

## The Cloister as Cultural Mirror: Anti-Jewish Imagery at Santa María la Mayor in Tudela

The potential of imagery in Romanesque cloisters to focus and articulate the ideological concerns of their respective communities has inspired numerous scholarly studies. These frequently find such imagery to express positive, edifying spiritual ideals having to do with various aspects of the common life practiced by its viewers, such as the mechanisms of *lectio divina*, the importance of certain liturgies or feasts, or the models provided by the apostles or certain exemplary saints.<sup>1</sup> More rare, on the other hand, are instances in which the imagery of the cloister is shown to foray more widely into aspects of life that reach beyond the concerns of the cloister, marking the point of intersection between the relatively standardized internal ideals of the enclosed community and those of the more diverse and mutable society within which it makes its place.<sup>2</sup> These instances are important for what they suggest about the ideological porosity of enclosed religious communities and the degree to which their internal concerns could be shaped by the pressures of outside life. One case in which such porosity is clearly observable is the Romanesque cloister of Santa María la Mayor in Tudela (Navarre), where, within

a highly organized narrative program, an unusual anti-Jewish subtext reflects with peculiar vividness its community's local cultural context.

Construction of the Tudela cloister was begun around 1186, the year of a donation earmarked for this purpose; it was completed by the first years of the thirteenth century (Fig. 1, 2).<sup>3</sup> This construction, like that of the collegiate church to which the cloister is appended, should be seen as a distant consequence of the capture of Muslim-founded Tudela in 1119 by Alfonso I, Christian king of Navarre and Aragon.<sup>4</sup> Following that victory, Alfonso had offered the city's Muslims one year to remove themselves and their possessions to a *morería* on the edge of the city; he subsequently donated the city's mosques to a community of Augustinian regular canons.<sup>5</sup> The canons quickly took advantage of this gift, rededicating the city's congregational mosque to serve as their church, Santa María la Mayor, and adding ancillary structures such as a hospital and refectory in the succeeding decades. In the last third of the twelfth century, the mosque itself was razed to make way for the Romanesque church and cloister found there today.<sup>6</sup>

1 See, among others, L. PRESSOUYRE, "Saint Bernard to Saint Francis: Monastic Ideals and Iconographic Programs in the Cloister", *Gesta*, XXII/1 & 2 (1973), 71-92; W. DYNES, "The Medieval Cloister as the Portico of Solomon", *Gesta*, XII/1 & 2 (1973), 61-69; Th. LYMAN, "Portails, Portiques, Paradis: rapports iconographiques dans le Midi", *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, VII (1976), 35-43; K. HORSTE, *Cloister Design and Monastic Reform in Toulouse. The Romanesque Sculpture of La Daurade*, Oxford 1992; I. FORSYTH, "The Vita Apostolica and Romanesque Sculpture: Some Preliminary Observations", *Gesta*, XXV/2 (1986), 75-82; L. SEIDEL, "Medieval Cloister Carving and Monastic Mentalité", *The Medieval Monastery*, ed. Andrew MacLeisch, St. Cloud, (Minnesota) 1988, 1-11; E. DEL ALAMO, "Triumphal Visions and Monastic Devotion: The Annunciation Relief of Santo Domingo de Silos", *Gesta*, XXIX/2 (1990), 167-188; P. A. PATTON, "The Capitals of San Juan de la Peña: Narrative Sequence and Monastic Spirituality in the Romanesque Cloister", *Studies in Iconography*, XX (1999), 51-100; and Th. E. A. DALE, "Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of Saint-Michel de Cuxa", *The Art Bulletin*, LXXXIII/3 (Sept. 2001), 402-436. The relationship between monastic ideals and cloister iconography in several northeastern Spanish cloisters, including that of Tudela, is also considered in my book, *Pictorial Narrative in the Romanesque Cloister in Spain: a Study of Cloister Imagery and Medieval Religious Life*, Madrid (forthcoming).

2 As argued, e.g., by Meyer SCHAPIRO, "Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos", *The Art Bulletin*, XXI (1939), 312-374.

3 A donation of 1186, earmarked for "operi claustrum novi sanctae

Mariae de Tutela", traditionally is considered to mark the beginning of construction; this is supported by stylistic congruencies with other monuments of the same era, among them the apse sculptures of La Seo in Zaragoza, dated in the late 1180s. See especially A. DE EGRY, "La escultura del claustro de la Catedral de Tudela (Navarra)", *Príncipe de Viana*, (1959), 66, and M. L. MELERO MONEO, *Escultura románica y del primer gótico de Tudela (Segunda mitad del siglo XII y primer cuarto del XIII)*, Tudela 1997, 104-107, 234.

4 On the correct date of the city's conquest, once thought to be 1114, see J. M. LACARRA, "La fecha de la conquista de Tudela", *Príncipe de Viana*, XXII (1946), 45-54. Documentation and secondary literature on the city's early history are summarized by MELERO MONEO, *Escultura de Tudela*, 17-21.

5 F. FUENTES PASCUAL, *Catálogo de los archivos eclesiásticos de Tudela*, Tudela 1944, doc. 2; see also MELERO MONEO, *Escultura de Tudela*, 19-20, 228-229.

6 On the inhabitation and rededication of the mosque, see J. M. LACARRA, "Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Ebro", *Estudios en la Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, II (1947), 491, doc. 20; IDEM, "Fecha de la conquista de Tudela", 51, and M. GÓMEZ-MORENO, "La mezquita mayor de Tudela", *Príncipe de Viana*, XVIII (1945), 9-27. The hospital and refectory are documented as early as the 1160s (FUENTES, docs. 40-41, 48-51, 60, 88, 119, and 124-125); on the chronology of the Romanesque church, see MELERO MONEO, *Escultura de Tudela*, 25-28.



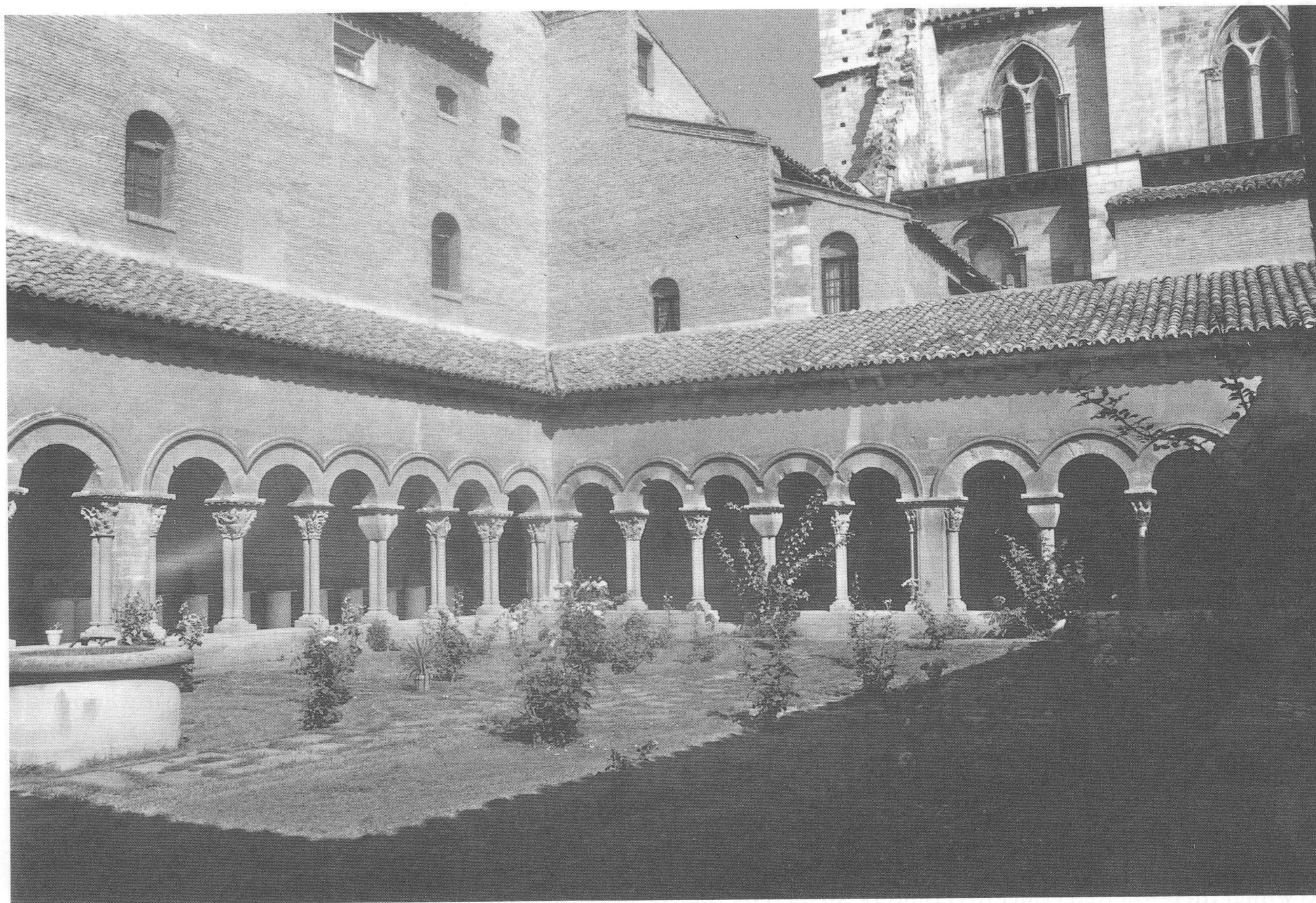


Fig. 1: Tudela, Santa María la Mayor, cloister, begun c. 1186, general view (photo: author)

The cloister's sculpted decoration is both visually rich and unusually coherent (Fig. 3). More than three-quarters of its capitals are historiated, the majority with narrative scenes of Christ's Infancy, Ministry, Miracles, Passion and Resurrection, which are installed in a chronological sequence proceeding clockwise from the cloister's northwest corner pier along the extent of the north and east galleries and ending just beyond the southeast corner pier.<sup>7</sup> Following this is a series of capitals with events from the lives of various apostolic and missionary saints, including Paul, James, Andrew, and Lawrence, which finishes out the south gallery. The west

gallery, meanwhile, presents a more haphazard assortment of zoomorphic, allegorical, and narrative subjects which display, as we shall see, only an occasional thematic relationship to the narrative and hagiographical ranges. The highly organized, predominantly linear installation found in the cloister today seems to have been original to its design, having been preserved during a sixteenth-century enclosure of the cloister and carefully retained in the course of twentieth-century conservation.<sup>8</sup>

The deliberateness with which the cloister's linear narrative program was conceived is also evident in

7 On the iconography of Tudela, see DE EGRY, "La escultura del claustro de Tudela", who focuses mainly on the identification of, and sources for, the imagery of individual capitals; see also briefer discussions by R. CROZET, "Recherches sur la sculpture romane en Navarre et en Aragón. I. Les chapiteaux du cloître de Tudela (Navarre) [I]", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, I (Jan.-Mar. 1960), 335-339; and M. JOVER HERNANDO, "Los ciclos de la Pasión y Pascuas en la escultura románica de Navarra", *Príncipe de Viana*, (1987), 7-40, esp. 22-31. A more recent discussion of the capitals' iconography and their larger issues of program and narrative structure appears in PATTON, *Pictorial Narrative*.

8 An expansion of the dean's residence to the cloister's north resulted in the removal of the original wooden ceiling as well as

the walling in of the cloister arcades; see M. GÓMEZ, "El claustro de Tudela", *Boletín de la Comisión de Monumentos Históricas y Artísticas*, XII (1921), 220-221; for the condition of the cloister by the nineteenth century, see L. TORRES BALBÁS, "El claustro de la catedral de Tudela, descrito por Juan Sodornil en 1885", *Príncipe de Viana*, XXV (1946): 785. Unpublished records of the cloister's 1941 conservation by the Institución Príncipe de Viana, now preserved in the Diputación Provincial de Navarra (*Actas de la Institución Príncipe de Viana*, 2 agosto 1941, fols. 12r-13v) record that the sculpted elements of the site were numbered prior to restoration so that their original arrangement could be preserved.



many aspects of the capitals' design, which seem calculated to facilitate a chronological reading of the cloister's narrative galleries by a viewer passing clockwise along the cloister walk. Not only are the capitals placed in chronological sequence correlating closely to the Gospels account, but they are configured so that the narrative *foci* of individual episodes are found almost exclusively on the three faces of the capital that are visible from that trajectory, leaving the sides facing into the garth populated sparsely by secondary figures. The frequent placement of these *foci* on the corners of the drums, so that they span two or even three visible faces of the capitals, lends the series a sense of forward progression, as does the rhythmic alternation of double and triple capitals found consistently throughout the cloister (Fig. 4). These manipulations of imagery and structure maximize the visibility and continuity of the cloister's narrative cycle, forging an extended, story-like visual discourse that today, as in the late twelfth century, can be read from beginning to end with few interruptions or *lacunae*.

As an ensemble, the narrative and hagiographical galleries of the cloister form a coherent, overarching iconographic program in which the story of Christ's birth, ministry, sacrifice, and resurrection, along with the adoption of his mission by the Apostles, is succeeded by representations of the saintly preachers and teachers who would continue this mission in the post-Biblical world—themes likewise alluded to, although less consistently, in several capitals of the cloister's less orderly west gallery.<sup>9</sup> In this linkage of Christ's ministry with the activities of the apostles and preaching saints, the Tudela program is highly consistent with the missionary ideals of the Augustinian community for which it was made.<sup>10</sup> As I have shown elsewhere, such a coherent form of claustral design is not as unusual as it may at first seem, finding several regional parallels in the cloisters of San Juan de la Peña, San Pedro el Viejo in Huesca, Sant Cugat del Vallès, and the cathedral of Tarragona, all of which present Biblical narrative programs that are or were to some extent chronologically organized and display a similar tendency to reflect community ideology.<sup>11</sup> In none of these works, however, can be found the distinctive anti-Jewish subtext that underlies the Christological program at Tudela.

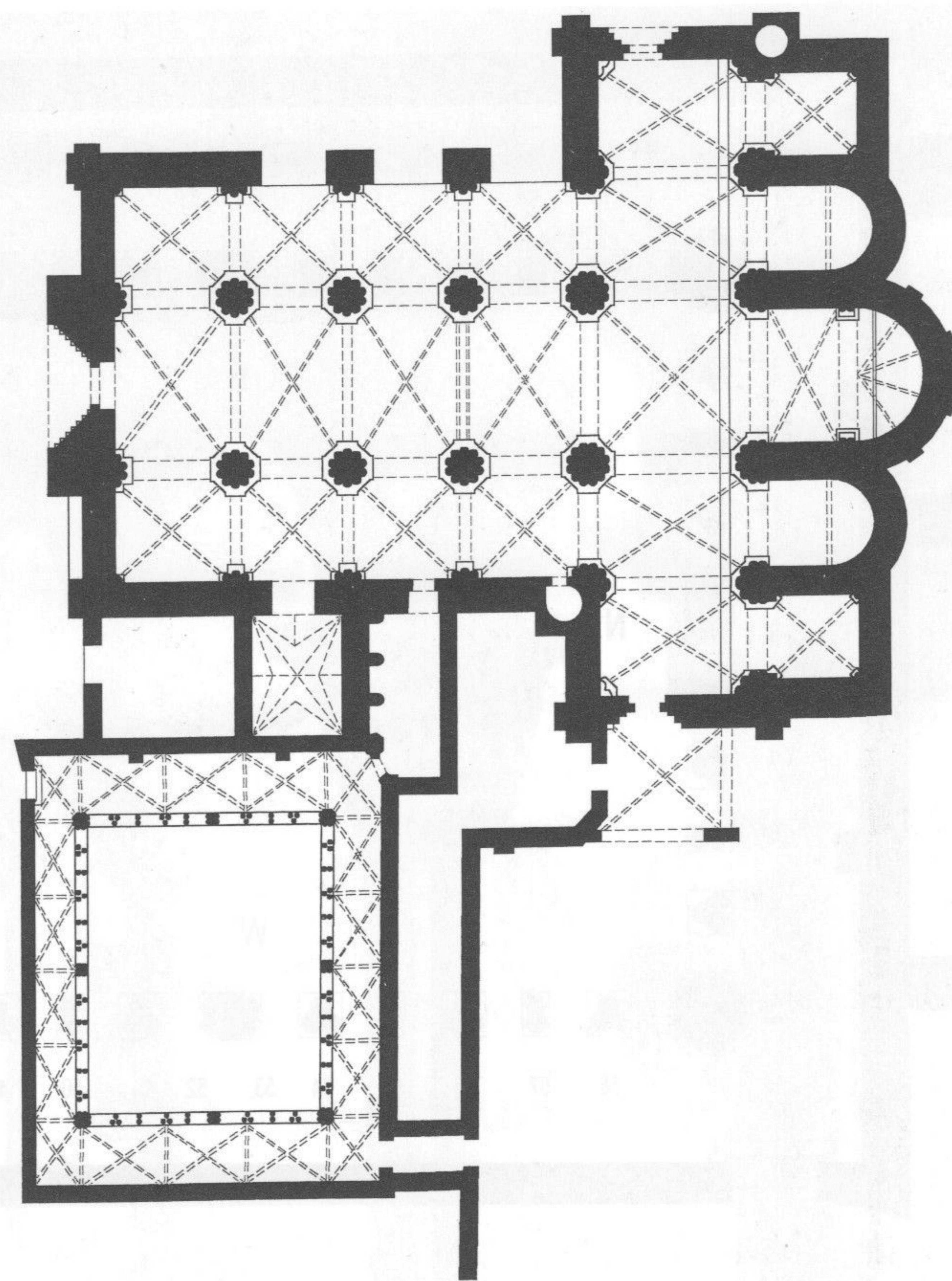


Fig. 2: Tudela, church and cloister, plan (drawing: after Street)

### Jewish Agency in the Passion of Christ

This subtext casts the Jewish people both as direct agents of Christ's betrayal and crucifixion and as continuing antagonists toward the Christian faith. Its most obvious expression is found in the insertion into the cloister's Passion narrative of two capitals depicting the Jews in conspiracy against Christ. These capitals appear together on the inner faces of the cloister's northeast pier, just opposite the main entrance from the church (Fig. 5). The opening scene, found on the north face of the pier, depicts the Council of Priests and Scribes, who gather in the house of the high priest Caiaphas to discuss how to effect Christ's death (Matthew 26:3–6, Luke 22:2, John 11:47–53). It consists of five male figures, two seated in wooden chairs, whose gesticulating hands and actively turned heads reflect their lively discussion

9 E. g., two capitals on the west central pier depict the ministry of Saint Martin; others depict such generically monastic topics as Lazarus and the Rich Man.

10 On the canons regular in Spain, see A. VIÑAYO GONZÁLEZ, "La abadía de canónigos regulares de San Isidoro de León en el siglo XII. Vida espiritual e intelectual", in *Pensamiento medieval hispano. Homenaje a Horacio Santiago Otero*, Madrid 1998, 117–140; U. VONES-LIEBENSTEIN, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien. Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint-Ruf in*

*Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)*, Paris 1996; F. CAMPO DEL POZO, "El monacato de San Agustín en España hasta la gran unión en el año 1256", *Secundum Regulam Vivere. Festschrift für P. Norbert Backmund*, ed. Gert Melville, Windberg 1978, 5–30; and A. LINAJE CONDE, "Vida canonical en la 'Repoblación' de la Península Ibérica?" *Secundum Regulam Vivere*, 73–85.

11 PATTON, "Capitals", 51–100 and IDEM., *Pictorial Narrative*.



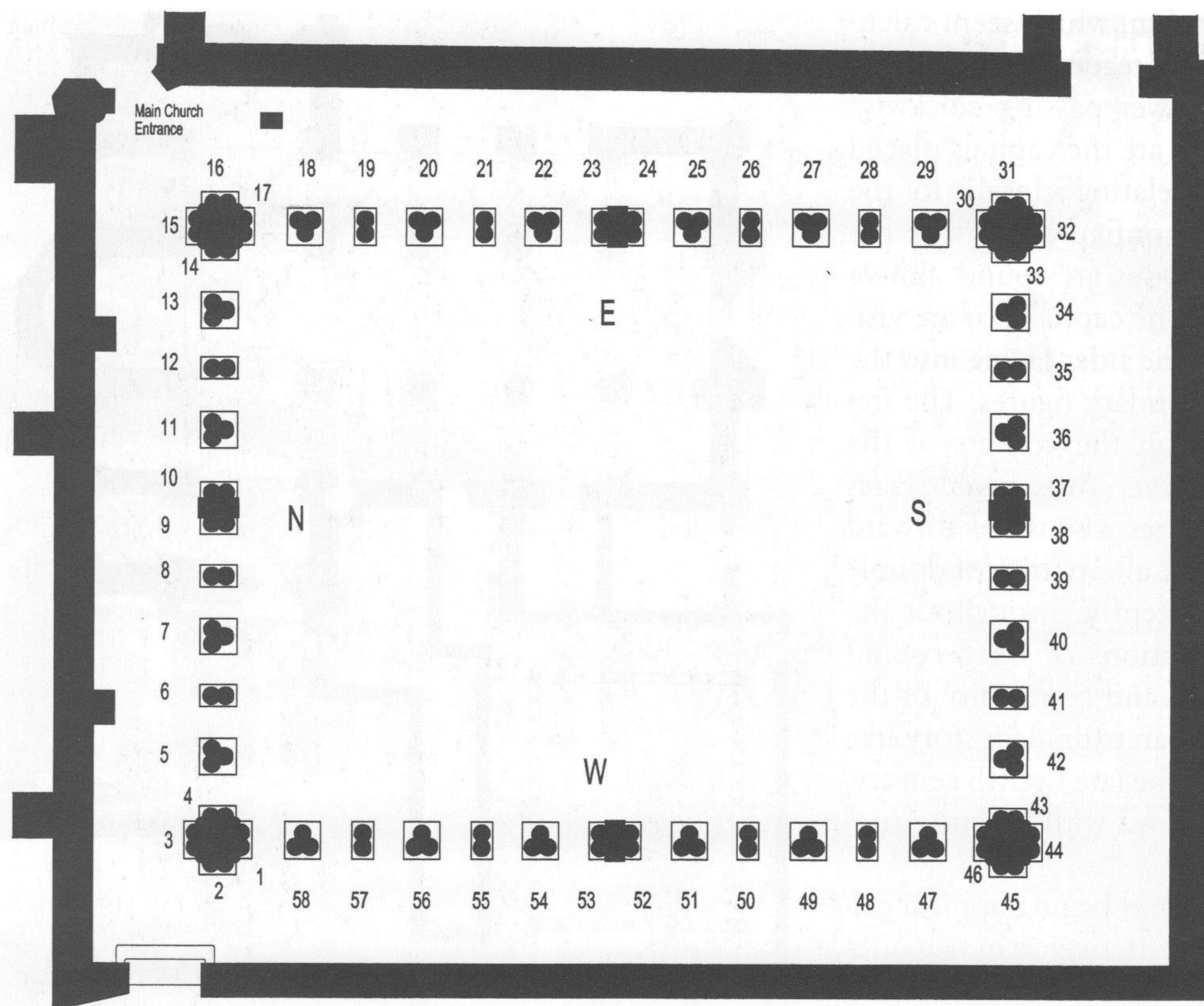


Fig. 3: Tudela, diagram of the cloister (drawing: Jess Galloway)

(Fig. 6). All of the figures wear a peculiarly detailed costume featuring low-vamped slippers, hood-like burnouses, and close-fitting caps, important Jewish signifiers to which we shall return. One figure holds a small book with a pentagonal envelope flap characteristic of Islamic bindings of the period; this detail stands in contrast to the simpler Romanesque book bindings held by Christian figures in the cloister and helps to emphasize the scene's non-Christian context.<sup>12</sup>

The following scene, which appears on the adjacent east face of the pier, represents the Payment of Judas, in which the priests accept Judas's offer to betray Christ in exchange for thirty silver pieces (Matthew 26:14-16, Luke 22:4-5). The traitorous apostle, displaying the bare head and feet characteristic of all Christ's followers, appears at the left corner of the capital; a grimacing demon behind him places a proprietary hand on his shoulder. A short parade of Jews, again wearing low slippers, caps or hoods, and now also rumpled trousers, approach the apostle, into whose outstretched hand the foremost priest presses several coins (Fig. 7).

Although scenes of both the Council of Priests and Scribes and the Payment of Judas would become com-

mon in Gothic Passion imagery, Romanesque depictions of either episode remain relatively rare. Even the narrative cycles most closely related to Tudela, such as those in the San Juan de la Peña cloister and on the north portal of Ejea de los Caballeros, lack either one or both of the scenes, so that the Entry into Jerusalem is succeeded directly, and more traditionally, by such canonical events as Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet and the Last Supper.<sup>13</sup> The sheer unexpectedness of both scenes at Tudela thus offers the first signal of their importance within the narrative.

So too does the prominence of the conspiracy scenes, both topographically within the cloister and narratologically within its discourse of the Passion. Placed on the outer two faces of the northeast pier, the Council and Payment capitals are unavoidably the first encountered by a viewer entering the cloister from the hall-like chapel that links the nave of the church to the cloister. This placement coincides as well with the physical transition between the Infancy and Ministry capitals set out in the cloister's north gallery and the Passion and Resurrection episodes in the east. In this crucial location, the capitals' impact upon the narrative is both literally and narrato-

12 For Islamic bindings, see J. A. SZIRMAI, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, Aldershot 1999, 53. I thank Eric Marshall White for directing my attention to this issue.

13 The Christological cycles at San Juan de la Peña and Ejea do include the Payment of Judas but lack the Council of Priests

and Scribes. More typically, local cycles lack both scenes, as in the case of fresco cycles from Sigüenza (National Museum of Catalan Art) and SS. Julián and Basilisa in Bagüés (Diocesan Museum, Jaca).





Fig. 4: Tudela, view of east cloister gallery (photo: author)

logically pivotal, effecting the transition between two distinct phases of the Christology just as they mark the viewer's passage from the north to the east cloister walk.

The capitals' placement on the corner pier creates several significant disruptions within their larger narrative context. First, by displacing more familiar, canonical Passion episodes, such as the Last Supper and the Arrest of Christ, into less prominent positions in the cloister's east gallery, the conspiracy capitals usurp the expected climax of the narrative in a manner that sharply reconfigures it, placing the focus of Christ's downfall not on his wayward disciple Judas or on his Roman persecutors, but emphatically on the Jewish priests and scribes by whom the event was engineered. Second, the insertion of the scenes is achronological, representing the cloister's only significant deviation from the traditional Gospels chronology. Whereas the Gospels concur in recounting the Council and Payment (Matthew 26:3–6 and 26:14–16; Luke 22:2 and 22:4–5; John 11:47–53) prior to both the washing of the disciples' feet (John 13:5–11) and the Last Supper (Matthew 26:20–29; Mark 14: 17–25; Luke 22:14–23; John 13:12–30), at Tudela the conspiracy scenes have been

inserted between those two related events, interrupting their traditional contiguity. Thus, a viewer following the narrative's linear trajectory along the north aisle to the northeast pier would first have encountered the Footwashing (Fig. 8) but then, instead of the normally subsequent Last Supper, he would have encountered the two episodes of Jewish conspiracy. Only after passing by both of these scenes and well into the east gallery would he have been in a position to turn and view the anticipated Last Supper on the south face of the pier (Fig. 9).

This disruption has important consequences: its interruption of the expected progression from Footwashing and Last Supper creates a narrative dynamic comparable to that suggested by the verbal modifier "meanwhile," in that it presents the priests' conspiracy with Judas not as something that occurred prior to, but something that took place at the same moment as, Christ's Passover celebration with his followers. Reminiscent of a modern cinematographer's back-and-forth cutting between simultaneous events, this interpolation also foreshadows later medieval Passion plays that would make use of a similar narrative device.<sup>14</sup> Both there and in the cloister, it has a similarly dramatic

14 E.g., the *Ludus Breuiter de Passione* preserved in the *Carmina Bur-*

*ana* manuscript now in Munich (Staatsbibliothek, MS lat.



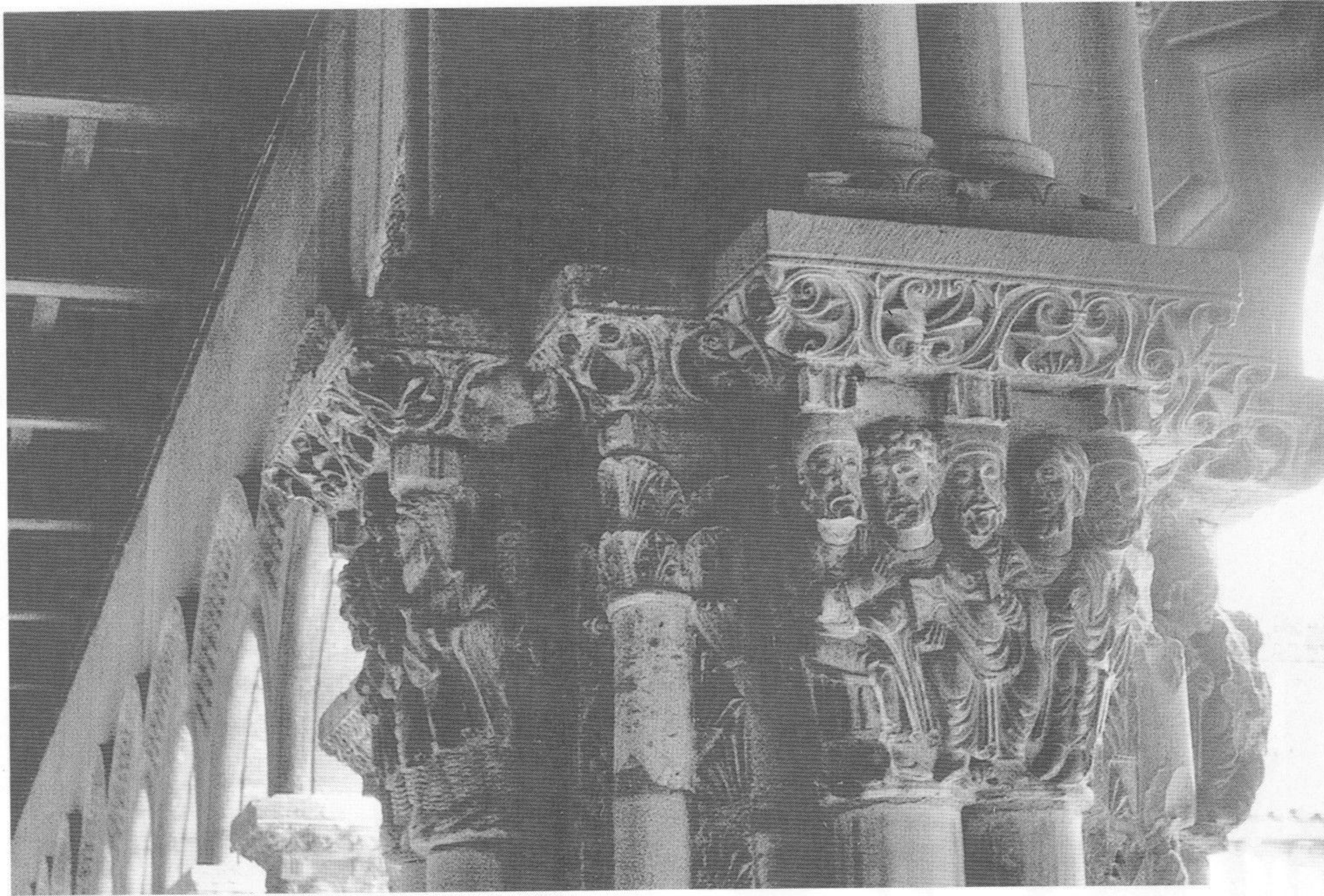


Fig. 5: Tudela, northeast pier with Conspiracy scenes (photo: author)



Fig. 6: Tudela, Council of Priests and Scribes (photo: author)



Fig. 7: Tudela, Payment of Judas (photo: author)

effect, overshadowing the peaceful, liturgically significant communion of Christ and his disciples with a for-

ceful reminder of the downfall to come and of the Jewish agency implicitly behind it.

4660a). Here, after washing the disciples' feet, Christ announces that one of his disciples will betray him (Matthew 26:25) and with the words, "in medio tempore", the scene shifts immediately to Judas' conspiracy with the priests (Matthew 26:14-15)

before returning promptly to the Last Supper (Matthew 26:26). See the Latin transcription in K. YOUNG, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, Oxford 1933, I, 514.





Fig. 8: Tudela, Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet (photo: author)



Fig 9: Tudela, Last Supper (photo: author)

Both in these scenes and elsewhere in the cloister, Jewish agency is further implied by complementary visual strategies. An obvious instance is the inclusion of a demon at the Payment of Judas, a common element in late medieval versions of the scene, but rare in twelfth-century examples and lacking even from the other monuments most closely related to Tudela (Fig. 10). Although perhaps inspired in part by Luke's claim that Judas had been possessed by Satan (Luke 22:3), the demon's presence here surely also stood to evoke another association that had taken on a growing importance in Christian medieval thought: that of Jews as allies of the devil.<sup>15</sup> Within a scene in which Jewish antagonism toward Christ already is suggested in other ways, it is unlikely that such a compatible interpretation would have been lost on the cloister's twelfth-century viewer.

Jewish agency is also indicated through the selective deployment of Jewish costume throughout the cloister's narrative galleries. While most Christian figures in these sections wear simple robes and go unshod and bare-headed, the Jewish ones are often set apart by the same ethnically coded details of dress already observed in the two conspiracy scenes: long burnouses or caps,

crumpled trousers, and low-cut slippers. This sartorial specificity is startling in a work of the late twelfth century, when explicit visual distinctions between Jews and non-Jews, if they appeared at all, still tended to extend no further than the addition of a generic peaked hat derived from late Antiquity.<sup>16</sup> The Jewish costume at Tudela, by contrast, is remarkably specific, corresponding well with what is known about the dress actually worn by twelfth-century Jews in northeastern Spain.

Although most western European Jews were not required to wear distinctive dress until after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215,<sup>17</sup> such practices already existed in many areas of Europe, including Muslim Spain, where as early as 849 the Caliph al-Mutawakkil ordered both Jews and Christians to wear distinguishing costumes.<sup>18</sup> In the late twelfth century, this mandate was renewed with vigor by the Almohad caliph Ya'qub ibn Yusuf Al-Mansur, who established that for Jews such dress should include a black burnoose and black cap probably much like those depicted at Tudela.<sup>19</sup> That such garb might in fact have been worn by twelfth-century Jews in this originally Muslim city is very likely, given the recentness of the city's conversion and the pos-

15 See J. TRACHTENBERG, *The Devil and the Jews. The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*, New Haven 1943, 18–31.

16 The pointed hat found sporadically in twelfth Gospels imagery is derived from the late Antique "Phrygian" type and does not seem intended to reflect contemporary customs of dress. On Christian representations of Jewish dress in the Middle Ages, see B. BLUMENKRANZ, *Le juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien*, Paris 1966, 15–40; on the Jew's hat in particular, see R. MELLINK-

OFF, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, Berkeley 1993, 65–69.

17 A. RUBENS, *A History of Jewish Costume*, rev. ed., London 1981, 80–81.

18 RUBENS, *ibid.*, 31.

19 J. F. O'CALLAGHAN, *A History of Medieval Spain*, Ithaca 1975, 286. See also N. ROTH, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain. Cooperation and Conflict*, Leiden 1994, 118, 124.





Fig. 10: San Juan de la Peña, cloister, 1180–1195, capital depicting the Payment of Judas (photo: author)

sible presence there of Jewish refugees from Almohad Spain.<sup>20</sup> Subsequent visual and documentary sources from Christian Spain bear this out: a hood and round cloak became required Jewish identifiers in the northeastern city of Tortosa, while black burnouses and cloaks, along with pointed slippers, are worn by the Jews who desecrate the host in a mid-fourteenth-century retable from Vallbona des Monges, now in the National Museum of Catalan Art (Fig. 11).<sup>21</sup>

The twelfth-century Jewish dress found at Tudela

clearly was intended to do more than merely signify Jewish identity: it created for the contemporaneous viewer an unmistakable link between the Jews of Scripture and their medieval descendants. For a Christian viewer, the sight of Christ's enemies wearing the garb of their prosperous Jewish neighbors, like later mystery plays in which Christ's tormentors likewise would wear Jewish costume,<sup>22</sup> must have challenged the boundaries between Scriptural past and medieval present, silently implicating the contemporary Jewish burgher, along with his Biblical forebears, in the crucifixion of the Christian Savior.

This accusation is made all the more evident by the closeness with which Jewish costume has been made to correlate with the roles performed by individuals within the narrative. Those whom the medieval Christian would have perceived as benign or "good" Jews, such as the high priest Simeon, Joseph of Arimathea, or Nicodemus, do not wear Jewish dress at all, but share the bare heads and feet of their Christian compatriots (Fig. 12). The single exception to this is the figure of Joseph the husband of Mary, who in accordance with longstanding tradition does wear Jewish garb at the Nativity (Fig. 13), although he does not do so later when he appears at the Presentation in the Temple (Fig. 14).<sup>23</sup> At the same time, those Jews whose antagonism toward Christ's cause was to be assumed, such as those attending the Arrest or petitioning Pilate to place a guard around the sepulcher, wear headgear, trousers, and slippers identical to those in the Conspiracy scenes. Thus at Tudela, in a manner rarely paralleled in contemporaneous imagery, Jewish enmity is equated with Jewishness of appearance.

The cloister's implicit indictment of the Jews as primary agents of Christ's betrayal was by no means a new one in the late twelfth century: the notion that the Jews were the killers of Christ is as old as the earliest patristic commentaries. However, the perception of medieval Jews as the continuing enemies of Christianity and its causes had begun to intensify at this time, as abundantly recorded in Christian polemics of the era.<sup>24</sup>

The new popularity of this idea, nonetheless, did not find frequent visual expression until well into the next century, and Romanesque exemplars remain extremely rare. While it is possible to find occasional twelfth-century Passion scenes that incorporate a few figures wearing Jew's hats, little compares with Tudela's vivid, un-

20 ROTH, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims*, 116–119.

21 See Y. T. ASSIS, *The Golden Age of Spanish Jewry. Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213–1327*, London 1997, 283–285, and R. ALBERCH/N.-J. ARAGÓ, *The Jews in Girona*, trans. Christopher Short, Girona 1994, 32–33.

22 TRACHTENBERG, *The Devil and the Jews*, 13.

23 On Joseph's dress in the Middle Ages, see MELLINKOFF, *Outcasts*, 79–82.

24 On anti-Jewish polemics in the twelfth century, see J. COHEN, *The Friars and the Jews*, Ithaca 1982, 19–32; IDEM., "The Jews as the Killers of Christ in the Latin Tradition, From Augustine to the Friars", *Traditio*, XXXIX (1983), 1–27; and A. FUNKENSTEIN, "Basic Types of Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Later Middle Ages", *Viator*, II (1971), 373–382.





Fig. 11: Retable of the Holy Trinity and Corpus Christi, 1340–1350, detail of Jews desecrating the host, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (photo: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, by permission)

mistakably local Jewish costume or its implication of Jews as primary agents within the Passion story.<sup>25</sup> It is the virtual absence of such imagery elsewhere that renders Tudela's cloister so deserving of attention.

<sup>25</sup> Perhaps the closest twelfth-century comparison in this regard is found in the early twelfth-century Passion imagery on the bronze doors of San Zeno in Verona, where Jew's hats are worn both by figures who persecute Christ, such as those the Flagellation, and by those who aid him, such as Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. See U. MENDE, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters 800–1200*, 2d ed. Munich 1994, Pls. 64–67. On the early thir-

### The Jews and Antichrist

If Tudela's Christological cycle emphasizes the Jews' antagonistic role in the Scriptural past, a lone capital in the cloister's west gallery implies their place in the Scriptur-

teenth-century increase in anti-Jewish imagery in the Passion and in general, see BLUMENKRANZ, *Le juif médiéval*, 82–104; S. LEWIS, "Tractats adversus Judaeos in the Gulbenkian Apocalypse", *The Art Bulletin*, LXVIII (1986), 544; and S. LIPTON, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée*, Berkeley 1999, 2, 159 n. 15.





Fig. 12: Tudela, Presentation in the Temple (photo: author)



Fig. 14: Tudela, Presentation in the Temple, detail of Joseph bringing doves (photo: author)



Fig. 13: Tudela, Nativity (photo: author)

al future. Owing in part to physical damage that very likely was deliberate, this capital has remained unidentified by previous writers on Tudela.<sup>26</sup> Its subject, still unusual in the late twelfth century although subsequently fairly common, is in fact identifiable as the confrontation between Antichrist and the two Apocalyptic witnesses Enoch and Elijah. The capital depicts Antichrist, his face now obliterated, as a sinuous, exotically dressed figure poised at one outer corner of the drum; his elaborate costume includes a crown, a close-fitting robe with a lavishly folded underskirt, and ornately drilled narrow slippers (Fig. 15). In his right hand, he brandishes a sword, which is clutched by a small demon seated astride his right shoulder; his left hand holds a

damaged scabbard while a second demon perches above. Opposing Antichrist are the two sober, bearded witnesses, who carry long scrolls to which they point vigorously. Immediately behind Antichrist appear the remains of three figures wearing the trousers and headgear of medieval Jews. A second group on the reverse of the capital, consisting of four figures in tunics, one of whom holds a coffer, is today too badly damaged to be conclusively identified; it may represent a related scene of Antichrist's distribution of riches to convert the kings of the earth (Fig. 16).<sup>27</sup>

Although close precedents for the scene of Antichrist and the witnesses are difficult to pinpoint, the Tudela version reflects both textual and pictorial accounts of

26 DE EGRY, "La escultura del claustro de Tudela" (98–99) interpreted this capital as referring to Christ's parables; CROZET (337) suggested it referred to the defense of the Church from the Jews.

27 On these and other episodes in the medieval Antichrist narrative, see R. K. EMMERSON, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature*, Seattle 1981, 78–107.





Fig. 15: Tudela, Antichrist confronting the Two Witnesses (photo: author)

the coming of Antichrist in advance of the Last Judgment. This narrative, based upon passages in the epistles of Paul and John as well as the Book of Revelation, was fleshed out in written form by the middle of the tenth century and elaborated in almost innumerable variations by subsequent medieval writers.<sup>28</sup> The most consistent elements of the narrative were these: that Antichrist, who would be contrary to Christ in all things, would at a future time appear in Jerusalem and perform unnatural wonders in an effort to convert Christians to his cause and convince Jews that he was their Messiah; that the “two witnesses” mentioned in Revelation 11:3–11, usually identified as Enoch and Elijah, would appear on earth to preach against these efforts; that the witnesses would be killed by Antichrist, but then resurrected by God and taken up to heaven; and that Antichrist would triumph a short time longer before being killed himself, either by Christ or by his angelic agent.

The Antichrist scene at Tudela stands among only a handful of such images from the twelfth century or earlier. To a limited extent, it can be compared with similar imagery in illustrated Beatus commentaries, where a scene of Antichrist killing the witnesses is often part of a short series of Antichrist scenes.<sup>29</sup> The Beatus formula shares several essential elements with the Tudela capital,



Fig. 16: Tudela, Kings of the Earth Bribe by Antichrist (?) (photo: author)

as is exemplified by the version in the mid-tenth-century Morgan Beatus (New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib., MS M. 644, fol. 151r). This depicts Antichrist wearing elaborate clothing, carrying a sword, and accompanied by three followers, here armed and not specifically identifiable as Jews; perhaps not surprisingly, Antichrist’s face here too has been vandalized (Fig. 17). The Beatus scene does differ from that at Tudela in significant ways, showing Antichrist in the act of decapitating the unresisting witnesses and lacking the demons astride Antichrist’s shoulders; however, its general formula may represent the ultimate local roots of the much later Romanesque image.

Other elements in the Tudela scene are comparable with Apocalypse imagery produced closer to, if often later than, its own era. Indeed, such imagery would become especially abundant in the decades following the completion of the cloister, particularly in works that also served as vehicles for the increasingly strident anti-Jewish invective of the thirteenth century, such as the French Moralized Bibles and the manuscripts of the English Apocalypse tradition.<sup>30</sup> One local exemplar, found in two closely related picture Bibles made in Pamplona around 1200 (Amiens, Bib. Communale, MS lat. 108, fols. 249r–251r and Harburg, Oettingen-

28 EMMERSON, *ibid.*, 34–73 and 76–77.

29 Related scenes in the Beatus manuscripts include depictions of the two witnesses alone, and their ascension into heaven. See P. K. KLEIN, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14–1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid. Studien zur Beatus-Illustration und der spanischen Buchmalerei de 10. Jahrhunderts I*, Hildesheim 1976, 100–110, and

R. M. WRIGHT, *Art and Antichrist in Medieval Europe*, Manchester 1995, 31–59.

30 On Antichrist imagery in the Moralized Bibles, see LIPTON, *Images of Intolerance*, esp. 121–122; in the English Apocalypses, see LEWIS, “Tractatus”, 554–559 and IDEM., *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse*, New York 1995, 215–220, 229–234.



Wallenstein Coll., MS 1, 2, lat. 4, 15, fols. 268r–270r) includes a simplified version of the murder in which Antichrist directs the actions of a sword-wielding henchman; this pared-down imagery, however, offers limited comparison with the more elaborate Tudela scene.<sup>31</sup> Particular details found at Tudela, such as that of Antichrist brandishing an unsheathed sword in one hand while grasping the scabbard in the other, the demons on Antichrist's shoulder, and the long scrolls held by the witnesses, can be found instead in English Apocalypses produced in the second half of the thirteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Although produced half a century later than the capital, these manuscripts clearly constitute part of the same visual tradition and quite possibly respond to a similar ideological impulse.

This impulse, as numerous authors have argued, can be related to the sharply increasing tensions between Jews and Christians throughout Europe in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.<sup>33</sup> Complex in both origin and expression, such tensions can be read in, among other things, an increasing concern with the question of Jewish salvation at the End of Days. While exegesis during the earlier Middle Ages tended to follow Augustine's view that the Jews would convert to Christianity as part of the ultimate victory of the Christian faith, by the twelfth century this idea began to be less consistently expressed. Some writers still anticipated that all or most of the Jews would be saved, but others, among them such prominent figures as Peter of Blois and Peter the Venerable, predicted that the Jews would become the agents and collaborators of Antichrist, whom they would accept as their true Messiah, ultimately perishing in error.<sup>34</sup> In this, they were frequently linked or conflated with Muslims, who in the course of the Crusading movement had also come to be perceived as Antichrist's affiliates.<sup>35</sup>

In northern Spain of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the perception of Jews as opponents to a victorious Christian faith was increasingly broadly held, and this surely was exacerbated by the increasing energy of the

so-called "Reconquista," which would have facilitated the equation of Jews and Muslims as enemies of Christianity.<sup>36</sup> As early as 1063, military action against Muslims living in southern France and northeastern Spain had extended into incidental violence against Jewish communities, and similar anti-Jewish attacks continued sporadically in the newly expanded Christian kingdoms of northern Spain throughout the twelfth century.<sup>37</sup> An illustration of the thinking behind these actions is expressed in the so-called "Letter of Toledo" addressed to Pope Lucius III (1181–1185), which predicated the coming of an Age of Peace upon the destruction of both Jews and Muslims in the course of an expected Apocalypse in 1186—the same year, coincidentally, in which construction of the Tudela cloister is first documented.<sup>38</sup>

This context helps to clarify the meaning of Tudela's Antichrist imagery within its more local milieu. Although the capital does not represent the actual murder of the witnesses, its confrontational tone is evident: defended only by their scrolls of prophecy, the two witnesses await the action of an exotic, demon-laden Antichrist who, as in the Beatus manuscript, wields a weapon in his own hand. Most critical to the present inquiry is the fact that the followers of Antichrist, who in the Beatus images were depicted as armed figures in ethnically neutral dress, at Tudela have been transformed into Jews by the addition of hoods and trousers identical to those worn by the betrayers of Christ in the cloister's Christological capitals. This direct physical alliance between the Jews and Antichrist sets out in visual form the same accusations of deceit and collaboration that were being leveled verbally, and with increasing frequency, by twelfth-century writers, at the same time that they were being acted upon by an increasingly hostile Christian populace.

This indictment of Jewish destiny, combined with the implications of conspiracy conveyed in the narrative ranges of the cloister, extends and clarifies the anti-Jewish content of Tudela's cloister program: not just in

31 F. BUCHER, *The Pamplona Bibles*, New Haven 1970, II, Pls. 555–559. For general comparisons between these Bibles and the Tudela cloister (here as the cloister of "Santa Maria Blanca,") see BUCHER, *ibid.*, I, 49.

32 For example, Antichrist places his hands on both sword and scabbard as the witnesses brandish a scroll in Paris, Bibliothèque National, MS fr. 403, fol. 17r (LEWIS, *Reading Images*, Fig. 75) and in a marginal illustration in London, Lambeth Palace, MS 209, fol. 12v (WRIGHT, *Art and Antichrist*, Fig. 30). A demon appears on Antichrist's shoulder in Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, MS L.A. 139, fol. 35v (LEWIS, *Reading Images*, Fig. 184).

33 See, e.g., LEWIS, "Tractatus", 543–546, and LIPTON, *Images of Intolerance*, 2–3 and *passim*.

34 LIPTON, *ibid.*, 114–116.

35 N. COHN, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 3d ed. rev. Oxford 1970, 74–79.

36 As suggested by E. SYNAN, *The Popes and Jews in the Middle Ages* New York 1965, 51–53.

37 On the violence of 1063, see J. PARKES, *The Jew in the Medieval Community: a Study of His Political and Economic Situation*, London 1938, 58, and Synan, 68. For anti-Jewish attacks in Reconquest Spain, see N. ROTH, "Coexistencia y confrontación de judíos y cristianos españoles", *Judíos entre árabes y cristianos. Luces y sombras de una convivencia*, ed. Angel Sáenz-Badillos, Córdoba 2000, 109, and F. BAER, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien, Urkunden und Regesten. I. Aragon und Navarra*, Berlin 1929, repr. Amer-sham, Eng. 1970, 46–59.

38 A. CUTLER, "Innocent III and the Distinctive Clothing of Jews and Muslims", *Studies in Medieval Culture*, III (1970), 94–95. For an early discussion of the prophecy and its roots, see F. BAER, "Eine jüdische Messiasprophetie auf das Jahr 1186 und der dritte Kreuzzug", *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1926), 113–122 and 155–165.





Fig. 17: Morgan Beatus, New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS M. 644, fol. 151r, Antichrist Killing the Two Witnesses (photo: Pierpont Morgan Library, by permission)



Scripture, but also in the twelfth century and in the age to come, Jews were the enemies of Christ. By imposing scenes of Jewish conspiracy at the center point of the Passion, the cloister implicated all Jewry in the downfall of the Savior; by clothing these conspirators in twelfth-century dress, it extended their culpability to Jews of the medieval present; and by allying the Jews with Antichrist at the End of Days, it projected their antagonism into the envisioned Christian future. Although clearly these arguments rely on a framework that was well established in the European Christian mentality, both in Spain and elsewhere, at this date, what stands out is that they have found pictorial expression here despite few obvious artistic precedents.<sup>39</sup> The city of Tudela was not, after all, especially large or centrally located, nor were its Romanesque monuments particularly innovative in other aspects of their structure or style.<sup>40</sup> To understand why this collegiate cloister should have played host to such an unexpectedly well-developed anti-Jewish discourse, we must return to the specific social and historical circumstances that enframed that work's production.

### Jews and Christians in Tudela: A Complex Coexistence

In many ways, the city of Tudela would seem to exemplify the positive relations often thought to have existed between Jews and Christians in earlier medieval Spain. Whereas Alfonso I had lost no time in expelling Tudela's Muslims following his conquest of the city in 1119, he was notably friendlier toward its Jewish community. Although the Jews appear to have fled the city in advance of Alfonso's troops, by 1121, the king had solicited their return in exchange for an attractive array of protective legislation.<sup>41</sup> Such an overture was not unusual in newly Christianized areas of Spain, where the Jews were viewed as essential contributors toward the stability of newly conquered cities, in addition to offering economic advantages by virtue of their status as royal property.<sup>42</sup> By 1129, when they joined the city's Muslims in paying tithes to Santa María la Mayor, Tudela's Jews clearly had returned in substantial numbers.<sup>43</sup>

Alfonso's protectionism toward the Jews was continued by his twelfth-century successors – García Ramírez, Sancho the Wise, and Sancho the Strong – who in 1153, 1170, and 1211 reconfirmed the rights originally promised in 1121.<sup>44</sup> According to Beatrice Leroy, these included such unusual freedoms as the right to carry swords and knives, a privilege rarely extended to Jews in other northern Spanish communities.<sup>45</sup> Royal benevolence also was extended to individuals, such as the physician Salomón, whose services to Sancho the Wise were rewarded in 1178 and 1187 with legal immunities and gifts of land.<sup>46</sup> In general, the well-being of the Jewish community at this time seems to have been extraordinarily high, with a population numbering around 1,000 and many Jews reaching prominence as landowners, moneylenders, and intellectuals, the latter of whom had already included such cultural leaders as Judah Ha-Levi, Abraham ibn Ezra, and Benjamin of Tudela.<sup>47</sup>

But Tudela was not insulated from the growing religious tensions of its era, and the hostility of the city's Christian populace, though less clearly documented than was the favor of its kings, is readily extrapolated from the repetitiveness with which Alfonso's protectionist legislation was reconfirmed by his successors, as well as by the increasingly explicit terms in which this protection was described. Especially revealing is a confirmation produced in 1170 under Sancho the Wise which, while reaffirming the Jews' existing rights, also approved the relocation of the Jewish quarter from the city's south side to a fortified castle on the northwest. With this move, it also specified several distinctly defensive rights: that a Christian plaintiff could not arrest a Jew, but must appeal to a Jewish judge; that a Jew could not be punished for a crime without the presence of two Jewish witnesses; and, most suggestive of all, that no Jew would be punished for the injury or death of any Christian who should attack a Jew within the walls of the new quarter.<sup>48</sup>

This document, produced not long before the cloister of Santa María was begun, offers a glimpse into the social realities in force at the time of that construction.

39 Although not a direct precedent, the unusually early anti-Jewish imagery on the tympanum of Beaulieu similarly locates Jewish unbelievers at the Second Coming; see P. K. KLEIN, "Et videbit eum omnis oculus et qui eum pupugerunt". Zur Deutung des Tympanons von Beaulieu", *Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk octogenarii contextum*, Stockholm 1987, 123–144.

40 For a broad, primarily style-based discussion of the Romanesque monuments of Tudela, see MELERO MONEO, *Escultura de Tudela*, n. 3.

41 For this document, misdated to 1115, see BAER, *Juden*, 920–921, doc. 570. See also B. LEROY, *The Jews of Navarre in the Late Middle Ages*, Jerusalem 1985, 20–21.

42 LEROY, *ibid.*, 20.

43 BAER, *Juden*, 922, doc. 573.

44 BAER, *Juden*, 920–921 and 933–935, docs. 570, 578, 583; LEROY, *Jews of Navarre*, 12 n. 2.

45 LEROY, *ibid.*, 26; see also E. ASHTOR, *The Jews in Moslem Spain*, II, trans. Aaron Klein and Jenny Machlowitz Klein, Philadelphia 1979, 267.

46 BAER, *Juden*, 938–939, docs. 580, 581, and LEROY, *Jews of Navarre*, 13.

47 LEROY, *ibid.*, 28.

48 BAER, *Juden*, 933–935, doc. 578. The relocation of Jewish communities to castles in the twelfth century often might have been intended to aid the city in its defense (see ROTH, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims*, 90). However, the specification of additional, more clearly defensive rights for the Tudelan community suggests that protection of the Jews was also a consideration.



Sancho's explicit restriction of Christian authority over Jews and his promise of indemnity for self-defense attest to a significant level of conflict between the city's religious communities, one consistent with the generally increasing tensions found in northern Spain and throughout western Europe. More revealing still are the events that followed the construction of the cloister, when the death of Sancho the Strong in 1234 was followed by rioting and violent anti-Jewish attacks. A lengthy and highly specific settlement concluded in 1237 between Thibault I and a council of Tudelan citizens describes various kinds of property damage and economic disputes, as well as a literal siege of the Jewish quarter and an exhaustive list of physical attacks against individual Jews, including kidnappings, assaults, knifings, beatings, rapes, and murders.<sup>49</sup>

The anti-Jewish attacks found in pictorial form in the Tudela cloister are of a far more subtle kind, but they can be situated instructively within the same broad social context. The growing friction between Tudela's Christians and Jews during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries cannot have gone unobserved by the regular canons of Santa María la Mayor, whether or not they participated in it. Although little is directly known regarding the attitudes of this community toward the Jews of their city – and their animosity perhaps should not be automatically assumed – the canons, like Augustinian regulars throughout the newly reconquered cities of Spain, were actively engaged in the apostolic ministry dictated by their order: preaching, teaching, and caring for the needy. Such activities, which are attested by their construction of a hospital and guest house even before the initiation of their new church and cloister, surely would have exposed them regularly to the tensions and conflicts of society beyond their own walls.

Meanwhile, there is little reason to believe that the canons would not have shared the militant attitudes prevalent within the lay population. Their appropri-

ation of the city's congregational mosque as the new home for their own community, while perhaps in part pragmatically motivated, surely also was conceived as a symbolic gesture. As in mosque conversions elsewhere in reconquest Spain, the Christians' occupation and ultimate erasure of their enemies' sacred structure overtly advertised the triumph of their faith in a city that had been founded and defended by nonbelievers.<sup>50</sup> While the blatant hostility of this act could not be paralleled by similar actions toward the Jews, who remained within the city walls and continued to enjoy the kings' protection, such a gesture could be made more safely in the enclosed, theologically framed microcosm of the collegiate cloister. That the resulting cloister imagery was intended for predominantly monastic eyes does seem clear: although opportunities for public entry into cloisters, particularly on feast days, certainly existed in the twelfth century, such sporadic and ceremonially structured visits are unlikely to have altered significantly the limited makeup of the capitals' daily audience.<sup>51</sup> The cloister program may be best understood as directed toward this well defined and ideologically restricted viewership, whose particular concerns and objectives certainly would have played a role in the formation of its visual rhetoric.

The anti-Jewish imagery of Tudela remains exceptional in its early date and visual complexity. Its presence at this site testifies to the power of the cloister form as an ideological vehicle capable both of conveying the traditional, positive values of its resident community and of responding to the more complex, locally inflected circumstances from which such communities were never entirely insulated. Reflecting the general deterioration of Jewish-Christian relations in Europe over the course of the twelfth century at the same time that it responds to the specifically local tensions of its own cultural milieu, Tudela's sculpted imagery illustrates the paradoxical permeability of the Romanesque cloister as an artistic form.

49 Pamplona, Archivo de Navarra, cart. 3, fol. 243; transcribed in J. YANGUAS Y MIRANDA, *Diccionario de Antigüedades del Reino de Navarra*, Pamplona 1840, repr. Pamplona 1964, III, 96–101.

50 J. HARRIS, "Mosque to Church Conversions in the Spanish Reconquest," *Medieval Encounters*, III/2 (1997), 158–172.

51 O. K. WERCKMEISTER has argued that by the twelfth century, Cluniac cloisters had become so accessible to the lay public as

to inspire Peter the Venerable to formulate sharp new restrictions of public visits there (see WERCKMEISTER, "The Emmaus and Thomas Pillar of the Cloister of Silos", *El Románico en Silos*, Santo Domingo de Silos 1990, 160). Peter's assiduous demarcation of the cloister as monastic space, however, only suggests that the intended audience for any decoration found there would have been similarly restricted.



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## Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang

The medieval Cloister – Le cloître au Moyen Age

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