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Food-Related Interaction Among Christians, Muslims, and Jews in High and Late Medieval Latin Christendom†

David M. Freidenreich*
Colby College

Abstract
Social historians of the Middle Ages can gain a richer understanding of interreligious relations by examining the ways Christians, Muslims, and Jews interacted over food. Legal and non-legal sources from the eleventh through sixteenth centuries shed light on commercial, social, and cultural exchanges across faith communities, both in the market and at meals. These texts convey a broad spectrum of attitudes toward the food and food ways of religious foreigners, ideas whose variation reflects the contested and shifting status of minorities within Catholic Europe.

If historians several hundred years from now conclude that Oklahoma and Switzerland were home to prominent Muslim communities in the early 21st century, we who know better would understand why they erred. Oklahomans, after all, passed a constitutional amendment in 2010 barring judges from considering Islamic law when rendering decisions; Swiss voters banned the construction of minarets in 2009. We know from our study of the Middle Ages that laws are more likely to survive over centuries than many other literary genres, such as the news reports, blog posts, and scholarly articles that put our generation's anti-Islam legislation in perspective. These laws don't address a local Islamist agenda or even reflect the presence of a significant population of Muslims. Rather, they respond to broader cultural fears within Euro-American society and advance a particular set of conservative ideological agendas. These laws offer valuable historical insights not about the Muslims of Switzerland and Oklahoma but rather about local Christian movements.

Similar dynamics underlie many medieval laws about adherents of foreign religions, including those that seek to regulate food-related interaction: these laws often tell us more about the agendas and fears of their promulgators than about their ostensible subjects. The trouble is we often lack the sources necessary to contextualize and interpret these laws. Consider, for example, the prohibition against eating with Jews promulgated by bishops gathered at the late fifth-century Council of Vannes in Brittany. Should we infer from this law (canon 12) that Jews lived in Brittany during the early Middle Ages, even though we have no other evidence for a Jewish presence there before 1234? Does this prohibition – repeated with variations at five Gallic councils during the sixth and seventh centuries – indicate that Jews and Christians regularly shared meals? I suspect that these laws, like their Swiss and Oklahoman counterparts, tell us nothing about the presence or activity of local non-Christians. After all, the notion that true Catholics must anathematize adherence to Old Testament dietary laws and therefore refuse on principle to eat with Jews has value even in the absence of Jews.[1] The information about interreligious relations we can glean from legal material is partial at best and often misleading.

Fortunately, we can gather more information about the social history of relations among Christians, Jews, and Muslims within Latin Christendom from high and late

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medieval sources on food-related interaction. This is because we possess both a wider range of legal material from the eleventh through sixteenth centuries and a greater quantity of relevant non-legal sources. Ecclesiastical (canon) law is virtually our only source regarding food-related interaction in early medieval Gaul.[2] From the eleventh century onward, Jews and Muslims in Latin Christendom also produced legal material regarding the food of religious foreigners: the former in majority-Christian communities scattered across both northern France/Germany and the Mediterranean region, the latter in conquered Iberian territories where Muslims initially retained demographic dominance.[3] Of even greater significance, the late eleventh century marks the emergence within Latin Christendom of municipal and royal legislation governing the food of non-Christians. Laws regulating food associated with members of foreign religions, by their very nature, reflect the religiously inspired discomfort of their promulgators with commercial or social relations across confessional lines. Governmental legislation, however, displays a more pragmatic bent than religious law and is therefore more amenable to social historical analysis. While canons about Jews might be promulgated in places without a Jewish community, municipal regulations regarding kosher butchers usually are not.

Historians of the high and late Middle Ages can also contextualize both religious and governmental texts by drawing on non-legal sources that describe rather than prescribe food-related interactions. Anecdotal material, to the extent that it survives, offers clues about the ways religious or secular norms affected (or not) interreligious relations, and it sheds light on types of interaction that leave little trace in legal records. The value of this material is apparent in Carolyn Walker Bynum's account of a story from a twelfth-century crusade chronicle: "One of the bastard sons of Arnold the Elder, founder of the line of Ardres, became a 'Saracen' in the East. He was, however, accepted back into his father's house when he returned. It was only when he insisted on eating meat on Friday that the full impact of his apostasy was brought home, and the family kicked him out. To violate the Friday fast was the clearest, most visible way of rejecting the faith."[4]

As Bynum's anecdote illustrates, the study of food-related interaction offers especially valuable insights into relations among medieval Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Buying, preparing, and eating food are essential everyday activities that frequently involve multiple individuals and, indeed, that forge a sense of community. The nutritional, commercial, and social aspects of food production and consumption take on even greater significance when conjoined with religious dietary norms, food-related rituals, and conceptions of the proper relationship between "Us" and "Them." Analysis of food-related interactions enables social historians to explore the impact of theological, polemical, political, and economic agendas on day-to-day interreligious relationships.

The following survey synthesizes data about food-related interaction found in Romance language secondary scholarship; the footnotes strive for comprehensive coverage of a field ripe for further research. This article proceeds thematically, rather than geographically or chronologically, in order to highlight common features of the surviving sources and the potential benefits of approaching this material comparatively. It devotes considerable attention to Iberia, less to the Italian peninsula and southern France, little to England, northern France, the Germanic lands, and the Holy Land, and none to Hungary, Poland, or Sicily. These differences reflect the state of the field to the best of my knowledge and seem to correlate with the distribution of relevant primary sources.

Commercial Interaction

Jewish and Islamic laws stipulate not only what kinds of meat are permissible for consumption but also how animals must be slaughtered. Jewish law further requires that the slaughterer be a Jew; Sunni law, in contrast, permits Muslims to consume the meat of animals slaughtered by

People of the Book, opening the door to commercial interaction with Jewish and Christian butchers.[5] Roman Catholic authorities insisted that God has no preference regarding the method by which an animal is killed, but they forbade Christians from consuming meat prepared by Jews or Muslims. To eat such meat, the authors and interpreters of canon law declared, is to tacitly support Jewish and Islamic rejection of Paul's teachings about food and, more broadly, their rejection of Christ.[6]

One might, therefore, expect that Jews, Muslims, and Christians would have only minimal interaction with respect to commerce in meat. Quite the contrary, Jewish law itself contains a strong impetus for meat-related interaction between Jews and their (frequently Christian) neighbors, and those neighbors often saw no compelling reason to refrain from such mutually beneficial interaction. On the basis of the Biblical declaration that Jacob's descendants do not eat the thigh muscle (Gen. 32.33), medieval rabbis declared large portions of the hindquarters of cattle to be forbidden; various other parts of the animal are also off limits for Jewish consumption. Rabbinic law, particularly as interpreted in northern Europe, includes further provisions that render entire animals unfit for consumption (*terefah*) if the animal has lesions in its lungs. Kosher animal slaughter thus produced a sizeable amount of high quality nonkosher meat, which butchers were eager to sell to non-Jews. Indeed, medieval Jews and Christians alike recognized that if butchers were unable to sell this meat, the cost per pound of kosher meat would be prohibitive for Jewish consumers.[7]

For this reason, laws regulating the sale of so-called "Jewish meat" to Christians offer a valuable barometer for assessing the degree to which governments tolerated their Jewish minorities. Numerous charters and municipal ordinances from Germanic, Iberian, and Italian lands stipulate that Jews have a right to contract with any butcher they wish to arrange for the ritual slaughter of as many animals as they need, often adding that the cost of the kosher meat shall be no more than the standard rate established by the town's victualing laws. Many of these documents – including what may be the earliest surviving exemplar, issued in 1084 by the bishop of Speyers – explicitly grant Jews the right to sell meat to Christians and permit Christians to purchase such meat, canonical teachings to the contrary notwithstanding.[8] These ordinances reflect the desire of civil authorities to foster the presence of a local Jewish community, presumably due to the anticipated contributions of Jews to the local economy and the government treasury.

These economic and political interests did not go unchallenged. Ecclesiastical authorities inveighed against meat-related interaction in northern France during the thirteenth century, apparently to no avail.[9] King Louis IX did, however, endorse canonical prohibitions against the sale of Jewish meat in the market of Béziers in 1247, perhaps in order to reduce competition with Christian butchers during a period when livestock was scarce.[10]

Kings and municipal authorities in the thirteenth-century Crown of Aragon took advantage of ecclesiastical doctrines to advance their interests through the segregation of Jews and Muslims from the dominant Christian populace. In tandem with the creation of separate Jewish quarters, these authorities often revoked the longstanding right to perform kosher animal slaughter in Christian slaughterhouses, with the Christian butchers then selling that meat to Jews and Christians.[11] As Yom Tov Assis observes, "The establishment of Jewish abattoirs for the exclusive use of the Jews towards the end of the thirteenth century was … the outcome of increasing antagonism towards the Jews and not of a pro-Jewish policy that allowed a greater autonomy."[12] Jews were assigned their own kosher butchery in the Jewish neighborhood, a change that both made it harder for Jews to sell the nonkosher portions of their meat and meant that Jews had to endure the stench of the slaughterhouse.[13]

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Muslims in Valencia were also assigned their own butcheries, but this posed less of problem: Muslim butcheries were located just outside the city gates, not in residential areas, and Islamic law allows Muslims to consume the entirety of the animals they slaughter.[14] In Tortosa, Jews and Muslims shared the same butcheries into the fourteenth century.[15] This or a similar community was likely the source of a question posed to the Barcelonan Rabbi Shelomo Ibn Adret (1235–1310): may Jews who work in the Muslim butchery oblige their Muslim customers by facing toward Mecca when slaughtering animals?[16] The fact that both the petitioner and Ibn Adret disapproved of this practice, however, provides no evidence regarding the frequency or persistence of Jews slaughtering animals for Muslims, let alone what direction those butchers faced.

The existence of designated Jewish and Muslim butcheries proved lucrative for rulers and those they favored. Kings awarded the concession to operate the monopolistic Jewish or Muslim butchery to the highest bidder, often a Christian and occasionally – much to the Jewish community's consternation – to a convert from Judaism (Christians who held concessions for these butcheries would subcontract the slaughtering to Jewish or Muslim butchers). Pedro III of Aragon established himself as the sole supplier of livestock to these butcheries. Jews in Valencia had to purchase the privilege of buying kosher meat from Christian butchers. In Calatayud, the Muslim butchery was required to sell meat at a higher price than the Christian butcheries.[17]

Canon law offered a ready and unimpeachable justification for pursuing social and economic interests at the expense of religious minorities. Indeed, the municipal council of Huesca's 1290 ordinance forbidding Christians to purchase Jewish meat, one of several issued in Iberia and Provence during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, paraphrases the canon first promulgated at the fifth-century Council of Vannes.[18] The councilors, however, were interested not in hypothetical Jews but rather a very real local community, and they possessed the enforcement mechanisms necessary to ensure compliance if they so desired.

Ariel Toaff offers an especially valuable account of the tensions that accompanied meat-related interaction between Jews and Christians in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy. Franciscans regularly pressured town councils to prohibit Christians from purchasing Jewish meat, with the goal of ensuring adherence to canon law and strengthening the barriers to social interaction between Christians and Jews.[19] According to Toaff, "There was hardly a commune in Umbria in the fifteenth century which, under pressure from the Observant friars, did not attempt to prohibit or restrict ritual slaughter and the public sale of kosher meat. But these attempts rarely met with much success." Italian Jews, who considered beef and mutton to be an important part of a healthy diet, responded with threats to cease trading and relocate to towns where they could obtain affordable kosher meat. Prioritizing economic interests over doctrinal ones, civil authorities usually revoked their restrictive decrees after a few weeks or months, once the emotions stirred by Franciscan preachers died down.[20]

Commercial interaction among Christians, Jews, and Muslims is also in evidence with respect to other foodstuffs, most notably bread and wine.[21] In medieval towns, each neighborhood usually had a single communal oven in which residents baked their bread, if they did not simply purchase ready-made bread from the baker. Christian concessionaires frequently operated these ovens, even in Muslim or Jewish neighborhoods. Rulers often permitted Jews to bake their own Passover matzah and sometimes allowed Jews to bake their own bread during Easter season rather than risk being attacked at Christian bakeries.[22] In Regensburg, where there was no Jewish bakery, the Christian bakers' guild refused to sell to Jews in 1499, leaving them with no source of bread before Kaiser Maxmillian I intervened the following year.[23] In various towns with Jewish bakeries, religious and secular authorities forbade Christians from utilizing them.[24] I am unaware of evidence demonstrating the impact of Jewish restrictions against bread baked by gentiles. The Talmudic requirement that Jews participate in the baking process certainly did not

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receive the same solicitous attention from local governments as the requirement that Jews perform the act of animal slaughter.[25]

Despite Islamic prohibitions against alcohol consumption and Jewish prohibitions against drinking or even selling the wine of gentiles, Muslims and Jews alike were known to purchase wine from Christians. It was also common for Christians, including monks, to drink wine made and sold by Jews, disregarding ecclesiastical and occasional secular prohibitions against such behavior. Much of this trade occurred in taverns (both Christian-owned and Jewish-owned), which were prominent sites for social no less than commercial interaction.[26]

Social and Cultural Interaction

Drawing on the legacy of the Council of Vannes, medieval ecclesiastical authorities firmly and repeatedly forbade sharing meals with Jews or Muslims, expressing concern that such behavior undermines the Christian faith.[27] Similarly, Talmudic and medieval rabbis prohibited commensality with gentiles at meals conducive to fostering relations that might result in mixed marriages.[28] Social interactions over food, however, often occurred without regard for these prohibitions.

Various scholars have drawn attention in passing to exchanges of food that took place within ritual contexts. Jews consumed cakes made by Christians at celebratory circumcision meals and on the holiday of Purim; Jews also gave gifts of food to their Christian servants on Purim.[29] Priests in Majorca were known to sprinkle Jewish homes with holy water on Easter Saturday in the hopes of extorting gifts of eggs; Jaume II forbade this practice.[30] The bishop of Hereford expressed disgust at the participation of Christians in a local Jewish wedding banquet in 1286, in violation of ecclesiastical prohibitions.[31]

Food-related interaction between Spanish Conversos and their Jewish former co-religionists constitutes a special case. Mark D. Meyerson describes how Jews in fifteenth-century Morvedre supplied kosher wine and meat to Conversos, particularly for Passover, and invited Conversos to share holiday meals. Spanish inquisitors looked askance at New Christians who ate with Jews, citing the consumption of Jewish food as evidence for apostasy. Inquistors also condemned Jews who invited Christians to their festival meals. Indeed, the 1492 edict expelling Jews from Spain cites among its justifications the fact that Jews provided unleavened bread and kosher meat to Christians, presumably Conversos.[32]

Olivia Remie Constable's forthcoming article, "Food and meaning: Christian understandings of Muslim food and food ways, 1250–1550," is an exemplary resource on social and cultural interaction between Christians and Muslims. Whereas Jaume I (James the Conqueror) of Aragon not only ate with Valencian Muslims in 1266 but made a point of observing Islamic dietary laws at the meal, a late fifteenth-century polemicist condemned Enrique IV of Castile for merely enjoying Arab foods and eating them in an Arab fashion.[33] Constable documents the evolution in Christian attitudes regarding Muslim food ways, drawing on a wide variety of sources about Christian–Muslim interaction not only in Spain but throughout the Mediterranean. She devotes particular attention to couscous, a paradigmatically North African foodstuff. Though widely popular among Christians for a time, couscous came to be seen as a marker of Muslim identity. Sixteenth-century inquisitors cited food practices as evidence that Moriscos were not sincere in their conversion: true Christians, inquisitors believed, do not eat couscous.[34]

Concluding Questions

William Chester Jordan, concluding his microhistory of Jewish meat in Béziers, observes that "Only with the support of kings and princes did the ecclesiastical prohibitions gather force and, by constant repetition, spur on the development of popular anti-Semitism as well."[35]

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Evidence from other regions indicates that lower-ranking municipal authorities also played important roles in institutionalizing anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim sentiments and that ecclesiastical doctrines were invoked as justification for policy changes from the bottom up and not only from the top down. Municipal and royal authorities, moreover, not only enforced ecclesiastical prohibitions when doing so suited their interests but also transformed teachings about abstract or hypothetical foreigners into laws that affected actual Jews and Muslims.

These observations beg questions that have not yet received adequate attention. In what contexts and for what reasons do royal and municipal authorities lend their support to Christian doctrines? Under what circumstances and to what extent does this support affect popular behavior or attitudes regarding religious minorities? Why does governmental support for restrictions on food-related interaction only emerge nearly a millennium after the first Church teachings on this subject? In what ways and for what reasons did these doctrines themselves evolve over the course of the Middle Ages? Studies focused on Italy highlight the role of the Franciscans in promoting government enforcement of ecclesiastical doctrines; do mendicants exercise similar influence in other regions?[36] Did the organized Jewish or Muslim communities play a role analogous to royal or municipal government in transforming religious doctrine into practice? More broadly, what can we infer about the relationship between Jewish and Islamic norms and the behavior of medieval Jews and Muslims? The fact that many of these questions address not only food-related interaction but also broader issues in medieval social history demonstrates the value of further analysis of this subject matter.

Short Biography

David M. Freidenreich is the Pulver Family Associate Professor of Jewish Studies at Colby College. His research explores attitudes toward adherents of foreign religions, primarily as these attitudes are expressed in ancient and medieval religious law. He is the author of *Foreigners and Their Food: Constructing Otherness in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Law*, which received the 2012 American Academy Award for Excellence in the Textual Study of Religion.

Notes

* Correspondence: Department of Religious Studies, Colby College, 4646 Mayflower Hill, Waterville, ME 04901, USA. Email: dfreiden@colby.edu.

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[1] See further Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food*, 114–17. Bernhard Blumenkranz ("Iudaeorum convivia," 1055; "Anti-Jewish polemics," 127–28) argues that this canon responds to actual Jewish–Christian interaction in fifth-century Brittany.

[2] See also Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, 7.23, who describes a meal between a prominent Christian and his Jewish creditor. Gregory offers neither a comment on the propriety of such a meal nor any indication as to whether Christian–Jewish commensality was common in sixth-century Tours; his interest in the episode stems from the fact that the Christian killed his guest after dinner.

[3] I am unaware of any secondary source that draws on Islamic legal literature from or about Latin Christendom in the context of explaining food-related interaction between Muslims and their neighbors. Research of this nature could prove especially valuable.

[4] Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 40–41.

[5] Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food*, 48–51, 54–55 (on Jewish law); 144–50, 184–90, 198–203 (on Islamic law). On Jewish law, see also Rosenblum, *Food and identity*, 76–81; the laws Rosenblum describes persist to the present day.

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[6] On meat butchered by Jews, see Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food*, 125, 191–95; Jordan, "Meat market of Béziers," 31–33. On the extension of concerns about Jewish food to that of Muslims, see Freidenreich, "Sharing meals with non-Christians" (epitomized in *Foreigners and their food*, 203–7). Similarly, a fourteenth-century archbishop of Saragossa warned against Christian patronage of Muslim butchers: see Halavais, *Like wheat to the miller*, 4.
[7] Toaff, *Love, work, and death*, 61. Zimmels, *Ashkenazim and Sephardim*, 199–201, attributes the stringency of French and German rabbis regarding *terefah* meat to the fact that Jews in those regions slaughtered their animals in Christian butcheries and were thus able to readily sell the forbidden meat without suffering any financial loss. Castilian rabbis, in contrast, were lenient because local Christians would not eat the meat of animals slaughtered by Jews (the latter observation, Zimmels notes, was already made by sixteenth-century Sephardic rabbis). Fourteenth-century laws or popular practices may indeed play some role in shaping the opinions of Castilian rabbinic authorities, but Zimmels' geographic division is undermined by the fact that prominent twelfth- and thirteenth-century rabbis from the Iberian Peninsula – including Maimonides, Nahmanides, and Ibn Adret – ruled stringently on the subject.
[8] For an English translation of the Speyers charter, see Chazan, *Church, state, and Jew*, 58–59. This document is widely cited by historians of medieval European Jewry, but I am unaware of any who focus specifically on the clause about meat.
[9] Jordan, "Meat market of Béziers," 33–34; Rabinowitz, *Jews of northern France*, 131–32; Zimmels, *Ashkenazim and Sephardim*, 199–201 (see n. 7 above). Primary sources: Grayzel, *Church and the Jews*, 126–29, 300–1.
[10] Jordan, "Meat market of Béziers." On southern France and Provence, see also Cremieux, "Les Juifs de Marseille," 32–35; Grayzel, *Church and the Jews*, 72–73 (see also the index to vol. 2, s.vv. dining, food, meat, wine); Stouff, *Ravitaillement en Provence*, 143–50.
[11] Assis, *Golden age*, 225, reports that until 1312 *all* of the meat sold in the town of Elche came from animals slaughtered by Jews. This surprising information goes unmentioned by Ray, *Sephardic frontier*, 102–3, who discusses the same primary source.
[12] Assis, *Golden age*, 224–29 (quoted: 225). See also Abulafia, *Mediterranean emporium*, 82–84; Assis, *Jewish economy*, 104; Boswell, *Royal treasure*, 95–103; Riera i Sans, "La conflictivitat de l'alimentació," 295–311.
[13] Distinctly Jewish butcheries are attested not only in Aragon but also in fifteenth-century Galicia: see Antonio Rubio, *Los Judíos en Galicia*, 156–58. On the social implications of requiring Christian consumers to go to Jewish homes, see Jordan, "Jews on top," 51. On the environmental consequences of a slaughterhouse on the Jews' street, see Toaff, *Love, work and death*, 71–73.
[14] Burns, *Medieval colonialism*, 43–49.
[15] Ray, *Sephardic frontier*, 102–3.
[16] Ibn Adret, responsum 1.345. I address this responsum in "Conceptions of gentiles in halakhic literature from Christian Spain," a conference paper posted online at halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr.
[17] Assis, *Golden age*, 41, 56, 143–44, 227–29; Assis, *Jewish economy*, 33; Boswell, *Royal treasure*, 95–103; Burns, *Medieval colonialism*, 46, 49. On attempts to impose higher prices on kosher meat in late medieval Umbria, see Toaff, *Life, work, and death*, 63–64.
[18] Assis, *Golden age*, 225–27. The municipal council of Marseille not only required kosher meat to be marked as such but also forbade mislabeling pork as mutton to deceive Jewish customers; see Cremieux, "Les Juifs de Marseille," 34. Some municipalities also restricted what Jews may sell or even consume during Lent, see Jordan, "Meat market of Béziers," 32–33; Ray, *Sephardic frontier*, 92. Gampel, *Last Jews*, 30, makes no reference to Navarrese restrictions on Jewish commerce in meat.
[19] For detailed examinations of a telling debate between a permissive Christian jurist and a Franciscan who sought to enforce the prohibition against consumption of Jewish meat, see Angiolini, "Cibus iudaei" (includes editions of the relevant primary sources); Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food*, 191–95; Stow, *Jewish dogs*, 153–57.
[20] Toaff, *Love, work, and death*, 61–74 (quoted: 64–65). See also Toaff, *Jews in medieval Assisi*, 54–55, 82; and for the early modern period, Simonsohn, *Jews in the Duchy of Mantua*, esp. 348–51.
[21] On Jewish commerce in miscellaneous foodstuffs, which Christian merchants or officials sometimes sought to restrict, see Assis, *Jewish economy*, 28, 45, 85, 97, 101, 125, 129, 155; Gampel, *Last Jews*, 30–35; Rabinowitz, *Jews of northern France*, 132–33. The latter, pp. 71, 132–33, also addresses Jewish purchase of foodstuffs from Christians, notwithstanding Talmudic prohibitions. On concern about Jews (as well as lepers and prostitutes) touching bread and other foods in the Christian market that they do not immediately purchase, see Coulet, "Juif intouchable," 207–21; Kriegel, "Le Juif comme intouchable," 326–30; Stow, *Jewish dogs*, 20–21. On Muslim commerce within Iberia and Christian opposition, see Constable, "Food and meaning." On trade with foreign Muslims, a subject outside the scope of this article, see Stantchev, "Embargo" (forthcoming as *Spiritual rationality: Papal embargo as cultural practice*), and its bibliography.
[22] Jews were sometimes required to compensate Christian bakers for income lost over Passover. On bakeries in Aragon, see Abulafia, *Mediterranean emporium*, 84; Assis, *Golden age*, 230–31, 322; Burns, *Medieval colonialism*, 49–51. See also Antonio Rubio, *Los Judíos en Galicia*, 158–59.

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[23] Complaints of non-compliance by Christian bakers persisted, however. See Zapalac, "With a morsel of bread," 280–81.
[24] Assis, *Golden age*, 231; Assis, *Jewish economy*, 104; Stouff, *Ravitaillement en Provence*, 52–53; see also Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food*, 118–22, 125.
[25] On Talmudic laws, see Freidenreich, "Contextualizing bread"; *Foreigners and their food*, 76–83; Rosenblum, *Food and identity*, 83–86. Medieval rabbis acknowledged that many Jews did not observe these laws strictly (see, for example, Rabinowitz, *Jews of northern France*, 70), and some were generous in offering exceptions. Rabbi Shelomo Ibn Adret even suggested that if a consumer feels that the local gentile baker's bread tastes better than the bread sold by his Jewish counterpart, the scarcity of tasty bread justifies patronizing the gentile (*Torat ha-bayit* 3.7). Medieval exceptions, however, apply exclusively to the bread of professional bakers: Jews may not consume bread baked in Christian homes lest social relations result in marriage.
[26] On Christian prohibitions against Jewish wine, see Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food*, 121, 125, 193; Stouff, *Ravitaillement en Provence*, 97. On Jewish prohibitions against gentile wine, see Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food*, 209–23; Soloveitchik, "Halakhic texts" (readers of Hebrew should consult Soloveitchik's *Yeinam* and *Ha-yayin bi-yemei ha-beynayim*; an English translation of the former is reportedly forthcoming from the Littman Library). For evidence of wine-related interaction between Christians and Muslims, see Burns, *Medieval colonialism*, 41–43; Castro Martínez, *La alimentación*, 168–69. On wine-related interaction between Christians and Jews, see Antonio Rubio, *Los Judíos en Galicia*, 211–14; Meyerson, *Iberian frontier kingdom*, 38–45; Onega, *Los Judios*, 335–38; Soloveitchik, "Halakhic texts"; and, especially, Toaff, *Love, work, and death*, 75–82; see also Assis, *Golden age*, 283, 318; Assis, *Jewish economy* 33, 79, 104.
[27] Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food*, 110–18, 203–6; Freidenreich, "Sharing meals with non-Christians." A slight variant of the Vannes canon, promulgated at the Council of Agde in 506 (canon 40), appears in numerous medieval canon law collections, including Gratian's *Decretum*.
[28] Freidenreich, *Foreigners and their food*, 72–76, 215; Rosenblum, *Food and identity*, 91–101.
[29] Baumgarten, *Mothers and children*, 100, 131–32. The cakes and wafers in question were specifically associated with Christian feasts and celebrations. On issues raised by the fact that Christian servants consumed nonkosher food, see pp. 137–38. On feeding Christian servants and giving them Purim gifts, see also Rabinowitz, *Jews of northern France*, 131.
[30] Abulafia, *Mediterranean emporium*, 87.
[31] Mundill, *England's Jewish solution*, 262–63. Herman of Cologne reports that Christians were present at his Jewish wedding celebration as well. His account, however, seems not to reflect common practice: Herman's Christian friends did not participate in the celebrations but rather bemoaned the fact that Herman had (temporarily, as it turned out) abandoned his Christian convictions to return to the Jewish fold. See Morrison, *Conversion and text*, 96.
[32] Meyerson, *Jewish renaissance*, 206–9. See also Marín Padilla, "Relacion judeoconversa," 270; Tartakoff, *Between Christian and Jew*, 96–98. On Converso adherence to Jewish norms of animal slaughter, even in the absence of a surviving Jewish community and its kosher butchery, see Beinart, *Conversos on trial*, 62, 259–64. On food-related harassment of Jews by Conversos, see Tartakoff, p. 86. For the text of the Edict of Expulsion, see Beinart, *Expulsion of the Jews*, 49–54. Neither Beinart nor, to the best of my knowledge, any other scholar of this edict devotes specific attention to the clause about food, which appears in a lengthy list of ways by which Jews purportedly separate Christians from the Catholic faith.
[33] On Jaume I's meal, see also Burns, *Islam under the crusaders*, 171. For a very different portrayal of a conqueror eating with Muslims – and, in this literary account, eating Muslims – see McDonald, "Eating people," 128–38, 141–42. The twelfth-century Usama ibn Munqidh (*Book of contemplation*, 153) recounts a more mundane meal in which the Frankish host assured his Muslim guest that he never eats Frankish food but rather pork-free food prepared by Egyptian women.
[34] On the influence of Muslim food ways on Spanish Christian cuisine, see also Arié, "L'alimentation des Musulmans," 149–53. On tensions associated with Muslim food ways in sixteenth-century Iberia, see also Castro, "Identité alimentaire," 199–215.
[35] Jordan, "Meat market of Béziers," 48.
[36] Vose, *Dominicans, Muslims, and Jews*, makes no reference to food-related interaction; his overarching argument suggests that Dominicans were unlikely to have played an instigating role in the fourteenth-century escalation of restrictions on such interaction in Aragon. Fifteenth-century Franciscans, in contrast, played a leading role in pressing for restrictions on Christian consumption of Jewish meat in Umbria. Should we understand this difference as resulting from disparities in location, time period, or mendicant order?

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