

Chapter 3

FORCEFUL SAINTS AND COMPELLING RITUALS

REAL AND IMAGINED JEWISH AND MUSLIM PARTICIPATION IN CHRISTIAN RITUALS AND SAINT CULTS FROM BYZANTIUM TO WESTERN EUROPE

Introduction

Early Byzantine hagiographies frequently contain tales of Jewish and Saracen encounters with Christian holy people, who either in life or as part of their repertoire of posthumous miracles, compel, astound or coax conversions from the non-Christians they encounter.¹ Many of these, focus on the Virgin Mary, such as the account of the Jews' attempt to attack her funeral bier, and then they or their representative become stuck to the bier or are struck with illness, until they or their representative repents or converts. A well-known and widely circulated posthumous miracle is the tale of the Jewish boy, who is variously a shepherd, the son of a glass-blower, or a bath-house owner, who converts either because he wishes to eat with his fellow shepherds, who are Christian, or because, along with his Christian schoolmates, he hear songs to the Virgin in church. The father attempts to kill his son, when he learns of his conversion, but the Virgin protects the child, which, depending on the version, results in the conversion of the child's mother and sometimes other Jews. These and other tales of Mary's dealings (usually posthumous) with Jews were translated and circulated in Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Ge'ez, Latin and sundry European vernaculars, and became part of the standard repertoire of Christian anti-Jewish narratives.²

Mary was not the only saint around whom such miracles developed within Byzantium. Generally, however, they follow the same typology as Marian miracles involving non-Christians, namely conversion through miracle—sometimes via brutal treatment by the saint, as in the case of the miracles attributed to the sixth-century saint, Simeon

1 Déroche, "Regards croisés des hérésiologues"; Csepregi, "The Theological Other"; Von Falkenhausen, *Auf der Suche nach den Juden*.

2 On the Dormition tale see Shoemaker, *Mary in Early Christian Faith and Devotion*, 101–39; Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition*; Shoemaker, "Let Us Go and Burn Her Body.". On the Jewish boy in the oven see Butts and Gross, *History of the Slave of Christ*; Rose, *The Murder of William of Norwich*, 173–82; Duffy, "The Jewish Boy Legend"; Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 173–74, 218–19; Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 8–28; Bagby, "The Figure of the Jew"; Dahan, "Les Juifs dans les Miracles"; Cerulli, *Il Libro Etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria*, 486; Villecourt, "Les collections Arabes des Miracles de la Sainte Vierge." Butts and Gross, Shoemaker (in *Dormition*), Rubin, Cerulli, and Villecourt all also discuss the exchange of such stories between Byzantium, Europe, and other Christian communities throughout Asia and North and East Africa throughout their works cited here. Also see Baraz, "Bartholomeo de Trento's Book of Marian Miracles"; Baraz, "Coptic-Arabic of Western Marian Legends."

Salos, who rendered one Jew mute and broke the glassware of another Jewish artisan until each converted.³ Frequently, the miracle and resulting conversion stemmed not from a human saint, but rather a holy space or object, such as an icon or the eucharist. Sometimes the object is merely wondrous, like the light streaming from the cross, which Constantine the Jew sees while observing a Christian procession, and which contributes to his eventual conversion to and missionizing for Christianity.⁴ At others, Jews, Muslims, or “Saracens” of non-Christian but otherwise unclear religious affiliation, convert (or die if they remain unbelievers) as a result of seeing an icon of Jesus or the bread and wine of the eucharist appear as a (dismembered) bloody child. These, scholars have posited, relate as much to debates within the Byzantine Christian community about the real presence in the eucharist and/or icons during the iconoclast controversies of the eighth and ninth centuries, as they do with polemicizing about Jews or Muslims. The function of non-Christians in these stories, is, as Vincent Déroche has argued, to use the religious other as witness to the truth, as Byzantine authors understood it, so that Jews, “Saracens” and Muslims serve both as edifying “stand-ins” for a variety of Christians, whom the Byzantine Orthodox authors deemed heretics, and as “proof” of the truth of these author’s theological stance, in that even non-Christians are miraculously brought to testify and/or convert to it.⁵ An important caveat should be added, however. While both Jews and Muslims are often “hermeneutical”, i.e. serving as figures by whom authors might chide their fellow Christians, the representation of the two groups are not identical. In a significant number, albeit not all, Jews are portrayed as seeking to do violence to Christian objects as a kind of reenactment of the crucifixion of Jesus. In the case of the true cross legend, Jews hide the truth and power of a Christian holy object.⁶ Muslims, by contrast, are portrayed as expressing malice through disrespect toward Christian buildings or attempts to destroy them, but their aggression is not aimed at the core persons or symbols of Christianity.

Most of these narratives were written prior to or in the early centuries of Islam, and thus fall outside the primary chronological focus of this book. However, many of these tales, such as the ones relating to St. Nicholas, which will be discussed in detail below,

³ Leontius of Neopolis, *Vie de Syméon le Fou*, 88, 97; Déroche, “Regards croisés des hérésiologues.”

⁴ *Vie de Constantin le Juif*; Déroche, “Regards croisés des hérésiologues.”

⁵ Sahas, *Byzantium and Islam*, 179–81, 215–16, 407–20; Papaconstantinou, “Saints and Saracens”; Déroche, “Regards croisés des hérésiologues”; Peers, *Sacred Shock*, 45–49.

⁶ Drijvers and Drijvers, *Finding of the True Cross*; Agapius of Hieropolis, *Kitāb al-‘Unwān*, Part 1, PO 5:628–30, 634, 636–65; part 2 PO, 7:487–88; part 3, PO, 8:439–40, 467–68; Labubnā bar Sennāk, *Labubneay Diwanagir Dpri Edesioy T’ult’ Abgaru*, 62–68; Pogossian, “Visions of the Cross”; Drijvers, “Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Myth”; Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*; Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*. My thanks to Prof. Zaroui Pogossian of the University of Florence for summarizing this version (Labubnay) of the Armenian text of the Legend of Abgar for me and allowing me to read her forthcoming article. On the concept of “hermeneutical” or “spectral” Judaism and related concepts see Dege-Müller, “Between Heretics and Jews”; Pogossian, “Jews in Armenian Apocalyptic Traditions”; Krummel, *Crafting Jewishness*; Krueger, *The Spectral Jew*; Tomasch, “Postcolonial Chaucer”; Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 1–17; Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 82–111; Olster, *Roman Defeat*.

travelled and/or were retold or reread in new cultural, chronological, and geographic contexts. They also served as a model for later narratives in both the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, for using the religious other as “proof” of holy individuals, spaces, or objects’ validity. Also passed to later authors was the cumulative hierarchy implicit in many of these early hagiographies of Muslims being somewhat less undesirable than Jews. In the early Byzantine context, similar to those of Western Europe, which was outside or somewhat distanced from the reality of Muslim political power, conversion or death was frequently the only alternative imagined. To envision otherwise would be tantamount to according legitimacy to “heretics”—often the real target of these hagiographies, or to those whom Byzantine Christians thought or hoped should be subjugated to them, namely Jews and Muslims. By projecting conversion or death on those deemed outsiders, Byzantine authors and those who followed their example lay claim to religious truth and power unambiguously and completely. These stories nevertheless relate to shared saints and rituals, in that Jews and Muslims are often depicted as seeking assistance from a Christian saint, or being present and thus, unwittingly a marginal participant in a Christian ritual. Either scenario results in their becoming a permanent, full member of the Christian community.

In the Western Christian and Jewish travel accounts analyzed in the previous chapter, Christians and Jews narrated shared religious participation in a context in which Christians and Jews functioned practically on an equal plane: as visiting foreigners who were both members of religious minority groups. The admired third party in this scenario were the Muslims, who also held the privileged, dominant religious and political status. We have seen how both Jews and Christians from Europe sought to tailor their accounts so that Muslims served as witnesses to the truth and power of each group’s religious claims, as they imagined Muslims, and sometimes one another, as submitting to the Jewish and Christian holy dead, in ways that none would do to living members of either community. In Latin Europe, where Christians held sway, Christian authors were free to imagine Jewish and Muslim veneration of Christian saints in ways that confirmed Christian truth and power. While some of the same patterns exist in both Christian travel narratives and hagiographies written entirely in a European context, Christian authors of hagiographies featuring encounters of the religious other were often more forceful in their rhetorical efforts to resolve the ambiguities of belonging which interreligious veneration presented.

In Europe, such hagiographies constituted an imaginary “staging” of instances of Muslim or Jewish veneration of a Christian saint or site. Yet Christians, in their dominant position were able to do more than merely fantasize about Jewish and Muslim obeisance to Christian saintly power; they were able to require Muslims and Jews to literally enact their roles as witnesses to Christian truth in the form of participation in Christian festivals. As we shall see, sometimes this interreligious participation seems to have been voluntary, since joining civic processions was a way of asserting belonging and status within the larger community, to the point that Jews and Muslims competed over their roles in such celebrations, and Muslims joined Christians in ritual games of violence against the Jews. Very often, however, Jewish and Muslim participation in and “donations” to civic ceremonies, religious processions, and foundations were far from volun-

tary, and their compulsory character added an additional symbolic layer to the enacted subjugation of Jews and Muslims in these celebrations. Jews and Muslims were not passive in this process, however. They acted out and sometimes wrote counter-interpretations of shared rituals aimed at subverting Christian claims and demonstrating the truth of their own position as God's chosen people.

Veneration of the Other in Western Mediterranean Hagiographies

Later medieval Christian *exempla*, compilations of edifying stories often used in preaching, and collections of saints' tales show many of the same tendencies present in pilgrimage texts. For the most part they focus on individual incidents of encounter between the holy person (dead or alive) and the Jew or Christian. Jews or Muslims who resist paying their respects to a given Christian holy figure are punished. Most stories focused on Jews' and Muslims' interactions with the Virgin Mary; however, occasionally other saints punish or intercede for non-Christians. Regarding the Virgin Mary, miracles of encounter with the religious other written in Northern Europe usually end with either the death or conversion of the non-Christian. In this characteristic, they resemble early Byzantine hagiographic models. In the Middle East, as we have seen, European Christians exult in Muslim and to a lesser extent Jewish veneration of her, even unwillingly given, but do not assume that Muslims or Jews convert to Christianity. In Iberia such hagiographic tales can go either way; sometimes they follow the Northern European pattern, whereas at others no conversion occurs.⁷ Other figures to whom Christians imagined Jews or Muslims turned include St. Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636 CE) and St. Nicholas. Here too, Christians narrated both willing and compulsory veneration of the saints in terms which ultimately confirmed Christian religious superiority.

Drawing Boundaries, Extorting Praise: St. Isidore of Seville

While earlier accounts of St. Isidore's activities exist, either alone or embedded in other works, the *Miracula Sancti Isidori* is especially rich in tales of encounter, conversion, punishment, and/or shared veneration of a Christian saint by Muslims or Jews. It is a collection of post-mortem miracles purportedly performed by Isidore of Seville which were composed by the chronicler, Lucas de Tuy (d. 1249), in part to celebrate the activities of this saint after the transferal of his remains to the San Isidoro monastery in Leon.⁸ The manuscripts that have survived are late—sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.⁹ On the one hand this late dating raises the spectre of later alterations to the original, medieval narrative, and on the other, it indicates the enduring popularity of the collection, in which Isidore is recast as a defender of Christianity against heretics, Muslims, and

⁷ See previous chapter and Cuffel, "Henceforward."

⁸ Lucas de Tuy, *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Isidori*; Drews, *The Unknown Neighbor*, 314; Henriët, "Hagiographie léonaise et pédagogie de la foi"; Henriët "Rex, lex, plebs"; Henriët, "Hagiographie et politique"; Wamba, "Hagiografía y mentalidades."

⁹ Henriët, "Hagiographie et politique."

Jews, starting at a time when Isidore's actual polemical works were falling into disuse.¹⁰ Certainly some of the miracles are more about praising Isidore as an effective martial saint, able to repel Muslims, much in the same way that the Virgin Mary was often conceived as defending Christian battlements and territories against all enemies.¹¹ At other times Isidore punishes Muslims or other unbelievers for their disrespect for his own or other holy sites. Those fortunate enough to find relief from the saint's retribution, do so by converting to Christianity.¹²

Not all *exempla* in *Miracula Sancti Isidori* centre around punishment, however. In chapter 14, some Jews take refuge in Isidore's sanctuary. One of them is horribly afflicted in his legs and feet, but when he offers to convert to Christianity if Isidore cures him, miraculously the weakness leaves the Jews' legs. He, his family, and, eventually, many other Jews convert because of this miracle.¹³ While in many ways this story follows the pattern of other *exempla* featuring the conversion of Jews or Muslims, it is striking that the tale assigns initiative to Jews who seek out help from the Christian saint. Christians and Jews alike weep and praise the saint, thus the fact that Jews, or one Jew in particular, sought and received help is counted to the saint's glory.

Ephraim Shoham-Steiner rightly warns against taking such Christian claims of Jews turning to Christian saints at face value; invariably such tales have a clear rhetorical, polemical function. The current narrative is no different. Yet at the same time, as Shoham-Steiner has demonstrated, Jews were very much aware of the appeal that miraculous powers of Christian saints' shrines had on their co-religionists, and occasionally polemicists and rabbis created their own tales to underscore the sinfulness and eventually misfortune of any who sought healing at such sanctuaries.¹⁴ Shoham-Steiner's examples come from Northern Europe; however, persistent tales in Iberia, even ones written by Christians, of Jews seeking help from Christian saints, need to be considered carefully in light of references in Jewish texts that such visitation of Christian shrines was a concern. Indeed, the *Miracula Sancti Isidori* contains other tales of not only Jews but also Muslims praising and seeking aid from Isidore. Miracle 15 recounts how Isidore

10 Drews, *Unknown Neighbor*, 313–16. On Lucas de Tuy's polemical treatise against the Albigensians, *De altera vita*, which originally accompanied the *Miracula* see Henriet, "Hagiographie et politique."

11 Lucas de Tuy, *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Isidori*, chap. 16 fol. 29b–33a, chap. 32, fols. 91–103, chap. 44, fols. 172–76. On Mary as miraculous defender of Christians in martial contexts see, for example, Alfonso X *Cantigas/ Songs of Holy Mary*, nos. 99, 185, 215, 229; Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques*, no. 318; Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*; Cuffel, "Henceforward"; Trivison, "Prayer and Prejudice in the CSM."

12 Lucas de Tuy, *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Isidori*, chap. 2, fols. 5a–6a, chap. 4, fols. 6b–8a, chap. 21, fols. 49–54, chap. 23, fols. 58–61. In chap. 2, Zaida, the daughter of the Muslim king, Benabeth is simply described as converting to Christianity and "renouncing Muhammad and all his superstitions" "Mahometo et omnibus ejus superstitionibus abrenuntians" (fol. 5b) because she has seen unspecified miracles that Christ has wrought through Isidore. Her father resists and eventually dies at the end of the story. Other miracles are more direct and violent.

13 Lucas de Tuy, *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Isidori*, chap. 14, fols. 23a–25b.

14 Shoham-Steiner, "Jews and Healing."

caused a mute boy to attain speech and the trials the boy and his parents endured when the authorities questioned the authenticity of the miracle. Eventually its veracity is confirmed, causing much rejoicing:

and he (the child) extorted praises from the mouth of enemies by divine providence to the glory of Catholic truth by his confession of Isidore. It was delightful and cheering to see Jews and Saracens praising Jesus Christ Son of God with Christians and producing devotion for his most sacred mother the Virgin Mary.¹⁵

Here the praise of the Jews and Muslims, the “enemies,” is depicted as being forced—extorted (*extorsit*)—from them rather than willingly given. The emphasis on their being constrained to praise resembles versions of the miracle of the Jewess calling on the Virgin Mary to aid her in childbirth only to reject the Virgin after a safe delivery.¹⁶ “Shared” veneration is in fact an expression of power and hierarchy, in which the non-Christians have no choice but join Christians in their reverence of the Christian holy person. In this miracle of Isidore, however, it is not their personal well-being at stake and the saint does not aid them directly. Rather the benefit accrues to another Christian, and Jews and Muslims are obliged to recognize the miraculous nature of the intervention for a Christian child. Furthermore, the Christian author depicts the Jews and Muslims as praising Jesus and Mary, all to the glory of the Catholic faith. Thus, while Isidore is accredited with the honour enacting the healing and causing Jews and Muslims to join Christians in praise, the ultimate object of their acclamation, and by implication, their subjugation, is to figures which are central to the entirety of the Christian religion. As in some miracle narratives by Western authors in the Middle East, Muslims and Jews express veneration, but do not convert. In this instance, however, there is no suggestion of a two-tiered community of devotees of a particular holy person, in which those outside a given author’s religious community are accorded a liminal, quasi-accepted status while still retaining their status as the religious other. Instead, the lines of alterity and concomitant enmity remain clearly articulated.

The account of shared veneration in chapter 17 is milder. The chapter begins with the following observation:

The mausoleum at which his sacred members were taken, began to shine because of many miracles, so that Gentiles and Jews eagerly gathered to receive a remedy for health by the merit of saint Protector, alleging by obstinate praise, saying; because although the soldiers have carried away the holy body of Isidore, nevertheless the spirit has not left Spain.¹⁷

¹⁵ “et de inimicorum ore providential divina ad glorificandam catholicam veritatem per confessorem suum Isidorum laudes extorsit. Erat iocundum et hilare, Judaeos et Sarracenos cum Christiolis videre laudes Jesu Christo Filio Dei et sacratissimae Virgini Mariae Matri ejus devote depromere”; Lucas de Tuy, *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Isidori*, chap. 14, fol.29°.

¹⁶ Greffin Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte*, 33; Suriano, *Il trattato di Terra Santa*, chap. 41, Italian, 95, English, 108.

¹⁷ “Mausoleum à quo sacra ejus membra fuerunt abstracta, multis coepit fulgere miraculis, ita ut Gentiles et Judaei certatim confluerent sanitatis remedia per merita sancti Presulis percepturi,

A shrine is built in a cave, and many believe that the presence of their patron, Isidore, is hidden in this place. The hope is expressed that if the Muslims invade in the future, the saint will guard the Christians, and an extensive list of the various sicknesses which Isidore healed is given. No further mention of Jewish or Gentile veneration is made.¹⁸ What is meant by the term “Gentile” (*Gentiles*) is unclear. It may be meant to reflect New Testament language which divided between “Jew” and “Gentile,” or Gentile may have meant Arian Christian, “Pagan” i.e. polytheistic, non-Christian, or Muslim. The latter two are the most likely options, since “*Gentiles*” clearly means Muslims in other instances.¹⁹ Thus, in this tale, various non-Christians serve as witnesses to the miraculous power of the Christian saint and are drawn to the illuminated grave in hopes of healing. In another *exemplum*, a Muslim father seeks Isidore’s healing for his son who is possessed by a demon. When the father attempts to renege on his promises to Isidore, the demons return to torment his son even worse than before. The tale ends with conversion and praise to Isidore for assisting not only Christians but bringing Jews and Gentiles to the healing of baptism.²⁰ Together these narratives indicate that, regardless of whether Jews and other non-Christians travelled to Isidore’s shrine in truth, non-Christian recognition of Isidore’s sanctity and power was very much part of the rhetoric of sanctity in the *Miracula Sancti Isidori*. Indeed, later in the collection, Christians and Muslims compete for Isidore’s wealth and power.²¹ Predictably, the Muslim kings fail in their attempt to co-opt Isidore’s relics or holy space, and are punished accordingly, so that Isidore not only serves as protector against Christians’ (Muslim) martial enemies, but the struggle for his blessing becomes a mirror for the Christian vision of the *reconquista* itself.

Mercantile Saint for All Faiths: St. Nicholas

The *Miracula Sancti Isidori* reflect the religious dynamics and rhetoric within a very restricted context in medieval (and early modern) Iberia. The case of St. Nicholas is rather different. First it should be noted that there were two saints of this name. St. Nicholas of Myra (ca. 270–343) sometimes also known as St. Nicholas of Bari, because his bones were moved from Myra in what is now part of modern-day Turkey, to the Italian city of Bari in ca. 1087. The other, St. Nicholas of Sion, lived in the sixth century CE, in the same region as St. Nicholas of Myra and he also died in Myra. While each had a separate hagiographical tradition, the cult and stories about the two saints became intermingled.²² The cult of St. Nicholas was widespread in both Byzantium and Italy, especially southern Italy, during the early Middle Ages; the saint’s popularity through-

contentiosa laude causantes et dicentes; quia licet corpus sanctissimum Legionenses detulerint, Isidori tamen spiritus Hispalim non reliquit”; Lucas de Tuy, *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Isidori*, fol. 33a.

18 Lucas de Tuy, *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Isidori*, fols. 33a–37.

19 For example, Lucas de Tuy, *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Isidori*, chap. 19, fol. 45.

20 Lucas de Tuy, *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Isidori*, chap. 19, fols. 40–45.

21 Lucas de Tuy, *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Isidori*, chaps. 20 and 21, fols. 45–54.

22 Cioffari, “San Nicola e il mare;” Meisen, *Nikolauskult*, 50–51, 60–71; Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, 1:vi–ix.

out the Mediterranean and in Western Europe, increased after the translation of his relics to Bari. He was especially honoured in France and Germany and numerous churches were dedicated to him throughout these regions continuing through the seventeenth century.²³ Like the Virgin Mary, St. Nicholas was celebrated as being the protector of all, and venerated in all lands, and as being a guardian of those at sea, even to the point of competing with Mary as a maritime intercessor. He also became strongly associated with the protection of merchants, both within and outside the context of seafaring, although even in this he competed with Mary, whose intervention on behalf of the Jew, Abraham against the dishonest Byzantine Christian merchant Theodore, strongly resembles tales of similar interventions by St. Nicholas.²⁴ Significantly for our purposes, St. Nicholas was also increasingly portrayed as a protector of Christians against Muslims, Jews, and “barbarians” or “pagans”, although the end result of Nicholas’ interactions with non-Christians was often their conversion to Christianity.²⁵ St. Nicholas’ two functions, defender of Christians against non-Christians and protector of goods and the interests of merchants and bankers sometimes came together in a single story. For example, in *Le jeu de Saint Nicolas* by Jehan Bodel (ca. 1165–ca. 1210 CE), a *trouvère* from Arras in Northern France, the French “*pruedom*”, Durans, who is captured by Muslims while he is praying to St. Nicholas, is mocked for his faith, and the statue of St. Nicholas is left to guard the open treasury of the king. If the saint/statue fails, Duran’s life is forfeit. St. Nicholas foils the would-be robbers, and the king and other Muslims are so amazed at the miracle that they convert to Christianity and become devotees of the saint.²⁶ The conversion of the Muslims in face of defeat through the miracles of a Christian saint follows the patterns of encounters with the religious other found in northern European Marian miracles.²⁷ The fact that St. Nicholas was required to guard the Muslims’ treasure harkens back to his role as protector of merchants and goods. Calling the protagonist “*pruedom*” also indicates that Durans was a pious civilian, rather than a knight, possibly a merchant, or advisor, again linking the saint’s actions to a particular professional group.²⁸ The lines between belonging and religious outsider are clearly drawn in this text. This is not the

23 Cioffari, “San Nicola e il mare”; Roze, ed., *Saint Nicolas et les Lorrains*, 15–16, 31–45, 63–82; Meisen, *Nikolauskult*, 50–93.

24 Remensnyder, “Mary, Star of the Multi-Confessional Mediterranean”; Cioffari, “San Nicola e il mare”; Roze, ed., *Saint Nicolas et les Lorrains*, 15–16; Meisen, *Nikolauskult*, 64, 66, 89–90, 245–53, 270–75, 284–87. Early accounts of the miracles of St. Nicholas of Sion regularly include a series of sea-related miracles. See: *Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion*, nos. 27, 28, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38, pp. 50/51–56/57, 62/63–66/67. For the story of the Merchant Theodore and the Jew, Abraham see Holo, *Byzantine Jewry*, 161–62. This story was also widespread throughout Europe. See, for example, Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin*, 29–32. Sometimes it is an icon of Jesus rather than Mary which performs the miracle. See Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 356–60.

25 Bodel, *Le jeu de Saint Nicolas*; Roze, *Saint Nicolas et les Lorrains*, 33, 57; Meisen, *Nikolauskult*, 62–63, 264–67, 281–84.

26 Bodel, *Le jeu de Saint Nicolas*, lines.19–112, 1238–1533, pp. 67–70, 124–137.

27 Cuffel, “Henceforward.”

28 My thanks to Prof. Lynn Ramey of Vanderbilt University for her suggestions about the term “*pruedom*” in this context. All errors are my own.

case in all legends regarding the saint. Various versions of a tale in which St. Nicholas assists a Jew against a cheating Christian—usually a merchant—began circulating in hymns and miracle collections in France and Italy from the twelfth century onwards.²⁹ Having a Christian saint work against his own co-religionists to answer the intercession of a Jew troubled the clear divisions presented in a tale such as the one in Bodel's *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*. In such stories Jews were presented as not only being part of a Christian saint's community but as having greater claim to the saint's aid than some Christians. Such a suggestion served as a counter to harsher hagiographic traditions which were uniformly negative toward Jews, and furthermore challenged neat religious hierarchies; something which discomfited certain collectors of *exempla*.

The tension between the impulse toward exclusion and the narrative tradition of inclusion of the Jewish religious other and recognizing that veneration by non-Christians accrued to Nicholas' honour may be clearly seen in a thirteenth-century compendium of saints' lives, by the Dominican, Jacobus de Voragine (1244–1298 CE). The *Legenda Aurea* contains two stories about Jews' interactions with St. Nicholas. In the first tale a (Christian) man borrows money from a Jew and makes an oath on the altar of St. Nicholas that he will repay it as soon as possible. The Christian delays payment however, and then attempts to trick the Jew by handing the Jew his staff in which he has hidden the money, and then swearing before the judge that he has given the Jew the money owed. Later, the dishonest individual is run over by a coach and killed, and his staff containing the money is broken. Although bystanders urge the Jew to collect the money, he declines unless St. Nicholas will resurrect the dead man, at which point the Jew promises he will be baptized. The borrower is immediately restored to life, and the Jew becomes a Christian. Another Jew, seeing the powers of St. Nicholas, purchases a statue of the saint, and commands the saint to watch over his goods, threatening to beat the saint if he fails. When the second Jew's house is robbed, he castigates the saint verbally and physically, intending to break the statue. St. Nicholas appears to the robbers, tells them what he is suffering at the Jew's hands because of their evil actions, and menaces them with hanging and God's wrath. Terrified, the men return the stolen goods, refrain from further stealing, and the Jew becomes Christian.³⁰

These two tales of St. Nicholas' interactions with Jewish merchants are a curious mixture of willing veneration, or at least respect, and saintly punishment. In both tales, Christians are the malefactors, although in the second story the Jewish protagonist abuses the statue of the saint, reminiscent of tales of Jewish desecration of Christian holy objects.³¹ Yet this Jew, like the first one, is reclaimed for the side of good, from the Christian perspective, and made a permanent part of the St. Nicholas' community of venerators by his conversion to Christianity. Strikingly, in this version of the tales, both Jews actively initiate a miracle from the Christian saint by placing their trust in Nicholas to safeguard their goods against avaricious Christians. St. Nicholas is portrayed, therefore, as drawing

29 Meisen, *Nikolauskult*, 281–85.

30 Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, 1:44–46, no. 3; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 1:25, no. 3.

31 Rubin, *Gentile Tales*.

the faith of individuals outside the Christian fold and being willing to defend these non-Christians' honourable claims against dishonest members of the community one might expect St. Nicholas to support automatically, namely the Christian one. Instead, St. Nicholas is marked as universal in his defence of righteousness. His heterogeneous patronage is rewarded by Jewish conversion to Christianity. Both characteristics, namely his ability to draw the veneration of non-Christians, in this case Jews, and his unwavering defence of righteousness, even to the point of supporting Jews over Christians, serve to glorify the saint as one to whom *any* person could turn, especially any merchant, regardless of the individual's religious affiliation, as long as his/her claim was just.

Steven Epstein singles out the tales of Jews in the St. Nicholas cycle as unusual relative to the depiction of Jews in the rest of the *Legenda Aurea*. He attributes relatively positive portrayals of Jews in Jacobus' account of St. Nicholas in contrast to the almost universally negative representation of Jews elsewhere in the work to the locus of St. Nicholas in the southern Italian city of Bari, where there was a substantial population of Jews, in contrast to Genoa or the region of Liguria generally, from which Jacobus de Voragine came. According to him, the translation of St. Nicholas' relics from Myra, in Western Asia, inspired tales of miraculous conversions of Jews.³² Indeed, scholars have noted the general absence of Jews in Genoa and the rest of Liguria, variously from the end of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century up until the mid-fifteenth, when Jews were allowed trade and eventually settle and flourish. Yet Jews were very active in trade and prosperous in Genoese colonies and were likewise active as traders in Lombardy, where Jacobus had also worked.³³ Furthermore Georges Jehel offers a gentle challenge to the assertion that there were no Jews in Genoa during this period, by providing indications of Jewish mercantile activities there prior to the fifteenth century.³⁴ Nevertheless, it is clear that there was a more substantive Jewish presence and involvement in international trade in southern Italy prior to the fourteenth century; thereafter Jews prospered in a variety of professions, among which were trade and banking in the central and northern Italian states.³⁵

The presence of Jews in southern or northern Italy and their economic activities provide important context for understanding Jacobus de Voragine's version of the life of St. Nicholas and his depiction of the saint as attractive to Jews. I suggest that these stories of St. Nicholas' intervention on behalf of Jews against thieving Christians also polemi-

32 Epstein, *The Talents of Jacopo da Varagine*, 153–54. On the depiction of Jews elsewhere in Jacobus de Voragine's work see 58–59, 93–94, 183–85.

33 Urani and Zazzu, eds., *The Jews in Genoa*, 1:xviii–xxvii and especially xxvi; Simonsohn, "International Trade and Italian Jews"; Simonsohn, "La condizione giuridica"; Cassen, *Marking the Jews in Renaissance Italy*, 154–87; Bezzina, "Social Landscapes," esp., 186; Abulafia, "The Italian Other," esp. 234; Maifreda, "The Jews, Institutions, Economy, Society"; Lopez, *Su e giù per la storia Genova*.

34 Jehel, "Jews and Muslims in Medieval Genoa." Also see Urani and Zazzu, eds., *The Jews in Genoa*, 1:ix–xxvii.

35 Simonsohn, "International Trade and Italian Jews"; Simonsohn, "La condizione giuridica"; Von Falkenhausen, "Jews in Byzantine Southern Italy," Urani and Zazzu, eds., *The Jews in Genoa*, 1:xviii–lvii; Abulafia, "Jews in Sicily."

cized against dishonesty in mercantile practices. Such a polemic would have certainly resonated in a southern Italian context, in a place such as Bari, where Jews, Christians, and Muslims of various types and communities were engaged in international and local trade, literary and scientific exchanges, and, of course, interacting with one another on a daily basis.³⁶ Issues of honesty in trade would have, of course, also been vital in Northern Italy, specifically Genoese and Lombard regions in which Jacobus de Voragine was active, since both of these areas were heavily engaged in international trading and banking, although as noted above, a substantial Jewish presence in these regions seems to have come somewhat later.³⁷ Thus, these incidents in Jacobus' life of St. Nicholas would have served as cautionary tales against dishonest dealings, placing financial probity between merchants, lenders, and householders (it is not clear that the second Jew in the story was a merchant, since his house is robbed, although his concern to have his goods protected suggests that he may have been) above religious affiliation. Given the intersections of religious plurality with trading interests and practices in Bari and elsewhere in southern Italy during this period, the tales of Jews and St. Nicholas reflect the frequent interaction between Jews and Christians in the region and highlight St. Nicholas as a mediator between the two. Within the more immediate northern Italian milieu in which Jacobus de Voragine lived and worked, the tales potentially function to critique dishonest Christians. These are so reprehensible that St. Nicholas favours the Jews over them; such a tale would have served as a shaming technique to urge Christian merchants to behave honestly. Ultimately, however, any religious plurality in the saint's community of adherents is quickly resolved by the Jews' conversion to Christianity. In addition to the mediating or softening effect of having taken the tale from Bari, where interactions between Jews and Christians (and Muslims) were frequent and relatively easy, for Jacobus de Voragine the Jews' conversion also may have served to make them more palatable than some of the other Jewish figures elsewhere in his collection. By including these two tales, Jacobus made St. Nicholas more appealing to his contemporary Italian audience, both southern and northern, while at the same time drawing from older traditions which already marked St. Nicholas as a defender of seafarers and merchants, and one willing to intercede for those outside the Christian community.

Yet there is an additional layer of polemic within this tale. Bari was not merely famous as being the home of St. Nicholas' relics, but also for having one of its archbish-

36 Schippers, "Arabic and Hebrew Love Poetry in Sicily"; Colafemmina, "'Da Bari uscirà la legge,'" Pasquale, *Apurta al dialogo interreligiosa*; Hartman, "A Hebrew Signature in a Latin Manuscript"; Mancuso, "Hebrew Science in Early Medieval South Italy"; Burgaretta, "Annotazioni in ebraico e giudeo-arabo"; Schiano, "Libri nel conflitto"; Grévin, "Le rôle des communautés juives sicilienne"; Toomaspoeg, "Les Allemands, les juifs et les musulmans en Sicile"; Abulafia, "Jews in Sicily"; Abulafia, *The Two Italies*; Metcalfe, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy*; Bucaria, Luzzati, and Tarantino, eds., *Ebrei e Sicilia*; Gil, "The Jews in Sicily under Muslim Rule"; Von Falkenhausen, "The Jews in Byzantine Southern Italy"; Rotman, "Converts in Byzantine Italy"; Udovich, "Juifs et musulmans en Sicile"; Bucaria, ed., *Gli ebrei in Sicilia*.

37 Miner and Stantchev, "The Genoese Economy"; Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, 322–33; Abulafia, *The Two Italies*; Van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements*; Bautier, *Commerce méditerranéen*; Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution*.

ops, one Andreas, who was archbishop of Bari from 1062–circa 1066, converts to Judaism, and flees to Muslim-controlled Egypt. His choice was known and remembered well enough to inspire the conversion of another southern Italian Christian, one Johannes, better known by his Jewish name, Obadiah, to convert to Judaism in the early twelfth century and seek sanctuary under Islamic rule.³⁸ Accepting Epstein's assertion that the original background and origin of these tales was Bari itself, St. Nicholas' success at converting Jews to Christianity presents the saint as a counter to the attraction that Judaism clearly had for some Christians and tells a story of Christian triumph in opposition to local recollection of the embarrassment of having two prominent Christians reject their religion of origin in favour of Judaism.

Conversion to Christianity or death to the obstinate is the almost inevitable conclusion to saintly interactions with Jews or Muslims, although the *Cantigas* of King Alfonso X vary between conversion and veneration without conversion.³⁹ Either result uses the religious other as "proof" of the greater power and truth of the Christian saint in question, and, by extension, Christianity as a whole. Death or punishment of Muslims or Jews, as in the Christian pilgrimage narratives, demonstrates the saint's ability to force religious outsiders, potentially inimical to the "truth" into a hierarchical obedience and recognition of the saint, and his/her people's (superior) relationship with God. Recognition and even praise of a saint by non-Christians was a special honour for the saint, for it demonstrated the extent of his/her appeal and power. However, as in travel accounts about religious sites and encounters in the Middle East, such veneration and the saint's acceptance of it, created a liminal status for non-Christians as partial members of the saint's circle. Conversion resolved such ambiguity, and in a European context, this end result was untroubled by the reality of non-Christian political and religious power and resistance. Both the *Miracula Sancti Isidori* and Jacobus de Voragine's version of the life of St. Nicholas follow these broad tendencies. Close examination of these hagiographical collections, however, also demonstrates that idiosyncrasies of an individual author's polemical rhetoric and the local realities surrounding their composition and subsequent audience create very specific, potent interpretive contexts.

Compelling Rituals: Jewish and Muslim Donations and Participation in Christian Festive Processions in Latin Europe

In various locales and periods, local Christian customs and regulations enacted by Christian authorities worked together to create shared (sometimes forcibly so) practices or duelling rituals between Christians and the Muslims or Jews living under their rule, or to construct an illusion of such shared rituals. Several stages may be identified.

38 Golb, "Autograph Memoirs of Obadiah the Proselyte"; Golb, "Jewish Proselytism"; Prawer, "The Autobiography of Obadyah the Norman Convert"; Colafemmina, "La conversion al giudaismo di Andrea arcivescovo di Bari"; Holo, "Jewish Communities and Personalities"; Perani, "Una menzione di Obadiah il Proselito"; Blumenkranz, "La Conversion au Judaïsme"; Scheiber, "Fragment of the Chronicle of Obadyah."

39 Cuffel, "Henceforward."

On the one hand, there are indications that ritual violence against Jews had taken place from the early Middle Ages onwards.⁴⁰ However, starting in the twelfth century, more abundant documentation may be found. This material includes descriptions of Jews being required to be the target of symbolic, enacted expressions of subjugation orchestrated by Christians, which Muslims occasionally joined. Such ritualized violence against Jews may be understood as a “shared” practice in so far as Jews are a necessary, albeit unwilling participant in a Christian religious festival. In addition to this forced sharing, later medieval sources also include descriptions of seemingly voluntary Muslim and Jewish participation in Christian rituals. Discussions of Jews and Muslims in various types of Christian holiday celebrations increase for the thirteenth and especially fourteenth centuries as the Corpus Christi processions became part of proscribed Church liturgy.⁴¹ This development takes place at approximately the same time as efforts to codify and organize earlier collections of laws increased, including those about Jews and Muslims specifically, and anxiety about Jews and Muslims mixing indiscriminately with Christians intensified.⁴² During the late Middle Ages and early modern period, extremely detailed accounts of royal processions and other kinds of festivals began to be recorded, and while Teofilio Ruiz warns that copious details should not lure readers into assumptions of utter and unbiased veracity, nonetheless such narratives provide vital information regarding the form, function, and participants—including both real and dramatized Jewish and Muslim ones—in public festivals. They further hint at how the Christian authors wished these processions and accompanying entertainments to affect their audiences, while pointing to an overall increase in the number of festive processions during this period.⁴³ At times these regulations and chronicles reflected very real cross-religious sociability and sharing of religious spaces and practices, or acts of hostility toward the same. However, the depictions of these behaviours, as well as the activities themselves, frequently served to link certain holy days and practices of Christians and non-Christians the better to underscore religious incompatibility between the groups and/or “proper” religious hierarchy, at least in the mind of a given author.

40 Roth, “European Jewry in the Dark Ages”; Roth, “The Eastertide Stoning of the Jews.”

41 Soussen-Max, “La question de violence rituelle”; Nirenberg, “Violencia, memoria, y *convivencia*”; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 179–80, 198–230; Nirenberg, “Les juifs, la violence et le sacré”; Linder, “The Jews Too Were Not Absent”; Muñoz Fernandez, “Fiestas laicas y fiestas profanas”; Coulet, “De l’intégration à l’exclusion.” Changes in public mourning for kings and entry processions also affected the roles open to Jews and Muslims on these occasions. Lourie, “Jewish Participation in Royal Funerary Rites”; Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 42, 106–7, 273. On the development of the Corpus Christi festival more generally see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

42 Champagne and Resnick, *Jews and Muslims under the Fourth Lateran Council*; Nirenberg, *Neighboring Faiths*; Nirenberg, “Conversion, Sex, and Segregation”; Nirenberg, “Religious and Sexual Boundaries”; Freidenreich, “Muslims in Western Canon Law”; Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Christendom*, 371–77; Kedar, “De iudeis et sarracenis”; Pakter, *Medieval Canon Law and the Jews*; García y García, “Jews and Muslims in the Canon Law of the Iberian Peninsula”; García y García, “Judíos y moros en el ordenamiento canónico medieval.”

43 Ruiz, *A King’s Travels*, 8–20, 29, 49–53.

Legal Background and Considerations

One element around which shared practices had to negotiate, or indeed, was part of the response to shared practices in its own right, was law. Muslim and Christian religious law recognized Jews and other religious minorities as legitimate—though often undesirable—and possessing certain rights. Muslims, when they were subject to Christian rule, were given a position in Christian society with rights and restrictions similar to that given to “protected people” or *dhimmi* in Muslim society.⁴⁴ Within Western Europe, Christian canon law from the twelfth century onwards tended to group Muslims together with Jews, much as Sunni law categorized Jews and Christians together as *dhimmis*, subjugated minorities, and those who had received the scripture of God.⁴⁵ Often in Western Christian codes, however, the greater perfidy of the Jews in comparison to the Muslims was underscored.⁴⁶ Laws regulating interactions between Christians and religious minorities in Byzantium and Western Europe provide evidence of shared practices; however, they are entirely prescriptive, and so will be examined in the last chapter, which analyzes opposition to shared practices in Christian-ruled lands. Forced participation in Christian festivals tended to be mandated by royal or local civil authorities or local custom and thus stand apart from canon law.⁴⁷

Muslim and Jewish Participation in Christian Public Festivals and Royal Entries

Christian processions and public festivals, such as carnival, constitute a separate category of shared practice between medieval Jews, Christians, and Muslims. As a number of scholars have pointed out, the expectation or custom that non-Christians, specifically Jews, participate in entry celebrations of kings dates at least to Gregory of Tours (538–594 CE), where in his *Historia Francorum*, he describes the entry of Guntram, who was king of Orléans from 561–592 CE:

The day of his entry into Orleans was the feast day of Saint Martin, that is July 4. A vast crowd of citizens came out to meet him, carrying flags and banners and singing songs in his praise. The speech of the Syrians contrasted sharply with that of those using Gallo-Roman and again with that of the Jews, as they each sang his praises in their own tongue. “Long live the King!” they all shouted,

⁴⁴ Cohen, *Under Crescent & Cross*, 52–74.

⁴⁵ Freidenreich, “Muslims in Eastern Canon Law”; Freidenreich, “Muslims in Western Canon Law”; Freidenreich, “Christians in Early and Classical Sunni Law.” Freidenreich notes that some Muslim jurists made the distinction between having *dhimmi* status, and being truly people of the book, “*ahl-l-kitāb*”. On the grouping of Jews and Muslims together in Western Canon law, also see Echevarria, “The Marks of the Other”; Kedar, “De iudeis et sarracenis.”

⁴⁶ Freidenreich, “Muslims in Western Canon Law.”

⁴⁷ Some of these do seem to have the force of church sanction, however, as in the case of Jews’ role in papal processions and coronation rituals. See Linder, “The Jews Too Were Not Absent”; Coulet, “De l’intégration à l’exclusion.” For examples and a discussion of royal and civil mandated participation in festivals see below in this chapter.

"May he continue to reign over his peoples more years than we can count!" The Jews played a full part in these acclamations. "Let all peoples continue to worship you and bow the knee before you and submit to your rule," they kept shouting.⁴⁸

The large number and mixture of peoples, and the praise of the king in multiple languages all fit what becomes part of the common elements of Jewish, and later, Muslim, participation in royal, and pontifical entries, other types of festivals connected with particular saints, holy days, carnival, and Corpus Christi.⁴⁹ What is not always clear is whether Jewish or Muslim participation in Christian celebrations was voluntary. Christian authors frequently depict the presence of Jews and/or Muslims as one aspect of a general outpouring of joy by the population as a whole, as for example in the description of the reception which Alfonso II received upon entering the city of Toledo in 1139:

When the whole populace heard that the emperor was coming to Toledo, all the leaders of the Christians, Saracens and Jews and all the common people of the city moved out along the way to the city and with tympanums and zithers and psalms and every type of music. And each one of them according to his language praising and glorifying God, who was making every act of the emperor prosper, and also saying: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord."⁵⁰

As in the passage from Gregory, there is no suggestion here that the Jews or Muslims were pressured into attending despite the fact that Alfonso was returning after having

48 "Sed cum ad urbem Aurelianensem venisset, erat die sollempnitas beati Martini, id est quarto nonas mensis quinti. Processitque in obviam ejus immensa populi turba cum signis atque vexillis, canentes laudes. Et hinc lingua Syrorum, hinc Latinorum, hinc etiam ipsorum Judaeorum, in diversis laudibus varie concrepabat, dicens: 'Vivat rex; renunquique ejus in diversis populis annis innumeris dilatur'. Judaei vero, qui in his laudibus videbantur esse participes, dicebant: 'Omnes gentes te adorent, tibi que genu flectant atque tibi sint subditae'"; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Francorum*, vol. 2, bk. 8, chap. 1; Gregory, *History of the Franks*, bk. 8, chap. 1; Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent"; Coulet, "De l'intégration à l'exclusion."

49 Participation in Corpus Christi was a contested issue, however, often couched in violence, as a number of scholars have demonstrated. For this, and Jews, Christians, and other types of participants in Christian processions generally, see Champagne and Boustan, "Walking in the Shadows of the Past"; Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Christendom*, 271, 365, 437–38, 482; Nirenberg, *Neighboring Faiths*, 77–81, 110; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 180–82, 200–230; Nirenberg, "Les juifs, la violence et le sacré"; Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent"; Ruiz, *Spanish Society*, 1348–1700, 139–41, 146–75, 224; Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 37–48, 82–83, 104–7, 184–85, 249–92; Soussen-Max, "Violence rituelle ou émotion populaire?"; Soussen-Max, "La question de violence rituelle"; Muñoz Fernandez, "Fiestas laicas y fiestas profanas"; Coulet, "De l'intégration à l'exclusion"; Balbás, *Algunos aspectos*, 71–72, 80.

50 "Cum omnis populus audisset quod imperator veniret Toletum, omnes principes christianorum et sarrenorum et iudaeorum et tota plebs civitatis longe a civitate exierunt obviam et cum tipanis et citharis et psalteries et omni genere musicorum. Unusquisque eorum secundam linguam suam laudantes et florificantes Deum, qui prosperabat omnes actus imperatoris, necnon et dicentes: Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini"; Sanchez Balda, *Chronica Adelfonsi Imperatoris*, para. 157, pp. 121–22.

defeated the Almoravids who had taken the castle at Oreja. As Champagne and Boustan have pointed out in their discussion of Jewish participation in Papal entries and coronations during the twelfth century, Jews had much to gain by joining such processions. By so doing, Roman Jews, for example, participated “in a civic/liturgical ritual that acknowledged their acceptance of the ruling authority and maintained their roles as legitimate members of the civic community.”⁵¹ The same observation also holds true of Muslims welcoming any ruler, whether papal or royal.⁵² In the example of the Toledo procession cited above, the joyful reception of King Alfonso by Muslims, in particular, for a Christian audience, would have affirmed Christian victory and restoration of proper religious hierarchy of Christian power over Muslims (and Jews), and the acceptance on the part of both of these groups of that hierarchy. For the Muslims, assuming the account is accurate, joining the celebration signalled their loyalty and confirmed membership to the wider society within the king’s lands. Indeed, that Jews and Muslims understood that their place within such entry processions both marked and assured them a place within the civic communal hierarchy may be seen in a series of disputes between Muslim and Jewish communities in Huesca which King John I of Aragon, who reigned from 1387 to 1396, had to settle. The argument was over which of the two (Jews or Muslims) should take precedence in public processions, such as royal funerals, entries or celebrations of births, a point about which the two communities had come to blows. Seemingly the king himself had difficulty deciding the matter.⁵³ What these disputes show, however, is that Jews and Muslims *desired* to take part in these processions and were a conscious, willing part of the symbolic system that these processions embodied, at least in this instance.

This was not always the case, however. Conquered Muslims were compelled to participate in victory processions under humiliating conditions. For example, when Ferdinand of Antequerra (1380–1416), the future king of Aragon, entered Seville after a successful battle, seventeen captured Muslims were required to trail behind him, their banners dragging in the mud, as the king with archbishops and other clerics proceeded, cross held high, “with very a solemn procession, saying the ‘Te Deum laudamus’ and songs of joy.”⁵⁴ The muddied banners and following the king emphasized the Muslims’ political humiliation, even as these elements symbolically enhanced the king’s status. As in the Toledo procession, the Muslims’ presence and activity within the entry festival signalled the “rightful” hierarchy, from a Christian perspective, of Christian over Muslim.

51 Champagne and Boustan, “Walking in the Shadows of the Past.” Citation on 492.

52 Compare with Coulet, “De l’integration à l’exclusion.”

53 ACA: C reg. 1890 52r–53r and ACA: C reg. 1903 52v–53r. The first of these may be found transcribed in Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 181n61. The second may be found in Basáñez Villaluenga, *La aljama sarracena de Huesca*, 231, doc. 92. Also see their discussion of this exchange and similar events: Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 180–82; Basáñez Villaluenga, *La aljama sarracena de Huesca*, 77–78.

54 “con muy solene procesión diziendo el Te Deum laudamus e cantos de alegría”; Mata Carriazo, ed., *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*, 399–400, quote on 400. See analysis by Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 81–83, and Cuffel, “Seductive Sounds.” Compare with Devany, *Enemies in the Plaza*, 165–67.

One may argue that joining a predominantly political, civic celebration does not constitute a shared religious festival between Jews, Christians, and Muslims; yet to do so would be to fail to consider the multilayered meanings of these events. Already in the three passages cited in this section, one from the sixth century regarding Guntram, the second describing Alfonso II's entry into Toledo, and the final one regarding the Infante Ferdinand, religious elements are clearly present in the kinds of praise the participants chant. Amnon Linder has provided a detailed analysis of the section from Gregory of Tours, noting that the king's entry took place on St. Martin's day, which would make the procession part of a mass. He further argues that the subsequent displeasure of Gregory, as the author, and of King Guntram in the text, was tied to conflicting Jewish and Christian interpretations of Genesis 27:29. Linder suggests the Jews' evocation was based upon this verse in combination with a passage from the *Aleinu* prayer, part of the daily liturgy of the Jews, which eventually came to be expanded and understood in polemical ways against Christians.⁵⁵ Champagne and Boustan have challenged this interpretation, and warned against reading "backwards" into the past, namely, assessing hostile meanings in early texts based on later developments.⁵⁶ In either case, the passage itself clearly represents the people, including the Jews, as evoking God on behalf of the king. Indeed, the praise which Gregory of Tours placed in the mouth of Jews is peculiar for it seems draw a parallel between God and King Guntram by suggesting that all people should revere him, in addition to bowing to him. The same peculiar parallel is apparent in the twelfth-century text. "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the lord", one of the cries which greeted Alfonso II, with slight variations, is the cry that greeted Jesus' entry into Jerusalem according to all four of the canonical gospels.⁵⁷ The passage may also be found in Psalms, however, given the degree of interaction between Jews, Christians, and Muslims, and the centrality of the phrase in the Christian version of the life of Jesus, it seems unlikely that the Jews and Muslims in the crowd would have failed to recognize its import and the link being drawn between the king and Jesus.⁵⁸ Even allowing for differing scriptural referents and interpretations, being part of a royal procession involved evoking God in some way on behalf of the ruler. In Ferdinand's procession into Seville, Muslims do not sing the religious praises themselves, but are, nonetheless, required to listen to them, surrounded by Christian clerics, and led by a crucifix. Such a context pointed to their *religious*, as well as political humiliation, while at the same time, marking them as now part of the community of the king and his clerics. Having Jews and/or Muslims praise/pray for the king in these Western European texts is a much more public and communal version of the custom in the Middle East for *dhimmi* communities to pray for the Muslim leader.⁵⁹ Rhetorically, these and similar passages very much

55 Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent," esp. 327–31.

56 Champagne and Boustan, "Walking in the Shadows of the Past."

57 Matthew 21:9, Mark 11:9, Luke 13:35, and John 12:13.

58 In the Vulgate, the passage is from Psalms 117:26. In most translations, however, it is 118:26.

59 Goitein, "Prayers from the Geniza." Such prayers seem to have become standardized in Europe and the Ottoman during the early modern period. See Schwartz, "Hanoten Teshua."

fit into the concept of other as witness to the truth, in this case, the truth of the king's reign, and the idea of God's blessing on the ruler in question. The insistence that all types of people welcome the king affirms and enhances the king's power, for it shows that not only all the members of the urban, Christian community support the king, from the lowest "*plebs*" to the highest "*principes*," but also those outside of the Christian community. In the case of the passage from Gregory's *Historia*, the king's religious power in addition to his political appeal is enhanced because Jews come together with Christians to praise him on a Christian holy day, and do so even though, in the end, King Guntram does not acquiesce to the Jews' requests. The issue of unification of opposing religious and political power is much more pointed in the instance of Alfonso's entry however, for it follows an extended, difficult battle with the southern, Muslim king and his forces, in which Alfonso was ultimately victorious. Thus, having the local Muslims, especially, praise and welcome the king, presents him as accepted and beloved even by those who might otherwise oppose him, much like European Christian and Jewish writers of pilgrimage narratives depicted their holy dead as the object of veneration by members of other religious communities.

Processing Holy Books: Display of Torah and Qur'an in Royal and Papal Entry Processions and Christian Saints' Days

While the religious element is not particularly prominent in the passages discussed so far, in other instances it is more explicit. If the fact that the procession described by Gregory of Tours took place on St. Martin's day hints at the religious nature of the occasion, indications that Jews were required to present the Torah at churches on specific Christian saints' days from the fifteenth century in southern Italy leaves no room for doubt. There, in a number of towns, Jews were required to bring the Torah to a church in honour of St. Stephen. That the Jews were expected to honour the Christian saint is clear in the wording of one of the regulations:

That all and every Jew remaining in this land Marsalia is held to approach in any year on the feast of the proto-martyr Saint Stephen the church of the blessed Apostle Thomas as the mother church of the land in order to give reverence to the aforementioned St. Stephen, entering with their Torah.⁶⁰

Even when Jewish communities managed to gain royal permission to eschew such festivities, local authorities seem to have continued to pressure them to do so.⁶¹

⁶⁰ "Quod universi et singuli Judei in eadem terra Marsalia degentes quolibet anno in festi sancti Stephani protomartiris ad ecclesiam beati Thome apostoli tanquam matricem ecclesiam ejus terre ad debitum reverencie sancti Stephani predicti cum eorum theora intus et in eadem ecclesia accedere teneantur. Laguamina and Laguamina"; *Codice diplomatico dei Guidi di Sicilia*, vol 1, p. 274 no. 208; Simonsen, "Le Pourim de Saragosse"; Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent"; Simonsohn, ed., *Jews of Sicily*, 3:1522–24, no. 1592, from Palermo Archivio di Stato R. Cancelleria, reg. 17, c. 27r–v, pp. 1668–69 no. 1737 from Palermo Archivio di Stato R. Cancelleria, reg. 43 c. 138v.

⁶¹ Simonsohn, ed., *Jews of Sicily*, 3:1665, no. 1734, from Palermo Archivio di Stato R. Cancelleria,

The choice of St. Stephen was particularly symbolic from the Christian perspective, in that Stephen was depicted as having been martyred by angry members of the Jewish leadership in Acts 7:54–59. Requiring Jews to pay homage to this particular saint was tantamount to requiring them to do penance for his death and thus admit the guilt and failure of their ancestors in killing him and not recognizing the truth of his message. These implications would be in addition to the basic compulsion to join Christians in their veneration of this figure.⁶²

Likewise, accounts of royal processions frequently incorporated religious elements. For example, Bartholomaeus of Neocastro (ca. 1240–post 1293 CE), an Italian jurist and author of the chronicle, *Historia Sicula*, described the entry of King Pedro of Aragon to Messina and the ritualized reception he received by the crowds, including the Jews, in 1282:

he entered the city, they applauded with the agreeable voices of men and women; they opened the law of the Jews of the Synagogue; the sacred fathers went before the gaze of the king and the clerical order of the poor followed. The king alone went forth in the middle on horseback.⁶³

The added element of bringing the Torah scroll before a king or other type of leader and opening it, presumably for (symbolic) inspection, brought one of the central religious objects of the Jews directly into the Christian processional rituals. In the midst of this parade of Christian clerics, bringing out the Torah very much emphasized the Jews' religious difference, yet also surrounded it by Christian people, songs, and visual signs. Presenting the Torah to the king also indicated subservience, at least to Christian viewers.⁶⁴ Yet more than merely being present or singing biblical passages in praise of the king, the use of the Torah made the Jews' obeisance religious in nature and extremely public. These observations hold equally true when Muslims brought the Qur'an to promenade before rulers and their entourages, as in the case of the entry of the Princess Blanca, daughter of the King of Navarre into Briviesca in 1440:

The Princess continued on her way to Briviesca where the festivities were arranged, and there she was given a very solemn reception by everyone in the town, with each trade taking out its banner and its entertainments as best they could with great dances, and great joy and happiness, and then the Jews came with the Torah, and the Moors with the Alcoran in that form which is customary for the kings who had recently come to reign in this area, and there came many

reg. 43, c. 79v: King Martin instructs local authorities to respect the privilege allowing the Jews of Marsala to refuse to listen to and attend the festivities of St. Stephen.

62 Part of the point of this particular dictum was also to require Jews to listen to sermons in the church. *Codice diplomatica dei Guidei di Sicilia*, vol 1, p. 274, no. 208.

63 "civitatem ingreditur, jocundis applaudunt vocibus mares et foeminae; judaeorum synagoge legem aperiunt; ante conspectum regis praeibant sacri patres; et ordinatus clerus subsequitur parulorum; solus Rex eques medius vehtur"; Bartholomaeus de Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, chap. 53, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 13, p. 1066.

64 Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent"; Coulet, "De l'intégration à l'exclusion."

trumpets and there came many trumpets and loud drums and kettle drums which made such a great noise, that it seemed as if a very [great] host were coming.⁶⁵

Here the Jews and Muslims' presentation of their holy books is part of festive pageantry, and is described amid other activities of celebrations, such as dancing, or the parading of banners by various tradesmen groups. Furthermore, there is no indication of their being compelled to join. Yet the mention of the Jews and Muslims' behaviour as part of the custom for kings who had recently come to rule in a given area, hints that the display of the holy books was not done merely for entertainment's sake, but rather as a form of recognition of a new ruler. The reference to the noise being reminiscent of that of a great army lauds the extent of the celebration but also connects the events to military might and political power; indeed, the passage goes on to describe war games which were included as part of the four-day celebration.⁶⁶ As discussed above regarding other forms of Jewish (and Muslim) inclusion in public festivals, their presence emphasized that part of the rulers' power was lordship over non-Christian communities. The raising of the Torah and the Qur'an underscored their religious difference as one of the elements which enhanced a given Christian leader's power.

Exhibiting the Torah, indeed even opening the scroll became a common element in Jews' participation not only in royal entries, but papal ones as well.⁶⁷ By the twelfth century some authors treat the displays of Jewish law or banners as a normal part of the celebrations, though still significant enough to merit special notice.⁶⁸ Even more than the royal entries, as Linder has noted, the ritual encounter between popes and Jews was a form of scripted, public subservience. Participating Jews were required to request approval of their law, which the pope would accord them, while publicly stating his rejection of the Jews' rituals and messianic expectations.⁶⁹ Some of these formulations were milder than others. One of the first recorded is by the French abbot, Suger

65 "Princesa continiáron su camino para Briviesca donde estaban las fiestas aparejadas, é allí les fué hecho muy solemne recebiemiento por todos de la villa, sacando cada oficio su pendon é su entremes lo mejor que pudiéron con grandes danzas, é muy gran gozo y alegría é despues destros venian los judios con la Tora, é los Moros con el Alcoran en aquella forma que se suele hacer a los Reyes que nuevamente vianen á reynar en parte estaña allí venian muchos trompetas e menstresiles altos e tamborinos y atabales los quales hacian tan gran ruido, que parecia venir una muy huesta"; Guzman, *Crónica del Señor Rey Juan Segunda*, 408; Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 42, 106–7, 273.

66 Guzman, *Crónica del Señor Rey Juan Segunda*, 409. On the connection between the music of festivals and that of war in medieval Iberia see Cuffel, "Seductive Sounds." On music and other entertainments, including military during royal processions and festivals in Iberia see Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 38–44, 82, 92, 101–12, 120, 127–31, 139, 141–42, 145, 156–57, 161–64, 169, 172, 193–245, 253–54, 261–63.

67 Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent"; Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 42, 106–107; Coulet, "De l'intégration à l'exclusion."

68 Boso, *La vie des Papes*, chaps. 168 (for Pope Eugenius III (ca. 1080–1153 CE, Papal reign 1145–1153 CE) and 171 (for Pope Alexander III (ca. 1100/1105–1181 CE, Papal reign 1159–1181 CE), pp. 387 and 413 respectively. Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent."

69 Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent."

(ca. 1081–1151 CE), describing King Louis le Gros' reception of Pope Innocent II and the procession to celebrate the Easter Mass at the church of St. Denis amid lavish decoration of humans and horses alike, music, and the tossing of coins to the crowd. Suger then remarks:

When, however, an assembly of knights and many people received him with great honour, even that synagogue of the Jews of Paris made blind, which, offering him a roll of the letter of the law, [which] as you know, [is] veiled, obtained from his mouth a supplication of mercy and piety, 'May the All Powerful God remove the veil from your hearts.'⁷⁰

Others were far more harshly humiliating. For example, the fifteenth-century papal legate, Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini records the papal response to the Jews' presentation of their law in far more elaborate and triumphalist terms:

Hebrew men, the Holy Law we praise and venerate in as much that it was given through the hand of Moses to your fathers by the All Powerful God. Your observance, however, and vain interpretation of the law we damn and reproach, because the saviour whom you still expect in vain, the apostolic faith teaches and preaches however, he has already come, our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father, and Holy Spirit lives and reigns, God forever.⁷¹

The ritualized encounter between the pope and Jews resembles Jewish and Muslim celebratory presentations before Christian rulers, but in the context of the meaning of shared festivals, differs in certain significant elements. While passages in which Jews and Muslims partake of royal processions may be argued to have elements of compulsion and symbolic submission, they also mark the Jews and Muslims as very much part of the diverse community over whom the king or queen rules.⁷² In these festivals, the religious other is never excluded or rejected because they are part of the proclamation of royal (Christian) power. The papal ceremonies are more ambiguous, however. On the one hand, Jews are an integral, even necessary, part of papal inauguration. As in the encounters between kings and Jews, members of non-Christian communities are part of the wider populace acclaiming, and thereby legitimizing the leader. In the non-papal processions, part of the importance or power which Jews or Muslims lend to those in

70 "Cum autem et militia cunei et populi multi concursus ei honoratissime occurreret, nec etiam ipsa Iudaeorum Parisensium execrata defuit synagoga que legis litteram rotulam scilicet velatum oferens, ab ore eius hanc misericordie et pietatis obtinet supplicationem: 'Auferat Deus Omnipotens velamen a cordibus vestris'; Suger, *Vie de Louis le Gros*, chap. 32, p. 120; Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent," esp. 337–38.

71 "Sanctam legem, Viri Hebraei, et laudamus et veneramus, utpote que ab omnipotenti Deo per manus Moysi patribus vestris tradita est. Observantiam ver vestram, et vanam legis interpretationem damnamus atque improbamus, quia salvatorem quem adhuc frustra expectatis, apostolica fides iam predem advenisse docet et predicat Dominum Nostrum Iesum Christum, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus in secula seculorum"; Patrizi, *Rituum ecclesiasticorum*, Liber Primus, Sectio Secunda, 28; Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent," esp. 232.

72 Coulet, "De l'integration à l'exclusion."

whose honour the procession is held, is their difference; they are part of a wide array of people who represent various professions, economic strata, ages, gender, and, finally religions, and as such represent the extent and depth of the king or queen's popularity and recognition. Indeed, on one occasion when Muslims are present before Pope Alexander III (r. 1159–1181 CE), their ruler's respectful approach toward the Pope is a sign of the Pope's/God's universal rule, for upon seeing this exchange the chronicler notes: "all who were within the sight of this pope, marvelled greatly and said to one another that prophecy, 'And all the kings of the earth adored him, and all the nations served him.'"⁷³ The meaning here is similar to that of royal processions, where Muslim and Jewish otherness enhance the status of the ruler, though in this case, the recognition by the religious other is given theological import, and seen as fulfilling a prophecy that all nations should serve the Christian God or his representative (the text is not precisely clear to whom the people were attributing the passage in Psalms). In the papal ceremonies, however, it is the Jews as Jews, a very specific religious other, who are necessary. They are required to participate, but their participation is constituted by a formal, public declaration of their non-belonging: their rejection by God in favour of the Christians. The truth of their Torah is affirmed, and permission for their continued existence granted, but at the price of being publicly castigated as religious failures before the assembled Christian community. Jews as religious other are witnesses to Christian truth according to these Christian texts and rituals, because they represent *untruth*. In the twelfth-century example cited, the hope is expressed that the Jews may become part of the community of "truth." By the late Middle Ages, this sentiment had largely disappeared in favour of underscoring Jews' rejection by God. Indeed, in the early sixteenth-century ritualized exchange between the Jews and Pope Julius II (r. 1503–1513 CE), even the avowal of the Torah is called into question, as Julius allowed it to fall to the ground and walked away during the ceremony.⁷⁴

Acts of Interpretation and Resistance: Jewish Response to Procession of the Torah in Christian Ceremonies

Jewish interpretations of the ritual display of the Torah varied. The author of the thirteenth-century Iberian *Sefer ha-Ḥinukh* (The Book of Education), a work which explains the 613 commandments of the Torah and local customs relating to them, casts the presentation of the Torah to kings in a rather negative light. At the end of a lengthy discussion of how and when to carry or approach the ark of the covenant and who was authorized to do so, the author explains:

This commandment is conducted in the time that Israel was on its land, for then they (the Israelites) were required to carry the ark of the covenant of

⁷³ "universi qui aderant in conspectus eiusdem pontifices, valde mirabantur et dicebant ad invicem illud propheticum verbum: *Et adorabunt eum omnes reges tere, omnes gentes serient ei*"; Boso, *La vie des Papes*, chapter 171, p. 404. The biblical citation comes from Psalm 71:11. In verse 10 the kings of Arabia and Saba are mentioned.

⁷⁴ Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent," esp. 362.

God because of war or when their king commanded, but now, because of our sins, we have no king and no ark to carry anywhere. And this commandment is charged to the tribe of Levi and to the rest of Israel that they agree together. And [it is] this, that today they were accustomed to bring out the book of the Torah in the open to be read by the kings of the nations, this is not required in this commandment at all, that all the children of Israel are authorized to carry it, and if, as a way of honouring the Torah, even today they choose those who carry it from among the sons of Levi, it will be a blessing upon them.⁷⁵

The custom of presenting the Torah to non-Jewish kings, according to this author, reflects Jews' current lack of sovereignty or Temple, which in turn is a result of their sinfulness. The public carrying and parading of the Torah by Jews who were neither Levites nor priests likewise is a breach of the original law, which had been followed when Jews lived in their homeland. Thus, the "shared" nature of the ritual is a result of misfortune and punishment, and is a deviation from the ideal. The writer ends with a positive note of blessing for those who try to follow the regulations; however, overall, this author's assessment of the custom and the status of the Jews parallels that expressed by Christians both in the written description of and the actual ritual of presenting the Torah to popes and kings, namely that it is a sign of subjugation.

By contrast, Josef ibn Kaspi (1280–1345), a prolific Jewish author originally from Provence, in his *Shulhan kesef* (Table of Silver), presented Christian leaders as *obligated* to venerate the Torah scroll. In a presumably imaginary dialogue between himself and "an honoured bishop from our land, Provence" (הגמון נכבד מארצנו פרובנצא), the bishop asks him:

Why do you seek from the kings, popes, and bishops that they do honour and reverence to the book of the Torah of Moses in your bringing it out before you in their entry into the city, when we also will bring out our images to them? For what reason are we obligated [*mehuyavim*] to do honour to the book of the Torah of Moses in your hands?⁷⁶

The bishop goes on to argue that one should also honour the other books of the bible, such as the prophets, and that "if our king and our great ones desire that the book of the Torah of Moses or the entire scripture be brought to them, we will bring them out,

75 ונוהגת מצוה זו בזמן שישראל על אדמתן כי זה היו צריכין לשאת ארון ברית יי מפני מלחמה או כאשר יצוה מלכם, אבל עכשיו בעוונותינו אין לנו מלך ולא ארון לשאת בשום מקום. ומצוה זו מוטלת על שבת לוי ועל שאר ישראל שיסכימו על ידם. וזה שנהגו בגלויות היום להוציא ספר תורה לקראת מלכי האומות איל זה בחיוב מצוה זו כלל, שכל בני ישראל רשאים לישא אותו, ואם מדרך כבוד התורה יבחרו גם היום שישאוהו מבני לוי תבוא עליהם ברכה *Sefer ha-Hinukh*, paragraph 368, p. 470. The authorship of this text is disputed. Some have attributed it to Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona (1235–1290) whereas Israel Ta-Shema suggested that it was the work of his brother, Pinchas. See Ta-Shema, "The True Author of *Sefer ha-Hinukh*."

76 מדוע תבקשו אתם מן המלכים והאפיפיורים וההגמונים שיעשו כבוד והדור לספר תורת משה בהוציאכם אותו לפניכם בהכנסם לבעיר, כאשר נוציא גם אנחנו להם צלמינו? ומאי-זה טעם מחיובים אנו לעשות כבוד לספר תורת משה שבידכם *Joseph ibn Kaspi, Shulhan kesef*, chap. 3, 58.

for these books of ours are like yours.”⁷⁷ According to the bishop, the fact that the Jews’ scripture is in Hebrew, and the Christians’ in Latin (*rumi*) does not matter because the intent of the two versions is the same.

In this chapter, Kaspi has neatly reversed the roles of deference and obligation present in most (Christian) descriptions of the presentation of the Torah during royal or papal processions. Kaspi’s choice of the term “*meḥuyavim*”, which he places in the bishop’s mouth in various forms throughout the passage, indicates obligation, or compulsion, suggesting that the Christians have no choice except to pay homage to the Hebrew Torah when it is presented by the Jews. Furthermore, the Jews themselves request that the kings and religious leaders of the Christians publicly venerate the Torah at the same time that Christians bring out their “images” (*ẓelamim*). The term may refer to images of saints, i.e. icons, as Linder suggested, but also, potentially, to the banners which Christian chroniclers describe various professional groups as displaying before the king in processions.⁷⁸ What is relevant to understanding Kaspi’s interpretation of this ritual in which both Christians and Jews are integral components is that unlike either Christian depictions or that in *Sefer ha-Ḥinukh*, the choice belongs to the Jews, *not* the Christians—Jews seek and Christians are compelled—and it is not the Jews who pay homage to the king or religious leaders of the Christians, but rather, the leaders of the Christians revere the Torah which is in the hands of the Jews. By having a Christian bishop, whom Kaspi describes as esteemed or “honoured” (*nikhbad*), recognize that Jews seek and are granted that kings, popes, and bishops pay deference to the Torah, and that the Christians are required to do so, Kaspi adds the authority of a high-ranking, well-respected member of the religious other, in this case a Christian, to his interpretation of power and choice in these processions. The bishop must argue his case to Kaspi, namely that Christians should present their version of the bible, not that of the Jews. By having the bishop plead his case to the Jewish author, the passage suggests that the capacity to dictate the requirements of the ritual is in the hands of the Jews, not the bishop, an esteemed and powerful leader of the Christian community, who, in his role as bishop, presumably would have also been among those leaders “required” to openly revere the Torah which the Jews brought forth during processions. Furthermore, the argument that Christians should present *their* bible before the king, because it is *like*—not better than—that of the Jews, depicts the Christian bishop as desiring something the Jews have that the Christians do not, namely the right to present their Torah to the king or pope for reverence, and as using Jewish scripture as the measure by which to evaluate the Christian bible. In his response to the bishop’s argumentation, Kaspi makes the religious superiority of Jews and Jewish scripture in the ritual very clear. After systematically refuting the bishop’s claims either that a translation was on a par with the original Hebrew text, or that the intent of the Christian translation and the Hebrew original were the same, Kaspi states emphatically:

⁷⁷ וואס מלכנו וגדולינו חפצים שיוצא להם ספר תורת משה או המקרא כולו, אנחנו נוציאם, כי הספרים ההם לנו כמזכר
ibn Kaspi, *Shulḥan kesef*, chap. 3, 58–59

⁷⁸ Linder, “The Jews Too Were Not Absent,” 336.

If so, the book of the Torah of Moses which is copied in another language and in another order of writing, it is not under any circumstances the book which God gave to him, furthermore its meaning is not like his meaning. And all the nations admit that our Torah is from heaven.⁷⁹

With this remark, Kaspi simultaneously denies that the Christian bible has any validity, while evoking the recognition by all other non-Jewish peoples that the Hebrew Torah comes from heaven. Those “other nations” include the Christians themselves, so that the Christians are recruited as witnesses to the truth of Judaism, while at the same time being given no positive status of their own.

This tactic differs from that of western Jewish and Christian travellers to the Middle East. As we have seen, these narratives frequently created a hierarchy of belonging, with the author’s community at the pinnacle of chosen status. Members of other religious communities, usually Muslims, who attended rituals or holy sites, which a given author considered “his,” were accorded a kind of secondary belonging, which served to enhance the power and honour of a given holy person, site, or celebration, and demonstrate the truth of the author’s own religion. In Kaspi’s text, the religious other, in this case, Christians, *do* serve to validate the truth and primacy of Judaism, through its Torah, but without any praise, validation or “secondary” belonging granted to them. Kaspi’s approach is closer to the Christian portrayals of Jewish participation in processions and displaying the Torah for approval; though in this instance it is the Christians, not the Jews, who waiver between inclusion and rejection. However, for Kaspi, the Christians do not even have the benefit of having once been the chosen of God and then later rejected; they are simply wrong. That they pay deference to the Torah is only fitting, and places them at the same level as other nations of the world, but without any special status.

During the early modern period and into the modern eras, Jews sought and told tales of a variety of resistance tactics, all of which were carefully hidden from the Christians who imposed Jewish participation in Christian entry ceremonies, whether royal or papal. Amnon Linder emphasizes Jews’ subtle expressions of resistance in his careful and extensive examination of the scriptural context of the verses that Jews chose for the banners they created for papal processions. He demonstrates that on the surface, they resemble those of the Christians and appear laudatory, but that in fact they regularly implied a condemnation of the pope and Christian claims.⁸⁰ Jews also rejoiced in tales in which Christian rulers and those who wished the Jewish community harm were outsmarted. The popular tale of the so-called Purim of Syracuse, in which Jews presented an empty Torah holder to the king, and must be miraculously rescued by the Prophet Elijah, when the king demands to look inside, is a fine example of this tendency.⁸¹

⁷⁹ אם כן, ספר תורת משה המועתק אל לשון אחרת וסדר כתיבה אחרת אינו בשום פנים הספר שנתן האל לו, אחר שכותרו אינו 79 Joseph ibn Kaspi, *Shulḥan Kasef*, chap. 3, 59–60.

⁸⁰ Linder, “The Jews Too Were Not Absent.”

⁸¹ Simonsen, “Le Pourim de Saragosse”; Linder, “The Jews Too Were Not Absent”; Simonsohn, *Between Scylla and Charybdis*, 389; Horowitz, *Reckless Rites*, 279–86. This story must be approached with caution as evidence for medieval attitudes, however. As Horowitz points out, the manuscript

Jewish and Muslim Obligatory Donations to Christian Institutions

The impulse to require religious minorities to participate in Christian institutions, celebrations rituals and/or drama, or to create the illusion of such participation, occurred in several spheres, of which royal and papal processions were but one. At times these requirements, such as paying certain taxes or tithes, seem to be primarily practical.⁸² While not denying the economic benefit that Christian authorities and institutions derived from such fees, the presentation of Muslim and Jewish involvement is rather more mixed. For example, one distinctly less-than-consensual shared “participation” was the stipulation that Muslims and Jews had to donate to Christian religious establishments.⁸³ Such regulations were often tied to taxes, or rather, to avoiding losing revenue when Christian property passed into Muslim or Christian hands, as in the case of the decree of the Council of Valladolid in 1228.⁸⁴ At other times, the wording of the regulation takes on the tone of a religious donation:

We command furthermore, that each year on the Feast of the Resurrection, the Jews, for each family, shall pay six dinari of Melgoriensian money as an offering [*pro oblationibus*] to the parish churches.⁸⁵

“*Oblatio*” meant giving or donation, but it was primarily associated with the idea of religious giving or sacrifice. With such wording, plus the requirement to make the payment on a Christian holiday, this “command” gives the impression that Jews are both participating in the holiday and supporting the church, an impression Jews were unlikely to have relished.⁸⁶ At the same time, however, Christian lawmakers in the West also sought to prevent Jewish money from being placed in Churches. Such deposits were made for safe-keeping, as loans, or as a way to avoid the detection of charging interest, and seemingly to make it appear that a given Christian had donated his own money. Whether some of these payments were gifts or bribes by Jews to Christian clergy or churches is

evidence for this tale raises the possibility that it is a post-medieval invention—the earliest version we have is from the eighteenth century—although it is also possible that only late copies have survived. See his discussion 281n7.

82 Echevarria, *The City of Three Mosques*, 45–68.

83 Grazyel, *Church and the Jews in the XIII Century*, 1:318–21, 332/333, 326/327, 332/333; Baer, *Juden im christlichen Spanien*, 2:53, 61–62, 74, 203

84 Grazyel, *Church and the Jews in the XIII Century*, 1:318–21; Baer, *Juden im christlichen Spanien*, 2:53, 61–62, 203; Almagro Vidal, “Military Orders”; Echevarria, *The City of Three Mosques*, 45–46; Echevarria, “*Esclavos musulmanes*.”

85 “Statuimus insuper, ut Judei singulis annis in festo Dominice resurrectionis sex denarius Melgoriensis monete, pro singulis familiis, pro oblationibus, ecclesie parochiali persolvant”; Grazyel, *Church and the Jews in the XIII Century*, 1:332/333. This law is from the Council of the Province of Beziers, April 19, 1246.

86 Calendars, including times for payment, were often marked by Christian feast days, so much so, that Jews kept track of Christian holidays, in part for business purposes, at least in the early modern period. Carlebach, *Palaces of Time*, 115–59.

not entirely clear.⁸⁷ Such prohibitions seem at odds with demands that Jews and Muslims pay Christian religious establishments or for churches, yet as Clara Almagro Vidal has demonstrated, as Christians, including Christian religious orders, found themselves having to govern Muslim and Jewish communities, accepting money from them was a necessity, even as Christian and non-Christian subjects came and worked together to negotiate their financial status and rights with Christian authorities.⁸⁸ The seeming contradiction between different sorts of laws regarding money by Muslims and Jews to Christian institutions and clergy reflects tension or ambiguities regarding the status of non-Christians, although attitudes and regulations certainly varied from region to region. This kind of “forced donation” from Muslims and Jews to Christian establishments not only marked Muslims and Jews as a tolerated minority within society, but implied their participation and belonging in quintessentially Christian foundations. Ultimately this “accepted” or, rather, required contribution by Jews and Muslims to Christian institutions was a show of Christian domination over both of them, as well as being a question of practicality. The situation in Latin Europe stands in stark contrast to the practices and tone of cross-religious giving in Islamic lands.

Compulsory Muslim and Jewish Participation in Celebrations of Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and Saints’ Days

Even more than the festival of St. Stephen or Christmas, Holy Week—the week before Easter—and the festival of Corpus Christi (approximately two months later) prompted forced shared veneration and participation by non-Christians. It also inspired contestations of such sharing and ritualized violence. Compulsory “shared” celebration ensured that no religious dissent could be visibly expressed during the festival. At the same time, public displays of Muslim or Jewish celebration or obeisance as part of the festival, co-opted difference as both an aesthetic enhancement and an assertion of Christian truth and power to make that truth acknowledged. For example, in fifteenth-century Sicily, Jewish as well as Christian merchants were required to decorate the area in front of their shops for Corpus Christi.⁸⁹ In Iberia, Jews and Muslims were expected to provide more than mere passive visual ornamentation for the festival; they were part of the aural and visual spectacles that were integral to Corpus Christi and most other late medieval processions. For example, in a text from Madrid enumerating the costs and activities for the Corpus Christi celebration in 1481, town officials “mandate that the Muslims and the Jews bring out that day, the Muslims their games and dances, and the Jews his dance.” Muslims and Jews who did not comply were to be charged the same penalty as Christian

⁸⁷ Grazyel, *Church and the Jews in the XIII Century*, 1:300/301, 322/323, 330/331, 332/333.

⁸⁸ Almagro Vidal, “Más allá de la aljama.” Also see Almagro Vidal, “Military Orders.”

⁸⁹ Simonsohn, ed., *The Jews in Sicily*, 7:4096–97, no. 4656 from the Archivio Storico del Comune di Palermo, Atti Bandi e Provvisate, reg. 91, c. 14v, Palermo, June 1, 1482, p. 4360, no. 5035, from the Archivio Storico del Comune di Palermo, Atti Bandi e Provvisate, reg. 95, c. 15v, Palermo, June 10, 1487; Simonsohn, ed., *The Jews in Sicily*, 8: 4595, no. 5312, from the Archivio Storico del Comune di Palermo, Atti Bandi e Provvisate, reg. 99, c. 10r–v, Palermo, June 1490.

officials who failed to contribute to the procession.⁹⁰ From the discussion within the document, part of the concern is clearly an equitable distribution of the costs as well as labour for putting on the elaborate event. Yet this text testifies to but one of a number of incidents in which Iberian rulers or town officials compelled and/or sponsored Muslim or Jewish entertainers to participate in Corpus Christi, or other public Christian spectacles. In these, it is clear that the specific type of music, dance and games associated with Muslims and Jews were especially sought.⁹¹

While obliging Jews to adorn their mercantile space along the path of a Corpus Christi procession, or requiring Muslims and Jews to dance as part of Corpus Christi pageantry, might be attributed to civic pride, economic necessity, or a desire for aesthetic continuity, other regulations were unambiguous in the intent to enforce at least the appearance of Jewish respect for the Eucharist. In both Avignon and Barcelona during the fourteenth century, Jews were required to kneel if they were outside when the priest passed by bearing the Eucharistic host in procession.⁹² One finds a similar regulation in the *Siete Partidas*, the law collection attributed to King Alfonso X of Castile (1252–1284), although the encounter was imagined within a more mundane setting rather than as part of a festive procession in an urban context:

It happens sometimes that Jews and Christians encounter the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, when they (priests) are taking it for communion for someone who is sick, as it says in the law before this; and to this end we say that any one of those or anyone not of our law, or who does not believe it who encounters the body of Christ would do well if he chose to humble himself as do the Christians, because this is the truth, and the other not; but if he does not want to do this, we command that he take himself off the street so that the clergyman may pass through it freely. And anyone who does not do thusly, as soon as it is proven, the judge of that place shall put him in prison.⁹³

90 “mandaron que los moros e los judios saquen el dicho dia, los moros sus juegos e danzás e los judios su danza.” Palacio, *Manual del empleado en el Archivo general de Madrid*, 502; Muñoz Fernandez, “Fiestas laicas y fiestas profanas”; Rodriguez, *La comunidad mudéjar de Madrid*, 127; Cuffel “Seductive Sounds.”

91 Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Christendom*, 438–39, 490–91; Cuffel, “Seductive Sounds”; Devany, *Enemies in the Plaza*, 145–47, 150, 154–56, 159, 162–64, 166–67; Reynolds, “Music in Medieval Iberia.” Muslims, at least, were also employed by Christian kings and nobles as martial musicians. See Echevarria, *Knights on the Frontier*, 112, 122, 133, 257, 284, 298, 300.

92 Vat. lat. 14777 fol. 4v (years 1371–1372) and Vat. lat. 14776 fol. 47 (year 1367) Régné, *History of the Jews in Aragon*, James II (1291–1327) no. 2774; Devany, *Enemies in the Plaza*, 156; Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Christendom*, 365; Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 31; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 289; Chiffolleau, *La compatibilité de l’au delà*; Chiffolleau, *Les justices du Pape*, 204; Kayserling, “Notes sur l’histoire des juifs d’Espagne.”

93 “Acaesce a las vegasdas que los judios et los moros se encuentran con el cuerpo de nuestro sennor Iesu Christo, quando lo lievan para comulgar a algunt enfermo, segunt dice en la ley ante desta; et por ende decimos que qualquier dellos o otro que no fuere de nuestra ley o non la creyer se contrare con el corpus Christi que fara bien, si le quiesiere humillar as como lo facen los christianos, porque esta es la verdat et otra non; mas si est onon quisiere facer, mandamos que se

This particular gesture was unmistakably one of veneration, rather than mere communal civic engagement. All of these forms of compulsory participation, however, had the effect of erasing visual evidence of dissent with Christian celebration and the doctrine behind it. Furthermore, without taking the additional (and illegal, according to canon law) step of requiring Jews and Muslims to convert, Christian demands that Jews and Muslims join elements of their religious rituals compelled Jews and Muslims, however insincerely, to go through the motions of Christian worship and recognition of the exultation and rightness of Christian belief. This urge to create a public, visual illusion of Muslim and Jewish reverence for Christian holy objects and shared ritual expressed fairly explicitly in the passage from *Siete Partidas*, when it states that a Muslim or Jew encountering the Eucharist would do well to “humble himself as do the Christians, because this is the truth, and the other not.” Muslims and Jews are given the opportunity to avoid such a display in this text, but to do so they were required to remove themselves from the view of the Christians, or, failing that, be incarcerated.

Such regulations, along with commands that Jews and Muslims actively join the merriment accompanying Corpus Christi, were at odds with concomitant prohibitions against Jews or Muslims being in the streets or visible at all during the holiday. Proscriptions against Jewish and Muslim involvement will be examined in detail in chapter six, however, a few words about the seeming contradiction in requiring Jews and Muslims to imitate/join celebrations Corpus Christi and other Christian holy days while at the same time prohibiting precisely such customs are in order. Recently, following on a thread of his earlier work on the subject, David Nirenberg has argued that Eastertide attacks on the Jews, and particularly the role of children in such incidents, were a form of political dissent against the king. Since Jews were under direct royal protection, to attack the Jews was to attack the king by proxy, without seeming to be in direct rebellion.⁹⁴ Presumably, in this scenario, local political and clerical leaders ignored church and royal dictates against damaging Jewish property or Jews themselves, because assaulting the Jews was powerful tool for political protest. His point is convincingly argued; however, I would suggest that this is but one of number of elements at work.

In late medieval and early modern Iberia, Muslim and Jewish music, dance, and games became so much part of what defined a festival, that Christians in that region had difficulty envisioning their celebrations, whether secular or religious, without these elements. Even once the Muslim and Jewish population had been considerably diminished or expelled, Christians dressed up *in the Moorish manner* and continued to engage in the martial games associated with the Muslims, i.e. *juego de cañas*. Styles of music and dancing linked to Muslims and later, to *moriscos* were also performed.⁹⁵ Likewise, not

tuelga de la calle, porque pueda el clérigo pasar por ella desembargadamente. Et qualquier que as non lo feciére, desde que fuer probada, debe el judgador de aquel lugar do esto acaesciere meterlo en la cárcel”; Alfonso X, Alfonso X and the Jews, I.4.63. Also in Baer, *Juden im christlichen Spanien*, 2:43.

⁹⁴ Nirenberg, *Neighboring Faiths*, 76–88, 110–11.

⁹⁵ Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 44, 101–5, 110, 127, 133, 137–38, 143–45, 161, 164, 197–99, 212–19; Devaney, *Enemies in the Plaza*, 155, 159, 162–63.

only had Jewish music and dance become integral to festive occasions, Christian imaginings about their role as opponents to the prophets and to Jesus were memorialized both within the liturgy itself and within dramatic enactments of biblical and apocryphal tales, saints' lives, into which Jews and Muslims were at times inserted, even when they did not belong to the original story.⁹⁶ Like the Muslims, Jews continued to be represented in Corpus Christi pageants and drama well into the early modern period, suggesting that both groups were inextricably entwined with Christians' understanding of these festivals' celebration, even when Christian actors had to replace real Muslims or Jews.⁹⁷ Thus, one explanation of the contradiction between local willingness, even insistence that Muslims and Jews join in profoundly Christian, religious festivals, despite church prohibitions, is that to the local people, including even some of the clergy, no festival was complete without Jews and Muslims' contribution. Furthermore, as Thomas Devaney has argued, the roles of Muslims and Jews (or Christians representing them) in these processional spectacles were carefully orchestrated to illustrate the hierarchical relationship of both groups to Christianity, their Christian neighbours and king.⁹⁸

Ritualized Violence in the Context of Shared, Compulsory Rituals

It is in the context of such enacted hierarchies that ritualized violence against the Jews should be understood, a point that a number of scholars have made in various ways.⁹⁹ Annual attacks against the Jews or Jewish neighbourhoods during Holy Week can be understood as a category of "forced sharing." Jews, in these instances, were an integral part of a Christian ritual, despite the danger the ritual posed for the lives and belongings of the Jews, and their periodic efforts to be free of the obligation or to obtain greater protection during ritual stonings or other forms of ceremonial attack.¹⁰⁰ As with more rhetorical descriptions of members of the religious other as a part, albeit an inferior

96 For an example of the insertion of Jews and Muslims into a pageant depicting a saint's life see Harris, "A Catalan Corpus Christi Play." More generally on the liturgy and drama of Holy Week and Corpus Christi in Iberia and other parts of Europe and the role of Jews and Muslims in both, see Devaney, *Enemies in the Plaza*, 139, 144–45, 149–67; Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*, esp. 45–46, 48, 89–90, 169–72, 201–2; Enders, *Death by Drama*, 118–30; Zambrana, *Judíos y conversos*; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 271–87; Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama*, 80, 85, 88–89, 108, 143, 147–48, 150–52, 154.

97 For the continued representation and meaning of Jews and conversos in Corpus Christi drama in Iberia see Zambrana, *Judíos y conversos*. The replacement of Muslims or Jews with Christian actors in pageants also occurred before expulsion. See for example, the mock battles and disputations between Christians and "Muslims", i.e. Christians in Muslim guise, staged by the constable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo in 1463 in Jaén. Mata Carriazo, ed., *Hechos del Condestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*, chap. 10, 98–101; Ruiz, "Elite and Popular Culture"; Cuffel, "Seductive Sounds." For other examples and analysis see: Ruiz, *A King Travels*, 213–45.

98 Devaney, *Enemies in the Plaza*, 154–67. Ruiz makes a similar argument in *A King Travels*.

99 Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 215–20; Soussen, "La question de violence rituelle"; Devaney *Enemies in the Plaza*.

100 ADG, box 24A no. 7 in appendix of Vallicrosa and Battle-Prats, "Un Aboroto," 311–35. Also see Vallicrosa and Battle Prats' analysis; ACA: RP MR 1668 fol. 39v published in Magdalena Nom de

one, of the community of a given saint and witness to the truth of his/her sanctity and truth of "his/her" religion (i.e. that imputed to the holy person by the author of the text in question), the Jews' humiliation and defeat during the festivals, was part of the confirmation of Christian truth and identity. The staged battles in which Christians defeated "Muslims," or the actual defeated Muslims put on display as part of a procession, functioned as a similarly martialized confirmation of Christian dominance over, yet inclusion of, a recognized and necessary religious other.¹⁰¹

In examining the representation of Jews in medieval theatrical literature, particularly dramas connected with Holy Week and Corpus Christi, some scholars have suggested that negative portrayals of Jews in Corpus Christi plays may have functioned to spark Christian violence against Jews and/or to express both Christian fears of Jewish violence and desires to punish Jews for their imagined roles in killing Jesus or desecrating the host.¹⁰² Other researchers have warned against assuming that pairings of violence and Judaism extant in some medieval European dramatic and visual traditions connected to the week before Easter or Corpus Christi automatically also hold true for Iberia. Little evidence from medieval Iberia has come to light that suggests that Corpus Christi dramas highlighted Jewish violence or directly encouraged or caused Christian violence against Jews, although Jews were certainly the antagonists in other dramas played during Holy Week and/or Corpus Christi. Visual representations were not always in churches or monasteries in close proximity to a Jewish community, thus a direct correlation between imagery and local Christian anti-Jewish violence is tenuous in such cases.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the regularity of attacks on the Jews connected to specific Christian festivals speaks against these outbreaks as being spontaneous expressions of Christian anger. Rather, this behaviour was integral to the holiday itself.¹⁰⁴ Annual attacks against the Jewish quarters often had a ludic, staged quality, suggesting that this custom should be understood as part of the festive "performance" as well as a kind of ritual, violent "play."¹⁰⁵ Yet as closely connected as ritualized expressions of violence and "games" (from the Christian perspective) were to theatre featuring Jews

Deu, "Delitos de los judíos de Aragón"; ACA: C 939:n, 99r-103r in Baer, *Die Juden*, 1:515–18, no, 342; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 114–16.

101 Nirenberg also recognizes the tension between inclusion and exclusion, or at least strictly delimited space. See Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 217–19. Compare with Soussen, "La question de violence rituelle"; Coulet, "De l'intégration à l'exclusion."

102 Soussen, "La question de violence rituelle"; Soussen, "'Violence rituelle ou émotion populaire?"; Enders, *Death by Drama*, 118–30; Berral, *La Imagen del Judío*, esp. 13–16, 183–84, 188, 192; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 287; Delumeneau, *La Peur*, 279–87.

103 Glazer-Eytan, "Jews Imagined and Real"; Devaney, *Enemies in the Plaza*, 150–54; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 214–23; Zambrana, *Judíos y conversos*. The relatively mild tone of representation of Jews in the early modern Iberian plays parallels in part the tone of some early modern Italian Corpus Christi dramas. See for example Melzi, "Dialogue or Dispute."

104 Of course, a number of scholars, such as Soussen and Nirenberg forge an intermediate path which allows for both the impact of emotions on the degree and expression of this type of Christian anti-Jewish violence, and which recognizes the ritualized nature of the custom.

105 Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 211, 219–20; Nirenberg, "Les juifs, la violence et le sacré";

or, indeed Muslims, for our purposes, there is a significant difference. Requiring Jews or Muslims to contribute to Christian religious celebrations, or even a Christianized political procession usually (though not always) involved real Jews and Muslims in a Christian festival. Likewise, appropriating actual Jews as physical targets as part of a religious message, made Jews share in Christian ritual, whether they wished to or not. Having Christians play the roles of Muslims or Jews would not constitute even an involuntary shared practice, although some scholars have considered whether actual Jews were also required to mount the Christian stage and play themselves, or rather, what Christians imagined them to be.¹⁰⁶ If that could be conclusively demonstrated to have been the case, the dramas too would need to be considered within the context of shared religious practice and festivals. Pageants in which Christians played Muslims, when no actual Muslims were available, fall in an intermediate category, because very often Christians were taking on roles which real Muslims once played. Annual dramas featuring Jews and Muslims as part of Holy Week and Corpus Christi *do* testify to enduring Christian preoccupation with both, and to Jews and Muslims' centrality as bearers of symbolic meaning within these festivals. Such dramas were part of a larger, interwoven panorama of ritual activities and spectacles designed to celebrate Jesus, the Eucharist, and stories sacred to the Christians on the one hand, but also to create religious and social hierarchies, some through the *representation* of Jews and Muslims, and others through their *participation*. Once Jews and Muslims no longer lived in Iberia, Christians were left with representation alone, but that representation remained crucial to building Christian self-understanding in the region.¹⁰⁷

More peculiar is evidence of Muslim participation in Christian escapades of violence against the Jews during Holy Week or Corpus Christi. David Nirenberg has found three instances in which Muslims seem to have joined Christians in ritual violence against Jews during Holy Week, or indications that rulers were concerned that Muslims might do so. The earliest indications of these comes from a document from 8 April 1285, in which King Pedro III of Aragon (ca. 1239–1285) stated:

We have learned from the Jews of Pina that certain Christians and Saracens of Pina invaded their synagogue and broke the place where their Torah resided and took out this Torah and other things there. Therefore, we command (that) to what extent you capture all those Christians whom you find guilty, and

Nirenberg, "Violencia, memoria, y *convivencia*:" Soussen, "La question de violence rituelle." On the relationship between ritual and play see Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*.

106 For a discussion of this topic and a review of the literature on both sides see Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 215. Jews and Muslims watching these plays, however, might be considered as an element of shared practice, although as with other kinds of "sharing" the meanings that the various parties assigned to their common experience were likely quite different.

107 Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians*; Ruiz, *A King Travels*; Zambrana, *Judiós y conversos*. Linder also notes the parallel between theatrical portrayals of Jews and ritualized attacks against Jews during Christian holidays. He argues that during rituals of Eastertide violence, Jews "appeared as themselves and acted the part scripted for them by Christians." Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent," 347–48.

obtain their goods, and hold those captured and their confiscated goods until the above mentioned will be brought to justice completely.¹⁰⁸

No religious holiday or other motive for the joint raid is mentioned in this passage. Given that Easter had taken place on March 25, not long before the directive was issued, and that the assault resembles other incidents more explicitly connected to Holy Week, it seems quite possible that the vandalism was tied to the Christian holiday. The specific targeting of the synagogue and the Torah scroll also strongly points to a religious motivation for the attack, particularly in connection to Holy Week.¹⁰⁹ Although Jews had accused both Muslims (Saracens) and Christians, only culpable Christians are listed among those to be rounded up for punishment, a fact which may suggest that Christians were understood as the prime instigators. Whether the Muslims had been hired, or joined voluntarily for personal, social, political, or religious reasons remains unclear. If the violence was indeed an extension of ritual anti-Jewish violence tied to Holy Week, then the Muslims may be understood as having participated in said Christian ritual, although what their involvement signified for each of the parties concerned, remains unknown.

In 1319 a very similar incident occurred in Daroca. King James II of Aragon (1267–1327) protested that Muslims had scaled the wall of his castle in Daroca where the Jews were living and attacked them with rocks and swords, despite his decree that no one throw rocks at the castle during the eight days of Easter.¹¹⁰ In this passage the Muslims are portrayed as acting alone, yet a connection between their anti-Jewish violence and the Christian religious festival of Holy Week and Easter is implied when the king notes that their activities were in violation of a prohibition against such activities during the Easter season. A year later, in Alcoleja, the Infante Alfonso decreed that the Jews were allowed to defend themselves against Christians *or Muslims* who intended or in fact invaded or robbed Jews, their houses or goods, injured them or attempted to violently demand that they pay fines. In such cases, the Jews would be subject to neither punishment nor vengeance for injuring or killing their attackers.¹¹¹ This decree takes place in August, so neither closely following nor preceding Holy Week, and with no reference to any religious context for the anticipated violence against the Jews. Thus, while the law may have been designed to allow Jews to defend themselves against assaults

108 “Intelleximus ex parte judeorum de Pina quod aliqui christiani et sarraceni de Pina invaserunt cinagogam eorum et frugerunt locum ubi manebat thora eorum, et ipsam thoram et alias res inde extraxerunt. Quare mandamus vobis quatenus omnes illos christianos quos cupabiles inveneritis capiat et bona eorum emparetis, et ipsos captos et bona eorum emparata tenatis donec super predictis fecerint justicie complementum”; ACA: C. 56, fol. 62v in Riera i Sans *Els poders públics*, 245 no. 15; Régéné, *History of the Jews in Aragon*, 242, no. 1335.

109 For other incidents of Christian ritualized violence against Jews during Holy Week which involved breaking in and attacking the Torah see Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 213–14.

110 ACA: C 121r (1319/4/30) cited in Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 199.

111 ACA: C 383: 40r–42r (1/8/1320) in Baer, *Juden im christlichen Spanien*, 1:217–18, no.175; Nirenberg, “Les Juifs, la violence et le sacré,” esp. 113–14; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 205–6.

prompted by Holy Week, the decree could equally well be a broad privilege allowing Jews to react in kind against any type of attack at any time. Violence against Jews on an individual or communal level was not restricted to religious holidays. Certainly, the inclusion of Muslims in all three injunctions indicates that Muslim anti-Jewish violence was an issue in Aragon, and Nirenberg himself has amply outlined tensions between Muslims and Jews during this period in both Aragon and Castile. These rivalries occasionally resulted in violence, and in some regions, such as Daroca, relations between the two communities appear to have been particularly fraught.¹¹² Two of the three edicts discussed above strongly imply that Muslims joined in violent anti-Jewish outbreaks connected to Christian customs during the week leading up to Easter, and thus actively participated in the Christian festival beyond providing the games, dancing or music discussed earlier in this chapter.

Nirenberg, in his interpretation of Muslim participation in Christian ritual violence against Jews, suggested that it could be attributed to shared Christian and Muslim indignation regarding Jews' rejection of Jesus and Mary.¹¹³ Yet as we have seen, Jews and Muslims competed for the opportunity to join public, Christian processions, and for rank within them, even to the point of violence between the two groups.¹¹⁴ While not discounting the possibility that Muslims were motivated by their own religious hostility toward the Jews, the struggle between these two minority communities for public recognition of their belonging within the wider society, and for hierarchical precedence over the other also needs to be considered. Joining Christians in Holy Week "games," including stoning Jewish buildings and raiding the synagogue was a way of affiliating themselves more clearly with those in power, precisely in an instance when Jews, their competitors, could not. Furthermore, the nature of the ritual was designed precisely to establish or reaffirm religious and social hierarchy, primarily of Christians over Jews, but by joining the Christians, the Muslims were able to assert their own superiority and power, religiously as well as socially. They would have done so on the one hand, by their very open joining with the Christians in a fundamental, communal, annual ritual that marked the Jews as outsiders. By participating with the Christians, Muslims signalled their own belonging to the wider community, in contrast to the Jews. Furthermore, joining the festival allowed for the physical outlet of any Muslim frustrations against the Jews, whether religious or worldly in nature. Finally, the observations that Nirenberg has made regarding the power of these ritualized outbreaks against the Jews to express political discontent against the king would have applied to the Muslim population as well as the Christians.

112 Nirenberg, "Muslim–Jewish Relations." He focuses primarily on Aragon, however.

113 Nirenberg, "Les Juifs, la violence et le sacré"; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 206.

114 See, above, the dispute between Muslims and Jews in Huesca during the reign of King John of Aragon. Also compare with Muslim attacks against Jews who staged a public funeral procession: Lourie, "Jewish Participation in Royal Funeral Rites." In Castile, Echevarria notes that in times of difficulty, Muslims frequently had to borrow from Jews, who could ask for repayment for an indefinite amount of time, in contrast to Christian lenders. Such arrangements could potentially inspire further resentment and competition between the two. See Echevarria, *The City of Three Mosques*, 71.

Overall, therefore, processions in the Western Christian Mediterranean, whether at their core based on a religious or a secular occasion, invariably served to establish religious as well as social hierarchy, and to express under what conditions non-Christians could be understood to be part of a Christian-ruled community. Muslim and Jewish participation in such processions, whether forced or voluntary, reflected the Christian imaginary of each group's place. Christians compelled Jews and Muslims to be a part of their festivals because their sense of self had become inextricably interwoven with their concept of the other. Yet (compulsory) participation did not preclude these rituals from also being performances of exclusion, either publicly marking Jews as outside of correct understanding, or as an attempt to protest or ban Jews, and sometimes Muslims, from the most holy of Christian processions, namely those of the Corpus Christi during Holy Week.¹¹⁵

Conclusions

A number of scholars have underscored Christian anxiety about Christian attraction to Jewish or Muslim religious celebrations, or to being disturbed by the sound of such celebrations.¹¹⁶ As we shall see in the subsequent chapters on opposition to shared practices, Christians (as well as Muslims and Jews) were anxious about the potential attraction that the festivals of the religious other might offer to members of their own communities. They were also, at times, disturbed by the implications of allowing members of another community join their religious ceremonies. Some prohibited such interreligious participation. Yet for Christians, particularly in Iberia, the contribution of Muslims and Jews to their celebrations became so fundamental that they could not imagine these events without them, even to the point of having Christians pose as Muslims, when no "real" Muslims were available. Jews and Muslims often saw joining public processions or staging their own as a way of affirming their place within a larger interreligious, albeit predominantly Christian, community. The tales of Muslims or Jews seeking intercession from St. Isidore may reflect real cross-over veneration, much as some of the instances studied by Ephraim Shoham-Steiner for Northern Europe. If so, however, such shared participation is buried beneath many layers of rhetoric designed to cast Muslim and Jewish requests for intercession or pilgrimage to sites holy to Isidore as "proofs" of Christian truth and demonstrations of Christian religious and military dominance. Much of the material in this chapter represents the tension between Christian desire that non-Christians join in their celebrations to honour their saints, kings, queens, and popes and discomfort with precisely such religious "convergence." In response, Christians created multiple ways both in the tales they told of their saints, and in their rituals to compel Jews and Muslims to serve the symbolic needs of the Christian community, both broadly, and relative to specific, local contexts. Jewish participation was used to reaffirm long-standing Christian assertions of Jewish possession of the truth, and their displacement as the chosen people of God by Christians, when the Jews violently rejected Jesus and

115 Nirenberg, *Neighboring Faiths*, 110–15; Linder, "The Jews Too Were Not Absent"; Coulet, "De l'intégration à l'exclusion."

116 Cuffel, "Seductive Sounds"; Constable, "Regulating Noise"; Jaspert, "Zeichen und Symbole."

his gospel. Muslims, on the other hand, more often were staged as defeated or willing subjects of victorious Christian military leaders. At times, however, the “falseness” of their prophet and the Qur’an was juxtaposed to Christian truth and scripture. Jews and Muslims also sought to use such “sharing” to heighten their status within Christian society, sometimes at the expense of one another. At other times, Jews, in particular, created counter-narratives, sometimes even weaving their opposition to Christian assertions of power and truth in the very banners they were forced to create in support of the Pope.