

Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times

Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture

Edited by
Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge

5

De Gruyter

Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times

Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior,
its Meaning, and Consequences

Edited by
Albrecht Classen

De Gruyter

ISBN 978-3-11-024547-9
e-ISBN 978-3-11-024548-6
ISSN 1864-3396

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Laughter in the Middle Ages and early modern times : epistemology of a fundamental human behavior, its meaning, and consequences / edited by Albrecht Classen.

p. cm. — (Fundamentals of medieval and early modern culture ; 5)

Includes index.

ISBN 978-3-11-024547-9 (alk. paper)

1. Laughter in literature. 2. Humor in literature. 3. Laughter — History. 4. Humor — History. 5. Laughter — Philosophy. 6. Laughter — Religious aspects. 7. Wit and humor, Medieval. 8. Wit and humor — History and criticism. I. Classen, Albrecht.

PN56.L3L39 2010

809'.93354—dc22

2010011924

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

© 2010 Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin/New York
Printing and binding: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
∞ Printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Germany
www.degruyter.com

Table of Contents

Albrecht Classen

| | |
|--|---|
| Laughter as an Expression of Human Nature in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period: Literary, Historical, Theological, Philosophical, and Psychological Reflections. Also an Introduction | 1 |
|--|---|

Chapter 1

Judith Hagen

| | |
|---|-----|
| Laughter in Procopius's <i>Wars</i> | 141 |
|---|-----|

Chapter 2

Livnat Holtzman

| | |
|--|-----|
| "Does God Really Laugh?" – Appropriate and Inappropriate Descriptions of God in Islamic Traditionalist Theology | 165 |
|--|-----|

Chapter 3

Daniel F. Pigg

| | |
|--|-----|
| Laughter in <i>Beowulf</i> : Ambiguity, Ambivalence, and Group Identity Formation | 201 |
|--|-----|

Chapter 4

Mark Burde

| | |
|---|-----|
| The <i>Parodia sacra</i> Problem and Medieval Comic Studies | 215 |
|---|-----|

Chapter 5

Olga V. Trokhimenko

| | |
|---|-----|
| Women's Laughter and Gender Politics in Medieval Conduct Discourse | 243 |
|---|-----|

Chapter 6

Madelon Köhler-Busch

Pushing Decorum: Uneasy Laughter in

Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône* 265**Chapter 7**

Connie L. Scarborough

Laughter and the Comic in a Religious Text:

The Example of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* 281**Chapter 8**

John Sewell

The Son Rebelled and So the Father Made Man Alone:

Ridicule and Boundary Maintenance in the *Nizzahon Vetus* 295**Chapter 9**

Birgit Wiedl

Laughing at the Beast: The *Judensau*:

Anti-Jewish Propaganda and Humor

from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period 325

Chapter 10

Fabian Alfie

Yes . . . but was it funny? Cecco Angiolieri,

Rustico Filippi and Giovanni Boccaccio 365

Chapter 11

Nicolino Applauso

Curses and Laughter in Medieval Italian Comic Poetry:

The Ethics of Humor in Rustico Filippi's Invectives 383

Chapter 12

Feargal Ó Béarra

Tromdhámh Guaire: a Context for Laughter

and Audience in Early Modern Ireland 413

Chapter 13

Jean E. Jost

Humorous Transgression in the Non-Conformist Fabliaux:

A Bakhtinian Analysis of Three Comic Tales 429

Chapter 14

Gretchen Mieszkowski

Chaucerian Comedy: *Troilus and Criseyde* 457**Chapter 15**

Sarah Gordon

Laughing and Eating in the Fabliaux 481

Chapter 16

Christine Bousquet-Labou rie

Laughter and Medieval Stalls 499

Chapter 17

Scott L. Taylor

Vox populi e voce professionis: Processus juris joco-serius.

Esoteric Humor and the Incommensurability of Laughter 515

Chapter 18

Jean N. Goodrich

“So I thought as I Stood, To Mirth Us Among”:

The Function of Laughter in *The Second Shepherds’ Play* 531**Chapter 19**

Albrecht Classen

Laughing in Late-Medieval Verse (*m eren*) andProse (*Schw nke*) Narratives: Epistemological Strategies

and Hermeneutic Explorations 547

Chapter 20

Rosa Alvarez Perez

The Workings of Desire: Panurge and the Dogs 587

Chapter 21

Elizabeth Chesney Zegura

Laughing Out Loud in the *Heptaméron*: A Reassessment
 of Marguerite de Navarre's Ambivalent Humor 603

Chapter 22

Lia B. Ross

You had to be there: The Elusive Humor of the *Sottie* 621

Chapter 23

Kyle DiRoberto

Sacred Parody in Robert Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592) 651

Chapter 24

Martha Moffitt Peacock

The Comedy of the Shrew: Theorizing Humor in
 Early Modern Netherlandish Art 667

Chapter 25

Jessica Tvordi

The Comic Personas of Milton's *Prolusion VI*:
 Negotiating Masculine Identity Through Self-Directed Humor 715

Chapter 26

Robert J. Alexander

Ridentum dicere verum (Using Laughter to Speak the Truth):
 Laughter and the Language of the Early Modern
 Clown "Pickelhering" in German Literature
 of the Late Seventeenth Century (1675-1700) 735

Chapter 27

Thomas Willard

Andreae's *ludibrium*: Menippean Satire in the *Chymische Hochzeit* 767

Chapter 28

Diane Rudall

The Comic Power of Illusion-Allusion: Laughter, *La Devineresse*,
 and the Scandal of a Glorious Century 791

Chapter 29

Allison P. Coudert

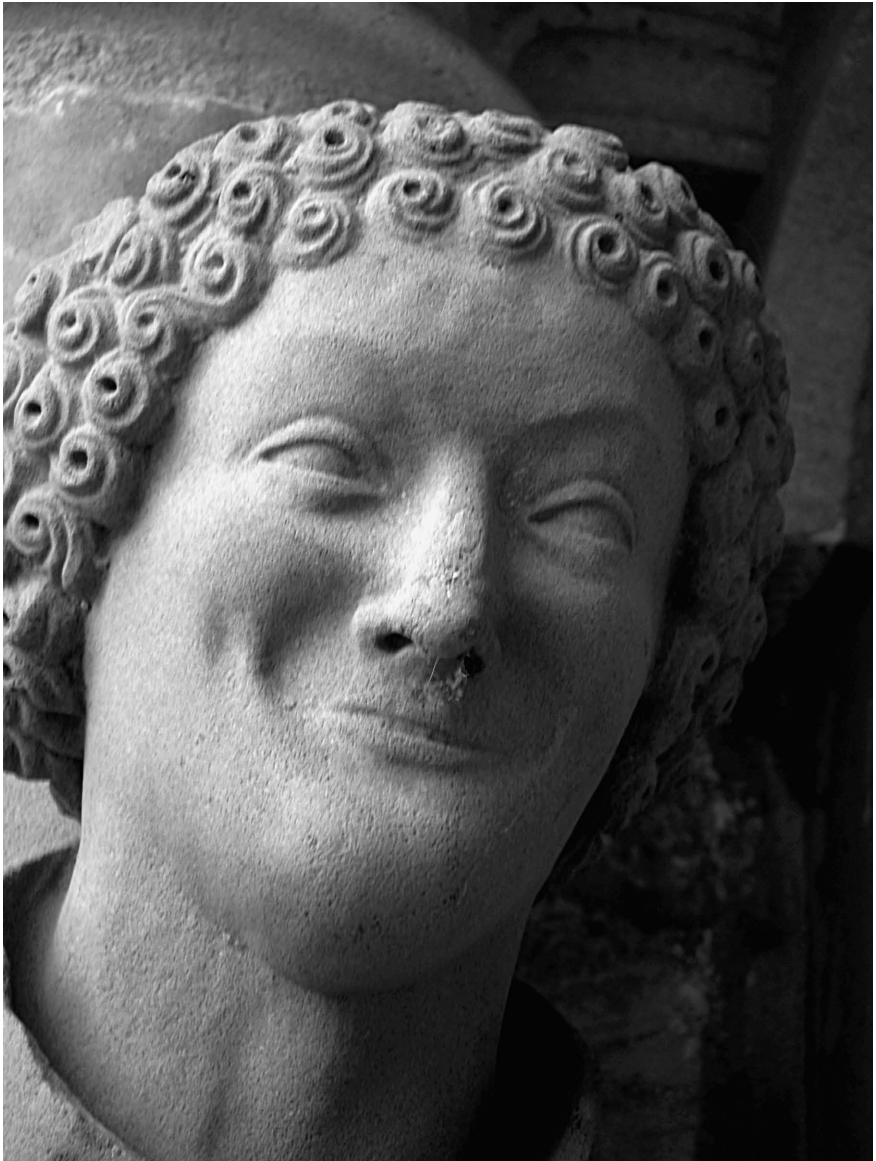
Laughing at Credulity and Superstition in the

Long Eighteenth Century 803

List of Illustrations 831

Contributors 835

Index 847



Chapter 9

Birgit Wiedl

(Institute for Jewish History in Austria, St. Pölten)

Laughing at the Beast: The *Judensau*: Anti-Jewish Propaganda and Humor from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period

Around 1900, the visitors of a fair in Saxony might have come across a traveling theater that was performing there, and if they stayed for the afterpiece, they might have been entertained with a puppet that is now kept at the Municipal Museum in Munich: a pig that, whenever the strings are pulled, is turned into a *Schacherjude*, the 'classical' figure of a bearded Jew, bearing all the stereotyped facial features and extending a hand in a gesture that should evoke the idea of haggling, of reaching out for money. The swift transformations from sow to Jew to sow, enabled by a tilting mechanism, must have left a deep impression on the spectators who saw the two images blurring into one right in front of their eyes.¹ Although this device is in its simplicity a far cry from the complex and sophisticated medieval and early modern *Judensau* icons and shares nothing but the most basic features with them, it must have brought to mind to spectators the very image of the *Judensau* and further cemented a connection that lay at the basis of probably the most successful anti-Jewish image in the German speaking realm: the Jew *per se* is equal to a sow, and therefore barely, if at all, human. Therefore it is absolutely justified, even inevitable, to laugh at him; he deserves no better.

The oldest example of a *Judensau* that is still in existence, although badly weathered, is dated to about 1230 and located in the Cathedral of Brandenburg an

¹ Stefan Rohrbacher and Michael Schmidt, *Judenbilder: Kulturgeschichte antijüdischer Mythen und antisemitischer Vorurteile* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1991), 28–31, with illustration. I would like to express my gratitude to Albrecht Classen and Jean N. Goodrich for their valuable comments and corrections of the whole article.

der Havel (northeastern Germany, between Magdeburg and Berlin), where it forms the capital of a column in the cloister of the Cathedral. While the main features of the typical *Judensau* are present in this relief—the sow, the suckling, and the Jewish hat—it differs from the later pieces due to the beast-human hybrid character that the sow and one piglet display: both feature a human head (with the sow wearing a hat that resembles the typical pointed Jewish hat²) and a human arm instead of one of their legs. This composition is therefore reflecting the quite common subject of beast-human hybrid figures of medieval art in general,³ yet it is not an ‘ordinary’ human whose head is placed on the animal’s body, and whose offspring is suckling her teats, but clearly a Jew. In addition to that, there are two human figures flanking the sow: a woman in front of the sow seems to be feeding it while a man wearing a long coat is crouching behind the animal and reaching toward its backside, a scene at least foreshadowing the later common composition of a man caressing the sow’s anus.

These two activities of the Jews, the suckling of the sow’s teats and the occupation with the animal’s hindquarters, turned out to become the key features of the *Judensau* that were repeated in almost all of its renditions, even if the composition of the figures differed in their setup. The other (still existing) early- to mid-thirteenth-century *Judensäue* too vary profoundly from what would eventually emerge as the ‘classic’ type. The *Judensau* of St. Mary’s at Lemgo (southwest of Hanover) from around 1310 features a kneeling man wearing a Jewish hat who is embracing and (probably) kissing a sow. In the Cathedral of Xanten, an ensemble consisting of a sow, a Jew, and a little hybrid monster are depicted on a corbel in the north side of the choir; the Jew, recognizable as such with his Jewish hat, side-locks and chin-beard, is half-kneeling, his head turned toward the beholder, while the sow is biting into the pointed end of his hat. The

² The question whether the pointed hat was an exclusively derogatory sign, as suggested by Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Later Middle Ages*, vol. 1: *Text*. California Studies in the History of Art, 32 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), 91–94, or whether it was (originally) part of the Jewish costume, is still ongoing, see recently Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: the Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: California University Press, 1999), 15–19; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 105–07; Michael Toch, *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich*. Second ed. Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, 44 (1998; Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003), 37–38; Jacqueline E. Jung, “The Passion, the Jews, and the Crisis of the Individual on the Naumburg West Choir Screen,” *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 145–77; here 150–52; and Ziva Amishai-Maisels, “Demonization of the ‘Other’ in the Visual Arts,” *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism, & Xenophobia*, ed. Robert S. Wistrich (1999; London: Routledge, 2003); 44–72; here 56.

³ Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), 137–66.

tiny monster, interpretable as a Jew⁴ with side-locks and a hat and nothing but a trefoil leaf covering its buttocks, suckles the sow's teats. The sow-kissing Jew in the nave of Mary Magdalene's church in Eberswalde (northeast of Berlin), and the Jew who is pushing away one of the piglets that are suckling a sow's teats in a church in Bad Wimpfen (north of Stuttgart) are further examples of the variations of yet one and the same topic.⁵

One of the main questions remains why the *Judensau* developed primarily in the German speaking regions. Isaiah Shachar sees different readings and interpretation of Biblical texts, an aligning of the swine with the Jews in Hrabanus Maurus' *De universo*, at the origin of the development, contrasting the German tradition with the English that is remarkably void of the Jew-sow motif, in spite of the quite numerous examples of sows, often with suckling piglets, in English churches and monasteries as well as in manuscripts of bestiaries. Both traditions share the idea of the filthiness of the swine,⁶ utilizing the animal to symbolize impurity, thus also serving as a symbol for heretics, and the vices of *luxuria* and *gula*,⁷ yet the sow-with-piglets seems to be a distinctive feature of the English manuscript illustration. Recently, Israel Yuval has launched the appealing theory

⁴ Isaiah Shachar, *The Judensau: A Medieval Anti-Jewish Motif and Its History*. Warburg Institute Surveys, 5 (London: Warburg Institute, 1974), 17: piglet-Jew, while Heinz Schreckenberger, *Christliche Adversus-Judaos-Bilder: Das Alte und Neue Testament im Spiegel der christlichen Kunst*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Series XXIII: Theologie, 650 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 1999), 189, interprets it as a little monkey. On monkeys/apes as a signifier of evil, see Mariko Miyazaki, "Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-Semitism," *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, ed. Debra Hassig. Garland reference library of the humanities, 2076; Garland medieval casebooks, 22. (New York and London: Garland, 1999), 23–52; here 33–34, who establishes a specific connection between owls and apes. See also the contribution to this volume by Christine Bousquet-Labouërie.

⁵ Shachar, *Judensau*, 16–19, pl. 7–12. Recently, the sculpture in Bad Wimpfen (gargoyle) has been replaced by a replica while the original has been moved to the municipal museum.

⁶ Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 40–45, explores the classical and late antique roots of the image(s) both the Jewish and Christian Middle Ages had of the pig.

⁷ Shachar, *Judensau*, 5; see also Wilfried Schouwink, *Der wilde Eber in Gottes Weinberg: Zur Darstellung des Schweins in Literatur und Kunst des Mittelalters* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1985), 83–85. For the connection of Jews with *gula/luxuria*-usury, see Winfried Frey, "Der 'Wucherjude' als Karikatur christlicher Praxis," *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung*, vol. 10, part 2: *Produktive Kulturkonflikte*, ed. Felicitas Schmieder (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005): 126–35; here 128; Johannes Heil, "Das Geld und das Gold des Kalbes: Momente der Exodusdeutung zwischen Patristik und Neuzeit," *Shylock? Zinsverbot und Geldverleih in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition*, ed. id. and Bernd Wacker (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1997), 35–58. See also the summary by Johannes Fried, "Zins als Wucher: Zu den gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen der Predigt gegen den Wucherzins," Introduction to the newly revised German edition of Jacques LeGoff, *Wucherzins und Höllenqual: Ökonomie und Religion im Mittelalter*, trans. from the French by Matthias Rüb (1986; Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2008), 134–74.

that the *Judensau* motif derived from the vilification of the Messianic donkey, that it is, in fact, its satiric opposite.⁸

The early types, as much as they differ from what is to become the 'classical' *Judensau*, nevertheless give not only evidence of the quite wide-ranging distribution of the general image of sow-with-Jew but share characteristic traits that make them predecessors of the later derogatory image. Be it the dehumanizing of the Jew by using the hybrid forms in the Brandenburg and Xanten examples, the sow-kissing Jew of Eberswalde with its allusion to the sodomitic proclivities of the sexually deviant Jew,⁹ its emphasis is on the Jews' beastly, non-human descent, similar to other beast-Jew hybrids like the one that adorns the corbel of a column in the cloisters of the Carmelite monastery in Bamberg (see figure 1). The oldest depiction that shows all the main features which in the centuries to come would add up to the 'classical' image of the *Judensau* is probably the one at the Cathedral of Magdeburg from the last third of the thirteenth century, a carved frieze on the wall of the (former) atrium, thus visible to all upon entering the church. The frieze is badly damaged today, yet the main characteristics are clearly discernible: on two sides of a corbel, a huge sow is depicted with its head reaching around the corner, and a Jew wearing a long frock-coat, a conical hat, long hair and beard is standing behind her while a second Jew, similarly attired, is kneeling beneath the sow, holding and suckling one of her teats. Due to the damage, we cannot determine fully whether the Jew standing behind the sow is reaching toward her anus since his arms have broken off; also the heads of the two piglets, one sitting under the sow's belly, the other standing beneath her head, are missing. On the other side of the corbel, in front of the sow, a woman is picking an acorn from a tree while holding a bowl, behind her, a Jew is depicted holding an open scroll.¹⁰

None of the thirteenth-century *Judensäue* stands alone. In Brandenburg an der Havel and Xanten, the *Judensau* images are contrasted with battle scenes between representations of evil. In Brandenburg, dragons are fighting knights or mangling their already dead bodies, while at Xanten, the encounter of the evil forces — fighting dragons on the one and the *Judensau* on the other corbel — is contrasted by the holy scene that is going on above, in the scene the sculptures standing on the two corbels represent: the Visitation scene, the meeting of Mary and

⁸ Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. from the Hebrew by Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (2000; Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2006), 127–29.

⁹ The idea of the sexually insatiable Jew has already been introduced by antique writers, including Tacitus, see Jan Nicolaas Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 142.

¹⁰ Shachar, *Judensau*, 19–20, pl. 13–14.

Elizabeth.¹¹ The *Judensau* at Magdeburg is part of an elaborate cycle that Isaiah Shachar interprets as a series of vices that are portrayed by usage of human-animal pairings: a naked girl, with a ram and apes as the allegorization of *luxuria* whereas the sow and the Jews are representing *gula*, gluttony. Twelfth-century bestiaires give a hint as to what the sow stands for in medieval iconographical context:¹² a representation of slack penitents, of sinners who return to their sin, reflecting the words of St. Peter that “the dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire” (2 Peter 2:22), which is considered an even greater sin than just sinning once, because it means despising the forgiveness that was granted to the sinner due to his, or her, repentance. This passage also established the equation of Jews with both swine and dogs by Christian polemics, particularly from the eleventh century onwards;¹³ a more widespread adaptation was triggered by the allusion in the *Decretum Gratiani* that, referring to the council of Agde from 506 C.E., declared that Jews who considered baptism should remain catechumens for eight months since they “tend to return to their vomit because of their perfidy.”¹⁴ The swine, an animal already linked to leprosy and skin diseases by authors like Plutarch¹⁵ and further stigmatized by the Bible as standing for unclean, sinful people, negligent penitents and heretics as well as being associated with luxury and gluttony, therefore was the ‘ideal’ beast to be connected with Jews: it was the Jews that often served as representatives of unwanted Christian behavior, pairings of Jews and heretics had become, according to Lipton,

¹¹ Shachar, *Judensau*, 17.

¹² Sarah Phillips, “The pig in medieval iconography,” *Pigs and Humans: 10.000 Years of Interaction*, ed. Umberto Albarella, Keith Dobney, Anton Erynck, and Peter Rowley-Conwy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 373–87; here 374–76.

¹³ Winfried Frey, “‘Wilt Gott man hing sie wie die Hund’. Vergleiche von Juden mit Hunden in deutschen Texten des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit,” *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung*, vol. 12, part 2: *Tier und Religion*, ed. Thomas Honegger and W. Günther Rohr (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2007), 119–34; here 121; see also Kenneth Stow, *Jewish Dogs: An Image and Its Interpreters. Continuity in the Catholic-Jewish Encounter*. Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), and Ivan G. Marcus, “Images of the Jews in the Exempla of Caesarius of Heisterbach,” *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen. Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter Studien, vol. 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996), 247–55; here 250–51, who points out that the dog image is used by Christians and Jews alike.

¹⁴ Heinz Schreckenberger, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte (11.–13. Jahrhundert): Mit einer Ikonographie des Judenthemas bis zum 4. Laterankonzil*. Europäische Hochschulschriften. Sec. ed. Reihe XXIII: Theologie, 335 (1988; Frankfurt a. M., Bern, New York, et al.: Peter Lang, 1991), 151. Frey, “Vergleiche von Juden mit Hunden,” 122, points out that this literary image was also used as an argument for the (financial) support of newly baptised Christians lest they are forced to return to their old religion like a dog to its vomit.

¹⁵ Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism*, 137–38.

commonplace by the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Jews were closely connected with the sins of greed and excessive luxury, and there is but little doubt that Christians were aware of the Jewish ritual regulations that marked the swine as unclean, adding yet another layer of insult to the equation.¹⁷

Yet as much as these interpretations fit with the medieval usage of animal symbolism, it is, however, crucial, as Alexandra Cuffel has pointed out, to seek for other animals or iconography in the surroundings of the *Judensau* image that may not be part of the cycles of vices but provide an additional connection to Jews, thus allowing anti-Jewish polemics to appear repeatedly in many churches of medieval Christendom, even if these are not placed in the foreground.¹⁸ As much as treating any artistic denigration of Jews as primarily, even exclusively, anti-Jewish propaganda would reduce the complexity of medieval metaphorical and pictorial language,¹⁹ minimizing the at least mocking effect these depictions presented at the expense of the Jews would amount to ignoring crucial aspects. Animals which, in their own surroundings, represented primarily other sins or vices, like the (similarly not kosher) rabbit that stands for sexual promiscuity and homosexuality, the owl and its representation of darkness,²⁰ or the goat with its strong connection

¹⁶ Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 21–29, 83–111, particularly 83. For an intriguing insight into the connection of heretics and laughter, see Thomas Scharff, “Lachen über die Ketzer. Religiöse Devianz und Gelächter im Hochmittelalter,” *Lachgemeinschaften: Kulturelle Inszenierungen und soziale Wirkungen im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. id. Trends in Medieval Philology, 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 17–31.

¹⁷ The pig as a derogatory image was neither reduced to Jews nor used exclusively by Christians. Both Christians and Jews equated Muslims to pigs, see Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 76 and 134, with the example of the *Nizzahon Yashan*, see also Israel Jacob Yuval, “‘They tell lies: you ate the man’: Jewish Reactions to Ritual Murder Accusations,” *Religious Violence between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*, ed. Anna Sapir Abulafia (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 86–106, particularly 91–94; Martin Przybalski, “Zwei Beispiele antichristlicher Polemik in Spätantike und Mittelalter: tol’ dotjeschu und nizzachon jaschan” *Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit*, ed. Eveline Brugger and Birgit Wiedl (Innsbruck, Vienna, and Bolzano: StudienVerlag, 2007), 253–68, particularly 260–64, and the contribution of John Sewell in this volume. Furthermore, there are other humiliating rituals that include Jews and swine, like the infamous oath-taking on a swine’s skin (actually with few ‘real-life’ examples), whereas elder ceremonials feature a goat’s skin (twelfth century, only one reference), see a summary of the discussion by Gundula Grebner, “Haltungen zum Judeneid: Texte und Kontexte der Frankfurter Eidesformeln im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert,” “...Ihrer Bürger Freiheit”: *Frankfurt am Main im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Erinnerung an die Frankfurter Mediaevistin Elsbet Orth*, ed. Heribert Müller. Veröffentlichungen der Frankfurter Historischen Kommission, 22 (Frankfurt a. M.: Waldemar Kramer, 2004), 141–73.

¹⁸ Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 229–31.

¹⁹ Debra Hassig, “The Iconography of Rejection: Jews and Other Monstrous Races,” *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eighteenth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 25–46, a perception criticized, e.g., by Jung, “The Passion, the Jews, and the Crisis of the Individual,” 164, who unfortunately mixes up Debra Hassig and Debra Higgs Strickland.

²⁰ Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 137.

with the devil, nevertheless could form a second, more loose cycle that was based on the 'lowest common factor': the Jews. Jews suckling a lamb's tail,²¹ heretics kissing a cat's anus:²² applying their mouths—site of the ingestion of the immaculate Host by good Catholics—to filthy animal orifices²³ not only aroused disgust against the offenders, be they Jews or other, and drew derogatory smirks, but evoked further association. Money, filth and even obscenity, come to mind, thus providing another link to the Jews; what Sara Lipton has demonstrated so convincingly for the linkage of cat-heretics-Jews is even more applicable to the iconographical patterns surrounding the swine: related yet hitherto unconnected images were strung together to form a new whole.²⁴

The manifold attitudes of the Middle Ages toward animals cannot be discussed here because it was so manifold and could even include friendship and love²⁵; yet it is crucial to an examination of the *Judensau* to consider at least a few points. In contrast to the clear separation between human being and beast that was upheld during the early Middle Ages, the insult consisting more in the equation with the irrational beast,²⁶ the gap started to close from the twelfth century onwards when animals became more and more humanized while simultaneously, the 'beast within' was being recognized in the human beings.²⁷ Animals were being held responsible for their actions and trials against them, though remaining a rarity, were held particularly against swine,²⁸ while punishment through (self-) humiliation by equating the delinquent with an animal spans from the Middle Ages²⁹ throughout the Early Modern Period.³⁰ Animals figure prominently in

²¹ Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 120.

²² Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 88.

²³ Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 90.

²⁴ Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 90.

²⁵ *Tiere als Freunde im Mittelalter: Eine Anthologie*. Eingeleitet, ausgewählt, übersetzt und kommentiert von Gabriela Kompatscher zusammen mit Albrecht Classen und Peter Dinzelsbacher (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2010).

²⁶ Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, who focusses on the connection of the irrational and the female. Abulafia, "Christians and Jews in the High Middle Ages," 23; Debra Higgs Strickland, "The Jews, Leviticus, and the Unclean in Medieval English Bestiaries," *Beyond the Yellow Badge*, 203–32; here 227–28 (on Peter the Venerable and Alan of Lille).

²⁷ Salisbury, *The Beast Within*; Peter Dinzelsbacher, *Das fremde Mittelalter: Gottesurteil und Tierprozess* (Essen: Magnus Verlag, 2006), 139. Furthermore, animal behavior was described to convey moral lessons and point out desired Christian behavior, see Higgs Strickland, "The Jews, Leviticus, and the Unclean," 203.

²⁸ Dinzelsbacher, *Das fremde Mittelalter*, 110–11 and 113. The system of trial and punishment worked the other way round, too: e.g., according to Burgundian law, a falcon that had been stolen had the right to pick six ounces of flesh out of his thief's body, id., 143.

²⁹ Famous is the scene of El Cid's reconciliation with King Alfonso where he, in an act of self-humiliation, acts like cattle: "Forthwith to earth he bends him on the hand and on the knee. And the grass of the meadow with his very teeth he rent." Quoted after the online version of *The Lay of the Cid*, translated by R. Selden Rose and Leonard Bacon (Berkeley: University of California

medieval iconography, both as ‘themselves’ and as representation of one or more characteristics, traits, or groups of people. While some beasts are assigned an exclusively positive image, like the panther or the phoenix,³¹ others, like the dog,³² are of diverse interpretation, according to the context they are used in. Allegories of Jews and animals are manifold, and it does not come as a surprise that those linked with the Jews, the sow being but one among them, are in the rarest of cases provided with a positive interpretation. Instead, they are regularly associated with uncleanness and irrational and bestial nature.³³ The aforementioned rabbit, or hare, with its connotation of sexual deviance, is hunted to death by dogs, as Christians will eventually overcome the Jews. The owl with its preference for darkness over light is equated with the Jews’ obstinate refusal of the light of Christ,³⁴ and is attacked by smaller birds, like righteous Christians would rebel against the wicked Jew while the owl-Jew remains stoic, persevering in his wrongs.³⁵ Lest the spectator miss the connection, a more visible insult was sometimes added by giving depictions of owls’ ‘Jewish features’ by turning its beak into the likeness of a hooked nose.³⁶ Obduracy against the truth of the Christian faith had been, and would remain, one of the central reproaches against the Jews throughout the Middle Ages, utilized already in the vernacular sermons

Press, 1919), <http://omacil.org/Cid/> (last accessed on Jan. 30, 2010). The equation human-animal as a ritual of humiliation is pointed out by Dinzelbacher, “Mensch und Tier in der Geschichte Europas: Mittelalter,” *Mensch und Tier in der Geschichte Europas*, ed. id. Kröners Taschenausgabe, 34 (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 2000), 181–292; here 198.

³⁰ Bianca Frohne, “Narren, Tiere und gewreliche Figuren: Zur Inszenierung komischer Körperlichkeit im Kontext von Bloßstellung, Spott und Schande vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert,” *Glaubensstreit und Gelächter: Reformation und Lachkultur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Christoph Auffarth and Sonja Kerth. Religionen in der pluralen Welt, 6 (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2008), 19–54; here 42–43, gives the example of what is known as *Schandsteine* (literally ‘stones of disgrace’), stones in the shape of animals that were considered disgusting or infamous, like dogs or toads, that had to be carried around by the perpetrator as a form of public punishment.

³¹ Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 156–66 (panther), 72–83 (phoenix); see also Romy Günthart, “Der Phönix: Vom Christussymbol zum Firmenlogo,” *Dämonen, Monster, Fabelwesen*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich. Mittelalter Mythen, 2 (St. Gallen, UVK. Fachverlag für Wissenschaft und Studium, 1999), 467–83.

³² Peter Dinzelbacher, “Mensch und Tier,” 220. See below for the usage of dogs with regard to Jews.

³³ Higgs Strickland, “The Jews, Leviticus, and the Unclean,” 227.

³⁴ Miyazaki, “Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-Semitism,” 27–28; Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 137; Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, 97–98.

³⁵ Miyazaki, “Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-Semitism,” 33.

³⁶ Miyazaki, “Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-Semitism,” 28–29; Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 77–78, who gives evidence of the hooked nose being a general signifier of ‘evilness’, e.g., used in images of (non-Jewish) executioners or torturers of saints, see also Amishai-Maisels, “Demonization of the ‘Other’ in the Visual Arts,” 53–54, with the example of an English manuscript where in the betrayal of Christ, the Romans are depicted as black (i.e., Muslims) with hooked noses and Jewish hats.

of the early Middle Ages,³⁷ an obduracy, almost defiance, that was all the worse because it was done deliberately; and thus Christians felt a certain right to mock the Jews since their obduracy provoked it.³⁸

The ravenous hyena, changing its sex at will³⁹ and devouring corpses,⁴⁰ is as much a symbol of the unclean, idolatrous Jew as the mythical mantichore of the mid thirteenth-century Salisbury bestiary with its pointed Phrygian hat, long beard and grotesque profile⁴¹; their monstrosity, so pointedly non-human, is even heightened by the deeds they commit. The mantichore-Jew hybrid has the remains of a human leg between his jaws, the hyena feeds on human corpses: an allusion to both cannibalism associated with monsters and barbarians, and ritual murder accusations against Jews,⁴² the blood libels that had started off in England in 1144⁴³—a quite ‘sophisticated’ reference that later would be stripped of all possible ambiguity and be hammered home: possibly in the early fourteenth-century Cologne *Judensau*,⁴⁴ and most definitely, and blatantly so, in the *Judensau* of

³⁷ Gunnar Mikosch, “Nichts als Diskurse: Juden in den frühen mittelhochdeutschen Predigten des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts,” *Historische Diskursanalysen: Genealogie, Theorie, Anwendungen*, ed. Franz X. Eder (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006), 253–69; here 260–61.

³⁸ Johannes Heil, ‘Gottesfeinde’—‘Menschenfeinde’: *Die Vorstellung von jüdischer Weltverschwörung (13. bis 16. Jahrhundert)*. Antisemitismus: Geschichte und Struktur, 3 (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2006), 170; Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 70–72, on the ‘visual presentation’ of this reproach.

³⁹ The idea that hyenas could change their sex (not only a European-centered myth) goes back to the fact that the genitalia of the female are protruding, thus resembling a penis. Already Aristotle had spoken against that assumption, as the UC Berkeley hyena specialist, Stephen E. Glickman, has pointed out in his summing up of the ‘bad reputation’ history of the hyena, “The Spotted Hyena from Aristotle to the Lion King: Reputation is Everything—In the Company of Animals” *Social Research* 1995.3, text online at (last accessed on Jan. 30, 2010):

http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2267/is_n3_v62/ai_17909878/?tag=content;col1.

⁴⁰ Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, 145–55, 174; id., “Sex in the Bestiaries,” *The Mark of the Beast*, 71–98, here 74–75; Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 147–48, 153–54; id., “The Jews, Leviticus, and the Unclean,” 209–11.

⁴¹ Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 136, figure 60 and pl. 3; Pamela Gravestock, “Did Imaginary Animals Exist?,” *The Mark of the Beast*, 119–40; here 121.

⁴² Claudine Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast: Jews, Christians, & the Pig*, trans. from the French by Carol Volk. Sec. ed. European Perspectives (1994; New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 136–37, draws the daring yet utterly compelling parallel between Christian pig breeding & raising and all the rituals that go with it, pork consumption and the ‘slaughtering’ of Christian children by Jews (see below).

⁴³ Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 136; Anna Sapir Abulafia, “Christians and Jews in the High Middle Ages: Christian Views of Jews,” *Jews of Europe*, 19–28; here 26–27. There is a legion of relevant research on William of Norwich, see, for instance, Friedrich Lotter, “Innocens virgo et martyr: Thomas von Monmouth und die Verbreitung der Ritualmordlegende im Hochmittelalter,” *Die Legende vom Ritualmord: Zur Geschichte der Blutbeschuldigung gegen Juden*, ed. Rainer Erb (Berlin: Metropol, 1993), 25–72, and the general discussion by Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms 1350–1500* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 105–44 (with the example of Robert of Bury St Edmunds).

⁴⁴ Shachar, *Judensau*, 24–25.

Frankfurt that was linked to the alleged murder of Simon of Trent, leaving no place for doubts about the Jews' viciousness. With the new emphasis on transubstantiation and the Eucharist emerging as a sacrament, the accusations of host desecration and blood libels are mirrored in the depiction and presentation of Jews in many regards: apart from allusive motifs like Jews holding knives or having bloodstains on their clothes, scenes of Jews abducting, tormenting, and slaughtering a Christian child very quickly became a popular subject for paintings and, particularly, prints, intensifying and channelling the anti-Jewish sentiments that culminated in the abovementioned combination of a *Judensau* and the blood libel of Simon of Trent.⁴⁵

Equally vicious is the scorpion who surfaces particularly as the heraldic animal on banners, pennants, shields, and armors of Jews appearing in passion plays and passion scenes in the visual representations; sometimes, the allegorical figure of *Synagoga* accompanying a group of Jews is also portrayed carrying a scorpion banner.⁴⁶ Scorpions, in Christian theological tradition, are not only malevolent but deceitful: they are peaceful in appearance, friendly on the surface, yet woe betide anyone who touches them, they will sting with their venomous barb which they had so treacherously kept hidden from view — like the Jews, who appear as if they meant no harm yet seek to poison Christians with their false teachings. Even as late as 1563, in the infamous broadsheet *Der Juden zukünfftiger Messias* that contributed in a major fashion to the dissemination of the *Judensau* image that formed the center of the woodcut,⁴⁷ a fire-breathing scorpion is hovering above the procession of Jews who are led to Hell by two devils.

⁴⁵ Lipton, "Images and their uses," 279–80. To be released soon is the new book by Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: Jews, Vision, and Witness in Medieval Christian Art* (New York: Metropolitan Books, forthcoming). See Petra Schöner, *Judenbilder im deutschen Einblattdruck der Renaissance: Ein Beitrag zur Imagologie*. Saecula Spiritalia 42 (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 2002), 111–62, with a very critical review by Falk Eisermann, *Aschenas: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 13.1 (2003): 270–72. For the literary development, see Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*. The Middle Ages Series (1999; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), with a reference to broadsheets, 173–80.

⁴⁶ Schouwink, *Der wilde Eber*, 82–83; Herbert Jochum, "Ecclesia und Synagoga. Alter und Neuer Bund in der christlichen Kunst," *Der ungekündigte Bund? Antworten des Neuen Testaments*, ed. Hubert Frankemölle. Quaestiones Disputatae, 172 (Freiburg, Basel, and Vienna: Herder, 1998), 248–76; here 258; Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 176–77, fig. 85 and pl. 12: in the background of a late fifteenth-century passion scene from Cologne, Jews are bearing banners with the emblems of the dragon and the scorpion.

⁴⁷ Shachar, *Judensau*, 55–56 and pl. 46, interprets it as a rendition of the Frankfurt *Judensau* which has been argued against by Gundula Grebner, "Die Judensaudarstellung am Frankfurter Brückentor als Schandbild. Funktionen der Bekleidung von Juden im Bild," *Kopf- und andere Tücher*, ed. Gisela Engel and Susanne Scholz. Salecina-Beiträge zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturkritik, 6 (Berlin: trafo verlag, 2005), 87–102; here 90.

As serious as the context, and primary intent, of these beast allegories may be,⁴⁸ humor is often utilized to add a further quality. The corbels in the choir of the Xanten Cathedral might portray the evil counterpart to the holy Visitation scene they support yet might have drawn the attention of bypassers mainly due to their *drôlerie*-like appearance, as might the almost caricature-like faces of the owls or the bizarre profile of the manticore, while gargoyles, whichever shape they may take on, had, in addition to inducing fear and intimidation, a definite comical aspect *per se*.⁴⁹ Furthermore, topsy-turvyness is a key feature of the medieval choice of animals representing Jews:⁵⁰ the owl that flies backwards and at night, the hyena and the rabbit who can change their sex, the hybrid manticore and the man-nursing pig: animals who act contrary to nature, like the Jews act contrary to the real faith, a truly abhorrent thing—and yet the comical element of a topsy-turvy world is present,⁵¹ resounding in the inscription attached to the fifteenth-century *Judensau* in the choir of the Cathedral of Freising that ‘sets it right’ again: “So wahr die Maus die Katz nit frisst, wird der Jud kein wahrer Christ” (as much as the mouse does not eat the cat, the Jew won’t become a true Christian).⁵²

Although mentioning that anti-Jewish polemics, in whichever form, existed in regions without Jewish settlements is almost tantamount to a commonplace by now, it is nevertheless important to state that evidence of a connection between the creation of a *Judensau* in either of the aforementioned cities and actual violence

⁴⁸ Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 43–44, adds raven and frog/toad to the list, which appear in French manuscripts, see also Mary E. Robbins, “The Truculent Toad in the Middle Ages,” *Animals in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. Nona C. Flores. Garland Medieval Casebooks, 13 (New York and London: Garland, 1996), 25–48.

⁴⁹ For a detailed study of grotesque Jewish features contrasted with noble Christian faces, see Jung, “The Passion, the Jews, and the Crisis of the Individual,” 154–56, and throughout the article. See further Janetta Rebold Benton, “Gargoyles: Animal Imagery and Artistic Individuality in Medieval Art,” *Animals in the Middle Ages*, 147–65, particularly 158–59; ead., *Holy Terrors: Gargoyles on Medieval Buildings* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1997); Albrecht Classen, “Gargoyles – Wasserspeier: Phantasieprodukte des Mittelalters und der Moderne,” (here 127 and 130) and Peter Dinzelsbacher, “Monster und Dämonen am Kirchenbau,” both *Dämonen, Monster, Fabelwesen*, 127–33 and 103–26, respectively. Dinzelsbacher, 111, cites the doyen of German art history, Georg Dehio, who complains about academics taking the grotesque monsters at medieval churches seriously instead of interpreting them as the expression of ‘insignificant humor.’

⁵⁰ On the topsy-turvy world as a place of inverse relationships of animals and humans, see Janetta Rebold Benton, *Medieval Mischief: Wit and Humour in the Art of the Middle Ages* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 69.

⁵¹ The discussion on the comical aspects of the topsy-turvy world and its instrumentalization are manifold. With a focus on the German-speaking areas, see Michael Kupfer, *Zur Semiotik der Inversion: Verkehrte Welt und Lachkultur im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 1993); *Komische Gegenwelten: Lachen und Literatur in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Werner Röcke and Helga Neumann (Paderborn, Munich, and Vienna: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1999).

⁵² Shachar, *Judensau*, 33.

against Jews, or even their physical presence, is scarce.⁵³ Jewish settlement took place either later, not before the early fourteenth century (Brandenburg, Bad Wimpfen) or no evidence of a medieval Jewish population can be traced at all (Lemgo). As for Xanten and Magdeburg, cities that not only share the existence of a large medieval Jewish population but also a history of violence against their Jews, any temporal correlation with the existence of a *Judensau* is unprovable at best. The Jews of Xanten were slaughtered during the first crusade;⁵⁴ whereas Magdeburg, the town that had seen its archbishop Albrecht II kiss the Torah of the Jews who greeted him along with other citizens upon his arrival from Rome in 1207,⁵⁵ persecuted its Jews several times throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Yet the link between an anti-Jewish riot in 1266/1267 and the dating of the Madgeburg *Judensau* has been questioned, and proved highly unlikely, by Shachar.⁵⁶ It, however, also signifies that whoever commissioned the creation of a *Judensau* felt certain that the imagery would be understood, even if the spectators had never once in their lives come across a real Jew.

Why the swine, then? The general importance of images for the inhabitants of medieval Europe cannot be underestimated: Bernhard Blumenkranz called the walls of medieval churches 'huge picture books',⁵⁷ while other scholars have pointed out the impact sermons had on the illiterate masses, which taught them how to read the paintings and sculptures they came across in- and outside the church: 'a picture,' as (allegedly) Pope Gregory the Great put it in a letter, 'is like a lesson for the people.'⁵⁸ Nevertheless, manuscripts remained exclusive to a

⁵³ Edith Wenzel has stated the same for Frankfurt and Alsfeld as the place of late medieval passion-plays, where the Jewish population has been overestimated, "*Do worden die Iudden alle geschant*": *Rolle und Funktion der Juden in spätmittelalterlichen Spielen*. *Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur*, 14 (München: Fink, 1992), 12–13; for Naumburg see Jung, "The Passion, the Jews, and the Crisis of the Individual," 173–74.

⁵⁴ Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgung während des Ersten Kreuzzugs, ed. Eva Haverkamp. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Hebräische Texte aus dem mittelalterlichen Deutschland, 1 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2005), 432–43 (Hebrew and German translation).

⁵⁵ Oswald Holder-Egger (Ed.), "*Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*" *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Scriptores* 30, part 1 (rpt. 1896; Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1976), 490–656; here 571, online at www.dmgf.de (last accessed on Jan. 30, 2010). Jewish settlement in Madgeburg dates back into the twelfth century, see Alfred Haverkamp, "Jews and Urban Life: Bonds and Relationships," *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries)*. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25 October 2002, ed. Christoph Cluse. *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 55–70; here 63.

⁵⁶ Shachar, *Judensau*, 19.

⁵⁷ Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juden und Judentum in der mittelalterlichen Kunst* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965), 9.

⁵⁸ See for a recent summary of the extensive discussion the highly instructive article by Sara Lipton, "Images and Their Uses," *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, 4: *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge

minority of the population⁵⁹; the deciphering of vice cycles requested either a certain level of education or constant re-hearing about it,⁶⁰ and to fully appreciate their various allegations required a profound religious knowledge that went beyond years of exposure to sermons, however explanatory, and having been read Biblical and liturgical texts.⁶¹ Even more so, to really and fully understand the vileness and malignance of a scorpion or the obduracy of an owl, it was indispensable to have undergone a certain education.⁶² Therefore, it does not surprise that the equations of Jews with beasts that prevailed, and moved out of their sophisticated context, were those with animals that were 'accessible' in everyday contact and therefore understandable to the populace. Jews sentenced to death by hanging were accompanied by two dogs that were hanged on either side of the Jew;⁶³ Jews were riding goats or were accompanied by these, like the *Synagoga* statue at Erfurt that holds a goat's head. Whereas medieval art was more to bring to life already existing teaching and not to teach new things,⁶⁴ people would need no additional explanation, given before or after contemplating the image, to understand the filthiness of a swine. Even if the uneducated spectators missed the link of Jews–swine–devil, they would understand the very mundane association of Jews with filth, stench, and uncleanness. Pigs were linked with excrement and wrong belief already in early Christian symbolism (which they

University Press, 2009), 254–82, quote 254. Unfortunately, I did not have the possibility to look at the latest article by Alfred Messerli. Editor's note: Alfred Messerli, "Intermedialität," *Stimmen, Texte und Bilder zwischen Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Luisa Rubini Messerli and Alexander Schwarz. Tausch. Textanalyse in Universität und Schule, 17 (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2009), 75–109. Drawing on previous scholarship, especially by Rudolf Schenda (1987), he emphasizes, 94–97, that 1. most of the truly valuable images or pictures were kept out of view by the public anyway, such as in the case of book illustrations and miniatures, and that 2. most ordinary people lacked in the "perceptual skills" even to understand, or to read what they saw. Ironically, this probably applies very much still to our world today.

⁵⁹ Lipton, "Images and their uses," 262.

⁶⁰ Lipton, "Images and their uses," 264, cites the story about Duke Godfrey of Bouillon, who, even after listening to the sermon, demanded explanations of every single image and picture in a church.

⁶¹ Annette Weber, "Glaube und Wissen—Ecclesia et Synagoga," *Wissenspopularisierung: Konzepte der Wissensverbreitung im Wandel*, ed. Carsten Kretschmann. Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel, 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003), 89–126; here 94, states the same für *Ecclesia/Synagoga* pairings.

⁶² Still basic on the question whether medieval 'pictures speak for themselves' is Lawrence G. Duggan, "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?", *Word and Image*, 5.3 (1989), 227–51. See also Lipton, "Images and Their Uses," and Messerli, "Intermedialität."

⁶³ Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 26 and 28 with figure 3; Frey, "Vergleiche von Juden mit Hunden," 129–33.

⁶⁴ Lipton, "Images and their Uses," 264.

shared with Pagans and Jews),⁶⁵ while the *foetor iudaicus* derived from a punishment for the killing of Christ – and the *Judensau* brought these two elements together: the pigs and their excrement, and the Jews who feed on them. Yet the pig as a symbol for filth and dirt was to a great extent self-explanatory: it was visible and smell-able for the majority of people on a daily basis. And however often Christians would consume pork – the sow remained the only mammal the milk of which was not put to use – and even if they were not aware of the antique theory that the mere tasting of a sow's milk would result in contracting rashes, even leprosy,⁶⁶ they would perhaps smile about the fact that the Jews, who abstained from eating pork, would feed on the very part that was not fit for consumption.

In the course of the fourteenth century, the *Judensau* took on a more and more unified appearance that in its main traits resembled the Magdeburg frieze: apart from a few examples (Cologne, Colmar), the 'standard' *Judensau* was now a standing sow that was held by or touched at the head by a Jew standing in front of it. One or more usually smaller Jews were kneeling below its belly and suckling its teats while another Jew was busy fondling the animal's hindquarters.⁶⁷ It was, however, a depiction still exclusively utilised by the church: sculptures of the *Judensau* remained on the in- or outside of churches or monasteries, and about half of the fourteenth-century *Judensau* sculptures form a part of a cycle of vices,⁶⁸ with their representation of *gula* remaining the key (if not only) function. However, the

⁶⁵ Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 67.

⁶⁶ Claudius Aelianus, *De natura animalium* X.16, newest edition: Claudius Aelianus, *De natura animalium*, ed. Manuela García Valdés, Luis Alfonso Llera Fueyo, and Lucía Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, 2006 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), the linkage pointed out by Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast*, 108. The fear of contacting leprosy as a reason for the Jews' abhorrence of pork had been the pun of several jokes in Greek and Roman antique literature, see Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan anti-Semitism*, 135–39.

⁶⁷ See Shachar, *Judensau*, pl. 18 (Metz, Regensburg), 19–21 (Uppsala), 23 (Gniezno), 25b and c (Nordhausen), 26–27 (Wittenberg). Other *Judensau* statues have been documented for Ahrweiler (ca. 1295, gargoyle at St Laurent's church), Bacherach (ca. 1290, Werner's chapel, gargoyle), Bamberg (Cathedral), Basel (ca. 1432, destroyed), Bayreuth (parish church), Bützow (mid-fourteenth century, abbey church), Calbe (gargoyle at St. Stephen's church), Nuremberg (ca. 1370, east choir of St. Sebald's church) and Zerbst (two examples: St Nicolas' church, ca. 1447; carved wooden beam from a residential house at the market place, now municipal museum), see Hermann Rusam, *Judensau-Darstellungen in der plastischen Kunst Bayerns: ein Zeugnis christlicher Judenfeindschaft*. Begegnungen, 90, Sonderheft (Hanover: Evangelisch-Lutherischer Zentralverein für Begegnung von Christen und Juden, 2007) and the illustrated book by Regina E. G. Schymiczek, *Höllenbrut und Himmelswächter: Mittelalterliche Wasserspeier an Kirchen und Kathedralen* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2006). The often listed gate at Remagen shows a sow and piglets that is, despite the similarities in the structure, without any reference to Jews, see Shachar, *Judensau*, 12 and pl. 2 and 3a.

⁶⁸ Shachar, *Judensau*, 31–32.

additional aspect(s) that was already present in the earliest sculptures was drifting more and more into the focus: with the Jews taking up more and more space, becoming more prominent foreground players, they were being more and more condemned solely for being Jews than for being sinners sticking to their vices. Even if we will have to set the 'explicit abusive intention' a lot earlier than Shachar, in fact with the first appearance of the *Judensau*, it is quite obvious that a shift in the central meaning of the motif occurred.

First and foremost, the *Judensau* moves from inside to the outside of the churches. With the exception of the *Judensau* gargoyle of Bad Wimpfen, which is placed about eight metres above ground,⁶⁹ the thirteenth-century *Judensäue* remained on the inside: the atrium of the respective churches in Magdeburg and Lemgo, the nave in Eberswalde, and the choir and the cloisters of Xanten and Brandenburg, respectively. These sculptures and friezes were, unlike their successors, visible only by the visitors of the church, some to an even more limited group of people, those with limited access, e.g., to the cloisters of the Brandenburg Cathedral. However much, though, these *Judensäue* might have educated, disgusted, and amused Christian churchgoers, there was only a scant chance that they were ever seen by Jews,⁷⁰ and even so, their positioning inside churches gives evidence that Jews were not the target audience. They were not intended as jokes, and even if they evoke a smile from a passing-by monk or visitor, their underlying meaning is dead serious: a warning for the Christians not to become a sinner, which was illustrated by a series of depictions the Jews were merely a part of.

The *Judensäue* (pl.) that follow these early examples are placed quite differently within the ecclesiastical and urban space. Although some remain privy to the eyes of a few, like the carved reliefs in the choir stalls of the Cathedrals of Nordhausen and Cologne, the latter of which, in addition to the sow-feeding and -suckling, features a quite likely allusion to the Werner of Oberwesel legend,⁷¹ or the capitals in Gniezno (Poland) and Metz (France) that are still in the inside of the churches. The majority of the *Judensäue* of the following centuries, however, were visible from the outside: gargoyles, like on the St Martin's Minster of Colmar (France, south of Strasbourg) or the St Mary's church of Heiligenstadt (south-east of Göttingen), or relief sculptures like two of the most prominent examples, those of the Cathedral of Regensburg (Ratisbon, see figure 2) and the parish church at Wittenberg (see figure 3). Although they are placed up high (seven and eight

⁶⁹ Shachar, *Judensau*, 12–13.

⁷⁰ While there is definite evidence of Christians showing no qualms to enter a synagogue, the question whether Jews had (and wanted) access to churches is much debated, see lately Martha Keil, "Orte der jüdischen Öffentlichkeit: Judenviertel, Synagoge, Friedhof," *Ein Thema – zwei Perspektiven*, 170–86.

⁷¹ Shachar, *Judensau*, 24–25; Rohrbacher and Schmidt, *Judenbilder*, 310–11.

meters respectively), they are in plain view of any passer-by who no longer had to enter the church to experience a shudder of disgust and share a good laugh at the bizarre sight of humans or half-humans suckling the teats of a swine. Shachar identifies the Regensburg sculpture as part of a cycle of virtues and vices—there are sculptures of other animals next to and above the buttress that carries the *Judensau*—but he is definitely a tad too gentle when he doubts any intention as anti-Jewish mockery.⁷²

However much the city of Regensburg, where one of the largest Jewish communities within the realms of the Holy Roman Empire was allowed to flourish, tended to be protective of their Jews and even actively shielded them from the Rindfleisch riots in 1298 and the persecutions accompanying the Black Death in 1349/50,⁷³ there is no denying the at least additional, if not already basic purpose of deriding the Jews by use of a metaphorical language even the inhabitants of a 'Jew-friendly' city as Regensburg would understand immediately; even more so since the main Jewish living quarters were located in closest vicinity of the Cathedral, the *Judensau* therefore being within immediate sight of those it was mocking.⁷⁴

The case is different in Wittenberg:⁷⁵ perhaps the most well-known of the *Judensau* sculptures due to Martin Luther's reference to it in his *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi* and the inscription subsequently placed above the sculpture, it was however quite singular already in its time of origin. Not only is there no evidence of it being part of a larger motif or cycle, but it takes up the topic of one of the Jews fondling the sow's hindquarters in a very distinctly obscene way. Had the previous execution of this motif consisted in Jews merely touching the sow's hindquarters or tail, the Jew of Wittenberg grabs the sow's behind with both hands, with one hand lifting the animal's right hind-leg, with the other lifting or holding its tail. His head is tilted to the side, and there can be no mistaking as to where his gaze is directed: right at the sow's anus. Whereas earlier *Judensäue* serve multiple purposes—representation of vices, warning to the

⁷² Shachar, *Judensau*, 26–27.

⁷³ *Germania Judaica*, vol. II: *Von 1238 bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, part 2: Maastricht – Zwolle, ed. Zwi Avneri (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1968), 679–80; Jonathan Elukin, *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages*. Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 106–09.

⁷⁴ For the location of the 'Jewish quarter', see *Germania Judaica*, vol. I: *Von den ältesten Zeiten bis 1238*, ed. Ismar Elbogen, Aron Freimann, and Haim Tykocinski (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1963), 287–88, and with some corrections *Germania Judaica* II/2, 686, and Markus Wenninger, "Grenzen in der Stadt? Zur Lage und Abgrenzung mittelalterlicher deutscher Judenviertel," *Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen: Kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Juden und Christen im Mittelalter*, ed. Edith Wenzel. Part of *Aschkenas: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 14.1 (2004): 9–29; here 19.

⁷⁵ Shachar, *Judensau*, 30–31, 43–51 (on the later history of the Wittenberg *Judensau*), pl. 26–27.

Christians, jibing at Jews—the ‘new’ ones show a single intention, and that is to insult the Jews on as many levels as possible.

With respect to the comical factor, this move of the *Judensau* from the inside to the outside cannot be underestimated in its impact. The recognition of laughing, or rather the different forms laughter can take on, as a way of social interaction goes back a long way,⁷⁶ while the idea of the imminent importance of (rituals of) laughter for the constitution, consolidation, and communication of communities has been underrepresented,⁷⁷ at least in a historical context. Werner Röcke and Hans Rudolf Velten have in their anthology translated the concept of ‘laughing communities’ (*Lachgemeinschaften*) into the historical perspective, stressing its importance for the constitution of communities and their self-definition. In the context of these laughing communities,⁷⁸ it becomes obvious that the relocation of the *Judensau* had multiple effects on both the laughers and those laughed at. By translating it from the ecclesiastical into the lay sphere and moving it down from its former heights to the (almost) eye level of the commoners, the laughing community increased rapidly in number. In addition to that, the laughter took on a new quality since the Jews were excluded from this community in a completely different way.⁷⁹ In contrast to before, when they were excluded from a joke that was told at a place where they had no or at best only very restricted access to, they were now shut out from it in public, maybe even in their presence, under the eyes of those who were, at that very moment, having fun at their expense. Although this practice of combining two actions—excluding a specific group from the ‘in-group’ of laughers and simultaneously exposing them as the targeted laughing stocks in their presence—was quite commonly used both in pictorial art and on stage against several groups or individuals, e.g., women, beggars, or even the authority, the Jews remained a prime target.⁸⁰ The further development of the

⁷⁶ For a recent sum-up of the development of theories on laughter, see Werner Röcke and Hans Rudolf Velten, “Einleitung,” *Lachgemeinschaften: Kulturelle Inszenierungen und soziale Wirkungen im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Werner Röcke and Hans Rudolf Velten. Trends in Medieval Philology 4 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2005), ix–xxxi; here xi–xxiv.

⁷⁷ Gerd Althoff, “Vom Lächeln zum Verlachen,” *Lachgemeinschaften*, 3–16; here 4. Of extreme importance for the recognition of laughter as a social process is Mary Douglas’s anthropological essay “The Social Control of Cognition: Some Factors in Joke Perception,” first published in 1970, latest reprint in *Implicit Meanings: Selected Essays in Anthropology*. Sec. ed. Collected works of Mary Douglas, 5 (New York and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 146–64. See also Albrecht Classen’s comment in the Introduction to the present volume.

⁷⁸ For a definition of the term ‘Lachgemeinschaften,’ see Röcke and Velten, “Einleitung,” ix–xxxi.

⁷⁹ Unfortunately, I did not have the possibility to look into the basic work of Eugène Dupreel, who has distinguished in his sociological essay *Le problème sociologique du rire* between ‘including’ and ‘excluding’ laughter (*rire d’accueil* vs. *rire d’exclusion*, quoted after Röcke and Velten, “Einleitung,” xiii), yet his distinction requires further subdivisions.

⁸⁰ Christoph Auffarth, “Alle Tage Karneval? Reformation, Provokation und Grobianismus,” *Glaubensstreit und Gelächter*, 79–105; here 87.

Judensau gives ample evidence to this. Standing alone, outside any context, moralising or otherwise, the *Judensau* is no longer an allegory of sinners in the 'shape' of Jews but a depiction of Jews. Furthermore, the tendency to an emphasis of the obscene is increasing and translated into other means of dissemination that take up the topic.

One of the most important shifts that characterizes the development of the motif during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is a further expansion of not only the audience but also the 'owners' of *Judensau* sculptures. Had the move from the inside to the outside of churches and monasteries already brought new qualities and aspects—while reducing others—the *Judensau* becomes more and more personalized in the course of the Early Modern Period. Secular authorities, but also non-official parties, even individuals, begin to take hold of the possibility to acquire their own, personal *Judensau*. The town officials of Salzburg (Austria) paid the considerable sum of six florins to the known sculptor Hans Valkenauer and the painter Heinrich *umb den Juden und saw ratturm* ('for the Jews and sow [on the] tower of the town hall', see figure 4) in 1487,⁸¹ the gate of the castle at Cadolzburg (west of Nuremberg) as well as (presumably) a gate in the town of Aschersleben (south of Magdeburg) sported a *Judensau*.⁸² Reliefs with sows suckling Jews appear on private houses, like a pharmacy in Bavaria's Kelheim (southwest of Regensburg), or in Spalt (south of Nuremberg)⁸³ and Wiener Neustadt, (Austria, south of Vienna)⁸⁴—everyone could have their own *Judensau*, at least those who could afford it, could bring it into their own home and enjoy the joke in private. They could present the joke to others and share a laugh with them. The once rather sophisticated (yet no less cruel) witticism, understandable in its entirety to only a few learned scholars, had literally moved down from church spires and out of cloisters and had turned into a broad joke that was accessible to everyone who happened to pass by. The *Judensau* had now entirely moved from the ecclesiastical to the lay sphere; not only could it be seen but also owned by lay people. This also

⁸¹ Archiv der Stadt Salzburg (Municipal Archives of Salzburg), BU 264, Raitbuch Hans Glavenberger, entry to 1487. Eleven years later, the Jews of Salzburg were expelled, see Markus Wenninger, "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Salzburg," *Geschichte Salzburgs Stadt und Land, I.2: Mittelalter*, ed. Heinz Dopsch und Hans Spatzenegger (Salzburg: Anton Pustet, 1983), 747–56, here 755–56.

⁸² Shachar, *Judensau*, 37–38, who is however doubtful of the Ascherleben example since the only reference is to a gate called *Sautor* ('sow's gate').

⁸³ There is a second *Judensau* to be found in Spalt, at the parish church St Wenceslas of Theilenberg, today an urban district of Spalt.

⁸⁴ Shachar, *Judensau*, 38–40; Eveline Brugger, "Von der Ansiedlung bis zur Vertreibung – Juden in Österreich im Mittelalter," *Geschichte der Juden in Österreich*, ed. ead., Christoph Lind, Albert Lichtblau, and Barbara Staudinger. Österreichische Geschichte, 15 (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2006), 123–228; here 176 (illustration of the Wiener Neustädter *Judensau*).

meant that Jews now could not only see the *Judensau*, but knew precisely who meant them to see it, adding a personal layer to the multiple levels of insult.

Among these—though not a sculpture but a painting—is the *Judensau* of Frankfurt, along with the Wittenberg example the most influential and widespread depiction.⁸⁵ Placed in the public passage of the *Alte Brückenturm*, the busy passage across the river Main, and originally set next to a crucifixion, it introduced in all clarity what the *Judensau* of the choir stall in Cologne had merely hinted at: Above the *Judensau*, a male child was depicted, his naked body covered in wounds while a description explained to the passer-bys that this was, in fact, the famous child-martyr Simon of Trent who had been allegedly murdered by Jews in 1475, triggering a production of broadsheets that aided in spreading the ‘facts’ in a ‘propaganda campaign unique to the late middle ages’.⁸⁶ Combined with a display of hitherto unsurpassed obscenity, the effect the Frankfurt rendition of the *Judensau* had must have been overwhelming, evoking a plethora of feelings and sentiments that spanned from abhorrence and loathing to disgust and fear, and, no doubt, laughter of all kinds. More than its predecessors,⁸⁷ the Frankfurt *Judensau* is blatantly, even aggressively obscene, adding and re-arranging elements that derived not only from the other sculptured *Judensäue* but showed clear influence of the perhaps most crucial means in the further dissemination of the motif, the woodcut pamphlets that had appeared in the first half of the fifteenth century (see figure 5).⁸⁸ The similarities are striking: apart from the suckling Jews, there is a

⁸⁵ Shachar, *Judensau*, 43–51 (later history of the Wittenberg *Judensau*), 52–61 (later history of the Frankfurt *Judensau*).

⁸⁶ Christine Magin and Falk Eisermann, “‘Ettwas zu sagen von den iuden’. Themen und Formen antijüdischer Einblattdrucke im späten 15. Jahrhundert,” *Frömmigkeit—Theologie—Frömmigkeitstheologie: Contributions to European Church History. Festschrift für Berndt Hamm zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Gudrun Litz, Heidrun Munzert and Roland Liebenberg. Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, 124 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 173–193; here 180. See the seminal study by Wolfgang Treue, *Der Trienter Judenprozeß: Voraussetzungen—Abläufe—Auswirkungen (1475–1588)*. Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden, Abteilung A: Abhandlungen, 4 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), who provides evidence for the fact that no incident had until then provoked such a number of printings to circulate (521). For a use of the dog-image in the course of the accusation of the murder of Simon of Trent, see Stow, *Jewish Dogs*, 6.

⁸⁷ The dating of the Frankfurt *Judensau* is still debated: Shachar, *Judensau*, 36–37, suggests a date between 1475 and 1507, Treue, *Judenprozeß*, 452–56, postpones it to the mid-sixteenth century, while Grebner, “Die Judensaudarstellung am Frankfurter Brückentor als Schandbild,” 90, pleads in favour of a time of origin during the reign of Emperor Maximilian I (who had a distinct preference for the cult of Simon of Trent, see Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial*. Sec. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 129, Treue, *Judenprozeß*, 473–74).

⁸⁸ For the early woodcuts, see Shachar, *Judensau*, 34–35; Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 108; Magin and Eisermann, “‘Ettwas zu sagen von den iuden’”; Kurt Erich Schöndorf, ‘Judenhaß und Toleranz im Spiegel von Flugschriften und Einblattgedrucken des 16. Jahrhunderts,’ *Haß, Verfolgung und Toleranz: Beiträge zum Schicksal der Juden von der Reformation bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. Thomas Sirges and id. Osloer Beiträge zur Germanistik, 24 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 2000), 11–46,

Jew, in some reproductions identified as the Messiah,⁸⁹ riding backwards while lifting the sow's tail, another one is kneeling behind the sow, with the animal's excrement gushing into his eagerly opened mouth while in some renditions, the sow too is devouring a pile of excrement. This particularly disgusting motif of the Jews not only suckling the sow's milk but devouring its excrement, had been introduced by the woodcuts, its only possible forerunner being the *Judensau* at the east choir of St Sebald's church in Nuremberg (ca. 1380, see figure 6), where a Jew is collecting the sow's excrement in a bowl. Faeces were, by both scholarly and popular belief, the food of the devil,⁹⁰ thus establishing, or rather cementing, the demonization of the Jews that was further enhanced by the appearance of the goat in the background. The woodcuts, distributed via the new 'mass media' of leaflets and broadsheets that literally flooded the Holy Roman Empire in the Reformation period,⁹¹ are the single anti-Jewish joke, often accompanied by various texts which further emphasize the jokes that were made at the Jews' expense: at the bottom of the earliest of its renditions,⁹² it is explained that 'this is why we do not eat roast pork, and thus we are lustful and our breath stinks' (*umb daz wir nit essen swinin brotten, darumb sind wir gel und stinckt untz der oten*). One of the Jews is encouraging the Jew riding on the sow's back to suck its tail so as to uncover her rectum, while another one is calling the sow 'our mother': ample insinuations at the desire of the Jews to consume pork and to interact sexually with what is both a filthy animal and their mother.

While the Wittenberg *Judensau* developed more into a theological emblem due to the works of Luther and Fabricius and their discussion of the *Shem Hamphoras*,⁹³ the whole image of the Frankfurt *Judensau* is the epitome of topsy-turvyness that catered to the (even) broader masses: riding with your back to the head of the

who classifies twelve different, if overlapping, motifs that were presented on broadsheets (27–33). See also Winfried Frey and Andrea Frölich, *Das Judenbild in den Flugschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Nordhausen: Bautz-Verlag, 2008, CD).

⁸⁹ Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, 174–75.

⁹⁰ Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, 213–14, who points out Luther's writings about faeces and demonic pollution as well as popular stories such as Till Eulenspiegel, where Jews are tricked into buying a peasant's faeces as a rare medicament, thus exposing both the Jews' stupidity and their craving for 'wrong' food to ridicule.

⁹¹ Schöndorf, "Judenhaß und Toleranz," 27. The literature on the usage of broadsheets and pamphlets during the Reformation can, if only for a lack of space, not be discussed here. With a reference to the Jews, see apart from the otherwise quoted Rainer Wohlfeil, "Die Juden in der zeitgenössischen bildlichen Darstellung," *Reuchlin und die Juden*, ed. Arno Herzog and Julius H. Schoeps. Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften, 3 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), 21–36.

⁹² Shachar, *Judensau*, 34–35, pl. 30. See as a representative of the innumerable reproductions of this perhaps most famous woodcut the renditions by Heinz Schreckenberger, *Die Juden in der Kunst Europas: Ein historischer Bildatlas* (1996; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 345, and Wenzel, "Do worden die Judden alle geschant", 300, fig. 7.

⁹³ Shachar, *Judensau*, 43–51.

mount, a male devil who sports breasts, a female swine with a boar's fangs, faeces as edible food, adults suckling like infants—all this contributes to the general composition of the image which features inversion as a key element. Yet the clothes the Jews are dressed in remain realistic, everyday clothes any Jew (and non-Jew alike) of this time might be seen wearing on the street, and thus establish a link to normalcy and reality, enabling the spectator to draw a parallel to 'real-life' Jews, even their Jewish neighbours they would encounter during their every-day contact.⁹⁴ Furthermore, the contrast between the two scenes—the "martyrdom" of Simon of Trent and the *Judensau*—emphasizes the two antagonists, the (absolute) Pure and the (equally absolute) Impure, whereby the swine adds another detail of defamation: in the particular sphere of their lives where the Jews place the highest value on purity (in Christian observation), they are depicted as ultimately impure. They serve as an abstract model of all that is horrendous and rotten, and yet they are real; and thus, any insults, however violent and vile, and all painful mockery were legitimized by the most horrible crime the Jews were accused of having committed, the murdering of the—almost saintly—young child Simon.⁹⁵

The Frankfurt *Judensau* soon became the most popular type of *Judensau* to be used for leaflets and broadsheets up until the nineteenth century (see figure 7), supplanting the earlier ones. In its various renditions, it stood either alone or with other insulting depictions, or it accompanied, accentuated, or literally illustrated catchphrases, poems, or even longer texts, with the phrase *sauff du die milch friß du den dreck, das ist doch euer bestes geschleck* ('you guzzle down the milk and you devour the filth, this is after all your favorite dish') being the most popular one. Pigs and disgusting, murderous Jews are everywhere: in the early seventeenth-century broadsheet *Der Juden Synagog* ('The Jews' Synagogue),⁹⁶ the synagogue itself is a pigsty: pigs peep out of every possible window while Jews devote themselves to either criminal activities or studying their false and treacherous books. Surrounded by other derogatory symbols of Judaism like the Golden Calf, the Frankfurt *Judensau* makes up the center, forming the epitome of evil, filth, and perversion. Claudine Fabre-Vassas has pointed out the omnipresence of the pig not only in *Judensau* woodcuts—such as the badges of the Jews slaughtering Simon of Trent in a late fifteenth-century Italian engraving that have little pigs in their centers—playing on the image of the Jew as the cannibal butcher who performs on a human being what the Christians carry out around Easter, after a period of abstinence from eating pork during Lent: the slaughtering of the piglets they had

⁹⁴ The aspect of inversion has been pointed out by Gundula Grebner in her highly instructive article, "Die Judensaudarstellung am Frankfurter Brückentor als Schandbild," 93.

⁹⁵ Grebner, "Die Judensaudarstellung am Frankfurter Brückentor als Schandbild," 93–94.

⁹⁶ Shachar, *Judensau*, 57–58, pl. 49.

bred and raised at their homes,⁹⁷ spanning, if we want to follow her suggestion, the bridge all the way back to the cannibalistic hyenas and the mantichore of the Salisbury bestiary.⁹⁸

Both the broadsheets and *Judensau* sculptures of the Early Modern Period bring to light all the anti-Jewish elements that had been partially, if never completely, veiled by layers of metaphorical meanings during the Middle Ages. Yet although there is scarcely any *other* intention than anti-Jewish propaganda, the early modern *Judensäue* nevertheless consist of several components that cater to different stimuli: the Jews are marked as belonging to the sow, as a different, and lesser form of being, as offsprings of a beast to whom they turn when in need of nourishment; they are connected with obscenity and are branded as bordering on the sodomitic, sporting shady sexual proclivities. Thus, the *Judensau* stresses the 'alien quality' of the Jews that allows the Christian hostility toward Jews to persist beyond the Middle Ages; it has contributed in transferring the primarily religious polemics and antagonism to a broader level, helping fix the stereotyped image in various cultural levels as verbal abuse, jokes, proverbs, and firmly establishing the distinct notion that Jews simply were 'another category of beings', a non-human life-form. At the end of the fifteenth century, the *Judensau* also made it on stage, adding yet another layer of mockery and crude humour, exploiting another means of drawing laughter at the expense of the Jews.⁹⁹

Hans Folz,¹⁰⁰ who had a considerable knowledge of talmudic scripture,¹⁰¹ accuses the Jews in his *die alt und neu ee* ("the old and the new marriage") verbatim of being "step-children of she-monkeys, jennies, and pigs" while a repentant Jew, shocked by the extent of his own blindness, sums up all the "misdeeds" of his faith: their descent from beasts, the envy and hatred they bear against all Christians, their idleness and gluttony, and the eventual result of these character

⁹⁷ Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast*, 130–36, fig. 12–14. Hers is definitively a compelling study—the historian may criticize that some of the conclusions are based on evidence and source material too different in time and region, and that she falls for some 'medieval' myths that are, in fact, products of much later times, yet one cannot help but acknowledge the power of the sheer amount of symbols and metaphors she unveils.

⁹⁸ The connection ritual murder-cannibalism was also suggested by Georg R. Schoubek, "Zur Tradierung und Diffusion einer europäischen Aberglaubensvorstellung," *Die Legende vom Ritualmord*, 17–24; here 17–18, who points out that the accusation of ritual murder and its association with cannibalism can be found in many societies and religious communities as a derogatory incrimination of other religious groups.

⁹⁹ Still basic is Wenzel, "Do worden die Judden alle geschant".

¹⁰⁰ See recently Christine Magin, "Hans Folz und die Juden," *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts: Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien*, ed. Volker Honemann, Sabine Griesse, Falk Eisermann, and Marcus Ostermann (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), 371–95; and Winfried Frey, "The Intimate Other: Hans Folz' Dialogue between 'Christian and Jew,'" *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 249–67.

¹⁰¹ Wenzel, "Do worden die Judden alle geschant," 193–217.

traits: usury.¹⁰² In his later and most aggressively anti-Jewish *Spil vom Herzog von Burgund* ("Play of the Duke of Burgundy"), Folz even extends the catalogue of Jewish misdeeds, having the Antichrist, the fraudulent Jewish Messiah, reel off all the crimes "common" to Jews, from rapacious usury to ritual murders and murders committed by Jewish physicians. As in *Die alt und neu ee*, the effect is intensified by means of the self-accusation of the Jews. In the final scene of the *Spil*, the Christian characters call for the execution of the Jews, outdoing each other in sadistic and humiliating visions of torture, and the climax is reached when a sow is brought onto the stage and the Jews are forced by threats to lie down below the sow¹⁰³ — the sculptures and paintings were brought to life, providing a hilariously funny scene amidst the most cruel fantasies. Vicious humour and funny cruelty, both 'signature features' of not only late-medieval humor were united, with some obscenity as a topping to the deliciously venomous mix.

The knowledge among Christians of the Jewish dietary laws, particularly concerning the consumption of pork, cannot be doubted, and the association with the animal the Jews most kept away from, even abhorred, was already in its beginnings decidedly anti-Jewish, despite the contemporary use of the pig as an insult for Christians in Jewish polemics which the Christians were probably aware of. Unclean animals, with the inclusion of pigs, frequently functioned as metaphors for enemies in Jewish tradition: in the *Leviticus Rabbah*, written in fifth- or sixth-century Palestine, the pig symbolised Rome, along with other unclean animals that represented Babylon (camel), Media (badger), and Greece (hare)¹⁰⁴; both impure ones (meaning Christians) and swine 'lay in wait for Jewish blood' in a poem reflecting the horrendous persecutions during the first crusade.¹⁰⁵ The usage of pigs in Jewish texts was however not limited to non-Jews — apart from Pagans and Christians, also 'bad' Jews were linked to pigs,¹⁰⁶ a quite similar usage to the Christian tradition of equating Jews, pigs, and 'bad' Christians. An acquaintance of both Christians and Jews with the images used by the respective other can be safely assumed, and is sometimes put to use to secretly mock the

¹⁰² Wenzel, "Synagoga und Ecclesia," 76.

¹⁰³ Wenzel, "Do worden die Judden alle geschant," 252–54; eadem, "Synagoga und Ecclesia," 80–81; Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, 63–64, with the connection to the host desecrations of Deggendorf and Passau that appear in many of Folz's plays and poems.

¹⁰⁴ Higgs Strickland, "The Jews, Leviticus, and the Unclean," 218 and 226–28 with a more than convincing linkage to the *Judensau*; Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 52–53.

¹⁰⁵ Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 144.

¹⁰⁶ Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 43–45.

adversary,¹⁰⁷ but it is crucial to stress that although these insults might have been drawn ‘from a common set of symbols,’ they did not carry the same meaning to either of the groups.¹⁰⁸

Yet however obvious the mocking intention of equating Jews with their ‘negative counterpart’ in medieval art may have been, the reduction to and focussing on the derogatory purpose from the late fourteenth century onwards gave rise to other, more distinct ways of presenting the insult. Not only were the Jews depicted as offspring of the sow and therefore being fed by it, their ‘real-life abstinence’ from eating its meat was exploited to supplement the insult with a further, virtually inverse layer: although the Jews ‘officially’ claim that they do not eat pork they in fact secretly lust for it. Particularly in *Judensau* broadsheets, where explanatory captions comment on the ongoing scene, the Jews are exposed to mockery also because they lust for what they may not have: but instinct-driven beings as they are, they are eventually unable to suppress their greed, an idea that is reflected in the abovementioned caption of the Frankfurt *Judensau* that refers to the ‘favorite dish’ of the Jews.

In the translation of the *Judensau* on the stages of the fifteenth-century theater, this motif is expressed verbatim: Hans Folz, in his *Der Juden und der Christen streit vor kaiser Constantinus*, a mock-version of the earlier disputations of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*,¹⁰⁹ ultimately states that it wasn’t for the theological arguments of the Christian that the Jews saw reason and asked for baptism but for their irrepressible craving for pork sausages—yet, as soon as the Jews will eat them, they will “turn into different kinds of sausages”, indicating that everything the Jews touch turns into something foul.¹¹⁰ The laughter these scenes evoked was, as Edith Wenzel has

¹⁰⁷ The quite common image of dogs (Christians) hunting after rabbits (Jews) was turned upside down in an illumination of the famous Kaufmann Haggadah (Spain, fourteenth century, now Ms. A 422 of the Kaufmann Collection in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest), where rabbits are putting a dog to flight, see Alexander (Sándor) Scheiber, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. Publications of the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1 (Budapest: Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1957), 55, see also Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *The Kaufmann Haggadah* (Budapest: Kultúr International, 1990).

¹⁰⁸ Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust*, 15 (with the inclusion of Muslims); see also Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 141 (‘similarity of the form in no way entails the identity of meaning’).

¹⁰⁹ Another of Folz’ dialogues between a Christian and a Jew has been examined by Frey, “The Intimate Other.”

¹¹⁰ Winfried Frey, “Antijüdische Tendenzen in einem Fastnachtspiel des Hans Folz. Einige Aspekte zum Unterrichtsthema ‘Antisemitismus’,” *Wirkendes Wort* 32.1 (1982): 1–19; here 13–14; Wenzel, “Synagoga und Ecclesia,” 72–73. It might seem quite a stretch but one cannot help being reminded of the numerous market regulations that forbade Jews touching meat that was laid out for sale, see e.g., for France Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 68–69, for Aragon David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 169–72, for Austria Birgit Wiedl, “Jews and the City. Parameters of Jewish Urban Life in Late Medieval Austria,” *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen.

pointed out, springing rather from relishing in humiliating the enemy than from having prevailed in a battle of wits, while combining it with the delight in scatological humour so typical of the *Fastnachtsspiele* (Shrovetide Plays).¹¹¹

Jews lusting after, eating, or at least trying to eat pork remained a central element of anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic propaganda; in the German-speaking area, the image prevailed in print, literature, and every-day language, the term *Judensau* developing into one of the most common verbal insults toward Jews.¹¹² Yet the impact of the *Judensau*, or, rather Jew-with-sow image, went far beyond its geographical scope. English caricatures of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries thematise the attempted emancipation and assimilation of the English Jews by usage of this very image: in demonstrating their emancipation, Jews start to eat pork, pointedly enjoying it, but ‘get it wrong’ by eating the wrong parts or trying to eat it alive—reflecting yet again the association with cannibalism—or kissing, in their enthusiasm, the still living swine and thus repeating the old motif with the connection of obscenity, sexual deviances, and sodomitic tendencies. To further stress their alienness, the Jews of a nineteenth-century caricature speak with a heavy German accent while bystanders laugh at the obvious vainness of their attempts at being naturalized.¹¹³

The nineteenth-century English caricature has at its bottom what had developed into a main target of mockery during the late Middle Ages and the early modern period: a caption of (often fake) Hebrew that accompanied *Judensau* woodcuts¹¹⁴ or was shown to the audience during passion plays (also in contrast to the Roman INRI).¹¹⁵ The Jews’ language was ridiculed, presented as some sort of gibberish no rational human would want to speak; at the same time, the ‘ominous’ quality of their language was pointed out, hinting at a clandestine and most likely hostile communication that was taking place between the Jews, both local and foreign.¹¹⁶

Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 273–308; here 297–99 and ead., “Codifying Jews: Jews in Austrian Town Charters of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” *The Constructed Jew: Jews and Judaism through Medieval Christian Eyes*, ed. Merrall L. Price and Kristine T. Utterback (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming in 2010).

¹¹¹ Wenzel, “Synagoga und Ecclesia,” 73.

¹¹² It is a sad fact that up until today, the equation of Jews with swine is a common means of anti-Semitic propaganda launched by right-wing circles, the example of a pig with a painted-on Star of David and the name of Ignatz Bubis on its back that was herded across Alexanderplatz, Berlin, in 1998 by a group of neo-Nazis (Berliner Zeitung, 9 November, 1998), may serve as one among, unfortunately, all too many examples. See also *Bilder der Judenfeindschaft. Antisemitismus, Vorurteile und Mythen*, ed. Julius H. Schoeps and Joachim Schlör (Augsburg: Bechtermünz, 1999).

¹¹³ Shachar, *Judensau*, fig. 58a, 59ab and 60ab.

¹¹⁴ Shachar, *Judensau*, 34.

¹¹⁵ Heil, ‘Gottesfeinde’ — ‘Menschenfeinde’, 173–74.

¹¹⁶ Heil, ‘Gottesfeinde’ — ‘Menschenfeinde’, 174. See also Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 63 (on the connection Jews-sorcery), 95–110.

Ecclesiastical art, never reluctant to use genuine Hebrew lettering, seized on this trend, perhaps the most famous example being the sixteenth-century altarpiece of St Anthony's church at Isenheim, painted by Mathias Grünewald and now on display at the Unterlinden Museum in Colmar,¹¹⁷ that features a chamber pot with a 'Hebrew' inscription, mocking the language and once again stressing the linking of Jews with excrement.¹¹⁸

Despite the ongoing reduction of the imagery to the merely insulting, it is obvious that the connection Jews–pigs–*gula* was neither forgotten nor reduced to depictions of the *Judensau*. The connotation with usury, which the medieval depictions had partially expressed more subtly, was established firmly in the course of the seventeenth century: a money pouch that is dangling off the belt of the Jew kneeling behind the sow was added to some of the renditions of the Frankfurt *Judensau*, making sure that no one missed the connection.¹¹⁹ Hans Folz' *Die alt und neu ee*, to name but one literary example, unmasks the Jews as embodiment of *gula* and *luxuria* at the end,¹²⁰ while aspects of the metaphorical language of Hieronymus Bosch (who can, though, not be accused of using simple imagery) show that also late fifteenth-century artists would still put this imagery to good and effective use. Although no Jews are present in person in the two paintings that make up the left wing of the reconstructed 'New Triptych' (*Ship of Fools* and *Gula*) and cover several more or less deadly sins, from drinking and unchaste love to selfishness and sloth, not only the exemplified vices are those most conventionally associated with Jews, but there are a number of symbols that point toward the Jews. Most interesting in the present context is the pig's trotter in the heraldic standard of the tent that houses the two unchaste lovers: not only do pigs' trotters 'always crop up in Bosch's work wherever gluttony or impending poverty are concerned', the association of pigs and Jews definitely exceeds the mere connotation with the depicted vice(s).¹²¹

In the course of the early modern period, particularly enhanced during the Reformation, with Catholics and Protestants of various persuasions attacking each

¹¹⁷ Reiner Marquard, *Mathias Grünewald und der Isenheimer Altar. Erläuterungen—Erwägungen—Deutungen*. Mit einem Geleitwort von Pantxika Béguerie, Musée d'Unterlinden (Colmar and Stuttgart: Calwer 1996).

¹¹⁸ Mellinkoff, *The Devil at Isenheim*, 61, with linkage to the *Judensau* 65–68, and figure 36, and several mentions of the topic in *Outcasts*; Mentgen, *Juden im Elsass*, 453. See also Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 36, on the connection filth/excrement—money; on the usage of Hebrew in woodcuts, see Schöner, *Judenbilder*, 259–62.

¹¹⁹ Shachar, *Judensau*, pl. 41a and 41c, pointed out by Grebner, "Die Judensaudarstellung am Frankfurter Brückentor als Schandbild," 92. See also Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 140–43, on the medieval motif, with further literature.

¹²⁰ Wenzel, "Do worden die Judden alle geschant", 217.

¹²¹ Hartau, "Bosch and the Jews," 33–35, fig. 1 and 2.

other by use of arguments borrowed from the anti-Jewish arsenal,¹²² and the rapidly increasing use of print media, other defamatory anti-Jewish images evolve along with and in interaction with the *Judensau* while the *Judensau* manages to not only intrude into the lay sphere but to eventually advance into the inside of the Christians' houses. Objects of the daily routine, like playing cards,¹²³ featured the image of the *Judensau*, allowing it to become an integral part of everyday life—and, presumably, of daily jokes. Other motifs, like the depiction of one or more persons riding with their back turned to the head of their mount, were adapted by and at the same time influenced by the *Judensau* complex. The *Sauritt* ('sow-ride', also *Eselsritt*, ass-ride, rarely with dogs or horses) is the typical feature of a type of pamphlet that is known as *Schandbild* or *Schmähbrief* ('defamatory picture/letter') that evolves into a central means of punishment in the context of the *Ehrenstrafen* (shame sanction) and is utilised by groups and individuals of various social standing and intention.¹²⁴ Generally, these defamatory pictures show the person(s) they are directed against as riding backwards; if groups of people are depicted, they might also engage in the 'typical' habit of occupying themselves with the animal's behind, shoving seals or money pouches into its hindquarters, or devouring its excrement.¹²⁵ As an illustration to Luther's pamphlet of 1545, *Against the Roman Papacy founded by the devil* with its vituperations of Paul III,¹²⁶ the pope himself was shown riding the back of a sow—a woodcut that stands in a tradition of defamatory images against the pope (*Papstspottbilder*) that showed the pope (Clement IV) in full regalia who is wielding a sword, about to behead the Holy Roman Emperor (Conrad III, *The Pope's Threat*), or being himself hanged from the gallows along with his 'satanic' cardinals while demons take their souls;¹²⁷ images quite unrelated to any Jewish aspects. On the other hand, the merger of human and beast into an equally horrid and hilarious, even pathetic, creature was an essential element of both political and religious polemics. Creatures like the

¹²² On the complex 'relationship' of laughter and religion in the context of the reformation, see Auffarth, "Alle Tage Karneval?," who addresses the issue of laughter as a long-existent tool in religious practice and ritual, 82–85. See also Amishai-Maisels, "Demonization of the 'Other' in the Visual Arts," 54, on the repertoire of demon-like features (horns, claws, tails, flames, monstrous facial and/or bodily features) and its (almost world-wide) usage up until the twenty-first century.

¹²³ Rohrbacher and Schmidt, *Judenbilder*, 162 (illustration).

¹²⁴ Matthias Lentz, *Konflikt, Ehre, Ordnung: Untersuchungen zu den Schmähbriefen und Schandbildern des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit (ca. 1350 bis 1600). Mit einem illustrierten Katalog der Überlieferung*. Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen, 217 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004), who, unfortunately, does not address the parallels in the metaphorical image between the *Schmähbriefe* and the *Judensau*.

¹²⁵ Lentz, *Konflikt, Ehre, Ordnung*, 357–58.

¹²⁶ Kurt Stadtwald, *Roman Popes and German Patriots: Antipapalism in the Politics of the German Humanist Movement from Gregor Heimburg to Martin Luther* (Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 1996), 26.

¹²⁷ Stadtwald, *Roman Popes and German Patriots*, 199–205.

Papstesel ('Pope-donkey') and the *Mönchskalb* ('monk-calf'), two 'only recently discovered horrid monsters' whose existence and appearance was brought to the attention of a wider audience by broadsheets, provoked both horror and laughter, whereby these emotional reactions were not mutually exclusive but could be experienced simultaneously.¹²⁸ Yet there is a difference to be detected between the human-beast hybrids, however commonly used,¹²⁹ and the sow-riding: like the *Schmähbriefe*, the sow-riding pope not only translated an already well-established image into a new setting that only "worked" because people were already socially conditioned to react properly to the primary stimulus,¹³⁰ but played with an image that would at least with a part of the audience evoke other, and definitely non-papal, associations: unlike the beast-human hybrids, the sow-with-human image was quite firmly linked to one specific group—the Jews.

From the sixteenth century onwards, with the many variations of the *Judensau* spread by use of printed matters, the *Judensau* was often no longer standing alone but being surrounded by other, equally derogatory symbols. While the Frankfurt *Judensau* is in many of its renditions accompanied by a woman leading the symbol of the devil par excellence, a he-goat,¹³¹ the viciously anti-Jewish text of the leaflet *Der Juden Erbarkeit* ("On the Jews' respectability", 1571) was illustrated by a woodcut on the front cover that shows three grotesque, barely human-shaped figures: two creatures featuring devilish symbols like hooves and talons, horns and antlers, long snouts and pointed ears. Their cloaks, however, bear a circle-shaped emblem that is easily recognisable as the infamous yellow badge that had become widely accepted as a derogative distinctive feature for Jewishness throughout

¹²⁸ Philipp Melanchton and Martin Luther emphasized in their accompanying explanation of Lucas Cranach the Elder's woodcuts the beastliness of these creatures and the threat they (and what they allegorically represented) posed, thus triggering or at last fuelling a more fearful reaction; Bianca Frohne has however rightly pointed out that both the intention of the broadsheet and the reaction(s) it provoked encompassed more than fearful and disgusted emotions, and emphasizes the satirical, grotesque, and comical character of these hybrid creatures, see Frohne, "Narren, Tiere und gewreliche Figuren," 19–22 and 47–49, and fig. 1 and 2.

¹²⁹ For the 'master' of these human-beast-demon hybrids and their equally terrifying and ridiculing purpose, Hieronymus Bosch, see lately and with regard to this aspect Guido Boulboulé, "Groteske Angst. Die Höllenphantasien des Hieronymus Bosch," *Glaubensstreit und Gelächter*, 55–78, particularly 67–68. See also Amishai-Maisels, "Demonization of the 'Other' in the Visual Arts," 54, on the depiction of Muslims with the heads of animals.

¹³⁰ Heil, 'Gottesfeinde'—'Menschenfeinde', 151; on the similarities of Catholic reproaches against heretics, witches, and Jews; on the—much discussed—linkage of Jews and heretics, see Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, chapter 4 (83–111).

¹³¹ See Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, 213–15, with figure 14 (rendition of the Frankfurt *Judensau*), on the demonization of Jews by use of *Judensau* and goat.

Europe,¹³² complementing and partially replacing the Jewish hat. The third creature to their right, with the same smaller hooves and talons, is riding on the back of a sow and playing some sort of bagpipe while the sow is devouring a pile of excrement.¹³³ Whereas the sow remains primarily connotated with the Jews, the only 'rival' to the swine, the he-goat with its equally strong connection with dirt and filth, and the even stronger allusions of the devil, serves even more comprehensive purposes, as a frequent companion of witches and sorcerers, to name but one example. The illumination however in the thirteenth-century *Bible moralisée* that shows Jews kissing a he-goat's anus¹³⁴ and the fifteenth-century capital in a Flemish church that features a Jew on the back of a he-goat¹³⁵ might be centuries apart and were meant for audiences rather different in number and status, yet the imagery is similar in its intent. The *Synagoga* statue at Erfurt holds a goat-head, goats appear as mounts of *Synagoga*, and during the Early Modern Period, the goat with its lascivious character and incessant sexual desire, its stubbornness and its horns became almost as popular and widespread as the *Judensau* when it appeared on various defamatory pamphlets.¹³⁶ Like the *Judensau* of this time, it combined images deriving from the anti-Jewish arsenal with images that were generally used in a defamatory context: goat-riders, in particular the *Ellenritter* or *Ellenreiter* (literally cubit-knight or cubit-rider), a tailor riding a he-

¹³² Earlier in Western Europe: In both Ashkenzaic England and Sephardic Spain, yellow was a "sign" of Jews as early as the early 13th century; in 1269 and 1274, the kings of France and England respectively decreed that Jews had to wear a yellow badge on their clothing (Blumenkranz, *Juden und Judentum*, 23–24, fig. 14 and 15 that show examples from early 14th century Florence and France, respectively), while in the realm of the Holy Roman Empire, the badge wasn't generally implemented as a sign before the 15th century (first mention is 1294 in Erfurt, where the Jewish community obtained the permission to not wear the badge which had officially been implemented two years earlier, *Germania Judaica* I, 216).

¹³³ Winfried Frey has pointed out that in the copy of this leaflet that is kept in the Bavarian State Library in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München), there's another defamatory text added to the pamphlet listing (again) anti-Jewish resentments which, among others, express the author's wish that the Jews 'may be hanged like dogs'. Frey, "Vergleiche von Juden mit Hunden," 131.

¹³⁴ The manuscript was made in the 1220s for the king of France; the context in which the illumination is placed—the worship of the golden calf which is also illustrated in the roundel above, the Jew holding the goat carries a moneybag—firmly establishes the connection avarice-worship of the devil-Jews; many of the images refer in some way to moneylending. Another roundel in the codex shows a Jew kissing the anus of a cat; Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 1 (dating), 42–43, with fig. 26, 49, with fig. 32, 50–51.

¹³⁵ Josuah Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Concept of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (1943; New York: Jewish Publication Society, 2001), 45.

¹³⁶ Hassig, "Sex in the Bestiaries," 72.

goat,¹³⁷ were an image that was often used in a mocking context up until the nineteenth century in both visual art and literature.¹³⁸

In the context of anti-Jewish mockery and defamation, the goad-riding takes on a particular development that features striking parallels to the *Judensau*: The “traditional” medieval pairing of the allegorical embodiments of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*,¹³⁹ adorning as sculptures many a Romanesque and Gothic church in the shape of two beautiful female figures¹⁴⁰ and discussing their respective postulates in various dialogues, developed into a derogatory image of a barely human *Synagoga* riding a he-goat and an open dispute that not only ended in favour of *Ecclesia* but with a crushing defeat of *Synagoga*, often accompanied by violent insults. Whereas the dialogues were like the early *Judensau* statues and the bestiaries limited to a specific group of readers/viewers both in regard to the accessibility of the objects and to the level of education of the ‘consumers,’¹⁴¹ both the vituperations that became a typical part of preludes to passion plays¹⁴² and the imaginary that developed more and more into a broad joke were meant for a broader public.

¹³⁷ Rohrbacher and Schmidt, *Judenbilder*, 161.

¹³⁸ In one of the stories that the nineteenth century constructed around the historical figure of Appollonius von Gailingen, a fourteenth-century “robber-knight” in Franconia, he calls the wealthy merchants of a town “*Käsewürmer, Ellenreiter und Pfeffersäcke*” (cheese-worms, cubit-riders, and pepper-bags).

¹³⁹ See the overview by Wolfgang Greisenegger, “*Ecclesia und Synagoge*” *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 1 (rpt. 1968; Freiburg: Herder, 1994), col. 569–78, and Jochum, “*Ecclesia und Synagoga*,” 248–51.

¹⁴⁰ There has been much discussion about the broad variety of meanings these statues conveyed to the contemporaries, with newer works stressing the intrinsic stage-character of these statues that would cause an entire scene to reel off in the minds of the spectators, impressively “re-enacted” by Helga Scirie, “*Ecclesia und Synagoge an den Domen zu Straßburg, Bamberg, Magdeburg und Erfurt. Körpersprachliche Wandlungen im gestalterischen Kontext*,” *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XLVI/XLVII: *Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Kunst*, vol. 2 (1993/94): 679–88, 871–74 (illustrations); here 684–85, on the basis of the statues of Erfurt and Strasbourg, see also Weber, “*Glaube und Wissen*,” and Elizabeth Monroe, “‘Fair and Friendly, Sweet and Beautiful’: Hopes for Jewish Conversion in Synagoga’s Song of Songs Imagery,” *Beyond the Yellow Badge*, 33–61, for a more positive image of *Synagoga*.

¹⁴¹ Weber, “*Glaube und Wissen*,” 94 (education), 96 (accessibility).

¹⁴² Edith Wenzel, “*Synagoga und Ecclesia—Zum Antijudaismus im deutschsprachigen Spiel des späten Mittelalters*,” *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 12 (1987): 57–81; here 66–69.

The fourteenth-century carvings¹⁴³ at the choir stall of the cathedral of Erfurt shows a quite untypical *Judensau*, a mixture of *Judensau* and *Synagoga* in fact, that is part a “Battle of faiths” in which *Ecclesia* is jousting in quite chivalric a manner against *Synagoga*.¹⁴⁴ The carvings show the moment of defeat; *Ecclesia* is about to drive the tip of her lance into *Synagoga*’s throat while *Synagoga* is rendered defenceless. Not only does she have neither shield nor weapon to protect herself with, she is clearly marked inferior because of her mount—and here is where the ridiculous element is tied in: while *Ecclesia* is riding a horse in knightly fashion, *Synagoga* has to make do with a sow.¹⁴⁵ It might well be that the (exaggeratedly) large teats of the sow reminded spectators of other “pairings” of Jews with sows they had come across, thus deriding the Jews not only in an allegorical sense, as ending up on the losing side of the battle of faiths, but as those who drink a beast’s milk, obviously being only half-humans themselves.

The quite frequent inclusion of the *Synagoga* sculpture into the row of the Foolish Virgins might have eluded in its deeper theological meanings the average by-goer, yet they would nevertheless grin at the Foolish Virgins, with their often grotesque grimacing, and thusly at *Synagoga* who stands in their line, marked as foolish, lacking prudence, and therefore being, with no one to blame but herself.¹⁴⁶ With the emergence of what is referred to as *Lebendes Kreuz* (‘Living Cross’),¹⁴⁷ a type of depiction to be found almost exclusively in book illuminations and wall paintings from the fifteenth century onwards in Central Europe, *Synagoga* takes on a completely different shape: blindfolded as usual, yet no longer bearing herself regally but with attributes that are meant to evoke both laughter and disgust in the spectators: she is riding an ass or (less often) a goat, that is in some cases already

¹⁴³ The dating of early 15th century (thusly Shachar, *Judensau*, pl. 28) has been corrected by means of dendrochronological examination carried out in 2002 that placed the felling of the trees used for the stalls in the years 1329 and 1364/65, the time of the second expansion of the choir, see Rainer Müller and Thomas Nitz, *Forschungen zum Dom Erfurt. Das Chorgestühl des Erfurter Domes*, 2 vols. Arbeitsheft des Thüringischen Vereins für Denkmalpflege, N.F. 20.1 (2003; Altenburg: Verlag Reinhold, 2005).

¹⁴⁴ The Cathedral also hosts a “classical” pairing of *Ecclesia*/*Synagoga* statues at the jamb of the main entrance portal in the context of the Ten Virgins.

¹⁴⁵ Illustration: Shachar, *Judensau*, pl. 28.

¹⁴⁶ Scurie, “*Ecclesia und Synagoge*,” 683.

¹⁴⁷ Old but still essential is Robert L. Füglistner, *Das Lebende Kreuz. Ikonographisch-ikonologische Untersuchung der Herkunft und Entwicklung einer spätmittelalterlichen Bildidee und ihrer Verwurzelung im Wort* (Einsiedeln, Zurich, and Cologne: Benzinger Verlag, 1964). Most of the images share a quite homogenous setup: In the center, there is Golgatha, with Christ on the cross, and above the joist, God himself appears—in various shapes—with a blessing gestus. Typical are the two female figures that approach the cross—to the left, there is *Ecclesia* with her crown, riding a tetramorph that symbolizes the four Evangelists, she carries the chalice to collect Christ’s blood and the lance with His symbol. To the right is the above described *Synagoga*, who is sometimes paired with Eve while Mary stands at *Ecclesia*’s side.

dying, she not only holds on to a broken lance but carries a goat's head with her. It is quite evident that her own posture as well as the situation she is in is designed not only to degrade but decry, but the most striking—and telling—difference is the sword that comes thrusting down from the joist: the old statues of Strasbourg and Bamberg might have shown a *Synagoga* that had been defeated, that was blind and submissively lowering her head, yet a *Synagoga* that was still alive, whereas in the Living Cross the distinctive feature is that she is being killed, pierced by the sword.¹⁴⁸ Like the *Judensau*, the *Synagoga* in the context of the Living Cross is a figure that is to be laughed at—more on the pathetic, even deplorable side than the *Judensau*, yet the metaphorical language shows many parallels: the usage of filthy animals—swine, goat, ass—and the close connection that is established between the *Synagoga*/Jews and those soiled creatures, the riding with one's back to the animal's head (although seldomly used in the Living Cross), and the general exclusion from the human world.

The question remains how to deal with the remaining *Judensäue* that are still present in- and outside medieval and early modern buildings. Some have been removed in earlier times, like the one at the Town Hall of Salzburg which was taken down by command of the Archbishop in 1785, or have weathered away, like the barely recognisable sculpture at the parish church of Bayreuth. Some have been removed 'by accident,' like the Frankfurt *Judensau* that was, despite the pleas of the Jewish community of Frankfurt from as early as 1609 onwards,¹⁴⁹ torn down along with the *Brückenturm* in 1801, albeit surviving in its manifold versions on broadsheets and pamphlets.

During the last decades, some have been taken down, like the ones in Wiener Neustadt and Bad Wimpfen that are now on display in the respective municipal museums. Up until today, though, many sculptures still are where they had been placed centuries ago, in plain sight. At some places, plaques have been attached to or in close vicinity of the respective *Judensau*, explaining the meaning and historical context of the sculpture, albeit in varying degrees of distancing: while the Wittenberg (mounted 1988) and Bayreuth (2005) point to guilt and responsibility of the church, the plaque at Regensburg (2005) merely speaks of 'a document that is to be seen in the context of its time, and will seem strange to us today.' In Nuremberg, for instance, a recent comment on the church's website (www.sebalduskirche.de, 2005) and a flyer that is being distributed inside the

¹⁴⁸ A particularly impressive example (although not the only one) is the Minster of Freiburg that has both a pairing of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* sculptures and (as stained-glass windows) a Living Cross, from the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, respectively, see Heike Mittmann, *Die Glasfenster des Freiburger Münsters*. Großer Kunstführer Schnell & Steiner, 219 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2005).

¹⁴⁹ Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, 210–11.

church bear both explanation and apology; and artists like Wolfram Kastner (www.christliche-sauerei.de) have alerted both authorities and general public to the problem, drawing both positive and negative reactions, and even the German Pig Museum (www.deutsches-schweinmuseum.de) has devoted a small part of its 2004 exhibition to the *Judensau*.

Many sculptures, however, still remain uncommented, continuing to stand amidst other testaments of medieval humor, yet both their existence and the negligent, even indifferent handling of that fact are indeed no matter to laugh about.



Figure 1: Bamberg, cloister of the Carmelite monastery: corbel with a Jew-beast hybrid, fourteenth century (photo: @Birgit Wiedl)



Figure 2: Regensburg Cathedral, sculpture of a *Judensau* on a buttress on the south wall of the Cathedral, around 1330 (from wikipedia.de, public domain)



Figure 3: Broadsheet showing the Wittenberg *Judensau*, Wolfgang Meissner 1596. The rendition features the common addition of a second, smaller *Judensau* to the left, while the suckling Jews have badges on their backs (from wikipedia.de, public domain)

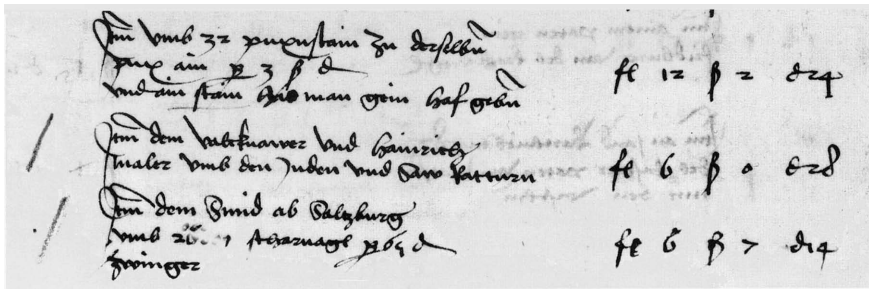


Figure 4: Entry to the account book of the Salzburg Mayor Hans Glavenberger, 1487, billing the costs for the *Judensau* on the tower of the town hall (Municipal Archives of Salzburg, BU 264)

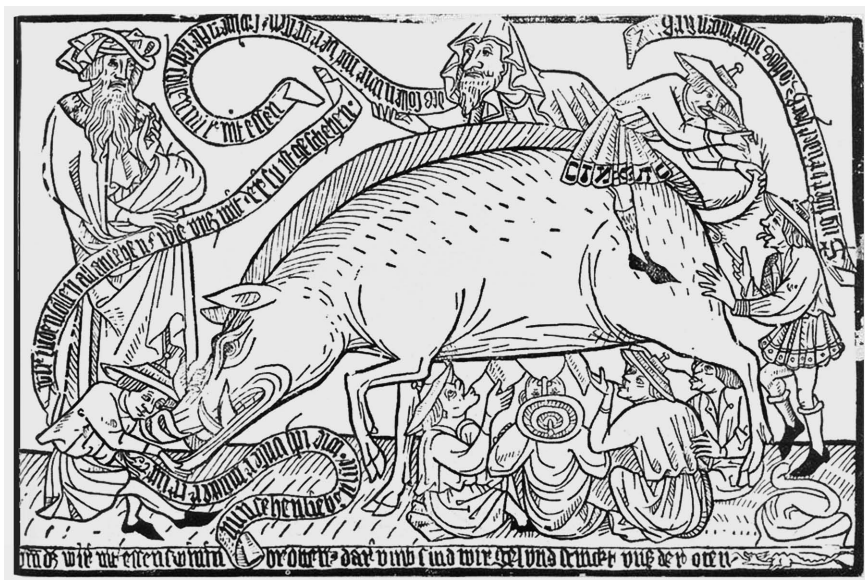


Figure 5: *Judensau*. Woodcut, Germany, from a fifteenth-century block (first printed in 1472) (from wikipedia.de, public domain)



Figure 6: Nuremberg, St Sebaldus, sculpture of a *Judensau* on a buttress at the east choir, around 1380 (Bildarchiv Hans-Christoph Dittscheid)

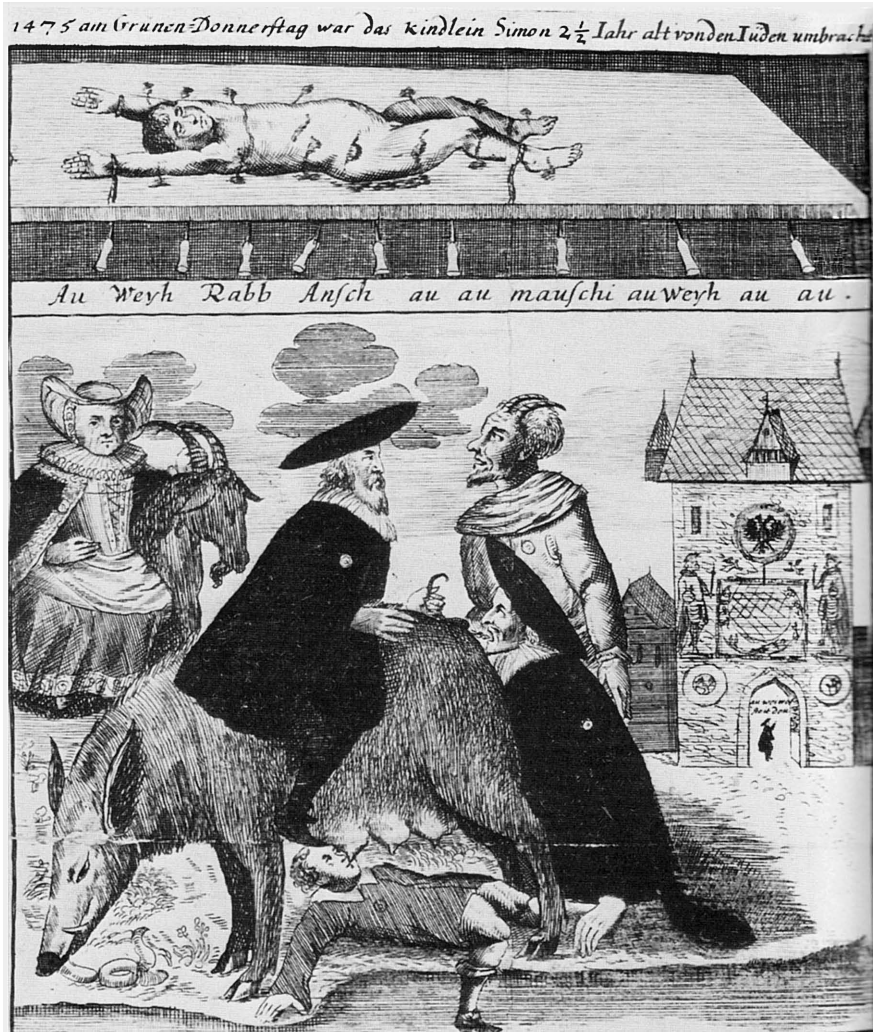


Figure 7: Eighteenth-century broadsheet showing the Frankfurt *Judensau*, with the typical additions of Simon of Trent above the *Judensau*, and a woman with a he-goat, a horned devil, and the Old Bridge Tower as background. The line above the *Judensau* reads: "Au weyh Rabb Ansch au au mauschi au weyh au au" and is in many renditions followed by the 'invitation' to 'guzzle down the milk and devour the filth' (from wikipedia.de, public domain)