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HIST-200

*The Shift to Hostile Anti-Semitism by the Thirteenth Century:
Catholic French Kings and Jewish Scapegoats*

A shift occurred by the thirteenth century where anti-Semitism in Europe changed from tolerating the Jewish people to a more outward violent anti-Semitic hostility. Knowing that religion has always been a present factor in the division between the Jewish faith and the Catholic faith, I am seeking to find why we see a rapid change in doctrine, politics, and public attitudes that is blatantly anti-Semitic and is eminently discriminatory to the Jewish population compared to anti-Semitism in antiquity.

In this essay I will be exploring why and how these changes occurred and I will be using France as my primary location of study to deduce why there was such a violent shift in doctrine, politics, and public attitudes suddenly condemning the Jewish people in blatant acts of discrimination that often left Jews as scapegoats for internal affairs. The change in anti-Semitism can be explained through three facets of French society. Cultural and theological differences, the contemporary political scheme, and the economic standing all play a role in the shift to the hostility of anti-Semitism by the thirteenth century which eventually led up the definitive expulsion of the Jewish population from France in 1394.¹

However, I have deduced that a combination of two of these facets hold the primary reason for why the shift occurred. Through my research using an *Annals* approach and *History of Space*, I have discovered the primary reason for the shift to hostile anti-Semitism in the thirteenth

¹ Jews would not be fully allowed into France after this edict (1394) until the French Revolution's National Assembly passed the French Constitution that granted Jews full rights as recognizable citizens of France (1791). Esther Benbassa, *The Jews of France: A History from Antiquity to the Present*. (Princeton University Press, 1999). p. 144.

century derives from the Papacy's political aspirations that used the declining French economic state to persuade kings to follow agendas that were increasingly more aggressive and discriminatory towards Jews.

I build on historians like Judah M. Rosenthal, Ernest E. Jenkins, Simon Schwarzfuchs, and Esther Benbassa to name a few to create a revisionist history through connecting their arguments to solidify my stance. My evidence comes from ancient Greek and Rome texts, Jewish history, medieval French encyclopedias, various original edicts, and assorted commentaries on topics on the accounts of Jews in France leading up the late thirteenth century. Using this evidence, I conclude that the shift was less because of religious differences in doctrine or practices in culture that produced hostile anti-Semitism; rather it was the economic decline and political agendas seeking to scapegoat Jews that formed hostile anti-Semitism that would lead to multiple expulsions, Jewish martyrdoms and a lasting stigmatization of the Jewish people.

CULTURAL:

To comprehend the transformative shift of anti-Semitism by the thirteenth century, we must turn our focus to the list of recorded bias against the Jewish community in antiquity. During Alexander the Great's extensive conquests, the Greek world was exposed to a variety of new civilizations, which they began to document and compare to their own.² However, prior to Alexander's conquests, Jews had not yet caught the attention of Greco-Roman authors.³ Initially, the Greeks found Jewish dietary laws and regulations to be highly unusual and perceived the

² Yad Vashem, "Anti-Jewish Perceptions in the Greco-Roman world." Discussed by Prof. John G. Gager and Prof. Paula Fredriksen, (YouTube, 2020).

³ It was not until the mid-third century BCE, when the Greeks first encountered Jews, that they began to produce literature about them. *Ibid.*

Jews as unsocial due to their unwillingness to partake in Greek meals, which often included pork, a highly-desired food item among the Greeks.⁴

As we move into the first century CE, Roman authors began to view Jewish circumcision as an especially peculiar custom.⁵ Additionally, the Jews' unwillingness to pay homage to foreign gods was seen as disrespectful and insolent in the Greco-Roman world.⁶ However, scholars such as John G. Gager argue that the attitudes of the Greeks and Romans towards Jews should not be characterized as anti-Semitism, as the Greeks and Romans scrutinized and assessed numerous other ethnic groups in a similar manner.⁷

It was a common practice for Greco-Roman writers to negatively evaluate groups and paint them as inferior, as a means to strengthen the empire and national pride.⁸ However, there is an instance where we see a different type of anti-Jewish remarks that seem more malicious. During the reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt⁹, Jewish mercenary troops were sent to serve the reigning Greek regime.¹⁰ Surviving literature illustrates that the Egyptians harbored hatred for the oppressive Romans and directed it towards the Jews. The Egyptians propagated the idea that Jews hated all gods and were military rulers who destroyed their culture and religion.

⁴ This perception of Jewish unsociability, due to their seemingly strange dietary restrictions, was not the only negative observation made by the Greeks and Romans. *Ibid.*

⁵ Gymnasium education and athletic competitions, which often involved nudity, made the Romans view Jewish circumcision as a form of genital mutilation. Jerry Daniel, *Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (Atlanta: The Society Biblical Literature, 1979), p. 45-65.

⁶ Consequently, the descriptions of Jewish customs and lifestyle, as seen through the eyes of pagan onlookers, perpetuated the belief that the Jews were a mysterious and problematic people, who did not blend well with Greek and Roman society. *Ibid.*

⁷ Yad Vashem, "Anti-Jewish Perceptions in the Greco-Roman world."

⁸ This explains why there are numerous historical accounts of Greco-Roman attitudes towards Jews, as they were preserved and repurposed by early Christians in later centuries. Yad Vashem, "Anti-Jewish Perceptions in the Greco-Roman world."

⁹ A dynasty of Greek rulers in Egypt until 30 CE. Donald L. Wasson. "Ptolemaic Dynasty." World History Encyclopedia, May 11, 2023.

¹⁰ The Jews fell between the captive Egyptians and the Greek elites ruling in Egypt, and they remained in Egypt even after the Romans took over the area from the Ptolemies with the death of Cleopatra. Yad Vashem, "Anti-Jewish Perceptions in the Greco-Roman world."

Historian, Jerry Daniel, also points out that for the most part, attitudes towards Jewish people in the Roman period was not as hostile as what would come from Christians in later centuries.¹¹ But there were also writing by Cassius Dio, Augustine, Strabo, and Tacitus that praise the Jewish faith for their piety, courage, determination and calls them philosophers.¹² Although many of these writers also scrutinize Jewish people for some aspects of their faith, it is a crucial distinction that Roman writers before the fifth century tolerated the Jewish faith and hostile actions rarely arose from this hatred. For example, Tacitus in his *Histories*, written in the first century, conducts an extensive examination of the Jews.¹³ Tacitus dedicated a large portion of his *Histories* to describing Jews:

“They sit apart at meals, they sleep apart, and though, as a nation, they are singularly prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women... The Jews have purely mental conceptions of Deity, as one in essence.”¹⁴

His writing regarding the Jewish faith seems more informative than hateful.¹⁵ The literature may seem malicious but later doctrine and writing very clearly writes negatively about Jews for the purpose of discrimination.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is clear that Greek and Roman opinions on Jews were harsh but the intention, I believe, is far less malevolent given it was common to write about

¹¹ Jerry Daniel, *Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*. p. 46.

¹² Some of the literature scrutinizes the Jewish faith for being too exclusive and was a not good for the community that needed all members to work together. Daniel explains that even though there was literature that conveys some extent of dislike towards Jewish people but the dislike was not solely around their customs and religious practices.¹² Jerry Daniel, *Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, 47.

¹³ “Cornelius Tacitus, *The History*, Alfred John Church, William Jackson Brodribb, Ed.,” (Tufts University: Perseus Digital Library), accessed May 3, 2023.

¹⁴ Tacitus goes into how Jews bury their dead, their customs of circumcisions, and even speaks of the differences of theology and how that affects physical depictions of God— “They call those profane who make representations of God in human shape out of perishable materials. They believe that Being to be supreme and eternal, neither capable of representation, nor of decay.” Tacitus, *The History*, Book V, Chapter 5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ It is also important to note that Jews had far more civil protections in the early centuries than they would in later years. Daniel, *Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, p. 55.

any ethnic group in such a manner. But as Paula Fredriksson points out, the anti-Jewish literature produced during this time was used *with* mal-intent from early Christians in later centuries.¹⁷

As stated above, early Christian thinkers used the literature on Jews in Antiquity to fuel their own prejudice. One early Christian author that sought spread anti-Semitism in his sermons was John Chrysostom.¹⁸ As bishop of Constantinople (398), he gained a large following and became extremely influential with his sermons as his secret weapon for drawing in the masses. However, for the purpose of this essay I will only be discussing his homilies “Against the Jews” (*Adversus Judaeos*).¹⁹ His sermons are objectively discriminatory towards the Jews of Antioch in hopes his Christian followers would not be drawn to the Jewish faith. Chrysostom continually retrieved segments from the bible and created false narratives and ideas to propagate anti-Jewish feelings. He coined the term ‘Christian-killers’ which appear in numerous homilies; however, this rhetoric not only makes the Jews out to be antagonists in the bible, but it also contemporizes the anti-Semitism he repossessed from the bible. In other words, his homilies seem to tell his Christian listeners that Jews are *still* Christian-killers. He says here that the blood of Christ is on Jewish hands and that to trust them would not be wise:

“Do you realize that those who are fasting (Jews) have dealings with those who shouted, "Crucify him! Crucify him!" (Luke 23:21); and with those who said, "His blood be on us and on our children" [Matt. 27:25]? If a band of would-be revolutionaries were apprehended and then condemned, would you dare to go to them and talk with them? I certainly don't think so! Is it not absurd to be zealous about avoiding someone who had sinned against mankind, but to have dealings with those who affronted God? Is it not folly for those who worship the crucified to celebrate festivals with those who crucified him? This is not only stupid— it is sheer madness.”²⁰

¹⁷ Yad Vashem, “Anti-Jewish Perceptions in the Greco-Roman world.”

¹⁸ Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *John Chrysostom* (London: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁹ Robert Louis Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

²⁰ Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews*, p. 125.

His rhetoric is convincing and persuasive in his seemingly logical connection of the Jews who ‘killed’ Jesus and the Jews of his time which he deems as reason to discriminate against contemporary Jews.²¹ Chrysostom is one of the many Christian doctors who present anti-Semitic arguments during the fourth century using antiquated ideology.²² However it was not until centuries later until these anti-Semitic ideas propagated by church doctors are codified with doctrine that is flagrantly anti-Semitic.

One of the crucial starting points to the Papacy first codifying anti-Semitic doctrine was in 1215 with The Fourth Lateran Council in which Pope Innocent III conducted a council that reinforced past regulations on Jewish people. The council sought to fortify the earlier “Sicut Judaeis.”²³ A closer look at some of the canons from The Fourth Lateran Council further explains how the Papacy blames the Jews for political and economic problems.

Canon 67 from the council declared that since Christians are restrained from the practice of usury and are oppressed by the treacherous Jews who swindle the Christians with immoderate interest, partnership with Christians and Jews is halted until valid reason for the high interest.²⁴ Canon 68 declares that in every Christian province, Jews would have to dress differently than Christians to distinguish themselves.²⁵ Already the canons produced during this council are becoming more and more restricting of Jews throughout Christian provinces and Canon 69 goes even further and declares that Jews cannot be given any public office and anyone who does will

²¹ The entire series of homilies urge Christians to shun Jews and avoid them in their gatherings on the basis of theological contentions.

²² Other Christian doctors who fervently expressed Anti-semitic ideas in the early Catholic Church include Tertullian (160-220) and Origen (184-253). “Tertullian,” Encyclopedia.com, May 13, 2023. & “Origen,” Encyclopedia.com, May 13, 2023.

²³ “Sicut Judaeis”— a Papal Bull from c. 1120 that had put restrictions and regulation on Jewish life and creating more Jewish stigmas that were codified in church dogma.

²⁴ The canon allows Christians to charge Jewish people money through the church where Jews would now have to pay offerings and tithes to the Church just like Christians. “Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV, 1215” (Internet History Sourcebooks), Canon 67.

²⁵ This canon also prohibited Jews from going out in public entirely during the last three days before Easter since Christians thought Jews were going to mock them during the memory of the passion of Jesus Christ. “Lateran IV” Canon 68.

be punished.²⁶ It is also worth mentioning that after Canon 70— the last canon produced from the council— there is another section titled “Holy Land Decrees” that addresses a series of rulings regarding the preparations of a crusade in the Holy Land.²⁷

The distinction I want to illuminate is the dogmatic shift from how Rome and Greece perceived Jews compared to how the Papacy views Jews by the thirteenth century. The Lateran Council sections regarding Jews is a clear authoritarian top-down edict that seeks to control the Jewish population— a kind of governing decree that we do not see in antiquity against the Jews. However, behind the supposed justification on theological grounds, lies substantial political interests and economic reasons for why kingdoms obeyed, participated, and sustained the anti-Semitism propagated by the Papacy. We will now dive deeper into the political schemata of a kingdom dedicated to following the Papacy while also being an contributing factor in fueling the increasingly more hostile anti-Semitism agendas of the thirteenth century.

POLITICS

By the tenth century, France (Gaul) found itself under new jurisdiction after decades of Viking invasion and one feudal dynasty came out on top. Founded in 987 by King Hugh Capet, the Capetian dynasty became the ruling house in France. After decades of solidifying their power and influence, Capet and his immediate successors created a central Christian Kingdom in the domain around Paris. When the call came to France to crusade for the first time in the eleventh century, the Capetian kings were enthused to send men to fight for the Holy Land. The Dynasty saw the quests economically beneficial and a tool to strengthen the people’s confidence in the

²⁶ This canon renews the Synod of Toledo (589) and enacts the prohibition of Jewish people from taking public offices and for those Jews in public offices already from interacting with Christians. “Lateran IV” Canon 69. (Note: this prohibition also extended to pagans)

²⁷ I will speak more on this portion from the *Fourth Lateran Council Decree* in a later section.

kingdom while also providing a reinforced idea that Capetian Kings' were tied to the divine.²⁸ Their Christendom only amplified as French kings sent more men to the Holy Land to bring back plunder to fund their extensive church building and religious statues campaign.²⁹ Monastic orders grew, gothic architecture became popular, and universities were created all while Christianity became the crux of the new 'Kingdom of France.'³⁰ Kings imposed their Christian duties and exemplified 'Christian Knights,' and their allegiance to the Papacy only deepened as Rome and Paris assisted each other's religious and political aspirations. And for the Capetian kings leading up to the thirteenth century, their main political objective was to strength their central government and cultivate a more expansive harmonized sovereignty.

To understand the political climate of France during the twelfth century and how the Capetian dynasty desired autonomy, we explore the dispute in Toulouse.³¹ In the early thirteenth century "political overtones in the regions' religions" were spreading through the area and tensions were growing stronger.³² Pope Innocent took issue with Archbishop Berenger of Narbonne's (1191-1211) relaxed duties in his dioceses and thought the Archbishop's neglect to his responsibilities caused heresy arise in Narbonne.³³ The Capetians alliance to the Papacy combined with the dynasties' century-long-desire to unite Northern and Southern France, caused

²⁸ Marcus Bull, *The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII* (Brepolis Online), Accessed May 14, 2023.

²⁹ "France, 1000–1400 A.D." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000). Accessed May 13, 2023.

³⁰ Before King Philip Augustus, the sovereign was referred to as 'King of the Franks.' But after expanding his borders to what is much of current day France, building extensive defenses, increasing the royal treasury, and establishing a permanent court in Paris as the capital (1194), he deems himself and his successors 'King of France.' "France, 1000–1400 A.D." Accessed May 13, 2023.

³¹ Located in Southern France, bordering the Kingdom of Aragon in non-royal dominion, Toulouse was an important location for Romans, the Visigoths and Carolingians in the Middle Ages and continued to be a vital location for commercial interplay which is why the city is a useful case study for French politics and economics. Ernest E. Jenkins, "The Interplay of Financial and Political Conflicts Connected to Toulouse during the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries." (*Mediterranean Studies* 17, 2008), p. 46–61.

³² Jenkins, *Financial and Political Conflicts Connected to Toulouse*, p. 50.

³³ "Archbishop Berenger's questionable practices included not supervising the clergy properly, not observing laws of the church, and consecrating bishops in return for money." Ibid.

King Philip II (Philip Augustus) to side with the pope in squashing the heretics and waging a war in Southern France.³⁴ Attempting to restore Southern France, Innocent called for the Archbishops of Narbonne, Arles, Embrun, Aix, and Vienne to “continue to spread the word of peace and faith and oppose heresy... and to recover lands from the grip of heresy from the alleged plotter of Peter of Castelnau death, Count Raymond of Toulouse.”³⁵ This is where we see the commencement of a crusade within France’s borders known as the Albigensian Crusades.

The crusade in the South of France initiated by the Papacy with the backing of the French military who Philip II sent to flatten the rise of Carthars³⁶ in the area, caused financial distress on the French Kingdom.³⁷ When Louis VIII succeed the throne, his first major act was to issue an ordinance that:

“Prohibited his officials from recording debt owed to Jews and from allowing royal offices to be used for striking dals between potential debtors (Christians) and potential creditors (Jews)...[while also] imposing a sweeping confiscation of Jew’s outstanding bonds.”³⁸

This is an early example of how the crusades in France caused a weakened economic state which would further unite the kings of France to the Pope since the Papacy’s crutch-like nature helped French Kings solidify their power and authority via religion in exchange for French support and soldiers for the crusades. However, we start to see more and more instances where the Papacy interjects in French politics because the kings are becoming more subservient to the Pope.

³⁴ However, tension in Toulouse accelerated in 1208 with the murder of the Papal ambassador, Peter of Castelnau. Jenkins, *Financial and Political Conflicts Connected to Toulouse*, p. 53.

³⁵ Jenkins, *Financial and Political Conflicts Connected to Toulouse*, p. 54.

³⁶ Also known as the Albigensians, Carthars were “a dualist medieval religious sect of Southern France. Cathar priests lived simply, had no possessions, imposed no taxes or penalties, and regarded men and women as equals— aspects of the faith which appealed to many at the time disillusioned with the Church. They also rejected the teachings of the Catholic Church as immoral and most of the books of the bible were seen as to be inspired by Satan. “Cathars.” (World History Encyclopedia, 2023).

³⁷ William Chester Jordan, “Chapter 11: The Capetians From the Death of Philip II to Philip IV.” In *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. V. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.) p. 297.

³⁸ Jordan, “The Capetians From the Death of Philip II to Philip IV,” p. 280.

Pope Gregory IX's establishment of an inquisition in 1233 to squash the Carthars in Southern France who were deemed as heretics, is a prime example of the Papacy's overlapping nature within the politics of France.³⁹ However, the Papacy blamed Jews for *all* heretical movements— ignoring the early Christian precedent set by Augustine and Alexander Hales who concluded that Jews should not be destroyed and deserved protection and the church's focus should be on other heretics who were causing more direct threats to the Catholic Church.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the Papacy decided to target the Jewish community as the gateway religion that led to other heresies and the Jewish Talmud was the Papacy's first target and with King Louis IX's (Saint Louis) fondness for conversions,⁴¹ the inquisition came for the Talmud in France.⁴²

In 1240 Nicholas Donim led the thirty-five charges against the Talmud by the order of the Pope and the court deemed the holy book blasphemous against Jesus, against God, morality, and the Christians while also undermining the bible.⁴³ Gregory IX issued a Papal letter to the archbishops and Kings of France, England, Aragon, Navarre, Castile, Leon, and Portugal asking for the confiscating of all books on Morning, March 3, 1240 while the Jewish parishioners were at the synagogues.⁴⁴ Only Paris heeded the Papal appeal and King Louis IX ordered four Rabbis to defend the Talmud in a public trial.⁴⁵ The rabbis were successful in changing the verdict of “condemnation of the while Talmud and of burning to a verdict of censure or elimination of all the anti-Christian passages.”⁴⁶ However after a second trial with the same defending Rabbis, the

³⁹ Judah M. Rosenthal, *The Talmud on Trial: The Disputation at Paris in the Year 1240* (Chicago: The Jewish Quarterly Review, 1956), p. 58.

⁴⁰ Rosenthal, *The Talmud on Trial*, 60.

⁴¹ King Louis XI was fond of conversions because the state would receive the confiscated property of Jewish converts. “Jewishencyclopedia.com,” ‘Disputations Between Jews and Christians.’ Accessed May 13, 2023.

⁴² Rosenthal, *The Talmud on Trial*, 68.

⁴³ Nicholas Donim acted as a propagated display of Jewish conversion because he himself is a Jewish convert/now Christian. Rosenthal, *The Talmud on Trial*, 75-76.

⁴⁴ Rosenthal, *The Talmud on Trial*, 71.

⁴⁵ The four Rabbis were Judah of Melun, Samuel ben Solomon of Château-Thierry, Yechiel of Paris, and Moses of Coucy. “Jewishencyclopedia.com,” ‘Burning of the Talmud’. Accessed May 13, 2023.

⁴⁶ Rosenthal, *The Talmud on Trial*, 72.

Talmud was commended to be burned and in 1242, “twenty-four cartloads of Hebrew books were solemnly burned at Paris.”⁴⁷ The trials set a precedent for Christian involvement in Jewish law, doctrine and practices. If a holy book was put on trial and deemed as a superior book to the bible for Jewish people, what would stop Christians from removing anything else from the Jewish faith they deem as heretical? Papal bulls, inquisitions, and the trials regarding sacred Jewish books bestow an authoritarian anti-Semitic viewpoint on the public demonizing Jews and seeing Jewish people as enemies of the Papacy and the State.

France’s special alliance to the Papacy prompted King Louis IV to adhere to the Papal bulls condemning the Talmud and obey the ecclesiastic orders to burn the book— this will not be the last time the French King oppresses Jewish community to further his political aspirations. However, we will now look further into the economic agendas of the Kings and how this facet plays into the more hostile anti-Semitism we are seeing by the thirteenth century.

ECONOMY

The Jewish presence in money lending throughout Europe is especially important to grasp the reason for why Jews were scapegoated for numerous economic calamities.⁴⁸ The Jewish tie to the monetary system is a vital component in why we start to see more and more anti-Semitic doctrine, rhetoric and policies in times of economic disparity during the thirteenth century. One prime example of how French economics tie into the fueling of more prominent

⁴⁷ “Jewishencyclopedia.com,” “Burning of the Talmud.”

⁴⁸ By the year 1000, it was clear that Christian tradition condemned usury as a form of uncharitableness; while no Jewish texts prohibits taking interests on loans. This gave Jewish money lenders a chance to make a profit since many of the more rewarding occupations were often saved for Christian professionals. After centuries of offering loans to merchants, nobles, and other individuals, Jewish money lenders were at the forefront of the financial district since they were the only ones who could charge interest. Yoram Barzel, “Confiscation by the Ruler: The Rise and Fall of Jewish Lending in the Middle Ages.” (*The Journal of Law & Economics* 35, no. 1, 1992), 1–13. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/725552>.

anti-Semitism is the Fourth Lateran Council's economic section that enticed France to fight in another crusade. The Papacy's persuasive tactics to lure France to fight revolved around canceling debt, promised plunder in the Holy Lands, no interest deals, and a free ticket to salvation and were all at the expense of the Jewish community.

In this decree, the Pope calls and demands for patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots and all others clergymen to explain the meaning and importance of this crusade to kings, dukes, princes, marquises, counts and other prominent laymen so they can order the men in their towns, cities, and villages to fight for God in the crusade starting in 1217 (Fifth Crusade).⁴⁹ However in one section, the decree addresses crusaders who are bound to an interest under oath:

“We command also that Jews be compelled by the secular power to cancel interest, and till they have done so, intercourse with them must be absolutely denied them by all Christians under penalty of excommunication.”⁵⁰

This is another clear example of how the Papacy continually gave the short end of the stick to Jewish people in the financial district and did so by allowing secular leaders to walk over Jewish bankers under the pretense of Christian superiority.

The Fourth Lateran Council was held a year before the Fifth Crusade (1217) and contained a large section regarding the preparation for the crusade and how that correlates to Catholic fanaticism.⁵¹ I argue the reason for why there were canons about restricting and prohibiting Jewish life and Jews from public office while also continually imposing on Jewish finance systems was because the Papacy wanted to strengthen their orthodox sovereignty and

⁴⁹ The decree further elaborates the details of why the crusade is important and how the soldiers will be paid and how the noble men who send soldiers will be remised of their sins. But this is also an important note since this canon proves there was not an immediate secular endorsement to crusade; rather the Papacy has to sell this call to the states and Kings. “Lateran IV” Holy Land Decrees.

⁵⁰ “Lateran IV” Holy Land Decrees.

⁵¹ Anne J. Duggan, “Conciliar Law 1123–1215: The Legislation of the Four Lateran Councils.” In *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, edited by Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington, 318–66. (Catholic University of America Press, 2008).

fortify Catholic church before a time of war and it did so by attacking a common enemy.

Nonetheless, The Fourth Lateran Council is a prime example of how the Papacy restricted the Jewish community from flourishing, created Jewish stigmas, and sustained anti-Semitic principles that directly affected the public all with the help of the French King, Louis XII who wanted to strengthen public patriotism and bolster his economy after the Albigensian Crusade wreaked havoc on the French monetary system.⁵² Another Crusade would not only unite citizens but also bring more income into the French coffers, it just took some convincing at first.

Innocent planned the Fifth Crusade as an entirely church directed affair to secure Jerusalem as he believed the entire church needed to work together in order for his campaign to be effective. The Fifth Crusade went even further than past crusades with the type of indulgences the crusaders received. One compensation Pope Innocent promised was the forgiveness of debt—a secular appeal to material interests that would lure more citizens into becoming crusaders. Given the early thirteenth century was riddled with economic instability from wars, citizens were eager to alleviate their debt. Pope Innocent played into this need and sweetened up the deal for crusaders to join the cause.⁵³ However, many in France were not very receptive to the call to fight given crusaders just fought and received their indulgence in the Albigensian Crusade. The twenty-year-long crusade left countless towns in Southern France destroyed and affirmed the French monarchy's dominance throughout the kingdom. But it also left the French citizens exhausted when another crusade was called.⁵⁴ Kingdoms of Hungary, Austria, Italy, Germany, Sicily, and the Holy Roman Empire all passionately took up Innocent's call to arms.⁵⁵

⁵² Ed. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, James M. Powell, "The Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1229" from *Crusade and Christendom* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), page 74.

⁵³ He also made sure that men with money and in power could get the same indulgences and reparation as if they crusaded themselves if they sent men to fight in their place.

⁵⁴ Ed. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, James M. Powell, "The Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1229" from *Crusade and Christendom* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), page 69.

⁵⁵ Even when Innocent died in 1216, his successor Pope Honorius III was still able to rally up arms in kingdoms

Reluctantly, in 1218 Philip II joined the other kingdoms in the Crusade to raise more money after their last conquest on French soil. But even without the Papacy at the helm, kings managed to steer the anti-Semitism convoy in France for their own aspirations—one king’s political and economic goals leading to the expulsion of nearly 10,000 Jews from France.

The expulsion of Jews from France in 1306 is an example of how the economic aims of the French King influenced anti-Semitic practices more than discrepancies in religion. In 1306 Jews mysteriously left France under unknown circumstances and “strange conditions.”⁵⁶ Simon Schwarzfuchs points out that neither Jewish nor French records account for this expulsion other than some Jewish cites reporting an unusual amount of conversions to Christianity at the time and death records of Jews on pathways outside of cities by “reason of their sufferings and exhaustion.”⁵⁷ But for there to be no historical record by the French for an edict of expulsion is an unusual phenomenon. However, the expulsion was followed by a large monetary change.⁵⁸ Schwarzfuchs— along with other historians he cites— believe the monetary change after the expulsion can explain why the expulsion occurred: the king’s lust for money.⁵⁹ Schwarzfuchs deduces that Philip IV simply wanted Jewish property and “nothing to do with moneylending.”⁶⁰ The reason lies within the economic chaos King Philip created on the monetary system in 1306 when he re-introduced a strong currency that had been used during the reign of Saint Louis. In the same year he issued letters ordering “all concerned to help his envoys to accomplish the

willing to crusade for the Holy Land. Bird, Peters, Powell, *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 101.

⁵⁶ Simon Schwarzfuchs, “The Expulsion of the Jews from France (1306)” (*The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1967), pages 482–489.

⁵⁷ Schwarzfuchs, “The Expulsion of the Jews from France (1306),” p. 483.

⁵⁸ “The silver tournois, worth 30 deniers parisis, was now worth only 10 deniers parisis and three deniers were worth only one dernier.” Schwarzfuchs, “The Expulsion of the Jews from France (1306),” p. 483.

⁵⁹ He rules out people’s hatred for Jews since many citizens benefited from Jewish money lenders. He also rules out that nationalism caused the banishment of Jews as a desire for a homogenous commonwealth since France did not have a sense of strong nationalism until the Hundreds Year War and after Joan of Arc. Schwarzfuchs, “The Expulsion of the Jews from France (1306),” p. 484.

⁶⁰ If anything, Jewish moneylenders were preferred since it was difficult to get loans, so why did Philip IV want Jewish property and ultimately expel Jews if they were to be welcomed back shortly. Schwarzfuchs, “The Expulsion of the Jews from France (1306),” p. 485.

mission...by word of mouth”—these letters also included the imprisonment of Jews.⁶¹ The reason for the imprisoning sits behind Philip’s economic aspirations. He knew that in order to create a stronger monetary system and re-evaluate the French currency he needed financial backing from reserves; however, the coffers were empty.⁶² On November 20th 1306, he issues the arrests of Jews along with the seizing of their goods.⁶³ By the end of August, the expulsion had been decided and was in full course.”⁶⁴ However, Philip never reached his economic goal and even devalued the French currency after all of his plans failed and when he died and King Louis X took the throne, the new king regulated an edict for the return of Jews back to France by 1315. The economic aspirations of King Philip were the sole reason for the expulsion of an entire community from France. The Jewish eviction of 1306 had nothing to do with the Jewish religion or French nationalism;⁶⁵ this Jewish dismissal though was commenced because Philip the Fair wanted to refurbish the French monetary system and wanted to be viewed by his citizens as a king who had the commonwealth’s best interests in mind so he could unite France. This is a leading example of how the Jewish community was the scapegoat for many economic emergencies, and how a king expended the community for his own objectives.

The Jewish population was welcomed back to France in 1359 due to a pressing need for money,⁶⁶ and they were charged for their return. When King Charles V (Charles of Normandy)

⁶¹ Schwarzfuchs, “The Expulsion of the Jews from France (1306),” p. 487.

⁶² Schwarzfuchs, “The Expulsion of the Jews from France (1306),” p. 487.

⁶³ However, there is written documentation of this Jewish imprisonment just no mention of exile. Philip needed Jewish money for his monetary plan to work, but the plan to arrest Jews and steal their goods was undisclosed and Philip’s order was spread by word of mouth which is why there is no written edict for the expulsion. Siméon Luce, *Catalog of Charters Treasury Documents Relating to the Jews Under the Reign of Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1881), p. 33-36.

⁶⁴ But King Philip was not satisfied with his result so he called Jews back to France to help him locate lost dues. On August 22, 1311, the Jews were expelled again after Philip said they were not being cooperative since the community wanted to make money for themselves and not have to give it up to a king. Schwarzfuchs, “The Expulsion of the Jews from France (1306),” p. 488.

⁶⁵ The climax of nationalism would be until after the 100 Years War at the end of the fourteenth century with the final expulsion of Jews in 1394.

⁶⁶ King Jean II was captured by the English at this time and the needed funds Charles of Normandy was trying to allocate from the Jews would go to the ransom payment for King Jean.

assumed the throne in 1364, he created a ‘gradian general of the Jews and registrar of theory privileges’ to place all Jewish affairs under a strict centralized French control.⁶⁷ He allowed Jews to enter the kingdom with the condition of entrance fees, but Jews were guaranteed a certain amount of safety privileges in return.⁶⁸ The Kingdom’s quest to centralize their power sought to curated an atmosphere of unity, purification, and religious autonomy during a period of low national moral due to The Hundred Years War (1337—1453) and the Black Death (1348—1349).⁶⁹ Henceforth the Jews were easy targets to blame health catastrophes and economic calamities for and also commodities the monarch would dispose of after the Jews served their fiscal purposes.⁷⁰ In 1394 King Charles IV no longer saw a use for the Jews and implemented a formal edict of expulsion.⁷¹ The edict cited “the complains of subjects overburdened by the weight of usury and mentioned certain crimes committed by the Jews against the Christian faith.”⁷² The edict was viewed as an act of purification and a step closer to the national unity and religious autonomy the Kings of France have been seeking since the Capetian Dynasty began. Not only was the expulsion based on economic rational— given the Jews had nothing to fiscally offer the King— but the impetus was also very political due to the Kings’ objective to unite his people by expelling any religion that was not Catholicism, strengthening the economy, and providing a scapegoat for his citizens to blame for their misfortunes.

⁶⁷ Esther Benbassa, *The Jews of France: A History from Antiquity to the Present*. (Princeton University Press, 1999). p. 23.

⁶⁸ The privileges of safety are an important piece since during the Plague of 1348 many of the exiled Jewish communities experienced high death rates. Benbassa, *The Jews of France*, p. 23.

⁶⁹ Benbassa, *The Jews of France*, p. 24.

⁷⁰ Benbassa, *The Jews of France*, p. 22.

⁷¹ The Jews did not meet their financial commitments to the King because after the riots of 1380 and 1382 they were robbed of their payments and their banks bled dry. Benbassa, *The Jews of France*, p. 23.

⁷² During the Black Death, myths about Jews poisoning wells and abducting Christian children were circulating and very prominent. Sophia Menache, “Faith, Myth, and Politics: The Stereotype of the Jews and Their Expulsion from England and France” (*The Jewish Quarterly Review* 75, no. 4, 1985), p. 368.

The evidence from late antiquity proves that Roman and Greek views of Jews are nowhere as aggressive as they quickly became by the thirteenth century. France was an key location to see this shift because the combination of France's loyalty to the Papacy and the kingdom's goal to build homogeneity, created an exemplary scene to study the increasingly more antagonistic anti-Semitism. There is a debate among historians over whether the causation of hostile anti-Semitism was primarily over religious discrepancies or other factors like political aspirations or economic goals. However, I believe the shift was due to a declining economic state of the Kingdom of France making the kings vulnerable to Papal political agendas that were often targeting Jews. Combined with French kings' desires for religious homogeneity and commonwealth unity, Jews became the 'reason' for environmental disasters, economic misfortunes and high taxes, spreading heresy, political instability, Christian murders, and overall upheaval in France. Consequently, decrees were issued to undermine Jewish customs and destabilize industries, sanctified Jewish books were burned, multiple expulsion edicts passed, and everlasting stigmas, prejudices, and myths were fabricated all for Papal and French supremacy, wealth, and pride.

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