

20. See, among others, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 4.15.97.3; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 8.28–30; Novatian, *De cibis iudaicis* (whose last chapter addresses food offered to idols).

21. Food offered to idols is prohibited alongside blood and that which has been strangled at the mid-fourth-century Council of Gangra (c. 2); see also the fourth-century *Pseudo-Clementine homilies* (7.4.2, 7.8.1) and Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical letters* 4.27. I was unable to find any reference to food offered to idols in the discussions of subsequent Eastern councils found in Hefele and Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*; this work includes the complete text or detailed summaries of all surviving conciliar canons. Examples of canons that prohibit blood and strangled meat yet lack reference to *eidōlothuton* appear in chapter 8.

22. The impact of imperial authority on conceptions of Christianity has been highlighted by studies employing postcolonial methodology, including A. S. Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews*. On the shift in imperial attitudes toward religion that occurred during Theodosius's reign, see S. Schwartz, *Imperialism*, 191–92. Although both of these works focus on Christian attitudes toward Jews, their findings also apply to attitudes regarding other non-Christians.

23. Mommsen and Meyer, *Codex Theodosianus*; English: Pharr, *Theodosian Code*. Laws regarding sacrifice appear in title 16.10, "On pagans, sacrifices, and temples"; eleven of these laws date from the reign of Theodosius I and his successors. (The *Theodosian Code* is named after one of those successors, Theodosius II.)

24. *Theodosian Code* 16.10.23; the earliest reference to "pagans" in the *Code* appears in an edict of Honorius promulgated in 415 (16.10.20).

25. The sixth-century *Justinianic Code* contains only a single law on the subject absent from the *Theodosian Code* (1.11.7, promulgated in 451). Celebrations of the demise of "paganism" within the Roman world among the imperial and ecclesiastical elites were, however, premature; see MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 74–85; Effros, *Creating community*, 9–11.

26. In a similar vein, c. 78 applies the same punishment to those who commit adultery with a Jew or heretic and fail to confess their sin voluntarily; no canon addresses adultery with other non-Christians.

27. Translations of the canons of the Council of Elvira are based on those of Laeuchli, *Power and sexuality*, 126–35, emended on the basis of Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos*, 1–15.

28. Laeuchli, *Power and sexuality*, 56–59, further observes that the traditional priesthood constituted a power base against which Christian clergy contested when asserting their own authority in societal affairs. Laeuchli demonstrates that the relative severity of punishments prescribed in Elviran canons reflects the relative significance of a given transgression to the bishops and presbyters gathered in Elvira.

29. Latin citations are from the Vulgate, but these terms are attested in many Old Latin texts as well; see the online card catalog of the Vetus Latina Institut, accessible via Brepols Publishers Online, www.brepols.net.

8. JEWISH FOOD AND THE DEFINITION OF CHRISTIANITY

1. Taylor, *Anti-Judaism*, 139.
2. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, codex 1179, folio 186a. This image offers an allegorical interpretation of *Esther* 1.9–12, in which Queen Vashti refuses to obey King

Ahasuerus's command to leave her own women's banquet and appear before the king and his guests. The allegory equates Vashti with the Jewish community, Ahasuerus with Christ, and Jewish dietary laws with the women's banquet, whose appeal, according to this commentary, is to blame for Vashti's disobedience. On the *Bible moralisée*, see Lipton, *Images of intolerance*; Lipton discusses this specific image on pp. 68–69 and cites evidence that its depiction of kosher slaughter matches those found in medieval Jewish manuscripts.

3. I have omitted from this list the Apostolic Decree's prohibitions against blood and the meat of animals whose blood has not been drained. Medieval Roman Catholics like the author of this *Bible moralisée*, in keeping with Augustine's teachings on this subject, hold that these prohibitions are no longer applicable. I am grateful to Eric Shuler for sharing with me his unpublished work on the medieval history of *Acts* 15.29, presented in part at the 2005 International Congress of Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan. See also Böckenhoff, *Speisesatzungen mosaicher Art*. On Augustine's treatment of this subject, see below and in chapter 11.

4. Linder, *Jews in the legal sources*, helpfully collects and translates the vast majority of Greek and Latin Christian legal sources from the early Middle Ages that relate to Jews, including many of the food restrictions discussed below. Early Christian "Jewry law," as the genre is called, addresses such issues as Jewish ownership of Christian slaves, Jewish exercise of public authority, and intermarriage. Most of these laws seek to prevent Jews from assuming a position of social superiority over Christians that does not befit adherents of an inferior religion. Foreign food restrictions, in contrast, are more likely to spell out the reasons for Judaism's inferiority. Translations of such restrictions in this chapter are my own, prepared in consultation with Linder's.

5. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental*, 106, suggests that canons 26, 36, and 61 (encouraging fasting on the Sabbath, prohibiting images in churches, and prohibiting marriage to one's former wife's sister) are also anti-Jewish in their orientation. These suggestions are plausible but lack supporting evidence.

6. On the translation of Elviran canons, see chapter 7, note 27. Laeuchli, *Power and sexuality*, 132, understands c. 49 as referring to Christian landholders seeking Jewish blessings over their crops. The broader interpretation of this canon suggested in the present translation, however, makes more sense given the subject matter of c. 50 and of *1 Timothy* 4.1–3, to which c. 49 alludes.

7. See Laeuchli, *Power and sexuality*, 81–82.

8. The canon refers to those who "cum Iudaeis cibum sumpserit," while *1 Corinthians* 5.11 instructs believers "cum eiusmodi nec cibum sumere." This reading appears both in the Vulgate text and in many Old Latin versions collected in the online card catalog of Vetus Latina Institut, accessible via Brepols Publishers Online, www.brepols.net.

9. These translations of *1 Timothy* reflect the language of the Vulgate, a close approximation of the text known to the clerics at Elvira.

10. J. Cohen, *Living letters*. Although the concept behind this formulation, as Lieu, *Image and reality*, observes, is "something of a truism" (1), many scholars have instead interpreted Christian anti-Judaism as a response to a real threat posed by Jews; see Taylor, *Anti-Judaism*. There is insufficient evidence to determine the extent, if any, to which Christians in early-fourth-century Spain actually interacted with Jews or were attracted by Jewish practices.

11. “Chapters which were written from the Orient” (530s), cc. 34–35, in Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 161: 174 (Syriac); cf. Vööbus’s English translation, 162: 166. On this document, see Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen*, 35: 167–75. The Synod of George I, patriarch of the (Nestorian) Church of the East (676), also condemns Christians who drink wine in Jewish taverns immediately after receiving the Eucharist and imposes sanctions on those who engage in this practice; see Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 225 (French trans. 489). Similar prohibitions against commensality with Jews appear in later Syriac collections as well; see, for example, c. 118 in the collection of Isho’ bar Nun (d. 828), in Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, 2: 170–71.

12. De Clercq, *Concilia Galliae*, 27–28.

13. The first collection containing the canons from Elvira to receive widespread distribution outside of Spain was the seventh-century *Collectio Hispana*. Florus of Lyons, who assembled a fairly comprehensive collection of canons related to Jewish food in the early ninth century, was apparently unaware of the Elviran text; on Florus’s collection, see note 48 below.

14. 3 Orléans c. 14 (13), Mâcon c. 15, Clichy c. 13, in de Clercq, *Concilia Galliae*, 120, 226, 294.

15. Vannes c. 12, Agde c. 40, in Munier, *Concilia Galliae*, 154, 210; the version promulgated at Agde appears in Gratian’s *Decretum* as C. 28 q. 1 c. 14. The difference in language between these canons reflects the fact that the former council focused exclusively on clerical discipline. On these canons, see Blumenkranz, “Iudaeorum conuiuia,” reprinted in *Juifs et chrétiens: Patristique et Moyen Âge*.

16. Linder, *Jews in the legal sources*, 465–82, identifies twelve councils that address Jews (excluding the so-called Council of Rheims, whose canons are virtually identical to those promulgated at the Council of Clichy; scholars question the independent existence of the Rheims gathering). In contrast to the six councils whose canons address commensality, five councils address Jewish ownership of Christian slaves and Jewish exercise of public authority while only four councils treat the subject of intermarriage or other sexual relations between Christians and Jews. Various historians interpret the anticommissality canons as evidence for the widespread presence of Jews in early medieval Gaul and the persistence of close social relations between Jews and their Christian neighbors; see, for example, Blumenkranz, “Anti-Jewish polemics”; Mikat, *Judengesetzgebung*, 23. This interpretation is highly problematic in the absence of other evidence for Jewish settlement in many of these regions of Gaul during the early Middle Ages.

17. A slightly different argument regarding the impurity of Manicheans appears in Augustine’s first anti-Manichean treatise, *On the Christian and Manichean ways of life* 2.14.35. There, Augustine uses *Romans* 14.14 to demonstrate that Manicheans become defiled through their consumption of food they believe to be impure. Whereas in that work Manichean defilement results from the failure of Manicheans to adhere stringently to their own impossibly stringent dietary norms, Augustine argues in *Answer to Faustus* that Manichean defilement precedes these norms and, indeed, serves as the impetus for creating them.

18. For a consolidated exposition on the dietary laws, also expressed in the context of anti-Manichean polemic, see *Against Adimantus* 14–15; see also *Sermon* 149.3–5.

19. Augustine himself does not apply his rhetoric regarding Manichean dietary practices to the Jews. The closest Augustine comes to making this connection is in his exposition of

Psalm 126 (LXX 125), in which Jewish dietary practices constitute nothing more than an historical artifact from Old Testament times. Augustine's call for self-purification in this homily is directed against sinful Christians, not Jews. On Augustine's treatment of Jews as hermeneutical constructs rather than contemporary actors, see J. Cohen, *Living letters*, 23–65. On the connection between Augustine's anti-Manichean works, especially *Answer to Faustus*, and his conception of Jews and Judaism more broadly, see also Fredriksen, "Excaecati occulta," and, at greater length, *Augustine and the Jews*.

20. Medieval canon law commentators regularly draw attention to the link between Jewish dietary laws and Jewish attacks against Christian faith; see Freidenreich, "Sharing meals."

21. Augustine, *Sermon* 351.10, trans. Edmund Hill. See also John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Hebrews* 25.3–4. Both of these homilies focus on 1 *Corinthians* 5.11, and extracts of each find their way into Gratian's *Decretum*. Chrysostom's words appear in C. 11 q. 3 c. 24; Augustine's sermon is cited directly in C. 2. q. 1 c. 18 and an indirectly (via an epitomized version from the *Glossa ordinaria* to 1 *Cor.* 5.10) in C. 23 q. 4 c. 17.

I am aware of only two Christian authorities from the first millennium who articulate prohibitions against commensality with gentiles. In a pair of letters to clerics in Spain, Pope Adrian I (r. 772–95) bemoans the fact that "many who call themselves Catholics carry on public life with Jews and unbaptized pagans, sharing in food and drink alike and also straying into error in several ways while saying that they are not defiled." Adrian calls on those found guilty of these transgressions, among others, to be banished from the community and held in eternal damnation. See Simonsohn, *Apostolic see*, 1: 27–28. Adrian's atypical concern about commensality with pagans and his unusual ascription of defilement to those who engage in such activity likely relate specifically to the fact of Muslim rule in eighth-century Spain. Also exceptional in this regard is the *Corrector*, a penitential by Burchard of Worms incorporated into his *Decretum*. Burchard suggests penance of ten days on bread and water for those who eat "the food of Jews or other pagans" (p. 201r); the penalty for eating food offered to idols is thirty days on this diet (195r–v).

22. The Council of Vannes was the first Catholic council in Brittany. The Council of Agde was the first Catholic council allowed in Arian Visigothic territory and demonstrated the strength of the Catholic faction in the region of Narbonne. The Council of Epaone was called by Sigismund, the first Catholic king of Burgundy. The Third Council of Orléans followed the annexation of Ostrogothic territories into the Catholic Merovingian kingdoms. The remaining pair of commensality-related canons date from later councils that largely restate earlier prohibitions. See Pontal, *Histoire des conciles mérovingiens*.

23. Similarly, see Effros, *Creating community*, 5, 17–18.

24. On the term *judaize*, see Cohen, *Beginnings of Jewishness*, 176–97; Dán, "Judaizare."

25. Visigothic Catholic authorities, unlike their repetitive neighbors to the north, do not promulgate any foreign food restrictions. Just as the *Theodosian Code* prohibits pagan performance of idolatrous sacrifices rather than Christian consumption of its meat, Visigothic ecclesiastical councils and the *Laws of the Visigoths* seek to eradicate Judaism and its practices entirely and therefore contain no prohibitions of commensality with Jews. In addition to their frequent calls for the conversion or expulsion of all Jews, Visigothic authorities prohibit Jews from distinguishing between pure and impure foods (*Laws of the Visigoths* 12.2.8, 12.3.7). These laws reflect the distinctly Visigothic political vision of an exclusively Catholic

kingdom whose monarch was charged with the defense and propagation of Catholic norms. On this vision and the place of Jews within it, see Gonzáles-Salineró, “Catholic anti-Judaism,” 126–29; Stocking, *Bishops, councils, and consensus*, 136.

26. Linder, *Jews in the legal sources*, 495–96 (trans. 499). This oath was administered by King Chintila to Jewish converts in Toledo in December 637.

27. Cameron, “Jews and heretics,” 350. Note that while Christians blur the distinction between Judaism and polytheism as systems of belief, they do not blur the social distinction between Jews and gentiles.

28. This collection was in circulation by the early fifth century, when it was already associated with Laodicea. Some modern scholars, however, question the historicity of the council, and all agree that the collection consists of two independent units (cc. 1–19, 20–59). See Amann, “Laodicée,” 8: 2611–12; Hefele and Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, 1: 989–95. Other Laodicean canons regarding food include cc. 24, 27–28, 50, 52–53, 55. Additionally, c. 29 prohibits Christians from judaizing through observance of the Sabbath, while c. 16 enjoins the reading of the Gospels on that day.

29. Joannou, *Discipline générale*, 146.

30. The Canons of the Apostles constitute *Apostolic constitutions* 8.47; for the text and a French translation, see Metzger, *Constitutions apostoliques*, 3: 300–301. Metzger dates these canons to 380 (1: 54–61).

31. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 157–58 (French trans., 417–18).

32. See, for example, the canons of Athanasius of Balad, Patriarch of Antioch, in Nau, “Littérature canonique,” 128–29. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen*, 35: 200–202, dates this text to 684–86. On this text, see also Freidenreich, “Muslims in canon law,” 91.

33. See chapter 7, note 21.

34. This council, named after the domed hall in which it occurred, is also known as the Quinisext Council because of its subsequent association with the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils, which did not produce canons of their own. The text of these canons appears in Nedungatt and Featherstone, *Council in Trullo*, 41–186; the translations cited here are Featherstone’s.

35. This canon, translated with slight inaccuracies, appears in Gratian’s *Decretum* as C. 28 q. 1 c. 13.

36. On Ephrem’s anti-Jewish rhetoric, with particular attention to the following hymn, see Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism and Christian orthodoxy*.

37. Ephrem the Syrian, “Hymns on Unleavened Bread” 19, in *Paschahymnen*, 108: 36–37; this partial translation is adapted from that of Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism and Christian orthodoxy*, 32–33.

38. Lamy, *Hymni et sermones*, 2: 399 and 3: 137; see also 3: 165. I am grateful to Adam Becker and Sergey Minov for their assistance in confirming the pseudonymous nature of these sermons.

39. Morin, *Sermones*, 104: 967. Caesarius himself offered a similar sermon against those who would consume food offered to idols; see sermon 54, 103: 235–40. Pseudo-Caesarius evidently does not share Augustine’s resistance to the notion that food itself can become impure and accursed.

40. Responsum 3 to Tuma the recluse, in Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 161: 257–58; cf. Vööbus’s

translation, 162: 235. (Translations of Jacob's responsa here are my own.) Tuma's question referred solely to wine pressed by Jews, but Jacob chose to answer the question in broader terms; note that all of Jacob's examples are "cooked," not "raw." Jacob freely permits Christians to eat meat from animals slaughtered in nonsacral contexts by pagans; he expresses no concern about defilement that might be communicated to Christians through such behavior because the impurity associated with idolatrous sacrifice does not apply to gentiles themselves. See responsum 17 in the second collection of responsa to Johānann Ešṭunara found in Vööbus, *Synodicon*, 161: 254; cf. Vööbus's translation, 162: 232. The Catholic *Pseudo-Theodorian penitential* 27.1 (Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, 610–11), cited and discussed in chapter 12, similarly ascribes impurity to all Jewish food while expressing concern solely about gentile food offered in idolatrous sacrifice.

41. Paul W. Harkins translates the title of these sermons, *Logoi kata Ioudaion*, as "Discourses against judaizing Christians" on the grounds that "Chrysostom's primary targets were members of his own congregation who continued to observe the Jewish feasts and fasts." He also notes that the title of these discourses is inconsistent in the manuscript tradition. See Harkins, *Discourses*, x, xxxi, n. 47. Harkins glosses over the fact that Chrysostom's primary method of dissuading Christians from observing Jewish holidays is to attack Jews and Judaism directly. Translations of Chrysostom's *Discourses* are largely those of Harkins, but I have revised them (sometimes to a considerable degree) on the basis of Meeks and Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch*, 85–104, and the Greek original.

42. See Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews*.

43. As Cheung, *Idol food*, 116–17, observes, Chrysostom himself is aware of the rhetorical power of Paul's discussion of food offered to idols, which he addresses in his *Homilies on 1 Corinthians* 20–25.

44. On the nature of this projection, as manifest in anti-Jewish works produced in the mid-seventh-century Eastern Roman Empire, see Olster, *Roman defeat*.

45. The irony of this logic, to which we will return in chapter 12, is explored by Stow, *Jewish dogs*.

46. On Agobard and his anti-Jewish works, see Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard*, 102–38; J. Cohen, *Living letters*, 123–45.

47. Agobard's depiction of the third-century Saint Hilary, renowned for his efforts to combat Arianism, comes from the *Life of Hilary* by the sixth-century Venantius Fortunatus (3.9). Agobard (§8) also cites the prohibition against Jewish unleavened bread from the Council of Laodicea, conflating it with a Latin prohibition against intermarriage from the Council of Claremont (535, c. 6). This combination suggests that Agobard, like the author of the *Pseudo-Theodorian penitential*, understands the Laodicean canon to prohibit all Jewish food and, moreover, that Agobard understands this prohibition as a means of preventing social and, ultimately, sexual intercourse with Jews. Agobard's source for the canons he cites is the collection compiled by Florus of Lyons; on this work, see Blumenkranz, "Florus de Lyon," 575–76, reprinted in *Juifs et chrétiens: Patristique et Moyen Âge*.

48. Van Acker, *Agobard*, 205. See also Agobard's *On the insolence of the Jews*, p. 193 in van Acker's edition.

49. The cited phrase, inspired by *Matthew* 12.43–45, appears in §20 (van Acker, *Agobard*, 215). The same assertion, with the same prooftext, is made by Chrysostom in *Discourses* 1.6.6–

7. Scholars of the transmission of Greek Christian writings within Latin Christendom, however, do not list Chrysostom's homilies among those that would have been available in Western Europe during Agobard's day.

50. Van Acker, *Agobard*, 208.

51. *Ibid.*, 219. Agobard here employs both *Titus* 1.15 and *Deuteronomy* 28.17, deriving the curses against the granary and storehouses of those who disobey God from a combination of the Vulgate and an alternative translation (§25).

52. Amulo, *Contra Iudaeos* 51; Amulo expresses particular disgust at the practice of using Jewish wine in the eucharistic service. Like Agobard, Amulo declares that "sacrilegious association with Jews—with them and with other heretics—ought to be utterly despised, and their meals ought to be regarded as profane and sacrilegious. Whosoever in whatever way shares with them, [ecclesiastical authorities] assert that he is defiled by their impieties" (§59). Agobard, in his treatise *On the insolence of the Jews*, offers specific justifications for the prohibitions of Jewish meat and wine: Jews sell to Christians meat which they themselves deem unfit for consumption, and they ostentatiously accept an inflated price for the wine they prepare. See van Acker, *Agobard*, 191–95; Cohen, *Living letters*, 127, translates a portion of this treatise, much of which focuses on food-related concerns.

Agobard composed both *Jewish superstitions* and *Insolence of the Jews* in an unsuccessful effort to persuade the Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious to enforce laws restricting Christian interaction with Jews. Concern regarding Jewish impurity may underlie what is, to my knowledge, the only Carolingian law relating to Jewish food, an edict by Charlemagne ("Capitula de Iudaeis" c. 3, of the year 814) prohibiting Jews from selling wine and produce; see Pertz, *Legum nationum Germanicarum*, 194.

53. J. Cohen, *Living letters*, 127–28; for Cohen's contextualization of Agobard's anti-Jewish works within his broader interests in the proper social order, see pp. 132–45.

54. Douglas, *Purity and danger*, 35. I agree, however, with Douglas's overarching insight that systems of impurity "are used as analogies for expressing a general view of the social order" (3).

55. On Rabbinic discourse that does ascribe impurity of various sorts to gentiles, see Hayes, *Gentile impurities*, 107–92.

56. On the use of impurity rhetoric with respect to the food of non-sectarian Jews in Qumranic literature, see Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish sects*, esp. 7–9, 86–102. Within Rabbinic literature, see T. *Hul.* 2.20, cited in chapter 5.

57. See Boyarin, *Border lines*, 202–25.

58. See Stow, *Jewish dogs*.

59. See Freidenreich, "Holiness and impurity."

9. RELATIVIZING COMMUNITIES IN THE QUR'AN

1. The Qur'an refers to "believers" with far greater frequency than "Muslims," and the latter term is absent from the texts we will examine; within the Qur'an, neither term necessarily implies membership in a particular religious community. See further Donner, *Muhammad and the believers*.

2. "Idolaters" is an imprecise translation of the Qur'anic term *mushrikūn*, which refers