

ECOLOGICAL HOLISM AND THEOLOGICAL DUALISM AS ROOTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM: MEDIEVAL LESSONS FOR MODERN RELIGIOUS SCHOLARS

Susan Power Bratton

Abstract

The central hypothesis of this paper is that idealization of nature may fuel environmental racism when combined with dual interpretation of human religious or spiritual states. Medieval typological Biblical exegesis, originally based on historic rather than racial differentiation, encouraged presentation of Christianity as “natural” and Judaism as contra-natural. During the Gothic period, the stained glass of St. Denis Cathedral presented Judaism as occupying the material rather than the transcendent spheres of existence. In numerous stained glass windows, Jews appear as threats to nature by attacking Christ on a green cross, which symbolizes the renewal of all life, or the *Lignum Vitae*. As Christian architects and scientists increased their focus on the divine light of creation, prejudicial portrayals depicted Judaism as blind Synagogue, unable to fully appreciate nature. Pagan motifs, such as the Green Man, syncretized with Christian theological dualism, also serve to separate Judaism from living nature. These depictions purposefully conflict with Gothic aesthetic emphasis on proportion, clarity, and integrity and were intended to imply that religious minorities have no legitimate role in Christian European society. Modern religious scholarship must be cautious not to describe some religions as natural or nature religion, while neglecting others, particularly Judaism and Islam.

Keywords: environmental racism; Judaism; Medieval; dualism; anti-Semitism

Introduction

One of the central questions in environmental ethics is: how do cultures justify environmental exclusion of “others” from clean, healthy living and working space, or from utilization of natural and economic resources? During the past two decades, environmental historians, sociologists and ethicists have initiated an investigation of environmental oppression of racial and ethnic minorities. A majority of the studies has emphasized contemporary cases, such as the elevated risk of the chemical exposure in African-American neighborhoods along the lower Mississippi River or colonial abuses of indigenous peoples (Bullard 1993; Westra and Wenz 1995). Ironically, discussions of

anti-Semitism have barely appeared in the environmental literature. Rather than merely disassociating Jews from nature, nineteenth and twentieth century anti-Semitism has described the Jewish people as if they exist outside the healthy natural order (Bratton 1999).

The purpose of this study is to examine one critical historic period, the late middle ages or Gothic period, when anti-Judaism was becoming increasingly prevalent in European politics. At the same time, direct observation of nature was becoming an honored component of the liberal arts, and artists took to the woods and fields to produce increasingly realistic natural forms in Gothic painting and sculpture. My hypothesis is that idealization of nature can fuel racism when combined with dualistic interpretation of human religious or spiritual states. In the medieval case, typological Biblical exegesis, which was originally based on historic rather than racial differentiation, encouraged presentation of Christianity as "natural" and Judaism as contra-natural. This paper considers "environmental anti-Semitism" to be one element in the larger picture of social and economic exclusion of Jews. Yet portrayals of natural beauty or regeneration so easily disguise anti-Semitism, that "environmental anti-Semitism" remains one of the most insidious forms of prejudice conveyed by Euro-American culture.

Defining the natural

In investigating definitions of "nature" or "natural" and the environmental ideals of earlier eras, this paper assumes that both western concepts of nature and definitions of "the other" have changed through time. Further, a variety of cosmologies from those of Platonists and Stoics, to those of the Celtic and Germanic tribes, have influenced Christian conceptualization of "the natural." John Boswell proposes that early Christianity had little interest in "nature" per se, and that heretical Manichean defense of "the natural" resulted in Christian disinterest in any clear concept of "ideal nature . . . until the thirteenth century." (Boswell 1980: 145-147). Early Christians, such as Augustine of Hippo, and Hellenized Jews did invoke the concept that some human actions are "against nature" and therefore also against divine mandates (Boswell 1980: 145-152). The use of perceived natural process as a cultural yardstick, however, increases with the emphasis on natural law during the Middle Ages.

Christian art, unlike Christian philosophy, extensively invoked natural motifs as symbols of divine providence, resurrection and human well-being from its beginnings. Sculptors and painters borrowed themes from pre-Christian religious art, and decorated the sarcophagi of early Roman Christians with the grapevines associated with the cult of Dionysus. Use of natural images to portray positive values or spiritual states varied with regional economies and the degree of urbanization. Roman Christian funerary art often depicts garden plants, vineyards and Christ as the good shepherd. Early Celtic Christian art places more emphasis on Adam with the wild animals in the garden, and often utilizes ancient solar symbols to represent Christ. Through the early medieval period, Christian art idealizes nature as fruitful and pastoral, as proof of God's power to renew, and as a diversity of creatures participating in God's grand design. Nature is imbedded with moral lessons for the observant.

Historic precedents for anti-Semitism

Anti-Judaism preceded the rise of Christianity in the ancient world; thus, pre-existing prejudice may have influenced early Christian attitudes. Imperial Rome expelled the Jewish residents of her capital, as well as battling Jewish rebels in Palestine. Two early anti-Jewish themes that portray Judaism as "unnatural" are: (1) declaring Judaism to be the equivalent of an illness of the world's economy, and (2) associating Judaism with ritually unclean, venomous or lowly animals. Flaveus Josephus defended the Jewish people against Hellenic historians who inaccurately claimed Moses and the Hebrew people were expelled from Egypt into the wilderness because they were diseased and unclean (Josephus 1987: 792). In 41 CE, the emperor Claudius, presumably acting more out of political than religious hatred, addressed the Alexandrians in an anti-Jewish letter: "I shall proceed against them [the Jews] in every way as fomenting a common plague for the whole world" (Conzelmann 1992: 50). Later, the Christian apologist, John Chrysostom (ca. 400 CE), similarly characterized the Jews as: "a common plague for the whole world" (Conzelmann 1992: 50). The Greek root for plague utilized by both Claudius (or more likely his secretary) and John, "the golden mouth," was *nosos* (*noson*), a standard term for disease or illness (Conzelmann 1992: 50, Harold 1978: 279). The word utilized for the "entire world"

by both authors was *oikoumeni*, which means the entire habitable planet (*oikumeni gi*) or the entire human race (Conzelmann 1992: 50, Moulton 1978: 284-285). (*Oikoumeni* comes from the root *oikos*, meaning a house or dwelling, which is also the root of our English words *economy* and *ecology*).

Ancient historians and satirists incorrectly depicted Jewish worship as centered on animals, and thus associated Judaism with lowly beasts. Petronius, author of the *Satyricon*, mocked Jews, by claiming their abstinence from pork arose from worshipping a pig (Petronius, fragment 37). Apion claimed that the Jews worshipped an ass's head in the temple in Jerusalem (Josephus 1987: 2.7-9). Such fourth and fifth century Christian figures as Gregory of Nyssa and Jerome continued these prejudicial polemics by referring to Jews as "vipers" (Bratton 1994: 83).¹ John Chrysostom, one of the most vitriolic of all anti-Jewish writers, also declared "they are worse than wild beasts . . . the synagogue is a brothel, a den of scoundrels" (Bratton, 1994: 84). In arguing for the moral superiority of Christianity, John slanderously stated that the Jews "had fallen into a condition lower than the vilest animals, debauchery and drunkenness had brought them to the level of the lusty goat and the pig" (Bratton 1994: 85). Despite the rude and unjust nature of these accusations, Jews could become Roman citizens, own land, and reside in cities throughout the Roman Empire. Early Christians engaged in public debate with Jews and attempted to convert Jewish families. There was little Christian mob violence against Jews, however, until the time of the First Crusade.

Early Christian dual interpretation

Early Christian theologians and artists established the foundations for environmental anti-Semitism when they portrayed Hebrew texts as premonitions and analogs of Christian teachings under the Old Covenant, which was superseded by the New Covenant. Considering Judaism to be historically passé while retaining the Hebrew Scriptures as sacred texts encouraged the development of typological interpretation, where Judaism was the prophetic, yet spiritually inadequate, forerunner of Christianity. The entire book of Hebrews, for example, is a reinterpretation of Jewish texts in Christological terms. Paul, in the first letter to the Corinthians (10:1-4), interprets the rock that

Moses struck to produce water in the wilderness by writing "that Rock was Christ" (Fowler 1976: 41-42).

From the era of the New Testament to the Middle Ages, the use of allegorical and typological Biblical exegesis, if anything, increased. The letter of *Barnabas* (possibly written ca. 135 CE in Alexandria (Lightfoot and Harmer 1989: 160)), for example, rejects Jewish sacrifices and rituals such as circumcision and Sabbath observance "but these negative uses of texts are balanced by testimonies designed to prove that Christian baptism and Christ's cross fulfill the ancient promises" (Kugel and Greer 1986: 139). *Barnabas* develops "typological interpretations of the cross (Moses' uplifted arms at the battle of Amalek and his lifting up of the brazen serpent in the wilderness) and concludes by identifying Jesus as the true Joshua and the "Lord" of Ps. 110:1 and Is. 45:1" (Kugel and Greer 1986: 139). Following the gospel of John 3:14, which considers the bronze serpent to be Jesus on the cross, *Barnabas* understands this type "to show that the death of Christ brings life to Christians but also to "convince them [the Jews] that they will be delivered over to the affliction of death because of their transgression" (Kugel and Greer 1986: 140). The serpent, of course, is the source of temptation in Genesis 3. In adopting this hermeneutic, the unknown author of *Barnabas* is following Philo and other Hellenistic authors who used allegory to seek the spiritual meaning, not just of religious texts, but also of Homer (Lightfoot and Harmer 1989: 159). As Hans Conzelmann points out, *Barnabas* interprets the Jewish scriptures "in a radically unhistorical way" (Conzelmann 1992: 261). Although *Barnabas* uses natural images to portray Judaism as the opposite of Christianity, this polemic dualism lacks a concrete relationship to space and time.

Early Christian art rarely portrays Biblical figures specifically as Jews. Elizabeth Revel-Neher concludes that Byzantine art, although sometimes distinguishing Jews by dress maintains an image of the Jew that "is illustrative and not moralizing, descriptive and not accusatory" (Revel-Neher 1992: 107). Roman Christian art, however, dressed most Biblical figures as Romans, thereby showing minimal concern for historic accuracy. Art of the catacombs and early churches presented, not just Jesus, but prophets such as Moses wearing togas, and in some cases, as clean-shaven rather than wearing the beards of mature Jewish men. Early Christianity also borrowed the triumphalism, self-promotion, and emphasis on imperial cultural ascendancy found in Roman art. Christian art thus absorbed stories

from the Hebrew Scriptures, and presented them as Christian history in Roman costume (Elsner 1998).

Artistic interpretation of Judaism as directly opposed to Christianity was common by the Carolingian period, when the theologically negative aspect of Judaism was most frequently symbolized by "Synagogue"—a female figure wearing or carrying items associated with spiritual resistance or defeat, such as a veil or a broken spear. Much western Christian portrayal of Judaism remained generally vague and oblivious to history, however, until the high Middle Ages. An early example of a northern European Christian artist placing images of medieval Jews in an historic setting is a miniature painting from the Reichenauer school (ca. 1000) that shows Jews wearing Phrygic (Persian style) caps defending Jerusalem from the Romans in 70 CE² (Schreckenberg 1996: 27).

Origins of Gothic perceptions

The Gothic period was one of radical revisioning of space, time and nature as well as of God. The growth of liberal arts, fostered by cathedral schools, and a rediscovery of ancient philosophers and scientists, such as Aristotle and Ptolemy, was accompanied by a renewed interest in Biblical interpretation. The 11th century, which "seems to have been something of a blank period in Old Testament scholarship," was followed by the 12th century renaissance (Rogerson et al. 1998: 65). At the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris circa 1125, Hugh (of St. Victor) searched for *Hebraica veritas*, and brought a new emphasis on the literal meaning of the text, particularly the historic events of the Hebrew Scriptures (Rogerson et al. 1998: 67-69).³ Hugh broke the tradition of indifference to the Hebrew language, by consulting Jewish scholars, and reading Jewish exegetes. Leonard Glick comments: "Where Jewish interpretation conflicted with Christian doctrine, Hugh went so far as to present both in his work, neutrally and without comment—a major departure from conventional practice, to say the least" (Glick 1999: 135-136). Hugh's student, Andrew, was so intent on discovering the original historic context of the Hebrew scriptures, that he repeatedly utilized contemporary Jewish interpretations as the historic meaning (Smalley 1964: 155-156). Glick notes: "The most remarkable thing about Andrew's writing is that he weighs Jewish and Christian interpretations equally, judging them

mainly on rational grounds, almost always discounting the supernatural interpretations on either side" (Glick 1999: 136). Not surprisingly, another student of Hugh's, Richard of St. Victor, while maintaining an interest in Jewish scholarship, attacked Andrew for accepting Jewish perspectives so uncritically, and attempting to interpret the Old Testament apart from the New (Glick 1999: 137-138). While stimulating a dialog about the value of Jewish learning, this wave of Biblical scholarship also began to reconsider Judaism in its historic—and social—contexts. Unfortunately, since early Christians had removed many specifically Jewish characterizations and symbols from both their scriptural interpretation and their art, medieval Christians, with a growing awareness of the past, rewrote and remythologized the historic role of Judaism from their own theological and cultural perspective.

Counter to this trend of scholarly interest in Judaism was the growing European tendency to unprovoked violence against Jews. The ancient and early medieval worlds had been largely tolerant of Judaism—a tradition which began to dissolve in the early 11th century, when rumors of the sack of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in 1010-1012 CE led to attacks against peaceful Jews resident in French and German cities such as Orleans, Rouen and Mainz. The watershed event, however, was the massacre of Jews, particularly along the Rhine, by Christians combatants marching to the First Crusade in 1096 (Moore 1992: 29). The church began to increasingly isolate Jews, and to restrict Christian contact and intermarriage. The efforts at purifying Christendom culminated in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which dictated that Jews must wear distinctive clothes and headgear, so they could not be mistaken for Christians (Herzig 1997: 43). Jews had previously lived in mixed neighborhoods with Christians next door. Infected with growing "Judeophobia," Christians began to restrict Jewish families to walled ghettos, thus increasingly defining both Jews and Judaism as unsuitable to share "Christian" space.

At the end of the 11th century, Jews in medieval costume begin to appear increasingly in Christian art as antagonists at the crucifixion or in other blood-letting roles. A Bavarian Psalter produced in the last quarter of the 11th century, for example, shows the mythical figures of Longinus and Stephanton, wearing pointed Jewish hats, spearing Jesus and offering him vinegar to drink (Herzig 1997: 168). Bronze reliefs on doors at San Zeno in Verona, cast sometime between 1100 and 1130, show Jews in long robes and pointed hats,

capturing, flagellating and crucifying Jesus. The Romans, who according to the gospel accounts executed the Nazarene prophet, are nowhere to be seen (Herzig 1997: 165-166). Although Christians had long considered Judaism to be a theoretical antagonist, these works of art of around 1100 CE mythologize and misrepresent Jews as a potentially violent ethnic threat.

The growth of "environmental anti-Semitism" during the 11th and 12th century was partially rooted in economic oppression, much as environmental racism is today. Jewish ghettos were usually in a poorer area of a city, and "were unbelievably overcrowded, often comprising a single street of abnormally tall houses, crammed with people who lived ever in dread of plagues and fires . . ." (Flannery 1985: 146). The Jewish ghetto in Rome, for example, held ten thousand residents in a square kilometer, and stood on the banks of the perpetually polluted and periodically flooded Tiber (Flannery 1985: 146). Legislation prevented Jewish landownership so that even Jews wedged into the ghettos were dependent on the Christian nobility for their rights of residence. Banned from the guilds and crafts, Jews often engaged in money lending and trading. Christian princes would periodically confiscate Jewish property or expel the Jewish residents of their domains, usually as quick relief for accumulated debts (Wistrich 1991: 26-27). Early forms of "environmental anti-Semitism" thus intentionally separated Jews from the land, or confined Jews in crowded, and potentially polluted spaces.

The transcendent Gothic—Suger and St. Denis

For environmental anti-Semitism to be fully expressed in Christian intellectual culture, Judaism's supposed position as the antagonist to Christianity or as the opposite of Christianity had to be linked to Christian concepts of the nature, space and time. A central hypothesis of this paper is that this linkage appeared as a major motif for the first time in the Gothic era and quickly evolved and spread throughout much of Europe. Aside from initiating pogroms, Christian encounter with Islam stimulated interest in what was to become European natural science. The capture of Toledo in 1085, as part of the Christian conquest of Spain, made the contents of extensive Arab libraries more available to northern Europeans (Lindberg 1992: 180-182, Grant 1996: 23-24). Between 1125 and 1200, Christian

scholars produced "a veritable flood of translations into Latin" of ancient Greek manuscripts, and of the excellent work done by Arab scientists (Burke 1985: 41). Artists and scholars of the Gothic become fascinated with both drawing designs from natural objects and studying natural phenomena such as light.

Architectural historians consider the cathedral of St. Denis in France to be first fully Gothic structure. Abbot Suger, planning a new narthex and facade in 1134 (Scully 1991: 125), sought to increase the flow of light into sacred space, thus "the 'heavenly windows' . . . were, for Suger, the objective of the whole enterprise" (Scully 1991: 160). Suger's first commission for stained glass included "two [windows] dedicated to the Concordance of the Old and New Testament, two historical windows (Christ and the tree of Jesse) and two relating to the Passion," (Erlande-Brandenburg 1984: 22) all of which were presumably in place when the choir was consecrated in 1144. In the lowest rondel of an anagogical window, Christ places a veil over the face of the female figure of Synagogue while crowning obedient Ecclesia. The next rondel (the window would be read from bottom to top) shows Christ unveiling Moses, who happens to be wearing medieval Jewish dress and holding Torah scrolls. The surrounding figures are also clearly Jews. (Blumenkranz suggests that when Christian art does begin to identify Jews, hats, Jewish badges, Hebrew letters, and beards or sidelocks are the most common distinguishing features (Blumenkranz 1965)).⁴ When Suger writes that his anagogical window is "urging us onward from the material to the immaterial . . .," his language is expressive of twelfth-century notions of transcendent light" (Camille 1996: 74). The top rondel displays the Trinity framed by the symbols of the four gospel evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John). In the center is a green Christ on a green cross, symbolic of the highest spiritual understanding and of the defeat of death and the renewal of life through Christian faith. According to Umberto Eco, in the Middle Ages bright color was a source of beauty, and ". . . Hugh of St. Victor said that green was the most beautiful of all colors, a symbol of Spring and an image of rebirth" (Eco 1986: 46).

Architectural historian, Vincent Scully concludes that in the facade of St. Denis "the circle and the square . . . are the crux of the design: the circle of the rose window set in its square bay between the towers" (Scully 1991: 156). Scully suggests "the Platonic order and harmony of the spheres" inspired other features:

Suger's plan of his choir, . . . shows circles rotating at the end of the radii from the center. And those circles progressively dematerialize from lower to higher. This is to say, in the crypt, which we remember is only half a level down from the nave, the walls are very thick in order to support the choir, so that the circles are separated by masonry. Then as we rise up to the choir—how like Suger that sounds, rising “in an anagogical manner” from a lower to higher sphere—we find that circles spin free of the walls disappear from between them. The actual structural mass is being thinned out and light is taking over (Scully 1991: 160).

For Suger the stained glass reflects “the harmony of the cosmos” and an approach to God “through the great spinning circles themselves, and through the light and color they carry.” Suger has “showed himself in one of the stained glass windows praying to Christ and the Virgin and prostrated right along the edge of one of those circles, in which he himself is bound up, rising ‘from a lower to higher sphere’ as on a vast wheel of light” (Scully 1991: 160). The placement of the Jewish figures in the anagogical window is thus tied to both the physical structure of the sanctuary, and becomes part of a hierarchical cosmology. The Jewish figures stand below “one of the most important of the circular medallions . . . the great image of the Trinity, where the Son crucified, holds out his arms in the center of the circle, like a Christianized versions of the man of perfect proportions, thus Himself the emblem of order of the universe . . .” (Scully 1991: 160). In typological representation, Jewish figures occupy the earthly and material realm and the sphere “where darkness and obscurity give way to light” (Camille 1996: 74).

In a lower rondel, of a window with scenes from the Exodus, a rather surprised looking Moses is kicking up one foot and taking off his shoes in front of a burning bush, where Christ appears in a flaming circle. Moses's flock gathers around the theophany, apparently unafraid. The top rondel, of the children of Israel surrounding the bronze serpent in the wilderness, is immediately above a rondel depicting the worship of the golden calf. Both scenes present the ancient Hebrews in Jewish hats. The typology is blatant. Suger's craftsmen not only paralleled the bronze serpent with the golden calf (the colors are the same and they are aligned—the calf at the bottom of one rondel, the serpent at the top of the one above it), but the bronze serpent has a green crucifix arising out its back. A hatless Christ-figure with a halo is showing the serpent and cross to the awed Jews standing around the green pillar, which supports the odd

beast. Again the sequence moves from the material and, in this case idolatrous, to the immaterial and holy. The halos and the fire from the burning bush are perfect circles, framing the "perfect man," and continue the emphasis on color and light.

Two other motifs in the 12th century windows present Jewish figures. A window depicting the life of Jesus contains a rondel of the flight into Egypt. Joseph, representing the old religious tradition, is wearing a Phrygic cap, and thus symbolizes Judaism's parentage of Christianity. A much-imitated motif is the Tree of Jesse window, where a great plant (looking much like a grapevine) rises from Jesse's loins, and supports the major Biblical figures in the lineage of Jesus. Jesse wears a hat and clothes similar to those of the other Old Testament figures. Although neither of these images is openly unfriendly to Judaism, they both place Judaism's legitimate religious role in the past tense, while accepting Judaism's parentage of Christianity. Suger was self-consciously doing something "new" with his windows, and much like his contemporary, Hugh of St. Victor, was establishing Judaism as "history." Suger was almost certainly influenced by both the trends in Biblical scholarship and the reinstatement of the Greek philosophers. The renovator of St. Denis had taken a thousand years of Christian anti-Jewish polemic and given it a fully integrated, if negative, role in Christian sacred space. He also had selected themes that would repeatedly disassociate Judaism from divinely constructed nature including supposed Jewish inability to see the divine light, rejection of the tree of life, association with the wilderness, attachment to the material and inanimate, and residence in the lower spheres of existence.

Laon and Chartres—attacks on the tree of life

Although the church architects who were contemporaries of Suger were slow to understand and imitate his accomplishments, "the list of thirteen bishops invited to dedicate the new choir in 1144 reads like a roll-call of the cathedrals which would be rebuilt in the next hundred years" (Wilson 1990: 44). The Gothic and its image of Judaism spread first through Isle-de-France, to cities such as Laon and Sens, and then across the channel to Norman England in the 1150s (Wilson 1990: 72). Suger's typology is restrained, however, compared to that of some of the oldest stained glass still extant at Laon,

where scenes in one window (probably early 13th century) show Jews in pointed caps harassing Jesus as he carries the green cross to his place of execution.

The earliest windows at Chartres survived a major fire that destroyed most of the cathedral in 1194. A 12th-century passion window does *not* show Jews as the main antagonists of Jesus, despite the burning of Jews in nearby Blois in 1172, and eviction of Jews from the synagogue in Chartres ca. 1179 (Williams 1993: 108). Figures wearing conical Jewish hats (Miller 1996: 32-36), however, include the positive images of Jesse with the tree springing from his loins, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus as they lift Jesus from the cross (Manhes-Deremble 1993: 374-377, Manhes and Deremble n.d.: 4-8, Miller 1998: 68-69), and Joseph of Nazareth leading Mary with her child on a white mule. On the negative side, a soldier of Herod's killing a child, and surrounded by decapitated infants, is also wearing a conical, and thus potentially Jewish, hat. The Passion window contains a crucifixion where Mary and John contemplate the dead Jesus on the cross, and:

Although the blood trickles from His five wounds, the closed eyes, the sideways tilt of his head and the limp body sagging at the hips all signify death. The wood of the cross, however, by virtue of the vivifying qualities of Christ's blood has become a living green bordered with red. A very popular anthem, known in the 12th century, begins "O crux, viride lignum", for it was commonly believed that the "true" cross was made from the Tree of Life, which had grown in Paradise. Thus, of the two trees of the Garden of Eden, one brought about death, and the other, life (Miller 1996: 38-39).

The 13th century windows⁵ more clearly cast Jews as antagonists. Jewish figures in a typological window about the passion chide Jesus who carries a green cross. On opposite sides of a panel containing a crucifixion on a green cross, Ecclesia, holding a miniature church and cruciform standard faces Synagogue. Carrying a broken banner and holding her fallen crown, the female symbol of Judaism is blindfolded by a serpent that "is entwined about her head and, to emphasize her blindness further, a small demon shoots an arrow through her eyes" (Miller 1996: 51). Adam is kneeling at the foot of this cross and catching Christ's blood in a chalice, again emphasizing the cross as the Tree of Life.

Another typological motif in the window that separates Judaism from natural renewal are two of the spies sent by Moses into the

Promised Land of Canaan returning with a giant cluster of grapes tied to a pole:

According to Isidore of Seville, quoted in the *Glossa ordinaria*, the grapes suspended on a pole symbolize Christ hanging on the cross, for He is the mystic grape whose blood fills the chalice of the Church. The two spies personify the Jews and the Gentiles, or he who leads [in representations elsewhere sometimes even shown wearing a Jewish conical cap] turns his back upon the grapes, as the Jews disregard Christ, while he who follows behind, his eyes fixed on the grapes, as at Canterbury, personifies the Gentiles who followed Christ (Miller 1996: 50).

A more positive relationship between a potentially Jewish figure and the Creation may be found in the Noah window, where Noah loads colorful medieval French interpretations of elephants, lions and camels into an arc with a multicolored roof. Two scenes at the top show Noah in what appears to be a Phrygic cap, kneeling with his wife under a rainbow and making a covenant with God⁶ (Miller 1996: 56-59).

Blind Synagogue

Of particular environmental interest, among the Gothic themes, is blind Synagogue and the disassociation of Judaism from the divine light. Aside from framing the crucifixion, life-sized statues of Ecclesia and Synagogue often stand on either side of Gothic doorways—informing the pilgrim or worshipper about Judaism's lack of relationship to sacred space. Examples of pairings at portals or as one enters the nave, include Strasbourg, where Ecclesia and Synagogue stand on either side of the south exterior doorways. The pair of women is very naturalistic, with gracefully curved bodies. According to a tourist guide, blindfolded Synagogue is characterized by:

Her dignified humility, the pure oval of her face, the delicacy of her features, the lofty forehead, the beginning of her hair exquisitely drawn, the inspired lightness of the chisel which seems have hardly touched stone—the beautiful but soft sandstone of the Vosges—the delicate blindfold, the broken spear, the Tables of Law slipping from her hand, an overturned crown, missing today, at her feet, all these are attributes given by the master, making her the symbol of an out-of-date world.⁷

Gothic concern for "seeing" included mystical approaches such as that of Richard of St. Victor, who separated corporeal from spiritual levels of vision—the corporeal included both "simple perception of matter" through figures and color, and understanding the mystical significance of something by its "outward appearance." The spiritual levels include discerning the truth of things hidden and, as in a revelation, seeing divine reality (Camille 1996: 16). A second source of guidance was Aristotle, "who placed vision at the top of the hierarchy of the five human senses, and emphasized that knowledge could only be obtained through perception of the visible world" (Camille 1996: 21). Early western science, which believed itself to be studying the reflection of God in Creation, was fascinated with light and optics. Bishop Grosseteste of Oxford, for example, believed the entire Creation had originated from a point of light. Theodoric of Freiburg (ca. 1300/10) performed a true experiment when he discovered what causes a rainbow (Lindberg 1992: 246, 253, Burke 1985: 52-53).

If blind Synagogue cannot observe the colored light flooding the church, she cannot see the future, or the hidden truths of nature. Nor can she absorb the Gothic emphasis on the "new." The allegory of unseeing synagogue and the identification of Judaism with magic and the occult also imply to the medieval viewer that Jews can not really comprehend or understand nature, or that such understanding will be put to dark purposes. This derogatory notion continues to appear sporadically in Euro-American academic culture, through the 20th century, when Nazi propaganda deemed "science Jews" such as Albert Einstein to be undependable. It might seem irrational to both portray Jews as magicians, with their superior control over nature, and as blind to nature. Yet these conflicted accusations—abuse of nature and isolation from it—formed a coherent implication that Judaism cannot recognize or convey the truth.

Green man, green cross—the Master of Naumburg

A third area of environmental interest is the great outpouring of organic images, especially in the high Gothic cathedrals such as Rheims, whose capitals "grow" at least thirty different recognizable species of plants. Other fine examples of realistic vegetation can be found at St. Chapelle in Paris, and at Magdeburg and Naumburg

in Germany. Great wreaths of flowers often border the huge stained glass windows of churches built with ever higher ceilings. A very visually powerful combination of motifs began to appear when the "Green Man" or leaf-mask became prominent in Christian decorative art in northern Europe. The face of the Green Man (or rarely Green woman) merges with leaves or with bark. His hair may be entirely of leaves and he sometimes has verdant plant material flowing from his mouth.

Although the Green man is sometimes attributed to the Celts, his origins are in the Romanized portions of Europe (the image is not typical of the churches of today's Celtic fringe). Leaf masks top several of the Gallo-Roman tombs dating from the 1st through 3rd century CE, filling one wing of the Rheinische Landesmuseum at Trier, Germany, for example. Some of these tombs once housed the remains of wine merchants who had shipped their products out along the Rhine. The face in leaves is almost certainly Dionysus, associated both with the fruit of the vine and mystical death and rebirth. He may have inherited some of his duties from Silvanus the god of the forests,⁸ and the vegetation sprouting from his mouth from Odin, who sometimes has the waters pouring forth from his mouth as prophetic breath (Anderson 1990).

Although a pagan god occupying Christian churches may seem irrelevant to discussions of anti-Judaism, the Green Man is often associated with green crosses. Crosses depicted as trees or logs with branches were common prior to the Gothic, particularly in the regions occupied by the Germanic tribes. During the Gothic, Christian arts and theology accentuated the Jewish role in deicide and, thereby, as negative portrayals of Jews at the cross and organic motifs converge, Jews are implicated in the "death" of nature. The Master of Naumburg (Germany), for example, designed a trend setting altar (rood) screen (ca. 1230/40) for Naumburg Cathedral that places Christ as the tree of life in the center in the arch way between the two doors to the west choir. William Anderson concludes that the Green Man is often found on or near a screen because the crucifix (or rood) is symbolic of the continued regeneration of life. Anderson comments:

... in the west choir screen at Naumburg, the story of the Passion is told in a sequence of panels in the upper register. These in themselves are among the greatest and most moving examples of Gothic sculpture, and the wonderful leaf carvings supporting the Passion series remind us that life springs out of death and new faith out of dead

creeds. Every leaf of the capital there was chosen for its significance for the story of the Passion—and in the wall of the screen there is the most curious Green Man. His face is formed entirely of bark instead of leaves as if to signify that with the death of Christ he too has had to withdraw all signs of life into himself (Anderson 1990: 99).

Art critic Ingrid Schulze also considers the crucifix in the door to be visually integrated with the surrounding architecture. Christ is clearly the *lignum vitae*. She comments that the decorations on the capitals and elsewhere follow the French example of exact observation of nature. The species are not only easily recognizable—the majority are native to the chalk soils of the Naumburg region—each plant emerging from the stone is symbolic. The grapes remind the viewer that Christ is the “true vine.” The hazel branches bear nuts that speak of Christ’s hidden love. The thistles are similar to the crown of thorns. The early spring flowers, such as wood anemones, both convey the renewing benefits of Christ’s red blood and serve as portents of paradise. Bonaventure’s 11th-century allegory of the “*Lignum Vitae*” is fully expressed by this *Gesamtkunstwerk* (holistic art work) that presents Christ as the stem of the tree, whose fruits are embodied in scenes from the holy history that extend across the top register of the screen (Schulze 1995: 36-39).⁹

The Naumburg west screen, constructed not long after the Fourth Lateran Council, is also well known for its demonstrative anti-Jewish content. Judas obtains thirty pieces of silver from a high priest and his “cronies”, who are wearing very distinctive, narrowly pointed Jews’ hats. In the third scene in the sequence, one of the Jews attempting to arrest Jesus in the garden holds a banded German sword of state indicating civic authority. To his left is a column topped with oak leaves, symbolic of strength and of the old Germanic high solar god. Both Judas taking the morsel from Christ at the last supper (Judas simultaneously has his hand in bowl of food) and his handling of lifeless coins make him appear to be very much the materialist. At the boundary between the open center of the cathedral and the sacred space around the altar, money appears as the essence of evil. According to Schulze, Caiaphas lets the coins fall from his hand with the routine contemptuous gesture of a money changer (Schulze 1995: 44-48). Schulze, who unfortunately does not discuss the register as violently anti-Semitic, describes Judas’s expression during the betrayal in the garden as “nahezu reptilienhaft” [nearly reptilian]¹⁰ (Schulze 1995: 52). The end of the screen was

damaged by a fire, but the Baroque repairs (in 1737) show scowling Jews, in pointed hats, accompanying the cross-bearing Jesus to his death (Schubert 1983: 22).

The screen contrasts the material evil of money to the living bounty of the land. Christianity is aligned with productive plants, such as grapes and oaks, and with wildflowers known for their beauty, and thus relates Christian virtue to environmental health. The Jews supposedly both live in an opposing "inorganic" realm and conduct a direct, deadly attack on the tree of life. The carved vegetation is a Christian claim to harvest the bounty of the landscape. Christ, as the source of all blessing and providence, produces all life and all "good" wealth. The Jew with his stuffed purse wishes only to destroy Christian fruit. Despite the economic prosperity that paid for evermore grandiose cathedral building and hypocrisy of Christian clerics concerning avarice, the screen blames the increasing presence of Jews in government (the Jew with the banded sword) and commerce for Christian woes. This is consistent with Christian documents of the era, which often blame Jews for Christian economic woes. The Lateran Councils, responding to growing Christian fears of disunity and internal heresy, and mendicant preaching probably encouraged the strong conceptual alignment of "sinfulness" with specific cultural groups (Moore 1992: 44-45). The screen unjustly sets Jews against Christians as inorganic/organic, dead/living, taking/producing, and deceitful/trustworthy, while unjustly disguising Christian greed and government brutality by blaming such actions on the Jews. The Jews are irrationally cast as danger to the living earth (the Green Man, which Anderson declares to be an environmental icon).¹¹ Ironically, a combination of organic motifs of pagan origin with the human-centered story of the Crucifixion is utilized to make the argument for both Christian economic unity and Christian hegemony over the natural resources of the region.

In a similar screen at Mainz Cathedral (now in fragments), the Master of Naumburg presented Christ presiding over happy Christians marching to heaven on one side, and evil unbelievers and sinners, including Jews in pointed hats, marching to hell on the other. The hell bound waddle forward bound by huge chains. Beneath the travelers to heaven, tombs open and the holy rise from their graves. The undamaged original had a large leaf mask in the middle of one side, and probably a matched pair, on either side of the entrance to the altar. Again the contrast is between the inorganic/organic and

the material/ever-living. The massive "inorganic" chains also declare the Jews to be chattel, and therefore non-persons (Moore 1992: 39-42). Such works present the Jews as earth oriented and forever dead to the root of life.¹² These prejudicial portrayals not only dehumanize, they "denaturalize" Jews and Judaism.

As the Gothic progresses, the typological discourse about the material and immaterial emerges repeatedly in natural symbolism, with or without anti-Judaism. The "Younger Biblical Window" now at Cologne (Köln) Cathedral¹³ presents Jesus tied to a green post while being whipped, and then hung on a bright green cross. Here Jesus is attended by Mary (in bright red) and John (wearing a green inner garment). Around the cross, twine fruiting grapes, with green and gold leaves. The Cologne example consists of paired scenes with an Old Testament type opposite to its fulfillment in a New Testament anti-type. Opposing the green cross, the Old Testament type of Moses and Aaron wearing Phrygic caps accompany the children of Israel identified by pointed Jews hats. The Hebrew people stare at a red "bronze serpent" on a brown pole erected in the wilderness. The brown pole has two shrunken leaves on what appear to be withered branches. In this dualistic composition, Christ acquires the power of life from Judaism. Unlike the drooping snake, he offers continued rebirth (Brinkman 1993: 3-4, 20-23). The windows not only nullify the legitimacy of Judaism as a religion, they place the very well-spring of natural regeneration on the Christian side. Schrenkenberg's volume on the Jews in European art includes an illustration of a 13th-century stained glass window from Vienna, where the Jews below the bronze serpent are wrapped in writhing snakes (Schrecken-berg 1996: 95). In similar Gothic typology, Synagogue appears as the tree which bears bad fruit, as opposed to the good fruit of the Tree of Life. In some illustrations, a naked woman as synagogue the temptress stands under a tree bearing a snake or skulls. Across from her is a moral, well-dressed church adoring a suffering Christ (Schrecken-berg 1996: 31-78). The association of Judaism with unfruitful or dangerous nature was a potentially deadly argument when presented to poor and hungry Christians facing undependable harvests or outbreaks of plague.

The graceful carvings and brilliant stained glass of the high Gothic frequently deploy the motif of the Jewish people as desert or wilderness exiles. The scenes from the Exodus in Suger's windows are very abstract, with few landscape features present. The Jews in the "Younger

Biblical Window," however, occupy barren, rocky ledges. Other examples of these motifs include the well known Rieter Window (ca. 1480) in St. Lorenz Church in Nürnberg which incorporates scenes from the Exodus including a panel of a very chaotic group of Jews (men in round hats) dancing on gray rocks around a white stone pillar supporting the lifeless and material golden calf (Viebig et al. 1990: 74, Bauer 1996: 45-46). Manuscripts from the 13th century onward also depict the Jews leaving captivity in Babylon as passing through desert or barren rocky landscapes (Schreckenberg 1996: 262-264). This wilderness identification is clearly a spiritual one, which associates the Jewish soul with lifeless earth or, as in the works of Martin Luther, bronze dogs or empty kernels unable to bear fruit. The golden calf is linked to the regulations of the Lateran councils that required Jews to wear a sign on their garments, typically a yellow or gold circle. Mark Cohen has noted: "because special attire was prescribed for abhorrent groups such as prostitutes, Christians could not help but consider the Jew's special sign as also a mark of degradation and exclusion" (Cohen 1994: 111). The circle served as a continuing reminder that the Jews were both chattel and associated with lifeless metal.

Images of the desert and the horned Moses are also related to depictions of hell, where demons with horns, huge ears or teeth, and various tools of torture prod sinners into deep rocky caverns. A window at Freiburg Cathedral (Germany) shows the masses walking into a rocky trench, the demons gloating above them (ca. 1320/30). Stuck in the clothesless crowd is the one figure wearing a hat, and, of course, it has the knob point of the prescribed Jewish head-gear. A nearby niche displays a life-sized carving of Jesus (ca. 1330) in the sepulcher where carved grape leaves form the edge of the bier, Green Men crown the capitals between the arches, and the "holy Women" and angels look down on the unresurrected Jesus (Hug 1990: 84-85) (who during this time, according to medieval legend was engaged in the harrowing of hell). Numerous illuminated manuscripts also portray Jews in lifeless perdition, including a color illustration (ca. 1185) that shows Jews, naked except for their hats, boiling in an iron kettle amidst flame in a rocky cavern (Schreckenberg 1996: 260-261).

None of this Christian paranoia considers the actual religious teachings of Judaism, Jewish relationship to the natural, the interest in nature displayed by Jewish mysticism or the generally peaceful deportment of European Jews. Further, the identification of Judaism with

the inorganic removes Jews from the ethical consideration and freedom from wanton harm provided not just to humans, but also to animals by Christian ethics.

Demons and satyrs

Neither the Naumburg screen nor the Cologne stained glass present Jews as unusual in facial features or personal appearance. The Naumburg Judas might be considered handsome, with his refined nose and mouth and round, clean shaven face. Although figures with ugly or distended facial features appear in the 12th-century passion window at Chartres in the flagellation of Jesus, they are not specifically identified as Jews at this point. Suger's "Hebrews" are bearded, but otherwise normal. Some portions of stained glass windows (ca. 1250-1270), now in the basement museum of Westminster Abbey depict the stoning of Stephen. The men tossing the rocks (who are Jews in the Book of Acts) have animal muzzles instead of normal faces. A similar approach to Stephen's death may be found in Mainz, Germany, where a carving of the stoning of Stephen (ca. 1270) originally from St. Stephen's church¹⁴ has men with human but distended faces casting the rocks. A figure at the end of the group who is holding a pile of stones, has Jewish style hat, a large beak-like nose and scraggly beard. His face looks much like that of a demon from the altar screen by the Naumburg master that had already been installed in the nearby cathedral. These depictions spread, and by the early 14th century, Jewish figures with large noses or ears, gaping mouths, goat beards, and even hooves and tails had become common in European art. The figure of the horned Moses,¹⁵ which probably first appeared in 11th-century England, similarly becomes normative (Mellinkoff 1997: 13-17).

This genre of very derogatory motifs appears to have originated as demonization or association with pagan deities rather than as modern racism. The archetypes of the large ears and noses and goat beards may be seen in Greco-Roman satyrs. The combination of human and animal features both dehumanizes Jews and reinforces the notion that Judaism belongs to lower and the material realms of the cosmos. One of the common motifs, for example, is the *Judensau*, which tasteless builders installed on the interior of Magdeburg Cathedral and as an exterior frieze at Regensburg as early as 1270.

In both cases Jews (in knobbed or pointed Jews' hats) are kneeling under the sow and are suckling on her udders. In a similar 15th-century print, a distinctively dressed Jew licks the pig's anus while the pig consumes its own excrement (a normal swine behavior).¹⁶ Some illustrations, such as "Rabini, Schemhamphoras," drawn from the choir in Wittenburg (original 1305), and later mentioned by Martin Luther, combine motifs such as suckling milk with blowing in the pig's anus (Schreckenberg 1996: 343-349). This genre of representations often incorporates children who suckle or play with piglets. Medieval folk tradition forwarded tales of Jewish women who gave birth to animals, including piglets (Trachtenberg 1983: 53-53). A fifteenth century German playing card, making fun of a Jew with a money bag, shows the man with a pig under one arm and an uprooted oak sprout in the other hand (symbolizing Jewish control of the productivity of the land) (Boonstra et al. 1989).¹⁷

A variety of other "negative" associations with animals appear in art from the Middle Ages onward. Jews or Synagogue may ride on goats or donkeys or may be associated with occult animals, such as black cats. Jews may also be chased by or hanged with dogs (Schreckenberg 1996: 343-349). Joshua Trachtenberg in *The Devil and the Jews* considers goatlike features, including a narrow face, a goatee, horns, and cloven hooves or supposed bad smells to be associated with Satan (and with antique satyrs) (Boonstra 1989: 44-53). Judaism or "synagogue" as heresy may be shown with attached animal heads or accompanied by a monster, with multiple faces or reptilian features (Trachtenberg 1983: 172). In a carving on a choir bench sporting the tree of life in the center, a masculine church on a war horse attacks a male synagogue riding a pig (Trachtenberg 1983: 65). During and after the Gothic period, anti-Semitic art frequently portrays Judaism as violating the "boundaries" between humanity and the "lower realms" in the hierarchy of the great chain of being.

Natural aesthetics

It may seem odd that after centuries of portraits of Jews who looked like everyone else, Europeans started to design Jews with impossible features—in the midst of an artistic period emphasizing natural form and accurate portrayal. Michael Camille points to the sculpture of

The King of the World or the Tempter, who stands on the right portal of the west front of Strasbourg Cathedral. When viewed from the front, he is handsome and holding a perfect apple. When viewed from the back, he is a mass of crawling snakes and rodents. Camille comments that these cravings "alert us to the fact that in Gothic art 'naturalism' was not a style that depicted all things uniformly within a singular stylistic vision like Impressionism. Rather there were different degrees of 'natural' that a sculptor or painter could deploy, applicable to different categories of persons and things" (Camille 1996: 113-114). The Christian Gothic artist purposefully contrasted Jewish caricatures with beautiful natural features or with the "truth" in nature in order to present Judaism as false.

Although to the modern eye, Gothic portraits of Jews appear to be casual cartoons, they are the products both of trained artists and of medieval theological and philosophical aesthetics. Umberto Eco concludes that "'aesthetics of the organism' fits [Thomas] Aquinas better than 'aesthetics of form'"¹⁸ (Eco 1986: 74), and the theologian had three criteria of beauty: "integrity, proportion, and clarity" (Eco 1986: 76). Medieval aesthetics emphasized light and transcendent beauty, as well as perfect proportions and concrete substance of the object as observed. Eco notes that: "Aquinas refers also to a psychological type of proportion, the suitability of a thing for experience by the subject. . . proportion is conceived of as something objective, something realized on an infinite number of levels, and something which finally coincides with the cosmic proportions of the ordered universe." Aquinas thought of nature as ordered, fixing ultimate size and form. Integrity was defined in "an organic whole of all the parts," thus something which exceeds boundaries (distended facial features) lacks integrity and proportion. Medieval thought tended to identify the beautiful and the useful and the beautiful and the good (Eco 1986: 78-79). Representations of Jews and Judaism violating both the natural order and these aesthetic principles present the supposed spiritual truth that Judaism has no legitimate function in righteous Christian society. Further, in explaining how the Jews of Jesus' time could both be the heirs of Abraham and the perpetrators of the Crucifixion, Aquinas argued "that the Jews had profited little from centuries of instruction in the Law and their special place in divine providence. . . their religious training and knowledge of scripture made it possible for them to at least suspect Jesus was the Messiah, but in the end their vicious moral disposition led them to

reject and crucify him” (Hood 1995: 65-66). The contrast of proportionate and accurate natural imagery to disproportionate and disintegrated images of Jews reinforces the concept of Judaism as an “unnatural” monster, and threat to European social order. The combination of animal and human features in depictions of Jews emphasizes the retrogressive theme, of falling back to a lower state of existence. It is not coincidence, that for medieval Christians, such as Aquinas, who had a deep fear of Jews and “believed Jews were profoundly dangerous and that contact with them should be avoided whenever possible” (Hood 1995: 78-79), that the aesthetic *visio* “is an act of judgment” (Eco 1986: 82).

Implications

The construction of Judaism as environmentally unhealthy, non-living, or destructive of ever renewing nature continues into later art and philosophy, through the Romantic and Expressionist art of the 19th and 20th century, where Jewish stereotypes are tied to the inorganic, or to bare rock and earth (Bratton 1997). The subtle dialog about light becomes less important after the Gothic, but the association with animals and the notion of Jews as retrogressing from humanity take a devastating turn when these myths merge with social Darwinism in the 19th century. Violently prejudicial Nazi cartoons continued motifs that first appeared in the Middle Ages. Typical Nazi motifs associated Jews with “bad” animals such as bats, tied Judaism to infectious diseases, and juxtaposed Jewish caricatures with coffins. The Gothic provides us with an important lesson about how very positive environmental imagery and nature-oriented art may be used to argue against an inclusive society, with a diversity of ethnic and religious subcultures. Ethnic and religious minorities can appear as threats to nature (killing Christ on a green cross), as unable to understand nature or natural science (blind Synagogue), as incompatible with healthy nature (Jewish magicians or Jews attacking patron saints), as existing outside the natural order (Jews in hell), or as unable to evolve to the present state of the cosmos (Jews as material or occupying the lower or most ancient strata of the natural order). We should also recognize that images, myths and philosophies of several different origins were invoked in excluding Jews both metaphorically and literally from the European landscape. The Master of Naumburg,

for example, utilized and syncretized motifs from ancient Roman, Germanic and Christian sources, in constructing a natural frame for forwarding derogatory portrayals of Judaism.

The unlanding and exclusion of Jews from many sectors of an economy are central and critical historic components of anti-Judaism. The established arguments to support this cultural isolation have been legal, religious and aesthetic. Unlanding is inherently environmental. If European governments declare Jews cannot farm or own property, or must live in ghettos, one should expect to encounter cultural icons that separate Jews from nature or from images of healthful fertility in European art. Religion may coincidentally fuel erection of social barriers by establishing cultural myths about "outsiders" who are threats to divine providence or divinely sustained renewal of life. However, the motivation behind demonstrative anti-Jewish polemics, such as the register of the Naumburg rood screen, is rarely abstract theological correctness. When a Jewish figure in the arrest of Christ in the garden obviously holds a German sword of state, the issue is who may occupy coveted positions in the civic administration and whether these financially influential posts are adequately under control of the Christian hierarchy, as well as who gathers the fruits of the German landscape.

The repeated appearance of the same major "natural" themes through centuries of European art implies that, once established, these patterns become continuing sources of societal views about "the other." The irrational notion that Jews are blind to divine light, while they are at the same time abusing nature via occult practices, argues for Jewish exclusion from the sciences, medicine and natural theology, and that if given access to living resources, such as cattle or vineyards, the Jewish people will damage them or destroy the harvests of their unsuspecting neighbors. Since the opposition between Judaism and nature in European art is predominantly historical, metaphorical or allegorical, critics frequently miss its full impact. Volumes on anti-Semitism in the arts often remove the portraits of Jews from the surrounding context and concentrate their analysis on facial features or on simple opposition, such as the interaction between violent men in pointed hats and Christ on the cross. The focus is on the body or on the person, rather than on spatial relationships. Incorporating the leaf-filled borders or the rocky settings expands the social and economic context. The detailed historic documentation available on the evolution of Euro-American anti-Semitism is a

valuable source for the study of the roots of environmental injustice and racism, as it is much older than the European colonial ventures that made the phenomenon a planet-wide problem.

A repeatedly emerging relationship in this study is the retrograde discriminatory power of combining Christian motifs with those of pagan or pre-Christian origin or of splicing myths to create new portraits of the *supposed* sources of social evil. In the New Testament, the disruption of nature at the time of Jesus of Nazareth's death on the cross is a secondary theme. In the original texts, the primary purpose of mentioning the darkening sky and trembling earth is to argue for Jesus's divine connections at a point where he appears very mortal. The Gospels portray Creation as mourner at the execution along with the distraught women. The New Testament is a product of Hellenized authors who prefer historical accounts centering on human leadership and who concentrate on abstract descriptions of the earth's creation by the *Logos*, rather than dwelling on a complex of environmental details. In medieval Christian art, the hybridization of the sacrificial man-god with old Germanic (or Roman) representations of a deity who renews the growth of vegetation intensifies the apparent environmental and economic danger presented by his demonized Jewish attackers. Pre-Christian northern European religious art did not present a particular human enemy as such a destructive force. Concepts from Greek philosophy, such as the ideal forms of Plato, appear to also have encouraged this dualistic view of good/evil, natural/unnatural and organic/inorganic.

Environmental anti-Semitism and the Holocaust

Investigation of 20th-century Nazi propaganda discloses an even more entrenched belief that Jews are beings of earth origin and completely material in orientation than one encounters in art from the High Middle Ages. Growing out of Enlightenment fascination with the structure of the cosmos, Romantic thought locating the soul in nature or as nature may have accentuated the association between the "non-living" and the "soulless" in the supposedly unnatural religions (which included Christianity in the mind of some Nazis). Adolf Hitler supposedly claimed in a conversation with Hermann Rausching about the occult:

The Jew is an anti-man, the creature of another god. He must have come from another root of the human race. I stood the Aryan and the Jew over against each other, and if I call one of them a human being I must call the other something else. The two are as widely separated as man and beast. Not that I would call the Jew a beast. He is much further from the beasts than we Aryans. He is a creature outside nature and alien to nature.¹⁹

The earth-centered accusation against Judaism and the concept that Judaism is contra-natural appears to have originated in Christian contrasts between the old and new covenants, living and dead trees, and people of the barren desert and those of the tree of life. Motifs from Christian art and theology thus survive for centuries to ultimately emerge as an irrational justification for eradicating an innocent ethnic minority throughout Europe. Environmental anti-Semitism, much of it tracing its origins to Christian theology and art, was a major root of the Holocaust.

Contemporary environmental ethics

I would like to end this paper by expressing a concern about the way we teach the environment or ecology and religion in university classes today. Most of us place a clear emphasis on environmental holism in its various permutations and on religious values that maintain ecological integrity. Most of us also make an effort to be "politically correct" and to avoid racial and ethnic stereotypes. We may not, however, be cautious about dichotomies that appear to be historically justified.

One potential source of dual interpretation is declaring some religious traditions to be "nature religion," while deleting others from this category. The "world" religions most likely to be excluded are Judaism and Islam. Comparisons of religious traditions frequently depict Christianity as ecologically questionable, if not harmful. David Kinsley's text *Ecology and Religion: Ecological Spirituality in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (which I have assigned to my Ecology and Religion class) discusses Judaism primarily as a precursor to Christianity. The book has four chapters dedicated to regional religions and traditional cultures, and three discussing east or south Asian religions, while "Islam," "Muslim," and "Muhammad" are not even listed in the index. Kinsley certainly is not being purposefully xenophobic. Among other factors,

Kinsley takes advantage of the most easily accessible studies, many of which emphasize regional or East Asian religions. A second example is the difference in presentation between Catherine Albanese's *America: Religions and Religion*, (Albanese 1992) where her treatment of Judaism and Islam is in proportion to their general influence and development in the United States, and *Nature Religion in America*, where she emphasizes indigenous religions and Christian sects. Again there is no intent here to be anti-Semitic. Not discussing "Semitic religions," however, or emphasizing the Lynn White arguments concerning the Hebrew Scriptures, as Kinsey does, can encourage naive students to think of Judaism and Islam as "unnatural." Academic exclusion or differently intense criticism certainly identifies monotheistic traditions with an unseen or transcendent deity as suspect. Jewish and Islamic art, literature, and religious scholarship are rich in natural imagery and provide viable alternatives and models for religious environmental ethics. As is the case with Christianity, the mystic traditions are exceptionally environmentally rich, and often neglected in comparative overviews. Caution in this case requires fair coverage.

A second source of dual interpretation is the rare inclusion of the Holocaust in volumes on environmental racism. The Nazi concentration camp, with its horrendous demands for industrial labor, crowded rail platforms, and ghastly, belching chimneys is the archetype of technological and industrial evil. The smelters and factories that produced the barbed wire, the concrete, the machine guns, and the rolling stock, were as necessary to the Holocaust as a centuries old hatred. Auschwitz as environment purposefully erases the living and the healthy, and emerges as the opposite of the Nazi's idealized vacation camp, where healthy children engage in sports and sing folk songs, while basking in fresh air and sunshine. Further study of the anti-environmental psychology that generated the "unlandscape" or "deathscape" of the camps could provide deep insights into our own tolerances for environmental and human devastation.

A third potential source of historically rationalized environmental anti-Semitism is feminist interpretation contrasting a nature-raping, warrior YHWH to a nature-protective, peaceful goddess. Katharina von Kellenbach argues that "many white North American and Western European Christians are profoundly alienated from the traditional metaphors which symbolize God as Lord, Warrior, King, transcendent Creator and Father." They thus reclaim Near Eastern Goddesses as the antithesis of "YHWH with militarism, despotism, alienation

from nature and sexism" (von Kellenbach 1994: 97). Von Kellenbach fears that, aside from diverting from careful, scholarly interpretation of ancient religions, feminists are making Judaism a "scapegoat for patriarchy." Many ecofeminists, of course, are actually dissatisfied with Christianity, and Judaism becomes an incidental target of their critiques.

Since Christians have long deployed prejudicial models declaring other religions to be "unnatural," there is a grain of ironic justice in the modern accusations against Christianity. The western academic habit, however, for the last thousand years has been for the dominant academic and artistic culture to suppress the opposition or competition by declaring it to be outside the natural order and therefore illegitimate. The devastating abuses of human rights and of religious minorities during the 20th century—including those by "Christian" nations—should discourage us from academically justifying or forwarding dual interpretations of religions as environmental or unenvironmental.

Susan Power Bratton, Department of Environmental Studies,
Baylor University, Waco, TX 76798-7266

NOTES

1. See also Dan Cohn-Sherbok (1992), Craig Evans and Donald Hagner (1993).
2. Original illustration in the 'Evangeliar von Ottos III.' The caps are soft with the rounded tip turned forward.
3. See also Beryl Smalley (1964: 83-195).
4. See also Sara Lipton (1999).
5. Much of the rebuilding of Chartres Cathedral was accomplished between 1200 and 1230. Most of the new widows were mounted during this period.
6. The observation on Noah's cap is this author's and not Malcolm Miller's.
7. *Our Lady of Strasbourg Cathedral-Church*. Lyon: Beau'lieu (no date): 29-31.
8. *Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier* (1987: 30-36); *Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier* (1996: 15-21); Hans-Peter Kuhnen, and Ellen Riemer (1994: 51-58).
9. See also Ernst Schubert (1983: 160-168).
10. Schulze seems not to recognize her writing might be considered anti-Jewish.
11. Art historians, environmentalists and others have debated the meaning of the Green Man. The figure certainly does not imply environmental conservation in the modern sense.
12. Personal observations of the remains of the screen in the basement museum of Mainz Cathedral.
13. This window was relocated from a monastery.
14. Now in the basement museum in the Mainz Cathedral.
15. The result of a mistake in Biblical translation that described Moses with horns at the end of his wilderness sojourn. Artists most commonly give Moses short goat's horns, like those of a satyr.

16. Pigs recycle vitamin K manufactured by intestinal bacteria by eating their own excrement.
17. 'Economic sources of antisemitism', plate no. 9.
18. Thomas worked in Paris in the mid 13th century.
19. Quoted in Sklar (1977: 146).

REFERENCES

- Albanese, Catherine. 1992. *America: Religions and Religion*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 2nd Edition.
- Anderson, William. 1990. *Green Man: The Archetype of our Oneness with the Earth*. San Francisco: Harper Collins.
- Bauer, Herbert. 1996. *Liebeserklärungen an St. Lorenz*. München: Evangelischer Presseverband für Bayern.
- Blumenkranz, K. 1965. *Juden und Judentum in der mittelalterlichen Kunst*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag.
- Boonstra, Janrense, Jansen, Hans and Kniesmeyer, Joke. 1989. *Antisemitism: A History Portrayed*. Amsterdam: Anne Frank Foundation.
- Boswell, John. 1980. *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to Fourteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bratton, Fred Gladstone. 1994. *The Crime of Christendom: The Theological Sources of Christian Anti-Semitism*. Santa Barbara, California.
- Bratton, Susan. 1999. "Luc Ferry's critique of deep ecology, Nazi nature protection laws, and environmental anti-Semitism", *Ethics and the Environment*, Vol. 4 Issue 1: 3-22.
- . 1997. "The natural Aryan and the unnatural Jew: Environmental racism in Weimar and Nazi film", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Dallas, Richardson, TX, 1997.
- Brinkmann, Ulrike. 1993. *Das jüngere Bibelfenster, Meisterwerke des Kölner Domes*, Vol. 1. Köln: Verlag Kölner Dom.
- Bullard, Robert. 1993. *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots*. Boston: Southend Press.
- Burke, James. 1985. *The Day the Universe Changed*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Camille, Michael. 1996. *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Cohen, Mark. 1994. *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Cohn-Sherbok, Dan. 1992. *The Crucified Jew: Twenty Centuries of Christian Anti-Semitism*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
- Conzelmann, Hans. 1992. *Gentiles, Jews, Christians: Polemics and Apologetics in the Greco-Roman World*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Eco, Umberto. 1986. *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Elsner, Jas. 1998. *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Craig and Hagner, Donald. 1993. *Anti-Semitism and Early Christianity*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.
- Erlande-Brandenburg, Alain. 1984. *The Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, Vol. 1: History and Visit*. Paris: Éditions de la Tourelle.
- Flannery, Edward. 1985. *The Anguish of the Jews: Twenty-three Centuries of Christian Anti-Semitism*. New York: Paulist Press.
- Fowler, David. 1976. *The Bible in Early English Literature*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

- Glick, Leonard. 1999. *Abraham's Heirs: Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Grant, Edward. 1996. *The Foundations of Modern Science in the Middle Ages: Their Religious, Institutional and Intellectual Contexts*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Herzig, Arno. 1997. *Jüdische Geschichte in Deutschland: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. München: Verlag C. H. Beck.
- Hood, John B. 1995. *Aquinas and the Jews*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hug, Wolfgang. 1990. *Das Freiburger Münster: Kunst, Geschichte, Glaubenswelt*. Freiburg: Buchheimer Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Josephus, Flavius. 1987. *Against Apion* 1.34, in *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged*, William Whiston (trans.) Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers.
- Kinsley, David R. 1994. *Ecology and Religion: Ecological Spirituality in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.
- Kugel, James and Rowan Greer. 1986. *Early Biblical Interpretation*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Kuhnen, Hans-Peter and Ellen Riemer. 1994. *Landwirtschaft der Römerzeit im Römischen Weinkeller Oberriexingen*. Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart.
- Lightfoot, J. B. and J. R. Harmer. 1989. *The Apostolic Fathers*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House.
- Lindberg, David. 1992. *The Beginnings of Western Science: The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious and Institutional Context, 600 B.C. to A.D. 1450*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lipton, Sara. 1999. *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisee*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Manhes-Deremble, Colette. 1993. *Les Vitraux Narratifs de la Cathédrale de Chartres*. Paris: Le Leopard d'Or.
- Manhes, C. and Deremble, J. P. No date. *Cathédrale de Chartres, Guide des Vitraux*. Boulogne: Editions du Castelet.
- Mellinkoff, Ruth. 1997. *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*. Eugene, Ore: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- Miller, Malcolm. 1996. *Chartres Cathedral*. Andover, UK: Pitkin.
- . 1998. *Chartres: Guide of the Cathedral*. Chartres: Editions Houvet-la Crypte.
- Moore, R. I. 1992. *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Moulton, Harold. 1978. *The Analytical Greek Lexicon Revised: 1978 Edition*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan.
- Petronius. Fragment 37 in *Satyrical*. Kinney, Daniel and Branham, R. Bracht (trans.) 1997. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier. 1996. *Das Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier*. Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum.
- . 1987. *2000 Jahre Weinkultur an Mosel-Saar-Ruwer*. Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum.
- Revel-Neher, Elizabeth. 1992. *The Image of the Jew in Byzantine Art*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Rogerson, James, Rowland, Christopher and Lindars, Barnabas. 1988. *The History of Christian Theology, Vol. 2: The Study and Use of the Bible*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Schreckenberg, Heinz. 1996. *Die Juden in der Kunst Europas*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schubert, Ernst. 1983. *Naumburg: Dom und Altstadt*. Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang.
- Schulze, Ingrid. 1995. *Der Westlettner des Naumburger Doms*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Fisher Verlag.
- Scully, Vincent. 1991. *Architecture: The Natural and the Manmade*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

- Sklar, Dusty. 1977. *The Nazis and the Occult*. New York: Dorset Press.
- Smalley, Beryl. 1964. *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University Press.
- Trachtenberg, Joshua. 1983. *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society.
- Viebig, Johannes, et al. 1990. *Die Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg*. Königstein: Karl Robert Langeweische Nachfolger Hans Köster in Königstein in Tanus, Die blauen Bücher.
- von Kellenbach, Katharina. 1994. *Anti-Judaism in Feminist Religious Writings*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Westra, Laura, and Wenz, Peter. 1995. *Faces of Environmental Racism: Confronting Issues of Global Justice*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Williams, Jane Welch. 1993. *Bread, Wine and Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, Christopher. 1990. *The Gothic Cathedral*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Wistrich, Robert S. 1991. *Anti-Semitism: The Longest Hatred*. New York: Schocken Books.

