

## THE OTHER IN THE MIDDLE AGES

### Difference, identity, and iconography

*Pamela A. Patton*

To be Other in the medieval world was to inhabit a welter of social, cultural, geographical, and somatic variation far untidier than the classic Lacanian binary that underlies the term's modern usage in art history. For the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, the Other was a conceptual abstraction grounded in the individual mind, a by-product marking the borders of the newly awakened Self.<sup>1</sup> In the collective sense more familiar to art historians, influenced by cultural theorists such as Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Homi Bhabha, cultural Others of various kinds functioned similarly to delimit a communally conceived Self.<sup>2</sup> This broadened notion of Otherness, in which the articulation of what one's culture or community is *not* articulates what it desires to be, offers an appealing lens through which to scrutinize medieval understandings and constructions of identity.

The Self-Other model poses risks for historians of culture: as Paul Freedman and others have pointed out, its potential to flatten out differences among medieval communities into sweeping oppositions of "us" and "them" can blunt scholarly understanding of the diversity internal to these categories, camouflaging the ways in which local variation and contextual factors might have refined any given culture's sense of both its Others and itself.<sup>3</sup> Yet employed thoughtfully, the concept of the Other could be argued to achieve just the opposite, since it assumes that medieval notions of identity were self-generated, autonomous, and above all flexible. In this sense, it applies especially well to the study of medieval iconography, a system that relied on a similar manipulation of familiar yet multivalent visual signs to articulate the perceived characteristics of, and relationships between, its subjects.

Whom medieval artists presented as Others depended foremost on their own sense of what was familiar or foreign, whether in appearance, behavior, language, dress, foodways, or religious practices. And what counted as familiar could vary greatly within the wide cultural sphere addressed by the present volume, which embraces both Western and Eastern Europe, including the multiethnic, multicultural communities of the Mediterranean, the Balkans, and the Scandinavian north, from the fall of Rome until the early modern era. Amid this sea of cultures and peoples, difference was relative: a pale blond northerner might have seemed as much an Other to an early medieval Roman like Gregory the Great, who purportedly expressed wonderment at the sight of enslaved Angles in his home city, as the African features of the sculpted Saint Maurice at the cathedral of Magdeburg would have to his Germanic thirteenth-century viewers.<sup>4</sup>

Certain peoples and communities stood firmly enough outside the world of normative European Christendom to qualify conclusively as Other: these included several loosely defined ethnic groups, such as Ethiopians and Mongols (often called "Tartars"), as well as confessional Others, such as Jews, Muslims, pagans, and Christian heretics.<sup>5</sup> Less often depicted, but still often perceived as Other, were people whose behavior or physical status disqualified them from membership in their dominant culture, including such "proximate Others" as prostitutes, homosexuals, lepers, and the disabled.<sup>6</sup> Two further categories that might have been seen as Other are addressed by other contributors to this volume: women, the enduring exception to a masculinist medieval norm, and the hybrids and monsters that many believed to inhabit the margins of the civilized world.<sup>7</sup>

The iconography employed in representing these outgroups was inconsistent and often contextually driven, encompassing a broad vocabulary of motifs that could be deployed, combined, and amended to suit the particularities of its subject and viewership. Somatic signs were among the most powerful of these. They set others apart through dark or unnaturally colored skin; wild, tangled, or curly hair; enlarged or undersized facial features; unusual stature or bodily proportions; gender-crossing attributes, such as a beard worn by a woman; or even hybridized animal parts, such as the horns occasionally given to Jews or the hooves and tails displayed by the unfortunate hybrids in Gerald of Wales's *Topographia Hibernica*.<sup>8</sup> Closely associated with the body was costume, another primary means of displaying difference: Others might be identified by elaborate, oddly colored, or unusually shaped hats; bright, gaudy, or dramatically patterned clothing; partial or total nudity; or accessories that implied a lack of civilization or morality, such as a club or a moneybag.

Multiple signs often worked in concert, as they do in the extraordinary scribal caricature of the moneylender Salamó Vidal that was doodled by an idle scribe on the cover of a fourteenth-century *liber iudeorum* from the Catalan town of Vic in 1334–1340 (Fig. 36.1). Salamó's hunched back, goatlike beard, stupendous nose, and skewed eyes, along with his long robe and preposterously ornamented hat, signal his status as an outsider while also trading on the long-held medieval equation of physical imperfections with a sinful nature – in this case, Salamó's role as Vic's most powerful and detested usurer.<sup>9</sup> In this, it exemplifies the multivalency of such signs, which could both identify and comment on the depicted Other.

Medieval Others could also be set apart by visual references to their exotic or unacceptable cultural behaviors, such as the worship of idols, the practice of cannibalism, or the inappropriate and/or sexualized display of body parts. The depiction of Jews clustered in worship around a cat on an altar in the Parisian Moralized Bibles, as Sara Lipton has shown, casts them as heretical outsiders to the Christian faith, while the Tartars feasting on human limbs in a carnage-strewn wasteland by the scribe-artist Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* leave little doubt of their Otherness (Fig. 36.2).<sup>10</sup>

Context was critical to the reading of such images, since similar signs often could carry either positive or negative connotations. The near-nudity and crude loincloths of the possessed men healed by Christ in the Canterbury Psalter clearly denote their uncivilized madness, while the same features in an image of John the Baptist imply his asceticism and piety.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, very few signs of Otherness were especially fixed in meaning: whereas for much of medieval Europe, certain constellations of features did become traditional to some Others – the shaggy beards, large noses, and pointed hats of Jews or the turbans and dark skin often assigned to Muslims – these well-worn formulae never achieved complete consistency even in the most culturally stable European centers.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, in some they were totally absent: in early Byzantine iconography, Jewish figures were commonly identified by prayer shawls or *tefillin* rather than by exaggerated physiognomy, while in the Mediterranean and the Christian East, images of Muslims



Figure 36.1 Scribal doodle of Salamó Vidal on the cover of a *liber iudeorum* from 1334–1340 (Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada, núm. 4603). Photo courtesy of Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, reproduced by permission.



Figure 36.2 Matthew Paris, Tartars eating human flesh, from the *Chronica Majora* (Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 16), fol. 167r. Photo reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

often displayed a wider and more naturalistic range of skin color, facial type, and costume than was typical in northern Europe.<sup>13</sup>

Signs of Otherness were not just variable; they were also surprisingly transferable. The cannibalistic Tartars just mentioned share features with multiple Others: their large noses and pointed hats resonate with those often deployed in depictions of Jews, while the seated figure munching on a human leg recalls shorthand depictions of various monstrous races.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, whereas Ethiopians were nearly always depicted with dark skin, many Muslims and even occasionally Jews sometimes also were portrayed as dark-complexioned, a practice that traded on the potential of depicted dark skin to connote foreignness, sinfulness, and even diabolism.<sup>15</sup> How such signs were understood by their artistic makers and viewers thus depended on the expectations and experience of both.

The flexibility and responsiveness of such iconography attest to the rhetorical power it held: more than merely identifying members of specific social out-groups, images of Others adapted and repositioned their subjects to suit the viewers and ideologies surrounding them. Because of this, they speak simultaneously to the local perception and understanding of the various Others whom medieval artists chose to portray; the values, social patterns, and concepts of identity by which their iconography was shaped and surrounded; and the centrality of the visual in articulating, as well as reflecting, such ideals.

### Historiography

Scholarship on what might be called the “iconography of Otherness” – although its originators would hardly have put it in those terms – is nearly as old as the study of iconography itself: as early as 1898, Émile Mâle referred to the “cone-shaped cap” of the Jews as just one of the codelike signs that he saw as central to Gothic image-making.<sup>16</sup> His focus on the potential of iconographic signs to aid in the identification and classification of Others, rather than on an analysis of their meaning, set the tone for much work on the topic until the revolution in iconographic studies initiated by the Warburg School toward the mid-twentieth century, which emphasized the reading of such elements as expressive of contextually grounded attitudes or ideals.

Jews were the first Others to be closely scrutinized in these new terms, a phenomenon partly prompted by concerns about anti-Semitism during and following the Second World War. Pioneering articles on the subject by the historian Cecil Roth, followed by books by Joshua Trachtenberg and Bernhard Blumenkranz, emphasized the pejorative connotations of many visual signs commonly used in depicting Jews, such as an exaggerated nose, a pointed hat, a Jewish badge, or a moneybag, as reflective of the Jews’ progressively worsening status in central and late medieval European society and, implicitly, to the development of modern anti-Semitism.<sup>17</sup>

Another comparatively early subject of study was the medieval iconography of black and African figures, perhaps also prompted by modern social concerns in the United States during the 1970s. Coinciding with similar work on Greek and Roman art,<sup>18</sup> the study of black figures in the Middle Ages was catalyzed by the 1979 publication of the multivolume *Image of the Black in Western Art*, sponsored by the Menil Foundation.<sup>19</sup> Drawing upon the Foundation’s extensive photographic archive of the same name, the *Image of the Black* volumes aimed to catalogue and assess how people of African descent had been represented in Western art of all eras. The body of imagery assembled in its two volumes on the Middle Ages formed a critical repository for the more focused studies that would follow, such as those by Paul Kaplan and Guda Suckale-Redlefsen.<sup>20</sup>

By the late 1980s, these two lines of inquiry had established a foundation not only for research on the depiction of Jews and black figures but also for future study of other out-groups. To this

point, such work tended to privilege breadth over depth, giving priority to the collection and presentation of previously unknown iconographic motifs rather than to the tightly contextualized analysis that would become typical of iconographic studies in later decades. This breadth was in fact quite critical, given the dearth of prior scholarship and near-total lack of image catalogues devoted to medieval depictions of any out-group at this date. The resulting work offered access to substantial numbers of images as well as a general cultural framework against which to understand them.

The late 1980s and 1990s witnessed a groundswell of interest in the study of minorities and out-groups by medievalists in many disciplines, as exemplified by historians like John Boswell, R. I. Moore, and Jeffrey Richards. This multidisciplinary scholarship helped to validate the study of medieval out-groups as a field in its own right while paving the way for fresh methodological approaches.<sup>21</sup> Among the most important of these was the postcolonial work inspired by Edward Said's watershed book *Orientalism* (1978).<sup>22</sup> Said's use of the Self-Other binary to frame an oppositional cultural relationship between East and West in the modern era offered scholars in multiple disciplines a potent model for analysis of similarly segregated medieval societies.

Among art historians, the earliest and boldest embrace of this approach was made by Michael Camille, whose *Gothic Idol* (1989) employed medieval depictions of idolatry as a lens for decoding contemporaneous attitudes to the Muslims, Jews, and other groups who stood most proximately outside the bounds of normative European Christian society.<sup>23</sup> Three years later, Camille's *Image on the Edge* (1992) further explored the question by examining the potential of marginal visual spaces to reveal self-created boundaries between the dominant cultures of Western medieval Christendom and the out-groups that stood at their social margins.<sup>24</sup> In keeping with Lacan's model, Camille's analysis framed an understanding of the Other as a result of the dominant community's collective effort to define itself through the pictorial rejection of undesirable peoples and groups, whose deformation, discoloration, and literal displacement made visible the boundaries between them.

Camille's understanding of medieval out-groups as visual foils to a communal self-image had a sustained impact on subsequent scholarship. While some scholars, among them Ruth Mellinkoff and Heinz Schreckenberg for the medieval West and Elisheva Revel-Neher for the Byzantine Empire, continued to pursue the traditional survey and analysis that remained central to such work,<sup>25</sup> others, such as Debra Strickland, processed the lessons learned from postcolonialism to frame the development of a pejorative iconography for multiple medieval out-groups as part of an expanding Western Christendom's desire to assert its own cultural superiority.<sup>26</sup> Many of these scholars narrowed their analyses to smaller groups of, or even single, works within local, particularized contexts as case studies revealing of wider social relationships and ideological trends. Exemplary of this approach are Sara Lipton's study of the portrayal of Jews in the *Bibles moralisées* in the context of anti-Jewish ideology at the French court and Kathleen Corrigan's study of anti-Jewish imagery in ninth-century Byzantium, as well as a substantial body of work on the representation of Jews and Muslims in medieval Iberia, discussed ahead.

The trend toward case studies in the 1990s and early 2000s also favored the production of multidisciplinary essay collections and special journal issues dedicated to various aspects of the Other. These often included art historical contributions that drew innovatively on nontraditional approaches, such as postcolonial and borderlands theory, monster theory, and queer theory.<sup>27</sup> Key collections include a special issue on race published by the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* in 2001, as well as edited volumes on Jews in Europe by Eva Frojmovic and Mitchell Merback, on multiculturalism in Iberia by Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi, and on Others through the lens of queer theory by Glenn Burger and Stephen Kruger.<sup>28</sup> Further art historical

work took the form of individual journal articles and book chapters, some of which encompass iconographies of Others that had until recently lacked sustained attention, such as the Mongols, the Irish, and the poor.<sup>29</sup> The tighter contextual focus undertaken by such scholarship has brought considerable texture to current understanding of how medieval artists represented the Other, especially in revealing the variability of their decisions in response to widely differing circumstances.

The most recent years have seen no slackening in scholarship on the iconography of the Other: they have witnessed a new edition of the *Image of the Black* volumes by Harvard University Press in 2010; several important museum exhibitions, including *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe* (Walters Art Gallery, 2012) and *Cranach's Saint Maurice* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015); and the publication of several important essay collections, among them *The Origins of Racism in the West*, edited by Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (2009), and *Images of Otherness in Medieval and Early Modern Times* (2012), edited by Anja Eisenbeiss and Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch.<sup>30</sup> Scholarship on specific types of Others has also remained abundant: the depiction of Jews has been further explored in books by Nina Rowe, Irvn Resnick, Herbert Kessler and David Nirenberg, and Sara Lipton, among others, while the 2012 *Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, edited by Asa Simon Mittman and Peter Dendle, includes essays addressing gender, sexuality, and race.<sup>31</sup>

An especially vital subfield in the depiction of the Other has been that of medieval Iberia, where the close coexistence of Christians, Muslims, and Jews offered a rich sociocultural context for such analysis. The late John Williams's 1977 analysis of anti-Muslim iconography at San Isidoro in León stood in the vanguard of this scholarship.<sup>32</sup> Subsequent publications by Otto Karl Werckmeister, Jerrilyn Dodds, D. Fairchild Ruggles, Peter Klein, Francisco Prado-Vilar, Isabel Monteiro Arias, Paolino Rodríguez-Barral, and the present author, among numerous others, have revealed the fluidity with which iconographic forms could be selected, intermingled, and revised in concord with the changes in ideology and social relationship that accompanied the expansion and Europeanization of the Spanish Christian kingdoms.<sup>33</sup>

### Key problems and questions

Scholarship on the medieval iconography of Others has by now matured substantially, and its openness to new methodologies, new topics of research, and new kinds of questions has paved the way to multiple new areas of inquiry, just a few of which are outlined here. One long-standing problem much in need of analysis is the well-documented increase in depictions of Others around the end of the twelfth century. While this development has been linked by some to sweeping social changes – an increasingly authoritarian Church hierarchy; the new centrality of Jews, Muslims, and other foreigners in Europe's growing commercial networks; and military threats posed by external Others, such as Muslims and Mongols – that reshaped Europe at about the same time, much could be gleaned from deeper scrutiny of how, as well as why, the emergence of specific new iconographies of Otherness intersected with these developments.<sup>34</sup> Why, for example, did the depiction of Mongols as savage cannibals and idolaters intensify even as peaceful trade and diplomatic contact with the Mongol Empire increased? Why did the rise in pejorative imagery of Jews and Muslims in Iberia intersect so irregularly with the imposition of normative Christian policies and social practices there in the wake of the so-called Reconquest?

Also deserving of further consideration is the frequent ambiguity of the iconography assigned to Others in both Eastern and Western art. While the somatic exaggerations, distinctive clothing, and other signs associated with medieval out-groups often carried negative connotations, these seem to have been nullified in the case of "positive" figures, such as Moses, Saint Maurice,

or the Queen of Sheba, so that even traditionally negative markers, such as Moses's stereotyped physiognomy or Sheba's black skin, were reduced to simple denotative signs or even hinted at the feasibility of conversion.<sup>35</sup> Because the interpretation of such images rests so strongly on context, the most successful analyses will take the form of case studies that attend carefully to the specifics of setting and audience.<sup>36</sup>

The depiction of black or dark skin itself offers a promising field for future research, especially in multicultural Mediterranean societies, such as Sicily and Iberia, where it constituted a more concrete visual reality than in other areas of Europe. In such settings, dark skin appears not just in a wider range of iconographic contexts but also in relation to a wider range of ethnicities and social classes.<sup>37</sup> In the illustration to *Cantiga 46* in the *Códice Rico* of the *Cantigas de Santa María* (Escorial MS T.I.1., fol. 68v), for example, the Muslim armies that gather to divide the spoils of battle include foot soldiers with both dark and light brown skin, while their equestrian superiors, including the elite Muslim convert at the center of the story, are as pale as their Christian opponents (Fig. 36.3). Skin color here plays multiple roles, signaling social and military status as well as the potential for conversion.<sup>38</sup> How such nuance shaped the reading of such imagery by medieval viewers remains an intriguing question.

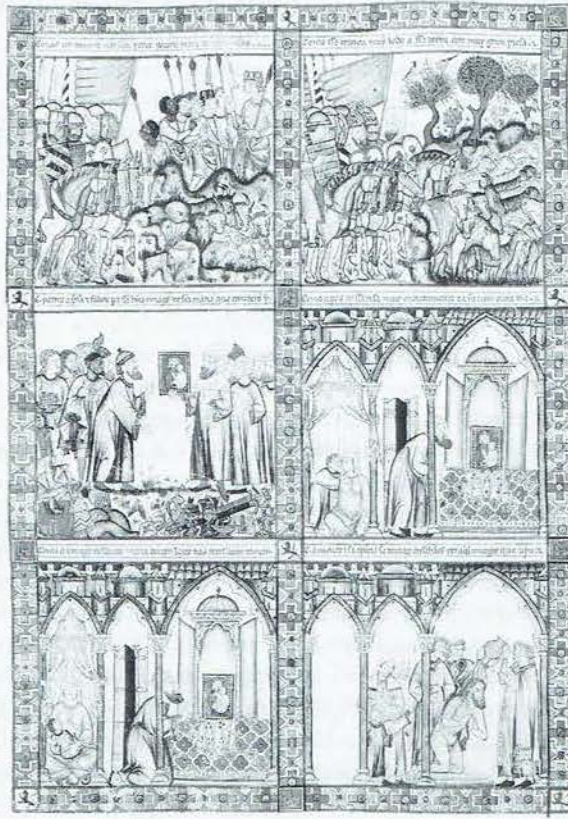


Figure 36.3 Story of the Muslim Converted by an Image of the Virgin (*Cantiga 46*), *Cantigas de Santa María* (Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS T.I.1), fol. 68v. © Patrimonio Nacional, reproduced by permission.

A more difficult problem linked with this is how tightly medieval iconography can be linked to ideas about race. As scholars such as Robert Bartlett, William Jordan, David Nirenberg, and Geraldine Heng have shown, the degree to which medieval classifications of human difference can be compared with modern racial constructs is difficult to calculate; for example, there is little evidence that most medieval viewers would have linked visible somatic features, such as dark skin or an enlarged nose, firmly with any human category.<sup>39</sup> Thus, while it may be heuristically fruitful to apply a racial lens to medieval iconography of the Other in certain cases, these will always require careful attention to the specifics of context and viewership.

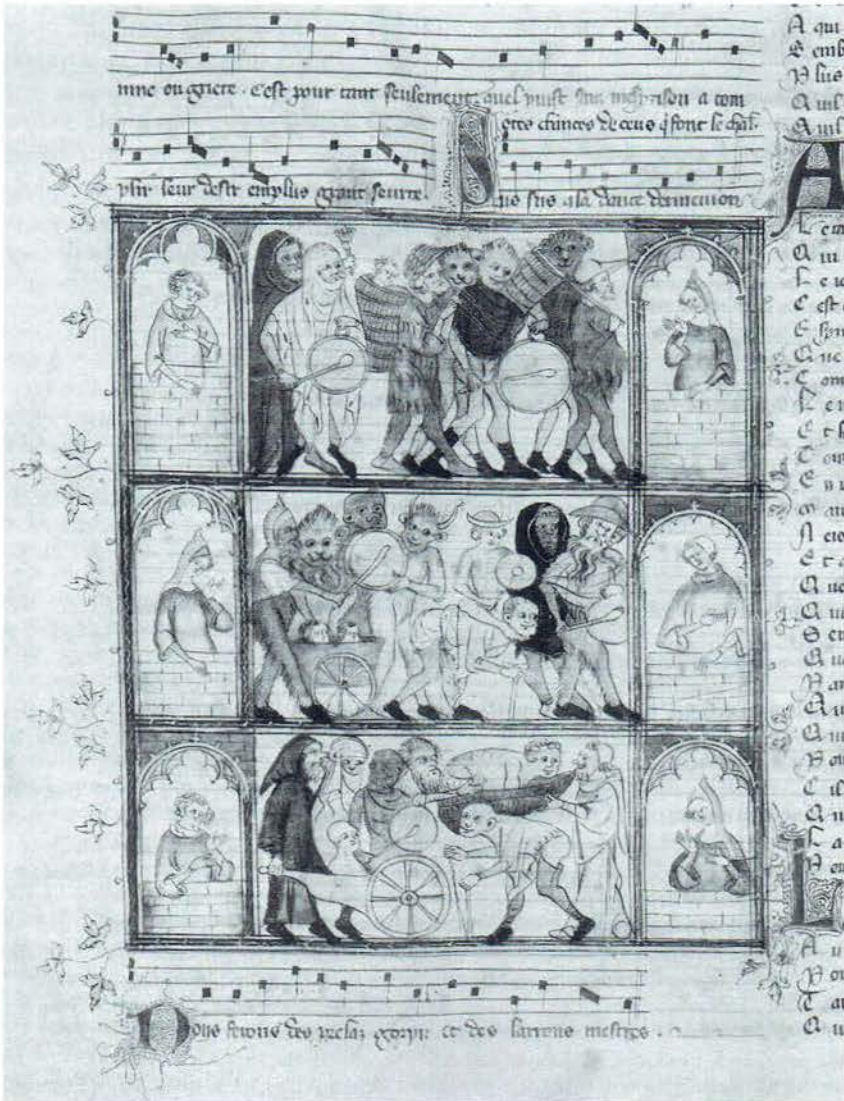


Figure 36.4 A charivari in progress, *Roman de Fauvel* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 146), fol. 36v. Photo courtesy of BnF Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY, reproduced by permission.

Especially promising for future research on the iconography of the Other are those out-groups that have not, to date, received substantial scholarly attention. These include both faraway others, such as those Asians – Mongols, subcontinental Indians, Chinese, and Pacific Islanders – who were becoming familiar to Europeans with the expansion of trade and missionizing along the Silk Roads,<sup>40</sup> and more proximate Others whose place in the majority culture was eliminated by exceptional circumstances, such as poverty, physical disability (e.g., blindness, or leprosy), or nonnormative beliefs and practices, such as heresy, homosexuality, or prostitution.<sup>41</sup>

The potential for study in this last category is especially strong: while their iconography is not as strongly marked or consistent as, say, that of Jews, the boundaries of proximate Others often blur with those of other out-groups in ways that speak revealingly of how self-identity was fashioned in majority medieval cultures. In the well-known depiction of a *charivari* in the early fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel* now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (MS fr. 146, fol. 36v), the costumed, animal-masked figures typical of such gatherings include multiple visual references to the conventional social outcasts of early fourteenth-century Paris: a disabled man with two canes, his buttocks uncovered; a childlike figure pushed in a dung-barrow by a hooded man with “Jewish” features; two bald, brown-skinned figures; and a mysteriously veiled woman thought by some to be a cross-dressing man (Fig. 36.4).<sup>42</sup> This image speaks to far more than the reversal of behavioral norms associated with the *charivari*; in visually blurring the boundaries among Europe’s medieval Others, it exposes the more resistant frontier that separated all of them from the notional medieval Self.

## Notes

- 1 J. Lacan, “The Mirror Stage as Formative of the I Function as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience,” in idem, *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English*, trans. Bruce Fink, in collaboration with Heloise Fink and Russel Grigg (New York, 2006), 75–81. For an example of Lacan’s impact on cultural historians generally, see S. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, 1985), 15–35; for a crisp analysis of its relevance for medievalists, see P. Freedman, “The Medieval Other,” in *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations*, ed. T.A. Jones and D.A. Sprunger (Kalamazoo, 2002), 1–24.
- 2 E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978); G.C. Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. P. Williams and L. Chrisman (New York, 1994); and H. Bhabha, “The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism,” *Screen* 24 (1983), 18–36.
- 3 Freedman, *The Medieval Other* (as in note 1), 5–8; see also S. Kinoshita, “Deprovincializing the Middle Ages,” in *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization* (Santa Cruz/Berkeley, 2007), 75–89.
- 4 For Gregory, see W.D. Phillips, *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Philadelphia, 2014), 60. On the Magdeburg Saint Maurice, see G. Suckale-Redlefsen, *Mauritius: der heilige Mohr/The Black Saint Maurice* (Houston, 1987), 18–20, 42–47, and 158–61; see also G. Heng, “An African Saint in Medieval Europe: The Black Saint Maurice and the Enigma of Racial Sanctity,” in *Sainthood and Race: Marked Flesh, Holy Flesh*, ed. M.H. Bassett and V.W. Lloyd (London, 2014), 18–44.
- 5 Especially useful in considering this distinction is Debra Strickland’s notion of “the exotic”; see D.H. Strickland, “The Exotic in the Later Middle Ages: Recent Critical Approaches,” *Literature Compass* 5:1 (2008), 58–72. For scholarship on individual groups, see the section on historiography below.
- 6 For the term “proximate Other,” see J. Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford, 1991), 135.
- 7 See the essays by S. Lindquist, M. Easton, and A.S. Mittman and S. Kim in this volume.
- 8 For an extensive catalogue of somatic as well as other kinds of signs, see R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1996). On Gerald of Wales’s hybrids, see A.S. Mittman, “The Other Close at Hand: Gerald of Wales and the ‘Marvels of the West,’” in *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, ed. B. Bildhauer (Toronto, 2004), 97–112.

- 9 P.A. Patton, *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain* (University Park, 2012), 59–61.
- 10 S. Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley, 1999), 88–90. On the Matthew Paris images, see Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003), 192–93, and S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley, 1987), 285–87.
- 11 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8846, fol.3v; see Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews* (as in note 10), 80–81, and C.R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066–1200* (Cambridge, 1954), 98–103.
- 12 See, for example, the discussion of the beard and other “Jewish” signs in Lipton, *Images of Intolerance* (as in note 10), 20–21.
- 13 E. Revel-Neher, *The Image of the Jew in Byzantine Art* (Jerusalem, 1992), 51–72; for a thoughtful recent discussion of depicted dark skin in Eastern lands, see L.-A. Hunt, “Skin and the Meeting of Cultures: Outward and Visible Signs of Alterity in the Medieval Christian East,” in *Images of Otherness in Medieval and Early Modern Times: Exclusion, Inclusion, Assimilation*, ed. A. Eisenbeiss and L. Saruma-Jeltsch (Berlin, 2012), 89–106.
- 14 Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews* (as in note 10), 192–93.
- 15 On the traditional connotations of dark skin in European art, see, among others, Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews* (as in note 10), 83–86; J. Devisse, “The Black and His Color: From Symbols to Realities,” in *The Image of the Black in Western Art. 2. From the Early Christian Era to the “Age of Discovery”*, ed. D. Bindman and H.L. Gates (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 73–137, and in the same volume, P.H. Kaplan, “Introduction to the New Edition,” 1–30, esp. 12–18; D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, 2006), 157–81; and D. Verkerk, “Black Servant, Black Demon: Color Ideology in the Ashburnham Pentateuch,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (2001/1), 57–77.
- 16 “Les Juifs se reconnoîtront à leur bonnet conique.” É. Mâle, *L’Art Religieux de du XIIIe siècle en France: Étude sur l’iconographie du moyen age et sur ses sources d’inspiration* (Paris, 1898), 3. Scholarship on the iconography of Others is extensive and impossible to present exhaustively in an essay of this scale. The section ahead therefore cites key publications only, emphasizing those that track back to broader historiographic trends and additional bibliography.
- 17 C. Roth, “The Medieval Conception of the Jew: A New Interpretation,” in *Essays and Studies in Honor of Linda R. Miller*, ed. I. Davidson (New York, 1938), 171–90, and idem, “Portraits and Caricatures of Medieval English Jews,” *The Jewish Monthly* 4 (1950), suppl., i–vii; J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism* (Yale, 1943); B. Blumenkranz, *Le juif médiéval au miroir de l’art chrétien* (Paris, 1966).
- 18 On the ancient period, see the somewhat controversial works of F.M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge, 1970), and idem, *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks* (Cambridge, 1983), as well as L. Thompson, *Romans and Blacks* (Norman, 1989).
- 19 Ladislav Bugner, general editor, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, 5 vols. (Houston, 1979–1989); in 2010 it was republished, with new volume introductions, by Harvard University Press and the W.E.B. Dubois Institute under the editorship of David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, Jr.
- 20 P.H. Kaplan, *Rise of the Black Magus; Suckale-Redlefsen, Mauritius: Der Heilige Mohr* (as in note 4).
- 21 J. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago, 1980); R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford, 1987; second ed. rev. 2007); J. Richards, *Sex, Dissidence, and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1990).
- 22 Said, *Orientalism* (as in note 2).
- 23 M. Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, 1989).
- 24 M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London, 1992).
- 25 Mellinkoff, *Outcasts* (as in note 8); H. Schreckenberg, *The Jews in Christian Art: An Illustrated History* (London, 1996); Revel-Neher, *The Image of the Jew* (as in note 13).
- 26 Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews* (as in note 10).
- 27 The theoretical turn is exemplified by the essays in J.J. Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (New York, 2000), as well as by many of the works cited ahead.
- 28 *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (Special Issue: Race and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages, ed. T. Hahn), 31:1 (2001). See also: *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, ed. E. Frojmovic (Leiden, 2002); *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed.

- M.B. Merback (Leiden, 2003); *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. C. Robinson and L. Rouhi (Leiden, 2005); and G. Burger and S.F. Kruger, *Queering the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 2001).
- 29 D. Strickland, "Artists, Audience, and Ambivalence in Marco Polo's *Divisament dou monde*," *Viator* 36 (2005), 493–529; Mittman, "The Other Close at Hand" (as in note 8), 97–112; Camille, *Image on the Edge* (as in note 24), 129–52.
  - 30 D. Bindman and H.L. Gates, Jr., ed., *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 2010–2014); *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe*, ed. J. Spicer (Baltimore, 2012); M. Ainsworth, S. Hindriks, and P. Terjanian, "Lucas Cranach's *Saint Maurice*," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 72:4 (Spring, 2015); *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. M. Eliav-Feldon, B. Isaac, and J. Ziegler (Cambridge, 2009); *Images of Otherness in Medieval and Early Modern Times: Exclusion, Inclusion, Assimilation*, ed. A. Eisenbeiss and L. Saruma-Jeltsch (Berlin, 2012).
  - 31 N. Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2011); *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. H.L. Kessler and D. Nirenberg (Philadelphia, 2011); I.M. Resnick, *Marks of Distinction: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages* (Washington, DC, 2012); S. Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 2014); *Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. A.S. Mittman and P.J. Dendle (Farnham, 2012).
  - 32 J.W. Williams, "Generaciones Abrahæ: Reconquest Iconography in León," *Gesta* 16:2 (1977), 3–14. Also early and of note is M. García-Arenal, "Los moros en las *Cantigas* de Alfonso X," *Al-Qantara* 6 (1985), 133–51.
  - 33 The scholarship on Iberia is vast and growing; just a sample of key publications includes O.K. Werckmeister, "The Islamic Rider in the Beatus of Gerona," *Gesta* 36:2 (1997), 101–6; D.F. Ruggles, "Mothers of a Hybrid Dynasty: Race, Genealogy, and Acculturation in al-Andalus," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34:1 (2004), 65–94; F. Prado-Vilar, "The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze: Regarding the Worth of Others," in Robinson and Rouhi, *Under the Influence* (as in note 28), 67–100; P.K. Klein, "Moros y judíos en las 'Cantigas' de Alfonso el Sabio: imágenes de conflictos distintos," in *Simposio Internacional "El Legado de Al-Andalus": el arte andalusí en los reinos de León y Castilla durante la edad media*, ed. M. Valdés Fernández (Valladolid, 2007), 341–64; J. Dodds, M.R. Menocal and A.K. Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy* (New Haven, 2008); P. Rodríguez-Barral, *La imagen del judío en la España medieval: El conflicto entre cristianismo y judaísmo en las artes visuales góticas* (Barcelona, 2009); I. Monteira Arias, *El enemigo imaginado: La escultural románica hispana y la lucha contra el Islam* (Toulouse, 2012); and Patton, *Art of Estrangement* (as in note 9).
  - 34 The classic treatment is R.I. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society* (rev. ed. 2007), esp. 1–60; a broader perspective is offered by Freedman, *Medieval Other* (as in note 1), 4–9.
  - 35 Suckale-Redlefsen, *Mauritius* (as in note 4); on Sheba, see M.H. Caviness, "(Ex)changing Colors: Queens of Sheba and Black Madonnas," *Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12–14 Jahrhunderts: Produktion und Rezeption. Festschrift für Peter Kurmann zum 65 Geburtstag* (Bern, 2006), 553–70. J. Devisse, "A Sanctified Black: Maurice," in *Image of the Black in Western Art. 2. From the Early Christian Era to the "Age of Discovery"*, ed. Bindman and Gates (as in note 15), pp. 139–94. Another positive black figure to emerge in the late Middle Ages was the black magus; see P.H. Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor, 1985).
  - 36 For one such study, see E.A. Foster, "The Black Madonna of Montserrat: An Exception to Concepts of Dark Skin in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia?" *Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America*, ed. P.A. Patton (Leiden, 2015), 18–50.
  - 37 As noted by Hunt, "Skin and the Meeting of Cultures" (as in note 13), 89–106.
  - 38 On Muslims and conversion in this *cantiga*, see Prado-Vilar, *Gothic Anamorphic Gaze* (as in note 33), 67–71; on skin color in Castile more generally, see P.A. Patton, "An Ethiopian-Headed Serpent in the *Cantigas* de Santa María: Sin, Sex, and Color in Late Medieval Castile," *Gesta* 55:2 (2016), 213–38.
  - 39 See W.C. Jordan, "Why Race?" *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31:1 (2001), 165–73; R. Bartlett, "Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31:1 (2001), 39–56; G. Heng, "The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages I: Race Studies, Modernity, and the Middle Ages," *Literature Compass* 8:5 (2011), 258–74 and idem, "The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages II: Locations of Medieval Race," *Literature Compass* 8:5 (2011), 275–93. See also D. Nirenberg, "Race and the Middle Ages: The Case of Spain and Its Jews," in *Rereading the Black Legend*, 71–87; and idem, "Was There Race before Modernity? The Example of 'Jewish' Blood in Late Medieval Spain," in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. M. Eliav-Feldon, B. Isaac, and J. Ziegler

- (Cambridge, 2009), 232–64. On the postmedieval evolution of the term “race” in application to humans rather than animals, see C. de Miramon, “Noble Dogs, Noble Blood: The Invention of the Concept of Race in the Late Middle Ages,” in the same volume, 200–16.
- 40 See, for example, Strickland, “Artists, Audience, and Ambivalence in Marco Polo’s *Divisament dou monde*” (as in note 29), 493–529.
- 41 Promising work in these areas includes S. Zimmerman, “Leprosy in the Medieval Imaginary,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38:3 (2008), 559–87; E. Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind: Medieval Constructions of Disability* (Ann Arbor, 2010); M. Camille, “The Pose of the Queer: Dante’s Gaze, Brunetto Latini’s Body,” in *Queering the Middle Ages* (as in note 28), 57–86.
- 42 See Camille, *Image on the Edge* (as in note 24), 143–45, and *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146, intro. E.H. Roesner, F. Avril, and N.F. Regalado (New York, 1990), 11–13. See also N.F. Regalado, “Masques réeles dans le monde de l’imaginaire: Le rite et l’écrit dans le charivari du *Roman du Fauvel*, MS B.N. Fr. 146,” in *Masques et Deguisements dans la littérature médiévale*, ed. M.-L. Ollier (Montreal, 1988), 111–28.

THE ROUTLEDGE  
COMPANION TO MEDIEVAL  
ICONOGRAPHY

2017

*Edited by Colum Hourihane*

 Routledge  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK