews and Muslims pray at her grave. He also offers no opinion as to the desirability of this joint veneration.²⁰ Meshullam’s contemporary, R. Isaac b. Alfara of Malaga noted the presence of Muslim guards for the graves of the biblical figures of Nun (the father of Joshua), Joshua, and Caleb and that they lit candles over the graves and opened them for the Jews.²¹ Many of the Jewish handbooks to the graves of saints or “*zadiqim*” written between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries studied by Zvi Ilan likewise comment that Muslims “prostrate themselves” on the graves of prophets and rabbis or light lamps over them to honour them without expressing any value judgment about Muslims’ behaviour.²² However, the mere fact that Muslim veneration of biblical prophets, rabbis, or extra-biblical Christian saints is described without objection implies tacit acceptance of their presence at these graves by the Jewish or Christian authors.

While some may have contented themselves with noting the presence of others at gravesites and festivals, others were far less neutral. For R. Samuel b. Samson, travelling in 1210 CE, Muslim attendance at Jewish saints’ graves brought honour to the particular holy person:

we found there the sepulchre of Jonathan, son of Uzziel, on which there is a great tree. The Ishmaelites bring oil to it and have a light burning there in his honour. They make their vows there too, to his glory.²³

17 Et sappiate che I Saracini portano reverenza alla Vergine Maria, e a San Giovanni Battista e a Santa Caterina, e a tutti I Patriarchi del Vechio Testamento...e in mote cose lsi accostano alla nostra fede.” Frescobaldi, *Viaggio di Lionardo*, 101; Frescobaldi in Frescobaldi, Gucci, and Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places*, 50.

18 Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d’oltramare*, 1:184–85, 1:58–59; Niccolo, *Voyage beyond the Seas*, 44, 14.

19 שכן דרך הישמעאלים לעשות מקום תפלה שלהם על קברי הצדיקים R. Jacob Messenger of R. Yechiel of Paris (hereafter R. Jacob of Paris), ‘*Eleh ha-masa’ot she-’asah R. Jacob sliah me-yeshivat Rabbenu Yehiel me-Paris ve-hevi’a ’imo ’eleh simeni ha-qevrot*’ in Eisenstein, ed. *Ozar Masa’ot*, 69–70, compare with 66; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 125. Also compare with 117. On approbation of Muslims’ presences at Jewish sites see Boušek, “and the Ishmaelites Honour the Site.”

20 Meshullam ben Menahem da Volterra, *Mas’a*, 71; English translation in Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 188–89.

21 *Masa’ot ’Erez Yisra’el*, 109.

22 Ilan, *Graves of the Righteous*. See the document on 94–99, p. 5, lines 1–2, 9, p. 6 lines 10–12, p. 7 lines 7–9 of the document itself, the document on pp.133–36, lines.10, 36, 52

23 והישמעאלים מביאין שמן ומדליקין נר לכבודו, גם נדרים נדבות לכבודו R. Samuel b. R. Samson, *Mas’a de*

Concerning the grave of R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, he also noted that “The Ishmaelites bring oil to burn there. It is a great and marvellous wonder.”²⁴ The attribution of “glory” to Jonathan because Muslims bring light and make their vows to him, or Samuel’s “wonder” because Muslims come with gifts of oil to R. Eliezer’s grave strongly indicate that for R. Samuel, the presence of Muslims enhanced the status of Jewish saints and Muslims’ attendance was clearly a positive event.

European Christian pilgrimage narratives show similar patterns to their Jewish counterparts. Christians marvelled at Muslim veneration of Mary, Jesus, and St. John the Baptist, a variety of extra-biblical saints, and at Muslim participation in Christian religious ceremonies. Burchard de Monte Sion notes in his pilgrimage narrative that “Saracens, however, much honour John (the Baptist) after Christ and the Blessed Virgin.”²⁵ Later, he makes the general observation: “Indeed, Sarracens honour all churches of the Blessed Virgin.”²⁶ Christian authors portray Mary as assisting Muslims who revere her, much to the delight of the Christians who reported these “events.” Simon Simeonis, from the fourteenth-century, reported:

at times Saracens devoutly holding vigil, all the time occupy themselves in the praises of the glorious Virgin, they wash and bathe themselves and their sick beside this fountain in a convenient place set aside for that purpose; where many protections are granted by the merits of the Virgin, even sometimes appearing personally to the Saracens, as the guards told us on oath, who with their own eyes saw her numberless times walking around the fountain to whom be glory and honor, world without end.²⁷

Here the Muslims’ praise of and petition to the Virgin Mary and her willingness to help them very clearly augments the wonders of the Virgin in Simon’s eyes. That she appears

Philistina me-R. Samuel b. R. Samson, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa’ot*, 63; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 107. Jonathan b. Uzziel was a rabbi from the early Tannaitic period 20–40 CE. On R. Samuel b. R. Samson see Jacobs, *Reorienting the East*, 26.

24 ומביאים הישמעאלים שם שמן להדליקת דבר גדול ומפלא הוא; R. Samuel b. R. Samson, *Mas’a*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa’ot*, 64; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 109.

25 “Sarraceni autem beatum Iohannem multum honorant post Christum et beatam virginem”; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, 53.

26 “Sarraceni quidem omnes ecclesias beate virginis honorant”; Burchardus de Monte Sion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, 79. Even Christian pilgrims who adopted an actively hostile tone when discussing Muslims, remark upon Muslim veneration of Mary. See, for example, Wilbrand van Oldenburg (d. 1233) *Peregrinatio* in Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii Aevi Quatuor*, 170. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 147–74, 184–92, 198–205; Cuffel, “Henceforward”; Weber, *Traveling through Text*, 153.

27 “et quandoque Saraceni, vigilias devote facientes laudibus gloriose Virginis continue insistunt, et se et eorum infirmos iuxta ipsum fontem lavant et balneant in loco convenienti et ad hoc deputato. Ubi multa presidia meritis ipsius Virginis ipsis infirmis, etiam ipsa quandoque personaliter Saracenis apparente, prestantur, sicut nobis juraverunt predicti custodes, qui eam circa ipsum fontem infinites deambulantes oculis propriis aspexerunt; cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum, amen”; Symon Semeonis, *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, 80/81–82/83. Compare with Adorne, *Itinéraire*, 192/3–194/5; Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 117, 179–81.

to Muslims regularly further increases the impression that Muslims have been added to Mary's "community," though, as with the Jewish texts there is no question of their conversion.

Similarly, when the Italian Franciscan, Suriano (1450–ca. 1529 CE) described the Palm Sunday procession into Jerusalem in which "the street is decked with flowers and carpets and other beautiful things so that not only the Christians are incited to devotion but also the Saracens, and we provoke them to praise our Lord Jesus Christ," he actively expressed his pleasure at Muslims' participation.²⁸ In Suriano's narrative Muslims clearly join in the core of the festival rather than simply watch it or keep the peace. Thus, in this Western Christian text the Christian "communitas" has been extended to include the Muslims.²⁹

By saying "we provoke them to praise our Lord Jesus Christ," however, (*provocomoli a laudare el nostre Signore miser Yesu Christo*) Suriano suggests that Christians, or the beauty of the Christians' ritual, are responsible for Muslims' veneration of Jesus (rather than recognizing that reverence for Jesus is inherent in Islam, something Suriano would have known).³⁰ His portrayal subtly implies a hierarchy of Christian over Muslim in which the Christians have the power to direct Muslim worship to "our Lord" so that the presence and participation of the other is constructed to enhance and affirm the honour of the Christian God and of the Christians themselves.

Another friar, Felix Fabri (1441–1502 CE), created hierarchy in his description of shared practice but was less inclined to be so inclusive:

On the right side of the church is a large, deep cistern resembling a vast sepulchre filled with water and covered by latticework. It is said that Joseph drew water from it for his most saintly family to use: for the washing of the child Jesus, for cooking and for drinking, and by such use this water attained virtue so that to this day it is most healthful and cures many ailments. Therefore, as many Christians as Saracens often gather this water for the care of certain illnesses. What is more, the Saracens take their children to this place in order to be baptized in this water with the baptism of Christ; not that they believe in

28 "Adornata la via de flori e tapeti et altre assai nobilitade in modo che non solum incitano li christiani ma etiam li saraceni ad devotione, e provocomoli a laudare el nostre Signore miser Yesu Christo"; Suriano, *Il trattato di Terra Santa*, chap. li, Italian 105–6; Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, English 118.

29 His description also includes Armenian Christians, for it is "tuti li armeni, religiosi e seculari" who engage in the procession, adorn the donkey and the path for the procession. Suriano, *Il trattato di Terra Santa*, chap. li, Italian, 105.

30 Suriano was not simply a pilgrim. He was among the Franciscans who settled in Palestine. Roest, *Reading the Book of History*, 108–9, 119–23; Saletti, *I francescani in Terrasanta*; Mancini, "La custodia di Terra Santa." Dwelling in the Middle East would have afforded him the opportunity to familiarize himself with the basic beliefs of Muslims. He would have had this opportunity in Europe as well, since the Qur'an had been translated into Latin by the twelfth century as part of a new missionizing effort on the part of Christians, especially Dominicans and Franciscans: Martínez Gázquez, "Trois traductions"; Martínez Gázquez, "Traducciones Latinas"; Burman, "Tafsir and translation"; Burman, *Reading the Quran*.

the spiritual effect of baptism, rather they seek only corporeal salvation and health.³¹

Both Felix Fabri and Simon Simeonis indicate that Christians and Muslims sought out the well for prophylactic or curative purposes; but unlike Simon Simeonis, who saw the attendance and healing of Muslims and Christians together as glorifying Mary, Felix casts aspersions on the Muslims' motives. He seeks to create both division and clear hierarchy between the two groups by indicating that Muslims seek "baptism" only for corporeal health. Within this remark is an implied contrast to the Christians, whose motives for baptism are presumably spiritual, thus placing Christians on a higher and more "correct" plane in the divine realm than the Muslims. Felix's inference is troubled, however, by his admission that both groups come to the water source to gain healing. His effort to impose Christian over Muslim in the face of shared ritual without according Muslims a place within the "communitas" of Mary becomes contradictory, thinly masking the unified purpose of all participants.

So far, the examples of shared veneration or participation that I have provided have been voluntary ones. Frequently the religious other was *compelled* to observe certain rituals. In some instances the pressure was fairly benign, although always miraculous. According to Meshullam of Volterra the Muslims believed that the Holy of Holies (the most sacred part of the ancient Temple) was located beneath the Dome of the Rock. On *Tishba' Av* (the Jewish fast, mourning the destruction of the Temples), all the lamps of the Dome and its courtyard were extinguished and could not be rekindled until the fasting period was over. As a result, Meshullam explained, Muslims recognized *Tishba' Av*, and observed it in a fashion similar to that of the Jews.³²

This tale of shared observance serves a number of purposes. The miracle of the lamps affirms the continued presence of God on the Temple Mount, *and* it demonstrates God's ability and inclination to compel the Muslims to behave in a reverent fashion and to observe the day of mourning for the Temple whose space the Muslims now occupied. Thus, while the Muslims controlled the Temple area, Meshullam's readers would see that the Muslims recognized the power of the God of Israel and abided by the same rituals as the Jews, an act that implied subservience as well as recognition of the rightness of Judaism. Furthermore, the fact that Muslims, like the Jews,

31 "In parte autem dextra ecclesiae est unum fossatum profundum et magnum, ac si esset grande sepulchrum aqua repletum et asseribus opertum de quo dicunt Joseph haussisse aquam in usum suae sacratissimae familiolae pro lotion pueri Jesu et pro coctione ciborum et pro potu, a quo usu tantaq[m] accepit haec aqua virtutem, ut hodiernum in diem saluberrima sit, multas aegritudines curans, unde tam Christiani quam Sarraceni creberrime de ea sumunt ad medendum certos languores. Insuper Sarraceni suos debiles pueros mittunt ad locum, ut in aqua illa baptizentur etiam baptismo Christi, non quod credant effectum aliquem spirituales baptismi, sed solum corporalem salutem et munditiam quaerunt"; Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*, 3:50–51 (fol. 92a); Felix Fabri, *Voyage en Egypte*, 2:464–65. The translator, Masson, identifies the place as the church of Abu Serga in Old Cairo. On this church see Van Loon, "Christian Heritage," esp. 96–113.

32 Meshullam ben Menahem de Volterra, *Mas'a*, 72; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 190. On Meshullam of Volterra's narrative and attitude toward Muslims, see Jacobs, *Reorienting the East*, 39–40, 95, 105, 116–17, 156–58.

mourned the destruction of the Temple suggested that Muslims recognized the tragedy of the Temple's destruction, and, similarly, would recognize the rightness of its restoration when the time came.³³

Muslims who failed to respect the sacred space dedicated to Jewish prophets and sages found themselves thwarted. For example, every time the Muslims attempted to steal the stone over R. Eliezar b. 'Arach's grave, the dead rabbi simply whisked it back into place the following morning.³⁴ The Mishnaic R. Meir was less forbearing about such pilfering. In the narrative describing the travels of Petachia of Regensburg, a Muslim Sultan unwisely removed a stone step leading to grave of the rabbi.

In the night R. Meir came to him in a dream and seized him by his throat and wanted to strangle him. And R. Meir said to him, "Why did you steal my stone? For don't you know that I am a *zadiq* and beloved of God?" Then he (the sultan) sought his pardon. He said, "No I won't do it until you carry it (the stone) back yourself on your shoulder, before the eyes of all and you say 'I was wicked and I stole from my lord the *zadiq*.'" The next day he carried the stone on his shoulder before the eyes of all. He returned it to its place and he said "I was wicked and I stole from my lord the *zadiq*." The Muslims fear him (i.e. R. Meir) and they prostrate [themselves] there on his grave and they give him gifts and vow if they return in peace to give him such and such.³⁵

Here the leader of the Muslims is publicly humiliated by the dead rabbi and forced to restore a building holy to the Jews—indeed, elsewhere in the narrative the author indicates that the Muslims transform it into a beautiful structure out of fear of R. Meir's wrath.³⁶ Such restoration would have been especially significant since one of the marks of the subjugation of the *dhimmi* was that they were prohibited from constructing new synagogues, churches, or other religious buildings or repairing those they had. In this tale the Sultan himself is compelled to rectify one of the symbols of Jewish subservi-

33 For sources regarding belief that the Muslims had or would restore the Temple to the Jews see below, n61.

34 Moses b. Mordechai Bassola, *Mas'a*, 141–42. Compare with the description of Ezechiel defending his grave, in the narrative of Petachia of Ratisbon's travels, though in this case the prophet is working against dishonest Jews, showing that these stories do not merely relate to Muslims. Petahiah of Ratisbon *Sivuv*, 13–15; Petahiah in Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 74–75; On Moshe Basula see Jacobs, *Reorienting the East*, 42–43.

35 ובלילה בא לו ר מאיר בחלום ותפס אותו בגרונו ורצה לחנקו יאמר לו למה גזלת אבן שלי? וכי אינך יודע שצדיק ואהוב למקום אני? אז בקש ממנו מחילה, אמר לא אעשה עד שתשאנה אתה בעצמך על כתפך לעין כל ותאמר רשעתי שגולתי אדוני הצדיק. למחר נשא האבן על כתיפו לעין כל יהחזיר את האבן למקומה ואמר רשעתי שגולתי אדוני הצדיק. ייראם ממנו הישמעאלים ומשתחווים לשם על קברו ונותנין לו מתנות ונידירים אם יחזרו בשלום נתונין כך וכך; Petahiah of Regensburg, *Sivuv*, 18; Also in Petahiah, *Sivuv*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 52 with some small differences in the Hebrew text. Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 77–78. My translation is slightly different than Adler's. Also see Jacob's discussion of this incident: *Reorienting the East*, 152 and Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 210.

36 Petahiah of Regensburg, *Sivuv*, 17–18; Petahiah, *Sivuv*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 52; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 77.

ence dictated by Muslim law.³⁷ Muslims' veneration of the holy man enhances the individual status of this saint or *zādiq* even as it did for Jonathan b. Uzziel and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus in R. Simon's narrative. However, the author of this story and other ones like it took a step further and portrayed the Jewish holy dead as more powerful than the Muslims, thus glorifying not only the saint, but Judaism as a whole.³⁸ The saint's ability to press the Sultan and other Muslims into honouring him is a direct reversal of living Jews' social and political relations with non-Jews. The holy Jewish dead are able to do what the living could not: force the non-Jews in power over them to offer respect and even obedience. These rhetorical acts of resistance assured audiences that the "correct" spiritual hierarchy, namely Jewish over Muslim, was indeed in place and reemphasized the validity of Judaism. What is striking about these tales is that the Jewish holy dead *desire* and *expect* Muslim veneration.

Stories in which an individual Muslim is punished for lack of respect invariably lead to many Muslims venerating and giving gifts to the Jewish holy dead, as we see in this story. In two fifteenth-century travel accounts a Muslim woman who attempts to climb a tree sacred to R. Judah b. 'Il'a'i and steal his almonds is cast from the tree and her bones are broken until she either lights candles on his grave or dedicates all her gold bracelets to him, whereupon he heals her.³⁹ As in Petachia's story, many "Ishmaelites" honour the gravesite as a result of the saint's stern treatment of the woman. In these tales, the holy dead, in drawing many Muslims as well as Jews to venerate them, not only demonstrate their own authority and the ultimate righteousness and supremacy of Judaism, they also grant Muslims a place within the Jewish community. A subservient place, but a place nonetheless, that in turn challenged the boundary between Jew and Muslim.

In Christian pilgrimage accounts and collections of miracle tales from Iberia, France and other parts of Northern Europe, the Virgin Mary regularly punishes Muslims who do not honour her appropriately and thereby compels them to venerate her. Those who remain obstinate die.⁴⁰ Suriano and Fabri both include a lengthy account of Mary's dealings with the Muslim custodians of her sepulchre. In Suriano's narrative, the Virgin

37 Cohen, *Under Crescent & Cross*, 58–60; David, *To Come to the Land*, 50–51. Of course, Christians under Islam faced the same restrictions, since such regulations were derived from the Pact of Umar, applicable to all *dhimmi*.

38 Petachia has a number of stories similar to this one, in which the sanctity of the Jews is proven over that of the Muslims through a saint's favour, or simply by the saint's punishment of the Muslims. Petahiah of Regensburg, *Sivuv*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 50, 51, 53; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 72, 74–75, 79, 81, 84; Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 206–15.

39 Moses b. Mordecai Bassola, *Masa'ot 'Erez Yisra'el*, 139–140, and also in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 139–40, and Anonymous Venetian of 1495, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 127; Boušek, "...and the Ishmaelites Honour the Site." For a discussion of the gendered context of this passage see Chapter 6 of this book and Cuffel "From Practice to Polemic."

40 Alfonso X, *Cantigas*, nos. 28, 46, 99, 167; "El libro de los Exemplos," no. 206; John, of Garland, *Stella Maris*, no. 7, p. 106; Gautier de Coinci, *Les miracles de Notre Dame*, 3:23–26; Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 188–92, 195, 196–97, 199–201; Cuffel, "Henceforward"; Trivison, "Prayer and Prejudice in the CSM."

appears to the custodian and announces that she is his enemy because he has denied Christians access to the tomb. He is to die as will his sons unless they change this policy. As a result, the sons invite the friars of Mt. Zion to celebrate in the church over Mary's grave. "And in sign of perpetual subjugation they bring every year to the friars...the first fruits of their garden."⁴¹ Fabri tells a similar tale, although in his version the custodian is upbraided by the Virgin because he charges three ducats to enter the Church, causing some poor pilgrims to forgo visiting the place. According to Fabri, the old caretaker is allowed to live, and his son (or grandson) stands at the door, saying: "Come adore God and praise Mary."⁴² Alternately, Suriano recounts that the custodian (the son of the man, who, in his version, was killed by Mary) regularly saw the Virgin and a group of maidens dancing in the church before dawn, and in a fit of devotion would cry out: "Praise be to God and Holy Mary!"⁴³

Both versions include Muslims among Mary's devotees on the one hand—they care for her tomb, praise her, and encourage others to do likewise—and, on the other, place Muslims unequivocally below Christians in Mary's regard. The Muslims are punished for hindering Christian access to Mary's shrine and compelled not only to revere Mary herself, but to encourage Christian (and Muslim) entry. Furthermore, in Suriano's narrative, the Muslim custodians are required to humble themselves to Christian religious leaders by bringing them a kind of tribute, namely the first fruits of the church's garden. Bringing any annual gift from the sacred garden already would have implied Muslim deference toward the friars, however, its profound extent is emphasized by the Muslims' being forced to bring the *first* produce of the garden, before any Muslim has tasted or benefited from it. Thus, Suriano along with Fabri, creates a clear spiritual hierarchy *within Muslim lands* of Christian over Muslim. As with the European Jewish stories of Muslims being forced to respect and even venerate dead rabbis, the holy Christian dead were able to accomplish what the Christians had been unable to do via crusade or missionizing, namely subjugate Muslims in the Holy Land, in spirit, if not in political fact.⁴⁴

In Christian travel accounts, not all saints were so vehement in their own defence as the Virgin Mary, however. Bertrandon de la Broquière, who travelled throughout

41 "Et in signo de perptetua subiectione, de l fructi che nascono nel giardino che è sopra della Giesia de la Madona, avanti che loro ne mangiano, portando li primitii a le Fratri, cum altri presenti, ogni anno." Suriano, *Il trattato di Terra Santa*, chap. xlvi, Italian, 100, English, 113. Cuffel, "Henceforward."

42 "Vade, et Deum adora, et virginem Mariam lauda." Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*, 1:372–74, fol. 143a–b. Quoted passage on p. 373. Cuffel, "Henceforward."

43 "Laudato Dio e sancta Maria!" Suriano, *Il trattato di Terra Santa*, chap. xlvi. Italian, 100–101. English, 113–14.

44 Compare the differing tones and implications of Suriano and Felix Fabri's treatment of Muslim veneration of Mary at her gravesite with various western Christian pilgrims' portrayal of Muslims at the Marian shrine at Saydnaya. Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltramare*, 2:19; Niccolo, *Voyage beyond the Seas*, 78; Frescobaldi, *Viaggio di Lionardo*, 167–70; Frescobaldi in Frescobaldi, Gucci, and Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places*, 84–85; Gucci, in Frescobaldi, Gucci, and Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places*, 141–42; Burchard of Strasbourg, *Itinerarium*, 526–27; Thomsen, *Burchards Bericht*, 11, 241–58; Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, 105–10.

the Middle East and Constantinople in 1432–1433 at the behest of Philip the Good (1396–1467), Duke of Burgundy, notes two such incidents. In the first, he describes seeing the place where St. George mounted his horse on his way to battle the dragon. According to Bertrandon, Muslims had frequently tried to remove the St. George's stepping stone but had been unable to do so.⁴⁵ Slightly later in the narrative, he states that he saw a mosque in Beirut which had once been a church to St. Barbara before the "Sarazins" had converted it. "And when they (the Muslims) wanted to mount on top of it to call (for prayer) as they were accustomed, they were so beaten up that there were none who dared go up there."⁴⁶

These incidents described briefly by Bertrandon are similar to the ones in the medieval Jewish accounts in which rabbis defend their graves or shrines from the depredations of disrespectful Muslims. Indeed, they serve the same function, namely to demonstrate the saints'—in this case Christian saints'—ability to protect their holy space against members of the ruling religious power, when the saints' followers were politically unable to do so. As with both the Jewish and other Christian tales, these saints' capacity to confound the Muslims upholds not only the individual holy person's honour, but, by extension, that of the religion of their followers. Yet the episodes in Bertrandon's book echo but palely the dramatic confrontations contained in the other narratives discussed so far. The relative lack of detail or tone of exaltation may be due to the differing purpose for Bertrandon's voyage. While he dutifully went to the customary pilgrimage sites, Bertrandon indicates from the beginning that the reason for his journey and for the narrative itself was to provide information for aspiring crusaders and other travellers.⁴⁷ The quasi-diplomatic (as opposed to religious) basis for his journey and the need to incite Christian nobility to crusade may have motivated him emphasize Muslim oppression of Christians and humiliation of Muslims without including concomitant signs of shared veneration between the two. In Fabri and Suriano's accounts, the Muslims, while subordinated and humiliated by Mary, are nevertheless part of her community of devotees because they venerate her. Bertrandon, by contrast, does not indicate that the Muslims seek to co-opt the stone or church of St. George or St. Barbara respectively because they venerate these saints—which is likely, given other indications of Muslim veneration of these two Christian saints—nor does he indicate that Muslims venerate these sites after the saints repulse the Muslims' designs.⁴⁸ His narrative choices effectively exclude Muslims from the community of the saint and emphasize the oppositional relationship

⁴⁵ Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, 34.

⁴⁶ Et quant ilz ont volu monter dessus pour crier ainsy qu'ilz ont acoutumé, ilz se sont trouvez tant batus qu'il n'est ores nul qui y ose aler. Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, 40. Compare with Thévenot, *Voyages*, vol. 3, bk. 1 chap. IV, p. 61, where the hapless Muslims simply lose their voice rather than get beaten; Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:24–25.

⁴⁷ Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, 2.

⁴⁸ al-Muqaddasī, *Ahsan*, ed. de Goeje, p. 182, transl. Miquel, para. 212, pp. 223–24; Dajani-Shakeel, "Natives and Franks in Palestine"; Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 74, 97; Wolper, "Khidr and the Politics of Place"; See, too, Sturm, "The Arab Geographer."

of Muslims to Christianity's protectors by presenting the Muslims as hostilely attempting to take over the saints' space whereas the saints definitively thwart Muslims' plans.

Neither Bertrandon's sparse descriptions of potential shared veneration nor their implications should be taken as necessarily typical of the attitudes of European Christians whose travels were motivated by political in addition to religious reasons, however. For example, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the orientalist and ambassador, François Savary de Breves, voyaged throughout the Ottoman empire and North Africa in order to conduct negotiations on behalf of King Henry IV (1553–1610) of France. The description of his diplomatic endeavours also include his visitation of holy sites and rituals there. His early modern account follows patterns strongly akin to late medieval pilgrimage narratives in descriptions of shared veneration. According to Savary in one town dedicated to St. James, the population, which consists of Greek and Maronite Christians and some Muslims ("Mores"), there is a church dedicated to St. James "which the Muslims have in veneration for the miracles which happens there, as much in their favour as for the Christians."⁴⁹ He then repeats a story told to him by the Bey (governor, chief) about the misfortunes of a recalcitrant Muslim who:

passing near the said church (i.e. the one dedicated to St. James) where the divine service was being held, urinated against [the church] in derision of the Christians and their ceremonies. Suddenly his genitals swelled up and were seized by a pain and inflammation so great that he was dying, and no one could alleviate [his pain] by any remedy, until one of his companions, who had seen him do [this act] of insolence, judged that his malady was a punishment by God. He (his companion) told him that he should dedicate himself to the church. This having been done and the voyage made, he received healing.⁵⁰

The majority of the local Muslims are already part of the saint's "community" along with the Christians. In Savary's narrative, the degree of approbation by Muslims, and, therefore, the Christian saint's honour, is further elevated because the local Muslim governor himself recounts the story of his coreligionist's chastisement at the hands of the Christian saint. That he does so to a group of foreign Christians implies a link between Christian and Muslim admirers of St. James that trumps confessional and geographic boundaries, and places Muslim scoffers not only on the outside of the Christian

49 "Un autre grand bourg, dit sanct Jacques, peupleés des Chrestiens Grecs et Marionites et quelques Mores lequels y on tune Eglise dediée au saint dont la ville porte le nom, laquelle les Mahumetans ont en veneration, pour les miracles qui s'y font, tan en faveur d' eux, que des Chrestiens"; Savary de Breves, *Relation des Voyages*, 43–44.

50 "passant pres de ladite Eglise, où se faisoit le service divin, ayant en derision des Chretiens et de leurs ceremonies, pissé contre, soudain se parties genitals luy enflerent et furent saisies d'une douleur et inflammation si grande, qu'il mouroit, et ne pouvoit-on par aucun remede, le soulager, iusques à ce qu'un sein companion, qui luy avoit veu faire cest insolence, iugeant que sa maladie estoit punition de Dieu, l'advertit au'il eust à se vouer à ladite Eglise; ce qu'ayant faict, et accomply le voyage, il receut guerison" Savary de Breves, *Relation des Voyages*, 44. I have taken some liberties with the word order, verb construction, and sentence division, to make the passage read more easily in modern English.

saint's community, but among those who have sinned and are rightfully punished by God according to other Muslims. As in the narratives of Petachia of Regensburg, Felix Fabri, and Suriano, restitution through punishment is not enough, however; the erring Muslim is compelled to join the saint's fold, in this case, going so far as to journey back to the Christian shrine and dedicate himself to it. Again, the holy dead can do what living members of religious minorities cannot—force members of the Muslim majority into respectful behaviour, reverence, and even quasi-membership in Jewish or Christian society, at least on a local level. In this particular instance, the Muslim's submission is especially powerful because of the intimate, gendered manner of its accomplishment.

Humiliation, injury, or illness have been regular components of saintly chastisement in the medieval Jewish and Christian stories of disrespectful Muslims examined so far, however, in this incident the malady imposed by the saint is humiliating in a way that is profoundly personal and emasculating. Masculine sexuality was strongly associated with martial activity in both Muslim and Western Christian literature, including the conquest or defilement of buildings or towns.⁵¹ Urinating on the church echoed the phallic imagery linked with conquest and crusade at the same time that the act defiled the church and denied its sanctity by dousing it in an impure substance according to Islamic law.⁵² Savary well understood the profundity of insult intended by the Muslim's deed due to urine's polluting qualities, for later in the narrative Savary outlines the degree to which Muslims considered urine defiling and the lengths to which they would go to clean themselves.⁵³ Afflicting the offending Muslim's genitals, therefore, struck at the source of both pollution and symbolic domination, so that the Muslim's literal submission to the Christian saint in vowing himself to the church is inscribed upon his body in a corporeal act of conquest by St. James.

While European Jews and Christians did not often include descriptions of one another participating in festivals or making pilgrimages, they did not entirely ignore one another either. European Jews noted the existence of Eastern Christians and their relationship both with one another and with Jews. For example, Obadiah of Bertinoro listed the different kinds of Christians in Jerusalem, and compared their rivalry with that between the Rabbanite Jews, the Karaites and Samaritans.⁵⁴ Meshullam of Volterra remarked upon the hostility of Greek Christians toward Jews in Candia.⁵⁵ Benjamin of

51 Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 146–47; Cuffel, “Reorienting Christian ‘Amazons’”; Desmond, *Ovid's Art*, 37–46; Clark, “Jousting without a Lance”; Amer, “Lesbian Sex and the Military”; Vasvári, “The Semiotics of Phallic Aggression”; Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, 2–5.

52 Katz, *Body of the Text*, 1–2, 7, 13, 91, 140, 170, 174–75, 193.

53 Savary de Breves, *Relation des Voyages*, 57. Compare with Katz, *Body of the Text*, 90–91, 135–36, 140, 170, 181–84.

54 Obadiah da Bertinoro, in Eisenstein, ed., *Oẓar Masa'ot*, 120–21. Obadiah, in Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 242–43. Karaites were Jews who did not accept the authority of the Talmud. On Obadiah and Western Jews' attitudes toward Karaites, Samaritans, and local rabbanite Jews and various sorts of eastern Christians, see Jacobs, *Reorienting the East*, 41–42, 159–62, 180–86. More generally see Rustow, *Heresy and the Politics of Community*; Kedar, “The Frankish Period”; R. T. Anderson, “Samaritan History during the Renaissance.”

55 Meshullam ben Menahem de Volterra, *Mas'a*, 82; Meshullam, in Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 201–2.

Tudela, writing much earlier in the twelfth century, described the basic politics of Constantinople and Byzantine Christian hostility toward the Jews, and, according to Martin Jacobs, described an instance of local Jewish-Christian competition over Daniel's tomb, located in Susa (Shūsh in modern Iran).⁵⁶ Christians also noted the divisions between Jewish communities. Nathan Schur, for example, has catalogued discussions of Samaritans in Western Christian travel narratives.⁵⁷ Often the mentions are fleeting, or the author does not connect them with Jewish communities, although that does not mean that Samaritans are viewed favourably.⁵⁸ Other travellers, such as Wilhelm von Boldensele (ca. 1285–1338) described various types of local Christian, Jewish, and related communities at some length.⁵⁹

Discussions of Byzantine and other Christian groups from the Eastern Mediterranean frequently indicate enmity between them and Jews, however, these observations are fairly brief. More detailed and more venomous in tone are Jewish accounts of Western Christians, in particular, crusaders.⁶⁰ The narrator of Petachia of Regensburg's journey contrasts Muslims and crusaders by claiming that the king of the Ishmaelites, "a friend of the Jews," had constructed a beautiful place of prayer where the Temple and court had once stood, and commanded that only Jews worship there. These actions are contrasted with the "Gentiles" (*goyim* גוֹיִם) meaning in this case the crusaders, who attempt to place images in the building.⁶¹ In this story Muslims at the very least respect Jewish holy space even if they do not actively venerate it themselves, whereas the Christians attempt to reshape the space according to their own beliefs. In a briefer descrip-

56 Benjamin of Tudela, *Masa'ot R. Benjamin*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 22–23; Benjamin, *Sefer Masa'ot shel R. Benjamin mi Tudelah*, ed. Adler, 6–8; Benjamin, in Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 39–42; Jacobs, *Reorienting the East*, 121–24. On late Byzantine attitudes toward the Jews see Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, 30–40.

57 Schur, "The Samaritans as Described in Christian Itineraries."

58 See for example Ogier Seigneur d'Anglure, *Saint Voyage de Jherusalem*, 43, who speaks of a street where "a sort of miscreants, called Samaritans live" ("en une autre rue habittent une maniere de mescreans que l'en appellee Samaritains"); Schur, "The Samaritans as Described in Christian Itineraries"; Weber, *Traveling through Text*, 134–36.

59 Wilhelm von Boldensele, *Liber*, chap. 6, nos. 254–256; chap. 8, nos. 264–266, 271; chap. 9, nos. 274, 276, 278; Weber, *Traveling through Text*, 126–33.

60 Jacobs, *Reorienting the East*, 83–93, 98–100, 109–10, 158–62 but also 58, 74 which are rather more positive or at least neutral.

61 Petachiah of Regensburg, *Sivuv*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 55–56; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 88–89. Boušek, "...and the Ishmaelites Honour the Site." Weber, *Traveling through Text*, 32–39, 157–58; Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, 66, 160–62, 296–302. The idea that the Muslims either rebuilt the Temple in some way or allowed the Jews to do so is a longstanding tradition within medieval Judaism. *Sefer Zerubbabel*, *Nistarot R. Simon b. Yohai*, and *Pirkei Meshiah* respectively in Kaufman, ed., *Midreshe ge'ulah*, 84, 189, 192, 195, 320, 333–34, 336, and in *Beit Midrash*, 3:56, 80, 69, 71. Dagron and Déroche, "Juifs et Chrétiens"; Avi-Yonah, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine Rule*, 265–70; Fleischer, "Matters of Interest Regarding Qallir" and "Solving the Question of his Time and the Place of the piyyut of R. 'Eli'azar b. Qallir"; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 529–60. Also compare with Sebēos, *The Armenian History*, chap. 43, p. 102, who states that the Jews attempted to reestablish the holy of holies under Muslim rule, only to have the Muslims take over the site of the Temple.

tion but seemingly of the same place and phenomenon, Samuel b. Samson says that the Muslims do indeed venerate this place.⁶² In both narratives, the images fall down each time the Christians attempt to set them up, indicating God's defence of holy space and utter rejection of Christian claims. Muslims, however, occupy a liminal place between the rejected Christians and the holy Jews, being neither part of the Jewish community, nor yet repudiated out of hand as their enemy or unaware or disrespectful of Jewish knowledge and sanctified space. This story more explicitly indicates the hierarchy that most western Jewish pilgrimage accounts imply by lauding the presence of Muslims at holy sites or festivals and ignoring the Christians.⁶³

Jacob ha-Cohen travelled in Palestine and the surrounding area during the Crusader occupation. He, like other Jewish pilgrims of the period, noted the veneration of Jewish saints on the part of "people from all nations" who "kindle lights" and come to have their barrenness or sickness cured.⁶⁴ He also included a number of tales about western Christians who showed disrespect toward a Jewish holy site; they were not merely punished for their misbehaviour, they were killed.⁶⁵ Jewish vengeance even extended to the grave:

[I]n Caesarea is the grave of the ten martyrs of the Romans, and on the place where they were killed there is a great marble stone in ruins. A Gentile was buried in front of the door of the cave and in a dream he came to the rulers of the province and cried to them, "Take me away, for I have no rest, for they smite with iron rods heated in the fire," and he said to them that in this cave there are twelve dead men clothed in prayer cloaks [*tallit*] and they do not look like men, but angels.⁶⁶

The ten martyrs refer to a group of rabbis, who, according to midrashic and poetic tradition were executed by the Roman emperor. Commemoration of these mishnaic rab-

62 R. Samuel b. Samson, *Mas'a*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 63; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 104. Compare with R. Jacob of Paris, *'Eleh ha-Masa'ot*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 67; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 118–19.

63 Muslims as "between" Christians and Jews, being both impure and a potential enemy, but also a potential ally to Jews and less impure or undesirable than Christians is a theme in medieval European Jewish biblical exegesis, apocalyptic speculation, and mystical writing, not just pilgrimage narratives. Kiener, "The Image of Islam in the Zohar"; Wolfson, *Venturing Beyond*, 22–23n31, 27, 90–91n296, 130–35, 155–63; Cuffel, "The Matter of Others"; Cuffel, "Call and Response."

64 Jacob ha-Kohen, *Sipur Masa'ot*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 60; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 95. On the dating of Jacob ha-Cohen's narrative and historical context see Adler's discussion at the beginning of the text, 92 and Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 184–91.

65 Jacob ha-Kohen, *Sipur Masa'ot*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 60–61; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 96–97. Muslims who violate the sanctity of Jewish sites also die in some Jewish narratives, however that fate is rarer than being punished and threatened with death until the Muslim rectifies his or her indiscretion. For an example of Muslims' dying see Petaḥiah of Regensburg, *Sivuv*, 11, and Petaḥiah, in Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 72.

66 ובקסרין יש מערה של עשרה הרוגי מלכות, ובמקום קבר גוי אחד, ובא בחלום לראשי המדינה וועק לפניהם: הוציאו אותי שאין לי תקנה כי מכן אותי בשבטים של ברזל רתוחין באש, ואמר להם כי זאת המערה יש שנים עשר מתים לבושים בטליתות ואינם ידומין לבני אדם אלא למלאכים; *Sipur Masa'ot*, in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa'ot*, 61; *Sipur Masa'ot*, in Ya'ari, ed., *Masa'ot 'Erez Yisra'el*, 60; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 97.

bis became part of both medieval Ashkenazi and Sephardi liturgy for *Yom Kippur* and *Tisha b'Av* respectively, and models for depicting later martyrs, especially in the context of anti-Jewish persecutions during the crusades.⁶⁷ Thus, that a non-Jew, probably a Christian and crusader, should be beaten by these holy rabbis who had suffered at the hands of Romans, whom the Jews considered the pro-genitors of the Christian world, produces a two-tiered level of retribution. First, the original martyrs punish a purported descendent of their persecutors, and second, the Jews having to deal with the crusaders obtain vicarious justice as their holy dead inflict posthumous suffering on one of the Christian occupiers of the Holy Land. While living Jews were helpless to defend “their” holy space, namely Jerusalem and the surrounding areas, the martyred dead were empowered to permanently discomfit the Gentile “invader” of their sanctified grave-space. “Correct” spiritual hierarchy is further emphasized in this passage by describing the rabbis as “like angels,” thus connecting the rabbis with the divine realm, whereas the non-Jew is beaten with rods heated with fire, recalling the fiery deaths that the Romans had inflicted on several of the ten martyrs.

In one passage Jacob ha-Cohen hints intriguingly at Christian veneration of one of the Jewish holy dead:

When a knight from Provence came and saw that the uncircumcised lit many lights upon the grave, he asked, “Who is this one?” And they answered, “It is a righteous Jew who heals the sick and helps the barren.” He said to them, “Why do you thus in honour of a Jew?” and took a stone and threw it on the ground and raised his hand to throw another stone. He was on horseback but fell and died. Immediately the captains and monks gathered and said that he was not punished because of the Jew, but because he wounded the honour of the teacher of Jesus, and Jesus was angry with him and killed him; they said this before all the people of the country.⁶⁸

67 Einbinder, *Beautiful Death*, 83, 167; Boustani, *From Martyr to Mystic*, esp. 88–92, 142–48, 173–74, 293; Fudeman, “These Things I Will Remember”; Goldschmidt, ed., *Maḥzor la-yamim ha-nora'im*, 2:568–573; “Midrash ‘Eleh ‘Ezkarah” and “Ma’aseh ‘esrah harugei malkhut” versions 2 and 3 in *Beit ha-Midrash*, 2:64–72, 6:19–30, 6:31–35 respectively; Reeg, *Geschichte von den Zehn Märtyren*. On the dating of the various manuscripts and recensions see 10–17, 19–20, 24–25, 26–30, 32. “Legend of the Ten Martyrs” in Stern and Mirsky *Rabbinic Fantasies*, 143–65. On anti-Jewish violence or persecution during the crusades generally, see Chazan, *European Jewry*; Chazan, *God, Humanity and History*; Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God*; Einbinder, *Beautiful Death*; Einbinder, “Jewish Women Martyrs.” However, it is important to note that Jewish-Christian relations during the crusades varied. As Robert Chazan has indicated, even in the midst of these brutal encounters during the first crusade Jewish-Christian relations spanned the entire range from hatred to friendship. Jews turned to their Christian neighbours and the bishops for help and frequently received it against the crusaders’ violence. Chazan, *European Jewry*, 5, 29–30, 87–95, 195.

68 כאשר בא פרש אחד מפרובינצא וראה כי מדליקין הערלים גרות רבות על הקבר אמר להם מי הוא זה? אמרו לו יהודי צדיק והוא מרפא חולים ומועיל לעקרות. אמר להם שוטים מה אתם עושים כך כבוד ליהודי! ולקח אבן אחת והשליך לארץ והגביה ידו להשליך אבן אחרת והיה רוכב על סוסו ונפל ומת. מיד נתקבצו ההגמונים והכומרים ואמרו שלא נענש בשביל היהודי אלא מפני שנגע בכבוד רבו של ישו, וכרה אפו של ישו והמית אותו. ואמרו כל זה לפני בני המדינה in Eisenstein, ed., *Ozar Masa’ot*, 60; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, 96. Also see discussion of this passage in Boušek, “...and the Ishmaelites Honour the Site.”

That the knight from Provence was able to talk to those at the grave suggests that these devotees were European Christians, although it is possible that the Jewish author took license with the practical barriers of cross-cultural communications in his narrative. If Jacob ha-Cohen's narrative is to be believed, the reputation of a Jewish "saint" had attracted the devotion of Western Christian settlers in Palestine, though these devotees were not among either the martial or religious elite. Furthermore, Jacob portrays both the knight and other members of the Christian leadership—captains and monks—as very concerned about the hierarchical implications both of Christians venerating one of the post-biblical Jewish holy dead and of such a saint's ability to kill one of their own in retaliation for disrespect.

Certainly for Jacob's readers, this tale would have confirmed the power and rightness of the Jewish God and his saint. The harshness with which Christian disrespect is punished in this text and others in Jacob ha-Cohen's account, again, correlates directly to the relatively greater enmity between European Jews and Christians, especially during the crusading period, in contrast to the array of attitudes toward Muslims expressed by European Jews.⁶⁹ Despite such negative feelings, however, Christians who were willing to revere the Jewish holy man were granted a space within his circle of devotees, much as Muslims were in other Jewish narratives. Like Jewish (and Christian) descriptions of Muslims at festivals and holy sites, here presenting the Christian "people of the country" (*benei ha-medinah* בני המדינה) as venerating the Jewish holy dead, also implies a kind of subjugation of, in this case, of Christians to Jews at least in the spiritual realm, and a recognition on the part of Christians of Jewish power. The Christian knight represents Christian martial capabilities, which the Jewish saint easily defeats—something living Jews could not. The military and religious leaders of the Christians in this narrative come across as foolish and desperate, forced to resort to lying to their people to disguise the true source of power behind the knight's death and to co-opting that power for their own holy person, Jesus. Their need to do so intimates Jesus' real powerlessness in contrast to the unidentified "righteous Jew" (*yehudi zadiq* יהודי צדיק) who in death performs many of the same miracles the Christians attribute to Jesus in life. Thus, while the Christians who come to the grave are accepted into the Jewish saint's circle—their answer to the knight suggests that they received healing by kindling lights on the grave—the narrative carefully constructs a hierarchy of Jews over Christians; a hierarchy that is much harsher in consequences and depiction of the Christian leadership than in many Jewish accounts of Muslim devotees of Jewish saints or participants in Jewish festivals. Even in the examples of Muslims being forced to pay their respects to a Jewish saint, the Muslims are injured or threatened with death rather than killed outright. The immediate death of the knight, in contrast to Muslims who make similar errors of disrespect in other accounts and are given the opportunity to correct their fault, underscores God's complete lack of toleration for Christian militant activity and disrespect toward the Jews.

From the Christian perspective, in this tale the Christians who sought healing from the righteous Jewish dead they also willingly expanded their community of saints to include someone outside their own confession. Obviously, a Jewish account of Chris-

⁶⁹ See note 68.

tian religious behaviour is biased, especially one as polemical as Jacob ha-Cohen's. As I shall show in the following chapter, however, European Christians venerating saints from other religious traditions does appear in other, Christian sources, and prompted consternation among religious leaders.

Occasionally Western Christian pilgrims discussed Jews and Jewish ritual in Egypt and the Levant in neutral or favourable terms.⁷⁰ Gucci notes seeing Jews as well as Saracens at Hebron.⁷¹ Niccolo de Poggibonsi even attended a synagogue service at the encouragement of a Jewish friend, and describes the rituals he saw without polemicizing against them.⁷² For the most part, however, when they discussed Jews at all, medieval western Christian travellers, like their Jewish counterparts, wrote more derogatorily of religious outsiders whom they knew from Europe than about Muslims whom they encountered in Egypt and the Levant.⁷³ Felix Fabri, for example, used Muslims as a medium for demonstrating the lowliness of the Jews on several occasions. In describing his visit to the site where Moses was believed to have received God's law, Fabri notes that "Arabs, Egyptians, Saracens and Turks" go on pilgrimage to the place. Yet he contrasts their presence along with that of Christians with the absence of Jews, who, according to him, are prevented by a miracle of God from going to that place which they hold most holy. Even if the Jews were not prevented, "the pagans would not accept them; and what is more, the Christians would not tolerate that they pray with them (the Christians)."⁷⁴ Fabri cites access, or the lack thereof, to a particular holy place to reaffirm what was in his eyes, the Jews' appropriately subjugated status, reflecting the situation between Jews and Christians in Western Europe.⁷⁵ In this passage Muslims and Christians worship together, or at least side by side, creating a common community in their mutual devotion to Moses. Jews, on the other hand, are rejected by humanity—the Christians and Muslims—and by God, placing them firmly at the bottom of both the spiritual and social hierarchy.

In other instances, while Fabri places Muslims as well as Christians above Jews, he is also careful to construct boundaries between Christians and Muslims. At one point he creates a tripartite hierarchy based on body odour. According to him, Muslims allow Christians to bathe with them because Christians do not smell, unlike the Muslims them-

⁷⁰ Chereyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 90, 108

⁷¹ Gucci, in Frescobaldi, Gucci, and Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places*, 123.

⁷² Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltremare*, 2:197–200; Niccolo, *Voyage Beyond the Seas*, 123.

⁷³ Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, 37, 120–21, 152, 166–67.

⁷⁴ "Nam Arabes, Aegyptii, Sarraceni, Turci, de loquis mundi partibus ad hunc locum peregrinantur ob reverentiam Moysis. Dentis enim Judaeis de omnibus mundi partibus huc confluent homines de omni ritu et secta; Judaei soli non possint ascendere, et si possent, gentiles eos non aditterent, imo Chrisitiani eos secum orantes non sustinerent." Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*, 2:459 fol. 46a; Felix Fabri, *Voyage en Egypte*, 1:194. For the explicit statement that Jews are prevented by a miracle of God from approaching Moses, see Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*, 2:454; Felix Fabri, *Voyage en Egypte*, 1:185. Entire account of the veneration of Moses' site: Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*, 2:454–459 fols. 44b–46a and Felix Fabri, *Voyage en Egypte*, 1:185–94.

⁷⁵ Felix Fabri's hostility toward Jews did not prevent him from traveling with them or taking advantage of their knowledge when it suited him however. See Limor, "Placing an Idea."

selves, who possess a terrible odour (*teterrimo feodore*). The Jews reek worse even than the Muslims, so that no one wants to bathe with them. Below the Jews, it would seem, are the Samaritans, with whom, according to Fabri, Jews refuse to bathe. Fabri establishes strongly negative religious associations with the Muslims by maintaining that the desire to rid themselves of stench, rather than piety, motivates Muslims' frequent ablutions, and by making an analogy in which Muslims are to Christians as lepers are to healthy people.⁷⁶ Lepers had a longstanding connection with sin within the Christian tradition as did bad smell, so without needing to elaborate, Fabri clearly links Muslims with sin by this comparison. Likewise, Jews, had long been depicted as stinking, thus, Fabri was drawing from a well-established trope in anti-Jewish discourse and applying it to Muslims as well as to Jews.⁷⁷ As with his comments about Muslims and Christians coming to bathe together at a pool associated with Jesus, Mary, and Joseph discussed earlier, he denigrates Muslim practice by presenting physical need as the basis for Muslim action rather than spirituality. Though Fabri's venom seems to be directed primarily against the Muslims, by categorizing the Jews as more repugnant than the Muslims, he indicates that all of the negative associations related to the Muslims apply to the Jews only more so.

As in his discussion of mutual reverence for Moses, bathing Muslims are paired with Christians, whereas Jews are completely excluded. Fabri limits the degree commonality between Christians and Muslims, however, by clearly demarcating them as sinful and disgusting because of their foul smell. Thus, in his narrative, Muslims function to malign Jews to a degree not possible were Fabri to have confined his discussion to Christians and Jews alone. He also co-opts the power and prestige of Muslims for Christianity while simultaneously belittling the Muslims; Muslims, who, in the Levant and Egypt, possess the political power to exclude *all* minorities from their presence in worship and daily activities, do not merely allow Christians to bathe with them, they are *desperate* for Christian company for humiliating reasons. Their similarity to Jews (even though Fabri presents Muslims as somewhat better than Jews), their shameful problem in contrast to Christians, and their desire to be with Christians all point to Muslims' spiritual subjugation.

76 Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*, 2:370, fol. 15b–16a; Felix Fabri, *Voyage en Egypte*, 1:27–28; Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:33n 3. For the belief in baptism as a cure of Jews and Muslims' "deformities"—though not necessarily smell—see Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, 33, 97–99, 122–24, 237, 240–42, 246–47; Hahn, "The Difference the Middle Ages Makes." Speros Vryonis mentions a number of Greek Christian sources which also speak of Muslims having their children baptized in order to remove a bad smell: Vryonis, "Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans," esp. 174. Also see Taylor, "The Syriac Baptism of St. John"; Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*, 1:31–34. Compare with Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'outremer*, 90, who makes a similar remark about his Greek guide, who was seemingly either of mixed Christian-Muslim parentage or a convert to Islam. This trope seems to be an extension or transposition of the Christian idea that Jews smelled bad because of their unbelief and unhealthy customs on to Muslims. On this kind of Christian anti-Jewish rhetoric see Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, 232–43.

77 Taylor, "The Syriac Baptism of St. John"; Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, 93–143, 232–43; Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 30–32, 39–42, 89–90, 100–103, 112, 168–69, 181–82, 187–95; Allen, *The Wages of Sin*, 33–37; Brody, *The Disease of the Soul*; Flandrin, *Le sexe et l'Occident*, 163; Jacquart and Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, 177–88.

tion to Christianity, regardless of the political reality. Both Jews and Muslims, therefore, become rhetorical tools for representing one another and for exalting Christianity.

Among the many stories of the Virgin Mary and her interactions with non-Christians that circulated in Europe, was the tale of the Virgin coming to assist a Jewish woman near death in the throes of a difficult birth. In the version contained in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* by King Alfonso X (1221–1284), Mary herself, “Gracious Queen of queens, remedy of women in need,” instigates the encounter by sending the woman a vision of a great light and a voice encouraging her to call upon the Mother of God. The Jewish woman does so, delivers safely, but is denounced as an apostate by the women attending her when they hear her invoke Mary. So as “not to quarrel” with them, the woman takes her newborn son and her daughter to the church of St. Cecilia and they are all baptized.⁷⁸

In the *Cantigas*, the incident is a local miracle—the text indicates the specific church to which the woman goes for her conversion—in which the Virgin Mary, in her capacity of helper of women generally, goes to an individual Jewish woman in distress. No recurring Jewish recognition of Mary’s power is implied. Greffin Affagart and Suriano, both from the sixteenth century, include a similar story in their travel narratives but alter it in significant ways. As in the *Cantigas*, the authors ground the story in a specific locale (Zante and Venice respectively). However, a Christian family, not the Virgin herself, suggests that the imperilled Jewish woman turn to Mary, this time by looking at an image of her. Once the Jewish woman has safely given birth, she does not convert, rather she throws out the image, saying, “out Mary, out!”⁷⁹ This detail differentiates the story both from its counterparts in European miracle collections, like the *Cantigas*, and from stories in Christian pilgrimage narratives in which Muslims call upon Mary for aid. In the *Cantigas*, the Virgin actively seeks out the Jewish woman and “recruits” her indicating the Virgin herself desires the Jewish woman to become one of her devotees. In Affagart and Suriano’s accounts, Mary’s aid comes through intermediaries—the Christian family who urges the woman and the image of Mary, rather than any personalized vision as in the *Cantigas*. These factors serve to distance the Jewish woman from Mary, even before she casts Mary’s image away. In Christian accounts of Muslim encounters with Mary, while the Muslims do not convert, they permanently revere Mary as a result of her intervention.⁸⁰ In so doing, they simultaneously recognize the “truth” of the Christian saint and become part of her extended community with the Christians, albeit as lesser members in these Christian texts. Affagart and Suriano’s tale of the Jewish woman in childbirth follows the trope of members of the religious other compelled to venerate

78 Alfonso X, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Cantiga 89; Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, Cantiga 89. For other examples of this story contained in collections of miracles of the Virgin Mary see John, of Garland, *Stella Maris*, no. 37, pp. 127–28; Jean Gobi, *La Scala Coeli*, no. 660, pp. 445–47 and discussion in Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 196–97; Trivison, “Prayer and Prejudice in the CSM”; Cuffel, “Henceforward.”

79 “Fora Maria forti!” Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte*, 33; “Fora Maria! Fora Maria!” Suriano, *Il trattato di Terra Santa*, chap. xli, Italian, 95, English, 108. Jean Gobi also indicates that neighbours suggested the woman call upon Mary. See note 78.

80 In addition to examples already cited in this chapter see note 33.

a particular saint, however, by casting away the image of Mary as soon as the crisis is over, the Jewish woman rejects the possibility of being included in any expanded community of devotees.⁸¹ Suriano takes the story a step farther and generalizes so that all Jewish women in Venice must call upon the Virgin Mary in order to give birth.⁸² Thus he creates a kind of permanent, unwilling Jewish cult of the Virgin Mary, in which Jews are continually calling and then repudiating Mary. Jews are dependent on and subjugated to a Christian saint, but since they alone exclude themselves from the saint's "community," they are at the very bottom of the religious hierarchy, much as they are in Fabri's treatment of Jews in relation to Muslims and Christians.⁸³

Conclusions

European Jews and Christians *did* imagine that holy people, and participation in pilgrimage to their grave sites, could create a broader community that undermined strict divisions between Jew and non-Jew or Christian and non-Christian. Travel to a distant place and participation in a ritual of veneration all facilitated this. Thus, one sees the basic characteristics outlined by the Turners for spontaneous *communitas*.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, these examples *also* affirm the observations of subsequent scholars, namely that holy places, people, and, more rarely, rituals, held in common between multiple groups were also the focus of competing discourses.⁸⁵ European Jews and Christians used the presence of the religious other to affirm their own religious world-view which placed their own community at the top of a religious hierarchy. For both groups, Muslims occupied a kind of middle ground of belonging and otherness, desirable, yet potential enemy, in need of disciplining. European Jews and Christians travelling to Muslim-controlled lands had to come to terms with a third party being socially and politically dominant over them—something that might have been less shocking to any coming from Iberia, where Muslims still ruled part of the region, but unaccustomed to any from other regions. I would suggest, that Muslims, because of their political power, and demonstrable ability to beat the Christians in war, were treated as the more desirable religious other; their power gave greater prestige to the saint or *zadiq*. European Jewish and Christian depictions of one another in the role of "participant" in revering a holy person or site reflected the relatively tenuous relationships, both rhetorical and real-life, between Jews and Christians in various parts of Latin Europe. The religious hierarchies which European Jewish and Christian travellers to the Middle East present in their narratives may also be interpreted as a kind of resistance: resistance to the challenge presented by Muslim power and success, even as these Jews and Christians sought to co-opt it rhetorically;

81 This action also attributes a certain level of malice toward Christianity usually absent in Christian pilgrimage accounts' depiction of Muslims. For a discussion of these stories in the context of shifting developments in European Marian devotion, see Cuffel, "Henceforward."

82 Suriano, *Il trattato di Terra Santa*, chap. xli, Italian, 94, English, 108.

83 Overall, Felix Fabri is more negative in tone toward Muslims than either Suriano or Affagart.

84 For references and discussion see Introduction.

85 Hayden, *Antagonistic Tolerance*; Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred*.

and resistance to one another, as European Jews and Christians found themselves in a situation in which they were on an equal plain with one another, as minorities under Muslim rule.

Applying the divisions suggested by Benjamin Kedar, most of the “sharing” described in these texts, would come closest to falling under his second classification, namely, “inegalitarian” convergence, in which one group controls a site which two or more groups hold holy.⁸⁶ Robert Hayden’s concept of “antagonistic” sharing or tolerance would also seem relevant.⁸⁷ Yet, the lack of Jewish or Christian control of these sites and the fact that they were not part of daily coexistence for these Jews and Christians in their homeland make the theories of either of these scholars an imperfect match. Rather European Jewish and Christian discussions of holy sites in the Islamicate Mediterranean and their relationship to these places had to be constructed around a third, dominant party in a foreign land. Thus, the creation of “*communitas*” and hierarchy was bound together. In pilgrimage, European Jews and Christians were able to imagine a spiritual world in which they were at the pinnacle of that hierarchy and Muslims the powerful, yet controlled devotees of the same holy “saints” and festivals, and one another as either irrelevant, and therefore absent, or punished into respect, like recalcitrant Muslims, yet frequently more despised, and barely, if at all, part of the community of the holy figure.

86 Kedar, “Convergences...Saydnaya and the Knights Templar”; Kedar, “Convergences...Saydnaya.” For a discussion see the beginning of this chapter.

87 Hayden, *Antagonistic Tolerance*.