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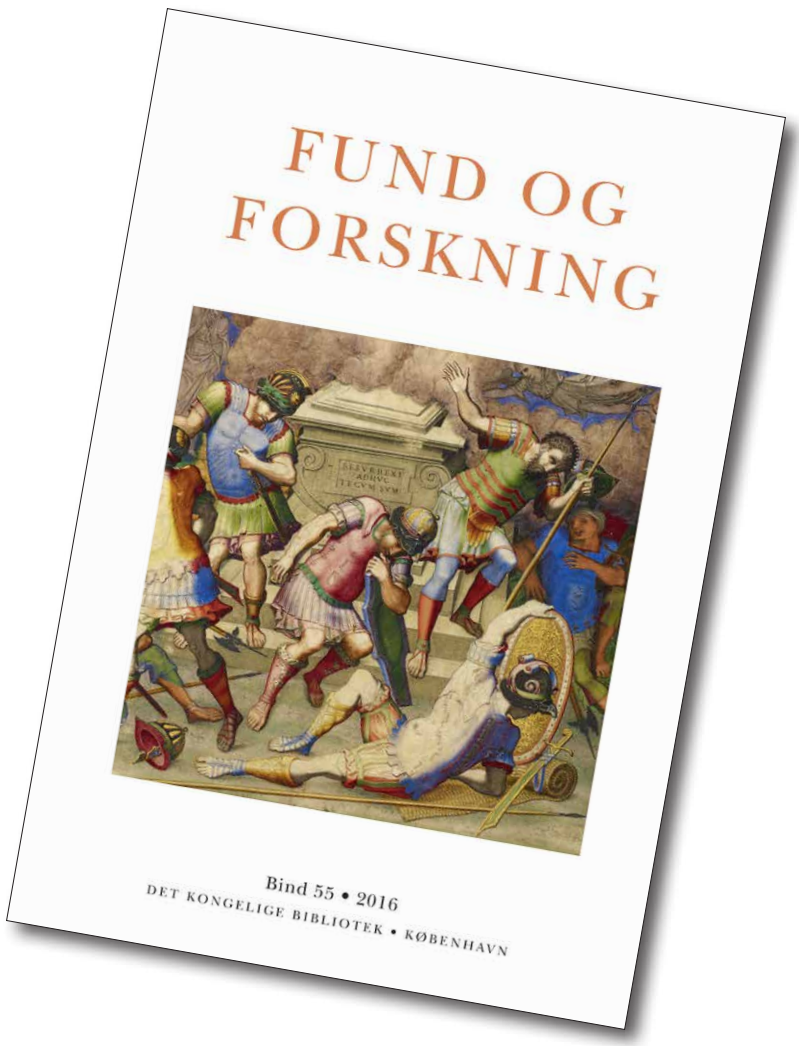

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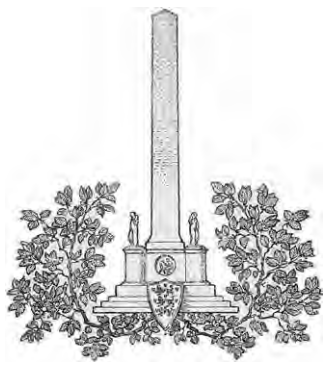

With summaries

KØBENHAVN 2016
UDGIVET AF DET KONGELIGE BIBLIOTEK

Om billedet på smudsomslaget se s. 148.

Det kronede monogram på kartonomslaget er tegnet af
Erik Ellegaard Frederiksen efter et bind fra Frederik 3.s bibliotek

Om titelvignetten se s. 273.

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Redaktion:
John T. Lauridsen

Billedredaktion:
Lene Eklund-Jürgensen

Fund og Forskning er et peer-reviewed tidsskrift.

Trykt på Munken Premium Cream 13, 115 g
Dette papir overholder de i ISO 9706:1998
fastsatte krav til langtidsholdbart papir.

Grafisk tilrettelæggelse: Jakob K. Meile

Tryk og indbinding: Bording A/S
Printed in Livonia
Oplag: 300 eks.

ISSN 0069-9896
ISBN 978-87-7023-146-6

UN DEU ENEMI

Jews and Judaism in French and English Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts in the Royal Library[1]

BY

Marina Vidas

This article analyzes images of and texts about Jews and Judaism, primarily in five medieval illuminated manuscripts in the collection of the Royal Library, Copenhagen. I begin with an examination of references to Jews in a bestiary (MS GKS 3466 8º) composed in the twelfth century for a queen of England and copied a century later in Paris. Then I will analyze depictions of Jews in a French early thirteenth-century personal devotional manuscript (MS GKS 1606 4º) as well as in a number of related *de luxe* Psalters and Bibles in foreign collections. Textual references to Judaism and Jews will be examined in a compilation of saints' lives (MS Thott 517 4º) as well as depictions of individuals of this faith in a Book of Hours (MS Thott 547 4º), both made in fourteenth-century England for members of the Bohun family. Lastly, I will examine images illustrating legends derived from the Babylonian Talmud in a *Bible historiale* (MS Thott 6 2º), executed for Charles V of France (r. 1364–1380).

I will argue that images depicting Jews in narrative cycles had a number of meanings, some of which can be interpreted as anti-Jewish. But I will also suggest that they might have had additional significances and resonances for their viewers. It will be argued that the images played a role in shaping the piety of their audiences as well as the intended viewers' understanding of their social identity. Finally, the article will contribute to our understanding of the construction of Jewish stereotypes in the Middle Ages.

[1] I gratefully acknowledge the support of my research by the Novo Nordisk Foundation.

f. 4v Hic leo pingitur et asinus quem laniat. Leonis compaginatio est Cristi demonstratio, et asinus quem laniat Judeos significat

([f. 4v] Here is depicted a lion which tears an ass. The lion is a demonstration of Christ, and the ass it tears, signifies the Jews.

f. 4v Li lions senefie
Jhesu le filz Marie,
rois est de tote gent
sanz nul redotement,
puissanz est par nature
sor tote creature,

The lion signifies the
son of Mary,
he is king of all people,
without any gainsay;
he is powerful by nature
over every creature;

f. 5 o fier contenement
et o fier hardement.
as giuës s'aparra
qant il les jugerat,
Pur ce qu'il forfirent
qant en croiz le pendirent,
et por ce forfait ont,
qu'il d'els nul roi nen ont.
Force de deité
demostre piz quarré;
le trait qu'il a derriere
de molt graile maniere

[f. 5] and fierce in appearance
and with fierce look he will appear to the Jews, when he shall
judge them, because they made
themselves guilty when they
hanged him on the cross,
and therefore they have merited
to have no king over them.
The square breast shows
strength of the Deity;
the shape which he has behind,
of very slender make,

f. 5v demostre humanité
qu'il ot o deité,
par la coë justise
qui desoz nos est mise,
Par la gambe qu''a plate,
mostre Dex ert aate,
et covenable estoit
que por nos se donroit,
par les piez qu''a coupez,
de Deu monstrance avez,
que le mont enclorra
en son poin le tendra
par les ungles entent

[f. 5v] shows humanity
which he had with Deity;
by the tail is indicated justice,
which is placed over us;
by the leg which he has flat,
he shows that God was constrained, and it was convenable
that he should give himself for us;
by the foot which he has cloven,
is demonstrance of God, who will
clasp the world,
will hold it in his fist;
by the claws, is meant

des giuës vengement,	vengeance upon the Jews;
e par l' asne entendum	by the ass, we understand
giuës par grant reson	the Jews very rightly;
Asne est fol par nature,	the ass is foolish by nature,
si cum dit l'escriture,	as the Scripture says
ja n'istra de sa rote	he will turn from his way,
se l'en ne li tolt tote	if one does not drag him entirely
Tot itel nature ont	to it, just such nature have
li giuë qui fol font,	the Jews who are fools,
ja en en Deu ne crerront	they will never believe in God,
se par force ne l' font,	unless they do it by force;
f. 6 ja n'ierent converti	[f.6] they will never be converted,
se Dex n'en a merci.[2]	unless God have mercy on them.)[3]

There are numerous "commentaries" on Jews in Medieval bestiaries, a popular type of manuscript containing moralizing tales about real and fabled creatures. Some of the accusations repeatedly leveled against Jews in these types of books are found in the above quoted verses from MS GKS 3466 8º, a thirteenth-century illuminated manuscript containing the first part of the poetical bestiary written by Philippe de Thaon between 1121 and 1135 for Queen Adeliza, second wife of Henry I of England.[4]

The work by Philippe de Thaon is derived, as the author himself acknowledges, from the *Physiologus* (second or third century AD), passages from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* (*c.*615 and the early 630s), as well as Scripture. Like the *Physiologus*, Philippe's bestiary was intended to contribute to the religious education of its audience. No manuscript of

[2] For the transcription of the French text from MS GKS 3466 8º see Lise Ter-Borch: Philippe de Thaon: "Li Bestiaire" en udgivelse af MS. 3466 8º, Gammel Kongelig Samling, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, København, M. A. thesis, University of Copenhagen, 1985, pp. 35–36.

[3] For the English translation of the text see *The Bestiary of Philippe de Thaun, in Popular Treatises on Science Written during the Middle Ages*, T. Wright (ed.), London 1841, pp. 49–50.

[4] For the idea that the author himself intended his work to be accompanied by pictures see Xenia Muratova: The Decorated Manuscripts of the Bestiary of Philippe de Thaon (The MS. 3466 from the Royal Library in Copenhagen and the MS. 249 in Merton College Library, Oxford) and the Problem of the Illustrations of the Medieval Poetical Bestiary. Jan Goossens and Timothy Sodmann (eds.): *Third International Beast Epic, Fable and Fabliau Colloquium*, Cologne 1981, pp. 217–218.

Figure 1. Philippe de Thaon. Bestiary. MS GKS 3466 8°, f. 5. Detail. Lion and Ass. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

Thaon's Bestiary in Anglo-Norman French has come down to us from Adeliza's lifetime, but the Copenhagen manuscript in Central French dialect is a translation of portions of the original text.[5] Only one of the entries in which Thaon discusses the Jews in connection with an animal is extant in the Copenhagen manuscript. In the description of the lion, a widely used symbol for Christ, Jews are blamed for playing a direct role in the Lord's crucifixion. The inspiration for this and a number of Thaon's other charges in the entry about the lion can be found in the *Physiologus*.[6] But it should be pointed out that Thaon, in this and other moralizations not present in the Copenhagen copy, piles up further hostile statements about the Jews' nature. One of the accusations leveled

[5] There is also a copy of Thaon's poem dating from the last half of twelfth century (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A.v) and one in a thirteenth-century miscellany (Oxford, Merton College Library, MS 249).

[6] See, for example, *Physiologus*, Michael J. Curley (trans.), Austin 1979, p. 21.

against Jews in the moralization on f. 5v is that they are fools because they do not recognize Christ. Ominously, the claim is made in the next line that they will only do so by forced conversion.

The text about the lion is illuminated with a miniature of the animal attacking an ass (fig. 1). The lion is depicted, as Thaon describes it, as slender, fierce, powerful and with a prominent tail. Its actions — gripping the ass with its claws — reflects the text: "par les ungles entent des giuës vengement" (by the claws, is meant vengeance upon the Jews.) The representation of the fleeing ass is also consistent with the way in which it is described by the Thaon "ja n'istra de sa rote" (he will turn from his way). Other details of the image, like the combative, dominating lion biting and straddling the ass which has its tail between its legs, visualizes the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and the superiority of the former religion.

The Royal Library manuscript was owned by the priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Paris.[7] It is possible that the vernacular poem was used for the instruction of novices and lay brothers who were not proficient in Latin.[8] One of the functions of the images could have been a mnemonic one — they could have helped the audience remember the lines of the texts which the illuminations accompany.

THE CHRISTINA PSALTER

A Comparison with the Moralized Bibles and Prefatory Cycles in Thirteenth-Century Psalters

As the American historian Sara Lipton has observed, Jews did not feature prominently in medieval works of art before the thirteenth century.[9] The focus of a number of her earlier publications were two single volume Moralized Bibles (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2554 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1179), which have marked anti-Jewish representations and texts in abundance.[10] The two

[7] See the note in MS GKS 3466 8° on f. 3 which reads: "Ex. Lib. Sti. Martini a Campis."

[8] For the copy of Thaon's *Bestiary* from Holmecultrum which may have been used by novices, see Mary J. Carruthers: *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1992, p. 160.

[9] Sara Lipton: *Images of Intolerance: the Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée*, Berkeley 1999, p. 27.

[10] In addition to the above mentioned 1999 monograph see also Sara Lipton: Jews, Heretics, and the Sign of the Cat in the *Bible moralisée. Word and Image*, 8, 1992, pp. 362–

manuscripts in Vienna, illuminated with over nine hundred roundels, each of which is accompanied by short texts, were, in all likelihood, executed at the command of Blanche of Castile, before the death of her husband Louis VIII of France in 1226. At a slightly later date, two three-volume moralized bibles, the *Toledo-New York Moralized Bible* (Toledo Cathedral and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 240, 1226–1235) and the *Oxford-Paris-London Moralized Bible* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270B; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 11560; and London, British Library, MSS Harley 1526–7), were commissioned by the queen. These three volume bibles, illuminated with up to five thousand scenes in roundels, offered a fund of examples for other commissions, including one in the Royal Library, namely the *Christina Psalter* (MS GKS 1606 4º), a Parisian personal devotional manuscript made around 1230. Manuscript evidence as well as the iconography of some of the illuminations suggest that the devotional book in Copenhagen was made for Louis VIII's queen or one of her children.[11]

In early thirteenth-century French and English lay devotional manuscripts, of which the most popular type was the Psalter, images which have an anti-Jewish component are not pervasive. When they are present they most often appear in the series of full-page Christological miniatures, usually placed in between the Calendar and the opening of the text of the Psalms. Some Psalters include Old Testament subjects in the prefatory images, for example two Psalters owned by French queens, namely the *Ingeborg Psalter* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1695, *c.*1200), and the *Blanche Psalter* (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1186, made before 1223).[12] In many Old Testament prefatory miniatures, members of the Hebrew faith, who lived before Christ and who did not have privileged access to God, are by and large not given negative attributes. However, in some prefatory scenes a criticism of Hebrews was presented. For example in the *Blanche Psalter*, f. 14, made for Blanche of Castile, Moses who accepts the law of God in the upper medallion, is juxtaposed in the

77 and The Root of All Evil: Jews, Money and Metaphor in the *Bible moralisée*, *Medieval Encounters*, 1, 1995, pp. 301–322.

[11] For the arguments for attributing the manuscript to the patronage of Blanche of Castile see Marina Vidas: *The Christina Psalter: A Study of the Images and Texts in a French Early Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscript*, 2006.

[12] For the former manuscript see Allison Merrill: A Study of the Ingeborg Psalter Atelier, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1994 and the latter see Elizabeth S. Hudson: The Psalter of Blanche of Castile: Picturing Queenly Power in Thirteenth-Century France, Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2002.

one below to Aaron, who, kneels in worship in front of the Golden Calf, attended by a group of Israelites, three wearing *pileum cornutum*. The *pileum*, a type of hat, which was usually depicted as pointed or conical, was used by artists as an attribute of Jewishness but, like other articles of clothing, it was not necessarily an anti-Jewish sign.[13] For example, it is also worn by Joseph in a miniature depicting the Flight into Egypt on f. 19v. In the miniature of the Golden Calf, however, men wearing this kind of head-covering are engaged in idolatry, a practice which in the period was seen as immoral and evil. The idolaters, placed below Moses, probably were meant to be read as symbolizing an inversion of the good. The association of Jews with unbelievers and infidels is made explicit in the texts and images in the moralized bibles. For example, the commentary below the text of Exodus 32:4–6 in Vienna 2554, f. 25va, states: "That the people of Moses adored the calf they formed signifies the miscreants and heretics who form the devil against the commandment of God and believe in a ram and adore it."[14] The illumination in the roundel alongside the commentary shows a Jew wearing a pointed hat amongst the heretics and miscreants. The juxtaposition of these images and texts in the moralized bible suggests that past practices continue in the present.

The understanding of a split between the Jews and Christians and of the triumph of Christianity over Judaism as fundamental to God's plan, ideas which we have seen expressed in Thaon's *Bestiary*, can be found in numerous medieval texts and images. For example, in the *Ingeborg Psalter*, a lavishly illuminated French manuscript which was once owned by Ingeborg of Denmark, wife of Philip Augustus of France, there are miniatures which represent Jews or Judaism and make references to them in scrolls or title inscriptions. In the Crucifixion miniature, f. 27, the postures, attitudes, and articles of dress of the two female personifications denote the triumph and superiority of Christianity over Judaism. While the crowned female personification of *Ecclesia* (Church), firmly grips her chalice and cross-staff as she unwaveringly gazes at the crucified Christ, the bowed and blindfolded personification of *Synagoga* (Synagogue), loses her crown, grasps her broken staff and attempts to hold on to the

[13] For the Fourth Lateran Council's mandate that Jews distinguish themselves from Christians by their dress, see Jacob Rader Marcus, (ed.): *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book, 315–1791*, Cincinnati 1938, pp. 138–139.

[14] For the images and English translations of the text see *Bible moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2554, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*. Gerald B. Guest (ed.), London 1995, p. 82.

table of the Old Law. The blindfold, which Synagoga wears, alludes to the Jews refusal to see and acknowledge Christ's divinity.

Akin to the representations of the blindness of the Jews are images of their skepticism towards Christ's ability to perform miracles. In such paintings, Jewish figures may be depicted in such a way to make their inner states visible. Dark skin is one attribute which could be used to communicate to the audience serious character flaws or evil intentions.[15] Let us take for example a miniature in an English Psalter (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 835, *c.*1200–1210) depicting Christ' miraculous healing of the blind born, f. 69v. Here, five dark skinned Pharisees, confront six light skinned individuals, including the blind born and his parents, holding a scroll inscribed with text from the Gospel of St. John (9:21). The image probably illustrates the verse (John 9:18): "The Jews then did not believe concerning him, that he had been blind, and had received his sight, until they called the parents of him that had received his sight." It should be pointed out that Jews are not consistently swarthier than other figures in the Munich Psalter. However, when they are shown with darker skin it is usually in a situation in which their behavior is negative, for example when they wish to ensnare Christ, f. 72 (Matthew 22:15) and f. 72v (John 8:6).

Other miniatures in which Jews figure, deal with the successful conversion of members of the Hebrew faith, usually after seeing Christ perform miracles. For example, in the upper medallion of f. 21v in the *Blanche Psalter*, three Jews, two wearing conical hats, one with arms extended in awe, witness Christ raising Lazarus. The illumination illustrates the miracle described in the Gospel of St. John (11:45): "Many therefore of the Jews, who were come to Mary and Martha, and had seen the things that Jesus did, believed in him." Here, the attitude of the awestruck Jew's witnessing Christ's power demonstrates their willingness to apostatize while their conical hats, symbols of the old religion in which they had been brought up, emphasize the theme of conversion.

Most often negative renditions of Jews are found in Christological scenes which link them to Christ's slaying. In the *Christina Psalter*, twenty-four scenes from the Infancy and Passion of Christ are extant and precede the text of the Psalms.[16] Three of these show Jews and their involvement in events that lead to Christ's demise: the upper and bottom

[15] For a discussion of the meanings of dark and black skin for a medieval audience see Debra Higgs Strickland: *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, Princeton 2003, pp. 83–86, 173 and 249.

[16] For the missing scenes from the two bifolia see Vidas 2006, pp. 20–21.

Figure 2. *Christina Psalter.* MS GKS 1606 4º, f. 11v. Three Kings look for Christ, Herod Troubled (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

miniatures on f. 11v, and the upper image on f. 18v. The composition of the upper miniature on f. 11v of the Three King's looking for Christ is partially based on the Gospel of St. Mathew (Matthew 2:1–2) which describes the three Magi seeking the king of the Jews and: "[2] Saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to adore him." Although the Gospel account does not say to whom the Magi addressed the question, in the *Christina Psalter*, they approach three men whose head-coverings identify them as Jews. Their hand gestures, stances, and facial expression convey their emotional state which is in marked contrast to the Magi's. While one of the three kings advances towards the Jews in an authoritative way, the three Jewish men are huddled together and appear troubled.

In the lower miniature on f. 11v (fig. 2) a somewhat larger group of Jewish men are shown with Herod the Great, the Roman-appointed King of Judea, in a scene which illustrates the Gospel verses (Mathew 2: 3–5): "And king Herod hearing this, was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. [4] And assembling together all the chief priests and the scribes of the people, he inquired of them where Christ should be born. [5] But they said to him: In Bethlehem of Juda. For so it is written by the prophet." Herod's gesture, his cheek resting on his left hand, is one which traditionally visualizes grief and probably is meant to illustrate the part of the verse which describes him as "troubled." But like the upper miniature, the visualization of the Gospel accounts also communicates to the viewer something about the characters of and the relationships between men. While Herod exhibits all the outward trappings of royalty, his bearing is not regal or assertive. Like the chief priests and scribes, he is agitated. In the miniature the news of Christ's birth disturbs Herod and he displays greater distress than his subjects, some of whom stand very close to him. In the Middle Ages, rank was revealed in the way people interacted, and because Herod shows weaknesses before them, he does not meet the demands of his office. Furthermore, neither he nor the Jewish men understand the significance of Christ's birth. The troubled king could be understood as a counter image of the ideal Christian king, personified by each of the Magi.

The third group of Jews in the *Christina Psalter* are depicted in the upper miniature on f. 18v where the high priest Caiaphas, the chief priests and scribes are shown conspiring to slay Christ (fig. 3). Three of the Gospel books describe this meeting (Mark 11:18, Luke 19: 47 and Matthew (26: 3–4). This subject was neither represented in contemporary Psalters, with the exception of MS nouvelle acquisition latine 1392

Figure 3. *Christina Psalter.* MS GKS 1606 4º, f. 18v, Jews Plotting, Betrayal and the Arrest of Christ. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

(Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, made after 1212 and before 1220) nor in the moralized bibles.[17] The image chosen to illustrate the Gospel text (Matthew 26:3–5 and 14 –15) in the *Toledo-New York Bible,* volume three, f. 50 D and *Harley 1527*, f. 48 A, is Judas plotting with Caiaphas and the Jewish priests, who in the moralizations are associated with false prelates.

In the Copenhagen Psalter, the miniature on f. 18v focuses on the central role of Caiaphas in the plot to kill Christ. The high priest's social importance is visualized by the embellishment on his cloak, frontal placement in the center of the miniature, and by making him the focus of the attention of the figures who flank him. All five men wear Jewish conical hats: three wear soft ones while the others are portrayed with tall stiff ones.[18] While throughout the prefatory cycle of this manuscript, Christ and the apostles hold codices, symbols of the New Law, in contrast Caiaphas grasps and points to a long blank white scroll, probably signifying the Old Law and the Jewish faith.[19] The part played by Judas in Christ's condemnation and death is represented in the lower scene which depicts the Betrayal (Matthew 26: 3–5 and 47–49, respectively). By placing these two images on the same page in the Psalter and by showing similar compositional elements, the viewer may have been prompted to see the Chief priest's and Judas's central role in Christ's betrayal and crucifixion.[20]

The miniature of the Jews Plotting in the *Christina Psalter* is preceded by one illustrating Christ purging the temple of merchants and moneychangers, described in three of the Gospels (Matthew 21: 12–13, Mark 11:15–17 Luke 19: 45–46 and John 2: 14–16, fig. 4). In two of the

[17] The single volume moralized bibles do not contain the New Testament. In the *Toledo-New York Bible* and the *Oxford-Paris-London Bible*, passages from the four Gospels are extracted and rearranged in order to present a more or less chronological account of the life of Christ.

[18] For the association of Jews with this type of hat, see Ruth Mellinkoff: The Round, Cap-Shaped Hats on Jews in BM Cotton Claudius B. iv. *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2, 1973, pp. 162–163.

[19] For a study of representations of scrolls and books in the moralized bibles see Michael Camille: Visual Signs of the Sacred Page: Books in the Bible moralisée. *Word and Image*, 5, 1989, pp. 111–130.

[20] The lacking painted folio, originally opposite f. 18v, which probably depicted the Flagellation and the Crucifixion, might have been illuminated with pejorative images of Jews. For this type of imagery in Flagellation and Crucifixion scenes see for example, Colum Hourihane: *Pontius Pilate, Anti-Semitism, and the Passion in Medieval Art,* Princeton 2009.

Figure 4. *Christina Psalter.* MS GKS 1606 4º, f. 17, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, Expulsion of the Moneychangers. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

Gospel accounts this event is credited with leading to the meeting of the chief priests to destroy Christ. While gold coins and objects figure prominently on the overturned tables, the oxen, sheep and doves mentioned in Mark 11: 15–17 and John 2: 14 are not depicted. Because of this omission, it is possible that the miniature focuses in its criticism on the moneychangers. If we compare the illumination in the *Christina Psalter* to one of the same subject in the Psalter in Munich, f.65v, we find that in the English Psalter the men purged from the temple are allotted attributes which in the period were associated with Jews. They are swarthier than Christ and two wear pointed hats.[21]

Christ purging the temple was rarely depicted in the prefatory cycles of French Psalters. However, both of the extensively illuminated three-volume Moralized Bibles include this subject. As in the *Christina Psalter*, the cast out men do not display any Jewish traits. In the *Toledo-New York Bible*, f. 40 C (Luke 19:45, Matthew 21:12–13) and MS Harley 1527, f. 39 C, the sacrificial animals are not depicted. The moralizations in the Bibles suggest a criticism of Simonists was intended.[22]

The image of the Purging of the Temple in the *Christina Psalter* might have carried more than one significance. It may have functioned as an image of wrongdoing, a reminder of the sinful activities which took place there and, as described in Scripture, the pivotal event which led to the assembly of the Jewish leadership to find a way to destroy Christ. As noted above, the first consequence of that meeting is depicted in the form of Judas's betrayal, f.18v.

The Illuminations of the Psalms

The most popular subject for illuminations accompanying the major textual divisions of the 150 Psalms in early thirteenth-century French illuminated Psalters was King David who was believed to be the author of this book of the Old Testament. In the *Christina Psalter* five of the eight initials show David: his Coronation preceding Psalm 1, his Unction at Psalm 26, Christ Commanding the King not to Sin at Psalm 38,

[21] For a description of the manuscript see Nigel J. Morgan: *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190–1250*. J. J. G. Alexander (ed.): *Survey of Manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles*, 4, 1, London 1982, pp. 68–72.

[22] In MS Harley 1527, f. 39 c, the moralization states: "the tables of the moneychangers signify those who retain, because of avarice, the goods of the church that should be distributed to the poor; simoniac prelates are signified by the seats of those who sell doves."

David and the Fool at Psalm 52 and David Playing the Bells at Psalm 80. The subject matter of the scenes in which he was depicted, as was common, was influenced by the opening words of the Psalm text. The *Blanche Psalter* and the *Albenga Psalter* include two unusual choices for the subject matter of the illuminations of Psalms 51 and 52. In both manuscripts Jews are represented.

The image of a Jewess in the historiated initial at Psalm 51 in the *Albenga Psalter* (Albenga, Biblioteca Capitolare, formerly MS A.4, third decade of the thirteenth century), is a complex one. As in the moralized Bibles, Jewishness is linked to vices and "unchristian" activities. In the illumination the seated Jewish woman, wears exotic clothes and a type of head-band donned by two Jews in another miniature in this Psalter, f.19v.[23] Her head-band is also reminiscent in shape of blindfolds placed across the eyes of Synagoga in the visual arts from this period.[24] The moneybag she places inside the front of her unfastened garment and the other she lifts from an open chest, is a symbol of the vice of avarice, alluded to in the verses of this Psalm (Psalm 51: 9: "Ecce homo qui non posuit Deum adjutorem suum; sed speravit in multitudine divitiarum suarum, et praevaluit in vanitate sua" (Behold the man that made not God his helper: But trusted in the abundance of his riches: and prevailed in his vanity).[25] The vice of iniquity mentioned in verses 3 and 5 of the Psalm (Psalm 51:3: "Quid gloriaris in malitia, qui potens es in iniquitate?" (Why dost thou glory in malice, thou that art mighty in iniquity?) and Psalm 51:5: "Dilexisti malitiam super benignitatem; iniquitatem magis quam loqui aequitatem" (Thou hast loved malice more than goodness: and iniquity rather than to speak righteousness) along with avarice were frequently associated with Jews in this period.[26] Furthermore, the position of the moneybag in front of her naked chest

[23] For the argument that the woman is Jewish see J. J. G. Alexander: Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Medieval Christian Art. *Studies in Iconography*, 15, 1993, p. 26. For an example of a Jewish man wearing a similar exotic garment, see the *Oscott Psalter* (London, British Library, Additional MS 50000, *c.*1265–1270), f. 219. The image in the *Albenga Psalter* showing two Jews anointing Christ in the scene of the Entombment may illustrate the Gospel account which describes the funeral as in keeping with Jewish customs (John 19:40).

[24] For the association of Synagoga with iniquity see Lipton 1999, p. 24.

[25] See for example the representations of Avarice on the north façade of Chartres Cathedral of *c.*1220 in which the vice is personified as a seated woman fingering coins in a chest and hiding coins in a garment.

[26] See for example the moralization in MS Bodley 270B, f. 180, which states: "Gehazi is the servant of Elisha as the Israelites were the people of God; but spurning the Gospel

and its round shape which references her breast, might suggest that the Jewess is also intended to embody the vice of lust. Precedents for the pairing of money and *luxuria* can be found in the moralized bibles.[27]

From the thirteenth-century onwards Jews were recurrently associated with and inserted into scenes dealing with the devil in the visual arts.[28] In the *Blanche Psalter* the miniature accompanying Psalm 52 shows a Jew, wearing a conical hat and holding a club, an attribute of the fool's profession, flanked by two winged horned devils, f. 77v. There was a long tradition of marking the text: "Dixit insipiens in corde suo non est dues: [2] Non est Deus. Corrupti sunt, et abominabiles facti sunt in iniquitatibus; non est qui faciat bonum" (The fool said in his heart: There is no God. [2] They are corrupted, and become abominable in iniquities: there is none that doth good) with an illustration of the fool mentioned in the verse.[29] Since members of this profession entertained kings, the Psalm was often accompanied, as in the *Christina Psalter*, with a representation of David and the fool. One of the reasons that a decision was made to represent a Jew to introduce this Psalm in the *Blanche Psalter* was probably because members of this faith were regularly described as fools, as we have seen in Thaon's *Bestiary*.[30] They were also associated with "iniquities" and thought of as "corrupted" because they denied Christ.[31]

Let us sum up the arguments made so far about the images of Jews in the *Christina Psalter*. The subjects of three miniatures (figs. 2 and 3) were not often depicted in French Psalters of the period, especially two of these were rare. We do not know if additional images of Jews might have been included on the excised folios of the manuscript, for example in the miniature of the Crucifixion. While in some contemporary devotional manuscripts Jewish attributes were imposed on the merchants

they fell into the pit of avarice and incurred taint of error by God's just decree." For other allegations of Jewish avarice see Lipton 1999, pp. 42–43.

[27] Robert Mills: Seeing Sodomy in the *Bibles moralisées*. *Speculum* 87, 2012, p. 424.

[28] For these types of scenes in the moralized bibles see Lipton 1999, p. 26.

[29] See for example, D. J. Gifford: Iconographical Notes Towards a Definition of the Medieval Fool. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37, 1974, pp. 336–342. For other examples of Jews represented or alluded to in illuminations accompanying this Psalm see Annette Lermack: The Pivotal Role of the Two Fools Miniature in the Psalter of Bonne of Luxembourg. *Gesta*, 47, 2008, pp. 79–98.

[30] For the association of the fool of the Psalms with Jews in the writings of Augustine, Cassidorus and the Pseudo-Jerome, see Strickland 2003, p. 138.

[31] For the association of Jews with iniquity in the moralized bibles see Lipton 1999, pp. 69–70 and in Scripture, see for example, Luke 11:39.

and moneychangers in scenes of the Purging of the Temple and words and phrases in the 150 Psalms were visualized with anti-Jewish imagery, these types of iconographies are absent from the prefatory cycle and Psalm miniatures in the *Christina Psalter*.

In the prefatory images of the *Christina Psalter*, Jewish involvement is shown in events with disastrous outcomes—Jews are shown influencing Herod, with the consequences that the king commands the massacre of the Innocents, as well as instigating Christ's betrayal and arrest, which leads to his crucifixion. If the *Christina Psalter* was executed for Blanche of Castile or one of her royal children, as I have argued elsewhere, then images of Herod could have served as negative exempla of princely conduct while the depiction of Caiaphas could have been understood, as in the Moralized bibles, as a warning about the influence of corrupt prelates. More generally, the representations of Jews as well as of Herod and Caiaphas in the prefatory cycle can be read as the opposites of the holy figures, like the Virgin, St. Elizabeth, the Magi, Simeon, the apostles, and Mary Magdelene, who acknowledge Christ's divinity.

WOMEN SAINTS' LIVES

The wide-spread understanding of the Jews as bearing a deep animosity towards the Virgin Mary can be traced to the late Antique *Transitus mariae* (the Passing of Mary).[32] The Anglo-Norman French version in the Copenhagen manuscript (MS Thott 517 4º), ff. 1- 10v, made for the Bohun family, probably at the behest of the Dowager Countess, Joan de Bohun, focuses on events shortly before and after the Virgin's death.[33] One of the episodes dealing with the Jews' fear and hatred of the Virgin occurs in connection with her funeral. The text relates that the Jews were planning to burn her body and that during her funeral the chief priest of the Jews tried to overturn her bier. However, his hands withered and stuck to the couch and angels smote the people with blindness. The chief priest who was in great pain cried out to St. Peter to end the torment.

[32] For Late Antique disputes between Jews and Christians over the question of Mary's virginity, with certain rabbinic texts questioning her moral status see Stephen J. Shoemaker: Let us Go and Burn Her Body: The Image of the Jews in the Early Dormition Traditions. *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture*, 68, 1999, p. 777.

[33] For a discussion of the version of the text and the patronage of the manuscript see Marina Vidas: Maternity and Faith in the Copenhagen Bohun Women Saints' Lives (Royal Library, MS Thott 517 4º). *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 52, 2013, pp. 55–80.

The apostle replied that if he was to believe in Jesus Christ, his hands would be released from the bier. When the chief priest said that he did, his hands were released but the pain did not go away. St. Peter then told him to kiss the couch, and to say that he believed in God, and in the Son of God, Jesus Christ, whom the Virgin bore. After the chief priest did as St. Peter asked, he no longer felt any pain. The apostle then told him to go and tell the blind of the great deeds of our Lord, promising that whoever should believe in Christ would have their sight restored. And this he did and the blind recovered their sight.[34]

The episode summarized above which describes the clash between Christ's disciples and the Jews has a dichotomous structure. Unlike the apostles, the Jews are unable to recognize Mary's holiness and Christ as their Savior. Their spiritual blindness and corruption are exposed when they are treated severely by God; the punishment they receive is a match to the qualitative attributes of their offenses. Only after accepting Christ as their Lord does their sight return to them and their physical suffering ceases. The single image in the Copenhagen manuscript accompanying the *Transitus* text shows the Virgin's Asumption and asserts Mary's sanctity which the Jews did not recognize.

Although illustrations of this episode are not present in the Copenhagen manuscript, images of Jews disrupting Mary's funeral, as described in the *Transitus* text, can be found in English and French private devotional books.[35] For example, in the prefatory cycle of a French Book of Hours (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 92, made in the third quarter of the thirteenth century), f. 13v the chief priest and two Jews hang from the Virgin's bier carried by the apostles. The Jews' attire, facial hair, and size differentiate them from the apostles. The condemnation of their actions is visualized by the angry facial expression of one the apostles and the heavenly punishment allotted them, described in the caption above the scene: "[com] li apostre le[m]portere[n]t et li geni sact dire[n]t a la biere et les mei[n]s lor sechere[n]t" (how the apostles carried her and the Jews at the bier and their hands withered). Alongside this scene is the Coronation of the Virgin, with the caption:

[34] This summary was made with the help of the translation of the *Transitus mariae* in Montague Rhodes James: *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1924, pp. 209–216.

[35] See for example, the *Hunterian Psalter* (Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 229, *c.*1170), f. 18, the *De Lisle Hours* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, G.50) f. 161, the *Taymouth Hours* (London, British Library MS Yates Thompson 13, 2nd quarter of the 14th century), f. 133v, and the *Luttrell Psalter* (London, British Library MS Additional 42130, *c.*1320–1340), ff. 98v-99.

"Si [com] nostres sires corene sa mere et li e[n]geles le[n]ueurent" (how our Lord crowned his mother and the angels honor her), f. 14. Thus the scene on the left of the attempted defilement of the Virgin and the heavenly retribution dealt out to the Jews is juxtaposed to one on the right in which Mary is honored and receives her celestial reward. Furthermore, the actions of the Jews on f. 13v are in marked contrast to those of the manuscript's female patron, who is portrayed prostrated in devout devotion before the Mother and Child, f. 21, at the opening of the Hours of the Virgin.

In the ensuing legends in the Copenhagen manuscript, there are no images of Jews and only a few references to them. However, when people of this faith are mentioned they are linked to negative qualities or actions, most commonly through the conflation of Jews with the crucifiers of Christ, retained from the sources from which the legends were translated. For example, in the life and passion of St. Margaret of Antioch, f.12v, as in the tenth-century Latin version called *Mombritius* upon which the legend is based, the saint is described as despising Olibrius's gods and believing in Jesus who the Jews crucified: "ele tent voz dieus en despit et croit & preche ihesu ki les iudeus crucifierent."[36] Similarly in the legend of Mary Magdalene, f. 23v, Christ's crucifixion is blamed on the Jews: "Et lors endroit la benoite maugdaleine lor comenca a prechier de ihesu crist coment il estoit nez de la virge & coment li iuif lavoient crucifiee […] (And just then the blessed Magdalene began to preach to them about Jesus Christ, how he was born of the Virgin and how the Jews had crucified him[…]).[37]

In very general terms, the collection of female saints' lives in Copenhagen addresses conversion, presents holy women who confront members of other faiths and fosters the view of Christian moral superiority. In the *Transitus* the Jews are described as enemies of the Virgin who only after being physically tormented and after witnessing numerous miracles at her funeral convert to Christianity, with the exception of "five of them who remained hard of heart died."[38] St. Margaret's physical ordeals at the hands of pagans are much harsher than those experienced by the

[36] In the Latin source for this legend, the text reads: "Domine puella illa non est seruiens diis nostris: sed Christum precatur: quem iudei crucifixerunt." See Boninus Mombritius: *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*. 2. Hildesheim, 1978, p. 191.

[37] For the Latin source for this text see Socii Bollandiani (ed.): *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo xvi qui asservantur in bibliotheca nationali parisiensi*, 3, Brussels 1889–1893, p. 526.

[38] See f. 8v.

Jews. Although she is tortured in an effort to force her to renounce her Christian faith and to submit to the pagan Olibrius, she remains steadfast and prefers to suffer martyrdom. In the third legend, the Magdalene's preaching and her ability to work miracles converts many pagans, including the pagan rulers of Marseille.

THE COPENHAGEN BOHUN HOURS

The Copenhagen Bohun Hours (MS Thott MS 547 4º) is a manuscript which was made around ninety years after the expulsion of the Jews from England for a young female member of the Bohun family. The rich program of illumination follows the tradition of placing illuminations at the major sections of the texts (ff. 1, 6v, 14v, 18, 20, 22v, 24v, 28v, 32v, and 43). At each of the eight canonical hours Christological scenes are shown in the historiated initials as well as in two *haut-de-pages*, while miracles of the Virgin are depicted in the eight *bas-de-pages*. Of these Marian legends, three include Jewish protagonists.

The Legend of Theophilus

The first of the Jewish figures in MS Thott 547 4º is found in the lower margin of f. 6v (fig. 5). Chosen for representation were episodes from the legend of Theophilus, one of the most popular Marian miracles depicted in personal devotional books. However, a member of the Jewish faith figures only in some textual and pictorial versions of the story.[39] For example, in a slightly earlier manuscript made for a male member of the Bohun family (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D.4.4, f.182), a Jew was not included in the illustration of the legend.

[39] For narratives which include the Jew see Carl Neuhaus: *Die Lateinischen Vorlagen zu den alt-franzosischen Adgar'schen Marienlegende*, Aschersleben 1886–1887, p. 13, Michel Tarayre*: La Vierge et le miracle: Le Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais*, Paris 1999, p. 157, T. F. Crane: Miracles of the Virgin. *The Romanic Review*, 2, 1911, p. 275, Jennifer Shea: Adgar's Gracial and Christian Images of Jews in Twelfth-Century Vernacular Literature. *Journal of Medieval History*, 33, 2007, p. 188, Jacobus de Voragine: *The Golden Legend*: *Readings on the Saints*. William Granger Ryan (trans.), Princeton 1993, 1, p. 157, etc. For illustrations of the legend of Theophilus which include representations of the Jew, see for example the *Dectretals*, (London, British Library, Royal 10.E.IV, *c*.1330–40), f. 164 and 164v, the *Lambeth Apocalypse* (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 434), and the *Miracles de Notre Dame* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouvelle acquisition fr. 24541), f. 8v.

Figure 5. Hours. MS Thott 547 4º, f. 6v. Detail. *Bas-de-Page*: Legend of Theophilus. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

In the version of the tale represented in the *bas-de-page* of MS Thott 547 4º, a Jew who is able to contact Satan is sought out by the archdeacon Theophilus in order to obtain an ecclesiastic office. In the manuscript we see the Jew in the company of the devil with whom Theophilus signs a pact—he renounces Christianity and in exchange is promised the bishopric he desires. That the devil's associate, pictured in the second scene, should be understood as Jewish is communicated to the viewer by his facial hair, garb and physiognomy. He has a long full beard, wears a tall, soft, conical cap and has a broader face, larger nose and darker skin than any of the other figures.[40] The red color of his garment is probably not coincidental and was, in all likelihood, used because it could symbolize infamy and degeneracy, qualities which were associated with Jews in this period.[41] In the third scene Theophilus turns his back on his earlier associates and prays fervently to the Virgin who subsequently comes to his aid—she birches the devil and returns the document. Mary is triumphant over Satan's dark forces and her power over apostasy is visualized.

[40] For a discussion of possible meanings of beards and distorted noses for a medieval audience see Strickland 2003, pp. 77–78, etc.

[41] For the ideas and qualities associated with this color see Strickland 2003, p. 235.

In the depicted legend, Theophilus's ambition leads him to renounce Christ and the Virgin as well as his Christian brothers. Theophilus's behavior is in direct contrast to that of St. Elizabeth who is represented in the historiated initial in the upper portion of the page. While Elizabeth embraces Mary and recognizes Christ as her Lord (Luke 1: 42- 45), Theophilus acknowledges the devil as his master. Because Elizabeth was the first person to recognize the divinity of Christ and Mary as his mother, the image could serve as a reminder of the favor God accorded some women. The inclusion of the book in Elizabeth's room is another positive attribute and symbolizes her devotion.

The Legend of the Jew of Bourges

In the *bas-de-page* illustrations to Prime, the following canonical hour, episodes from the Legend of the Jew of Bourges, were depicted, f.14v (fig. 6). This legend, like the one of Theophilus, was one of the oldest and most popular Marian legends in circulation in Western Europe.[42] The first scene in the lower border depicts the Jewish boy who in terms of physical appearance is not differentiated from his Christian friends with whom he takes communion in church. In contrast, the boy's parents and neighbors, shown in the second scene, are represented in a strikingly different manner in terms of dress and physiognomy from the Christians in the manuscript. The father wears a long red tunic with a pink border as well as an exotic rose-colored turban, and has a long full beard and dark skin. On the other side of the murderously punitive man who shoves his naked son into a fiery furnace is a group of his brethren, including the child's mother who according to textual sources had run into the street screaming, and attracted a crowd.[43] She wears a distinctive hair-covering which distinguishes her from the Christian women in the manuscript, has darker skin than Mary and a full mouth. Both the Jewish father and the woman's companion have large broad noses and dark skin and much bigger heads than the priest depicted in the scene furthest to the left. The male Jewish onlooker also sports a turban and is dressed in red like the Jewish father, except that he wears a different and shorter garment and rose-colored stockings rather than blue ones. None of the

[42] See Marina Vidas: Representation and Reception: Women in the Copenhagen Bohun Hours (Royal Library, MS Thott 547 4°). *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 50, 2011, p. 93, note 29.

[43] See Adgar's description of the mother's reaction in Adgar: *Le Gracial*, Pierre Kunstmann (ed.), Ottawa 1982, p. 110.

Figure 6. Hours. MS Thott 547 4°, f. 14v. Detail. Historiated Initial "D" at Prime: Nativity. *Bas-de-Page*: Legend of the Jew of Bourges. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

Jews are present in the third scene, in which the naked child is rescued by the Virgin, who has placed a portion of her mantle under his legs.

In a number of the textual versions of the legend of the Jew of Bourges, the rescue of the boy is followed by his and his mother's baptism. In the Copenhagen Bohun Hours, however, the conversion of the Jewish mother is not shown and she is not presented in a particularly positive light. Although she has a worried expression and appears to be distraught about the fate of her child, she does not protect him from her husband's murderous rage. Rather, she turns to the Jewish man who stands by her side for comfort. The reaction of the Jewish mother and her neighbor implicates them and might be seen as conforming to the notion that the undesirable behavior of individual Jews was encouraged and supported by their Jewish neighbors. Yet the Jewess is not portrayed as indifferent and vengeful, negative characteristics traditionally as-

sociated with adherents of Judaism. Instead she appears distraught about the fate of her child at the hands of his father. The conflation of traits of the Jewish mother does not allow the viewer to draw a simple unambiguous reading.

More clear-cut visual distinctions are made between the Jewish father and the Virgin Mary. The pose of the Jewish father in the second scene and the position of the Virgin's body in the third are similar and invite comparison between their actions: the pushing of the child into the flames versus his rescue from the furnace. The Jew's cruel behavior towards his son is thus presented in striking contrast to Mary's compassion for the boy. Furthermore, the Virgin extends to the boy the same expression of maternal love she shows her own Son in the historiated initial of the Nativity. The fact that the two primary areas of illumination on f. 14v, the initial and *bas-de-page*, depict two families also invites comparison. The close and affectionate relationship between the Mother and Child and the protective air of Joseph, their guardian, are in juxtaposition to the father's murderous feelings towards his son and the seriously flawed reaction of the Jewish mother.

Other negative associations with Jews can also be found on this folio. Because the unscathed boy rescued by the Virgin resembles the Child in the historiated initial, an allusion to Christ's death at the hands of the Jews and to his Resurrection may have been intended. Furthermore, the Jewish man, who is enraged by his son's partaking of the Eucharist, could be understood as the embodiment of the disbelieving Jews and is the inversion of those who accept the miracle of the Host.[44] Additionally, the central motif of the child being pushed into the oven could have conceivably reinforced the belief that Jews willingly killed children, even their own if they were under threat of apostasy.[45]

In the Bodleian Psalter- Hours, an earlier manuscript made for a member of the Bohun family, the depravity of the Jewish father was visualized in a different manner. Only one miracle of the Virgin in this manuscript includes a Jewish protagonist, namely the legend of the Jew of Bourges, f. 203v. The composition of the scene of the Jewish boy and his companions in church on the left is similar to the first scene of

[44] For the Eucharist implications for the imagery on this folio see Vidas 2011, p. 98.

[45] For a discussion of the association of Jews with the ritual killing of Christian children, see Carole Stone: Anti-Semitism in the Miracle Tales of the Virgin. *Medieval Encounters*, 5, 1999, 368–370 and for Jews faced with conversion chosing to slay themselves and their children, see Nina Rowe: *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge 2011, p. 37.

Figure 7. Hours. MS Thott 547 4º, f. 22v. Detail. Historiated Initial "D" at None: Crucifixion. Border: Longinus. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

the same subject in the Copenhagen manuscript. However, there is a significant difference in the manner in which the Jewish father tries to slay his apostate son, namely he pushes the boy into the fire with a three-pronged fork. This object, often depicted in contemporary painting in the hands of demons casting souls into the fires of hell, visualizes the demonic nature of the Jewish father. Thus, as in the legend of Theophilus in the Copenhagen manuscript the Jew is associated with the devil.

Longinus

One of the figures in the Copenhagen Hours who displays Jewish characteristics is found not in the *bas-de-pages* legends but in one of the

Christological scenes marking the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin (fig. 7). He is represented to the left of the stem of the historiated initials "D" at None, f. 22v, as a bearded man and wearing a red tunic, which is very similar in color and cut to the one worn by the Jewish father on f. 14v (fig. 6). Because he is present at the Crucifixion when Christ gave up the ghost (Mark 15:39) as well as shown piercing Christ's side (John 19:34–35) and touching his eye, he can be identified as Longinus. According to legend he became a Christian after being cured of blindness in one eye when the blood from Jesus' side spattered on his face. The figure displays Jewish characteristics, to emphasize the theme of conversion.[46] But the proportions of his body, facial features and round cap distinguish him from the Jews represented in the legends of the Theophilus and Jew of Bourges. In terms of physiognomy and head gear he more closely resembles Jews who recognized the divinity of Christ, like Joseph, f. 14v (fig. 6) and Simeon, f. 20.

The Legend of the Image as Pledge

The last Marian legend depicted in the manuscript, f. 28v, has a Jewish protagonist (fig. 8). It illustrates a variant of the Image as Pledge which was very popular with medieval authors, but not often represented in the visual arts.[47] In the first *bas-de-page* scene, a Christian merchant approaches a Jew for a loan. The Jew, who has a long beard and wears a loose pointed cap and red caped robe, resembles the man who brought Theophilus to the devil (fig. 5). He points to a pile of gold coins with one hand while reaching for the sculpture of the Virgin with the other. The downturned mouth of the Virgin expresses her displeasure at being given to the Jew in exchange for money.

[46] Amy Neff: The Pain of Compassio: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross. *Art Bulletin* 80, 1998, p. 266.

[47] For an overview of medieval works dealing with the legend of the merchant and the Jew, see Erik Boman: *Deux miracles de Gautier de Coinci: publiés d'après tous les manuscrits, avec une introduction, notes et glossaire*, Paris 1935. For the depiction of the legend in French illuminated manuscripts of Gautier de Coinci's, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, see Anna Russakoff: Imaging the Miraculous: Les Miracles de Notre Dame, Paris, BnF, n.acq.fr. 24541, Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 2006, pp. 163–164 and in the Vernon manuscript (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Eng. Poet. A.1), f. 126, an English work of a later date than Thott 547 4°, see *The Vernon Manuscript: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Eng. Poet.* A. A. I. Doyle (intro.), Cambridge 1987, plate X.

Figure 8. Hours. MS Thott 547 4º, f. 28v. Detail. *Bas-de-Page*: Legend of the Jew and the Merchant. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

In the second *bas-de-page* scene the merchant, who had travelled abroad and has to pay back his debt on time, commits the owed money to the sea. The money and an accompanying letter, fall into the hands of the Jew on another shore. In most versions of the tale, the moneylender denies ever being repaid by the merchant and his lie is later revealed. This is probably what is represented in the third scene. However, the intervention of a judge, as shown in the final episode, does not figure in most versions.

In a number of the textual sources, this tale closes with the Jew's acceptance of Christianity. But in the Copenhagen *bas-de-page* scenes, the narrative concludes with the return of the image of the Virgin to its rightful Christian owner in court. The imagery of terrestrial justice may be understood as acting as a prelude to the scenes of divine justice, the subject of the next fully decorated folio (f. 32v).

As in the *bas-de-page* scenes of the miracle of the Jew of Bourges, the conversion of the Jewish money-lender is not depicted. Thus, rather than functioning as a conversion miracle, the legend could be interpreted in other ways. For example, it could be read as the Virgin's triumph over the Jew and thus would reinforce the imagery of the triumphant Virgin in the historiated initial in the upper part of the page and allude to the triumph of *Ecclesia* over *Synagoga*. Furthermore, the imagery illustrates

and reinforces the topos of Jewish avarice and of Jews mistreating images of the Virgin.[48]

To sum up, three popular Marian legends in which Jewish men engage in reprehensible behavior were chosen as subjects for illuminations in the Copenhagen Hours. In the Theophilus legend, f. 6, the Jew is in league with Satan and facilitates apostasty. In the miracle of the Jew of Bourges, the father is willing to murder his apostate child, while in the legend of the Merchant of Constantinople, f. 28v, the Jewish lender is associated with money-lending, avarice, deception, theft and the mistreatment of sacred images. But they are not the only negative figures who populate the pages of this manuscript. Christians, including clerics and nuns, are also depicted as sinners –they commit apostasy and break their vows of chastity and rob. Devils also often are shown (they appear on five of the ten illuminated folia). In addition, there are women who are represented as faulty, but not evil. Figuring amongst them is the Jewess in the legend of the Jew of Bourges. She and the other deficient human mothers represented in the legends, act as a foil for the perfect and powerful Virgin Mary.[49]

Furthermore, it has been suggested that the *bas-de-pages* illuminations in which Jews figure were drawn from a variety of textual sources in which members of the Hebrew faith were negatively depicted. When we compared the images to the texts from which they were drawn it appeared that certain details from textual sources were suppressed while other elements were stressed. For example, the closing episodes dealing with conversion described in the texts were not illustrated. Thus it can be argued that the tales depicted in the *bas-de-page* are given a different emphasis from their literary sources, in which consternation about non-Christians is hinged together with the desire to convert them.

LA BIBLE HISTORIALE

Tales from the Talmud were a source for a number of Christian medieval authors and were often retold for a Christian audience. Besides appearing in vilifying texts, like the popular *Dialogus contra Iudaeos* by Petrus Alfonsi (d. first half twelfth century), they also served as sources for the visual arts. Two tales derived from the Babylonian Talmud are visualized

[48] For the tradition of accusing Jews of mistreating ecclesiastical objects and more specifically, images of the Virgin see Russakoff 2006, pp. 82,157, 160, 199–202.

[49] See Vidas 2011, pp.89–92, 97–102 and 123, for an analysis of the legends dealing with women and their male children.

Figure 9. *La Bible Historiale*. MS Thott 6 2º, f. 254. Book of Proverbs. (Photo: The Royal Library, Copenhagen).

in the Copenhagen *Bible historiale* (MS Thott 6 2º, *c.*1370–1380), which contains Guyart des Moulins's thirteenth-century French translation and adaption of the *Historia Scholastica*. The Latin work, written *c.*1170 by Petrus Comestor (d. *c.*1179), chancellor of the school of Notre Dame in Paris, was intended to be a basic orthodox training book of biblical interpretation. In his compendium, the Comestor, as he himself acknowledged, drew on Hebrew tradition. In all likelihood, the sources for the Midrashic interpretations found in the text were Jewish scholars living in Troyes with whom he had verbal exchanges.[50]

While the *Historia Scholastica* did not contain passages from the Old and New Testaments, with the exception of phrases as they were commented on, Guyart provided Bible text as well as commentary. He also included translations of portions of the Bible omitted from scholastic text. The *bible historiale* was expanded several times in the fourteenth century by additions from the thirteenth-century bible (*bible du treizième siècle*). The final version, called *la Grande Bible historiale complétée*, is contained in more than forty manuscripts, including the work in Copenhagen, which was, in all likelihood, made for Charles V of France.[51]

Prefacing the opening of the Book of Proverbs of Solomon f. 254, are miniatures which are used to illustrate the wisdom and justice of the Old Testament king who was believed to be the author of the text. In the top left Solomon is shown seated on his throne with a lion at his feet, looking and pointing at a man bent over a dog. The miniature illustrates an episode from a tale originating in the Babylonian Talmud (Shabbat 30a-b): "Solomon sent to Beth Hamidrash [asking:] My father has died and is lying in the sun, and the dogs of father's house are hungry; what shall I do? They sent back [an answer]: Cut up a carcass and place it before the dogs; as for thy father, put a loaf of bread or a child upon him, and carry him away. Did not Solomon put it well: 'Better a live dog than a dead lion?'"[52]

[50] Esra Shereshevsky: Hebrew Traditions in Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 59, 1968, pp. 270–271 and Louis H. Feldman: The Jewish Sources of Peter Comestor's Commentary on Genesis in his Historia Scholastica. Dietrich A. Koch and Hermann Lichtenberger (eds.): *Begegnungen zwischen Christentum und Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter: Festschrift für Heinz Schreckenberg*, Göttingen 1993, pp. 116–121.

[51] Éléonore Fournié: Les manuscrits de la Bible historiale. Présentation et catalogue raisonné d'une œuvre médiévale, L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques, acrh.revues.org/1408

[52] Isidore Epstein: *The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Mo'ed*, 2, 1, London 1938, p. 134.

In the miniature the lion lying down beside Solomon's feet alludes to the king's characterization of his father in the tale but it may also bring to mind Biblical passages which describe Solomon's throne as decorated with representations of the beast (I Kings 10:18–21 and II Chronicles 9:17–20). The story about David's death serves to confirm the verse from Ecclesiastes 9:4: "There is no man that liveth always, or that hopeth for this: a living dog is better than a dead lion."

The second row of quatrefoils shows episodes from a story which originated in the Babylonian Talmud, and which was found in Christian sources from the early thirteenth century.[53] In the Talmud version it states: "There was a man who heard his wife saying to her daughter: Why are you not careful in your unlawful acts? I have ten sons, and only one is from your father. When he was dying he said: I bequeath all my properties to one son (as he did not know which one was his). And as they did not know to which of the sons, the case came to Rabbi Bnaha, who advised them to go and knock on the father's grave until he should come and explain whom he meant. Nine of the sons did so, but the one who was his did not. Then Rabbi Bnaha decided that all the estates should be given to this one."[54]

In the version of this tale in the *bible historiale* a number of changes have been made to the narrative. In the first miniature three brothers are depicted before the enthroned king who hears the case. Solomon and two of the brothers are shown gesticulating, indicating to the viewer that they are speaking. It is likely that the scene depicts the king being asked to decide the inheritance issue and Solomon telling the men that his verdict will be based, not by knocking at the grave as in the Babylonian Talmud, but on the outcome of an archery contenst; the son who can hit the corpse of the father the hardest will win the inheritance. In the second miniature Solomon points in the direction of the shrouded body, ordering the men to shoot their arrows. Two of the sons take aim at their father's corpse while the third kneels before the king, unable to carry out the command which would dishonor the dead parent. As in the miniature represented dirtectly above this one, the "real" relative faced with instigating harm to a loved one refuses to allow the king's verdict to be carried out. Besides acting as an example of Solomon's wisdom, an additional reason for including this story in the historiated bible

[53] See Wolfgang Stechow: Shooting at Father's Corpse. *Art Bulletin*, 24, 1942, pp. 213–225.

[54] Michael Levi Rodkinson (ed.): *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Tract Baba Bathra*, 13, Boston 1918, p. 138.

may have been that it is concerned with a father and son relationship, to which there are many references in the Book of Proverbs.

Relations between a mother and her son are also described in this Old Testament book and illustrated in the top right miniature. However, while the text of the Book of Proverbs focuses on filial piety the image can be understood as an illustration of the maternal love of a less than perfect woman. The miniature depicts the two prostitutes judged by Solomon and the child each claimed was hers (1 Kings 3:16–28). The enthroned king Solomon holds out his right arm, indicating he is giving the order to a knife-wielding royal servant to cut the nude and vulnerable infant in two so that each woman might receive half of the child. According to Scripture (1 Kings 3: 26) Solomon's verdict prompted the real mother to cry out that the living child should be given to the other woman. When the other woman said, "Let it be neither mine nor thine, but divide it," the king knew for certain that she was the false mother. In the miniature the two women are portrayed differently — the deceitful prostitute is wimpled and veiled and wears a blue gown and unemotionally gestures to the king while the honest one has a distraught expression, unbound and uncovered hair, is attired in red and holds her hands together beseechingly.[55] That neither woman is comely is probably an indication of their low social status.

Also on this folio and slightly above the lower horizontal rectilinear border are two lions with long tails, facing an empty shield. One of the beasts is positioned along the same vertical axis as Solomon's lion. The placement of the lions, a device of King Charles V (1338–1380), on this folio of the manuscript is probably no accident. In works of art of this period, especially royal commissions, this French king is frequently connected with emblems of wisdom and appears as the incarnation of the wise ruler.[56] The perception of Charles V as erudite and prudent was strengthened by some of his other endeavors, such as the amassing of a large library of around 1,000 books and the patronage of literary works, especially those dealing with politics and government. The visual association on this folio of the manuscript between the Old Testament

[55] For a discussion of the differences in representations of the true and false mother in *Bibles Historiales* see C. M. Kauffmann: The Iconography of the Judgment of Solomon in the Middle Ages. Gerald B. Guest and Susan L'Engle (eds.): *Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture*, London/Turnhout 2006, pp. 297–303.

[56] See Claire Richter Sherman: Representations of Charles V of France (1338–1380) as a Wise Ruler. *Medievalia et Humanistica* New Series, 2, 1971, pp. 83–96.

king's lion and of the fourteenth-century monarch's invites the audience to see Charles as enlightened as Solomon.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen in our analyses there were some striking differences between the early thirteenth-century and late fourteenth-century paintings studied here and more specifically, the manners in which Jews were visualized in the manuscripts. In general, there is a greater degree of manipulation of the Jewish figures' physiognomies, proportions, skin color and facial expressions in the Copenhagen Bohun Hours than in the *Christina Psalter*. We have noted that in the fourteenth-century images artists contrasted the outward appearances of figures to encourage empathy in the viewer and emotionally engage their audiences. For example, in the Copenhagen Bohun Hours the appearance and actions of the Jewish father are contrasted with those of the Virgin Mary (fig. 6). These kinds of pictorial strategies can be placed into a wider context. For example, if we look at fourteenth-century paintings of the Passion, the tormentors of Christ are often represented as vicious and ugly while Christ is beautiful and in agony. These types of scenes elicit an empathic piety—the crueler the enemy and the more vicious the attack, the greater is the viewer's empathy with Christ's agony and goodness. The desire for an empathetic response to narrations of the New Testament is made explicit in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (second half of the thirteenth century). For example, in the following two excerpts where the devotee is addressed:

"Then the whole multitude of Jews demands that He be crucified, and thus He is condemned by Pilate, the miserable judge. His benefits and works are not remembered by them, nor are they moved by His innocence; and what is most cruel to see is that they are not drawn back by the afflictions they have already caused Him; but the chiefs and elders rejoice that their wicked intentions have been accomplished. They laugh and mock at Him who is the true and eternal God, and hasten His death. He is led back inside, stripped of purple stands before them nude, not given leave to reclothe Himself. Pay diligent attention to this and consider His stature in every part. And to make yourself more deeply compassionate and nourish yourself at the same time, turn your eyes away from this divinity for a little while and consider Him purely as a man. You will see a fine youth, most noble and most innocent and most lovable, cruelly beaten and covered with blood and wounds, gathering

His garments from the ground where they were strewn and dressing Himself before them with shame, reverence, and blushes however much they jeer, as though He were the meanest of all, abandoned by God, and destitute of all help. Look at Him diligently, therefore, and be moved to pity and compassion […]."[57]

"When the Lord Jesus, led by impious men, reached that foul place, Calvary, you may look everywhere at wicked people wretchedly at work. With your whole mind you must imagine yourself present and consider diligently everything done against your Lord and all that is said and done by Him and regarding Him. With your mind's eye, see some thrusting the cross into the earth, others equipped with nails and hammers, others with the ladder and other instruments, others giving orders about what should be done, and others stripping Him."[58]

As we have seen in some of the paintings examined here physical differences between Christians and Jews were used to reveal to the viewer the protagonists' characters. For example, "unchristian" dealings, like money-lending and mistreatment of holy images, find visual expression in the Copenhagen Bohun Hours in the form of a Jewish man whose features and dress are different from the Christians he encounters (fig. 8). But as we have seen, not all images focus on the binary of Christian and Jew. In the case of the illustration of the legend of the Jew of Bourges in the Copenhagen Bohun Hours, the boundaries can sometimes be blurred — the manner in which the Jewish mother is represented does not allow the viewer to draw a simple unambiguous reading about her character (fig. 6).

As we have also noted Jews were not routinely visualized differently from Christians. And when they were shown wearing distinguishing clothing, like pointed hats, a negative reading was not necessarily intended. For example, in the Copenhagen Bohun Hours, Simeon and Joseph, who recognize Christ as the Messiah, wear caps. Figures from the Old Testament could also serve as positive role models. For example, the image of King Solomon in the *bible historiale* in Copenhagen was used for the construction of Charles V's Christian identity. Furthermore, Jews are not the only sinners or sole forces of evil in these books. In the Copenhagen Hours there are numerous depictions of wayward members of religious orders while in the *Christina Psalter*, Thaon's *Bestiary*, the

[57] *Meditations on the life of Christ, An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. ital. 115.* Rosalie Green and Isa Ragusa (eds.), Princeton 1961, p. 330–331.

[58] Green and Ragusa 1961, p. 333.

Transitus mariae, and the Copenhagen Bohun Hours, there are many more references to the Devil than to Jews. While the images of the Devil unambiguously represented the antithesis of depictions of Christ, the portrayal of the Jew cannot merely be understood as the direct opposite of Christians' view of themselves.

Although visualized as tormentors of Christ and enemies of Mary, very rarely are Jews depicted in English and French devotional manuscripts being brutally punished or executed.[59] This might have to do with the lack of an interest in representing Jewish martyrdom and sacrifice and that cruel punitiveness towards Jews was not legitimized. Ecclesiasts, including some popes, mandated that Jews as putative living embodiments of the Old Testament, be preserved in society.[60] This idea was also voiced in the moralized bibles. For example, in MS Bodley 270b, f.142, the moralization states: "David, in swearing not to kill Saul's children, is Christ who promised that He would let the Jews live until the end of the world."

Images dealing with conversion, which was thought extremely desirable in the period, are often complex and do not lend themselves to simple readings. In a number of written versions of the tale of the Jew of Bourges, including Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, Adgar's *Le Gracial* and Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, the Jewish boy and his mother are baptized. In the Copenhagen and Oxford Bohun manuscripts, however, the conversion of the mother is not shown. In another illumination in the Copenhagen manuscript, one depicting the Legend of the Jew and the Merchant of Constantinople, folio 28v, the conversion of the Jewish money-lender which is described in Adgar's *Le Gracial* is not represented. The absence of depictions of these conversion miracles in the Copenhagen and Oxford manuscripts could have had a number of reverberations. Visually the absence of these scenes focuses the viewer's attention on the triumphant Mary. For example, the imagery in MS Thott 547 4 º on folio 28v which depicts the Coronation of the Virgin in Heaven in the historiated initial and the Virgin's triumph over the Jew in the lower border could be read as the triumph of *Ecclesia* over *Synagoga*. But the images also might have served to cast doubt on those Jews who converted from Judaism to Christianity and remained in England.

[59] For an example of an image of Jews being tortured before execution in an English fourteenth-century devotional manuscript see the *Carew Poyntz Hours* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 48), f. 185v.

[60] Rowe 2011, p. 36.

In sum, the image of the Jew in the examined manuscripts is an unstable one. There was no standard way of representing Jewishness or of describing people of this faith in texts. In some images it is impossible to isolate Jewishness as a category from sin. In the *Albenga Psalter* and the *Blanche Psalter* Jewish figures embody not one but several vices. The images and texts in the devotional manuscripts and didactic literature discussed here played a role in shaping the piety of their intended audience. They must have also contributed to constructing an understanding of the society in which medieval people lived. For example, in the case of the *Christina Psalter*, Herod and the Jewish figures who influenced him could be understood as anti-models for princely behavior and their counselors. Ninety years after the Jews were expulsed from England their inclusion in images in the Copenhagen Bohun manuscript was thought relevant and might have been used to induce a variety of complex responses in their audience, including anxiety. More generally for the young female viewer, the images of Jewish men might have been used to symbolize the world outside the home and chapel which was fraught with danger and threatening.[61] It is striking that depictions of Jews mostly seem unrelated to the actually existing Jews. They were often represented in contexts in which their appearance, beliefs, and activities were distorted to emphasize the holiness, goodness, and perfection of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Finally, as has been suggested, their representations may have spurred a reflection on, and sometimes even a criticism of, Christian behavior and attitudes.

[61] For the idea that imagery could be used to frighten and control the female viewer see Madeleine Caviness: Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for her Marriage Bed, *Speculum*, 68, 1993, pp. 333–362.

SUMMARY

Marina Vidas: *Un Deu Enemi. Jews and Judaism in French and English Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts in the Royal Library*

The article analyzes images of and texts about Jews and Judaism in five medieval illuminated manuscripts in the collection of the Royal Library, Copenhagen. I begin by examining the references to Jews in a bestiary (MS GKS 3466 8º) composed in the twelfth century by Philippe de Thaon for Queen Adeliza of England and copied a century later in Paris. Then I analyze depictions of Jews in a French early thirteenth-century personal devotional manuscript (MS GKS 1606 4º) as well as in a number of related *de luxe* Psalters and Bibles in foreign collections. Textual references to Judaism and Jews are examined in a compilation of saints' lives (MS Thott 517 4º) as well as depictions of individuals of this faith in an Hours (MS Thott 547 4º), both made in fourteenth-century England for members of the Bohun family. Lastly, I analyze images illustrating legends derived from the Babylonian Talmud in a *Bible historiale* (MS Thott 6 2º), executed for Charles V of France (r. 1364–1380).

I argue that images depicting Jews in narrative cycles had a number of meanings, some of which can be interpreted as anti-Jewish. I suggest that the images also played a role in shaping the piety of their audiences as well as the intended viewers' understanding of their social identity. Indeed, depictions of Jews in the manuscripts seem mostly unrelated to the actually existing Jews. Members of the Hebrew faith were often represented in contexts in which their appearance, beliefs, and activities were distorted to emphasize the holiness, goodness, and perfection of Christ and the Virgin Mary. It is also suggested that their representations may have spurred a reflection on, and sometimes even a criticism of, Christian behavior and attitudes.