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Beyond the Yellow Badge

Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval
and Early Modern Visual Culture

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CONSTRUCTING THE INIMICAL JEW IN THE *CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA*: THEOPHILUS'S MAGICIAN IN TEXT AND IMAGE

Pamela A. Patton

The emergence of a distinct vocabulary of anti-Jewish imagery in the medieval art of northern Europe has been richly documented and analyzed by art historians, who often present it in the context of a general deterioration in Christian attitudes toward Jews from the twelfth century onward.¹ Less attention, however, has been paid to the question of how and when this phenomenon occurred in the visual culture of medieval Christian Spain. On the surface, medieval Iberian art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries offers few parallels to the overtly derogatory images of Jews and Judaism that emerged with such force in northern Europe during that same period. Nonetheless, it can be argued that by the later years of that span, such imagery did begin to emerge in Christian Iberia, in tandem with other social transformations.

One focal point for this phenomenon was the reign of Alfonso X, king of Castile from 1252 to 1284. Although Jewish-Christian relations under Alfonso are less well documented in general than those in neighboring Aragon,² a largely favorable view of Jews has been attributed to the king on the basis of what is, in fact, a *mélange* of contradictory

¹ Beyond the pioneering work of Bernhard Blumenkranz's *Le juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1966), several more recent studies have addressed visual representations of Jews, almost exclusively in northern Europe. These include Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, 1989); Ruth Melinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1993); Heinz Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History* (London, 1996); Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée* (Berkeley, 1999); and Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003).

² For an overview of the abundant documentation for Aragon, see Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, Vol. I: From the Age of Reconquest to the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Louis Schoffman, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, 1992), 138–185; on Aragon's Jewish communities, see Yom Tov Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213–1327* (London, 1997).

evidence. Some of the king's recorded actions did measurably benefit Jews, although they probably were motivated not so much by idealism as by the desire to take advantage of Jewish expertise in science, philosophy and the administration of newly conquered Andalusian cities. These actions include the king's donation of mosques to Jewish communities in recently captured Seville,³ his ongoing employment of Jews as physicians and high-ranking administrators (at times in flagrant disregard of canon law) and his engagement of Jews in many of the spectacular scholarly undertakings for which his reign is famous. Contradicting these deeds, however, are the embedded elements of anti-Judaism found in many of the king's legal and literary projects and, as will be discussed below, the persecution of Jewish communities that marked the king's final years. In most historical accounts, nonetheless, the king's positive actions toward the Jews win out.⁴

A peculiarity of past inquiry on this topic is that it has centered so magnetically around the words and actions of Alfonso himself, the extraordinary scholar-king whose political idealism and literary and scientific ambition have earned the attention and affection of so many modern scholars. To credit the bulk of Castilian social development to such a compelling figure is indeed tempting, and probably not entirely inaccurate. However, in the present essay, which considers the visual imagery that was produced to accompany Alfonso's famous collection of Marian songs, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, I propose to move slightly away from the person of the king, examining this imagery not, as has been done before, in terms of the Alfonso's own ideas about Jews, but as at least partially separate from them—as a reflection of the increasingly

³ These may have provided a loophole in laws forbidding construction of new synagogues; see Heather Ecker, "The Conversion of Mosques to Synagogues in Seville: the Case of the Mezquita de la Judería," *Gesta* 36, no. 2 (1997): 190–207.

⁴ See, e.g., Baer, *History*, 1:111–130; Américo Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History*, trans. Edmund L. King (Princeton, NJ, 1954), 474–491; David Romano, "Los judíos y Alfonso X," *Revista de Occidente* 43 (1984): 203–217; José María Monsalvo Antón, *Teoría y evolución de un conflicto social. El antisemitismo en la Corona de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media* (Madrid, 1985), esp. 207–211; Dwayne Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition and Commentary on the Siete Partidas* 7.24 (Berkeley, 1986); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia, 1993), 96–113; Julio Valdeón Baroque, *Judíos y conversos en la Castilla medieval* (Valladolid, 2000), 27–46; and idem, *Alfonso el Sabio: La forja de la España moderna* (Madrid, 2003), 198–207. Specific information about Jews employed at court also is found throughout Antonio Ballesteros-Beretta's classic biography, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Madrid, 1963).

hostile view of Jews emerging in a multilayered Castilian society where ideas and experience could and did differ from the king's own.

It may seem paradoxical to turn to a court product in order to investigate the culture that lies beyond the court, but there are good reasons to do this. One is that no other Christian work of art so rich in images of Jews survives from this period in Castilian history. The illustrations of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* stand among the first works of art from Christian Iberia in which a fully developed vocabulary of visual signifiers specifically for representing Jews can be found.⁵ Another is that the chronological disjunction between the composition of many *Cantigas* texts, particularly those concerning Jews, and the production of the illustrations raises questions about the extent of Alfonso's direct involvement in developing this imagery. I wish to show that the miniatures produced for the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, despite their courtly origins, represent less Alfonso's "official" attitude toward Jews than ideological points of intersection between the king's presumed tolerance toward Jews and the increasingly hostile outlook of the society that surrounded him.

The collection of over 400 Marian songs known as the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* was composed in Galician-Portuguese at Alfonso's court, beginning around 1260. The majority of the songs are thought to have been composed at the instigation of Alfonso himself in the 1270s, but compositions continued to be added up to at least 1284, the year of the king's death.⁶ The collection intersperses narrative songs about miracles performed by the Virgin with *loores*, or songs of praise, which appear at every tenth interval. In overall conception as well in many of its plots, the work emulates earlier Marian collections initiated and disseminated throughout Europe by figures such as Gautier de Coincy

⁵ For a rare additional example, see the Bible dated 1273 (London, British Library, MS. 50.003); see Blumenkranz, *Le juif*, figs. 20–21.

⁶ On the chronology of the *Cantigas* texts, see esp. Evelyn S. Procter, *Alfonso of Castile, Patron of Literature and Learning* (Oxford, 1951), 34–46; Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "The Stemma of the Marian *Cantigas*: Philological and Musical Evidence," *Cantigueiros* 6 (1994): 58–98; María Victoria Chico Picaza, "Cronología de la miniatura Alfonsí: estado de la cuestión," *Anales de la Historia del Arte* 4 (1993–1994): 569–576; Joseph O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria: A Poetic Biography* (Leiden, 1998), 8–13; and David Wulstan, "The Compilation of the *Cantigas* of Alfonso el Sabio," in *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music, and Manuscripts of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ed. Stephen Parkinson (Oxford, 2000), 154–185.

(d. 1236), whose *Miracles de Nostre Dame* often is cited as a model for Alfonso's project.⁷

The *Cantigas* are preserved today in four thirteenth-century codices.⁸ Two of these volumes, now divided between the Escorial (Biblioteca del Escorial, MS. T.I.1; hereafter Escorial T.I.1) and Florence (Biblioteca Nazionale, MS. Banco Rari 20; hereafter Florence B.R. 20), originally formed a deluxe, heavily illustrated compilation of the songs that was begun in the late 1270s, well after much of the texts and music had been produced, but then abandoned, only partly finished, upon Alfonso's death.⁹ The Escorial codex stands essentially complete: designed to contain 200 *cantigas*, it still preserves 192, with their complete musical notation and full-page illustrations. The Florence codex, the apparent continuation of Escorial T.I.1, remains unfinished, containing only 133 of the remaining 200 songs, lacking musical notation, and with miniatures in various stages of completion.¹⁰ Both books share the same

⁷ On the earliest Marian collections, see Richard Southern, "The English Origins of the 'Miracles of the Virgin,'" *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958): 176–216. For the thirteenth century, see Beverly Boyd, *The Middle English Miracles of the Virgin* (San Marino, CA, 1964); Evelyn Faye Wilson, *The Stella Maris of John of Garland* (Cambridge, MA, 1946); and Gautier de Coincy, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. V. Frederic Koenig (Geneva, 1961–1970). The standard critical edition of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* is by Walter Mettmann, *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Coimbra, 1959–1972); my numbering of the *cantigas* follows his conventions. See also the English translation by Kathleen Kulp-Hill, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso the Wise* (Tempe, AZ, 2000). The specific affiliation with Gautier has been analyzed by many authors; it was first considered in depth by Elise Forsyth Dexter, "Sources of the Cantigas of Alfonso el Sabio" (Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1926), and Teresa Marullo, "Osservazioni sulle Cantigas de Alfonso e sui Miracles de Coincy," *Archivum Romanum* 18 (1934): 495–539.

⁸ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MS 10069 was held until 1869 in Toledo Cathedral; it contains 127 *cantigas* with skeletal musical notation and is considered to reflect the earliest redaction of the collection. The latest, Biblioteca del Escorial, MS. J.B.2., is thought to have been produced at the very end of Alfonso's life, and contains 401 songs and musical notation, with depictions of musicians; see Mettmann, *Cantigas*, 1: vii–xxiv.

⁹ Most scholars date the illustrated codices toward the end of Alfonso's life: e.g. Wulstan, "The Compilation," 170–172, dates Escorial T.I.1 to 1276–78 and that of Florence B.R. 20 to 1279 at the earliest, and a similar chronology is suggested by Chico Picaza ("Cronología," 572) and Amparo García Cuadrado, *Las Cantigas: El código de Florencia* (Murcia, 1993), 29–31. Ferreira, "The Stemma," 72, differs in placing both books slightly later, with the Escorial codex completed in the early 1280s and the Florence volume a posthumous work.

¹⁰ On the Escorial Codex, see esp. José Guerrero Lovillo, *Las Cántigas: Estudio arqueológico de las miniaturas* (Madrid, 1949) and José Filgueira Valverde, *Alfonso X, El Sabio: Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Madrid, 1985). For the Florence codex, see García Cuadrado, *Las Cantigas*, 25–31. Both manuscripts have been published in facsimile, with commentary: Alfonso X El Sabio, *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria: Edición facsimil, El Código Rico del*

fundamental scheme in which each *cantiga*, accompanied by musical notation, is followed by either six- or twelve-paneled illustrations of the relevant story or *loor*.

Lauded for their robust characterizations of the tales, for their vivid evocation of the everyday trappings of Castilian life, and for their visual and material richness, the *Cantigas* manuscripts offer a wellspring of evidence for those concerned with the society of Alfonso's day. In this sense, they have attracted particular interest from literary historians, whose studies naturally tend to emphasize the contributions of the texts over that of the imagery, while published studies of the miniatures as an enterprise in their own right have remained comparatively limited.¹¹ As a result, in most studies concerned with how the *Cantigas* reflect Alfonsine society, the imagery of the codices functions as little more than an illustrative prop for self-sufficient historical arguments, an approach which underestimates both the autonomy and the complexity of the miniatures themselves. This has hampered study of the *Cantigas* imagery exactly where it might become most meaningful. In too quickly accepting the images as passive analogues to the verbal text, we miss what the visual narrative might add in its own right—its potential to

Escorial (Manuscrito escurialense Tj.1) (Madrid, 1979) and Alfonso X El Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa Maria, I: Edición facsímil del códice B.R. 20 de la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Florencia, Siglo XIII; II: El códice de Florencia de las Cantigas de Alfonso X el Sabio; Volumen complementario de la edición facsímil del ms. B.R. 20 de la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Florencia* (Madrid, 1989).

¹¹ In addition to Guerrero Lovillo, *Las Cantigas*, Ana Domínguez Rodríguez has published several articles concerned with the manuscripts' stylistic roots and iconographic sources; see esp. her "Iconografía Evangélica en las *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alfonso X El Sabio (1221–1284)*, ed. Israel Katz and John Esten Keller (Madison, WI, 1987), and idem, "En torno al Árbol de Jesé (siglos XI–XIII): Tres ejemplos en las *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," in *Cobras e Son*, 72–92. María Victoria Chico Picaza considers the nature of the Alfonsine scriptorium and the impact of such external forces as Byzantine narrative themes and medieval music theory; see, e.g., "Cronología," 569–576; idem, "Hagiografía en las *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Byzantinismos y otros criterios de selección," *Anales de la Historia del Arte* 9 (1999): 35–54; and idem, "La teoría medieval de la música y la miniatura de las *Cantigas*," *Anales de la Historia del Arte* 13 (2003): 83–95. See also Ellen Kosmer and James F. Powers, "Manuscript Illustration: The *Cantigas* in their Contemporary Art Context," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia, 1990), 46–71. In addition, two dissertations on the illustrated *Cantigas* were completed in 2002: Francisco Prado-Vilar, "In the Shadow of the Gothic Idol: The 'Cantigas de Santa Maria' and the Imagery of Love and Conversion" (Harvard University, 2002) and Deirdre E. Jackson, "Saint and Simulacra: Images of the Virgin in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X of Castile (1252–1284)" (University of London, 2002).

embellish, inflect or even contradict the textual one in ways that reveal meaningful contrasts between redactor and artist.¹²

Jews in the Cantigas de Santa Maria

This contrast between image and text is strong in the *cantigas* representing Jews, who play major roles in fifteen of the narratives.¹³ As in other medieval Marian collections, Jewish protagonists here appear most often as inimical figures whose anti-Christian acts swiftly earn them divine retribution. For example, in Cantiga 34 of the Escorial codex (Escorial T.I.1, fol. 50r), one of the oldest tales in the Marian tradition, a Jew who throws a stolen image of the Virgin and Child into a latrine is seized and killed by demons (fig. 1). Other, more benign tales describe the Virgin's power to convert Jews, as in the local legend of Marisaltos (Escorial T.I.1, fol. 154r), a Jewess in Segovia who is thrown off a cliff for a crime, then redeemed by Mary's intervention (fig. 2). With the exception of this and a very few others, the *cantigas* concerning Jews are not invented but imported tales, already widely disseminated by European miracle collections of the preceding century. They furthermore seem to have been among the earliest included in the Alfonsine

¹² An exception is the short article by Chico Picaza, "La relación texto-imágen en las *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, de Alfonso el Sabio," *Reales Sitios* 28, no. 87 (1986): 61–72; here, the author calls for the visual narratives to be considered on an equal footing with the textual ones, although in contrast to what I shall argue, she assumes the two to have developed in close concert. Some literary scholars also have analyzed the relationship between text and imagery; see below, note 23.

¹³ Those in which Jews play more than an incidental role include Cantigas 2, 3, 4, 6, 12, 25, 27, 34, 85, 89, 107, 108, 109, and 286. My parameters are more exclusive than those employed by Dwayne Carpenter in "The Portrayal of the Jew in Alfonso the Learned's *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," in *In Iberia and Beyond: Hispanic Jews Between Cultures*, ed. Bernard Dov Cooperman (Newark, 1998): 15–42; and idem, "Social Perception and Literary Portrayal: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spanish Literature," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian Mann et al. (New York, 1992), 61–81. Also on the portrayal of Jews in the *Cantigas*, see Albert Bagby, "The Jew in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X, el Sabio," *Speculum* 46 no. 4 (1971): 670–688; idem, "The Figure of the Jew in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X," in *Studies on the Cantigas*, ed. Katz and Keller, 235–245, and Angus Hatton and Vikki McKay, "Anti-Semitism in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 61 (1983): 189–199. O'Callaghan comments only briefly on this question in *Alfonso X and the Cantigas*, 162–165.

group, nearly all appearing in the initial compilation of one hundred songs completed at Alfonso's court in the 1260s.¹⁴

The visual depiction of Jews in the *Cantigas* likewise echoes foreign examples, specifically in adopting a cluster of "Jewish" visual signifiers that already had gained currency elsewhere in Europe. Male Jews, the great majority of Jewish protagonists in these stories, typically wear long hoods or pointed hats, long robes, and exotic shoes (fig. 3).¹⁵ Their abundant black hair curls wildly, and their unruly beards, beelting brows, and huge, hooked noses, almost always seen in profile, congeal into a physiognomic stereotype reminiscent of contemporary and slightly earlier English and French representations.¹⁶ In contrast to the apparent flexibility with which such features were employed in earlier European works such as the Parisian Moralized Bibles, Jewish physiognomies in the *Cantigas* possess a formulaic consistency that admits little interpretive ambiguity.¹⁷

The intrinsic power of this facial stereotype can be measured by its deployment as an indicator of its wearer's spiritual status. For example, in Cantiga 4, a widely known conversion tale (Escorial T.I.1, fol. 9v), a Jewish boy who takes communion with his Christian friends is depicted initially with an oversized, beaky nose, a miniature version of the one worn by his father, who later attempts to kill the lad by putting him in a furnace (fig. 4). In the panels following the communion scene, the boy's Jewish nose becomes instantly smaller and straighter, as if reflecting his purified condition. Unaccounted for in the text and possibly unconscious on the part of the illuminator, this miraculous rhinoplasty

¹⁴ Of the *cantigas* listed in the previous note, Dexter (*passim*) identifies European sources for all except 107, 108, 109, and 286.

¹⁵ The predominance of male Jewish villains, as well as the tendency to stereotype these figures more heavily than female Jews, is consistent with the European tendency as a whole; see, Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven, 1999), 71–73.

¹⁶ See, e.g., Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 2: III.24 and VI.26; Strickland, *Saracens*, 77–78 and 95–155, and Peter K. Klein, "'Jud, dir kuckt der Spitzbub aus dem Gesicht!' Traditionen antisemitischer Bildstereotype oder die Physiognomie der 'Juden' als Construct," in *Abgestempelt: Judenfeindliche Postkarten*, ed. Helmut Gold et al. (Heidelberg, 1999), 43–78. On the stereotype in the *Cantigas*, see Bagby, "Jew in the *Cantigas*," 676–677 and *passim*.

¹⁷ As also observed by Klein, "Antisemitischer Bildstereotype," 45–47. On the comparative flexibility of such features in the Moralized Bibles, see Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 20–21, and Annette Weber, "'... Maria die ist des juden veind': Antijüdische Mariendarstellungen in der Kunst des 13.–15. Jahrhunderts," in *Maria—Tochter Sion? Mariologie, Marienfrömmigkeit und Judenfeindschaft*, ed. Johannes Heil und Rainer Kampling (Paderborn, 2001), 69–119, esp. 87.

sharply distinguishes the redeemed child from his father, who retains his own exaggerated features as the boy is rescued unharmed from the flames (the father is incinerated in his place).¹⁸

Other markers of Jewish identity are deployed side by side with this facial stereotype, offering their own implicit subtexts about the Jews in each narrative. In some representations, elaborate interiors with expensive furniture, or even exotic magical emblems such as six-pointed stars and swastikas (neither of which had, at this date, acquired their modern symbolic meanings)¹⁹ mark out the Jews' distance from the Christian norm by associating them simultaneously with money and black magic, conceptions that already had extensive roots in European cultural lore.²⁰ In the two-page illustration to *Cantiga* 25 (Escorial T.I.1, fols. 38v–39r), for example, a deceptive Jewish moneylender hides his riches away beneath a luxuriantly draped bedroom decorated with two six-pointed stars (fig. 5). A more culture-specific marker is the small panel of pseudo-Arabic inscription that appears on one of the curtains, a detail doubtless inflected by the increasingly common Christian conflation of Jews with Muslims as enemies of the faith.²¹

¹⁸ On textual and visual permutations of this story in medieval Europe, see Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 8–27. The association of Jewish physiognomy and dress with “bad” Jews and their absence in depictions of “good” ones has been discussed by many, including Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 128–130; for an Iberian example, see Pamela A. Patton, “The Cloister as Cultural Mirror: Anti-Jewish Imagery at Santa María la Mayor in Tudela,” in *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang: Architektur, Funktion und Programm*, ed. Peter K. Klein (Regensburg, 2003), 317–332. The first to acknowledge this tendency in the *Cantigas* was Albert Bagby (“Jew in the *Cantigas*,” 683 and 687).

¹⁹ Both the swastika and the hexagram appear in multiple contexts in the *Cantigas*: in several miniatures: for example, repeated swastikas adorn the Virgin’s altar cloth in several instances, and in *Cantiga* 187 hexagrams decorate the shield of a Muslim warrior. On the shifting associations of the hexagram toward the end of the Middle Ages, see Marc Michael Epstein, “The Elephant and the Law: The Medieval Jewish Minority Adapts a Christian Motif,” *Art Bulletin* 76 no. 3 (September 1994), 465–478, esp. 472–473.

²⁰ On Jews and magic, see esp. Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism* (1943; repr. Philadelphia 1993), esp. 88–96, and idem, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York, 1939). See also Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, “Witchcraft, Magic, and the Jews in Late Medieval Germany,” in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden, 1996), 419–433. On Jews and money, see esp. Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 30–53.

²¹ For northern Europe, see Jeremy Cohen, “The Muslim Connection: On the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology,” in *Witness to Witchcraft*, 141–162. For Iberia, see Kenneth Scholberg, “Minorities in Medieval Castilian Literature,” *Hispania* 37 (1954): 203–209.

The complexity of the visual language used to depict Jews in these narratives has been acknowledged, but by no means fully analyzed, in previous literature on the *Cantigas*, and the topic merits far more extensive study.²² The present essay contributes to this by focusing on one aspect of the *Cantigas* miniatures that speaks revealingly of the intensity and complexity of Castilian Christian views of Jews: the frequent discrepancies between the construction of Jews in the *Cantigas* illustrations and those in the adjacent text.

It might seem natural to assume that the illuminators of the *Cantigas* depended directly upon the content of the verbal narratives, that their overriding intent was to visually replicate, as faithfully as possible, the textual narrative. That this was not always the case has been shown by John Keller and Connie Scarborough, among others, in analyzing the distinction between the “verbalization” and “visualization” of certain tales.²³ What has not yet been fully acknowledged is the gap—not just creative but also linguistic, temporal, and social—between the activity of the text’s author—whether Alfonso or a collaborator—and the subsequent work of its illuminators, which took place up to fifteen years later. This gap is particularly evident in several *cantigas* concerning Jews in which image and text sometimes represent versions of the story so different from, if not actually in conflict with, one another that they require us to recognize their separate creative contexts. A signal example is *Cantiga* 3, which represents the story of Theophilus.

²² In addition to the works by Carpenter, Bagby, and Hatton and McKay, cited above, publications concerning Jews in the *Cantigas* include: Mary Louise Trivison, S.N.D., “Prayer and Prejudice in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,” *Cantigueiros* 1 no. 2 (1988): 119–127; Olga Walmisley Santiago, “Alfonso el Sabio’s Attitude Toward Moors and Jews as Revealed in Two of His Works,” *Cantigueiros* 6 (1994): 30–41; Deirdre E. Jackson, “Marian Antisemitism in Medieval Life and Legend: A Study Based on Alfonso X’s *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Spain)” (M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Victoria, Canada, 1997); and José L. Freire, “The *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Social Perception and Literary Portrayal of Jews and Muslims, and Historical Reality,” in *Models in Medieval Iberian Literature and Their Modern Reflections: Convivencia as a Structural, Cultural, and Sexual Ideal*, ed. Judy B. McNinnis (Neward, DE, 2002), 9–38.

²³ John E. Keller, “Some Remarks on Visualization in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,” *Ariel* (April, 1974): 7–12; idem, “Verbalization and Visualization in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,” *Oelschlager Festschrift*, *Estudios de la Hispanófila*, 36 (1976): 221–226; Connie S. Scarborough, “Verbalization and Visualization in MS T.j.I of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*” (Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Kentucky, 1983); and idem, “Verbalization and Visualization in MS T.I.1 of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: The Theme of the Runaway Nun,” in Katz and Keller, eds., *Studies on the Cantigas*, 135–154.

Text and Image in the Miracle of Theophilus

Like most of the *cantigas* that feature Jewish characters, Cantiga 3 has deep extra-peninsular roots. Recorded earliest in Greek in the seventh or eighth century C.E., it was translated into Latin by Paul the Deacon in the ninth century and became a fundamental component of medieval European miracle collections.²⁴ The tale appears in many variations, but the essential elements are these: the vicar Theophilus, having declined the position of bishop, falls into misfortune and despair. Regretting his decision, he consults a Jewish magician who assists him in making a pact with the Devil, to whom Theophilus forswears Christ and the Virgin in exchange for wealth and power. Theophilus soon realizes his error and begs forgiveness of the Virgin, who retrieves and returns the letter, annulling the pact.

In many miracle collections, the story of Theophilus is among the lengthiest tales.²⁵ In the *Cantigas*, however, it is told with surprising concision:

[refrain] *Holy Mary beseeches Her Son to pardon greater sins than we in our folly commit through default and error.*

This is how Holy Mary made Theophilus recover the letter which he had signed with the devil, promising to become his vassal.

Through her intercession God pardoned Adam, who sinned in tasting the apple and therefore suffered great travail and went to Hell. She of Good Will so pleaded with Her Son that He brought him out again.

Likewise, She caused a servant of Hers called Theophilus to be pardoned. On the advice of a Jew, he had signed a letter with the devil in order to gain power and had given the letter into the devil's keeping. The devil made him disbelieve in God and to deny her.

After Theophilus committed this treason, as I learned, he served the devil for some time. Then, so I heard, he repented and sought pardon there where a sinner is wont to find it.

Weeping sorely, he asked pardon where he saw the statue of the Mother of God. In all sincerity he told Her: "My sins are so great, I confess that except by your prayers, I can never be pardoned."

²⁴ The history and sources of the tale are summarized by Boyd, *Miracles*, 127–129. See also Karl Plenzat, *Die Theophiluslegenden in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1926); and Moshe Lazar, "Theophilus: Servant of Two Masters. The Pre-Faustian Theme of Despair and Revolt," *Modern Language Notes* 87, no. 6 (Nov. 1972), 31–50. On visual depictions of the legend, see below.

²⁵ For example, Koenig's edition of Gautier de Coincy's Theophilus tale in *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* (1:50–176) is 2092 lines long.

Then Theophilus wept without ceasing until She who exceeds all other ladies in worth made the pitch-black devil bring Her the letter from the infernal fires and She returned it to Theophilus before her altar.²⁶

The brevity of this text may be attributed to many things, above all the necessity of simplifying it in order to set it to music. However, it seems significant that one of the most abbreviated elements in the narrative is the character of the Jew, whose minimal role in the written tale stands in sharp contrast to the accompanying miniatures. In the verbal narrative, the Jewish magician appears only once—off-stage, as it were—as the advisor who counsels Theophilus to enter into his pact. He then disappears from the narrative, leaving the Virgin and Theophilus as the primary agents in the latter's salvation. Indeed, his role in the story as written is so incidental that the phrase, "On the advice of a Jew" could be omitted from the *cantiga* entirely without noticeably affecting the progress of the narrative.²⁷

By contrast, in the illustration (Escorial T.I.1, fol. 8r) the Jew gains considerable narrative prominence, playing a central role in two of the six panels in which the story is told (fig. 6). In the first panel, the hook-nosed, thickly bearded figure offers Theophilus his advice, while a stableboy waits with the vicar's horse. His stereotyped features and hooded robe distinguish him clearly from the Christian Theophilus, with his tidy *birrete* and neatly trimmed beard. The Jew, his face and

²⁶ English translation from Kulp-Hill, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 5–6. The Galician-Portuguese below is from Mettmann, *Cantigas*, I:9–10 (with refrain in italics and line endings indicated with slash marks):

Mais nos faz Santa Maria/seu Fillo perdõar, que nós per nossa fõlia/ll' imos falir e errar.

Por ela nos perdoou/Deus o pecado d'Adam/da maça que gostou,/por que sofréu muit' affan/e no inferno entrou;/mais a do mui bon talan/tant' a seu Filio rogou,/que o foi end' el sacar.

Pois ar fez perdon aver/a Theophilo, un seu/servo, que fora fazer/per consello dun judeu/carta por gãar poder/cono demo, e lla deu;/e fez-ll' en Deus descreer,/des i a ela negar.

Pois Theophilo assi/fez aquesta trayçon,/per quant' end eu aprendi,/foy do demo gran sazón;/mas depòys, segund' oy/repentiu-ss' e foy perdon/pedir logo, ben aly/u peccador sol achar.

Chorando dos ollos seus/muito, foy perdon pedir;/u vvy da Madre de Deus/a omagen; sen falir/lle diss': "Os peccados meus/son tan muitos, sen mentir/que, se non per rogos teus,/non poss' eu perdon gãar."

Theophilo dessa vez/chorou tant' e non fez al,/trões u a que de prez/todas outras donas val,/ao demo mais ca pez/negro do fog' infernal/a carta trager-lle fez,/e deu-lla ant' o altar.

²⁷ Hatton and McKay, "Anti-Semitism", 192, suggest that this brevity reflects what they see as the relatively tolerant attitude toward Jews in thirteenth-century Castile.

body turned toward his listener, raises both hands and points aggressively, while Theophilus's open right hand and quiescent posture suggest a receptive state. Above, the caption reads: "How Theophilus sought counsel of the Jewish sorcerer."²⁸ The panel and caption together thus contribute several details not accounted for in the adjacent narrative: the boy holding the horse reveals that Theophilus has traveled to see the Jew; the caption identifies the Jew as a magician; and the position and gesture of both figures set the tone for each figure's role in the drama: the Jew takes a directive stance, Theophilus a submissive one.

The second panel is even richer in narrative detail, and remarkably so, since it represents an episode barely alluded to in the text: the actual making of the pact (fig. 7). Here, the vicar kneels obediently before a towering, shaggy Devil, who sits enthroned before a tent filled with grinning demons. Theophilus proffers his clasped hands toward the Devil, preparing to place them between his new lord's own in a traditional gesture of vassalage, the *inmixtio manum*.²⁹ Behind Theophilus stands the Jew, who points toward his protégé with his right hand as his left opens toward the letter, already clutched in the Devil's right hand. The Jew's discursive gestures are gleefully aped by a winged demon behind him, whose enormously hooked nose asserts a visual kinship that must have spoken volumes to a medieval viewer already well-steeped in the notion of the Jews as Satan's accomplices.³⁰ Above, the caption reads, "How Theophilus denied Jesus Christ and Saint Mary and signed a pact with the Devil."³¹

This panel adds much to the story that is absent from the written narrative. Whereas the text reports simply that Theophilus had signed a letter and given it to the Devil, the illustration introduces new details: the elaborate setting of tent and throne, the horde of gleeful demons, and

²⁸ "Como Teofilo demandou consello ao judeu encantador." Translation from Kathleen Kulp-Hill, "The Captions to the Cantigas de Santa Maria," *Cantigueiros* 7 (1995): 3–64, esp. 7.

²⁹ Peter K. Klein, "Kunst und Feudalismus zur Zeit Alfonses des Weisen von Kastilien und León," in *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter. Anschauliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte*, ed. Karl Clausberg et al. (Giessen, 1981), 169–212, esp. 191–192.

³⁰ Strickland, *Saracens*, 122–130, describes similar "physiognomic" and "associative" references to the devil in northern European representations of Jews. See also Robert Bonfil, "The Devil and the Jews in the Christian Consciousness of the Middle Ages," in *Antisemitism Through the Ages*, ed. Shmuel Almog, trans. Nathan H. Reissner (Oxford, 1988), 91–98, esp. 95.

³¹ "Como Teofilo negou Iesu Christo e Santa Maria e deu en carta ao demo." Translation from Kulp-Hill, "Captions," 7.

the active participation of the Jew. Moreover, it significantly develops the Jew's dramatic role: no longer an incidental advisor, he is now the broker of the vicar's misguided compact and the most active figure in the episode. It is the Jew, not the cringing Theophilus, who addresses the Devil directly; it is he who appears to negotiate the terms of the letter; and it is he toward whom Satan directs his gaze as he considers the deal.

The Jew's role in the narrative ends, nonetheless, at this pivotal moment. In the remaining four panels of the story, the Virgin Mary succeeds to the central role, sending angels to retrieve the contract from a horned demon (panel 3), then personally returning it to the sleeping Theophilus as he lies penitent before her altar (panel 4). Her statue presides over the final two panels, in which Theophilus displays his letter to the bishop, then settles beneath the altar as the miracle is announced to the people.

The Jew's differing roles in the textual and visual narratives bear commensurately different implications. In the text, the Jew's virtual absence places Theophilus's moral error and redemption at the center of the drama; the reader/listener is invited to empathize with his despair and humble repentance; his salvation by the Virgin is compared with that of the primordial penitent, Adam. In the pictorial narrative, by contrast, the Jew takes center stage in the planning and making of the pact: his active sponsorship of the ill-fated agreement highlights his responsibility for Theophilus's downfall. The Jew's promotion from off-stage advisor to demonic intermediary lightens Theophilus's implicit moral burden, casting the vicar, in a sense, as a victim of both Jew and Devil, and thus as all the more deserving of the Virgin's aid.

While other discrepancies between text and image in this particular *cantiga* have been acknowledged previously, the differing treatments of the Jewish magician has earned surprisingly little scholarly attention.³² How and why did this figure come to play such a powerful role in the manuscript's visual drama when he did not do so in the text? If the text itself did not serve as a source for its own illustrations, then to what outside inspiration, either visual or verbal, might the artists have

³² Keller, "Verbalization and Visualization," 222–226; Klein, "Feudalismus," 182–195; Scarborough, "Verbalization and Visualization," 37–40; Anthony J. Cárdenas-Rotunno, "The Theophilus Legend in Prose, Poetry, and Miniatures of the *Códice Rico* of Alfonso X: Compacting with Hell and Closing the Devil's Gate," in McInnis, ed., *Models in Medieval Iberian Literature*, 39–86.

turned, and what led them to prefer these to the written texts already at hand?

The question about sources must be answered first. Although contemporaneous pictorial depictions of the Theophilus legend in medieval Iberia are quite rare, in northern Europe the tale was the most widely represented of all Marian miracle stories, appearing as both extended cycles and single images in sculpture, stained glass and manuscripts from the twelfth century onward.³³ To some extent, the format of the *Cantigas* illustration seems allied with this tradition. For example, a depiction of Theophilus's pact in the early thirteenth-century north choir lancet in the cathedral of Laon compares generally with the *Cantigas* scene. It depicts a kneeling Theophilus proffering his clasped hands in a gesture of homage while the Jew, identified by a pointed hat, places his hand on the vicar's shoulder and extends the letter toward the enthroned Devil (fig. 8).³⁴

These similarities, however, are balanced by significant differences: the scene at Laon is simpler overall; neither tent nor demons appear; and the Devil reaches forward to enclose Theophilus's hands in his own. The adjacent depiction of Theophilus consulting the Jew is likewise spare, showing simply two figures standing under an arcade, without the horse, stable-boy, or abbreviated townscape seen in the manuscript. Many of these contrasts must be attributed to the difference in medium and the extensiveness of the story at Laon, where most of the eighteen roundels relate Theophilus' actions before and after the signing of the pact. What comparisons may be drawn between this cycle and the *cantiga*, then, are too generic to be attributed to more than a shared broad tradition of imagery.

Perhaps more directly influential in the creation of the *Cantigas* miniatures was the artists' exposure to other illuminated manuscripts, especially those brought to Castile as a result of the king's own collecting

³³ A well-known early depiction, which lacks a Jewish intermediary, is the Romanesque relief at Souillac, treated by Meyer Schapiro in "The Sculptures of Souillac," *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter* (Cambridge, MA, 1939), 2:359–387. On Theophilus imagery in general, see Alfred C. Fryer, "Theophilus the Penitent as Represented in Art," *Archaeological Journal* 92 (1935): 287–333; and Michael Cothren, "The Iconography of Theophilus Windows in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 59, no. 2 (1984): 308–341; see also Klein, "Feudalism," 190–191; and Weber, "Antijüdische Mariendarstellungen," 74–87. On Theophilus as a penitential model in the *Cantigas*, see the essay by Deirdre E. Jackson in *The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Alix Bovey and John Lowden (Turnhout, forthcoming).

³⁴ See Lucien Broche, *La cathédrale de Laon* (Paris, 1961), 56–59.

activity. It is known, for example, that Alfonso was given an elaborately illustrated Moralized Bible by his second cousin, Louis IX of France, probably in the 1260s.³⁵ Given Alfonso's own enthusiasm for lavish manuscripts, it is easy to surmise that he also might have owned other French works, perhaps even an illustrated copy of Gautier de Coincy's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*.³⁶ Most surviving thirteenth-century manuscripts of Gautier's work, when illustrated, contain fewer and less elaborate visual narratives than the *Cantigas*.³⁷ However, compositional coincidences between some of their imagery and that of the Castilian codices raises the possibility that such a manuscript could have served as a source for Alfonso's artists.

An example is the pact scene in MS. 551 of the Municipal Library of Besançon. The most lavishly illustrated of surviving thirteenth-century Gautier manuscripts, this codex was produced in the late thirteenth century and thus is approximately contemporary with the Alfonsine manuscript (fig. 9).³⁸ Its pact scene appears within an initial T, one of twenty-six initials dedicated to Theophilus's story. It compares with that in the *Cantigas* image not only in its depiction of Theophilus's submissive position and the active role of the Jew, who again holds the letter, but also in the inclusion of a cluster of demons looking on gleefully from behind Satan's throne. The possibility that a manuscript like this one inspired at least the broad outlines of the Alfonsine miniature seems strong.³⁹

Other details of the *cantiga* illustration, however, are lacking from surviving monumental and manuscript examples. These must be sought not in verbal but in textual accounts of the miracle known from two

³⁵ John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisesées*, 2 vols. (University Park, PA, 2000), 1:132–134.

³⁶ Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, Marqués de Valmar, and Julián Ribera, *Cantigas de Santa Maria, de Don Alfonso el Sabio*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1889), 1:101–105; also Marullo, *passim*.

³⁷ As observed by Klein, "Feudalismus," 180–181 and 204 n. 62; see also Anna Russakoff, "The Role of the Image in an Illustrated Manuscript of *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame* by Gautier de Coinci: Besançon, Bib. Mun. 551," *Manuscripta* 47/48 (2003/2004): 135–144, at 135–136.

³⁸ Russakoff, "Role of Image," 140.

³⁹ Comparison also can be made with a manuscript of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* in St. Petersburg (National Library of Russia, MS. Fr. XIV.9). As I will show in a forthcoming study, the small multi-episodic panels prefacing each miracle in this manuscript sometimes resemble the corresponding *Cantigas* illustrations. See I.P. Mokretsova and V.I. Romanova, *Les manuscrits enluminés français du XIII^e siècles dans les collections soviétiques, 1270–1300* (Moscow, 1984), 102–147.

locally circulated Marian collections: the *Liber Mariae* by Juan Gil de Zamora (d. 1318) and the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* by Gonzalo de Berceo (c. 1198–after 1252). Unlike the *Cantigas*, these collections were not designed for a courtly context but for clerical and popular use. As such, they provide a contrasting voice to that of the Alfonsine songs.⁴⁰

The Franciscan Juan Gil de Zamora became affiliated with Alfonso's court circa 1278, shortly after completing his studies in Paris. His Latin prose miracle collection is thought to have been composed at about this time, albeit for a clerical audience rather than a courtly one.⁴¹ As the product of an author nonetheless affiliated with Alfonso's court, the *Liber Mariae* does much to indicate what variants of the Theophilus tale, oral as well as written, might have been available to the king's artists as they planned and produced their work.

As a prose composition, Gil de Zamora's version of the Theophilus legend is lengthier than the *cantiga*, allowing the introduction of many details that, although absent from the *Cantigas* text, present close parallels with the Alfonsine imagery. The Jew's role extends to a long paragraph, in which the pact scene is described in some detail.⁴² Theophilus seeks out the Jew at night and describes his misfortunes. The Jew then instructs the vicar to return the next night to meet his "patron" (*patronum meum*), who, he promises, will give the vicar what he desires. The following night, he leads Theophilus to the outskirts of the city, cautioning him, regardless of what he sees, not to make the sign of the cross. The Devil then appears, seated among his "ministers" (*ministri*). Addressing the Devil as "my Lord" (*Domine mi*), the Jew presents the silent Theophilus and explains his troubles. The Devil responds that he is willing to accept Theophilus as a vassal and restore his wealth and power, while the Jew continues his intermediary role:

The subverted [*conversus*] Hebrew said to wretched Theophilus: "Did you hear what he told you?" He responded: "I heard, and whatever he said to me I will do, so long as he helps." And he kissed the feet of the

⁴⁰ The possibility that alternative texts were known to the *Cantigas* artists has been raised by Keller, "Verbalization and Visualization," 226; Scarborough, "Verbalization and Visualization," 38; Hatton and McKay, "Anti-Semitism," 190; and Klein, "Feudalism," 190, but none has analyzed Gil de Zamora's work in this regard.

⁴¹ Manuel de Castro y Castro, *Preconiis Hispaniae. Estudio preliminar y edición crítica* (Madrid, 1955), lviii–lxxxii.

⁴² *Liber Mariae*, trac. XVI, cap. 5, mir. 14; see Fidel Fita, "Cincuenta leyendas por Juan Gil de Zamora combinadas con las *Cantigas* de Alfonso el Sabio," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 7 (1885): 54–144 (at 59–86 for Theophilus).

prince and bound himself to him. Then the devil told the Hebrew: "He shall deny the son of Mary and herself, who are odious to me; and he shall confirm in writing before all that he denies them, and thereafter, whatever he wishes of me will come to pass." Then Satan entered into the vicar and he answered, "I deny Christ and his mother," and signing his name, he sealed it with his own ring. And with great rejoicing they departed to perdition.⁴³

This variant of the story corresponds closely with the Alfonsine miniatures, particularly in its fleshing out of the Jew's role in both the consultation and the pact scene. Just as the manuscript's imagery portrays the Jew as speaking in place of Theophilus, Gil de Zamora allots him nearly all of the direct exchange with the Devil. This text also accounts for the exuberance of the grinning "ministers" who surround the Devil as the pact is signed.

Beyond these concrete similarities, Gil de Zamora's tale expresses an active negativity toward the Jew that is absent from the Alfonsine text, yet clearly implicit in the miniatures. While the *cantiga* text scarcely mentions the Jew at all, Gil de Zamora misses few opportunities to emphasize the magician's maleficent character. He is introduced as a practitioner of diabolical arts who already has led many others to perdition, and each subsequent reference to him is preceded by unflattering adjectives: he is "execrable" (*execrabilis*), "unspeakable" (*neffandus*), "unhappy" (*infelix*), and "evil" (*maligno*). Such terms suggest apt parallels to the visual deformation of his face and figure in the *cantiga* imagery. Moreover, Gil de Zamora's use of the epithet *conversus*, apparently in reference to the Jew's own conversion to the Devil's service, adds a suggestive parallel to the "Jewish" physiognomy worn by the Devil's followers in the *cantiga* illustration.

Gil de Zamora's hostility toward the Jew is not of his invention: virtually the same phrases and epithets already appeared in Paul the

⁴³ "Conversus hebreus dixit misero Theophilo: *Audisti quid tibi dixit?* Respondit: *Audivi, et quecumque dixerit mihi faciam, tantum ut subveniat.* Et cepit osculari pedes ipsius principis et rogare eum. Tunc diabolus ad hebreum: *Abneget*, inquit, *filium Mariae et ipsam, quia odiosi sunt michi; firmetque scripto per omnia se eum eamque abnegare; et postea, quecumque voluerit a me impetrabit.* Tunc introivit in vicedominum Sathanas, et respondit, *Abnego Christum et eius genitricem; faciensque cirographum, imposita signavit anulo proprio.* Et abscesserunt com nimio perditionis gaudio." Fita, "Cincuenta leyendas", 62. I have found no entirely satisfactory English equivalent for the word *conversus* in this context; I use "subverted" to preserve the implication that the Jew has been turned to evil (whereas "converted" could have misleadingly positive implications). I thank Elizabeth Haluska-Rausch for her assistance with this translation; errors or omissions are mine alone.

Deacon's ninth-century redaction of the legend, and a similarly antipathetic tone characterizes most of the other medieval European versions of the story, including that of Gautier de Coincy.⁴⁴ It thus is much more typical of the genre than the restrained Alfonsine text, with which it must have coexisted at just the time when the *Cantigas* themselves were being illustrated. Whether Alfonso's artists were easily able to read or hear Gil de Zamora's Latin text at court cannot be known. However, they very likely would have known the vernacular variant of the same tale from the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* by the Benedictine Gonzalo de Berceo.⁴⁵ Composed in Castilian around the middle of the century, Berceo's vernacular poems are thought to have been intended primarily for popular listeners,⁴⁶ and his robust accounts enliven all the miracles with exceptional descriptive force. This extends to his characterization of Theophilus's Jewish magician.

Berceo's "Miracle of Theophilus" is a substantial tale, comprising 263 stanzas.⁴⁷ In it he magnifies the dark character of the Jew even more dramatically than Gil de Zamora.⁴⁸ Even before encountering Theophilus, the Jew is excoriated for six full stanzas as a "false trickster" (*trufán falso*), a "traitor" (*traidor*), and a vassal of the Devil; he knows magic and many "bad machinations" (*maleficios*). Indeed, the Devil is the very source of his power: "People thought that he cured by knowledge:/They did not understand that Satan guided it all."⁴⁹ Berceo's account of the consultation heavily emphasizes the Jew's agency in the pact with the

⁴⁴ For Paul's text see Robert Pletsch, *Theophilus: Mittelniederdeutsches Drama in drei Fassungen herausgegeben* (Heidelberg, 1908), 1–10. On Gautier's anti-Judaism, see Gilbert Dahan, "Les juifs dans les *Miracles* de Gautier de Coincy," *Archives Juives* 16 (1980): 41–48, 59–68.

⁴⁵ Gonzalo de Berceo, *Miracles of Our Lady*, trans. Richard Terry Mount and Annett Grant Cash (Lexington, KY, 1997). For the Castilian, see Brian Dutton, ed., *Gonzalo de Berceo, Obras Completas. II. Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (London, 1971).

⁴⁶ Michael Gerli, "Poet and Pilgrim: Discourse, Language, Imagery, and Audience in Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*," in *Hispanic Medieval Studies in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, ed. Michael Gerli and Harvey L. Sharrer (Madison, WI, 1992), 140–151; David A. Flory, "Berceo's *Milagros* and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: The Question of Intended Audience," *Cantigueiros* 8 (1996): 15–28; and Annette Grant Cash, "Holy Mary Intervenes for the Clergy in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X and in the *Milagros* of Berceo: Observations Concerning the Implicit Audience," in *Cantigueiros* 8 (1996): 3–13.

⁴⁷ Mount and Cash, *Miracles*, 129–147; Dutton, *Gonzalo de Berceo*, 211–232.

⁴⁸ See Jesús Montoya Martínez, "El Milagro de Teófilo en Coinci, Berceo y Alfonso X el Sabio," *Berceo* 87 (1974): 152–185. On Berceo's anti-Judaism, see Paul Saugnieux, *Berceo y las culturas del siglo XIII* (Logroño, 1982), 73–119.

⁴⁹ "Cuidávanse los omnes que con seso qebrava/non entiendén qe todo Satanás lo guaiava..." Dutton, *Gonzalo de Berceo*, 213–214.

devil. He speaks soothingly to the compliant Theophilus, who responds “like someone drugged” (*como embellinado*), and he leads the vicar by the hand to the Devil’s camp, where the entire verbal negotiation occurs between the Devil and the Jew. Throughout this exchange, Theophilus remains silent; his only evident action is the writing and sealing of the letter.⁵⁰ Thus, both in its magnification of the Jew’s role in the plot and in his strongly negative treatment of the figure overall, Berceo’s text parallels the story depicted in the *cantiga* illustration.

Berceo’s treatment of the tale, moreover, explains some visual details that cannot be traced to other sources. For example, he specifies that the magician lives in the city’s Jewish quarter; this justifies the presence in the first panel of Theophilus’ horse, a sign of his journey through the city.⁵¹ Berceo also offers more details about the setting where the pact takes place, describing the waiting Devil specifically as seated before a tent (*tienda*)—the only other occurrence of this detail, textual or pictorial, of which I am aware.⁵² Coincidences such as these support the conclusion that a text very much like Berceo’s, if not this text itself, played a role in the conception of the Alfonsine Theophilus miniatures.

No single work of art or text mentioned here accounts for every detail of the *cantiga* illustration. Whereas some of its fundamental visual elements, such as the gesture of *inmixtio manum* and the gathering of demons, are shared with French pictorial examples that may well have been known in Castile, other details, such as the Devil’s tent and the evident visual kinship between the Jew and the Devil’s followers, imply familiarity either with the texts of Gil de Zamora and Berceo or with oral versions of the story that must have been very much like them.⁵³ The evident availability of so many potential sources, both verbal and visual, in turn implies something even more important—that in crafting their own visual narrative, the Alfonsine illuminators must have

⁵⁰ Mount and Cash, *Miracles*, 132–133; Dutton, *Gonzalo de Berceo*, 213–216.

⁵¹ “Do morava Teófilo, en essa bispalía, /avié y un judío en essa judería...” Dutton, *Gonzalo de Berceo*, 213.

⁵² “Prisolo por la mano el trufán traïdor, /levólo a la tienda do sedié el sennor;...” Dutton, *Gonzalo de Berceo*, 215. Klein likewise identifies Berceo as the source of this detail (“Feudalismus,” 186).

⁵³ The availability of still other alternative texts is illustrated by the Castilian prose account of the story that was copied on the lower margin of the miniature shortly after its completion. See Carmen Benito-Vessels, “Las prosificaciones de las *Cantigas* como traducciones exegeticas,” *La corónica* 32, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 205–30.

preferred to refer to these sources, rather than to the text their work was intended to illustrate.

Why did they do this? Here we must consider more closely the gulf that separated the production of the texts for the *Cantigas*, which began in the 1260s, from the much later creation of illustrations for the Escorial and Florence codices around 1280. This gap must have been most influential in the case of the Jewish *cantigas*, which were among the first composed.

The Production and Social Context of the Cantigas Miniatures

Almost nothing is known about the actual mechanics of production for Alfonso's illustrated *Cantigas*. Clearly, however, Alfonso's painters did not work at the same time, nor under the same direction, as had the composers of the original texts. By the time the Escorial and Florence codices were undertaken, most of the songs, including nearly all of those concerning Jews, already had taken final form, some as much as fifteen years earlier.⁵⁴ The artists assigned to illustrate these texts probably had little contact with the itinerant Alfonso, who traveled almost constantly between 1277 and 1284 in an effort to cope with a series of political and personal crises, including invasions by the Marinids of North Africa, a rapidly weakening economy, a succession dispute following the death of crown prince Fernando de la Cerda, the rebellion of Fernando's brother Sancho, and the king's own worsening illness.⁵⁵ Given these preoccupations, the scriptorium seems unlikely to have received much direction from the king and his immediate circle. Moreover, although the project's unknown supervisor and at least some members of the scriptorium must have been sufficiently competent in Galician-Portuguese to compose the brief captions that were added

⁵⁴ Wulstan ("The Compilation," 168) and others date the compilation of the first 100 *cantigas* to the mid-1260s, although Ferreira ("The Stemma") would place their completion c. 1270. This early redaction, as reflected in the so-called "Toledo codex" (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MS. 10069), included ten of the fourteen songs concerning Jews, lacking only *Cantigas* 85, 107, 109 and 286 (see Wulstan, "The Compilation," Table 2, pp. 160–161). Once composed, the earliest *cantigas* seem to have undergone little alteration in subsequent manuscripts.

⁵⁵ O'Callaghan, *Learned King*, 234–269.

to each miniature,⁵⁶ it should not be assumed that the main texts would have been consistently accessible to the Castilian-speaking, and not necessarily literate, painters. Especially in the illustration of tales which, like that of Theophilus, were well known from outside sources, it would not be surprising to find that the artists might have drawn their inspiration from more familiar variants of the story.

The elements that the artists selected from these variants are telling: both in overall narrative structure and in specific iconographic motifs, they present a far more hostile view of the Jewish magician than is suggested in the Alfonsine text. This visual anti-Judaism may seem inconsistent with what has been seen by many scholars as the comparatively moderate social policies of Alfonso, as well as with the restraint often found in the *Cantigas* texts.⁵⁷ Instead, its parallels with the texts of Gil de Zamora and Berceo link it with a repertoire of anti-Jewish narratives well known beyond Alfonso's court. It therefore offers valuable insight into the views of those who stood outside this rarefied sphere, and who might have been more susceptible to the rising tide of anti-Judaism that had emerged throughout Castile in the last years of Alfonso's reign.

In Castile, in the second half of the thirteenth century, expressions and acts of hostility toward Jews increased significantly within the social circles just outside Alfonso's court, especially the lesser nobility and clergy. For the nobles, this seems to have been provoked particularly by the increasing financial power accorded to Jews as the economy declined. Castilian Jews had not played a predominant role in moneylending until the mid-thirteenth century, when canon laws against Christian usury began to be enforced in earnest, drawing significant numbers of Jews into the vacuum left by former Christian lenders. The ensuing resentment of Christian debtors, already burdened by increasing taxes and devaluations of the coinage, is discernible in repeated demands at the *Cortes* of Castile that Alfonso reduce the level of interest that Jewish

⁵⁶ Since the captions correspond more closely to the imagery than to the text, and because many captions have been adjusted to fit the spaces left for them in the borders, they must have been added following the completion of the relevant miniatures. See Kulp-Hill, "Captions," 4–5. The same practice is reflected in the unfinished Florence codex, where captions are lacking even for completed imagery. This provides further evidence of the artists' autonomy as designers.

⁵⁷ As most strongly argued by Hatton and McKay, "Anti-Semitism," 189–199; but see also Carpenter, "Portrayal of the Jew," 15–42.

lenders were permitted to charge.⁵⁸ Such tensions were compounded by the king's effort, in 1275, to replenish the dwindling royal coffers by directing his Jewish tax collectors to demand all arrears on taxes owed from 1261 onward.⁵⁹ The resultant hostility sometimes found expression in direct attacks upon wealthy Jews, as when rebellious nobles attempted to claim the property of several Jewish courtiers, even kidnapping and holding at ransom the king's Jewish astronomer.⁶⁰

Ecclesiastical antagonism toward Jews in Castile likewise increased during this period, an outgrowth of papal efforts to counter the perceived threat posed by Judaism to Christians throughout the West.⁶¹ One symptom of this was more stringent efforts to enforce canon laws designed to restrict Jewish contact with Christians, which traditionally had been handled rather casually by Iberian rulers. Alfonso's legal code, the *Siete Partidas*, demonstrates his own awareness of such regulations, although the fact that the code was never promulgated during his lifetime opens to question how seriously he took them.⁶² Another new pressure on the Jews was the introduction into Castile of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders over the course of the thirteenth century. Although these missionaries' best known activity during this period occurred in the Crown of Aragon, their Castilian impact can be traced not only in the foundation of new Franciscan and Dominican houses throughout the realm, but in their prominence both at court and in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Alfonso's trusted courtier Juan Gil de Zamora is the best-known Franciscan of his circle, while Dominicans held the Castilian bishoprics of Seville, Badajoz, Cádiz, and Cartagena.⁶³ Perhaps no clearer sign of this predominance was the concurrent emergence in Castile of new polemical treatises against the Jews, written by local authors.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Alfonso acceded to this demand in 1268, dropping the original rate of 33 1/3% to 25%. See Monsalvo Antón, *Teoría y evolución*, 209; Valdeón, *Alfonso X*, 200–201, and idem, *Los judíos de Castilla y la revolución Trastámara* (Valladolid, 1968), 17–18.

⁵⁹ Joseph O'Callaghan, "The Cortes and Royal Taxation During the Reign of Alfonso X of Castile," *Traditio* 27 (1971): 379–398, esp. 390–391.

⁶⁰ Baer, *History*, 1:117–136.

⁶¹ Valdeón, *Judíos y conversos*, 42–43.

⁶² Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews*, esp. 103–105.

⁶³ Valdeón, *Alfonso X*, 103–105.

⁶⁴ Such as the *Tractatus contra caecitatem iudeorum* of Bernardo Oliver; see Monsalvo Antón, *Teoría y evolución*, 216, and Valdeón, *Trastámara*, 16–17. See also Baer, *History*, 1:128–129. For an overview of missionizing in thirteenth-century Spain, heavily weighted toward Aragon, see Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and Jews: The Evolution of Medieval*

Even Alfonso's relative leniency toward his court Jews seems to have diminished in the final years of his reign, which are marked by unprecedented harshness toward Jewish individuals and communities at large. The most notorious case is the execution of the king's chief tax collector, Zag de la Maleha (Isaac Ibn Zadok), who in September 1280 was accused of having turned over to the king's rebellious son Sancho money that he had been transporting on Alfonso's behalf. After hanging his courtier, Alfonso imprisoned his other Jewish tax collectors and then, in 1281, ordered mass Jewish arrests in an effort to extract a ransom of 4,380,000 *maravedies*, double the normal annual tribute.⁶⁵

Clearly, whatever tolerance Castilian Jews might have enjoyed during Alfonso's reign was in decline by the time the illuminated *Cantigas* codices were under way. This alone may go far to explain why the miniatures begun in the late 1270s so supersede the texts in their vilification of Jews. The artists' reliance on strongly anti-Jewish miracle accounts like those of Gil de Zamora and Berceo suggests a receptivity fully in keeping with the growing hostility toward Jews evident in many levels of Castilian society during these years. Whether Alfonso himself had come to be equally receptive to such views is difficult to say: the eccentric, often violent behavior of his final years, attributed by some scholars to an advancing brain tumor,⁶⁶ render his personal motivations in this period obscure. It seems safe to suggest, however, that the ambitious young ruler under whom the *Cantigas* first took verbal form would not have foreseen such visual vitriol.

Anti-Judaism (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1982), 103–169; Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its Aftermath* (Berkeley, 1992); and the informative, if rather apologetic, treatment of the Franciscans by Jill R. Webster, *Els Menorets: The Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from Saint Francis to the Black Death* (Toronto, 1993).

⁶⁵ On this affair, see Baer, *History*, 129–130; O'Callaghan, *Learned King*, 248–250; and Valdeón, *Alfonso X*, 201–202. Ballesteros-Beretta, *Alfonso X*, 917–920, presents a sharply contrasting interpretation of Zag de la Maleha's culpability.

⁶⁶ O'Callaghan, *Learned King*, 279–80; see also Maricel Presilla, "The Image of Death and Political Ideology in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," in Katz and Keller, eds., *Studies on the Cantigas*, 432–440, and Juan Delgado Roig, "Examen médico-legal de unos restos históricos: Los cadáveres de Alfonso X y Beatriz de Suabia," *Archivo Hispalense* 9 (1948):135–153.

Conclusion

The apparent independence of redactors and artists that is evident in the Theophilus tale reveals the impracticability of any attempt to explicate the *Cantigas* imagery solely in light of the king's personal ideology. More important, it throws into high relief the distinction between Alfonso's "official" view of Jews, which was at least complex enough to permit significant modern debate over its degree and character, and the more broadly rooted anti-Judaism from which the *Cantigas* imagery emerged. Liberated from modern expectations about the miniatures' dependence on the Alfonsine texts, we can better appreciate what they might reveal about the ideals and attitudes of those who lived and worked beyond Alfonso's court, populations already on the verge of dramatic social and spiritual change. If this recognition draws more sharply the social and chronological boundaries of Alfonso's vaunted "tolerance," then it also leaves us better prepared to understand the contradictory world of which he was a part.

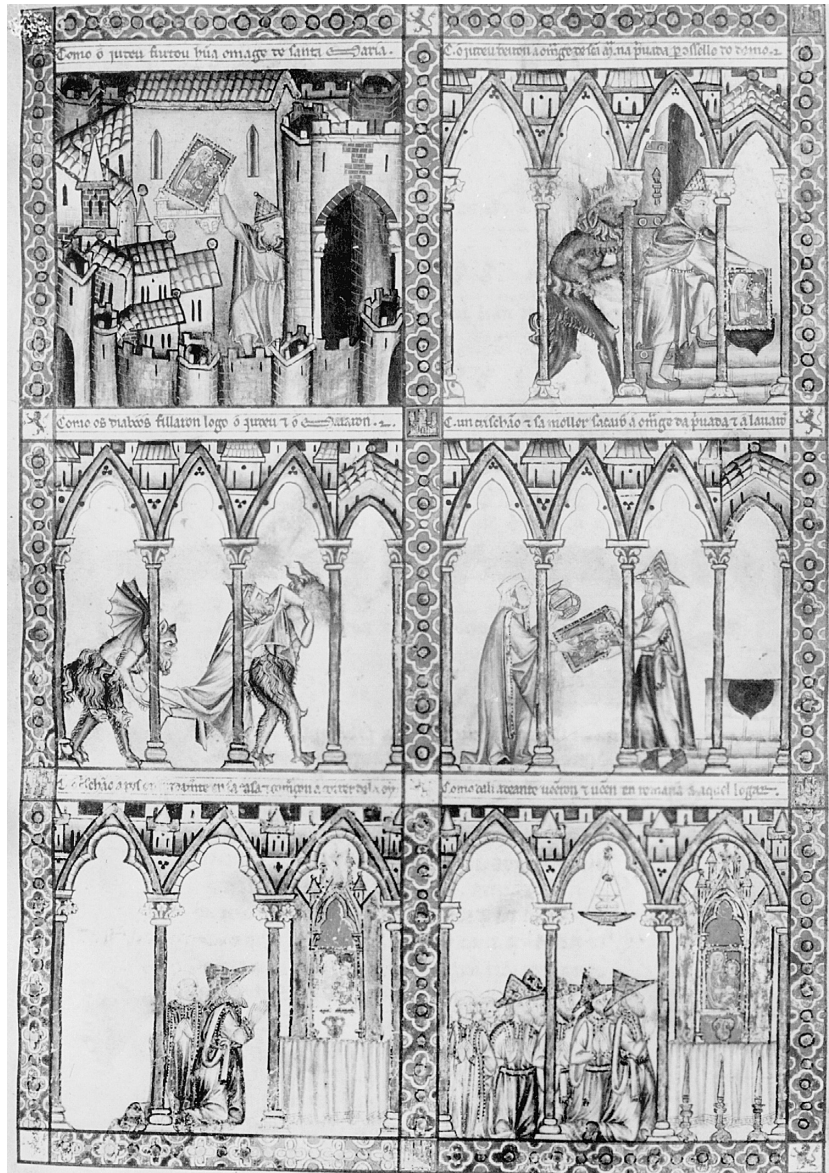


Figure 1. "How Holy Mary Got Even with the Jew for the Dishonor He Did to Her Image," *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (illustration for *cantiga* 34), late thirteenth century. Escorial, MS T.I.1, fol. 50r. Permission of the Instituto Amatller d'Art Hispánico.

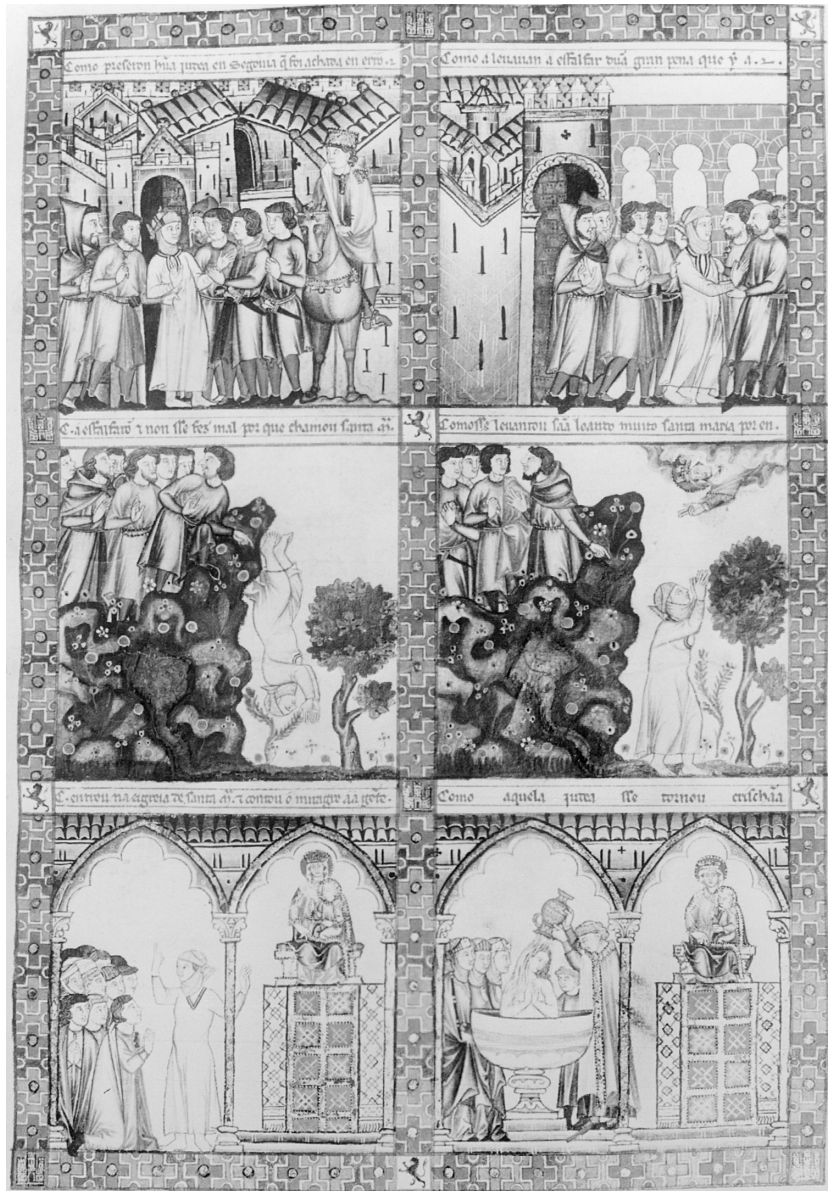


Figure 2. "How Holy Mary Saved From Death the Jewess Who Was Thrown Over a Cliff in Segovia," *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (illustration for *cantiga* 107), late thirteenth century. Escorial, MS T.I.1, fol. 154r. Permission of the Instituto Amatller d'Art Hispánico.

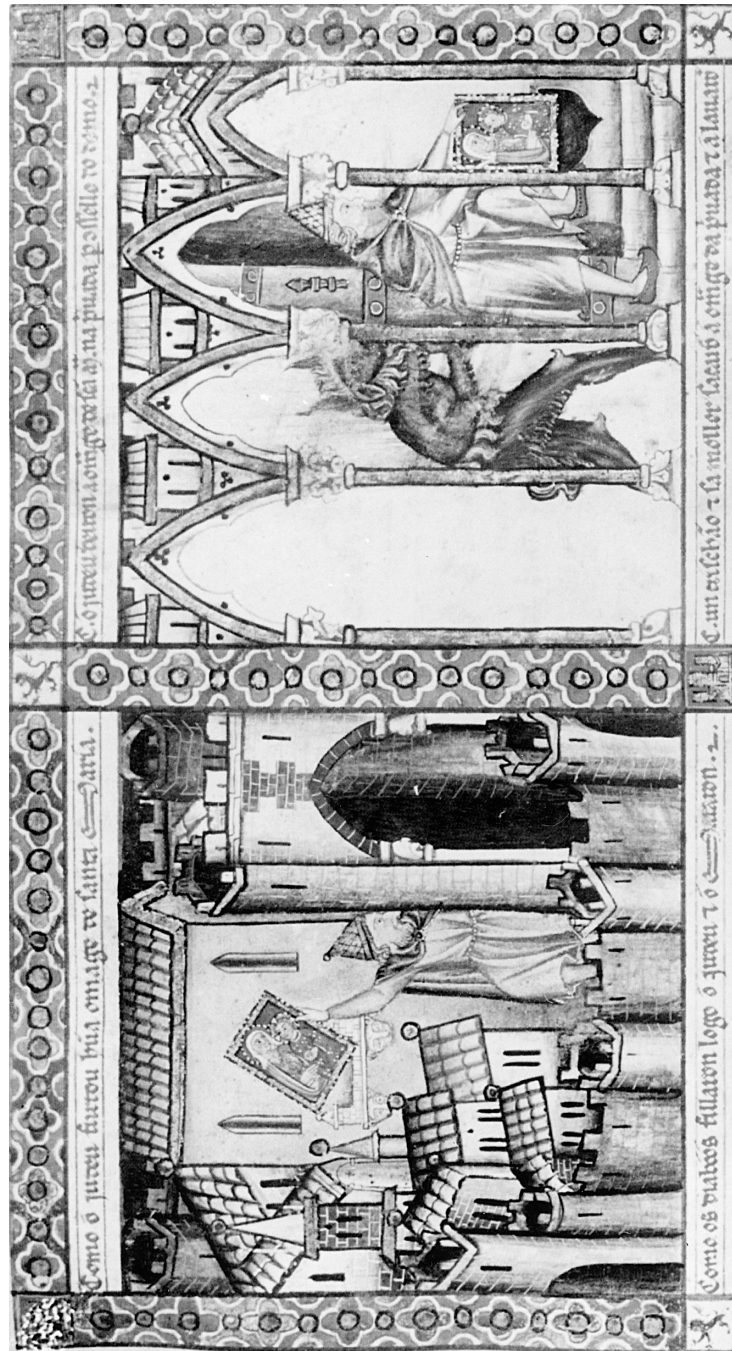


Figure 3. The Jew Stealing the Virgin's Image, *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (detail of illustration for *cantiga* 34), late thirteenth century. Escorial, MS 'L.I.1, fol. 50r. Permission of the Instituto Amador d'Art Hispanic.

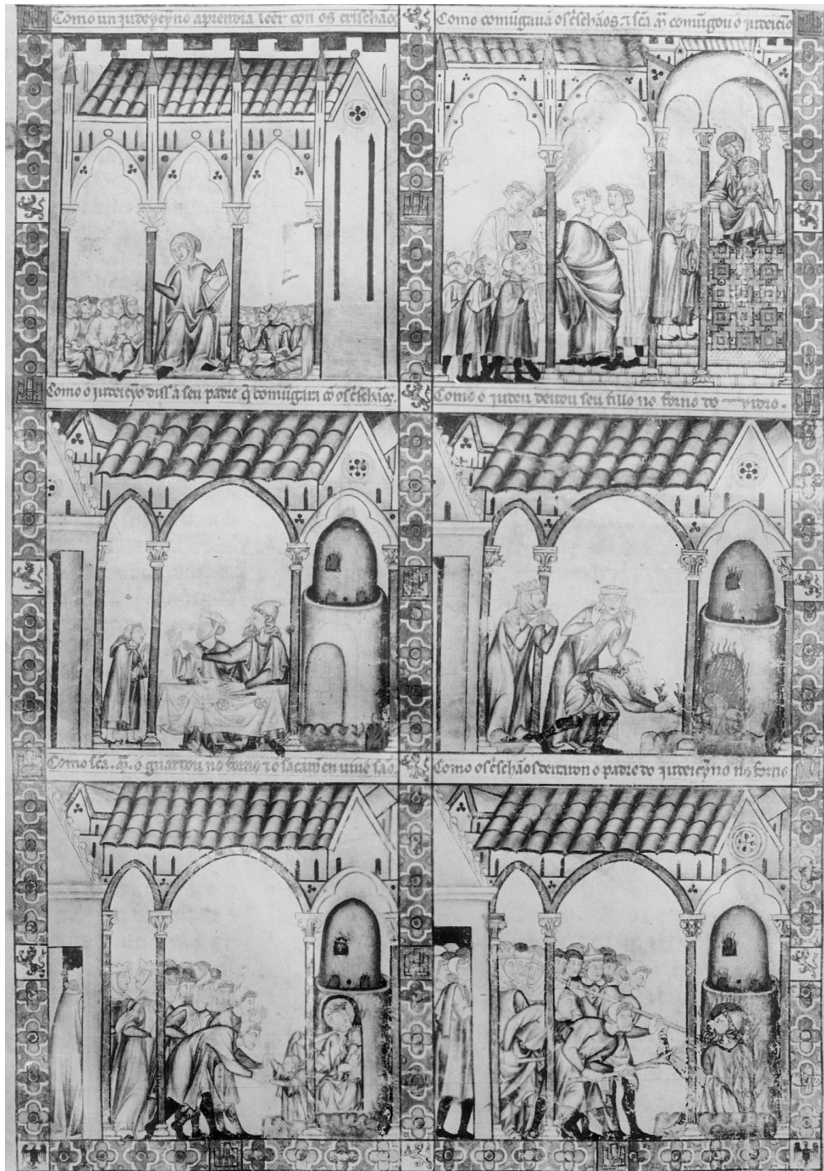


Figure 4. "How Holy Mary Saved from Burning the Son of the Jew, Whose Father Had Thrown Him into the Furnace," *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (illustration for *cantiga* 4), late thirteenth century. Escorial, MS T.I.1, fol. 9v. Permission of the Instituto Amatller d'Art Hispánico.

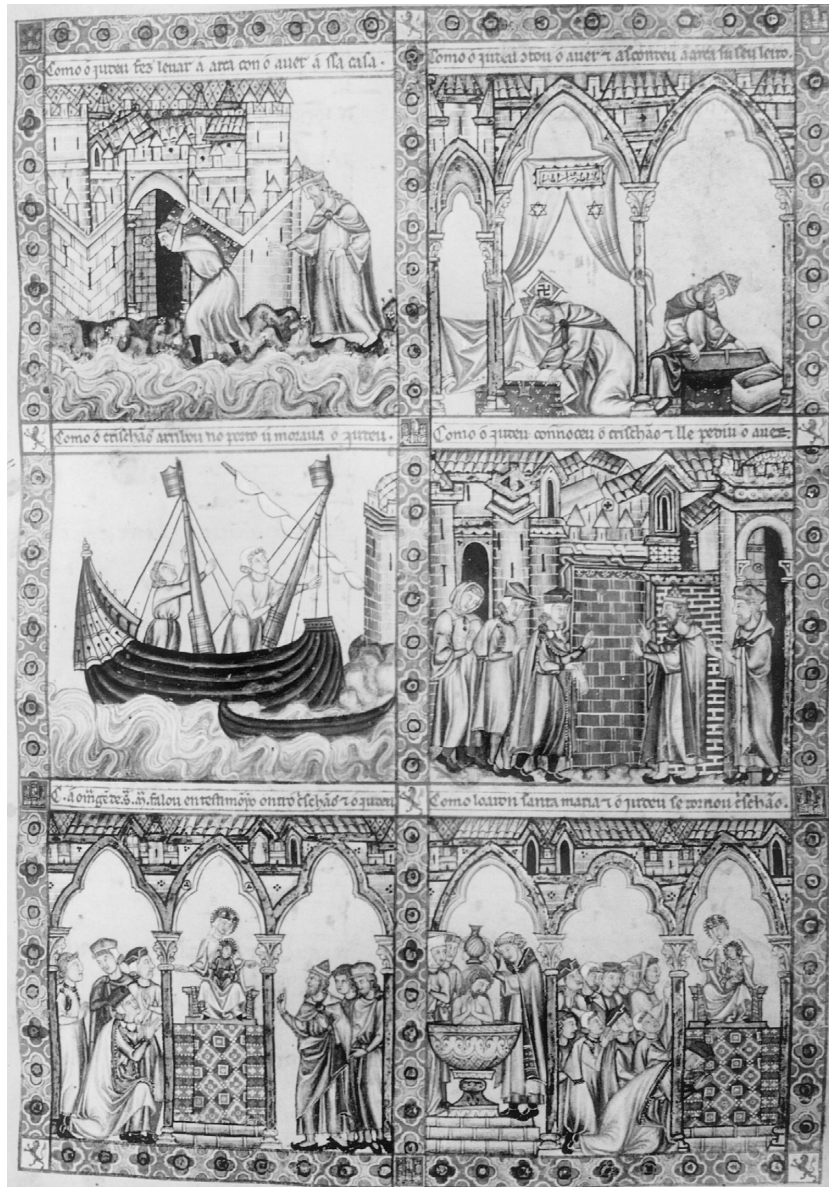


Figure 5. "How the Statue of Holy Mary Served as Witness Between the Christian and the Jew," *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (illustration for *cantiga* 25), late thirteenth century. Escorial, MS T.I.1, fol. 39r. Permission of the Instituto Amatller d'Art Hispánico.

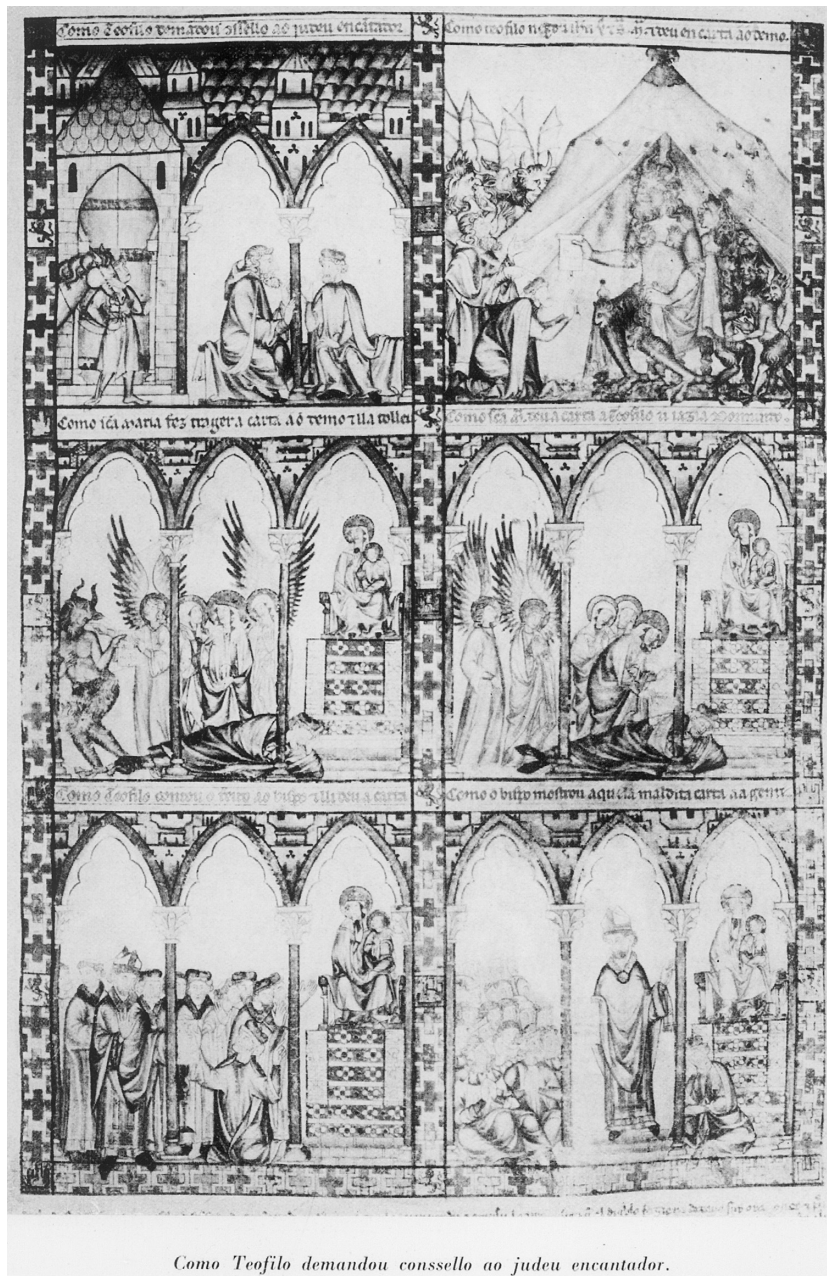


Figure 6. "How Holy Mary Made Theophilus Recover the Letter Which He Had Signed With the Devil, Promising to Become His Vassal," *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (illustration for *cantiga* 3), late thirteenth century. Escorial, MS T.I.1, fol 8r. Permission of the Instituto Amatller d'Art Hispánico.

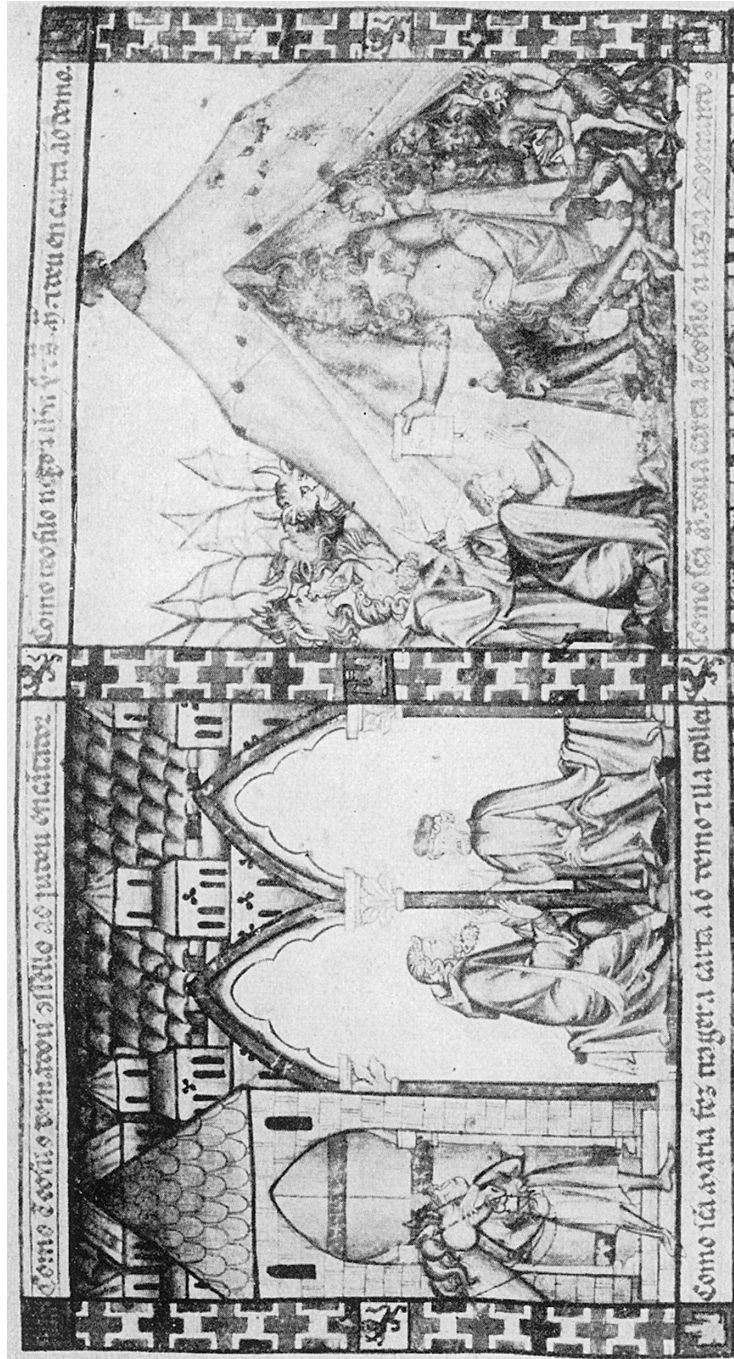


Figure 7. Theophilus making a pact with the Devil, *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (detail of illustration, for *cantiga* 3), late thirteenth century. Escorial, MS T.I.1, fol. 8r. Permission of the Instituto Amaller d'Art Hispanic.



Figure 8. Pact of Theophilus, detail from north choir lancet, stained glass window, Laon Cathedral. Permission of the Centre André Chastel.



Figure 9. Initial depicting the pact of Theophilus, Besançon, Municipal Library, MS 551, fol. 7v. Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (CNRS), by permission of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Besançon.