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Cordelia Heß

**THE MEDIEVAL ARCHIVE
OF ANTISEMITISM
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY
SWEDEN**



RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN THE NORTH

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Cordelia Heß

The Medieval Archive of Antisemitism in Nineteenth-Century Sweden

Religious Minorities in the North: History, Politics, and Culture



Edited by
Jonathan Adams
Cordelia Heß
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Volume 3

Cordelia Heß

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Introduction: The nineteenth century in a nutshell

The “Wandering Jew” made his way to Sweden long before any actual Jewish immigrants were allowed to settle in the country. And he was very popular: between 1800 and 1900 alone, 26 editions of the medieval legend of Ahasver were printed in publishing houses all over the country, most often accompanied by two other anti-Jewish texts of medieval origin.¹ “The Legend of Judas the Traitor” (*Legenden om förrädaren Judas*) was another very popular text; with 15 editions during the nineteenth century, the legend closely following the version from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea* and its thirteenth-century East Norse translation *Fornsvenska legendariet*.

Medieval anti-Jewish texts not only remained intelligible, they were also widely used and read in the period when Emancipation was being fiercely debated – and repeatedly rejected. They conveyed religious motifs of Jew-hatred such as deicide, punitive supersessionism (the idea that Jewish diaspora was a punishment for the deicide), bloodthirstiness, and bad character, but they also conveyed essentialist and racist ideas, such as there being a specific, repulsive “Jewish physiognomy” and Jews being an eternal, unchangeable collectivity. In addition to the contemporary ideas about Jews and Judaism that were developed and discussed in relation to the status of the Jewish minority in the country, these medieval motifs were and remained part of the collective “knowledge” about Jews as an imagined collectivity. What does this mean for the development of modern antisemitism in Sweden? Why were these medieval texts so popular?

In 1782, the first Jews were allowed to settle in Sweden, their immigration heavily regulated regarding numbers, demographics, economic standing, and place of settlement. The royal decree allowing this was called the *judereglemente*.² In the first decades after it was enacted, parliament and government already had misgivings regarding any Jewish presence in the country. In 1806, King Gustav IV Adolf revoked some of the liberties granted to Jews, and his decree against any further Jewish immigration was printed several times and distribut-

1 *Om thet straff hwart släkte bland judarne i synnerhet lida måste* (On the punishment which each tribe of the Jews has to suffer specifically), also with variations of the title (Punishment of the Twelve Tribes, Story of the Twelve Tribes etc.), and *Om Pilati död och oroliga döda kropp* (On the death of Pilate and his unruly dead body). See below, Chapter 2.

2 *Judereglemente*: “Reglemente för dem av Judiska Nationen, som vilja hit i Riket inflytta och sig här nedsätta,” in *Urkunder till judarnas historia i Sverige*, ed. Hugo Valentin (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1924). For a more thorough discussion of its contents, see below, Chapter 4.

ed.³ In 1815, two proposals were made in the Riksdag to restrict Jewish rights even more than already stated in the judereglemente and in Gustav's amendment.⁴ The Jews made a submission to the special committee at the Riksdag in order to defend their case and to ask instead for a liberalization of the judereglemente. As was the case with many proposals, statements, and speeches of public interest that were submitted to the Riksdag, this one was published.⁵ All submitted proposals were rejected by the commissions preparing the debates, and this provoked a number of fierce diatribes against Jews in general and against Jews in Sweden in particular. Proposals made during this debate included deporting all Jews from Sweden, confiscating their goods, forced conversion, forced baptism of Jewish children, placing Jewish children in Christian families, and other measures intended to erase all Jewish presence from Sweden. Like Denmark in 1813 and Norway a few years later, Sweden experienced a *judefejd* (Jewish feud) in 1815.

The few publications which have dealt with the *judefejden* of 1815 in Sweden have examined its actors and motifs as if the debate were a relatively isolated event – no political decisions were made, no violence broke out, it would be decades before the next major public debate on the matter. But if we change the focal point of analysis from the text production immediately connected to the *judefejden* and look instead at where the publicists most likely got their information on Jewish topics and what their readers had access to besides the products of the quarrel itself, this and other outbreaks can be seen as the results of a constant stream of anti-Jewish knowledge production in various text genres. In the print production of that year, a specifically Swedish combination of religious, economic, cultural, and political arguments can be observed as having already developed fully into a distinctively racist and determinist form of Christian antisemitism. Political pamphlets were accompanied by the medieval legends of Ahasver and Judas, by conversion stories, novels, and entertaining satirical dialogues in which Jews were described as a race, a state within the state, a foul-smelling and sick collectivity of individuals still bearing the blood curse and sucking money and life from their host societies. Probably because the literary antisemitism of 1815 did not lead to outbreaks of violence, this event has generally been discussed in connection with the flourishing forms of personal polem-

3 *Kongl. Maj:ts och Rikets Commerce-Collegii kungörelse, angående förbud för judar att i riket inkomma. Gifwen Stockholm den 19 december 1806* (Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1806).

4 See the appendix for an overview of the debates about Jewish issues in the Riksdagen.

5 *Judiska nationens härvarande föreståndares förklaring till rikets höglofl. ständers särskilda utskott vid riksdagen år 1815, tillika med högberättade utskotts 2:ne betänkanden till rikets ständer, angående ändringar i jude-reglementet* (Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1815).

ics and political satire also in evidence in many of the publications in question. Furthermore, its chronological coincidence with the flood of anti-Jewish publications on the continent, particularly in Germany, which ultimately led to the Hep-Hep riots in 1819, has been largely ignored. As has the fact that, besides the many original Swedish products, books from well-known German opponents of Jewish Emancipation – such as Friedrich Buchholz, one of the most prolific and influential publicists in Berlin since 1800 – were translated and published that same year.⁶

It was an eventful year in Europe, what with the defeat of the Napoleonic armies. A depression followed in Sweden, which involved a number of large businesses going bankrupt – some of them owned by Jews.⁷ This sparked accusations of shady business practices focused specifically on the Jewish owners, the main lines of this argument having already been established during the previous years. The debate also constituted the first serious attempt to tighten restrictions on Jewish immigration, thirty-five years after the establishment of the first communities – or, more generally, to re-examine these restrictions. Despite the limits on immigration and the initial restriction of Jewish settlement to Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Norrköping, Jews had been allowed to settle in two additional towns since 1811, namely, Arvika and Töksmark in Värmland, a rural mountain area. Even though quantitatively minuscule, the Jewish minority in Sweden probably seemed to be growing in importance in 1815 and, additionally, was becoming increasingly visible in the world of business – a hot topic at the time, given the antiquated, protectionist, inflexible laws governing trade, manufacturing, and craftsmanship.

⁶ Thomas Thaarup and Friedrich Buchholz, *Lurifaxiana. 1.–2. häftet. Närvarande förhållande emellan judar och kristne i intellektuellt och moraliskt hänseende*, Öfversättning (Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815). The antisemitism of this text provoked a response, *Lurifalsiana eller den tilltvålade Lurifaxiana*, by Heinrich Heilborn, who had emigrated from Hamburg to Stockholm and worked in Benedicks's company. On Buchholz generally and his complicated relation to the "Jewish question," see Iwan-Michelangelo D'Aprile, *Die Erfindung der Zeitgeschichte: Geschichtsschreibung und Journalismus zwischen Aufklärung und Vormärz. Mit einer Edition von 93 Briefen von Friedrich Buchholz an Johann Friedrich Cotta und Johann Georg Cotta, 1805–1833* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2016).

⁷ Henrik Edgren names seven out of twenty bankruptcies as belonging to Jewish businesses. Henrik Edgren, "Societal Change, Economic Decline and National Identity: The Debate About Jews in Sweden in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814: Origins – Contexts – Consequences*, ed. Christhard Hoffmann, Studien zum Antisemitismus in Europa 10 (Berlin: Metropol, 2016); Ernst Meyer, "Die Literatur für und wider die Juden in Schweden im Jahre 1815," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 51, no. 5 (1907).

Two main factions appeared in the Riksdag: On one side were the bourgeois and noble members of parliament. Baron Johan Ludvig Boije was their most prolific author, with 27 texts on the topic in 1815. On the other side, Otto Fredrik Pählman, who defended the Jewish presence in Sweden and called for a liberalization of the judereglemente.⁸ The author and agitator Carl August Grevesmöhlen joined in, publishing roughly 60 texts in 1815 alone. The public dialogue and dispute between Grevesmöhlen and Boije was central to the debate; their texts used the Jewish question as an opportunity to debate liberalism, the national economy, and constitutional matters. Even though their feud was the catalyst for a sudden and wide-ranging production of anti-Jewish texts, Swedish historiography has labelled the whole episode the “Grevesmöhlska striden,” thereby neglecting the significance it held for establishing and developing anti-Jewish hostility in Sweden. In the polemic between these two figures one can discern a lot of personal anger, big egos, and grandstanding, but very little in the way of serious or innovative statements regarding the “Jewish question.” Yet nineteenth century Sweden’s most important literary and political conflict regarding Jewish Emancipation developed out of their petty quarrel.

Grevesmöhlen, even though he was engaged in a harsh polemic against Boije and his strict opposition to any Jewish presence in Sweden, was by no means a friend of Jews – his contributions are sarcastic and half-hearted, describing Jews as a collectivity with certain shared negative traits. Furthermore, he only got involved after the debate had already been going on for several months in both printed books and the Riksdag. It had been initiated by the members of parliament Gustav Stabeck and Johan Wegelin (both belonging to the estate of the burghers), who proposed the judereglemente be revoked and all Jews expelled from the country, pointing to their allegedly maleficent business practices and usury. The proposals were produced as independent leaflets by printers in Stockholm and thus spread outside the parliamentary arena.⁹ One of the first counterarguments to Grevesmöhlen was Fredrik Cederborgh’s pamphlet *Judar*

⁸ A response to his original intervention was published: *Erinringar vid herr O.F. Pählmans yttrande i höglofl. ridderskapets och adelns plenum, d. 13 april 1815, angående judarna* (Stockholm: Carl Nyberg, 1815).

⁹ Johan Wegelin, *Memorial om nödige förändringar uti kongl. commerce-collegii reglemente af den 27 maj 1782 för de i riket inflyttade och bosatte medlemmar af judiska nationen, af J. Wegelin G:son. Upläst i vällofl. borgare-ståndets plenum den 1 maj: 1815 och på ståndets begäran till trycket lämnadt* (Stockholm: Peter Sohm, 1815); Gustaf Stabeck, *Memorial, uppläst i riksens höglofl. ständers allmänna beswärs- och ekonomi-utskott den 7 julii 1812, innehållande dels tillägg och dels anmärkningar emot samma utskotts betänkande, rörande manufacturernas och fabriquernas upphjelpande* (Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815).

*äro judar och blifva i evighet judar.*¹⁰ It is written from the perspective of a capitalist who profits from the Jews' unfair and cruel business and trading practices. An anonymous author devoted roughly half of his pamphlet *Viva-Rop för Grevesmöhlen, Pählman och Judarne*¹¹ to polemical attacks against the men named in its title.¹² In both texts, religious and economic stereotypes are merged within the principal theme of *egennyttia vs statens nytta* (self-interest vs common good), ascribing selfishness to all Jews and a sense of solidarity to all others, and taking up the old inverted Christian fear that Jews were generally hostile to Christians due to the laws of their faith: "Moses ville, att hans folk skulle hata ett annat, som de icke kände, och som alldrig hade gjort dem något emot." (Moses wanted his people to hate another people, whom they did not know, and who had never done them any harm, p. 17). Jews are said to have been a pitiful nation even during their heyday, as evidenced by their failure to develop into a seafaring nation despite living by the sea. The Jews' unwillingness and inability to form an independent state of their own, even as they venerate Moses, the founder of their state and law-giver from centuries ago, is taken as evidence of their inability to contribute to any other people's state – an argument that fed into the theme of Jews only being able to function as a "state within the state."¹³

In general, the more than 150 pamphlets produced in 1815 in the immediate context of the Grevesmöhlen–Boije–Stabeck–Pählmann debate are quite repetitive regarding their arguments, be they for or against a Jewish presence in Sweden. The focus is primarily on business practices and secondarily on all kinds of general polemics which do not have much to do with Jews but with the state, publications, newspapers, and public life in general. Religious stereotypes played only a minor role, even though the possibility was repeatedly raised of letting Jews stay in the country on condition that they raise their children in the Christian religion, so as to make the Jewish religion disappear within a gen-

10 Anonymous, *Judar äro judar och blifva i evighet judar, eller Det brydsamma försöket att 1815, kosta Sverige hvad det kan, broderligen stöpa judar och svenskar i en form till nästa riksdag* (Stockholm: Fr. Cederborgh & comp., 1815).

11 Anonymous, *Viva-Rop för Grevesmöhlen, Pählman och Judarne* (Stockholm: Carl Nyberg, 1815).

12 The rest consists of long quotations from "Erinringar vid herr O.F. Pählmanns yttrande," a previous publication written in the same spirit.

13 For the development of this accusation, from eighteenth-century French and German authors writing in anti-republican and anti-feudal contexts to its adaptation in the Danish-Norwegian debate about religious tolerance and assimilation, see Frode Ulvund, *Religious Otherness and National Identity in Scandinavia, C. 1790–1960: The Construction of Jews, Mormons, and Jesuits as Anti-Citizens and Enemies of Society*, Religious Minorities in the North 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021).

eration – an option already brought to the table by Wegelin in his initial memorandum to the parliament. This suggests that even though Jews were assigned a long list of mainly negative collective characteristics and collectively exercised business practices, which were in turn said to be grounded in their religion and culture, these characteristics were not necessarily thought to be inheritable. On the other hand, the specific temporality which Christians have placed Jews in is continually evoked: Jews belong to the period of the Hebrew Bible, to the Gospels, to the present and the future, and they are always the same, bearing the blood curse for their mistreatment of Jesus. This context is seldom stated explicitly in the debate itself, but it exists and is visible in the form of legends, religious and entertaining texts, and the like, which were being published and re-published at the same time – most of them much more widely disseminated and drawing on much more persistent traditions than the contemporary polemics.

Also in 1815, one of 16 editions of a booklet titled *Nådens verkan hos barn* was published; this was a translation of the conversion narrative of three Jewish girls who defied their parents' will. Another publication that year, *Berättelse, huru judar äro ansedda i England*, was an excerpt from a British historiography with a clearly supersessionist and anti-Jewish tone. *Svåra bevis emot judarna* was the title given to a translated excerpt from Christoph Meiners's study of medieval economic history, the Swedish version framing it as a criticism of "Jewish" business practices. Not just for decades, but for centuries, every couple of years another edition of three medieval legends had been printed, featuring the "Eternal Jew" and reiterating accusations of deicide and of a specific Jewish physiognomy being a "punishment" for mocking and torturing the messiah. All of these texts contributed to what "knowledge" the authors of 1815 had about Jews and informed the debate on expulsion. Different types of text will have had different audiences; the legends and leaflets about conversion will have attracted more and different readers than the political treatises, and definitely more than the extremely self-referential, Stockholm-based publications of 1815.

But in terms of collective memory on this specific topic, all of these texts contributed to it. The present study aims to reconstruct one part of the archive of antisemitic knowledge in Sweden: printed books from the years 1800 to 1900 dealing with Jewish people, Emancipation, religion, and Jews as a general theme. The archive is a concept from memory studies which allows us to grasp the mechanisms of remembering and forgetting: "The archive is the basis of what

can be said in the future about the present when it will have become the past.”¹⁴ Applied to the archive of antisemitism, it is the synopsis of fragments of information, beliefs, notions, and ideas about “Jews,” formed out of different sources of information and “half-way between the canon and forgetting.”¹⁵ In this corpus, different discourses are represented, along with different actors and levels of discursive power, stored as in an actual archival building in the cultural reference memory.

In 1815, this archive was updated, internationalized, made visible, and considerably enlarged, which becomes clear when the focus is widened from the immediate participants in the debate to the entire print production on Jewish themes. A mixture of religious and racist elements of anti-Jewish hostility becomes visible, not so much from the new texts, arguments, and elements presented in the *judedefjden*, but out of the combined effect of *all* texts produced on the topic in that year and the surrounding years: medieval and early modern texts handed down for generations in which accusations of deicide and a particular Jewish temporality and transhistorical collective identity were elaborated upon, various forms and aspects of supersessionist conceptions of the relationship between Christianity and Judaism were advanced, and specific ideas about Jewish physiognomy were portrayed in writing and illustrations. All of these need to be considered, both as the intellectual, cultural, and social context of the text production of 1815, and as part of an analysis of antisemitism in nineteenth-century Sweden in general.

The interplay of religious and racist elements in German antisemitism in the first half of the nineteenth century has been discussed under the term *Frühantisemitismus* (early antisemitism; see discussion below) and has been explained as resulting from the specific situation in the German lands in the period after the Napoleonic Wars. It is debatable whether Sweden experienced a similar phenomenon and, consequently, whether the development of modern antisemitism in Sweden was similar to its development in Germany (and other European countries). At what point did hostility towards Jews change from a religious to a racist phenomenon – or did any such change even take place? This question has been answered differently by scholars from different historiographic fields – medievalists and scholars of church history tend to point out the racist aspects present in pre-modern forms, while scholars of modern and social history tend to focus on the qualitative differences in antisemitic outbreaks after 1800. Regarding

¹⁴ Aleida Assmann, “Canon and Archive,” in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B. Young (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 102.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Sweden (and probably also a number of other European countries which are not part of this study), it is important to note that a considerable number of texts which contained “knowledge” about Jews originated in the medieval and Reformation period. Many of these texts contained a concept of distinctively “Jewish” bodies and outer appearances, grounded in the accusation of deicide and extrapolating from it the idea of a distinctive Jewish character and physiognomy.

The events of 1815 – bankruptcies, Napoleonic wars, fierce anti-Jewish propaganda on the continent, the attempt to expel all Jews from Sweden – surely influenced both the actual events in Sweden regarding the Jewish minority and the production of printed matter that year. But it is important to note that in the production of 1815, almost all the elements of anti-Jewish stereotyping which were to exist throughout the rest of the century can be found combined. This means that as early as 1815, the most important elements of the modernization, adaptation, and merging of medieval and early modern forms of hostility were already on display. More than one author described Jews as a race, ascribed physiognomic markers to Jews collectively, and described Judaism as obsolete and outdated. Where did this comprehensive “knowledge” about Jews, their religion, features, character, and customs come from? Certainly not from observing the few families who had been living in three towns in Sweden since 30 years back. Interest in the hermeneutic Jew was much older and more sophisticated than the immediate debate about Emancipation and immigration. In the present study, this interest and its sources and outcomes will be analysed using the concept of the archive, which I will describe in greater detail in the following section.

The main part of this book is divided into six chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter provides a discussion of the concept of the archive as well as reflections on the international scholarly debate regarding the intersection of religion and race as it relates to the Swedish case specifically. It also provides details on the corpus of sources used in this study. The following four thematic chapters reflect the main themes of the antisemitic archive. The first of these, chapter 2, on “being cursed,” contains those texts which strictly follow medieval models. Chapter 3, on “chosenness,” discusses conversion narratives and other texts in which the Jewish religion is the main point of interest and object of hatred; here we also find several text models from the medieval period and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many of them in German and English. The fourth chapter, on “money,” consists primarily of Swedish originals which were written by Swedes in the years 1800–1900 as well as court records which were printed publicly. The last thematic chapter, on “bodies and gender,” collects the myriad of belletristic texts, novels, romances, plays, and operas which prominently featured Jewish characters, male and female. Following this chapter, the few pro-Jewish contributions in the corpus are mentioned briefly, so as to cover the cor-

pus as completely as possible. Within each of the chapters, the distinction between Swedish originals and translations from German, Latin, French, and English models is maintained, as is the chronological order of the appearance of the texts.

The concluding, sixth chapter, “The persistence of medieval stereotypes,” brings together the analysis of the individual texts from the previous chapters and relates it to the concept of the archive and the question of a distinctive Swedish early antisemitism.

1 Religion and Race: The Medieval Archive of Antisemitism

The archive of antisemitism and the Swedish debate about Emancipation

The history of minorities – religious, ethnic, sexual, or other – is both the history of groups of people with distinct features and specific self-identifications, and is also the history of the majority society creating a special status around these features. The question of who is regarded as a minority in a particular historical period, why this is so, and how societies treat minorities says a lot about the society itself and its identity.

The oppression and expulsion – but also interactions with, inclusion, and influences – of the Jewish minorities in Europe have been investigated as an integral part of European history for decades now. The history of antisemitism in particular has increasingly been regarded as the history of Christian societies' self-identification and self-assurance and not only as the history of a religious minority – even though antisemitism has obviously determined and still determines the living conditions of this group to a very great extent. But the history of the Jewish minority is not the same as the history of antisemitic knowledge and its development. Accessing the archive of knowledge via a specific corpus allows us to separate the history of a minority from the history of a figure of thought.

In the Nordic countries, the history of the Jewish minority in the medieval and early modern periods is exclusively a history of a present absence. Christian hostility arrived centuries before actual Jews settled in small numbers in the North. This hostility, conveyed in Christian texts, formed the nucleus of an archive of knowledge about “Jews” – the hermeneutic Jews found in theological polemics. Swedish people “knew” about Jews long before they met any real Jews. When the first generations immigrated, they intersected with a long history of hostility which had not had a concrete counterpart before. At the same time, international developments, particularly the Emancipation and assimilation processes in Europe, informed the influx and adaptation of new stereotypes and new forms of hostility, which arrived in Sweden at the same time as the first Jewish immigrants. It was towards the end of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth century that the transmitted “knowledge” about Jews encountered an actual Jewish minority, and the debates regarding the civil and political Emancipation of this minority were greatly informed by this older “knowledge.” This phenomenon has been described using various terms; my own approach is

perhaps closest to the *Wissenssoziologie* with which Jan Weyand has analysed the genesis of antisemitic thought in the German Empire.¹⁶ The approach is also inspired by David Nirenberg's brilliant attempt to reconstruct the "Western Tradition"¹⁷ by detecting significant examples of attributing certain relatively stable figures of thought to "the Jew" in different historical periods. But while Nirenberg uses one single example per period (Martin Luther, Karl Marx), I attempt to reconstruct parts of the archive of anti-Jewish knowledge via the entire corpus of printed matter on the topic over the course of one century.

It is commonly accepted amongst scholars of antisemitism that the development of anti-Jewish hostility occurs relatively independent of the existence of an actual Jewish minority. Nevertheless, the history of modern antisemitism in Sweden has most often been discussed in the context of the presence, migration, and legal conditions of the Jewish minority – even though most research deals with the discursive developments of antisemitism.¹⁸ Consequently, focus has been on the process of Emancipation – and, given the fact that throughout the nineteenth century there were increasing possibilities for integration of the Jewish minority into the Swedish nation-state, culminating in Emancipation in 1870, this has most often been told as a success story. However, the predominance of this "all's well that ends well" conclusion has led to a peculiar ignorance regarding the simultaneous existence of antisemitism independent of the increased integration of actual Jews. One example is Rita Bredefeldt, who paraphrases the pre-history of Emancipation as a series of anti-Jewish protests but still concludes on a positive note:

16 Jan Weyand, *Historische Wissenssoziologie des modernen Antisemitismus: Genese und Typologie einer Wissensformation am Beispiel des deutschsprachigen Diskurses* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016).

17 David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: Norton, 2013).

18 See, for example, Kristian Gerner, "Degrees of Antisemitism: The Swedish Example," in *Jews and Christians: Who Is Your Neighbour After the Holocaust? A Polish-Swedish Colloquium on Jewish-Christian Dialogue*, ed. Michał Bron, Acta Sueco-Polonica Bokserie 2 (Uppsala: Seminariet i Polens Kultur och Historia vid Uppsala Universitet, 1997); Carl H. Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering: Östjudar och andra invandrare i Sverige 1860–1920*, Acta Universitatis Upsalien-sis 215 (Uppsala: Univ, 2004); Per Hammarström, "'Judar öfversvämmar landet': Den judiska gårdfarihandeln i Kungl. Maj:ts befallningshavandes femårsberättelser 1865–1905," in *Den nya staten: Ideologi och samhällsförändring kring sekelskiftet 1900*, ed. Erik Nydahl and Jonas Harvard (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2016).

Trots judefientliga protester hos breda folklagar och press 1815, 1838, 1848 och under 1850- och 1860-talen, blev 1800-talet emancipationes århundrade för den första gruppen av väst-europeiska judar som bosatt sig i Sverige.

(Despite anti-Jewish protests in large parts of the population and the press in 1815, 1838, 1848, and during the 1850s and 1860s, the nineteenth century became the century of Emancipation for the first group of West European Jews who settled in Sweden.)¹⁹

Many other scholars follow the same narrative, which was established by Hugo Valentin, the first and most influential scholar of Swedish Jewish history. Valentin identifies antisemitism in parliamentary debates, newspapers, and various other discourses, but he still describes the history of the Jewish minority as a story of success, because Emancipation was finally realized and the Jewish presence in the country secured. This narrative has been crucial to the self-understanding and self-assertion of the Jewish minority in Sweden, but it obstructs an analysis of the development of antisemitism, particularly before 1870. In most of the years before 1870 various measures to modify the judereglemente were discussed (and often rejected) while Jews were immigrating, sometimes getting baptized and sometimes not, and Jewish communities were being established in more and more Swedish towns. At the same time, there was an undercurrent to these developments which did not follow its more or less linear trajectory of liberalization: the production, distribution, and reception of texts with “Jewish” themes, in which the archive of antisemitism was preserved, developed, and updated. These texts form a corpus which reflects contemporary debates and developments but which also contains a considerable quantity of conservative and much older elements: medieval model texts, narrative traditions from the early modern period, and other topics which had nothing to do with the contemporary modernization of Swedish society. In light of this corpus, held together solely by the presence of “Jewish” themes, the nineteenth century appears not so much as a period of change but rather of continuity: continuity of religious narratives and their popularity, continuity of certain legends, motifs, and figures, and continuity of literary traditions. While the analysis of newspaper debates or parliamentary debates provides an opportunity to detect and describe innovations, novelty, and change, the printed books shine light on the conservative and long-lasting elements which make up collective knowledge and memory even at the same time as innovation occurs.

¹⁹ Rita Bredefeldt, “De judiska minoriteterna i Sverige och Finland – olika men ändå lika,” in *Från sidensjalar till flyktningmottagning: Judarna i Sverige – en minoritets historia*, ed. Lars M. Andersson, *Opuscula historica Upsaliensia* 50 (Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2013), 58.

Antisemitic ideas and stereotypes are latent components of collective knowledge, existing over extended periods of time but leading to specific outbreaks in specific historical circumstances. Sweden has had comparatively few outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence, yet there have been underlying constant streams and also sudden surges of anti-Jewish textual production. During the nineteenth century, anti-Jewish textual production consisted of texts handed down since the Middle Ages as well as new productions, both translations and domestic works. In some fields, discussions about changes to the legal and political status of the Jewish minority provoked this text production; in others, there was no chronological correlation between government debates, policy changes, and text production.

The “archive” is a more or less systematic collection of different kinds of sources, collected in different historical periods and stored in a common room of collective ideas and ideologemes. The concept of the “archive” provides a metaphor for collective memory, knowledge, and the subconscious: a room full of files ordered according to their provenance rather than their subject matter or content, covering long historical periods, and structuring historical knowledge according to the strict and immutable principles and rules developed for all archives. The image of the archival storage space also allows for the fact that there are parts missing from collective knowledge, absences caused by earlier losses of archival holdings through external factors, such as fires or wars, or by the structure of the holdings themselves, which necessarily omit certain large areas of source production and yet are still considered to be the most comprehensive foundations of historical knowledge we have access to. The archive is in this sense closer to the actual archival institution and building than concepts which use it as a metaphor only vaguely connected to the institutionalized processes of storing, remembering, and forgetting.

Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and, inspired by these, Aleida Assmann have shifted the notion of the archive from a place where knowledge is stored to one where it is produced. As long as the content of the archive is not canonized as an integral part of cultural knowledge and memory, and as such constantly remembered and staged, it becomes a passive knowledge, halfway between being remembered and forgotten. Understanding the principles and structure of the archive means understanding the structure behind contemporary evidence of outbreaks of antisemitism; this radically challenges the perception that antisemitism is nothing but a “foreign import” to Scandinavia. Instead, the concept of the archive makes it possible to analyse various national and international sources of knowledge and information about “Jews,” which do not necessarily rely on the existence or presence of actual Jews. It also allows for

the integration of religious or mythical as well as secular fragments of knowledge, all of which inform modern antisemitism.

The concept of the archive has not been widely used to examine the dissemination and development of anti-Jewish notions in the North, but Ragnhild Henden has used it to examine the development of ideas about Jews in Norwegian crime novels. She points out that the concept allows the focus to shift from an actor-centred perspective of power to the abstract and impersonal power of the archive itself. Relevant questions are how and why certain stories are being told and others forgotten and how this influences the development of anti-Jewish perceptions and imaginaries.²⁰

Much like most of the concepts regarding discourse used today (from Foucault to Habermas), the concept of the archive is difficult to grasp and to analyse in historical scholarship. Nevertheless, it has the potential to illuminate a significant part of collective knowledge. Formed out of texts, events, debates, and other textual and non-textual, performative and static, individual and collective memories, the archive cannot be fully reconstructed. Within the present study, the focus on printed texts constitutes a significant limitation for the reconstruction of the archive, since other important forms of discourse are missing: most newspaper debates and speeches at the Riksdag (a small number of these were printed separately and thus fall within the scope of this study) and all non-textual and performative elements, such as sermons, demonstrations, and public and academic lectures. On the other hand, printed books include at least excerpts from many different discourses: scholarly production from the scientific discourse, selected speeches from the diets and *offentliga tryck*²¹ from the political discourse, selected sermons from the ecclesiastical discourse. Even though printed books are usually intended to be readable and usable for a longer period, and even though book production can be a lengthy and complicated process, some of the material in the corpus consists of immediate responses to ongoing or very recent events. In some cases, the reference to the event might have been inserted at the last minute, but often, print production was characterized by quick, small, and cheap products containing material that might even have been suitable for leaflets, broadsheets, or as newspaper inserts. Further-

²⁰ Ragnhild Henden, "Tidlig norsk kriminallitteratur og det antisemittiske arkiv," in *Forestillinger om jøder: Aspekter ved konstruksjonen av en minoritet 1814–1940*, ed. Vibeke Moe and Øivind Kopperud (Oslo: Unipub, 2011).

²¹ *Offentliga tryck* (public prints) is a collective term for various types of texts issued by public administration on the national or communal level. Examples include acts and protocols from the Riksdag, statistics, protocols from other government bodies, collections of constitutional documents, and laws.

more, printed copies of government regulations, speeches made in parliament, and the concluding files from trials all deal with questions related to Jews and add to the impression that the Jewish presence in the country was a huge problem or at least issue. In some years, it is clear that printed texts of motions to the Riksdag, government publications of new rules, and public debates coincided with and provoked an increased production of printed books and booklets about Jews. This is particularly true for the years 1815 and 1838, in which the government attempted to grant Jews in Sweden more rights but abandoned these plans due to public resistance.

When assessing a specific corpus on one topic and in one language, the question of literacy also becomes relevant – we know that anti-Jewish knowledge was largely transmitted via oral and material media in the Middle Ages (sermons, church paintings, etc.). In modern Sweden, parish priests' visitation protocols suggest that even before the creation of a general school system in 1842, literacy in all social groups was very high, and nine out of ten Swedes were able to read in 1800.²² While we cannot know which people read any specific book, it is nonetheless possible to say that during the nineteenth century the majority of the population had access to printed texts and was able to read Swedish. Consequently, while the reconstruction of the archive from printed books is far from complete, we know that it would have been accessible to many different people and potential audiences.

While it is impossible to determine the specific archive of texts and knowledge one specific author will have had access to at the moment of writing, analysis of a variety of texts over an extended period of time allows for the detection of certain themes and motifs which emerged out of the various discourses. To continue with the image of the archive: certain folders in which unorganized papers and files are bundled together, all of them filed under the larger heading "Jews." The aim of the present study is a partial reconstruction of these archival folders: which texts were produced during the nineteenth century in Swedish dealing with Jewish topics in a broad sense? What kind of "knowledge" about Jews did they carry with them, and where did they draw this knowledge from? The historical circumstances of the simultaneously developing legal conditions for Jewish settlement provide a background to this, but, as will be shown, in many cases they were completely unrelated to the text and knowledge production.

²² See Daniel Lindmark, *Reading, Writing and Schooling: Swedish Practices of Education and Literacy, 1650–1880* (Umeå: Institutionen för litteraturvetenskap och nordiska språk, Umeå universitet, 2004).

Medieval antisemitism and supersessionism

Medieval and pre-modern forms of hostility towards Jews are rooted in religious difference, but this is combined with other forms of difference, which are in part a consequence of the religious difference, in part stereotypes and ascriptions. Religious difference had many consequences in pre-modern Christian societies: a different legal status with different legal rules and rituals (this was true even in the ancient world and in Muslim societies), in some cases separate residential areas, organization of craftsmen outside of guilds, and different jurisdictions. These consequences did not all necessarily indicate hostility, they were just a result of the fact that most functions of community-building were connected to the community of Christians, which was not adapted to the integration of religious minorities, heretics, excommunicants, and the like, and that legal systems needed a specific place for these. The comprehensive and multi-layered exclusion of Jews from Christian communities did, however, establish a status of difference which went beyond the religious. Christian theology developed a radically different idea of “the Jew,” with a different religion, character, temporality, and physiognomy. All of these ascriptions were developed in relation to the religious difference, which in this context was not neutral: religious difference implied Christian supersessionism, accusations of deicide, the blood curse, and many other consequences. Many of these complex connections between religious difference, legal difference, and stereotypical ascriptions were no longer intelligible in modern societies – but the general feeling, or “knowledge,” that Jews were different on many levels remained intelligible. This is why it is important to uncover the medieval roots of modern anti-Jewish knowledge.

Scholars of medieval history have argued that certain definitions of race and racism can be applied to medieval forms of anti-Jewish hostility. James Thomas, for example, has been working with a definition of racism as something that “signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies.”²³ This definition obviously fits with the medieval processes whereby Jews were first assigned a collectively bad character – a consequence of the deicide accusation, with this character subsequently signified and portrayed by specific physical traits.²⁴

²³ The definition stems from Michael Omi and Howard Winant. See James M. Thomas, “The Racial Formation of Medieval Jews: A Challenge to the Field,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, no. 10 (2010): 1739.

²⁴ On the question of medieval racist antisemitism in general, see Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Hefß, eds., *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Mid-*

Modern definitions of racism focus on the social construction of race, in order to differentiate between physical differences and the various forms of oppression, marginalization, and social stratification they have led and continue to lead to. Applying these definitions to medieval societies is difficult because these societies were characterized by a much more comprehensive stratification: people were differentiated by gender, age, family relations, ethnicity, religion, economic standing, and other attributes, and most of these factors translated into a specific legal status. Marginalization, in the sense of being differentiated from the majority society, is a difficult term to use in this context because it applied to most people in some sense. Thus, the religious difference which led to the legal marginalization of Jews in Christian societies was absolute and yet was also connected to a complex system of legal marginalization which affected various groups within Christian society. Jews were not the only ones to have a special legal status as a result of their difference, and they were not the only ones marginalized by this status. But unlike many other marginalized groups, this status was accompanied by comprehensive anti-Jewish polemics which surrounded, justified, and manifested it. In these polemics, Jewish religious difference was constructed with markers resembling modern racist markers; i. e., physical difference, collective character traits, etc.

These markers were attributed to “Jews” as a result of the theological discussions, legends, and sermons interpreting and embellishing biblical and apocryphal figures: the Jews scorning and torturing Jesus, Judas, Pontius Pilate (who was often perceived as Jewish), the crowd in Jerusalem calling for Barabbas to be freed and Jesus to be crucified. The collective identification of these figures with “the Jews” created the possibility for an equally collective ascription of racist markers and, even more pertinently, it connected these apocryphal figures to contemporary Jews and ascribed to them a physical, essential, and biological coherence and continuity – a specific Jewish temporality shaped in medieval Passion piety, which remained functional and intelligible in the modern period. The Christian focus on different Jewish characters and their respective actions during the Passion of Christ developed in the Late Middle Ages, stemming from a spiritual focus on the Passion and humanity of Christ and a simultaneous ascription of guilt for his suffering to Jews as a collectivity – past, present, and future.

This is important to keep in mind when investigating the racist elements in early nineteenth-century antisemitism: the polemics had a long history behind them and remained well used and practised even though the legal status con-

dle Ages to the Present Day (New York: Routledge, 2018); Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

nected to religious difference was about to change or had already changed. Herein lies a fundamental difference between the German lands, France, Poland, and other European countries, on the one hand, and the Nordic countries, on the other – in most areas on the continent, Jewish communities with a specific legal status had been known as neighbours for centuries and, in many places, their legal status had already been adjusted to that of the majority society. In Sweden, the status of the Jewish community as a *kahal* (separate community with a special legal status) was created with the judereglemente, and it did not change until 1838 – in many regards, not until 1870.

Another aspect of religiously grounded anti-Jewish hostility which had persisted since the Middle Ages was supersessionism, and this aspect is very visible in the Swedish material. A broad definition of supersessionism is required to encompass all the various ways of labelling Judaism as obsolete, outdated, and simply wrong which were used from antiquity until the nineteenth century (and in many cases, were not questioned until after the Holocaust). Theologians have developed a typology of punitive, economic, and structural supersessionism.²⁵ Of these, punitive supersessionism is the most prominent in the modern Swedish material. Supersessionism originally developed from the need Christians felt to delimit their own faith from Judaism and to solve certain incongruities deriving from problems in the conversion of Jews and gentiles and the emerging differences in ritual. While Christians still believed in the promises made by God in the Hebrew Bible, they had to explain why these promises no longer applied to the Jews but to the Christians themselves. There were several ways to explain this, all of them already developed by the Church Fathers and most of them described under the umbrella term “supersessionism,” which covers various ways in which the early Church in particular conceptualized its relation to Israel and to the covenant of the Hebrew Bible.²⁶

Origen stated that the Jews were being punished for their refusal to accept Jesus as the messiah, and ultimately for killing him. Augustine instead put forth an early version of fulfilment theology, meaning that the Christian Church fulfilled all the promises God made to the people of Israel in the Hebrew Bible. The Jews’ role as “witnesses” plays an important part in his theology. Both the original intent and medieval practice of this doctrine are fiercely debated; recently, Gregory W. Lee has suggested that Augustine conceptualized the Jews as occupying a third position between the City of God and the City of Evil: an enslaved

²⁵ See Michael J. Vlach, *Has the Church Replaced Israel? A Theological Evaluation* (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2010).

²⁶ Michael G. Azar, “Origen, Scripture, and the Imprecision of ‘Supersessionism,’” *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 10, no. 2 (2016).

people who have failed to acknowledge the truth but are nevertheless preserved by God in order to bear witness to his law.²⁷ Another idea that was prevalent in medieval theology was that Jewish feasts commemorating the most important events in the relationship between God and Israel had lost their significance after the Passion of Christ.²⁸ It must, however, be noted that the original theological debates of the Church Fathers, especially Augustine's comparatively tolerant approach towards Jews and Judaism, were subject to many modifications and reformulations during the Middle Ages, not least to justify the Crusades and other waves of pogroms.

In addition to the theological discourse of the Church Fathers, the literature of late antiquity also popularized the idea of punitive supersessionism. For example, the actual Jewish exile from Jerusalem following the destruction of the Temple in 77 CE was cited in this regard in Prudentius's *Apotheosis*, written ca. 400 CE:

From place to place the homeless Jew wanders in ever-shifting exile, since the time when he was torn from the abode of his fathers and has been suffering the penalty for murder, and having stained his hands with the blood of Christ whom he denied, paying the price of sin.²⁹

It might be argued that supersessionism, in its different variations, was actually at the root of Christian hostility towards Jews. In particular, the connection between punitive supersessionism and the deicide accusation constituted a strong justification for expulsion and oppression. Jews were accused of being blind and stubborn – a tried and tested argument going back to the Church Fathers and John Chrysostom's *Adversus Iudaeos* sermons. Jewish rootlessness was simultaneously seen as a character trait and as a punishment for the deicide – another argument from the Church Fathers, who pointed to the biblical destruction and rebuilding of the First Temple as an example of the eternal but futile desire to return to the Holy Land. Ancient, medieval, and early modern theologians debated whether Christians should let Jewish people live as visible reminders of the

²⁷ Gregory W. Lee, "Israel between the Two Cities: Augustine's Theology of the Jews and Judaism," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 24, no. 4 (2016). More generally, the latest monographic study on Augustine's doctrine of witness is Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

²⁸ Matthew A. Tapie, *Aquinas on Israel and the Church: The Question of Supersessionism in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas* (Cambridge, England: James Clarke & Co, 2015).

²⁹ Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Prudentius: In Two Volumes. Translated by Henry John Thomson*, vol. 1, reprinted, the Loeb classical library 387 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 160.

obsolescence of their faith and covenant with God, or whether they should just get rid of them. As such, supersessionism was not just an incredibly arrogant view of another faith, it was plainly dangerous.

Conversion from Judaism to Christianity has been a contested topic in the history of Jewish–Christian relations. Christian eschatology expected all Jews to convert at the end of times (all pagans as well). The possibility of conversion might be seen as an argument against a racist or essentialist determination of Christian concepts of “Jews”: if baptism could wash off the Jewishness, it could not be grounded in the body. But as early as the 1350s, Christians raised doubts as to this possibility: during the Plague in Europe, it was in many places the baptized Jews – or, as sources referred to them, “secret Jews” – who were accused of poisoning wells and engaging in conspiracies to destroy Christianity.³⁰ In the first decades of the sixteenth century, the idea that converts were not to be trusted in the same way as “true” Christians culminated in the practices of the Spanish Inquisition and the sophisticated methods it used to interrogate Jewish and Muslim *conversos*.

In terms of the relation between modern antisemitism and its medieval roots, or at least the perception thereof, one last aspect deserves mention. A common view in modern studies of antisemitism is that the connection between Jews and money is based on medieval Jewish economic activities and exclusion from the Christian guilds and professions. Recent studies by medieval scholars such as Michael Toch and Giacomo Todeschini have disputed this view, showing it to be overly simplistic: while it is true that Jews were active in moneylending, these activities were not nearly as exclusive as suggested. Jews owned land, were active in all kinds of handicrafts and trades, as merchants, artists, and in all other fields of everyday life. Many of them were also just poor and are thus poorly visible in the sources.³¹ The Christian campaign against usury was for a long time an internal Christian issue, and its conflation with anti-Jewish resentment is a relatively late projection of this issue onto the religious Other.³² De-

30 See Cordelia Heß, “Jews and the Black Death in Fourteenth-Century Prussia: A Search for Traces,” in *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

31 Michael Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews: Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*, *Études sur le Judaïsme Médiéval* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

32 Giacomo Todeschini, “Usury in Christian Middle Ages: A Reconsideration of the Historiographical Tradition (1949–2010),” in *Religione e Istituzioni Religiose nell’economia Europea: 1000–1800; Religion and Religious Institutions in the European Economy; Atti della “Quarantaresima Settimana di Studi”, 8–12 Maggio 2011*, ed. Francesco Ammannati, Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica “F. Datini”, Prato Serie 2, Atti delle “settimane di studi” e altri convegni 43 (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2012).

spite these arguments, the common perception is that the connection of Jews and money stems from their exclusion from Christian guilds in the Middle Ages and their consequent dominance of the money trade. Julie Mell has shown that even the scholarly focus on medieval Jews and moneylending is a construction of nineteenth-century historiography.³³ In nineteenth-century Sweden, however, that connection was enjoying its heyday and was highly visible, particularly in caricatures and satirical texts about Jews. But unlike the other forms of medieval hostility towards Jews, such as punitive supersessionism and the construction of “Jews” as an eternal collectivity with negative character and physical traits, the connection of Jews and money was not of medieval origin.

Religious homogeneity and Swedish *Frühantisemitismus*

While the process of Emancipation of the Jewish minorities on a legal and cultural level has been the focal point of historical research on the continent for decades now, the same process is strangely under-researched in Sweden. Most research about relations between the Jewish minority and the Christian majority focuses on later periods, from 1870 on,³⁴ with particular attention paid to the 1930s and 40s.³⁵ The granting of full civil rights to Jews in Sweden, as decided in the Riksdag of 1870, is usually considered the beginning of Jewish history in Sweden proper – however, it can also be seen as but one step in a long history of relations.³⁶ At the same time, the increasing immigration of Jews from Poland

33 Julie L. Mell, *The Myth of the Medieval Jewish Moneylender*, 2 vols, Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

34 Lena Berggren, *Nationell upplysning: Drag i den svenska antisemitismens idéhistoria* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1999); Lena Berggren, *Blodets renhet: En historisk studie av svensk antisemitism* (Malmö: Arx Förl, 2014); Christoph Leiska, *Räume der Begegnung – Räume der Differenz. Jüdische Integration und Antisemitismus in Göteborg und Kopenhagen 1850–1914* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2016); Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering: Östjudar och andra invandrare i Sverige 1860–1920*; Hammarström, “Judar öfversvämmar landet.”

35 On the current state of Swedish scholarship in this regard, see Karin K. Geverts, “Antisemitism in Sweden: A Neglected Field of Research?” in *Antisemitism in the North*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019); Jonathan Adams, “‘Untilled Field’ or ‘Barren Terrain’? Researching the Portrayal of Jews in Medieval Denmark and Sweden,” in *Antisemitism in the North*; Cordelia Heß, “Nordic Otherness: Research on Antisemitism in the Nordic Countries in an International Context,” in *Antisemitism in the North*.

36 Kurt Stillschweig, *Judarnas emancipation. En återblick* (Stockholm: Geber, 1943); Bernhard Tarschys, *Judarna i Sverige 1775–1975* (Stockholm: Kungl. biblioteket, 1975); Marcus Ehrenpreis “När Mendelssohn och Lessing möttes. Kampen för judarnas emancipation,” *Judisk tidskrift Stockholm* 16 (1943).

and Russia changed the situation in the eyes of the Swedish population, which had come to terms with the relatively assimilated Jews from the German lands but not with the culturally and economically distinct *östjudar*.³⁷ Predating the 1870 decision, many of these relations were hostile and, as elsewhere, debates surrounding Emancipation were only a small aspect of the broader development of anti-Jewish attitudes and behaviour. In Sweden and elsewhere, parliamentary debates and the ensuing legislation can only be seen as a partial and imperfect mirror or representation of relations between majority and minority – and in Sweden, most debates at the Riksdag before 1870 ended with a confirmation of the status quo, if not a deterioration in the status of the Jewish minority.³⁸ Beyond the parliamentary level, anti-Jewish attitudes manifested themselves and flourished on many different levels and in many different discursive arenas: religious didactics, disseminated as sermons and written communications within Christian communities and parishes; the arts and sciences and their textual production; newspapers; and general public communications in printed form. The entire nineteenth century was a period in which “the Jewish question” was debated in various contexts, forums, and discourses. Three areas of text production are particularly relevant: the annual debates in the Riksdag, in which various changes to the *judereglemente* were discussed almost biennially during this period; the daily and weekly newspapers, growing in importance both locally and nation-wide; and the production of books and pamphlets. The latter two in particular had benefited from the *tryckfrihetsförordning* (Freedom of the Press Ordinance) of 1812, which established freedom of the written word except in cases of national security and interest. Even though the category of sermons, the most important pre-modern and early modern medium of public education and information, is not included, religious texts and arguments also appeared in the realm of print; nonetheless, the oral and visual transmission of stereotypes in parish churches remains a topic for future studies.³⁹

For continental Europe, particularly Prussia and France, the nineteenth century is generally considered the most important phase in the development of modern racist antisemitism as well as political antisemitism. The factors leading to these changes and modernizations of hostility towards Jews are evident in the Emancipation, in the social mobility Jews gained following the Emancipation,

³⁷ See Bredefeldt, *De judiska minoriteterna*, 58–59.

³⁸ See appendix 1 for a list of motions and debates regarding Jewish themes at the national diets from 1800–1900.

³⁹ One of the few previous forays into this field is David Tjeder, “Guds utvalda folk eller krok-nästa messiasförnekare. Stockholmsprästeriets bild av judar 1750–1830,” in *Svensk Antisemitism 1880–1930*, ed. Mattias Tydén (Uppsala: Centre for Multiethnic Research, 1986).

and in general fears of processes of liberalization and modernization which were projected onto the Jewish minority. Some scholars have also pointed to the changing role of religion and religious difference in societies which went through processes of secularization.⁴⁰ At the same time, the presence of religiously grounded stereotypes in the anti-Jewish debates of the early nineteenth century has been seen as obvious.⁴¹

Jacob Katz has coined the term “Frühantisemitismus” for the period between the 1780s and 1870, when medieval stereotypes merged into a modern, rationalized form:

Der Rationalismus der Aufklärung, der die tradierten christlichen Hemmnisse gegen die Gleichstellung der Juden abtrug, lieferte ebenso die anthropologische Sehweise, mit deren Hilfe man die gern akzeptierte Minderwertigkeit der Juden neu begründen konnte. Darin ist durchaus die erste Phase einer zur Rassentheorie tendierenden Entwicklung zu sehen. [...] Blieb aber das Christentum, sei es auch in ideologischer Abwandlung, eine konstitutive Macht im Bewusstsein der Zeit, so wurde die traditionelle Abwertung seines historischen Gegners, des Judentums, mit fortgepflanzt. Sowohl der ‚rationalistische‘ als auch der christliche Antisemitismus späterer Zeit sind in der Phase des Frühantisemitismus nicht nur ideell vorweggenommen, sondern im Kern real vorhanden.⁴²

The term “Frühantisemitismus” has been criticized because it dates the emergence of antisemitism prior to the emergence of the terminology to describe it. On the other hand, it has been adopted and put to the test in literary, philosophical, and linguistic studies. Most scholars of the history of antisemitism agree that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a period in which broader intellectual and political developments, principally the Enlightenment, influenced political emancipation as well as the ongoing prevalence of anti-Jewish stereotypes. The founding of the German Empire in 1871 and the defeat of France are seen as a major turning point for the emergence of antisemitism as a purely political and ideological movement, targeting not only civil Emancipation but also the social advancement of Jews in the bourgeois society of the Em-

⁴⁰ For example, see Weyand, *Historische Wissenssoziologie*.

⁴¹ Christhard Hoffmann, “Christlicher Antijudaismus und moderner Antisemitismus. Zusammenhänge und Differenzen als Problem der historischen Antisemitismusforschung,” in *Christlicher Antijudaismus und Antisemitismus: Theologische und kirchliche Programme deutscher Christen*, ed. Leonore Siegele-Wenschkewitz, Arnoldshainer Texte 85 (Frankfurt am Main: Haag + Herchen, 1994).

⁴² Jacob Katz, “Frühantisemitismus in Deutschland,” in *Begegnung von Deutschen und Juden in der Geistesgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Yaʿaḳov Kats, Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung 10 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), 89.

pire. When religion ceased to function as a social and political marker, race took its place, according to the established scholarly narrative.⁴³

While this religious foundation was universal to Christian Europe, the theories and development of Frühantisemitismus in the specific political and social context of the German lands during the nineteenth century occurred in countries which had been home to old, stable, and large Jewish communities and which were split into Catholic and Protestant areas. The Christian religious roots of modern antisemitism have been the subject of debate; they are viewed differently by scholars of medieval and modern history, as well as from the perspective of theology or church history and that of social history. Scholars of Christian theology have tended to see a strong line of continuity between medieval and early modern Christian anti-Judaism and modern forms of hostility. The model established by social historians, however, with its emphasis on the socio-political circumstances leading to the Emancipation, became the dominant model for explaining the emergence of modern antisemitism.⁴⁴

In the nineteenth century, religious aspects were also a focus of anti-Jewish arguments, as Judaism was seen as a remnant of medieval, pre-enlightened times. The Enlightenment was an intellectual movement, which landlords and rulers in certain minor territorial states took advantage of in order to modernize their economy and government. The Jewish communities varied in their economic and legal situation and numbers. Religious wars had been over for a century or two and the Reformations had produced a myriad of different denominations which had oppressed one another ever since. Moderate forms of religious toleration were deemed necessary in order to ensure the mobility of sought-after professional groups. None of these factors applies to Sweden (or Denmark, Norway, or Finland). In Sweden, Jewish immigration was only legalized in 1782, and the first royal decree allowing Jews to settle created a very particular situation and consequently a very particular Jewish community in the country.⁴⁵ This minor liberalization of the otherwise extremely strict regulations tying civil rights to Protestantism was one of the very few examples which can actually be cited as evidence of enlightened thought in Sweden – in fact, scholars of the history

⁴³ For a short summary of the very comprehensive literature using this line of explanation and definitions, as well as for the relevant contemporary literature, see Thomas Gräfe, “Antisemitismus im deutschen Kaiserreich. Stereotypenmuster, Aktionsformen und die aktuelle Relevanz eines “klassischen” Forschungsgegenstandes,” *Sozial.Geschichte Online* 25 (2019).

⁴⁴ Christhard Hoffmann, “Christlicher Antijudaismus und moderner Antisemitismus.”

⁴⁵ J. Zitomersky, “The Jewish Population in Sweden 1780–1980. An Ethno-Demographic Study,” in *Judiskt liv i Norden*, ed. Gunnar Broberg, Harald Runblom, and Mattias Tydén (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1988).

of ideas of the eighteenth century have made the claim that Sweden did not have an Enlightenment at all, that there was no area of science or society in which rationalism was brought together with a critique of religion and royal absolutism.⁴⁶ Other scholars have seen a development from the Protestant religion being the main factor of national identity to a secularized form of nationalism; for example, in the small and gradual legislative measures to allow religious rituals in Sweden outside the churches⁴⁷ – but this did not take legal form before 1858, with the abrogation of the law prohibiting such services (*konventikelplakatet*), which had served mainly to oppress Pietist and evangelical movements. Yet others have pointed to the significance of the Enlightenment and general ideas of tolerance for the Emancipation process. Per Hammarström, for example, sees a “de-dramatization of conversions” taking place around 1800, thereby allowing Jews to convert and be included in Swedish society⁴⁸ – however, conversion as a prerequisite to integration can hardly be seen as an example of religious tolerance.

Even the degree of freedom brought about by allowing Jewish immigration must be qualified. The requirement of a relatively high personal income prior to immigration and the restriction and simultaneous privileging of trade, manufacturing, and a few available guild-free trades established the Jewish community as relatively rich, socially and economically homogenous, and easy to recognize as newcomers – all factors which made it easy to connect this group to older ideas about Jews as usurers, as primarily dealing with monetary affairs, and as a close-knit community ruled by ancient laws instead of the laws of the nation-states in which they lived. The *judereglemente* established the Jewish minority as an actual “colony” within Sweden,⁴⁹ with different laws and privileges, and thereby as an actual caricature of the “state within the state.”

The first Jewish immigrants to Sweden spoke German, many were related to each other and ran businesses together, and their settlement was restricted to three (later four and then five) towns. With these prerequisites, existing anti-Jewish stereotypes encountered a reality very different from that on the continent. While in Prussia, and even more so in Poland, for example, the rich Jewish moneylender was a stereotype corresponding to only a very small minority of Jews –

46 Tore Frängsmyr, *Sökandet efter upplysningen: Perspektiv på svenskt 1700-tal*, rev. ed. (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2005).

47 Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering: Östjudar och andra invandrare i Sverige 1860–1920*, 26.

48 Hammarström, *I sällskap med judar*, 168.

49 This definition of the Jewish community’s status was established by Hugo Valentin, see above.

most of whom lived as relatively poor peddlers, small merchants, and craftsmen – in Sweden there were literally no Jewish moneylenders, but the entire community was relatively rich. Additionally, they had very good personal and professional connections to the German lands, particularly Hamburg and Mecklenburg, from where the first generations had immigrated. As early as the beginning of the century, the continent also knew different kinds of Jews: assimilated liberal groups, conservative ones, and the often poor and visually and culturally distinct Orthodox Jews from the East, who were frequently the target of stereotyping and who had little to do with the urban upper class who immigrated to Sweden.

There were 845 Jews in Sweden in 1825, 956 in 1850.⁵⁰ There were no simultaneous liberalizations for Catholics or for non-Lutheran Protestant denominations before 1858, which made the Jewish minority stand out even more. Swedish society at the turn of the century was religiously largely homogenous, apart from some immigrant communities and the Sámi who had yet to be subjected to aggressive Christianization attempts. Non-Protestant religions were heavily restricted, Pietist movements persecuted, their immigration deemed illegal, and mixed marriages forbidden. There was no confessional culture in which the other Christian denominations provided a religious Other within the same language and later national community, and this informed a different view of religion as the basis of the nation-state – a view in which religious homogeneity was not just an ideal but largely a reality. Edicts of religious toleration, such as those that had already emerged in various German lands during the seventeenth century in order to regulate different Protestant denominations,⁵¹ were unknown. During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the time at which such statistics

50 Carl Adolph Agardh, “Monopolium mot Judarne,” in *Försök till en statsekonomisk statistik öfver Sverige D. 2. H. 2 Om arbetet, afsättningen och svenska jordnaturen* (Carlstad: Kjellin, 1856), 168–69. The numbers are from an antisemitic treatise, but match other available numbers on the matter. Regarding the *Monopolium mot judarne*, see below.

51 The best-known example of a German edict of toleration is the “Edikt von Potsdam” of 1685, which dealt with the admission of Huguenots: Barbara Dölemeyer, “Rechtliche Rahmenbedingungen der Hugenottenaufnahme in deutschen Territorien,” *Bulletin / Association Suisse pour l’Histoire du Refuge Huguenot* 25 (2004). Even before that, however, there had been edicts addressing the conflicts between Lutherans and Calvinists in Prussia, the so-called “zweites Toleranzedikt” of 1664 being the most significant: Johannes M. Ruschke, *Paul Gerhardt und der Berliner Kirchenstreit: Eine Untersuchung der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzungen über die kurfürstlich verordnete ‘mutua tolerantia’*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie vol. 166 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

first become available, immigration did not surpass a few thousand people per year, and most of these came from one of the other Nordic countries.⁵²

This context of religious homogeneity fostered anti-Jewish as well as anti-Catholic hostility and Othering; for both groups, a lack of loyalty to the nation-state was assumed and different European variants of the “state-within-the-state” theme merged. For the Jewish minority, religious hostility based on the accusation of deicide was amalgamated into a general idea of Jews as murderous, mean, and evil – even though the Catholic motifs of host desecration and ritual murder proved difficult to adapt to Protestant Sweden. Additionally, the question of chosenness, one of the central controversies between Jewish and Christian theologies, was highly significant. It was grounded in the Church Fathers’ supersessionist beliefs, the idea that the covenant between God and Christians as established by the sacrifice of Jesus Christ superseded the old covenant between God and the Jewish people. But probably even more relevant than the theological debates rooted in supersessionism was the secularization of the idea that the Jews consider themselves to be the chosen people. In this context, chosenness does not reflect the idea that Jews have been selected by God to bear the yoke of the commandments and to act as a light unto the nations but rather that they consider themselves to be something special, above non-Jews, and select.

In terms of economic structure, Sweden was at that time a rural, relatively poor, and rigidly hierarchical society. While most peasants were free and many owned land, the population growth in the second half of the century, the result of vaccinations and potatoes, led to a growing number of dispossessed farmers who worked as day labourers or on small farmsteads belonging to larger estate owners. The rate of urbanization was very low but rapidly growing: Stockholm had about 75,000 inhabitants in 1800 and 300,600 in 1900, Gothenburg and its surroundings had around 20,000 in 1800 and 145,000 in 1900. In 1800, the entire country had about 2.3 million inhabitants, in 1900 it had 5.1 million – and this was after the massive emigration to the United States in the second half of the century, during which 1.4 million Swedes left the country.⁵³ These numbers indicate that fundamental demographic and social changes were taking place, especially in the urban centres of Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Karlskrona (which had only slightly less inhabitants than Gothenburg), and these three cities were also the places where Jewish settlement was allowed. It is

52 Statistiska centralbyrån, *Sveriges folkmängd från 1749 och fram till idag*, <https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/artiklar/2017/sveriges-folkmangd-fran-1749-och-fram-till-idag/>.

53 Statistiska centralbyrån, *Historisk statistik för Sverige: Del 1. Befolkning 1720–1967*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: AB Allmänna Förlaget, 1969), Tab. 7. Folkmängden i städerna länsvis 1800–1960.

thus tempting to see the development of antisemitism in connection with modernization, urbanization, population growth, and social mobility – as was the case for Jews in Prussia, where previous research tended to see the development of political antisemitism after 1870 as being a result of the Jews' position as winners of modernity.⁵⁴

But this purely socio-historical explanation of antisemitism in Sweden would neglect a number of factors. The history of the nineteenth century in Sweden was fundamentally different from in Prussia, where the Emancipation of Jews was declared in 1812 following decades of debate. The development of political antisemitism, however, did not gain traction until it merged with the questions of national unity that would culminate in the foundation of the German Empire in 1871. Sweden did not have a national question, but it did experience a massive shift in the social and political system. The nineteenth century started with a change in the succession with the foundation of the French Bernadotte dynasty – its first king, Karl XIV Johan, being a convert from Catholicism – and would bear witness to the final end of the *stormaktstid* (period as a great power) with the loss of Finland and Norway's gaining relative independence within the union. Prior to 1878, Sweden had one colony left overseas (St. Barthélemy); at the same time, it was intensifying its colonial grasp on the Sámi areas and culture. Inside Swedish society, a fundamental shift was taking place – the early nineteenth century formed what Torkel Jansson has referred to as the “sprängfyllda tomrummet mellan två samhällsformationer” (the jam-packed vacuum between two societal formations), the old one based on privileges and estates and the new one based on individual enterprises and the formation of a capitalist market.⁵⁵ All of these factors should make one wary about applying continental explanations of the development of antisemitism to Sweden – even though there are clear similarities in the text production, as will be shown.

For about 20 years in the early nineteenth century, the Swedish Riksdag debated various attempts to change the regulations of the 1782 judereglemente – most of them to the disadvantage of the minority. During these two decades, anti-Jewish print production focusing on the question of emancipation in Sweden became more professional, more international, and also more hostile. A major turning point occurred in 1838, when King Karl XIV Johan attempted to re-

54 Ulrich Wyrwa, “Zur Entstehung des Antisemitismus im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts: Ursachen und Erscheinungsformen einer wahnhaften Weltanschauung,” in *Antisemitismus im 19. Jahrhundert aus internationaler Perspektive: Nineteenth Century Anti-Semitism in International Perspective*, Schriften aus der Max Weber Stiftung Band 1, ed. Mareike König and Oliver Schulz (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2019).

55 Hammarström, *I sällskap med judar*, 157–58.

scind the judereglemente. Although he was supported by the local administration in those areas where Jews had settled, as well as by the Board of Commercial Affairs, he was forced to reinstitute it following major protests, most of which occurred in the capital.

The series of events were as follows: On 30 June of that year, the king published a renewed regulation for the Jewish community, which effectively rescinded the restrictions of the judereglemente regarding immigration and granted full civil rights to those Jews already in the country. The edict was published in the newspapers and was also printed separately.⁵⁶ Over the following weeks, the Stockholm newspapers initiated a comprehensive campaign in which the “Jewish question” was presented first as a topic, then as a problem. For two weeks, a mob of as many as several hundred people rioted in the city, throwing stones at Jewish private houses as well as at the house belonging to Carl Skogman, the head of the chamber of commerce, who had signed the edict. No one was hurt, but together with the newspaper campaign, the king deemed the riots serious enough to warrant revoking the emancipation edict two months later.

All of these factors suggest that the development of antisemitism in Sweden must have differed from that on the continent. The argument that religious antisemitism disappeared and was replaced by political and racist antisemitism, as has been claimed by German scholars in particular, and the widely accepted periodization of how antisemitism developed in connection with the German state-building process must be challenged in regards to Nordic relations. The characteristics of *Frühantisemitismus* – a form of antisemitism in which religious stereotypes merged with racism – were already visible in the Swedish print production of the first decades of the nineteenth century. Religious anti-Jewish texts appeared throughout the century. However, none or very few of the historical, political, and social factors which have been advanced as preconditions for the development of this early antisemitism on the continent, particularly in the German-speaking areas, were present in Sweden.

56 *Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga kungörelse rörande tillämpningen i vissa fall af dess under den 30 sistlidne junii utfärdade nådiga förordning, angående mosaiske trosbekännares rättigheter och skyldigheter här i Riket; gifwen Stockholms slott den 21 september 1838* (Stockholm: Norstedt & Söner, 1838).

The Swedish debate in an international context

The Nordic societies had been producing and disseminating anti-Jewish texts ever since the arrival of Christianity and Latin literacy, and religiously based stereotypes centring on themes such as deicide, general evil, bloodlust, or deformed bodies were well known.⁵⁷ However, during the Reformation, Martin Luther's most explicitly anti-Jewish books were not translated, and the Swedish reformers were less interested in the topic – probably because the Lutheran dichotomy of law versus spirit served as a more powerful incentive for religious identity when both Catholics and Jews were present to illustrate the opposite poles.⁵⁸ During the Reformation in Sweden, Catholics made much more sense as an enemy than Jews, and Luther's admonitions to the secular rulers to expel all Jews from Christian lands were not applicable in a country with no established Jewish presence. Nonetheless, the Swedish reformers had strong connections to Luther and to Wittenberg, studied and learned in the centre of the Lutheran Reformation, and were obviously familiar with this part of the Protestant tradition. Yet our knowledge about the transmission and development of anti-Jewish thought in Sweden during the early modern period is rudimentary. Even for the nineteenth century, most studies have focused on the last third of the century, after Jews had been granted civil rights, and have examined demographic and economic factors rather than ideology.⁵⁹ We lack systematic research on the development of anti-Jewish thought in Sweden before the Emancipation or even be-

57 In particular, see Jonathan Adams's publications on the representation of Jews in East Norse texts.

58 For a Danish view on Luther's anti-Jewish writings, see Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Luther og "de fremmede": Martin Luthers syn på jøden og tyrken* (Frederiksberg: Eksistensen, 2017).

59 Henrik Edgren, "Societal Change, Economic Decline and National Identity: The Debate About Jews in Sweden in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814: Origins – Contexts – Consequences*, Studien zum Antisemitismus in Europa 10, ed. Christhard Hoffmann (Berlin: Metropol, 2016); Carl Henrik Carlsson, "Immigrants or Transmigrants? Eastern European Jews in Sweden 1860–1914," in *Points of Passage: Jewish Transmigrants from Eastern Europe in Scandinavia, Germany, and Britain 1880–1914*, ed. Tobias Brinkmann (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013); Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*; Per Hammarström, "I sällskap med judar. Association, assimilation och konversion i Stockholm 1809–1838," in *Nationen så in i Norden: Festskrift till Torkel Jansson*, Studia historica in honorem Torkilli Helsingii edita 1, ed. Henrik Edgren (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma Bokförl, 2013); Artur Attman, "Judiska insatser i Göteborgs samhällsutveckling," in *Göteborgs mosaiska församling 1780–1980. Minnesskrift till Göteborgs mosaiska församlings 200-års jubileum* (Göteborg: Församlingens förlag, 1980).

fore the 1930s, despite several studies on particular events or shorter time periods.⁶⁰

Even for the other Nordic countries, research on the historical development of antisemitism in connection with nineteenth-century Emancipation debates has been scarce. The exclusion of Jews from the Eidsvoll constitution, the first constitution of Norway in 1814, has only recently been the subject of an international conference and resulting anthology⁶¹ as well as a monograph by Håkon Harket.⁶² Recent work by Frode Ulvund highlights the Norwegian case and discusses anti-Judaism in connection with anti-Catholicism.⁶³ For Denmark, the *jødefejden* of 1813⁶⁴ and the case of Georg Brandes have been points of interest,⁶⁵ as have anti-Jewish positions held by some prominent members of the Danish Church,⁶⁶ while general studies of Jewish life in the country before the twentieth century remain rare.⁶⁷ For Finland, the idea remains prevalent that the country basically has no issues with antisemitism and never did; however, Paavo Ahonen and Tarja-Liisa Luukkanen have shown that at least in the Finnish Church, anti-Judaism was widespread at the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁸

60 Mattias Tydén, ed., *Svensk antisemitism 1880–1930* (Uppsala: Centre for multiethnic research, 1986); Svante Hansson, “Antisemitism i Sverige på 1900-talet. En samlingsrecension,” *Rambam. Tidsskrift för jødisk kultur og forskning* 9 (2000).

61 Hoffmann, *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814*.

62 Håkon Harket, *Paragrafen: Eidsvoll, 1814* (Oslo: Dreyer, 2014).

63 Frode Ulvund, *Fridomens grenser 1814–185: Håndhevinga av den norske “jødeparagrafen”* (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2014). On Jewish life in Norway prior to the twentieth century more generally: Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødenes historie i Norge gjennom 300 år* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969).

64 Therkel Stræde, “The ‘Jewish Feud’ in Denmark 1813,” in *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814*, ed. Hoffmann; Leif Ludwig Albertsen, *Engelen mi. En bog om den danske jødefejde. Med en bibliografi af Bent W. Dahlstrøm* (København: Privattryk, 1984).

65 Søren Blak Hjortshøj, “Georg Brandes’ representations of Jewishness: between grand recreations of the past and transformative visions of the future” (PhD Dissertation, Roskilde Universitet, 2017).

66 Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Jøder og kristne i Danmark: fra middelalderen til nyere tid*, Kirkehistoriske studier III, række, nr. 17 (København: Forlaget ANIS, 2012).

67 Merete Christensen and Brita Syskind, “De danske jøders livsvilkår 1814–1905,” in *Indenfor Murene: Jødisk liv i Danmark 1684–1984. Udgivet af Selskabet for Dansk Jødisk Historie i anledning af 300-året for grundlæggelsen af Mosaisk Troessamfund*, ed. Harald Jørgensen (København: C.A. Reitzel, 1984); Inger Dübeck, “Fremmedrettens udvikling i Danmark ca. 1700–1914,” in *Fremmede i Danmark: 400 års fremmedpolitik*, Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, vol. 104, ed. Bent Blüdnikow (Odense: Universitetsforlaget, 1987).

68 Paavo Ahonen, *Antisemitismi Suomen evankelis-luterilaisessa kirkossa 1917–1933*, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran toimituksia, vol. 233 (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 2017); Paavo Ahonen, Simo Muir, and Oula Silvennoinen “The Study of Antisemitism in Finland:

Given that very little is currently known about the Emancipation process in Sweden, a number of questions arise from what we know about the process in other countries. These pertain to international influences on Swedish discourses and policies and to potential similarities and differences in this country. Particularly in Prussia, civil Emancipation led to a merging of religious and racist stereotypes, promoted in part by clergymen but mainly by those political movements that formed specifically in order to fight Jewish Emancipation.⁶⁹ Did a distinct antisemitic movement develop within Swedish society? If so, what institutions and groups were involved, and did they use printed materials in order to disseminate their ideology? If not, why not? Was Emancipation in Sweden connected to calls for assimilation, as in the German lands? Or was it more like Denmark, where this was not the case?

Chronological coincidences can also be investigated: Denmark was the only Nordic country the Hep-Hep riots spread to. What was happening in Sweden at the time? In general, how were the “milestones” against Emancipation in Sweden (judedefjden in 1815, failed Emancipation in 1838) connected to political developments on the continent and in the North?

The reign of King Karl XIV Johan (1818–1844) also marked a noteworthy difference in Sweden’s political landscape: In the German lands, the liberal bourgeoisie has been identified as the strongest supporter of Jewish Emancipation.⁷⁰ In Sweden, the first liberals opposed the conservative reign of the king, demanded more powers for the Riksdag, economic liberalizations, etc. – but since Karl XIV Johan was himself liberal on the question of Jewish Emancipation, Swedish liberals reflexively opposed him in this regard. For example, liberal positions appeared alongside anti-Jewish positions in the newspaper *Aftonbladet*.

The other Nordic countries are obvious reference points for the Swedish Emancipation process; however, this is not reflected in the Swedish print production, which draws much more inspiration from German, French, and English

Past, Present, and Future,” in *Antisemitism in the North*, ed. Adams and Heß; Tarja-Liisa Luukkanen, “The Jewish Conspiracy Revealed (1897). Adolf Stöcker and the 19th-Century Antisemitism in Finland,” *QUEST Issues in Contemporary Jewish History*, no. 07 (2014).

⁶⁹ Reinhard Rürup, “Das preußische Emanzipationsgesetz von 1812 und die deutsch-jüdische Geschichte im Zeitalter der Emanzipation,” in *Jüdische Lebenswelten: Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Ernst Baltrusch and Uwe Puschner (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016); Jan Weyand, “Die Entstehung der Antisemitismustheorie aus der Debatte über die Judenemanzipation,” in *Beschreibungsversuche der Judenfeindschaft: Zur Geschichte der Antisemitismusforschung vor 1944*, Europäisch-jüdische Studien. Beiträge Band 20, ed. Hans-Joachim Hahn and Olaf Kistenmacher (Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015).

⁷⁰ See, for example: Shulamit Volkov, *Antisemitismus als kultureller Code: Zehn Essays*, Beck’sche Reihe 1349 (München: Beck, 2000).

texts. Similar to Sweden, Norway's brand-new constitution in 1814 also barred Jews from entering the country. The Danish law of 1814 established the king's control over the Jewish community, ranging from the salary for rabbis to a catechism-like book of examination made compulsory for the young. Community members were to be enrolled in tax registers administered by Christian parishes. The Swedish king was attempting something similar with the 1838 law but failed. How important did royal control of internal Jewish organization and religion figure in the public debate about Emancipation?

Not all of these broader questions can be answered by examining the specific debates that took place in printed books and pamphlets. There are numerous references to Jewish-Christian relations in other countries, however, and it is particularly interesting how translators and publishers argued for the publication of foreign anti-Jewish texts in Sweden. In general, it must be observed that Danish and Norwegian texts and authors were not often translated in Sweden – probably because their books were accessible and could be read without translation – and neither Denmark nor Norway were important reference points in Swedish works debating Emancipation. In terms of both quantity and quality of translated texts, and in terms of examples cited, the German lands were the most significant international point of reference and, amongst these, Protestant Prussia was preeminent.

Anti-Jewish print production in Sweden: The scope of the present study

The Swedish kings established Freedom of the Press Acts early on: the first in 1766, a radical one in 1809, and then a revision in 1812 which remained in place until after the Second World War. Swedish book and leaflet printing involved different genres and formats, was situated throughout the country, and was relatively free of royal and government repression. The invention of the mechanical press in 1829 and the subsequent use of wood-based paper increased the consumption of newspapers, while the production of books increased slowly but steadily over the century. The Royal Library in Stockholm (*Kungliga biblioteket*, KB) has been collecting at least one copy of every printed item in the country since the seventeenth century. This provides a unique corpus of sources in which a relevant part of public debates and discourses can be analysed. It is a blessing and a burden for a historical study because the collection is so comprehensive and does not distinguish between two-page leaflets and thick books. It also contains the troublesome corpus of government publications, i.e., communications from the government containing regulations, material from the Riksdag and

members of parliament, laws and preparatory examinations for new legislation, legal court decisions and papers, and more. These often addressed topics related to Jews and, therefore, make up quite a substantial part of both the country's overall print production and the corpus of interest to this study – however, they are of limited value to a history of anti-Jewish knowledge except in so far as they testify to the significance of the “Jewish question” on all levels of administration and politics.

The print production, varied as it was in terms of authors, topics, and discourses, provides only a small portion of the discourse on Jews and Emancipation. The political arena is represented in the *offentliga tryck*, but these do not fully reflect the debates and hearings which surrounded and preceded decisions and the eventual Emancipation. In extensive surveys, Hugo Valentin has addressed the debates in the Riksdag and has reproduced a number of the key speeches made there, both for and against Jewish Emancipation.⁷¹ Several unpublished master's theses analyse these debates as well.⁷² I myself have analysed media debates around the failed Emancipation in 1838 and the related anti-Jewish street violence.⁷³ In the following study, I will focus on print production during the years between 1800 and 1900 addressing any aspect of Jewish life, faith, or Emancipation. In most cases, the topic is already indicated in the title (*judar, judisk, hebreisk, israelitisk*, etc.). Additional texts have been found via the snowball method: books mentioned in other books, book advertisements, titles in the same series or by the same authors. The corpus is not defined by a specific discourse but by a medium – printed books and leaflets – which brings together various discourses and merges them together. Newspapers, however, are excluded, as are magazines. Texts containing anti-Jewish attitudes in connection with or overshadowed by other topics will in most cases not be covered by this search method. However, this approach should still be useful in order to provide a synopsis of those works that deal exclusively with the topic – while those

71 Hugo Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1924).

72 Anna Karlsson, “Vägen till emancipation. Svensk riksdagsdebatt under 1850-talet om judarnas medborgerliga rättigheter” (BA dissertation, Örebro University, 2010); Simon Victorin, “Judefrågan på 1840–1841 års riksdag. Emancipation eller förtryck” (BA thesis, Stockholms univ., Historiska institutionen, 1997).

73 Cordelia Heß, “Eine Fußnote der Emanzipation? Antijüdische Ausschreitungen in Stockholm 1838 und ihre Bedeutung für eine Wissensgeschichte des Antisemitismus,” *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 27 (2018). Regarding minorities, the discourse in newspapers has been studied for a slightly earlier period: Magnus Nyman, *Press mot friheten: Opinionsbildning i de svenska tidningarna och åsiktsbrytningar om minoriteter 1772–1786*, Acta Universitatis Upsalensis Studier i idé- och lärdomshistoria 3 (Uppsala: Universitetstryckeriet, 1988).

that deal with something else and mention Jews in connection with other topics are missing.

KB has been collecting single copies of anything printed in Sweden since 1661, so the collection can be regarded as relatively complete regarding editions – it cannot, however, be regarded as exhaustive when it comes to locating texts with (anti-)Jewish themes, due to very inconsistent standards in indexing, tagging, and digitization. The safest leads have been book titles in which some reference was made to Jewish themes, though some of these might have not been identifiable in the older card catalogue. Author names have not been very helpful, because many published only a single text on the topic, and the rest of their writings were on completely different matters. Series edited by a single institution, such as *Föreningen för Israelsmissionen*, appear only towards the end of the century. In some cases, advertisements on book covers led to additional finds, or the texts themselves referred to other texts, which were subsequently analysed.

This methodological restriction leads to an overemphasis on texts in two fields: first, religious treatises and legends, and second, texts that primarily debate Jewish Emancipation. The previously mentioned *offentliga tryck* make up a small subcategory of the latter; this included royal announcements amending the *judereglemente* and also even key speeches and motions delivered in parliament regarding these amendments, whose authors deemed them worthy of separate publication in order to reach a broader public. *Offentliga tryck* thus certainly add to the presence of Jewish themes in the printed public sphere, but their abundance poses a challenge to quantitative observations.

Besides religious and Emancipation-centred political texts, there are also a significant number of texts that mention Jews in a seemingly humorous, satirical, or poetic way – indicating that this minority was a topic of interest out of proportion to their actual numerical presence in Sweden at the time. The medium of printed books and leaflets makes a geographical connection to audiences impossible – it may be assumed that the texts were read (and in some cases, definitely were printed) in towns and areas with no Jewish community, and that the topic was considered relevant independent of the actual presence of Jews.⁷⁴

The survey of the catalogue of Swedish printed matter produced roughly 100 individual texts, of which roughly two thirds were Swedish originals. Of the translations, those from German constituted an absolute majority, though there were also a handful from French and English. A small number were pub-

⁷⁴ For more on the non-connection between Jewish presence and antisemitism, see Heß, “Nordic Otherness.”

lished in two or more editions. The absolute champion in this regard was the legend of Ahasver/Ahasverus or the Wandering Jew; originally translated from Dutch, it was printed in several versions starting in 1643, as many as 24 editions being published between the years 1823 and 1891. The best most other texts reached was two or three editions within a span of ten years or so.

It might be assumed that more texts would be printed in periods marked by specific events regarding the Jewish minority. But this does not seem to be the case – years of fierce political debates in parliament, or with significant changes to the law regarding Jewish settlement, did not witness increased book production. Instead, a nearly even distribution of texts over the decades can be observed, with the exception of the year 1815, as mentioned above. The actual Emancipation in 1870 did not provoke a significant increase in print production on the topic – at least nothing that cannot be explained by the general increase in the number of printed books towards the end of the century.

It should be noted that the corpus also contains a number of publications issued by the Jewish community itself, starting at the time of their naturalization in 1782. During the first decades, these publications were mainly Swedish translations of Hebrew prayers and songs of praise which were used in the community to mark various occasions – wars, the king's birthday, return from a battle, the opening of a synagogue, or general feast days. Since the first generations of Jewish immigrants spoke German rather than Swedish, these texts were probably intended to provide the Christian Swedes with some insight into the “secrets of the Jews,” and as such likely constituted a precautionary measure. In later years, a number of legal documents from and for the Jewish community were printed as well. Some books contained translations of famous German rabbis, such as Abraham Geiger⁷⁵ and Ludwig Phillippson. Also, Moritz Wolff, a rabbi in Gothenburg from 1851 to 1899, published several books on Jewish topics.⁷⁶ Nathan Birnbaum's Zionist ideas were translated into Swedish and printed in Helsinki.⁷⁷ Towards the end of the century, Gottlieb Klein was appointed rabbi in Stockholm after having emigrated from Austria. He published widely, explaining his liberal perspective on Judaism, and lectured at Uppsala University, receiving the title of professor there. His public lectures were sometimes published, one example being *Står Gamla Testamentets moralverkliken på barbarernas utvecklings-*

75 Abraham Geiger, *Nödvändigheten af reform inom den judiska gudstjänsten och grunddragen för en sådan; jämte en skrivelse af G. Klein* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus boktr.-aktiebolag, 1893).

76 Moritz Wolff, *Bidrag till filosofiens historia med särskildt hänseende till den judiska religionsfilosofien* (Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 1882).

77 Nathan Birnbaum, *Det judiska folkets pånyttfödelse i dess eget land som medel till lösningen af judefrågan: en appell till de goda och ädla af alla nationer; öfvers af E. J.* (Helsingfors, 1894).

skede?⁷⁸ As these texts do not pertain to the reconstruction of an antisemitic archive of knowledge they will be mentioned as part of the corpus on “Jewish themes” but will not be analysed specifically. It should also be mentioned that some of the anti-Jewish texts provoked rebuttals, often from anonymous authors, some of whom hinted at their belonging to the Jewish community. There were extremely few non-Jewish authors, however, who came forward publicly as defenders of Jewish Emancipation; only really the previously mentioned Carl August Grevesmöhlen and Erik Magnus Pontin.

Biblical and ancient history constitute another category of publications which will not be analysed in this study. Translated scholarly works, historical sources, and studies from the Chair of Old Testament Studies in Uppsala were produced and disseminated, regarding subjects ranging from Flavius Josephus to the history of the Jewish people in the Persian Empire to the Maccabean wars. In recent years, the way in which European Orientalism has informed the history of academic departments and fields of study has attracted some attention; in this regard, the effect of antisemitism on the intellectual and institutional development of departments of Oriental languages in Sweden is certainly relevant, but it is beyond the scope of this study.

Specifically in regards to the translations, the names of famous foreign authors were often used as a means of legitimizing the text, and forewords pointed out that famous or well-known or well-read author so-and-so had written the book in question and that his knowledge would be of benefit in the Swedish situation as well. Most of the books and booklets were published anonymously, though.

Statistics

As the accessibility of the corpus is determined by the cataloguing system of KB, the results cannot be considered exhaustive or complete. Furthermore, the quantitative analysis changes from day to day, as more and more publications appear in the electronic cataloguing system and thus become available with the search methods used here. About 132,000 individual printed texts from between 1800 and 1899, in Swedish and from Sweden, are indexed in KB’s national catalogue Libris. It is difficult to extrapolate the number of books and pamphlets from the number of indexed items, due to the extensive character of the Swedish law re-

⁷⁸ Gottlieb Klein, *Står Gamla Testamentets moral verkligen på barbarernas utvecklingsskede? Föredrag öfver Letourneaus bok “Moralens utveckling”* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1892).

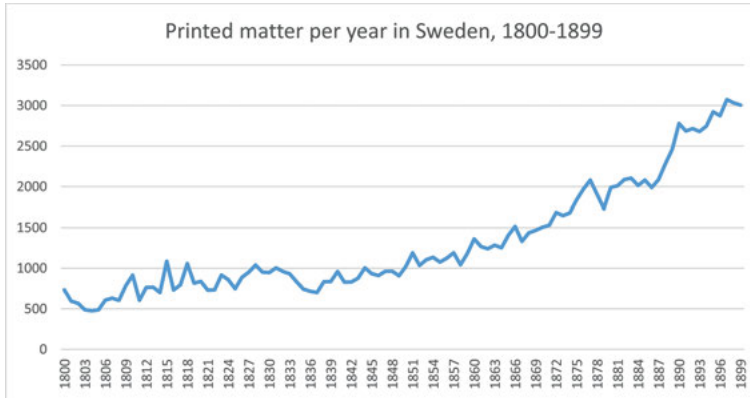


Fig. 1: Swedish printed matter produced per year, 1800–1900. Source: Libris, Swetryck. Graph by Erik Wolf.

quiring that one copy of each printed product be stored. Consequently, of the 132,000 prints, various categories of print products must be subtracted in order to get an accurate sense of the number of books printed during the nineteenth century. A general observation is that before the middle of the century, the number of publications rarely exceeded 1,000 exemplars per year, with peaks in 1815, 1818, 1831, and 1844. From about 1850 on, the number increased slowly but steadily, and in the last decade, between 2,700 and 3,000 Swedish-language publications were being produced in Sweden every year.

Not all of this printed matter consists of books, and this points to the complications posed by the cataloguing system and the priority KB gives to digitizing certain materials before others. The printed matter in question includes daily and weekly newspapers, posters and pictures, journals, sheet music, serials, year-books and calendars, and maps. A considerable proportion of the existing catalogue entries also comprise price lists of various Swedish factories and their products, and catalogues of either products or libraries. Four thousand three hundred indexed items are in reality collections of various printed products, from individuals or companies. A number of items are indexed several times with only slightly differing titles; these are in some cases mistakes, in others duplicate editions from the same year. Each edition of each text is indexed separately. A smaller quantity of printed matter is not indexed, even though it fulfils all the relevant criteria; these items are indexed in the library's old Plåten card catalogue system – since these entries are transferred to the digital catalogue as the titles are requested by users, the gaps in the digital catalogue are constantly getting smaller.

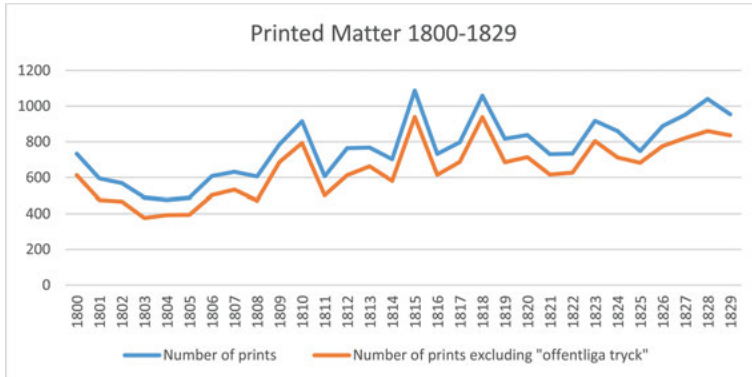


Fig. 2: Printed matter produced per year, including and excluding offentliga tryck, 1800–1829. The numbers are deducible through a comparison between the Libris and Swetryck catalogues (the latter only covers the years up to 1829). Graph by Erik Wolf.

For a quantitative analysis of the representation of Jewish themes in Swedish print production, *offentliga tryck* poses a serious problem of source criticism, as mentioned above. The printed announcements from the government are contained in the print collection of KB and in the catalogues, and the number of them that are catalogued properly and digitized is disproportionately large compared with other types of texts. It is, however, not possible to subtract their number from the overall number of printed books, nor can one exclude them from the overall number of books printed on Jewish topics. Jonas Nordin has tried to calculate the percentage of *offentliga tryck* in relation to the total print production for the period 1719–1814 and has also explained the unavoidable uncertainties deriving from quantitative analysis based on the Swedish library catalogues.⁷⁹ Similar problems occur for the rest of the nineteenth century, and the amount of *offentliga tryck* addressing Jewish themes is therefore striking but needs to be weighed against their over-representation in the cataloguing system.

⁷⁹ Jonas Nordin, “En revolution i tryck. Tryckfrihet och tryckproduktion i Sverige 1766–1772 och däromkring,” *Vetenskaps societetens årsbok* (2020). I would like to thank Jonas Nordin for his help with the intricacies of the cataloguing system.

2 Being cursed: Medieval model texts

Even though the Reformation had been brought about quickly, comprehensively, and with strong political and government support, Catholic traditions, rituals, and faith lived on for a very long time in Sweden. Scholars have only recently started to question the traditional view in which the Nordic Reformations heralded a sudden and complete change of religious system.⁸⁰ Analyses of prayer books, visitation protocols, and church inventories have, however, shown that Catholic rites, adoration of relics, and side altars, as well as saints, were in use well into the eighteenth century. Many people in Sweden may have practised a form of denominational syncretism for centuries, sometimes with the blessing of the Lutheran State Church – “sometimes” because in other cases the State Church rigorously enforced religious homogeneity.⁸¹

Just as Catholic rituals and symbols remained not only intelligible, but were used on a daily basis, medieval Catholic anti-Judaism also remained intelligible and continued to be considered valid after the Reformation – this is probably one of the reasons why the reformers did not have to focus on this topic specifically. Even though transubstantiation was no longer an issue that could be invoked in accusations of host desecration, most other medieval religious tropes remained: the accusation of deicide, of torturing and mocking Christ, the alleged connection between Jews and bloodthirst, as well as greed and generally bad character traits.

That Jews killed Jesus Christ has been one of the most deadly allegations made by the Christian side – one that has been repeated in many different narratives and versions. Originally deriving from early Christian (mis)readings of the Gospels, the concept of deicidal Jews flourished during the Middle Ages, resulting in a widespread, general idea that Jews like to kill people. Ritual murder accusations were only one extreme and specific outcome of this belief, closely con-

80 Kajsa Weber, *Undersåten som förstod: Den svenska reformatoriska samtalsordningen och den tidigmoderna integrationsprocessen* (Skellefteå: Artos, 2013); Terese Zachrisson, *Mellan fromhet och vidskepelse* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2017).

81 For examples of studies on the witch trials of the seventeenth century and on the suppression of Sámi religious symbols, see Per-Anders Östling, “Witchcraft Trials in 17th-Century Sweden and the Great Northern Swedish Witch Craze of 1668–1678,” *Studia neophilologica* 84, Special issue (2012); Birgitta Lagerlöf-Génetay, *De svenska häxprocessernas utbrottsskede 1668–1671: Bakgrund i Övre Dalarna; social och ecklesiastisk kontext*, Stockholm studies in comparative religion 29 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990); Håkan Rydving, *The End of Drum-Time: Religious Change among the Lule Saami, 1670s–1740s*, 2nd ed. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Historia religionum 12 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995).

nected to the idea of Jews wanting to re-enact the murder of Christ, but also feeding on the idea that Jews were generally hostile to Christians and generally cruel. This in turn fostered the idea of a global Jewish conspiracy to kill Christians, which became particularly virulent during outbreaks of the Black Death, when Christians accused Jews of having brought the pandemic into existence through their murderous nature. All of these allegations relied on the idea that Jews as a group share certain character traits, which have been handed down since biblical times and which shape every individual's actions and character – an idea that could be easily understood in both Catholic and Protestant societies. In medieval texts, Christians could also fantasize about Jews trying to gain control over Christians as revenge for the many abuses and atrocities that Christians were well aware of committing against Jews.⁸² Not quite as bloody, but similarly relying on the image of Jews as a historically and biologically consistent group, is the motif of Jewish rootlessness. The diaspora was seen by many Christians as an ongoing punishment for deicide, as were Jewish legal subordination and expulsion. Handed down in powerful images and legends and in the figure of the Wandering Jew, the narrative took on renewed significance in modern debates about Emancipation:⁸³ the question of whether Jews were a people incapable of living alongside other peoples, who could not feel loyalty to a Christian state, who had no roots – all of this was hotly debated in the nineteenth century. As with most other modern anti-Jewish stereotypes, this motif has been analysed mainly in its development during the nineteenth century. The idea itself was of medieval origin, however, and can be traced back to the Church Fathers, where one strand of supersessionism that was developing referred to the idea of eternal punishment, exemplified by the actual political situation in Jerusalem after the destruction of the Temple by the Romans.⁸⁴ Despite the fact that Jewish communities had been settling throughout the Mediterranean, parts of the Middle East, and North Africa during the Roman Empire, the destruction of the Temple and the expulsion of Jews from Jerusalem were seen as a sign of damnation and the beginning of Jewish homelessness. This should not, however, cause us to overlook the fact that supersessionism was far from being a unitary or monolith-

82 See examples in Heß, “Jews and the Black Death in Fourteenth-Century Prussia.”

83 Tuvia Singer, “Between Eternity and Wandering: The Anti-Jewish Discourse on the Wandering Jew in the Long Nineteenth Century in Germany and Austria,” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism*, ed. Adams and Heß.

84 For a short introduction to this figure of thought, see Rainer Kampling, “Substitutionslehre,” in *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 3, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur, 2010).

ic theological school of thought during the Middle Ages – it is a term covering a very broad range of beliefs. Most medieval Christian theologians displayed some form of anti-Judaism, yet the Venerable Bede and Thomas Aquinas, to give two examples, did not support the idea that the New Testament had replaced the covenant of the Hebrew Bible, but rather observed a continuation of the covenant of God with the people of Israel.⁸⁵ In fact, the question of whether Thomas Aquinas followed a supersessionist argument in all of his writings, or whether there were differences between the *Summa Theologica* and some of his commentaries on the Pauline letters, has been the subject of intense scholarly debate.⁸⁶

While the narrative of Jewish hostility remained closely connected to theicide accusation, it is more difficult to trace the religious roots of Jewish rootlessness, because it has struck so many chords in modern societies and resonates with so many functions Jews have had to fulfil in the complicated processes of European nation-state building – so much so that it has become a modern stereotype. The rootless Jew of the nineteenth century, embodying migration, mobility, urbanization, professions outside the traditional spectrum, and other phenomena, has been analysed as a powerful metaphor for modernity itself while simultaneously developing into an equally powerful aspect of antisemitic polemics, culminating in National Socialist Lebensraum policies.

Swedish texts based on medieval and early modern models remained popular throughout the entire nineteenth century. Whether of religious, legendary, or entertaining character, together they testified to the fact that historically rooted anti-Judaism was an underlying factor in all the debates regarding Emancipation. While political and civil liberties were being discussed along with various measures, people had access to a significant number of texts in which Jews were portrayed as a trans-historical group incapable of change, forever connected to the murder of Christ. None of these texts contributed or related directly to the day-to-day political debates, but they nonetheless formed an important part of the collective archive of knowledge which informed these debates.

Central themes in the medieval and early modern model texts and their adaptations in modern Sweden were the presumed consequences of the blood curse: Jewish rootlessness, physiognomy, and character.

⁸⁵ Jennifer Harris, “Enduring Covenant in the Christian Middle Ages,” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 44, no. 4 (2009): 563.

⁸⁶ For an overview of the different positions, see Tapie, *Aquinas on Israel and the Church*, 2–7.

Rootlessness and Jewish physiognomy: The Ahasver compilation

The myth of Ahasver, a shoemaker from Jerusalem who witnessed Jesus's passage to Golgotha, denied him rest, and was consequently cursed to wander for eternity, originated in the Crusading period and subsequently spread throughout Europe. It served to legitimize the seizure and destruction of Jewish communities and goods, and it called the Jews to conversion.

The medieval legend remained intelligible and popular through the Reformation and into the modern era. In the nineteenth century, Ahasver was seen as a personification of the entire "Jewish race," as famously stated by Arthur Schopenhauer. The figure is so prevalent in European history that there are even researchers known as "Wandering Jew scholars," scholars of historiography or literary studies who mainly work on this figure – one of them being Galit Hasan-Rokem, who has described Ahasver as "a Jewish-Christian co-production."⁸⁷ She has also looked into the history of the legend in Finnish folklore, noting that a chapbook containing reproductions and translations of an originally German publication of 1602 had arrived in Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, and Finland long before the first Jewish immigrants: the first publication was issued in Denmark in 1621, in Iceland in the first half of the seventeenth century, and in Sweden in 1643.⁸⁸ Richard Cole has, rather speculatively, tried to project the motif of the Eternal or Wandering Jew back as far as the Old Norse saga literature.⁸⁹ One of the earliest Nordic research contributions was by Henrik Schück, who gave a speech to a student fraternity with the title *Den vandrante juden* in 1884.⁹⁰ According to Schück, Ahasver is "endast en sagofigur utan all tendens" (only a harmless figure from a fairy tale without any bias, p. 121), even though he accepts the premise of the story, that Jews slapped and scorned Christ, without question.

In nineteenth-century Sweden, the legend of the Wandering Jew was extremely popular and was always presented alongside two other anti-Jewish

⁸⁷ Galit Hasan-Rokem, "Der ewige Jude in Europa – eine jüdisch-christliche Koproduktion," in *Grenzen: Jüdischer Almanach*, 1. ed., ed. Gisela Dachs (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 2015).

⁸⁸ Galit Hasan-Rokem, "The Cobbler of Jerusalem in Finnish Folklore," in *The Wandering Jew: Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend*, ed. Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 121–22.

⁸⁹ Richard Cole, "When Did the Wandering Jew Head North?" *Scandinavian Studies* 87, no. 2 (2015).

⁹⁰ Henrik Schück, *Den vandrante juden: föredrag hållet vid landsmålsföreningarnas fest i Uppsala den 23 februari 1884* ([Uppsala], [1886]).

texts, also of medieval origin: *Mors Pilati*, a variant of the legend of the corpse of Pontius Pilate from the *Legenda aurea*, and a text describing various “punishments” which the twelve tribes of Israel suffered for the killing of Jesus Christ. This trio of texts provided a kaleidoscope of the available antisemitic ideas from which various aspects and themes could be borrowed over the centuries. Grouping the Ahasver legend along with “The Punishments of the Twelve Tribes” was already well established in the German manuscript and print tradition, as was the combination of Ahasver and various Pilate legends, yet the fixed association of the Ahasver legend, the “Punishment,” and *Mors Pilati* seems specific for Sweden.⁹¹ What I will call the “Ahasver compilation” combined and propagated a variety of religious, racist, and general antisemitic attitudes and stereotypes; it was present even before the first Jews in Sweden, and continued to circulate as the first generations of Jews settled in the country. With more than 20 editions since 1642, 24 during the nineteenth century alone, the booklet was very widely distributed in Sweden.⁹²

To date, the Swedish text has only been discussed in one work, by ethnologist Bernt af Klintberg, who focused solely on the Ahasver motif. Other than that, it has not been the object of historical or literary studies, possibly because it is a translation, possibly because it does not belong to high culture. For an analysis of antisemitic attitudes in Sweden and for the history of antisemitic knowledge, its significance is obvious: First, it proves the transmission of various stereotypes from the Reformation era to the modern period. Second, it testifies to the Swedish public’s enduring and widespread interest in an anti-Jewish text. Third, it exemplifies the cultural transmission of hostility from the continent to the North, without any connection to actual living Jews. The third text, in particular, about

91 L. Neubaur, “Bibliographie der Sage vom Ewigen Juden,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 10 (1893), numbers XXIII and following.

92 Swedish editions of the Ahasver compilation: *Trenne trowärdighe och äfwen sanfärdige relationer* (Gävle, 1780); *Trenne trowärdighe och äfwen sanfärdige relationer* (Gävle, 1797); *Trenne trowärdighe relationer* (s.l., s.a. [18th century]); *Trenne trowärdighe relationer* (s.l., s.a. [ca. 1750]); (Gävle, 1800); (Stockholm, 1823), and subsequently in Jönköping, Malmö, Lund, Norrköping, Söderhamn, Köping, Växjö, in 24 editions from 1823–1891; and in Jönköping, 1833, in an edition including the legend followed by “Lille Pytt” and a King Arthur legend (KB DK). Previous Danish translations, which would become models for the Swedish text: *Sandfærdig Efterretning om een Jøde (ellers kaldet) Jerusalems skoemager Ahasverus, saa og Pontij Pilati tvende missiver om Christi død og opstandelse, saa og beretning om de tolv jødiske stammer, hvad enhver af dem har gjort den Herre Christo til spot og forhaanelse etc* (Kiøbenhavn: J. Chr. Groth, 1730). Chrysostomus Dudelaëus Westphalus, *Sandru beskriffuelse om en Jøde, som vaar fød oc baaren til Jerusalem ved naffn Ahasverus ... nu nyligen fordansket* (Kiøbenhaffn, 1631).



Fig. 3: Title page *Trenne trowärdige relationer* (Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm).

the twelve tribes, adds distinctly racist aspects to the accusations of deicide, blasphemy, and bloodlust.

The Swedish Ahasver compilation was most often titled *Trenne trowärdige relationer*. The basic text about Ahasver appears in many editions and languages with various second and third parts containing other anti-Jewish legends. All of the texts can be traced back to medieval models. Only six editions, all from before the nineteenth century, contain only the Ahasver legend. The editions of 1814 and 1818 contain a short sequel in which the Wandering Jew is said to have been seen in Sweden. By the nineteenth century most editions were produced in Southern Sweden, correlating with the growing interest in the myth in this region, as corroborated by other sources.⁹³

Bernt af Klintberg has traced the Ahasver legend from the written accounts – the publications mentioned here as well as the Danish translations available in Southern Sweden, and a Danish song, which was translated into Swedish in the mid-nineteenth century – to popular beliefs and adaptations of the legend. He pays little attention to the antisemitic context but notes a change from the

⁹³ Bengt af Klintberg, "The Swedish Wanderings of the Eternal Jew," in *The Wandering Jew*, ed. Hazan-Röqem and Dundes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

long-standing popularity of the publications, on the one hand, and the relatively limited importance of the legend amongst the Swedish population after the Second World War. He also collected the images of the Wandering Jew which were used as cover illustrations in the various publications. All show a solitary male figure with a hat (either on his head or in his hands) and a stick, either a walking staff or a stick carrying a bundle of lasts, the symbol of the shoemaker's profession. The figure is wearing a long coat and often a small backpack. Some of these illustrations include distinctly antisemitic iconography: a long and crooked nose, a pointed beard and pointed chin, sometimes almost touching the nose, and in some cases even swollen lips. In some illustrations, the hat has two small peaks, reminiscent of devil horns.⁹⁴

1 The Ahasver legend

This legend spread from the German lands to all of Europe during the early modern period. The Swedish publication is an abridged translated version of the original, printed in Gdansk in 1602 and ascribed to Chrysostomos Dudulaeus Westphalus, most likely a pseudonym. The motif itself, of a Jew condemned to eternally wander for having taunted Jesus on his way to Golgotha, is older though. The foundation for the motif of Jewish "homelessness," as well as mercilessness at the sight of the suffering Christ and blindness to the messiah, stems from the Crusading period, and took form in many European languages.⁹⁵ In the earliest medieval versions, the Eternal Jew was called Cartaphilus and was said to have first been seen by Crusaders in Armenia. The main motif was not the wandering but the function of Cartaphilus as a direct witness to the Passion of Christ as well as his conversion and pious life. The central element of his refusing Jesus respite on his way to Golgotha and the aspect of the curse were both already present.

It is difficult to trace the Swedish version directly to a model text. As the Swedish versions are almost exclusively printed together with "The Punishments of the Twelve Tribes" and "Mors Pilati," they are likely based on a version which also contains these. One early version of the Ahasver text accompanied by "The Punishments of the Twelve Tribes" dates to 1634 and was printed in Reval, in German. Thus, the tradition may trace back to a German text model. But there

⁹⁴ Ibid., 167–68.

⁹⁵ Stefan Nied, "ich will stehen und ruhen, du aber solt gehen: Das Volksbuch von Ahasver," in *Juden in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters: Religiöse Konzepte – Feindbilder – Rechtfertigungen*, ed. Ursula Schulze (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002), 263–65.

is also an Ahasver legend in Chrysostomos Dudulaeus's version in Danish, printed in 1631, though without the "Punishments," so a translation from German via Danish is also possible.

The Swedish version is quite similar to the oldest German versions, consisting of a word-for-word translation in parts, but with some abridgements. A summary of the oldest Swedish edition: During a Sunday sermon, Paulus von Eitzen, a priest from Hamburg, observes a man in shabby clothes who beats his chest whenever the name of Christ is mentioned. (The German version mentions here that the Jew has already been spotted by many members of the noble classes in England, Scotland, Denmark, and Sweden, amongst other places.) He asks the stranger where he is from and where he is staying. The stranger explains that he was born in Jerusalem in the time of Jesus, had been a shoemaker, witnessed Jesus's crucifixion and death, and had had to wander through lands and towns ever since, to tell all peoples about the events that had transpired. He also mentions that he wanted to talk about the changes in religion and government that had occurred over the many centuries, and about the lives and deaths of the apostles. Paulus von Eitzen inquires more deeply about his experiences. Ahasver says he lived in Jerusalem and had believed, together with the other Jews, Jesus to be instigating riots, and had wanted to see him dead. The verdict was delivered and Jesus was led to the place of execution. Ahasver lived by the road "från Rådstugan uth till Rätteplatsen" (between the town hall and the place of execution) and Jesus wanted to rest at his house, but the shoemaker denied him this. "I will stand here and rest a little while," Jesus then said, "but you shall not find rest in this world and shall wander hither and thither until the Day of Judgment." He was forced to follow Jesus and witness his death and was unable to return to his house or to Jerusalem but had to start wandering. When he returned to Jerusalem many years later, the city was entirely destroyed and in ruins. Ahasver believed that God made him wander and see so many people as a living witness to the Passion of Christ and as a penance and reminder of humility. He only wished that God might relieve him of his misery and grant him death someday. Paulus von Eitzen and many other scholars, well versed in the history of the Orient, questioned the man and found his story to be true. While in Hamburg, the Jew lived a humble life; he would only accept a little food, and when he received money he would give it to another beggar. He was sad and pensive all the time and meditated on God's will, hoping that God would forgive him his sins one day and take him as his child again. He regretted his sin. He spoke fluent German and a number of other Eastern and European languages, which he never learned but which came to him through God's will. Whenever he heard someone swearing, he admonished them to honour the Lord's name, and whenever he heard Christ's name, he would kneel down

and moan. The text concludes that this and much more had been told by Paul von Eitzen in 1574 and also that the Jew had been seen in many towns around the Baltic Sea, including Lübeck, Wismar, Danzig, and Königsberg. The narrator then asks the reader for help – is the person Paulus von Eitzen describes the same person who he has heard of in Schleswig and in many other places? Additional claims of Ahasver's being spotted between 1604 and 1634, which appear in the version by Dudulaeus with the same appendix, do not appear in the Swedish versions, which are all dated Reval, 11 April 1604.⁹⁶

2 *Om the straff hwart släkte ibland judarne lida måste* (On the punishment which each tribe of the Jews must suffer)

The second part of the Swedish publications is included in most print editions along with the Ahasver legend, but also appears independently in various contexts. It is catalogued as a cycle of three anonymous songs from a manuscript from Ulm, not dated but probably post-Reformation.⁹⁷ It was also included together or as an appendix in editions of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*. *Evangelium Nicodemi* is an umbrella title for an assortment of apocryphal texts describing the Passion of Christ, his descent to hell, and his resurrection. One branch of this textual tradition can be traced to Heinrich von Hesler, who produced a rhyming version of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* in the mid-fourteenth century in Middle High German, probably commissioned by the Teutonic Order. Another branch of the textual tradition was in prose; it consisted of three parts (Acts of the Trial of Pilate, The Capture of Joseph of Arimathea, and Christ's Descent into Hell) and focused on the various misdeeds individual Jews were said to have committed during the Passion.⁹⁸ The different branches are all heavily anti-Jewish, sometimes containing direct admonitions to secular rulers to expel all Jews from their lands. During the Middle Ages, a rich vernacular tradition derived from the Latin and Greek fourth-century originals, with rhymed, prosaic, and dramatic

⁹⁶ Chrysostomus Dudulaeus, *Kurtze Beschreibung un[d] Erzehlung von einem Juden/ der sich nennet Ahasverus/ Aber von einem Guidone Bonato/ einem fürtrefflichen Astronomo/ auß ursachen Johan. Buttadeus genendt wird* (Gdańsk: Rothe, 1602).

⁹⁷ Horst Brunner, ed., *Katalog der Texte, Jüngerer Teil (A – C)*, Repertorium der Sangsprüche und Meisterlieder des 12. bis 18. Jahrhunderts, vol. 6 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990), 163, numbers A541/1–3.

⁹⁸ J. Elliott, "The Gospel of Nicodemus or Acts of Pilate," in *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, ed. J. Elliott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

adaptations of the legends in many Germanic and Romance languages, including Danish and Swedish.⁹⁹ The Old Swedish version of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, written down in Vadstena in the late fifteenth century (Cod. Holm. A 110), did not contain “The Punishments of the Twelve Tribes.”¹⁰⁰ The connection between *Evangelium Nicodemi* and “The Punishments of the Twelve Tribes,” and their association with various legends of Judas and Pilate, was thus thematically logical, but did not follow from one specific medieval example.¹⁰¹

The text itself enjoyed a lively transmission in various early modern contexts. It was included, for example, in Johann Jacob Schudt’s description and chronicles of the Jewish community in Frankfurt, where it appears as chapter 20 in book VI.¹⁰² Schudt frames it with a description of the *foetor judaicus*, a distinctive bad smell which is said to have followed the Jews since biblical times. He refers to Dudulaeus as one of his sources but also credits other authors who have investigated the idea of a bad smell being a punishment for the deicide, such as Abraham a Sancta Clara (died 1709). The text about the twelve tribes also fit Schudt’s agenda, since it combines religious hostility tracing back to apocryphal legendary sources with specific kinds of physical harm that befall Jews either once a year or regularly. These bodily afflictions are described as “punishments” for various misdeeds during the Passion of Christ.

The text takes up other textual traditions, such as the legend of Jesus passing by a pigsty in which Jews were hiding their children, miraculously recognizing the children inside, and then turning them into pigs. This legend appears in many variations, including independently from the entire tradition of “The Punishments of the Twelve Tribes,” in fairy tales and legends from various European regions, and is supposed to serve as an explanation as to why Jews do not eat pork.

99 Richard Paul Wülker, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der abendländischen Literatur: Nebst 3 Excursen über Joseph von Asinathia als Apostel Englands* (Paderborn: Marburg, 1872), 58–59.

100 Description of the codex available at https://project2.sol.lu.se/fornsvenska/03_Handskrifter/HolmA110.html; published in *Klosterläsning: Järteckensbok, Apostla gerningar, Helga manna lefverne, legender, Nichodemi evangelium: Efter gammal handskrift*, ed. G. E. Klemming (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1877).

101 *Evangelischer Bericht/ Das ist: Die Historia vom Leiden/ Sterben/Aufferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu Christi/ Welches Nicodemus/ ein Rabbi und Oberster der Jüden/ beschrieben/ wie er solches selbst gesehen und erfahren/ denn er ein Nachfolger und heimlicher Jünger Jesu Christi gewesen: Auch sind viel schöne Stück und Geschicht dabey zufinden/ welche die Evangelisten nicht beschrieben haben* (s.l., 1676), <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vd17/content/pageview/50539>.

102 Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, lib. VI, cap. XX (Frankfurt: Hocker, 1717), 344.

A summary of the oldest Swedish edition: The introduction explains that the information about the punishments comes from a Jewish convert and doctor from Italy and was first published in Mantua.¹⁰³ The tribe of Reuben caught Jesus in the garden and beat him there. Their punishment is threefold: everything they touch withers within three days, nothing they plant grows, and no grass grows on their graves when they die. The tribe of Simeon crucified Jesus, nailing him to the cross; every year on Good Friday, all children of this tribe bleed all day long and suffer great pain. The tribe of Levi beat Christ and spit in his face; they cannot spit anything to the ground, everything they spit sticks in their beards. The tribe of Judah mocked Jesus; they are so disloyal to one another that every year they kill 30 of their own family members. The tribe of Zebulun gambled for Christ's clothes; they must spit blood every year on 23 March, from morning to evening. (23 March is not a fixed holiday, but coincides with the earliest possible date for Easter.) The tribe of Issachar shackled and whipped Jesus; every year on 25 March, they suffer bloody wounds and boils all day long. (25 March is the Feast of the Annunciation in the Catholic calendar.) The tribe of Dan said "may his blood come upon us" (Mt 25:27); they smell bad one day every month, and they can only rid themselves of the smell if they smear themselves with Christian blood. The tribe of Asher slapped Jesus's face and beat him; their right hand is half-a-hand shorter than their left. Members of the tribe of Naphtali put their children in a pigsty when Jesus was led to Caia-phas; they asked him what was inside, hoping to accuse him of lying, but he said "your children," and the children were turned into piglets when they were let out. To this day, members of the tribe of Naphtali have four teeth like pigs, ears like pigs, and also smell like pigs. The tribe of Joseph forged the nails with which Jesus was nailed to the cross, and on a woman's advice they made the nails less sharp in order to increase his pain; now they suffer from worms inside their bodies every year on a certain date, and the women among them are particularly afflicted in their mouths. The tribe of Benjamin gave Jesus vinegar to drink; they cannot look above themselves but must always look at the ground, they have small worms in their mouths and a sour taste, and are always very thirsty.

103 This information may hint towards the *Epistola contra Iudaeorum errores*, which was included as an appendix to Paulus de Sancta Maria's *Scrutinium scripturarum*, printed as an incunabulum several times in Mantua. The *Epistola*, which scholars now believe to be the product of fourteenth-century Christian polemics, dealt primarily with punitive supersessionism but did not contain the specific details as to the punishments of the twelve tribes; see Bernhard Blumenkranz, "Alfonsus Bonihominis," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971), t. 2, col. 607.

3 Om Pilati ändalycht och orolige döda kropp

This narrative does not focus on Pilate's life but on his suicide and the fate of his corpse. It developed in Christian legends since the twelfth century, following the initial example of the *Vita Pilati*, an anonymous Latin prose text in which previous legends about Pilate's life were for the first time complemented with the story of his corpse and the continuous damage it caused. Among the apocryphal texts about Pontius Pilate, the *Mors Pilati* is a relatively late addition from the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Central aspects from this version, however, are missing in the Swedish text, such as the place names Vienna and Lausanne.¹⁰⁵ The detail about the unjust judge was a late addition, entering the tradition with the *Heli-and Bible* epic.¹⁰⁶

The immediate text model for this short (one page in most printed versions) legend cannot be identified. The story itself is based on the medieval *Legenda aurea*, which was the first account of Pontius Pilate's life after he sentenced Jesus to death.¹⁰⁷ The medieval East Norse adaptation, *Fornsvenska legendariet*, does contain texts about Pilate's death, but it is not possible to establish a direct line of translation within Sweden: it is equally likely that *Om Pilati ändalycht* was transmitted together with the other two texts in the Ahasver compilation via the German lands and Denmark. However, it testifies to a direct tradition of anti-Jewish hagiographic and legendary texts in Sweden from the medieval period to the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸

The printed Swedish versions contain only basic elements: Pontius Pilatus is summoned to Emperor Tiberius in order to justify his condemning Jesus to death. He travels to Rome but is terrified and kills himself. His body is thrown into the river Tiber but finds no rest; it is tossed around until it lands on a mountain near Lucerne in Switzerland (previous stations of the body known from other versions, such as Lyon and Lausanne, are not mentioned), where it lies to this very day, torn at by wind and snow, so that people cannot live nearby. In

104 J. Elliott, "Other Pilate Texts," in *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, ed. J. Elliott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

105 Mattig-Krampe, *Das Pilatusbild*, 57–58.

106 *Ibid.*, 76.

107 At the end of chapter 53 of *De passione domini* of the *Legenda Aurea*. Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*. Vol. 1., ed. Bruno W. Häuptli (Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, Wien: Herder, 2014), 726–34.

108 For anti-Jewish material in *Fornsvenska legendariet*, see Jonathan Adams, *Jews in East Norse Literature: A Study of Othering in Medieval Denmark and Sweden* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022, forthcoming).

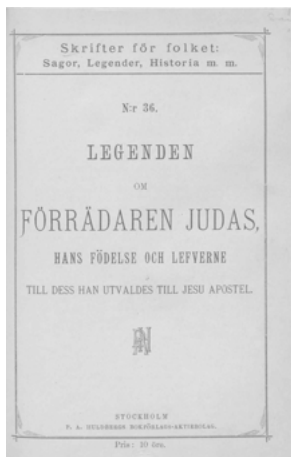


Fig. 4: Title page *Legenden om förrädaren Judas* (Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm).

some printed editions, the legend ends with a sentence describing Pilate's fate as a warning to all judges who condemn innocent people.

The eternal traitor: Judas legends

The Judas legend is another medieval story with anti-Jewish content, almost as popular as the Ahasver legend. It is similar to the Ahasver tradition in that it, too, is a medieval text which remained popular into the modern period in Sweden, providing an example of the enduring effects that medieval anti-Jewish *exempla* continued to have, even in a Protestant or secular context.

Unlike the purely mythical and unquestionably Jewish Ahasver, the figure of Judas has a biblical foundation in the Gospels, and its synonymy, or identification with, the Jewish people is strong, though not unequivocal. A rich medieval apocryphal and legendary tradition views Judas as the prototypical traitor. The Gospel of Luke mentions that “intravit autem Satan in Iudam” (Lk 22:3), and thereby posits a direct connection between Judas and the devil, or of Judas being the devil's tool. Both his name and the various shades of evil which were associated with Judas suggested he was a *pars pro toto* for the entire Jewish people: an enemy of Christ, a traitor for money, close to Satan.

*Legenden om förrädaren Judas, hans födelse och lefverne till dess han utvaldes till Jesu Apostel*¹⁰⁹ was printed at least six times between 1800 and

¹⁰⁹ *En kort dock märkvärdig historia, om den wederstyggelige och förgiftige förrädaren Judas,*

1896; an older version, probably translated from Danish, was printed in 1740. The original text stems from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* and the Swedish versions are a very close translation. This medieval Latin version of the Judas legend, in its turn, probably stems from a Byzantine tradition, in which Oedipus-motifs were Christianized.¹¹⁰ The *Legenda aurea* was a medieval bestseller, copied and disseminated in thousands of manuscripts and incunabula, and was even translated into Old Swedish. The published version from 1896 is, however, more comprehensive than the one in *Fornsvenska legendariet*,¹¹¹ and thus represents a reinvention or repopularization of a medieval text, rather than being in the direct lineage of the Old Swedish model. There is also an Old Swedish version in *Själens tröst*, an early fifteenth century compilation of didactical texts.¹¹²

The Judas legend has gone through a long series of transformations and adaptations; by the end of the thirteenth century it had been translated into many European vernaculars, had been interwoven with legends about Mary Magdalene, and served various didactic purposes. Even one of the Swedish editions, Uppsala 1827, presents the text with a Mary Magdalene addition:

En märkvärdig historia om den wederstyggelige förrädaren Judas, hans härkomst, födelse och lefwerne, samt hwad synder han bedrifwit ifrån sin ungdom, intill desz han blef Christi apostel. Hwartil är fogod [!] en skön andelig wisa om: wår frälsare Jesus och den botfärdiga synderskan Maria Magdalena.

(A noteworthy story about the horrible traitor Judas, his origins, birth, and life, and those sins he engaged in since his youth, until he became an apostle of Christ. Supplemented by a fine spiritual song about: our saviour Jesus and the repentant sinner Mary Magdalene.)

The other editions include only the Judas Iscariot legend; thereby focusing on the unrepentant sinner and, potentially, the Jew.

hans härkomst, födelse och lefwerne, samt hwad synder han hafwer bedrifwit uti denna werlden ifrån sin ungdom; intil des han blef Christi apostel. Editions Stockholm, 1740; Gävle, 1800 and 1801; Kalmar, 1808; Borås, 1827; Lund, 1833. Here quoted from *Skrifter för folket: Sagor, Legender, Historia m.m.* 36 (Stockholm: P.A. Huldbergs/Norrköping, 1896). See also the list of editions in the appendix.

110 Walter Puchner, "Zur Herkunft der mittelalterlichen Judaslegende," *Fabula* 35 (1994).

111 George Stephens, ed., *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium: Efter gamla handskrifter*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: P. A. Nordstedt & Söner, 1847), 243–45.

112 Samuel Henning, ed., *Sjælina thröst: første delin af the bokinne som kallas Sjælina thröst* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954), 64–67.

The Swedish version provides the Judas-Oedipus legend.¹¹³ Judas's mother Liboria (in *Legenda aurea*: Cyborea) has a prophetic dream that her unborn child will do great harm to herself and her husband. She throws the baby into the sea, but not unlike Moses he is found by a queen and raised together with her own son, whom he kills after learning that he is a foundling. After some adventures, Judas unknowingly kills his father Reuben, and his subsequent marriage to his mother is brokered by Pontius Pilatus. In order to atone for these sins, he approaches Jesus and becomes his favourite disciple. The biblical part of the story is only alluded to, the legend ending with the observation that the more he learned what was good from Jesus, the worse Judas became, to the point that he was even constantly stealing money from him.

The popularity of the text is an example of continuity between Catholic and Protestant didactic texts and contents. As early as 1614, and several times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an adaptation of the legend by Jacobus Petri Rondeletius (1518–1662), titled *Judas Redivivus*, was printed in Sweden. Taking place partly in a monastery, it contains most of the persons and events of the legend, but its main message is that parents who do not beat their children are responsible for them ending up in hell.¹¹⁴ The author was a Lutheran priest and schoolteacher in Söderköping, and the play was meant to be staged with schoolboys as actors.¹¹⁵

The Swedish version of the story mentions Judas's Jewish faith several times, which might have pointed towards identifying the traitor with Jews in general. The very last sentence presents its moral: "så plägar världen ännu idag löna bevista välgärningar" (This is how the world deals with secret good deeds to this day, p. 10). It is difficult to say to what extent Swedish readers would have identified the person from the popular legend with the Jewish people. "Judas" had been used in Swedish as a synonym for a backstabbing person, and also for a moneylender, since the end of the eighteenth century, with terms like "Judaskysen" (Kiss of Judas, an act of kindness but indicating betrayal) and "judasstycke" (an act of betrayal) being in use since the sixteenth century. A tree and a swamp bear the name in Swedish, as well as in German and English.¹¹⁶

113 Peter Stotz, "Bilder des Bösewichts: Judas Ischariot in lateinischen Texten der Spätantike und des Mittelalters. Eine Skizze," in *Alte Sprache – neues Lied: Kleine Schriften zur christlichen Dichtung des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Millennium medievale 93, ed. Peter Stotz and Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann (Firenze: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2012).

114 Ulrika Lindgren, "Judas Redivivus," Litteraturbanken.se.

115 Lotta Lotass, "Jacobus Petri Rondeletius," Litteraturbanken.se.

116 Lemma, "Judas," *SAOB*, Spalt J 221 band 13, 1934.

The antisemitic impact of the Swedish editions of the legend cannot be estimated without a thorough analysis of the development of the Judas motif in Swedish Lutheran theology, didactics, and literature, which will be difficult given its popularity in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some examples: At the very end of the nineteenth century, the drama *Judas* by Tor Hedberg presented a philosophical view of the Passion from Judas's perspective. From the seventeenth century on, a number of published sermons were centred on the Judas motif. In 1874, a text by Protestant Reformed Church theologian Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher was translated and printed under the title *Judas läger*, originally as part of the collection of sermons, *Blicke ins Reich der Gnade*. It does not, however, deal with Judas Iscariot, but rather provides an exegesis of Num. 2:3 regarding Juda, the biblical people.¹¹⁷ In 1891, the bestselling crime novel *Monsieur Judas*, by British author Fergus Hume, was translated and published in Sweden.¹¹⁸ In 1911, another teacher, Nils Krok, wrote *Judas Iskariot: skådespel i 3 akter*. In 1882 in Lund, Catholic convert Axel Hellqvist published a response to what he perceived as a personal attack in a public sermon, *Judas Iscarioths utgång ur apostlakretsen*, in which conversion to another Christian denomination was paralleled with Judas's betrayal of Jesus.¹¹⁹

We lack a systematic study of adaptations of the Judas motif in Swedish theology and/or literature.¹²⁰ The number of printed books on the topic, most of them intended for entertainment or edification, suggests that publishers and authors expected their public to already associate the name with specific connotations. Depending on the discursive context, these might have been distinctly antisemitic or only slightly anti-Jewish.

117 Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher, *Blicke ins Reich der Gnade: Sammlung evangelischer Predigten* (Elberfeld: Hassel, 1828).

118 Fergus Hume, *Monsieur Judas. Roman*, Översatt från Mathilda Langlet (Stockholm: A. Granlund, 1891).

119 Axel Johannes Hellqvist, *Betraktelser med anledning af docent Eklunds veckopredikan om Judas Iscarioths utgång ur apostlakretsen, i domkyrkan den 22 sistlidne Februari* (Lund: Holmberg, 1882).

120 For general studies on the Judas motif in Christian traditions, see, for example: Kim Paffenroth, *Judas: Images of the Lost Disciple* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001); Martin Meiser, *Judas Iskariot: Einer von uns*, *Biblische Gestalten* 10 (Leipzig: Evang. Verlags-Anstalt, 2004); Mirjam Kübler, *Judas Iskariot: Das abendländische Judasbild und seine antisemitische Instrumentalisierung im Nationalsozialismus*, *Schriften der Hans-Ehrenberg-Gesellschaft* 15 (Waltrop: Spenner, 2007).

Ahasver, Pilate, and Judas: medieval models for a non-existent minority

The publications presented here cover a wide range of anti-Jewish knowledge, dating back to late antiquity and the Middle Ages, which testifies to the fact that Christian anti-Judaism contained essentialist, and therefore (proto-)racist, aspects almost from its beginnings. The Ahasver compilation and the Judas legends, all traceable to model texts from the period of the Church Fathers to the early sixteenth century, were reprinted many times, appeared throughout the country, and also had their counterparts in other Nordic countries. They all have both a medieval past in East Norse, and thus Sweden and Denmark, and an early modern parallel means of transmission from the continent via its print production. The number of editions throughout the entire nineteenth century that are based on these three medieval models makes them a significant addition to the archive: easily available and supplemented by oral traditions, sermons, and belletristic works, Ahasver, Pilate, and Judas form the backbone of “knowledge” about Jews, connecting contemporary Jews to Bible stories, and assigning them the role of evil in Christian eschatology. Together, they paint a vivid picture of Jews as eternal, male, sinister, and physically distinguishable from others.

Though always grouped in the same way in the various print editions, the three parts of the Ahasver compilation differ widely regarding their antisemitic content. The third text, the Pilate legend, does not contain any antisemitic elements or references to Jews at all. It is contained in all the Swedish editions of the compilation, attributing a small share of the guilt for Jesus’s death to a Roman. The larger share, however, remains the Jews’, and it is accompanied by a harsh verdict on contemporary Jews as the direct heirs of their biblical ancestors. In Latin and vernacular medieval texts, the legendary tradition around Pilate is both broad and varied. Both he and his family appear in Bible stories, in independent legends, and as part of didactic collections, such as *Legenda aurea* and *Seelentrost*. In many textual traditions, connections between the Pilate legend and anti-Jewish texts exist: they appear together in the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, in *Passionale* poetry, and in connection with Judas legends. Thus, the Pilate legend in the Ahasver compilation is not antisemitic per se, but it perpetuates a centuries-long tradition of texts containing the anti-Jewish Christ-killer accusation, peopled with various other apocryphal characters that have their own supposed connections to the evil deed. In the High and Late Middle Ages, Christian iconography had increasingly not simply included Pilate among those who tortured and killed Jesus but had presented him as being himself a Jew. Visual representations had also created a firm connection between Pi-

late and Judas, as had already been argued by Origen, who portrayed both as being blind to the truth and unwilling to recognize the messiah.¹²¹

In the Ahasver legend itself, the language of the Swedish text is relatively sober and seems unbiased. It is also less anti-Jewish than the German model: in several instances the German text mentions Ahasver being a witness “against the Jews,” to remind “the Jews” of their sins, and his initial motive was to gain stature amongst “the Jews” by denying Jesus rest. In all of these instances, the Swedish text leaves out “the Jews”; this turns Ahasver into a generic witness located within Christian society, which he is supposed to enlighten through his miserable example. Not the Jews specifically, but humankind in general, is sinful and needs to be reminded to repent. The Swedish text contains very little drama. The Jew in shabby clothes, not warm enough for a Scandinavian winter, evokes pity rather than fear, even though the basic idea of his wandering for many centuries remains disturbing. The text explicitly presents him as an example to Christian societies: he is the model of a repentant sinner and good humble Christian; even though he has not been baptized, and is therefore doomed, he firmly believes in Christ as the messiah and in God’s power to punish and forgive. He is an illustration of the Augustinian idea of Jewish witness, yet shows this to be a paradox: as they were already present during Christ’s lifetime, the Jews are witnesses to the fundamental change in the relation between God and his people, which at the same time makes them obsolete. The pity the Swedish reader might feel for Ahasver is the pity for someone who suffers a severe punishment, but also for someone who has fallen out of his time.

In the nineteenth century, the Ahasver figure became an illustration of aspects of modernity that were projected onto Jews: homelessness, cosmopolitanism, lack of loyalty to a home country, the distress of being lonely and rootless and not belonging.¹²² In Sweden, which prior to the end of the nineteenth century had not experienced any real modernization or urbanization, these aspects were played down compared to the religious aspects. The Swedish Ahasver is less like the modern creature of literature produced in Berlin and Vienna and more like an incomplete convert, illustrating the Jewish inability to fully embrace the mystery of the Christian faith despite having witnessed it. At the same time, he is more pious than many Christians, humbly accepting small donations and alms but giving whatever money he receives to other poor people and admonishing those who use Christ’s name in vain. The emphasis in the German model

¹²¹ Colum Hourihane, *Pontius Pilate, Anti-Semitism, and the Passion in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 324–25.

¹²² For example, see Singer, “Between Eternity and Wandering.”

texts on how many people in various areas have seen Ahasver is replaced by only mentioning places very close to the reader: the harbour towns on the Baltic rim. There is also no attempt to modernize the text: all of the nineteenth-century versions still date the story to 1604, presenting it as a historical fable. The originally medieval motif is used in Sweden for almost 200 years, the text basically unchanged, only the cover illustrations being updated. And it was not only read: referring to records in folklore archives in Sweden and Finland, Bengt af Klintberg has shown that the Wandering Jew was quite popular as a folktale and in popular accounts, especially in the South of Sweden, where people adapted the legend from the printed chapbook into local variations embellished with details about how Ahasver had been seen and spoken to.¹²³

At the end of the century, a translation of French author Eugène Sue's *Le Juif errant*¹²⁴ was published, and even though the figure of the Wandering Jew plays only a marginal role in the text, the title alluded to the medieval model texts, which were well known in Sweden at the time. Several collections of novels "about life in Stockholm" were published under the pseudonym *Den Vandrande Juden*,¹²⁵ even though they had no explicitly Jewish themes. Georg von Rosen, a renowned painter and professor at the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts, painted a picture titled *Ahasverus*. It is, however, impossible to judge the impact of the Ahasver motif solely from the Swedish publications, given the variety of its audiences and versions. In 1871, a small booklet containing two legends from Nuremberg and Poland was published under the title *Den wandrande juden*, in which the motif was used but applied to Jews other than the shoemaker from Jerusalem. In both legends, the wandering is a result of an unpleasant characteristic or misdeed of a Jewish man, who is condemned to move from one place to another without respite. The title illustration shows the protagonist of the first legend, a man who has a prosthetic leg, which forces him to run without rest. His coat is shown flailing, revealing the mechanical leg, and his face, with stereotypical nose, eyes, and beard, bears an expression of pain and horror.¹²⁶

The second text in the Ahasver compilation, "The Punishments of the Twelve Tribes," goes several steps further. It connects Jews to all aspects of Jesus's trial,

123 Klintberg, "The Swedish Wanderings of the Eternal Jew."

124 Eugène Sue, *Den vandrande juden: öfversättning från franskan af W. Granath; med talrika illustrationer af P. Hedman* (Stockholm: Lundquist, 1898).

125 *Skildring af modernt Stockholmslif: från Österlånggatas mysterier* (Stockholm, 1893); *Fri kärlek: en hufvudstadsberättelse* (Stockholm, 1893); *Grefvinnans konstapel: en konturteckning ur "high life"* (Stockholm, 1893); *"I sängkamrar och boudoärer": pikanta rader ur en ungarls dagbok* (Stockholm, 1893); *På hotell Cupido: en bild ur Stockholm nattetid* (Stockholm, 1892).

126 Anonymous, *Den wandrande juden*, Sagor och fabler, no. 17 (Stockholm: Berg, 1871).

torture, and crucifixion. All the details of the *passio* found in apocryphal texts and described in sermons, as well as images like those in the *Biblia pauperum* – the crown of thorns, the shackling to a pale, the beating, throwing dice for his clothes, the sponge full of vinegar – appear in this text, where they are attributed to Jewish perpetrators.¹²⁷ By listing all the tribes of Israel, the Jewish people are presented as having collectively participated in the torture and killing of Christ. The deicide is thus a collective endeavour of the Jews as a people. No reason is given for their hatred and collectively planned action, which therefore appears as a consequence of the cruel and evil character of the people as a whole. Furthermore, in “The Punishments of the Twelve Tribes,” this character finds its expression in physical appearance – a feature not only of modern racist and biologicistic conceptions but also of medieval thought: what is ugly on the inside must also be ugly on the outside. Additionally, the text explains various illnesses as being the result of an evil character and of the sins of past generations. It portrays all Jews, without exception, as suffering from mysterious and disgusting afflictions, either permanently or at particular dates in the year, all in the Easter period; that is, in the period of their presumed crimes. The medieval stereotype of the *foetor judaicus*, a particular Jewish smell,¹²⁸ is also evoked and traced back to participation in the Passion of Christ. Other, not strictly pathological, features are the inability to look up or to spit on the ground – evoking the image of Jews as bowed and hunchbacked, as well as having bad manners and being dirty. In this regard, it is connected to the way in which a “Jewish iconography” developed in the Middle Ages out of the traditional portrayals of evil in the Crucifixion scenes, connecting this to Jews.¹²⁹

In just a few pages, the text brings together an array of anti-Jewish stereotypes, all combining aspects of the “Christ-killer” motif with physical Otherness,

127 Anthony P. Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350–1500*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 60 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Edith Wenzel, “Do worden die Judden alle geschant”: Rolle und Funktion der Juden in spätmittelalterlichen Spielen, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur* 14 (München: Fink, 1992); Hourihane, *Pontius Pilate*.

128 Maria Diemling, “‘as the Jews Like to Eat Garlick’: Garlic in Christian-Jewish Polemical Discourse in Early Modern Germany,” in *Food and Judaism: A Special Issue of Studies in Jewish Civilization, Volume 15; Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Symposium of the Klutznick Chair in Jewish Civilization, Harris Center for Judaic Studies, October 27–28, 2002*, ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon, Ronald A. Simkins, and Gerald Shapiro (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press; Omaha: Creighton University Press, 2005).

129 For the development of a “Jewish iconography” in Passion scenes, see Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt and Company, 2014).

deviancy, and deformity. Traditional medieval stereotypes, such as male menstruation, the foetor judaicus, and the blood curse, are mentioned alongside less well-known ideas about worms, pig-like teeth, and causing infertility in plants. As all of the twelve tribes of Israel are mentioned, there is not a single Jew who has not inherited part of the punishment. Through inherited guilt, contemporary Jews are very obviously connected to the Jews of the (apocryphal) Gospels.

The third text, about the body of Pilate, ties in with the motif of connecting the historical period of Christ's Passion with the present time. Its antisemitic content derives from the fact that from the tenth century on, various apocryphal hagiographic sources, such as the *Evangelium Nicodemi*,¹³⁰ have portrayed Pilate as a Jew and a preeminent villain.

The common denominator between the three texts in the Ahasver compilation is the idea that people active in the trial, torture, and killing of Christ were so evil that their deeds reverberate over centuries and millennia and can never be forgotten, haunting both the living and the dead. Lisa Lampert-Weissig has noted that the medieval development of the legend already established a specific Jewish temporality in Christian eyes: Jews are the same in the past, the present, and the future. Even though the Wandering Jew converts and is more pious than most Christians, he is not redeemed.¹³¹ Jews, both the disturbing centuries-old Ahasver and the tribes of Israel, serve as the most visible surviving point of connection between the ages. In early modern Sweden, when most of the country's inhabitants had never seen an actual Jew, the Ahasver compilation must have made quite an impression as to what these people were like: evil, ugly, afflicted with mysterious diseases, foul-smelling, and as old as the Bible.

In the case of the Judas legend, the aim was twofold: to show that Jesus was able to forgive even the worst sins and also to besmirch Judas. Even though the legend is mainly about the backstory to Judas becoming Jesus's disciple, Christian readers would have already known that he was the one who betrayed Jesus for money – in the Gospel of John version he did so out of anger about an unprofitable sale – and who killed himself afterwards. The name Judas has become a synonym for bad character, betrayal, sin, and greed. In some medieval Passion plays, Judas is also the sinner who doubts Christ's infinite ability to forgive, and who therefore kills himself out of despair at his betrayal.

130 Bettina Mattig-Krampe, *Das Pilatusbild in der deutschen Bibel- und Legendenepik des Mittelalters*, Germanistische Bibliothek 9 (Heidelberg: Winter, 2001).

131 Lisa Lampert-Weissig, "The Time of the Wandering Jew in the *Chronica Majora* and the *De Brailes Hours*," *Philological Quarterly* 96, no. 2 (2017).

The identification of Judas as a representative of all the Jewish people derives from Origen; it was sharpened from the fourth century onwards, intensified in the writings of the Church Fathers, and facilitated by the similarity of the names. The theological implications of a person who thinks and acts in an un-Christian way were merged with the favourite religious Other, and also with the idea of Jewish greed and the ecclesiastical struggle against usury. While the religious interpretation of Judas still contains positive aspects – the ambiguity of faith and trust and the paradox of Christ’s prophesied betrayal and death, for which Judas is a necessary tool – the modern era has separated Judas from these positive aspects while still projecting the negative aspects onto Jews as a group.¹³²

¹³² Maria Dorninger, “Judas,” in *Handbuch Jüdische Kulturgeschichte*, <http://hbjk.sbg.ac.at/kapitel/judas/>.

3 Chosenness: supersessionism and racist anti-Judaism

The Hebrew Bible defines the people of Israel as God's chosen people. A strong tradition within Christianity has explained this status as being obsolete: the old covenant was replaced by the Gospel, circumcision by baptism, Sabbath by Sunday. Consequently, this tradition sees Christians as the chosen people and Jews as just as obsolete as their faith.

In nineteenth-century Sweden, several authors and publishers felt called upon to argue in print as to why the Jewish religion was not only obsolete but also wrong, dangerous, hostile to Christians, and the origin of Jews' sense of being special. The Jewish religion has been quite unique in its ability to maintain a varied but still unified religious identity, despite centuries of diaspora; it is difficult to say to what extent the actual experiences of diaspora communities and their ways of maintaining religious and cultural difference contributed to this Christian need to construct the Jewish minority as a closed, unchangeable, and hostile group adhering to an outdated set of rules.

Two sets of texts fed into the supersessionist discourse in the nineteenth century: several translated texts from German and British authors targeting Judaism as a religion, and a large number of writings dealing with conversion. The first category was clearly more significant in the first half of the century, basing itself on relatively recent text models, the oldest of which stemmed from the eighteenth century. The second category consisted of different varieties of text: Some are based on medieval text models and represent a "Protestant turn" regarding the role of miracles in conversion processes; these appear mainly in the first half of the century. Later, translations from Prussian Protestant texts appear alongside the growing Swedish revival movement and its productions. Finally, at the very end of the century, the Föreningen för Israelsmissionen, an organization founded just after Emancipation, was responsible for a sudden increase in the publication of conversion stories, many of which featured prominent lay preachers who had themselves converted from Judaism.

All of these different categories feature supersessionism and the perceived transfer of the status of chosenness from the Jewish people to Lutherans or Protestant revivalists, but they also combined this with other, mostly biologicistic, categories of hostility.

Lutheran miracles: Swedish conversion narratives

The question of Jewish conversion to Christianity – how it could be brought about, how often it happened, how more of it might happen, and whether it would actually do anything to change the “Jewish character” – had been preoccupying the Christian mind for centuries.¹³³ In Sweden, too, tales of Jewish conversion had been a popular genre since the Middle Ages. Exempla, sermons, and especially miracle tales connected to the Virgin Mary employed conversion narratives with a twofold purpose: first, to provide an example of faith for Christians (if they can come to the true faith, anybody can), and second, to say something about Jews in general. The narrative structure of these tales often involves a Jewish child, not yet corrupted and therefore open to the Gospel. The adversaries are the Jewish relatives, who oppose the conversion of their child, sometimes going so far as to engage in kidnapping or violence against the child. Other types of stories involve mass conversions brought about by preaching – whether this ever happened anywhere at any point in history remains unknown, but medieval towns, landlords, and theologians often fostered hopes in this regard, and would force entire Jewish communities to listen to Christian sermons. When their hopes failed to materialize, pogroms were a frequent consequence.¹³⁴

Both of these types of narratives reappear in nineteenth-century Sweden. The publications were usually commissioned by one of the evangelical communities, missionary groups, or the like, but also by the Lutheran State Church. Their settings, structure, and plot had not changed much since the Middle Ages, even though they did not directly follow text models from the Old Swedish legendary or exempla collections.¹³⁵ The most important examples are *Fornsvenska legendariet* and *Själens tröst*, the latter being a close adaptation of the Middle Low German *Seelentrost*. Jonathan Adams has identified the following typology of conversion stories in the medieval Nordic texts: miracles triggered by an act of violence against Christianity; a miracle triggered by Jewish disbelief; a miraculous act of healing; a feeling of anguish or despair upon witnessing a superna-

133 The research on medieval converts is vast and is focused on the Iberian Peninsula. See, for example: Kevin Ingram, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, Brill ebooks v. 197 (Boston: Brill, 2009); Paola Tartakoff, “Christian Kings and Jewish Conversion in the Medieval Crown of Aragon,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 3, no. 1 (2011).

134 See, for example: Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska, eds., *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, Routledge Research in Medieval Studies 6 (New York: Routledge, 2015).

135 For a comprehensive collection and discussion of the Old Danish and Old Swedish material on Jewish conversion, see Adams, *Jews in East Norse Literature* (forthcoming).

tural phenomenon; persuasion through argumentation or disputation; a gentle spiritual awakening induced by the love of the Virgin Mary (with much overlapping between the different categories). In nineteenth-century Sweden, the Virgin Mary had lost her role as the main catalyst of Jewish conversion; especially when discussing child conversions, however, medieval text models (with Protestant adjustments) were still evoked. In many cases, the abstract Protestant concept of grace took her place, as was already prominent in the title of one of the best-selling conversion stories, *Nådens verkan hos barn* (The effect of grace on children), which was released in at least 15 editions between 1791 and 1826.¹³⁶ *Nådens verkan hos barn. Märkeligen wised uti följande twänne historier. Den första: om tre af judiska, den andra: om fyra af christna religionen* groups the translation with a German anonymous edificatory story¹³⁷ and a second story of unknown origin. The same year it came out in Elberfeld, *Merkwürdige Bekehrungs-Geschichte* was translated and printed by different publishing houses all over the country. The story deals with three daughters from a Jewish family, who meet Jesus while talking and praying with some Christian children. They approach a priest and convince him to set up a commission in order to ascertain whether they had been forced to convert and what role their parents, who were still Jewish, were to have in their lives, both then and in the future. After long and suspiciously detailed descriptions of the girls' testimonies and their parents' tears, the commission finds their conversion believable, takes them away from their parents, and lets them prepare to be baptized. They take Christian first names and the surname Hirtentreu (literally: loyal to the shepherd, i.e. Christ).

This story, thoroughly situated in a German Protestant context – the priests in the commission are named and their Lutheran and Reformed denominations are mentioned, as well as Hofprediger Kamann, the girls' teacher – breaks with the medieval traditions of child conversion narratives. There is no animosity between children and parents, and instead of quickly accepting the girls' conversion, the authorities point to the prohibition of their converting without their parents' consent. In contrast to the medieval narratives, this text does not connect the Christian faith to miraculous and sudden conversions, but rather to extended learning processes and to the inexplicable yet undeniable power of grace. The Protestant idea of predestination replaces the older plots in which good (Christian) wins over evil (Jewish); it is mentioned several times that God's grace

136 Anonymous, *Nådens verkan hos barn. Märkeligen wised uti följande twänne historier. Den första: om tre af judiska, den andra: om fyra af christna religionen* (Göteborg: Norberg, 1791); (Gävle: Ernst Peter Sundqvist, 1798). See the complete list of editions in the appendix.

137 Anonymous, *Merkwürdige Bekehrungs-Geschichte dreier Schwestern von acht, zehn und zwölf Jahren* (Elberfeld: Giesen, 1791).

and love also apply to Jewish children. Compared to the narratives that adhere to the medieval traditions, this story was probably popular for the ways in which it fostered a sense of authenticity: names and places are provided, authorities and regulations mentioned. Nothing miraculous needs to happen, and instead of being referred to as the Virgin, Mary is called Jesus's "foster mother."

An anonymous text from the Nya förlagsexpeditionen publishing house, promoted by Karl Erixon, who was active in missionary activities and Stockholm's town mission, told the story of the Jewish boy Majer, who was placed in a Christian school by his mother.¹³⁸ Little Majer started singing Christian songs at home, to which his grandfather, "en gammal otrogen Israelit, som tyckte det wara något riktigt gräsligt att höra Jesu namn nämnas" (a real Israelite nonbeliever, who found it really horrible to hear the name of Jesus, p. 4), scolded him and his mother for the song and for bringing Jesus into a Jewish home. Subsequently, the boy suddenly fell ill with diphtheria and died a few days later, with the same Christian psalm on his lips. The text is described as a translation in the subtitle, but no source is immediately obvious – however, the narrative is similar to many others of its kind. Death and violence often befall the Jewish relatives, but in this version, the family is punished with the child's death. The characters in the text are modernized, as is the plot itself, but these remain Protestant versions of conversion stories, just without the help of a miracle: the boy who is able to see the truth of the Gospel after only being casually exposed to it, the evil family members trying to prevent the conversion, violence against the child, the punishment of the family. Similar details are present in the medieval legend "The Jewish boy in the oven," in which a Jewish father throws his son, who attended a Christian mass, into a fiery oven, where he is miraculously saved by the Virgin Mary. The story ends with the father being thrown into the oven and dying. The story is part of a long medieval tradition, in both the Latin and the Greek Church, and can be traced back to the biblical story of the three young men in the oven (Dan. 3). The medieval legendary versions mock this story in which three young Israelites refuse to worship the gods of Nebuchadnezzar.

That this story was printed by a publishing house closely connected to missionary activities and evangelical circles suggests that winning Jewish converts was only one part of its intended effect. Proselytizing to Jews and pagans¹³⁹

138 *Den lille judegossen som dog i tron på Jesus. Öfversättning. Samt Det skall icke skada dig och Kom till Jesus, sång af G.W.* (Stockholm: Nya Förlagsexpeditionen, 1876).

139 Missions amongst "pagan" peoples are not included in the corpus of anti-Jewish texts, but Swedish missionaries were active in such endeavours, for example, in colonies on the African

was (and partly is) an important activity of revivalist movements, and their relation to Israel and the people of Israel, both contemporary and historical-biblical, is complicated.¹⁴⁰ Many of the texts produced in this context follow medieval conversion-narrative traditions but also include accounts by Jewish converts to Protestant Christian denominations writing in the early modern period. Conversion – and not only from Judaism – was a much debated phenomenon in the early modern period, and the autobiographies of converts have taught historians much about the inner motivations that led people to seek to change their religion and social context. The narratives of Jewish converts, however, always also fulfil another purpose: to condemn Judaism as a religion. This is a trait shared by the more stereotypical narratives, which remain true to medieval narrative traditions, as well as the post-Reformation ones.

Lying somewhere in between medieval Catholic and modern Protestant conversion narratives is Karl Heinrich Caspari's *Kristen och jude: en berättelse från 16:e århundradet*.¹⁴¹ Caspari was a Lutheran theologian and author in France,¹⁴² his *Christ und Jude* came out in 1861 and was translated into Swedish six years later. Taking place in the 1560s, over 230 pages Caspari recounts a complicated story of a nobleman on his deathbed and a Jewish family with a father described negatively as “typically Jewish” and a good-looking son. The son argues with various Christians about the messiah and the Gospel but still fights on their side against the Turks. He then finally recognizes Jesus Christ as his saviour and is triumphantly led to his baptism. The novel contains all of the religious stereotypes Christians have concocted: Jews are blind, stubborn, and hostile to Christians, but still, some of them can see the truth and consequently are able to reject Judaism and change sides.

Forced preaching had acquired an important place in Swedish conversion narratives, due to the fact that there were actual Jews to preach to and that, since the mid-seventeenth century, conversion had been a requirement for Jews who wished to be allowed to stay in Sweden. Before the judereglemente al-

continent. See Pia Lundqvist, *Ett motsägelsefullt möte: Svenska missionärer och Bakongo i Fristaten Kongo* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018).

140 See David M. Gustafson, *D. L. Moody and Swedes: Shaping Evangelical Identity Among Swedish Mission Friends, 1867–1899*, Linköping Studies in Identity and Pluralism 7 (Linköping: Linköping University, Department of Culture and Communication, 2008). Regarding the American influences on Nya förlagsexpeditionen and their discussions about how to interpret scripture regarding the conversion of Jews and pagans, 157. Regarding Karl Erixon, 77.

141 Karl Heinrich Caspari, *Kristen och jude: en berättelse från 16:e århundradet* (Stockholm: Normans förlagsexp., 1867).

142 Gustav Leopold Plitt, “Caspari: Karl Heinrich C.,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 4, 55 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1876).

lowed Jews to immigrate and keep their faith, a number of immigrant families were baptized in Sweden. These occasions were marked by much pomp and ceremony celebrating the victory of Christianity, following the example of the first *judedopet* (Baptism of Jews) in 1681, when two families from France had converted.¹⁴³ Even after 1782, the first generations of Jewish immigrants were often baptized or requested baptism for their children, in order to secure their access to society, education, and marriage. We usually lack accounts from the converts themselves; instead, a number of Christian writings deal with the topic. Compared to their medieval models, the Jews themselves are strangely absent from the Swedish texts: their deeds and actions do not provoke miracles or cause them to accept the Christian faith, their conversion comes only after the text or the narrated story itself. One typical example is a sermon by Anders Berg, a parish priest, who wrote *Jesu dop med helig ande och med eld framställt, wid en judisk ynglings döpelse* in 1827.¹⁴⁴ Despite the prominence of Jewish conversion in the title, the text itself is a general baptismal sermon, there is no explicit mention of Jewish religion except for the title and the address to the converted boy.

A British text was translated and disseminated in Sweden as early as 1807, celebrating an incident where Jews were forced to listen to a sermon by the popular preacher William Cooper from London. Cooper was a lay preacher, educated as a physician, who had written a dissertation on abortion.¹⁴⁵ He performed a series of sermons in front of 500 Jews in Whitechapel in the summer and autumn of 1796, apparently convincing them to convert in large numbers. One of his most widely reproduced and distributed sermons, *The Promised Seed*,¹⁴⁶ was translated into Swedish and published with a short introduction about Cooper and his success sermonizing to the Jews. It bore a seal from the cathedral chapter in

143 A copper engraving depicting the event can be seen at <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/28438>. The Jewish Museum in Stockholm had a temporary exhibition featuring several locations associated with Jewish history in the city, including Tyska Kyrkan where the baptism took place. See https://judiskamuseet.se/utforska/traces-of-existence/det-stora-judedopet/det-stora_judedopet/.

144 Anders Berg, *Jesu dop med helig ande och med eld framställt, wid en judisk ynglings döpelse ... Säljes till förmån för församlingens skola* (Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1827).

145 [William Cooper], *Diss. ... inaug. de abortionibus* (Lugduni: Bat., 1767). Attribution of the author by GBV.de.

146 William Cooper, *The promised seed. A sermon preached to God's ancient Israel the Jews, at Sion-Chapel, Whitechapel. On Sunday afternoon, August 28, 1796* (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1796).

Visby, dated 1805,¹⁴⁷ thereby lending legitimacy from the State Church to the revivalist text. Cooper's sermon is not so much antisemitic as it is arrogant: it is a variation on the old Christian art of citing textual evidence from the Old Testament to prove that Jesus is the messiah and that Christians, even the unlearned, have a superior understanding of scriptural prophecies. Swedish readers must have been amazed at the power of the Gospel, when read to 500 Jewish listeners.

In the Swedish version, Cooper's sermon is distributed together with an anonymous text dealing with the same topic. *Bref från en resande jude* is a fictitious letter from a person travelling in Judea and Galilee during Jesus's lifetime and the period immediately after his death. He writes to a Rabbi Aron and tells him about his meeting with Jesus, the miracle of Lazarus, and other events. He is quite convinced that he has met the messiah, predicts great things to come for the rabbi, and promises further news about the deeds of the apostles. The editor of the letter simply states that its source is "Forntiden" (history), and leaves it to the reader to assess this. It is a close translation of a text by Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling, another physician who turned to pietistic and mystical writings later in life. His *Schreiben eines reisenden Juden aus der Vorzeit* probably appeared the same year as the Swedish translation, and was translated into several Germanic languages and printed in chapbook form. Later, the text was also translated into Danish and Icelandic, and distributed in all the Nordic countries – in Iceland, surprisingly enough, surviving in several manuscripts but not in any printed editions.¹⁴⁸ While theologically not very innovative, the version containing Cooper's sermon and the *Bref från en resande jude* lends official ecclesiastical authority to two rather obscure lay testimonies – and thus positions supersessionism as a legitimate feature of the Lutheran Church in Sweden.

What is more surprising is that the translator or editor did not mention the original author by name, given that Heinrich Jung-Stilling was at the time already well known and popular in Sweden, roughly 20 of his texts having been translated and published. Most of these were of a similar character to the *Bref*: open letters and tractates addressing a Christian public, calling for conversion, and predicting the impending victory of the Christian religion – the latter conceptualized as the Pietist form of Protestantism. The significance of this booklet in transmitting anti-Jewish thought lies in the grouping of the two texts: the sermon, which was so powerful that most of the Jewish listeners converted, and

147 William Cooper, *Cooper's Prädikan för judarna, och et bref från en resande jude. Öfwersättning* (Göteborg: Samuel Norberg, 1807).

148 The information on this in Wikipedia is comprehensive, but not verifiable from other, more reliable sources. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schreiben_eines_reisenden_Juden_aus_der_Vorzeit.

the traveller from biblical times bearing witness to Jesus's miracles and writing about them to a rabbi. Together, these present a strong Augustinian argument of Jews being witnesses to Jesus as the messiah and, simultaneously, the necessity and possibility of converting them. The texts also add to the specific Jewish temporality constructed by Christians, using conversion to connect them through the centuries: the travelling Jew converts when he sees Jesus, the British Jews convert when they hear Cooper's sermon.

More theologically rigorous is the autobiography of a Dutch-Portuguese convert, Abraham Capadose, which was translated and printed in at least two editions, the second being published by Evangeliska forsterlands-stiftelsen, a revivalist organization within the State Church.¹⁴⁹ Capadose, a physician, converted in 1822 at the age of 27, subsequently becoming a writer and political activist. He wrote several books and pamphlets about his own conversion, some of them directed at his former Jewish co-religionists. The Swedish edition, which consists of 60 printed pages, does not include a separate preface, but starts with his account of his childhood in an assimilated non-religious Jewish family. He describes services during his childhood as empty, lacking veneration, chaotic, in a language most of the community did not understand. As a teenager, Capadose decided to become a "true Israelite," rejecting liberal Judaism out of "national pride" (p. 11). He then met Christ, and his family punished him for his decision to convert. The excerpt is followed by an afterword by the French editor, professor Petavel of Neufchâtel, which discussed the two men's correspondence about Capadose's wife dying. Like many autobiographies of converts, Capadose expresses disgust regarding Jewish religious practices – a tradition inherited from Johannes Pfefferkorn and a long series of ethnographic writings about Judaism – as well as disappointment about his family's lack of understanding for his decision.

Another convert was David Baron, of Great Britain, who founded the Hebrew Christian Testimony to Israel missionary organization in London. His text *The Jewish Problem – Its Solution or, Israel's Present and Future* was first published in 1891, a translation being published eight years later.¹⁵⁰ While Baron aimed at converting Jews to Hebrew Christianity, a Jewish sect, the text was published in Sweden by the Christian missionary organization Föreningen för Israelsmissionen, which had been founded expressly in order to convert Jews to Christianity.

¹⁴⁹ Abraham Capadose, *Drag ur den portugisiska israeliten doctor Capadose's lefnads-historia: af honom sjelf berättade* (Stockholm: N. Marcus, 1857).

¹⁵⁰ David Baron, *Judefrågan och dess lösning eller Israels nutid och framtid* (Stockholm: Föreningens för Israelsmission förlag, 1898).

At the end of the nineteenth century, conversion themes could also be used as a way to debate different issues. The pamphlet *Den bortrövade judeflickan* (1892) is mainly directed against the Salvation Army, which is said to have stolen a girl from a Polish-Russian-Jewish family in Helsinki and to have hidden her from her parents and the police until she could be baptized. To the extent that the girl's Jewishness plays a role in this tale of the Army's evil deeds, it is that she is said to have "utbildad judetyp" (fully formed Jewish type). This is reinforced on the cover of the booklet, which shows the profile of a girl with black hair, slightly bulging eyes, and a stereotypically large crooked nose. The Christian religion is said to have been "foreign to her and hated by her and her family." Within this story of abduction and forced conversion, Jewishness is described as a race, the girl's baptism the necessarily incomplete assimilation to a foreign culture and religion. However, the main line of criticism is the abduction and hiding of the girl, not so much the question of whether baptism really changes the Jewish essence.



Fig. 5: Title page *Den bortrövade judeflickan* Eva Slawatitsky (Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm).

Towards the end of the century, Christian proselytizing to Swedish Jews became an actual project, and more and more converts published their memoirs and became lay preachers themselves within *Föreningen för Israelsmissionen*; for example, Henrik Steen,¹⁵¹ Nathanael Rosenthal,¹⁵² Philippus Gordon,¹⁵³ and

¹⁵¹ Besides a number of textbooks on Christianity for children, Steen wrote *Israels framtid enligt Gamla Testamentet* (1904) and *Jesu ställning till judafolkets nationella messiasförhoppningar enligt synoptikerna* (1910).

¹⁵² Nathanael Rosenthal, *Min omvändelse från judendomen till kristendomen* (Hedemora, 1885).

Isak Nathanael Sapira.¹⁵⁴ Their autobiographical texts have so far mainly been discussed from the perspective of the Pietist and evangelical circles in which their conversions occurred: the reasons for conversion are discussed, as are the people and organizations arranging their post-conversion activities. Per Hammarström has observed that the narratives follow Pietist and Herrnhutenist traditions and models, and that the patterns of searching, crisis, grace, and salvation follow “nådens ordning” (the Order of Grace), a common form of lay didactic and catechetical guidance in Swedish Low Church groups of the period.¹⁵⁵ But they can also be analysed within the context of anti-Jewish print production, written for and read by a public which was already familiar with religious and political polemics, narratives, and jokes about Jews. The texts not only function within the context of Pietist conversion propaganda, but also within the context of a society which had only granted Emancipation to Jews after decades of heated conflict. It is also worth noting that these texts and, more generally, the series published by Föreningen för Israelsmissionen, were the main factor behind the increased number of published works on Jewish themes towards the end of the century, when the production of political pamphlets about Emancipation had basically ceased and the publishing of legends and novels continued at the same rate as before.

The religious reservations about Judaism played out in the converts' texts as well. Jews were portrayed as stubborn and blind, Judaism and Jewish families as strict, loveless, and law-bound. Furthermore, the migration history of the converts, most of whom came from Eastern Europe (Poland, Lithuania, Russia – this applies to the migration of the last three decades of the century, not earlier), was noted, and this added to the impression of Judaism being strange and foreign. Additionally, the Orthodox Judaism prevalent amongst these immigrants was already conducive to Othering, and the stereotypes derived from this affected even the Reform or assimilated Jews from other areas, as well as those who had already been in Sweden for several generations. Supersessionism was also a factor, and the individual conversions which were enthusiastically celebrated in

153 Gordon wrote a number of texts which were published in the series *Skrifter ur Svenska Israelsmissionen*, amongst them *Jom Kippur: En berättelse ur det judiska folklivet. Öfvers. från tyskan af Teodor Lindhagen* (Stockholm, 1897), in two editions.

154 Isak Nathanael Sapira, *Jude och kristen: Erfarenheter såsom jude och kristen upptecknade* (Stockholm, 1892).

155 Per Hammarström, “Omvändelseberättelser, judemission och svensk lågkyrklighet runt sekelskiftet 1900,” in *Från legofolk till stadsfolk: Festskrift till Börje Harnesk*, *Skrifter från Institutionen för Humaniora* 1, ed. Erik Nydahl (Härnösand: Mittuniversitetet, 2012); Per Hammarström, “Judiska konvertiter till kristendomen i Stockholm 1775–1870,” *Historisk tidskrift* 140 (2020).

sermons, books, and legends led to the hope that the people of Israel would convert as a whole – a familiar Christian utopian-apocalyptic idea. In the converts' narratives, Judaism and Christian hostility towards Jews are a purely religious and cultural issue, while Emancipation and political and economic questions are left unaddressed.¹⁵⁶

One of the reasons for this might be the fact that the German discourse is less prominent in this part of the corpus than in others; while translations from German do appear (Heinrich Jung-Stilling's *Merckwürdige Bekehrungs-Geschichte*), English and Dutch texts serve as the main models for popular post-medieval conversion narratives. Most notably so for the immense production of Swedish originals by people who immigrated from Eastern Europe but converted in Sweden and worked in a Swedish missionary context, which account for the majority of conversion narratives. This may have contributed to the lack of enthusiasm for questions of conversion in the parliamentary and political discourses in the country.

Supersessionism and proto-racism

The broad range of supersessionist thought and arguments laid a basis for racist or proto-racist arguments. As shown above, medieval text models established Jews as a group with specific fixed physiological and psychological characteristics. Conversion narratives added to the idea of Judaism being partly character-

156 One text in particular suggested supersessionism without actually arguing in that direction. *Judendom och kristendom. Ett verk af gudomlig vishet* (Stockholm, 1817) is a 130-page translation of "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation. A Book for the Times. By an American Citizen," by James Barr Walker, a Presbyterian preacher, editor, and writer who would – 15 years after the first English edition of his book – become a professor at Wheaton College, Illinois, a private evangelical liberal arts college. To this day, the book continues to be printed, translated, and published in evangelical circles. There is even an audiobook version available on YouTube. As previously mentioned, the title "Judaism and Christianity" is misleading; Barr Walker argues for the general human need for religion, for the necessity of the development of monotheism, and the historical necessity of the period of Egyptian slavery for the people of Israel. The latter is used as a pedagogical example for Christian salvation: God punished the Jews in Egypt because of an incorrect development of their faith and service, and this should teach Christians a lesson. The period of exile is said to have done important things for the Jewish people regarding their national identity, their faith, and relation to God. Other aspects of the Hebrew Bible are also used as models for a desirable Christian development: a concept of holiness (chapter 7) and concepts of justice and mercy (chapter 8). Conversion is discussed in the book but only in the sense of Christians' conversion to a Christian life. Even the much longer English original, which ends with a number of examples of converts, does not contain a Jewish example.

ized by ancient, incomprehensible, and meaningless rules and laws, partly corrupted by the evil of the deicide. These aspects were brought together in texts from various authors, writing in different countries on different topics, targeting Judaism as a religion and, as a result, also targeting Jews as a collective religious Other.

An early example that brought these aspects together in a distinctively racist combination appeared in the *annus horribilis* 1815. In some ways, it can be seen as related to the *judedefjden* of that year; in others, it is more remarkable because it combines so many different anti-Jewish aspects, going far beyond the immediate issues at hand. Besides “nation” and “state,” even “race” is used as a collective term (p. 22) – its application to the Jews may even be one of the earliest examples of this term being used in this way in Swedish.¹⁵⁷

The title was *Om judarnas företräde, välde och lycka* (On the benefits, dominion, and luck of the Jews); it was published anonymously but was later attributed to Carl Gustaf Nordforss, whose contribution to the public controversy around granting Jews more rights in Sweden was to pen a satirical fictitious dialogue between a Catholic bishop in Venice and a rabbi.¹⁵⁸ The idea of Jews as an unchangeable race with unchangeable characteristics is central to the text, which employs religious, cultural, and legal arguments.

Following a career in the military and the upper echelons of public administration, Nordforss had been appointed to the vice-directorate of the Dramatiska Teatern in 1799 and then to the Stockholm opera. In this capacity, he staged, wrote, and translated a number of plays and operas, becoming the important voice of a conservative artistic school and introducing a collection of conservative French composers to a Swedish audience.¹⁵⁹ In its first edition in 1815, the satirical dialogue *Om judarnas företräde* was also falsely presented as a translation, which must be considered an attempt to lend legitimacy to the text by pre-

157 SAOB, lemma “ras, subst.2”: “större grupp av individer hörande till en viss biologisk art, som uppvisar vissa gemensamma biologiska, ärftliga egenskaper, varigm den skiljer sig från andra grupper av samma art, o. som bildar en på olika sätt fixerad, ofta tämligen obestämt avgränsad enhet inom arten; grupp av biotyper med vissa gemensamma egenskaper l. med viss genomsnittlig ärftlig konstitution; ofta abstraktare, med tanke på det slag l. den typ av individer l. de egenskaper som en sådan grupp representerar. Ren, oblandad, blandad ras.” SAOB finds that the first use of the word in this way was in 1818, earlier uses pertaining to the field of animals and plants and race as “om dylik grupp av människor; stundom använt utan klar avgränsning från: folk, folkstam l. dyl.” SAOB, Spalt R 324 band 21, 1956.

158 Carl Gustaf Nordforss, *Om judarnas företräde, välde och lycka: samtal* (Stockholm: Cederborgh & Comp., 1815).

159 K. J. Warburg, “Nordforss,” in *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi 19: Mykenai – Norrpada* (Stockholm: Nordisk familjeboks förlags aktiebolag, 1913), 1283.

senting it as if it were part of an international discourse. It is the only text about Jews in Nordforss's oeuvre – at least, the only one identified to date, since he used a number of different pseudonyms for his writings, and it is possible that others might still lie hidden in the vast number of publications from the year 1815. Nordforss was obviously both well respected and connected within Stockholm's cultural and academic circles at the time; he won prizes from the Swedish Academy for his poetry and was also published in various newspapers.

The two protagonists, a Catholic and a Jew, are spending an evening together in Venice. The bishop, in the hope of converting the rabbi, tries to convince the latter that the messiah has already returned. This meets with an arrogant monologue by the rabbi in which he states that the messiah's return simply means a period of power and wealth for all Jews, which had already begun. The bishop serves merely as an excuse for this monologue; he answers only very briefly at the end of the 25 pages. In several subchapters, the rabbi argues that Jews actually enjoyed a better position in contemporary societies than Christians, concluding with the well-worn argument that their religion and their "nature" made them a state within the state, a hostile one even, only profiting from their host, whom they despise and hate. "Juden förblifver jude in saecula saeculorum." (The Jew remains a Jew for all eternity, p. 10). Jews are consequently called a "nation" in this text, even "den stora nationen" (p. 2). The rabbi opposes the granting of civil rights to Jews because this would require the fulfilment of civil duties, and Jews are quite content to not work with their hands or on the land but to instead own factories and farms. Subchapter 13 is of interest regarding religion: here, the rabbi describes religious tolerance as something that only works for other religions, while it would be wiser for all societies to force Jews to convert, because the problem is not that they are of a different religion but that their religion commands them to be hostile to others (pp. 23–14). The motif of Jewish hostility appears several times in the text, the rabbi claiming that it is grounded in the Jewish holy books, as is the injunction for Jews to not mix with other peoples but to form distinct and hostile societies within their host societies – "en stat inom staten" (p. 8). While the holy book which commands hostility is not named, this is a direct but somewhat muted reference to the medieval and early modern attempts to ban and burn the Talmud, simply because of the hostility it was said to contain against Christians.¹⁶⁰

160 See Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, "Jewish Life and Books Under Scrutiny: Ethnography, Polemics, and Converts," in *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews: Johannes Pfefferkorn and Christian Writings About Jewish Life and Literature in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017); Robert Chazan, "Trial, Condemnation, and Censorship: The Talmud in Medieval Europe," in *The Trial of the Talmud: Paris, 1240, Medi-*

Nordforss does not stop there. Even Jewish virtues can be traced back to a basis in vice: they do not drink because they are afraid they might tell someone their secrets, they do not fight because they are cowards (pp. 27–28). Whereas other people change throughout history, Jews have an eternal plan: to steal from Christians (p. 29).

There is only one explicit reference to Sweden: the rabbi says that members of various nations, “även Indianer,” have moved there and that their children and grandchildren have merged with the population and have become Swedish, quite unlike the Jews (pp. 8–9). “En evig oförblandande, en evig ovandelbarhet” (an eternal non-mixing, an eternal inability to change), are presented as the essential characteristics of the Jewish people – there are even allusions to the Eternal Jew and the Ahasver legend. Implicitly, however, many of the arguments refer to the Swedish situation: for example, the fact that the *judereglemente* allows Jews to enter business and trade without the otherwise mandatory apprenticeships – only, the text suggests that Jews enjoy this privilege around the world (p. 15).

The rabbi employs several metaphors and biblical references in order to illustrate the relation between Christians and Jews. Jews are “the king in the chess game” (p. 12) because all the other pieces work to defend them. Jews are Jacob, while Christians are Esau, because Christians serve in most Jewish households and Jews do not work in physically demanding professions, unlike Christians (p. 11). (The rabbi seems uncertain about where this reference fits into Genesis, hinting towards his lack of religious education.) Jews were already dancing around the Golden Calf at the foot of Mount Sinai and are still mainly interested in gold (p. 19). The eternal essence of Jewish evil and the eternal presence of a Jewish secret plan are illustrated by the biblical story of Haman, in the Book of Esther, who was able to see through the Jews’ plans to take over the Persian city of Susan, just as they dominate some capital cities in Europe today. This story is used for a several-pages-long exposition of how and why Jews are plotting to take control of European cities (pp. 30–35). The biblical allusions therefore cover all the main non-religious stereotypes: Jewish dominance and conspiracy, greed for money, and hatred of Christians, forging yet another connection between religion and other forms of hostility.

Kristendomen, dess uppkomst, dess lära, dess historia och dess utveckling jemte judendomens historia och litteratur. Efter nyaste forskningar utarbetad för

aeval Sources in Translation 53, ed. John Friedman, Jean Hoff, and Robert Chazan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012).

*folket af Nils Lilja*¹⁶¹ presented Judaism and Christianity with the familiar theme of the one replacing the other. In the introduction, the author displays a distinctly racist worldview: “Den kaukasiska eller hwita folkstammen är den senast tilkomna och mest intelligenta race, den enda som betydigen uppträdt och werkat i werldshistorien [...]” (The Caucasian or white tribe is the most recently developed and most intelligent race, the only one of significance to have appeared and to have had an influence on world history, p. 4). Since the “white race” is said to be the creator of all religion and culture, at least Jews are subsumed as white, even though their contribution to world history is relegated to the distant past. The chapters dealing with Judaism basically paraphrase the Pentateuch then present a short and popular history of the people of Israel in the Egyptian, Persian, Greek, and Roman Empires, up to the destruction of the Second Temple. Nils Lilja, the author of this educational work of religious history, was a botanist, but he was not the only one to use the vocabulary of the emerging racial sciences in order to describe the relation between two of the major monotheistic religions.

From Meiners to Nordmann: foreign antisemitism translated

*Såra bevis emot judarna. Ur Meiners afhandling über den Handel und die Gewerbe der Völker des Mittelalters*¹⁶² is a translation of a text that does not explicitly deal with Judaism as a religion, but which nonetheless draws a connection between the religious and economic aspects of hostility. The subtitle describes it as a translation of a German dissertation, but provides the incorrect title: volume 2 of Christoph Meiners’s work *Historische Vergleichung der Sitten und Verfassungen, der Gesetze und Gewerbe, des Handels und der Religion, der Wissenschaften und Lehranstalten des Mittelalters und denen unseres Jahrhunderts in Rücksicht auf die Vortheile und Nachtheile der Aufklärung* was its model. The translation follows the model word for word, from pages 19 to 27; only one paragraph at the end, regarding the decline of trade in connection with a general decline in morals, is omitted. Footnotes and references are also translated. The only truly original contribution by the Swedish translator or editor is the title: “Hard evi-

¹⁶¹ *Kristendomen, dess uppkomst, dess lära, dess historia och dess utveckling jemte judendomens historia och litteratur. Efter nyaste forskningar utarbetad för folket af Nils Lilja* (Stockholm, 1860).

¹⁶² Christoph Meiners, *Såra bevis emot judarna, ur Meiners afhandling über den Handel und die Gewerbe der Völker des Mittelalters*, trans. Lorenzo Hammarööld (Stockholm: Fr. Cederborgh & comp., 1815).

dence against the Jews.” *Svenskt översättarlexikon* attributes this translation to Lorenzo Hammarsköld,¹⁶³ a Neo-Romantic translator, writer, and poet. It is unclear whether he was also responsible for the relatively unwarranted title. Indeed, the pages from Meiners’s work do contain a diatribe in which Jews are blamed for the catastrophic state of commerce and moneylending throughout the entire Middle Ages.¹⁶⁴ But this is based on the selective choice of pages to translate – just before, Meiners writes about the splendid business practices of the Hanseatic League and the excellent conditions for trade in the Netherlands, ascribed to liberal immigration laws and freedom of religion. Even though Meiners is today granted the title of “inventor of racism,”¹⁶⁵ the work in question does not claim that the entire Middle Ages were devoid of functioning trade practices, just to blame Jews for this state of affairs. But this is exactly the impression the Swedish excerpt gives: that Jews had plunged Christian Europe into misery, from Carolingian times to the Reformation. This timeframe suggests that the Catholic period in general was a period of decay, and the fact that Meiners also blames the ecclesiastical elites in Italy for practising usury, which they had learned from the Jews, additionally combines anti-Judaism with anti-Catholicism. In this way, yet another historical period is used to conflate religious and other forms of difference regarding the Jews.

Also in 1815, an anonymous translator reproduced eight pages from the many volumes of Tobias Smollett’s *History of England*, titling it *Berättelse, huru judarne äro ansedda i England*.¹⁶⁶ At first sight, neither the title nor the original text model suggests anything to do with the Jewish faith. The publication examines the circumstances surrounding the 1753 “Jew Bill,” which would have granted the British parliament the power to naturalize Jews. According to

163 Ludvig Berggren, “Lorenzo Hammarsköld, 1785–1827,” in *Svenskt översättarlexikon*, https://litteraturbanken.se/oversattarlexikon/artiklar/Lorenzo_Hammarskold.

164 Christoph Meiners, *Historische Vergleichung der Sitten und Verfassungen, der Gesetze und Gewerbe, des Handels, und der Religion, der Wissenschaften, und Lehranstalten des Mittelalters mit denen unsers Jahrhunderts: in Rücksicht auf die Vortheile, und Nachtheile der Aufklärung* (Hannover: Helwing, 1793).

165 Peter Aufgebauer, “Christoph Meiners. Ein Göttinger Philosoph erfindet den Rassismus,” in *Entdeckt, Erdacht, Erfunden: 20 Göttinger Geschichten von Genie und Irrtum*, ed. Teresa Nentwig and Katharina Trittel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019).

166 Tobias George Smollett, *Berättelse, huru judarne äro ansedde i England. Öfversatt från medicine doktor T. Smollets historia* (Stockholm: Fr. Cederborgh & comp., 1815); [Tobias George Smollett], *Continuation of the Complete History of England*; 5 vols (London, 1763–65), also known as *The History of England from the Revolution to the Death of George II (designed as a continuation of Mr. Hume’s History)*; vol. 2. For more about Smollett, see <https://www.ne.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lang/tobias-smollett>.

Smollett, the bill passed easily through the House of Lords but met with resistance in the House of Commons and amongst the population.¹⁶⁷ The bill had to be revoked less than a year after its approval, and Smollett gives a detailed description of the arguments and emotions of the members of parliament and of the population who were against the bill, as well as the steps taken to revoke it. This part is surprisingly detailed, providing the names and positions of various lords and ministers. Specific parts of the bill which were deliberated upon at different times are also discussed; for instance, the role of a constitutional amendment which granted naturalization to Jews who had been living in a British colony for more than seven years, which was also revoked due to popular protests. Smollett himself – both in the English original and in the Swedish translation – clearly disapproves of the arguments against the bill, which he portrays as overly emotional. But he argues from a supersessionist position, and his words regarding the Jewish faith are harsh and biased: useless, wrong, hardened, blind. He states that the Jews will convert in the Last Days in order to be reunited with their creator but are to live homeless and wandering amongst the nations until then (p. 6). His clearly expressed hope was that once Jews were given the possibility of naturalization, they would abandon their “öfvertro” (superstition, p. 7). Besides the eternal wandering, which might be remedied by naturalization followed by conversion, Smollett sees parsimony as a distinctly Jewish feature, which helps them to offer products for cheaper prices and thereby take over branches of business – whether this is a part of their character, or whether it is something that could be remedied by conversion, is not made clear. Besides the usual fears of economic dominance, the possibility is discussed that Jews might be able to buy *jura patronatum*, and thereby gain power over Christian ecclesiastic matters – a possibility already precluded before the entire bill was revoked. Smollett instead suggests that the influx of economically powerful Jews would help the British economy, and that the problems of integration would simply not occur, because the Jews would automatically realize the truth of the Gospel.

With hindsight, this text almost seems to predict the revoked Swedish Emancipation bill of 1838; in fact, it seems that the parliamentary proceedings were of more interest to Smollett and his anonymous Swedish translator than the actual arguments against naturalization. Within the corpus, this is one of only two texts dealing with British relations, the other being Cooper’s sermon for the conversion of Jews. It qualifies as a text with a primarily religious theme because the

167 See Dana Rabin, “The Jew Bill of 1753: Masculinity, Virility, and the Nation,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39, no. 2 (2006).

Jews are exclusively seen as a religious community, the chosen text sample focuses on religious arguments, and, for the most part, the author's hostility towards Jews stems from supersessionism – most of his concerns regarding Jewish misdeeds will be dealt with, he suggests, once they have all converted.

In July 1818, some anonymous pages were printed in the *Oppositions-Blatt oder Weimarische Zeitung* under the title “Ein Sohn Israels an seine Brüder.”¹⁶⁸ That same year, a close translation was published in Sweden as an independent and similarly anonymous 14-page pamphlet, with a subtitle and a hint that the original was in German. No editor's or translator's preface, however, provided any indication as to where the text came from or why it had been chosen for translation. It is a subtle but mean-spirited text, suggesting that if the Jews had been held in captivity and slavery for more than 2,000 years, despite having behaved more like lords than slaves in their host countries, it was up to them to put an end to their bondage. The solution, presented in the last third of the text, would be to conquer the land of Israel. *En son Israels till sina bröder* bases its argument on the idea of an eternal, never-changing collective Jewish character. It is written from a mock Jewish perspective, in the first person plural, and is addressed to “my/our brothers.” While the author does not dismiss cultural determinism, which holds that a people's character is determined by its surroundings, Jews are presented as an exception, resistant to changing their collective character even though they live in so many different places. “Hvarken Nordens köld eller den tropiska solens hetta har kunnat förändra vår National-character.” (Neither the cold of the North nor the heat of the tropical sun have been able to change our national character, p. 1). All other ancient peoples have disappeared, the Jews are the only “eternal ones.” These eternal Jewish characteristics help them to win in all wars yet prevent them from benefiting from universal human rights. The text connects contemporary Jewry with the biblical people of Israel. It alludes to the story of Ezra, who rebuilt the temple, and appeals to Jews to go back to the Holy Land. But since they are not wanted there, they will first need to learn to fight, preferably in the German armies. Since all the European countries would be happy to be rid of them, they would support the formation of a Jewish army, sell them weapons and supplies, and help them to learn military techniques in order to successfully fight the Turks. Jews would want to put an end to the current period in which they only “tära och drage vinsten af andras arbeten” (eat and reap the benefits of others' work,

168 Anonymous, *En son Israels till sina bröder: en anmaning till judarna att åter inkräkta det förlofvade landet: ifrån tyskan* (Stockholm: Elmén och Granberg, 1818).

p. 13) through trade and usury. The Lord's wrath will not last forever, and the Jews can put an end to their exile if they want to (p. 14).

Towards the end of the century, another text appeared in which a Jewish exodus from Europe was suggested, in a similarly satirical form and also with a presumed Jewish speaker. Here, too, Judaism was itself presented as the source of the problem. In *Råd till judarne / från tyskan*¹⁶⁹ the ongoing migration from Western Europe to recently independent Argentina was portrayed as an attempt to form an entirely German-Jewish colony. In a spiteful tone, descriptions of everyday life in Buenos Aires were mixed with calls to convince economically powerful Jews to organize the mass migration. Printed in Stockholm in 1882, this text strangely anticipated the formation of the Jewish Colonization Association by Baron Maurice de Hirsch, even though this organization mainly assisted Eastern European Jews in reaching Argentina from 1889 on.

Older text models were also used in Sweden to portray Judaism as a vile religion. In the German lands, a combination of ethnographic and linguistic studies had emerged which purported to expose the presumed *secreta Iudaeorum*, while also continuing the medieval tradition of using Jewish texts to “prove” that Jews were wrong. A prominent example was the two volumes of Johann Andreas Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*. These had been subject to an attempt to prevent their publication in the Holy Roman Empire due to their hostile content, but they appeared posthumously in 1740 in Königsberg. Eisenmenger used quotations and translations from rabbinical texts, combining and interpreting them in such a way as to support longstanding anti-Jewish ideas: that hidden in the rabbinical texts and the Kabbalah was a secret Jewish plan for world domination, political intrigue, and turmoil, as well as general abuse of Christians. There are uncorroborated claims that Eisenmenger pretended to be a convert in order to be able to learn from Jewish scholars; in the end, he spent 19 years searching through rabbinical writings in order to “expose” the secret plan.¹⁷⁰

The Protestant theologian Christian Frank took Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* from 1700 and prepared a 90-page abstract from it, adding no really original material – because, as Frank notes in his introduction, very few people were as qualified as Eisenmenger, a professor of Hebrew knowledgeable in Oriental languages, to unlock the secrets of rabbinical texts. In 1822, a translation of

¹⁶⁹ Anonymous, *Råd till judarne / från tyskan* (Stockholm: H. Lindgren, 1882).

¹⁷⁰ Bjoern Weigel, “Eisenmenger, Johann Andreas,” in *Handbuch des Antisemitismus*, vol. 2.1, 200–1.

Frank's book *Die Juden und das Judenthum, wie sie sind* was prepared in Sweden and published in Linköping, six years after its original publication in German.¹⁷¹

The major part of Christian Frank's book consists of selections from the translations and quotations of *Entdecktes Judenthum*. In a similar vein, Frank collected and combined quotations out of context in order to "prove" the existence of a Jewish conspiracy to overthrow the governments of Christian states. The quotations themselves are real, but their lack of context and their selection from anti-Christian polemics simply serve to portray all Jewish texts as generally hostile. The introduction clearly states the purpose of the entire project: to move secular leaders to "protect" their territories by expelling the subversive Jews.

So the Swedish translation is a reworked version of an abridged, reworked version of an early eighteenth-century selection of cherry-picked quotations from a collection of rabbinical texts – but it purports to be a presentation of faithful translations of quotations from the Talmud. It is structured around five subtopics: What do Jews teach about other peoples? What do Jews teach about the Christians? Various aspects of Jewish ethics. What do Jews teach about God? What do Jews teach about the soul?

The introduction, however, must have been written by an anonymous author or the anonymous translator, as it is different from the introduction by Frank. The Swedish writer expresses his fear that despite the fact that Sweden had yet to experience a major Jewish influx, caution is warranted because of what Jews might do to the country in the future. The book is therefore an attempt to prevent the liberalization of restrictions for the Swedish Jewish minority, its argument based on timeless Jewish writings with the idea being: if they have been this cruel before, they will be so forever. Explaining why the work was translated, the introduction refers to the role of the Jews in the current repression of Greeks in the Orient, which is described as a warning written in blood. Jews do not feel bound by any social commitments. The term "fremde Glaubensgenossen" (foreign brothers in faith), which had become popular in Germany, was introduced in order to cover up the expression of their national character in the Orient. In its wisdom, the Swedish government has prevented a "Jude-intrång" (Jew-invasion) so far, but no one knows what the future holds: various potential threats Jews might pose in the future are imagined, particularly threats by rich Swedish Jews, with constant references to the "Jewish character" (p. 4). Here, too, the hope is voiced that in the course of a national awakening, Jews will be expelled to the Holy Land. "Utan fädernesland, utan Landsmän (sådane se

171 [Christian Frank], *Judendomen, framställd utur de rabbinske skrifterna, såsom en fiende till christendomen och den rena sedligheten* (Linköping: Petre och Abrahamsson, 1822).

de blott bland sig sjelfwe) äga de inga andra förhållanden till oss än egenyttans, – utvecklade ofta på scandalöst sätt.” (With no fatherland, without fellow countrymen (these they are only to themselves), they have no relation to us other than self-interest, developed in a scandalous form, p. 6). Christians have to work for the Jews. They are lords, “we” are servants. The introduction is a logically incoherent, fiercely hostile screed against all Jews, while also describing Sweden as being free from the problem, though in danger nonetheless. The expressed opposition to the term “Glaubensgenossen” while simultaneously mentioning Jewish “national character” indicate that the author wants to argue against a religious, and in favour of a national, essentialist, and biological, definition of Jewishness. References to the German lands help to position the translator politically: he mentions Frankfurt and Lübeck as good examples of places that rid themselves of Jews, and he names a particular text as an exemplar of Jewish rotteness: Philipp Wolfers’s “Aufruf an alle edeldenkenden Israeliten” from 1821. Wolfers (1796–1832), a Jewish physician, had published a number of texts in which he argued for medical control of circumcision and for the establishment of Jewish pedagogical institutions.¹⁷² While the false suggestion that Lübeck and Frankfurt had expelled their Jewish communities seems ungrounded (at least for this period), the singling out of Wolfers seems to point in the same direction as the “Glaubensgenossen” argument: Jews who advocate assimilation into Christian societies and improved living conditions and educational opportunities for Jews are particularly dangerous. This introduction, combined with the quotations from rabbinical texts, portrays Jews as an eternal danger to Christian societies, shaped by their ancient laws demanding hostility, and putting these into practice wherever they settle.

The publication of *Judendomen, framställd utur de rabbinske skrifterna* is significant in several regards. First, it reveals an interest in Christian–Jewish relations in the German areas and an early attempt to adapt the German texts for a Swedish public – even though the situation was entirely different in Sweden. By adding a new introduction addressing Swedish realities, the translator suggested that the “Jewish danger” was also present in the North, or at least soon would be. Who might have been the intended audience for this book? The inclusion of German names and texts, without further comment, suggests an audience well versed in German anti-Jewish discourse. The featured “rabbinical writings” connect it to a centuries-old fascination with the *secreta Iudaeorum*, which can

172 Arno Herzig, “Das Assimilationsproblem aus jüdischer Sicht (1780–1880),” in *Conditio Judaica: Judentum, Antisemitismus und deutschsprachige Literatur*, ed. Hans O. Horch and Horst Denkler (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1988), 23.

largely be traced back to Johannes Pfefferkorn in sixteenth-century Cologne. Finally, the focus on both Jewish religious and biological features meshed with racist arguments against an emancipated and assimilated Jewry, the likes of which did not exist in Sweden.

In contrast to many other anti-Jewish texts, the book provoked a response from “S. P.,” most likely a member of the small Jewish community in Sweden.¹⁷³ This indicates that the attempt to use Jewish sources to prove Jews evil was felt to be more dangerous than most other strategies to defame Jews – at least, it had a long historical tradition, from the burning of the Talmud in Paris in the thirteenth century to Johannes Pfefferkorn’s book-burning campaigns. The response, *Några ord om den skandalösa brochuren Judendomen*, argued that the rabbinical texts in question were very old and of essentially no significance to contemporary Jews and their religious teachings and, furthermore, that certain historical relations between Jews and Greeks were inaccurately portrayed.

The German lands continued to provide fresh products of antisemitic writing; as in previous cases, the Swedish Jewish community was most concerned about those which claimed to use Jewish texts to prove Jewish hostility. In 1822, Friedrich Buchholz’s *Judarne i verldshistoriskt afseende*¹⁷⁴ was published. Buchholz’s previous book, *Moses und Jesus oder über das intellektuelle und moralische Verhältnis der Juden und Christen. Eine historisch-politische Abhandlung* (1803), already painted a detailed and highly negative picture of the religious foundations of Judaism.

Buchholz’s attitude towards Jewish Emancipation was complicated. He had co-authored the Hardenberg Edict of 1812 and protested against the use of his texts in the Danish antisemitic debate,¹⁷⁵ but his works that were translated into Swedish are clearly hostile. He was not only a prominent intellectual in Sweden, he was also an important influence on the fathers of Norway’s constitution of 1814.¹⁷⁶ He saw not just Jews, but also Christians, as eternal groups, within which each “fully developed” individual displayed certain characteristics – in the case of the Jews, selfishness and particularism, in the case of the Christians,

173 Anonymous, *Några ord om den skandalösa brochuren: Judendomen, framställd utur de rabbiniska skrifterna såsom en fiende till christendomen och den rena sedligheten* (Carlskrona: Flygare, 1822).

174 Friedrich Buchholz, *Judarne i verldshistoriskt afseende* (Stockholm, 1822).

175 See Iwan-Michelangelo D’Aprile and Håkon Harket. “Constitutional Discourse and Anti-Judaism: Friedrich Buchholz and Christian Magnus Falsen,” in *The Exclusion of Jews in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814: Origins – Contexts – Consequences*, ed. Christhard Hoffmann, Studien zum Antisemitismus in Europa 10 (Berlin: Metropol, 2016).

176 Harket, *Paragrafen*, 379 – 80.

selfless contributions to the general development of humanity. Those individuals who did not fit into this framework were not fully developed, he claimed, employing an essentialist understanding of populations and their collective character traits – what some decades later would be known by the term “völkisch.” While Buchholz himself shifted his opinion after 1809, towards favouring Emancipation as a way to eventually get rid of Judaism, the Swedish translations functioned within the contemporary debate as statements against any possibility of integration. The translation of Buchholz’s anti-Jewish texts occurred at the same time as the translation of some of his later liberal-democratic writings about the European states after the Napoleonic wars – after all, Buchholz’s political agenda was not only antisemitic, it was also liberal, proto-socialist, and directed against the nobility.¹⁷⁷ Another one of Buchholz’s antisemitic texts was translated and published anonymously in two parts, as a contribution to the 1815 judefejden.¹⁷⁸ *Lurifaxiana* was a compilation of several of Buchholz’s statements regarding Jewish history and rituals being signs of an inferior culture. It also contained excerpts and translations of Jewish texts and terms, suggesting that their laws commanded Jews to betray Christians, to not keep their oaths to Christians, to exact revenge against converts, etc. The two parts of the booklet provoked a response from Heinrich Heilborn, a Jewish immigrant, who not only criticized the content but also the faulty translation of Hebrew terms and concepts.¹⁷⁹

Other texts by Buchholz were combined with Friedrich Rühs’s *Über die Ansprüche der Juden auf das deutsche Bürgerrecht* and published as *Judarnas Chrönika* (in two parts) in 1822.¹⁸⁰ Containing no indication of year or place of publication, Jakob Friedrich Fries’s commentary on Rühs’s pamphlet, titled *Über die Gefährdung des Wohlstandes und Charakters der Deutschen durch die Juden* (published in German in 1816) was also issued in Swedish.¹⁸¹ Fries’s text, while based on religious arguments, anticipated several proposals that would later be associated with racist antisemitism: he advocated expulsion or emigration, compared Jews to animals, and advocated the need for distinguishing marks. Fries argued against any Jewish presence and for a religiously homo-

177 Werner Bergmann, “Buchholz, Paul Ferdinand Friedrich,” in *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 2.1.

178 See also the Introduction.

179 Heinrich Heilborn, *Lurifalsiana eller Den tilltvälade Lurifaxiana. Första och sista häftet* (Göteborg: Sam. Norberg, 1815).

180 Friedrich Buchholz, *Judarnas chrönika*, 2 vols (Stockholm: Zacharias Haeggström, 1822).

181 Jakob Friedrich Fries, *Om den fara, för hvilken vår välfärd och karakter blottställas genom Judarna. Ett bihang till Prof. Rühs’skrift om Judarna* (s.l., s.a.)

genous German nation-state¹⁸² – an argument well suited to the Swedish debate and state.

In 1839, one year after the failed attempt to grant civil rights to Jews in Sweden, Ekmarck's printing house in Strängnäs published *Jude-emancipationen* by Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, translated into Swedish by Eric Malmberg.¹⁸³ The German original had appeared in 1837 in *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*.¹⁸⁴ Its title notwithstanding, this is not a discussion of Emancipation but a theological and exegetical treatise, and as such it qualifies as part of the discussion of supersessionism. Hengstenberg was a prominent advocate of supersessionism and of the typological model, which interpreted the Hebrew Bible, in its entirety, as a prefiguration of the Gospel. His opposition to civil and political rights for Jews was justified by religious arguments.¹⁸⁵ While the idea of biblical prefiguration remains important in this text, it projects the idea that Christianity has rendered Judaism obsolete onto an abstract "Jew" while discussing Emancipation. Hengstenberg, while strongly opposed to Emancipation, concedes that it has already been realized and insists that he does not wish to withdraw the rights granted – instead, his argument is that, regardless of whether they are granted rights, "the Jew" will remain the same and, regardless of their rights, "the Jew" will remain unfree because freedom is only possible through the Gospel. "Man emanciperar det som man icke kan göra fritt" (One emancipates that which one cannot free, p. 41). The only mention of the subject is the claim that, even if they have received civil rights, Jews participate only superficially in their duties towards the state because they are a "folk utan stat" – an interesting juxtaposition to the numerous "stat inom staten" statements.

Most of the text consists of theological explanations of Psalms and other parts of the Hebrew Bible. In some cases, these are brought in relation to contemporary Jews, whom Hengstenberg sees as entirely anachronistic – their previous virtue, monotheism, having been destroyed by the living God, and their having thus become alienated from the contemporary world, which is based on the Christian worldview and the Christian relation to God and the world. In terms of Jewish foreignness to the world, their relation to trade, craftsmanship, and ad-

182 Bjoern Weigel, "Fries, Jakob Friedrich," in *Handbuch des Antisemitismus*, vol. 2.1.

183 Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, *Jude-emancipationen* (Strängnäs: Carl Erik Ekmarck, 1839).

184 Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, "Die Emancipation der Juden," in *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* 20 (1837).

185 Regarding the conclusion of Hengstenberg's antisemitism, see Klaus Beckmann, *Die fremde Wurzel: Altes Testament und Judentum in der evangelischen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2002), 268–69.

ministration is portrayed as entirely different from that of Christians in similar positions. For example, Jews could teach languages or work as craftsmen, but they could not become part of the Christian institutions – schools, guilds – which imbued these professions with the right spirit. Hengstenberg recommends that within Christian societies, Jews only be allowed to do unskilled work, while they could become scholars and experts within their own communities. Conversion is not of much interest in this text: converts usually remain secret Jews out of loyalty to their forefathers (p. 14).

Hengstenberg gives detailed explanations of how the “Jewish character” derives from the relation between Jew, God, and law. It is heartless, greedy, false, and lacks honour (p. 13). “The Jew” consists of nothing but abstraction and individualism. With its extreme dualism, Hengstenberg’s view fits very neatly into David Nirenberg’s framework of the enduring characteristics of anti-Judaism: “the Jew” is presented as abstract, individual, law-centred, disconnected from the world; “the Christian” as concrete, communal, spirit-centred, loving the world.¹⁸⁶

This text once again established a strong connection between religious and racial stereotypes, presenting the idea of a religiously grounded, unchangeable Jewish character as an argument in a contemporary political debate. What it proposed for Swedish Jewish–Christian relations was similar to what had prevailed in medieval Christian societies before and between outbreaks of violence: Jewish minorities being the barely tolerated, hated, and despised Other, who could be targeted for violence at any time because the violence could always be legitimized. Hengstenberg’s politicization of biblical exegesis¹⁸⁷ carried even more weight in the Swedish context, where the elimination of all non-Protestant religions might have actually seemed feasible.

Finally, in 1880, a translation of the ninth (out of thirteen) edition of Heinrich G. Nordmann’s pamphlet *Die Juden und der deutsche Staat* appeared in Sweden.¹⁸⁸ First issued in 1860, subsequent editions had been published by Theodor Fritsch in the context of the *Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*. The Swedish preface presents it as an important warning from another country, one where the Jewish influx was much further advanced and where people were more open about their negative feelings towards Jews. The anonymous translator ends his preface with, “Må gamla Sverige aldrig bli lika förjudadt som Tyskland!” The later chapters present what were by then well-worn arguments against Jewish equality and ac-

¹⁸⁶ Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism*, 1–13.

¹⁸⁷ Beckmann, *Die fremde Wurzel*, 268.

¹⁸⁸ [Heinrich Nordmann], *Judarne och den tyska staten*. Stockholm: Ulrik Fredriksons, 1880 (three editions, see appendix).

cess to government and military positions, whereas the first chapter rehashes the somewhat illogical idea of Judaism as a contract between YHWH – “as a secular ruler” – and the Jews, from which the latter were supposed to receive benefits in a variety of secular fields (p. 6). Jewish law is described as a “constitution” (ibid.) and is thereby compared to the political and social order of a nation-state. Jewish religious feasts are said to simply be commemorating events in the history of the nation. Finally, in the conclusion, Judaism is not presented as a religion but as a *race* (“ras,” p. 12, 14): initially constituted by religious laws, as a consequence of centuries of oppression it then turned into a racial type with a specific phenology and character, and as such encompassed both religious and assimilated Jews (p. 23). The entire pamphlet uses terms connected to race, argues against mixed-race marriages, proclaims a general hostility of the “Jewish race” towards the “Germanic race,” and so on – the full scope of racist antisemitism being published in two editions in Sweden in 1880.

Besides these prominent examples of German antisemitic texts being translated into Swedish, Wilhelm Marr’s *Judarnes seger öfver germanerne betraktad från social och politisk ståndpunkt* was also translated (Uppsala, 1881). As one of few texts in this corpus, it was also printed in Finland, in 1920 and 1921.¹⁸⁹

Conspiracy theories

In 1846, a French text, written in the first person under the pseudonym “Satan,” was translated into Swedish and published as *En uppbygglig och sällsam historia om Rothschild I, judarnes konung* (An edifying and noteworthy story about Rothschild I, king of the Jews).¹⁹⁰ It introduced a very specific and distinctly modern conspiracy theory into Sweden: Nathan Rothschild, the successful banker and immigrant from Frankfurt am Main to London, was accused of having known the outcome of the Battle of Waterloo beforehand and of having manipulated the stock market accordingly, resulting in immense profits for himself. The author of this text was Georges-Marie Mathieu-Dairnvaell, a French socialist and writer who concocted this story in connection with his fears about the development of the railway system and the Rothschilds’ investment in it – he also pointed to a train accident in 1846 as proof of its general dangerousness. In this mix of fear of modern transportation, Jew-hatred, and French national humiliation, the

¹⁸⁹ See appendix.

¹⁹⁰ Satan, *En uppbygglig och sällsam historia om Rothschild I, judarnes konung* (Stockholm: Elmén and Granberg, 1846).

Rothschild family was presented as a group of conspirators secretly working to advance their own – and, more generally, Jewish – interests, well-connected through their financial affairs, and controlling secular rulers with their economic power.

This text did not introduce conspiracy theories to Sweden, it was just one text which made one very specific idea in this field very explicit. The broader idea that Jews conspired and acted in secret had been known since the Middle Ages and was transmitted in various texts, using religious differences as a vehicle and an argument. As a commentary on the ongoing riots and conflicts surrounding King Karl XIV Johan's attempt to grant Emancipation to Jews in Sweden in 1838, Johan Gustaf Hjerta wrote a spiteful and hate-filled pamphlet titled *Omskärelsen eller den stundande tiden*, published anonymously.¹⁹¹ The text suggested that the Jews were conspiring together with their friends to take power in Sweden and to judaize all Swedes.

Hjerta, who had been dismissed as a civil servant due to financial problems stemming from gambling debts, would in later years be a radical liberal publicist and writer. After being forced to close his radical liberal newspaper *Medborgaren*, which promoted a Christian socialism drawing on French models,¹⁹² Hjerta joined the editorial board of *Aftonbladet*¹⁹³ – the daily newspaper which was most outspoken in its criticism of the king and Carl-Gustaf Skogman, and also the most openly antisemitic during the events of 1838. With barely disguised references to the two advocates of the attempted Emancipation, *Omskärelsen eller den stundande tiden* comments on the situation in a way that combines religiously informed and framed antipathy with contemporary Jew-hatred. Circumcision is the leading theme of the text and is used as a metaphor for the idea that Emancipation will lead to Jews taking over and Christian Swedes being consequently forced to adapt to Jewish culture, religion, and business practices: “Då omskåras alla, alla” (then everyone is circumcised, everyone) is the dystopian ending of the rhymed text, and a reference to the “kringskuren kung” (circumcised king, p. 3) repeats the rumour – which was circulating in the country in 1838 – that Karl XVI Johan himself was Jewish. Besides circumcision, the names Nathan, Haman, Moses, and Levi, and even Judas Iscariot, are also used to refer the Jewish people as a whole, and these are juxtaposed with Swedish-Christian keywords: *pepparkakor*, Christ's cross, Christmas. The well-established connection between Jews and the devil is reinforced by names referring

¹⁹¹ Gustaf Hjerta, *Omskärelsen eller Den stundande tiden* (Stockholm: Nordström, 1838).

¹⁹² See “Medborgaren,” in *Nordisk familjebok*, Uggleupplagan vol. 17, col. 1379.

¹⁹³ Jean Göransson, “J Gustaf Hjerta,” in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/13639>.

to the latter: Satan, Leviathan. In this text, Jewish wrongdoing consists of the attempt to “become like,” and thereby take over, Christian society. Hjerta’s fantasy accuses Jews of depicting themselves as bearers of Christ’s cross, as prophets of the time when all Swedes will be circumcised, and as seducers of “poor girls” who might be tempted to marry a Jew and then have Jewish children – who will also be circumcised. The threat of circumcision, both literal and metaphorical, portrays Emancipation as a bloody procedure which involves a direct threat to harm all Christian Swedes. It is apparently the only text dealing with this core Jewish ritual to be produced in the entire century.

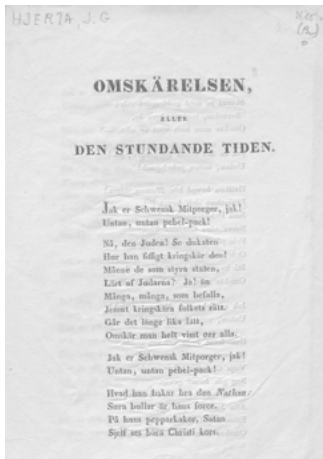


Fig. 6: Title page *Omskärelsen eller den stundande tiden* (Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm).

Josef Linck, a conservative journalist who mainly wrote for the newspaper *Vikingen*, published two of his public speeches in Stockholm under the title *Jude-frågan*.¹⁹⁴ He claimed that there was a war between the Jewish and the Christian races in which the former always strove to prevail economically over the latter. The racial differences, according to Linck, were visible in the completely distinct physiognomies, but they derived from the unconscious religious feelings which determine an individual’s character – again, a religiously based argument that Jews not only constitute a race unto themselves but are also in a secret war against Christians. Linck’s version of a broad conspiracy theory is explained in connection with “Jewish” business practices: owning land but not working it, profiting as a publisher from the intellectual work of others, etc. In this text, a racist conception of Jews and Judaism, a religious basis for this conception,

¹⁹⁴ Josef Linck, *Jude-frågan* (Stockholm: Central-Tryckeriet, 1882).

and the idea of “Jewish” business practices, all feed into the author’s imagined “secret war” being fought between Jews and Christians.

Judaism as the basis of the Jewish “race”

Distinctly religious anti-Judaism was a prominent factor in the Swedish debate, as the print production shows. Rapidly developing German antisemitism provided the majority of text models, despite the very different political circumstances and make-up of the Jewish minority there. The text genres vary, though: *En son Israels till sina bröder* is written in the first person plural, creating the illusion of a sincere discussion amongst Jews. Ridicule and stereotypical attributions are woven into the text, subtly creating the impression that Jews not only know why they are so unpopular in Europe but that they also understand that the hostility derives from their distinctive characteristics. The close connection between the Israelites of the Hebrew Bible and contemporary Jews allows religious, political, and racial hostility to come together. The proposed solution, a kind of prototypical pseudo-Zionism, presents itself as a win-win situation for Jews as well as for European Christian societies. Addressing the Swedish situation in 1818, it says: You will never receive citizenship and human rights in Sweden. Even though you profit off of us with your business practices, you are in bondage and will remain so forever because you are different. Better to go back to Germany, learn to fight, and conquer a land of your own. To Swedish Christian readers, it conveys the idea that Jews are unwanted wherever they live, that they have a strong collective identity spanning the world, and that they know they are a burden to their host societies.

In part, the other texts seem to involve sincere political discussions about civil rights (*Jude-emancipationen*); in part, they seek to satisfy the Christian desire to know more about Jewish “secrets.” They are interwoven with religious arguments against political Emancipation, and the Torah is used as a weapon against its own people. Even though the targets of these authors are Judaism as a religion and Jewish texts, political, economic and biologicistic arguments are also invoked: for example, the idea of a Jewish world conspiracy, the construction of a “Jewish character” using quotations from the Hebrew Bible, and the ridicule of Jewish weakness and inability to fight in armies. The model texts from Germany (and, in one case, England) are supplemented with contemporary Swedish introductions, warning against the growing influence of rich Jewish immigrants.

Nordfors’s text seems to have been quite successful: it had already been printed in a second edition in 1815 and was then reprinted in 1935 in the National

Socialist publishing house Svea rike, a fact which adds to the impression that the text was ahead of its time regarding its ideology and language. It employs a powerful combination of religious, racist, and political stereotypes in which the idea of the Jewish religion being at the root of the hostility gives way to all the subsequent stereotypes. Conversion is closely associated with Emancipation, even though the main aim of the fictitious dialogue is supposedly conversion. Everything the rabbi says in this text bears a double meaning: it is true because it reveals secret knowledge about Jews and their conditions, which the bishop does not have; it is false because it comes from a representative of the false religion. As explained in the introduction, it takes place in Italy, where the warm climate makes people speak more openly. The dialogue seems both realistic and unrealistic, in part because the Christian interlocutor is Catholic, and the rabbi's arguments are therefore directed towards a representative of what Swedish Lutherans would view as the other false faith. This kills two birds with one stone: the Jew is presented as evil, cunning, and in control; the Catholic as a powerless, naïve listener who can provide no arguments against the Jew. The Catholic begins the dialogue wishing to convert the Jew but stands impotent and speechless at the end, incapable of doing anything but agree with the rabbi. The number and range of anti-Jewish stereotypes alluded to and discussed in the text point to an author well versed in the field. Even though it was his only text about Jews, Nordforss had access to a wealth of anti-Jewish (and anti-Catholic) knowledge.

It is difficult to understand how and why a historiographic study of the medieval economy would be used as “hard evidence against the Jews,” or why Hammaršköld would choose the paragraphs about medieval Jewish business practices in order to prove that Jews had to be kept out of the Swedish Empire. One explanation lies in its year of publication: 1815, when Stockholm at least was entirely preoccupied by a flood of publications with Jewish (mostly anti-Jewish) themes. Another might be the fact that the historiographic argument added to the impression that Jews had always been a troublesome, foreign element. The simultaneous taunt against Catholics strengthened the argument that a religion that was not closely connected to the state could not foster loyalty and commitment from the population. Christoph Meiners's books were early arguments for cultural determinism and biological racism, and even though these categories did not make much sense in Sweden in 1815, the general idea of Jews being an unchangeable collectivity, who would always hinder the development of their host societies, contributed to the distinctively Swedish Frühantisemitismus.

Omskärelsen eller den stundande tiden goes one step further regarding fears of judaization. Christian fantasies about the core Jewish ritual *brit milah* are relatively rare in the corpus, but here, the fear of what Jews might do to Sweden is

combined with fear of castration and even national castration – becoming Jewish as a result of Jewish dominance.

Jewish religion, faith, and law serve as the basis for anti-Jewish arguments in these texts, and this makes it possible to trace the development of the idea of Jews being an unchangeable group who follow their own laws, to the idea of Jews being a state within the state. Jews in the Swedish diaspora are an actual group who live according to different religious customs, and the experience of the diaspora has shaped Jewish communities for centuries. Furthermore, Christians claim that adherence to Christian law and ethics shapes their collective identity and behaviour to some extent, so applying the same principle to Jews is not unreasonable. But as Christianity is thoroughly enmeshed with the Protestant Swedish state and its laws, adherence to these can make it seem as if religion, identity, ethics, and civil law are all basically the same, or at least all derive from the same religious-ethical roots. For Jews, on the other hand, their adherence to religious law seems to mean following a set of rules developed in the Middle East several thousand years ago – Protestant Christians easily forget that their laws were also created in the same setting, and not by King Gustav Vasa.

In addition to this difference between Protestant states and the Jewish diaspora, and the respective relation between religious laws and civil laws, the Swedish (and German) text production about Judaism was inspired by other anti-Jewish knowledge as well. This led to rejecting the obvious similarities between Jewish and Christian religious texts and laws, and to a combination of supersessionism, religious hostility, and political hostility.

It is striking that all of the Swedish examples in which Judaism was targeted as such, as being either obsolete or hostile, were translations from English and German texts, some of them quite recent and some of them hundreds of years old. None was reprinted in a second edition, and they appear to have been far more prevalent in the first half of the century.

The existence of Swedish political antisemitism has always been denied. Indeed, no such institutions, parties, or organizations are visible in the nineteenth century. Yet, given the quantity and speed of translation and publishing of the key works of German antisemitism – in particular, both in the first two decades and in the last three decades of the century – the existence of a network or a pressure group of people orchestrating this seems likely. Translators were most often anonymous, and no single publishing house or town is obviously central to these productions – instead, the works of Meiners, Fries, Rühs, Marr, and other prominent German antisemites were evenly spread across the entire country. Considering the fact that most of the academic and administrative elite in Sweden was able to read German, the readership of these works, in both German

and Swedish, must have been even more widespread than the translations alone suggest. It is difficult to identify direct intertextual allusions or other proof that the German arguments inspired Swedish authors to employ similar arguments – but the fact that Nordforss was well acquainted with the basic arguments of racist antisemitism as early as 1815, having arrived at these positions through a religious line of reasoning, shows that external influences might not have been necessary for such ideas to develop in Sweden. Later in the century, both liberal and conservative journalists joined those who defined Jews as a race, as dangerous and at war against Christians – indeed, as winning the war. In the field of political and racist antisemitism, intertextuality and, consequently, shared features with other discourses are evident: printed books were included as inserts in newspapers, as articles or series; authors worked as journalists, scholars, or translators, giving public speeches which were then printed. As has been noted by Shulamit Volkov, in regards to the German Empire towards the end of the nineteenth century, antisemitism was not a question of political attitude but was a cultural code in which liberals, conservatives, and others mixed elitist and educational discourses. But there was a significant difference in Sweden, where anti-Judaism seems to have denoted a liberal political perspective, given that the conservative king was pro-Jewish. As such, the liberal position was to demand a popular vote, or at least the involvement of the Riksdag, in any legislation intended to relax the judereglemente.

4 Money: “Jewish” business activities

The pre-history of 1815’s economic arguments

Despite the strict restrictions on Jewish immigration from 1782 and 1806, resistance and propaganda against Jewish business competition grew, playing an important role in the debate on the “Jewish question.” The number of publications peaked during the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century, coinciding with broader debates about the national economic system. At the same time, especially during the first three decades of the century, royal decrees and announcements changing the regulations for the Jewish minority were published with increasing frequency – additions to or reinforcements of the judereglemente. These included attempts to restrict Jewish settlement to the three towns originally listed in the judereglemente,¹⁹⁵ the special regulations stipulating shortened apprenticeship periods for Jewish businessmen,¹⁹⁶ and motions delivered to the Riksdag.¹⁹⁷

It comes as no surprise that the standard works on the Swedish economy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century do not mention Jews at all, as their quantitative effect on the economy was vanishingly low. The general increase in the GDP between 1800 and 1850 was no more than 0.4% per capita.¹⁹⁸ The agricultural sector was by far the most important source of income for the majority of the population, and the most important social and economic pillar of the country was the ownership of agricultural lands.¹⁹⁹ The processes of international trade and factory production in which the Jewish entrepreneurs were active generally remained separate from these.

195 Kongl. Maj:ts och Rikets Commerce-Collegii Kungörelse, angående dem af judiska nationen, som utan Kongl. Maj:ts särskildta nådiga tilstånd kunna finnas hafwa sig nedsatt på andre ställen än i Stockholm, Norrköping och Götheborg. Gifwen i Stockholm den 13 Juli 1807 (Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1807).

196 Abraham Niclas Edelcrantz, Kongl. Maj:ts och rikets Commerce-Collegii kungörelse, angående läro- och tjenstår för dem af judiska nationen, som åstunda att komma i utöfning af minut- eller groszhandel; Gifwen Stockholm den 6 december 1819 (Stockholm: Kongl. tryckeriet, 1819).

197 Förslag till förändringar i 1782 års reglemente för svenska medborgare af judiska nationen. Rikens höglofliga ständer tillegnadt (Uppsala: Zeipel och Palmblad, 1815).

198 Rodney Edvinsson, *Growth, Accumulation, Crisis: With New Macroeconomic Data for Sweden 1800–2000*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis 41 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2005), 170–71.

199 Lennart Schöen, *An Economic History of Modern Sweden*, 1st ed. Routledge explorations in economic history 54 (London: Routledge, 2012), 25.

Still, at the turn of the century, certain factors combined to create a particular economic situation. Land and agricultural products increased in price, the result of a long period of European wars which had limited grain imports to Sweden. Major agrarian reforms were carried out in 1803 (*enskiftet*) and in 1827 (*laga skiftet*), radically centralizing villages and land ownership, which in turn led to an improved supply of Swedish agricultural products.²⁰⁰ At the same time, inflation was fuelled by the state, which printed promissory notes in order to cover its military expenses. Loans became more freely available, and it was mainly long-distance traders who were active in the credit business.²⁰¹

The reform of the guild system was a topic which was intensely debated in the first half of the nineteenth century, though the guilds were not actually reformed until 1846. On several occasions it was tied together with the “Jewish question,” due to the positive and negative discrimination towards Jews in the system, as established by the *judereglemente*. Other topics of this kind included protectionism regarding imports and exports, manufacturing and factory production versus small-scale craft production, and land and real estate ownership. In all of these areas, the Swedish government planned or prohibited certain innovations, opening up the country's closed and barely industrialized economy to international forces. In all of these areas, Jews became personifications of, and were held responsible for, modernization and competition – exactly as had been the case in the German Empire towards the end of the century. The process was also apparent in other countries and periods, but in Sweden it met with a very specific demographic situation in the Jewish community, shaped as it had been by the *judereglemente*. The first generations and families who were allowed to settle had had to show that they possessed a significant amount of cash, 2,000 riksdaler (§8), before they could immigrate. Subsequently, they had the right to build or own factories, “samt deltaga i Skeps Rederier, Handels Compagnier och Skeps Warf, i synnerhet at drifwa handel med Wäxlar, Actier och publique Papper” (and participate in shipping companies, trading companies, and ship-building companies, and in particular to trade bills of exchange, stocks, and commercial papers, §6), work in guild-free professions, and engage in new or previously unknown kinds of business (§33). They were prohibited from opening shops (*minuthandel*), pharmacies, and liquor stores (§12). Children of Jewish immigrants were allowed to learn guild-controlled trades but could not become masters or open their own shops.²⁰²

200 *Ibid.*, 37.

201 Karin Ågren, *Köpmannen i Stockholm: Grosshandlares ekonomiska och sociala strategier under 1700-talet*, Uppsala: Universitetstryckeriet 2007, 119–22.

202 “Reglemente för dem av Judiska Nationen”.

The requirement for high personal liquidity before entering the country, restrictions on settling in the major cities, restrictions on professions, the relegation to owning factories and working in guild-free trades, in combination with easy access to professions which required long apprenticeship periods for Swedes, actually created a very distinctive Jewish minority: well off, internationally well connected, and successful in areas that were both modern and unusual in Sweden. In some of the replies to anti-Jewish texts, it was mentioned that many of the distinctive characteristics of Jewish businesses in Sweden were a result of the judereglemente, but in many others, these were pointed to as signs of Jews’ foreign “national character.” The judereglemente created a Jewish minority which resembled many anti-Jewish stereotypes, and this “knowledge” was used vividly in the text production dealing with the vast and hackneyed theme of “Jews and money.”

Regarding “Jewish business practices,” there are far fewer translated texts than original Swedish productions. This might be due to the fact that this thematic field was dominated by shorter interventions responding to specific contemporary events: most developed around single cases of accusations against individuals while also drawing on a rich repertoire of established anti-Jewish stereotypes. In contrast to the widely disseminated publications addressing other themes, the economic invectives almost all originate from Stockholm, and many target and name Jewish families and businesses in the capital.

The first denunciation focusing on economic matters seems to originate from the year 1809, when the 70-year-old jeweller Bengt Sander felt compelled to write and publish a fiercely anti-Jewish text, *Några bewis, att judarne äfwen på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Swerige* (Some evidence that Jews even in their way contribute to the general misery in Sweden).²⁰³ This may be the first Swedish instance of widespread and legal – but unpleasant – business practices being described as “Jewish.” Printed in Stockholm in Carl Deléns’s print shop, the eight-page text appeared both as an independent publication and as an insert in the newspaper *Dagligt Allehanda*, which testifies to public interest and which also explains the fact that it provoked reactions.

Sander’s text starts off as a response to an earlier pamphlet, *Några ord om nödwändigheten*,²⁰⁴ which dealt with the need to provide financial aid and, even more importantly, suitable jobs to women, in particular to the widows and or-

203 Bengt Sander, *Några bewis, att judarne äfwen på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Swerige* (Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1809).

204 Anonymous, *Några ord om nödwändigheten, att, utan hinder af skrå- författningarne, medgifwa lämpelige utvägar till försörjning för qwinno-könet och i synnerhet embets- och tjenste-mäns samt andre stånds-personers torftiga enkör och oförsörjda döttrar* (Stockholm: Peter Sohm, 1809).

phans of public employees. In this vein, it argued against the rigid guild system and its consequences in terms of restricting work opportunities for people outside of it, i.e., most women and many men in the urban areas. Several pamphlets were issued that year regarding a general need to improve salaries, the job market, and family support systems by liberalizing the guild system.

Bengt Sander's text, however, was not really a response to this. From a general agreement on the aforementioned social issues, Sander leaves the topic of female work opportunities fairly quickly, moving on to a general condemnation of certain business practices, such as selling stolen goods (*lurendrejeri*), working with low-quality gold, and buying and selling cheap jewellery. All of these practices are ascribed to Jews as a group, as is a generally nasty character, prone to intrigues and deceiving the poor and unlearned. Sander comes to the momentous conclusion that before the arrival of Jews in Sweden 30 years prior, there had been no poorhouses, no need for social services, less people in jail, and Swedish companies and factories had been thriving, while they now suffered bankruptcy. Religious arguments were not invoked, but biblical language was used in order to emphasize the gravity of the Jewish threat: Jews are locusts, they treat Swedes as Egyptians, Sweden is Canaan for them but not for Swedes. Thus, Sander conceptualizes Jews as a religiously defined Other with certain fixed character traits and with a devastating effect on the Swedish economy and society. Obviously, comprehensive fears of social decline are projected onto the minority and combined with religiously informed "knowledge."

Written responses to this treatise mainly criticized the ascription of collective guilt and collective character traits to all Jews.²⁰⁵ This is indeed a striking aspect of Sander's text. The three responses adopted different strategies. *Några ord, i anledning af en nyligen utkommen Smädeskrift, kallad: Några bewis, att judarne ...*²⁰⁶ reminded readers of the regulations and restrictions imposed upon the Jewish minority in the judereglemente and generally depicted them as a small and pitiful group, as "peaceful foreigners," pointing to their frugal lifestyle and their positive influence on the Swedish economy. *Till författaren af: Några*

205 Anonymous, *Till juveleraren Sander, författaren af: Några bewis [sic!], att judarne äfven [sic!] på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Sverige [sic!]* (Stockholm: Marquarkska Tryckeriet, 1809).

206 Anonymous, *Några ord, i anledning af en nyligen utkommen smädeskrift, kallad: Några bewis att judarne äfven på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Sverige* (Stockholm: Peter Sohm, 1809).

bewis,²⁰⁷ on the other hand, adopted a sharper tone and is both a counter-argument to Sander and an anti-Jewish statement in its own right. It accused Sander of defamation and depicted the Jews as a small and politically irrelevant group, one which could not possibly inflict any harm on the Christian Swedes. The author (who signed the text, “Friend of Truth and Justice”) uses distinctly religious vocabulary in order to defend the Swedish Jews’ right to exist and to engage in trade – but is at the same time hostile. As in Sander’s text, Jews are referred to as a swarm of locusts,²⁰⁸ refugees, and *tjenesteqwinnans barn* (the handmaiden’s children, alluding to the biblical story of Jacob, his wife Rachel, and his handmaid Bilhah, in Gen. 30), who would never be able to usurp the Christians’ rights as the firstborn. This is a reference to Jacob and Esau (Gen. 27), thereby mixing two biblical stories into a chronologically confused and generally condescending description of Jews. The idea that Christians inherit the rights of the firstborn is something this economic argument shares in common with supersessionist texts. It is written in a polemical and aggressive style; despite its general argument being a defence of Jewish business practices, it makes copious use of anti-Jewish religious vocabulary and imagery. The text also alludes to the famous speech by Shylock in Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice*:

Eller äro Judarne icke menniskor? Äro väl de af en annan natur än vi? Känna de icke de plågor man tillfogar dem? Lida de icke af den grymhet som mot dem utöfvas lika mycket som viskulle lida?²⁰⁹

(Or are Jews not human? Are they maybe of a different nature than we are? Do they not feel the pain inflicted on them? Do they not suffer from the cruelty that one directs at them, as much as we would?)

207 Anonymous, *Till författaren af: Några bewis, att judarne äfwen på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Sverige* (Stockholm: Marquartska Tryckeriet, 1809). Scan available at <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/27105>.

208 On the development of the locust as a symbol for Jews, from medieval bestiaries up until the modern era, see Monika Urban, *Von Ratten, Schmeißfliegen und Heuschrecken: Judenfeindliche Tiersymbolisierungen und die postfaschistischen Grenzen des Sagbaren* (Köln: Herbert von Halem Verlag, 2014).

209 Quoted in “Till juveleraren Sander, författaren af: Några bevis, att Judarne äfwen på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Sverige,” <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/27102> (includes a scan of the pamphlet). Cf. Shylock’s speech in Act III, Scene 1: “Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions; fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?”

Three years later, a Jewish jeweller was at the centre of another scandal. Petter Jonas Junbeck, a clerk at the board of manufacturing (*handelsfiskal*), had accused Michael Benedicks and his son-in-law Isak Michaelson of irregular business practices. The case went to court, the jewellers were found not guilty, and both the court records and accompanying polemics were published.²¹⁰ The Michaelson & Benedicks company belonged to two of the most prominent and successful Jewish immigrants. Benedicks had received citizenship as a royal gift due to his trading with Great Britain during the blockade in 1809. The family made good use of the civil rights they received; they were jewellers for the royal house, bank owners, factory owners, and merchants. Junbeck accused them, together with a Swedish jeweller, of using false weights and of general business irregularities, the accusation being published in Stockholm under the title *Sedan hof-juvelerarne af judiska nationen herrar Michaelson & Benedicks behagat skynda ...* Despite the title alluding to Benedicks belonging to “the Jewish nation,” there is nothing distinctly anti-Jewish in the text. Maybe the simple fact that Junbeck felt obliged to publish his accusation before the king had rendered his verdict, appealing for public support for his case, was noteworthy, but otherwise there is nothing much to the text. Michaelson & Benedicks came under much more heavy attack three years later, during the *judedefjd* of 1815. Even before then, however, a second text dealt with the case against Michaelson & Benedicks, under the satirical and misleading title *Ytterligare handlingar hörande till judarnas historia i Sverige*.²¹¹ Written by Eric Peter Laurin, it said absolutely nothing about the history of Jews in Sweden but accused Michaelson & Benedicks of selling low-quality jewellery. The text shows clearly how anti-Jewish accusations and the construction of “Jewish business practices” were connected to general problems in the modernization of the economic system: the factory owners were held responsible for each good their factory produced, and assigning responsibility to a factory manager was not possible – a not very workable state of affairs in a growing capitalist economy. In this regard, the text actually made a strong argument against anti-Jewish stereotyping, by

210 Petter Jonas Junbeck, *Sedan hof-juvelerarne af judiska nationen herrar Michaelson & Benedicks behagat skynda, att andra gången på egen bekostnad, genom trycket lägga egna gerningar för allmänhetens ögon, i afsigt att återigen söka en önskad, men kanske återigen: saknad rättfärdiggörelse; så fordrar höfligheten det offer af mig, att jag, äfwen omkostnadsfritt för en aktningssvärd publik, genom trycket kungör de underdånige beswär, som i afseende på alla wederbörandes förhållanden och åtgärder: warit oundgänglige* (Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1812).

211 Eric Peter Laurin, *Ytterligare handlingar hörande till judarnas historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Elméns and Granbergs, 1814).

noting that even if the two men were found guilty, the problem was structural not individual. The title, however, makes the whole intention behind the text more ambiguous, since it suggests general information about Jews and/or taking a stand on the case in question. None of this is actually present within the text, however.

Some of the contributions to the 1815 judefejd deal specifically with “Jewish” business practices and thus show how previously known accusations were popularized and became part of the contemporary debate. The anonymously published *Jude-industrien eller Allmänna kreditens lik-begängelse*²¹² (The Jew-Industry, or Funeral of the General Loan) accuses Jews of having withdrawn five million riksdaler in cash from Sweden through improper loans, basically arguing that as a result there was no money left for Swedes to borrow. Herman Anders Kullberg, to whom the text was later ascribed, was a relatively well-known translator of French and German plays and novels. What biographical information is available about him gives no indication as to why one of the few texts he did not translate, but that he wrote himself, dealt with economic affairs and explicit accusations against individual Swedish Jews and Jews in general. The only clue might be that he himself was constantly in financial trouble and negotiating with publishers for his translation fees,²¹³ and was thus perhaps nursing a grudge against people who were more well-to-do – that he identified these people as Jewish, however, was a result of the anti-Jewish “knowledge” he had previously acquired.

Claiming to wish to warn and inform the public, the author insinuates that Jews must have paid one ton of gold for the “pro-Jewish” texts by Grevesmöhlen and Pählman – perhaps something he surmised based on his knowledge of publishing and printing costs, given his work as a professional translator. Jews, he says, took their profits “over the Sea” just in time, lest the Riksdag vote against their right to remain in the country. He also lists the debts of individual Swedish Jews – between 100,000 and 600,000 riksdaler – as well as the debts of so-called “Jude-vänner” (Jew-friends), allegedly pro-Jewish Swedes. The text is quite dystopian, purporting to describe an impending all-encompassing catastrophe: even larger fiascos were expected from Gothenburg, to be followed by the general decline and collapse of the entire Swedish loan system.

212 Anders Herman Kullberg, *Jude-industrien, eller Allmänna kreditens likbegängelse. Svit af riksdags-komedien Förliknings-projektet. Välment tillegnad herr öfver-direktören C.A. Grevesmöhlen samt riksdagsmännen, herr majoren och riddaren Pählman* (Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815).

213 Brigitte Mral, “Herman Anders Kullberg, 1772–1834,” in *Svenskt översättarlexikon*, https://litteraturbanken.se/översättarlexikon/artiklar/Herman_Anders_Kullberg.

The invention of “Jude-vänner,” even referred to as “omskurne och oomskurne Judar” (circumcised and uncircumcised Jews, p. 14), is an original feature of this text: people who do business with Jews, or practise similar businesses, or who do not argue against all Jewish immigration, are themselves labelled as Jews. Blaming Jews for all the economic misery in the country thus seems more credible, as they are said to have teamed up with Swedes who have turned their back on their national character and loyalties. Grevesmöhlen and Pålman, the two most prominent figures in the debate, are named several times in this regard. The solution the author proposes is also original, compared with many others. He calls for a patriotic national revolt, which he sees as likely given the degree of popular unrest. The revolt, however, would not involve violence or political turmoil. Instead, a more peaceful strategy is proposed: buy only Swedish goods and return to the simple and modest way of life and values of your forefathers, for in their day no Jews were interested in coming to the country.

The back and forth around *Jude-industrien* was typical of the debates that year. The author was accused of violating some rules of public discourse. Then, following this initial text which had got him in trouble in the first place, he had an additional statement to the court printed as well, *Ingifvet till Stockholms Norra Förstads Vestra Kämnärs-Rätt den 7 December 1815*. He used this opportunity to complain about the uses and misuses of free speech and “smädeskrifter” (diatribes), to make some personal attacks against Grevesmöhlen, and to list a number of new bankruptcies. The text is basically 20 pages of general polemics, personal opinions, and self-pity. Notwithstanding its title, which promised a follow-up to *Jude-industrien*, this text contained nothing about Jews whatsoever.²¹⁴

A similar mix of self-absorption, self-pity, and *rättshaveri* (litigiousness) was evident in many of the texts printed in 1815, and in many of them, these merged with anti-Jewish resentment. One of the later publications of the year, *Israels barn i öcknen*,²¹⁵ from 24 November, 1815, lamented the involvement of Swedish book publishers in what the author saw as a primarily personal matter. Instead, he promised to deliver a prudent piece of writing, not just something seeking public accolades and cheap entertainment (in contrast to most of the publica-

214 Anders Herman Kullberg, *Fortsättning af Jude-industrien, eller Författarens försvar, i den, angående sistnämde skrift, på hof-kanslers-embetets begäran, uppkomna rättegång* (Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815).

215 Anonymous, *Israels barn i öcknen. Tillägnadt svenska judars försvarare och dem som blifvit ruinerade genom deras bankrutter* (Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815).

tions around the Grevesmöhlen/Boije conflict, he probably meant). The publication was later ascribed to Anders Lindeberg, a publicist, author, and man of the theatre, who not only got involved in the quarrel with Grevesmöhlen, but some years later also with King Karl XIV Johan, being sentenced to death as a result but receiving a pardon.²¹⁶ The subtitle, “tillägnadt Svenska Judars försvarare och dem som blifvit ruinerade genom deras bankrutter” (dedicated to the defenders of Swedish Jews and those who have been ruined by their bankruptcies), establishes what camp the author was in. His description of “Jewish” business practices in general, and in Sweden in particular, sums up most of what had already been said in 1815: Jews arrive poor and become rich by selling goods produced by others (*procenthandel*);²¹⁷ they dominate the import of luxury goods, which had become far too large for a poor country like Sweden and which corrupts the population; and they charge too much interest on the money they lend out. *Israels barn i öcknen* is just as illogical as most of the other contributions to the debate – the assumption that only poor Jews had immigrated is refuted by the judereglemente itself, which restricted immigration to people with a certain liquidity in gold – and the assumption that within 30 years they came to dominate moneylending, trade, and imports seems paranoid.

Emancipation aborted: Canaan in Sweden

While people were rioting in the capital in the late summer of 1838, a text was printed which made numerous references to the events of that year. *Den nya tiden eller Kanaans land* was printed on 1 September, 1838 – right before the Emancipation bill failed. It was signed “sans nom” but was later attributed to Johan Vilhelm Sundborg, a notary at the Deputy Court of Appeals.²¹⁸ Not much is known about Sundborg, except that under the pseudonym Engelbrecht Engelbrechtsson (alluding to the famous leader of a fifteenth-century revolt against the king) he also wrote a pamphlet about the other big scandal in Stockholm that year: the trial of Hans Magnus Crusenstolpe, who had been arrested for lèse-majesté following his public criticisms of the king and who continued

216 Nils F. Holm, “Anders Lindeberg,” in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, vol. 23, ed. Birgitta Lager-Kromnow (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1982), 339. <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=10487>.

217 This common practice was presented as Jewish in [Johan Gustaf Howenschild], *Några ord om export-handel och judar* (Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1815).

218 [Johan Vilhelm Sundborg], *Den nya tiden eller Kanaans land* (Stockholm: Elméns och Granbergs tryck, 1838).

to publish from his prison cell, provoking riots in Stockholm. Sundborg – if the attribution of *Kanaans land* to him is correct – appears to have been interested in constitutional law, since he picked up on a question raised in the newspapers, namely, whether or not the constitution gave the king and chamber of commerce the right to declare Emancipation. Liberal newspapers in the capital had raised this question and had used it in part to distract from their own opposition to Jewish Emancipation, which was not necessarily based on the claim that the Riksdag, representing the estates, should have been the institution to decide upon the question – as they knew very well that majority support for Emancipation did not exist in the Riksdag.²¹⁹

Within an otherwise not particularly original text, Sundborg employs a number of key terms which point to his detailed and comprehensive knowledge regarding antisemitism. The text starts by describing the August–September riots and then paints a vivid picture of an impending dystopia, when Jews will have taken over Sweden entirely. They will have bought up all the property and will have therefore also brought the Church under their control, which will result in conversions by stupid and naïve people who serve the Jews. They will control the entire moneylending sector and will exercise a particular control over the university towns, corrupting the country’s intellectual elite by giving them loans and selling them unnecessary luxury items. Jews are called bloodsuckers and vampires – a designation combining myths about blood and murder, which had not appeared in any of the earlier texts. Sundberg also calls Jews “denna af Gud fördömda afföda” (God’s forsaken offspring, p. 16) and, by extension, asks the Christian state to inflict a punishment in line with what “our Saviour decided in His own prophecy” (p. 18). In a quotation attributed to Shakespeare, it is said that Jews “surely are Satan in real life” (p. 19).²²⁰

Court records

It was not uncommon to publish and sell trial records and accounts deemed of public interest – the files from the Grevesmöhlen trial, for example, were published, as were several hundred other local and central court documents and decisions. Every year, a couple of cases from each of the local courts, dealing with various cases and people, were published. Most seem to have been from trials involving people of the upper classes – ship captains, factory owners, and the

²¹⁹ Regarding the newspaper debates of 1838, see Hefß, “Eine Fußnote der Emanzipation?”

²²⁰ Sundborg, *Kanaans land*.

like – or dealing with bizarre or otherwise interesting cases, such as the year-long fast by a woman in Skåne, which the population considered miraculous, and which therefore had to be disproven by the Lutheran authorities. A handful of these cases dealt with a range of economic themes and accusations regarding Jewish defendants. Besides the simple court records, which were usually issued by the courts themselves, more provocative and biased accounts might be published by one of the parties to the trial. Such was the case in the aforementioned Benedicks trial about fake jewellery, or when the account of the lawsuit of J. P. Liljeström, a janitor, against Moses Marcus was published in 1822 under the title *Den bortskänkte juden*.²²¹ Jews did not only appear as evildoers in the publicly commissioned records, however: cases were also published in which Jews had been falsely accused and the trials served to restore their reputation. In 1802, Lars Larsson Rylander, a landlord (*gästgivare*), accused Philip Jeremias, a Jew, of having stolen his seal and of having used it to produce counterfeit bills of exchange, but the Norrköping court found Rylander guilty of committing the crime in question and of having also paid a weaver apprentice and a driver to provide false testimony. Götha Hofrätt, the court, published the outcome of the trial, including the names of the accused, the witnesses, and the verdict, as well as the punishment for Rylander and his accomplices.²²² In the case of the falsely accused Philip Jeremias, the fact that he was a Jew under the protection of the king (like all Jews in Sweden at the time, according to the *judereglemente*) was specifically mentioned and might very well have been one of the reasons the account of the trial was published. The authorities probably wanted to con-

221 *Den bortskänkte juden: Rättegångshandlingar rörande vaktmästaren J.P.Liljeströms klagan öfver de af till förordnade öfver-ståthållaren samt Stockholms dråtsel-commission och tre fjerdedelar af borgmästaren Hallqvists rådhus-rätts-division vidtagne åtgärder, hvarigenom fångne juden Moses Marcus tvärtemot K. Maj:ts nåd. dom på fri fot kommit* (Stockholm, 1822).

222 *Kongl. maj:ts och rikets Götha hof-rätts utslag uppå rådstufwu-rättens i Norrköping, efter wid kämnars-rätten derstädes hållne ransakningar den 23 sistlidne januarii och den 7 sistledne augusti fäldte, samt ... kongl. hof-rättens pröfning: understäldt utslag, igenom hwilket förstnämnde utslag, ej mindre skydds-juden Philip Jeremias ... blifwit befriad från det emot honom af gästgifwaren Lars Larsson Rylander gjorde tillmäle, att hafwa olofligen borrttagit Rylandes [!]: sigill och med nyttjande deraf uti Rylanders namn utprånglat falska skuldsedlar, än äfwen Rylander skyldig förklarad, att så wäl för denna desz falskeliga och af argt uppsåt Jeremias gjorda tillwitelse, som ock för det han, till styrko: deraf, sökt förmå wittnen att wittna falskt ... mista äran och böta tretton riksdaler sexton skillingar ... äfwensom klädwäfware-gesällen Johan Fredric Strömstedt för det han i målet burit falskt wittnesmål och åkaren Lars Marckenberg: för det han i ett annat Rylander rörande skuldfordrings mål wittnat falskt, äro ... wordne dömda, att hwardera böta tretton riksdaler sexton skillingar samt att aldrig wara wittnesbära ...* (Norrköping: Ad. Fr. Raams enka, 1802).

vey the message that Jews would not be easy targets for bullying or false accusations.

One case in particular illustrates both the integration and the fragility of Jewish-Christian relations and business dealings under the *judereglemente*, recounted in a surprisingly voluminous collection of court records from Karlskrona in 1818–1819.²²³ The trial records are reproduced in 35 pages, dealing with the theft and sale of silverware from a parish church in the village of Madesjö. A local vagrant, Israel Wideman, initially admitted to having stolen the silverware, then claimed he only received and sold it. An entire ring of thieves and a number of different thefts in the same area were connected to this case, and more and more witnesses needed to be heard. Among the accused was Moses Ruben, who admitted to having bought a small quantity of the goods in question from Wideman but said he did not know and could not have suspected that they were stolen. Ruben appeared before the court with a relative who acted as interpreter; Ruben himself had moved to Karlskrona from Hamburg eight years earlier and claimed he could not understand Swedish. He was married to Eleonora Philip, the only daughter of Fabian Philipson, who had been the first Jew to have received permission to settle in Karlskrona, along with his three brothers. The entire family had recently received Swedish citizenship, in contrast to the rest of the local Jewish community, which Philipson had founded.²²⁴ The testimonies of good character and conduct they had to submit for their citizenship application were also attached to the court records and were cited in the judge's final statement.

Moses Ruben's main defence was that he was Jewish and only understood Hebrew letters and that he was not able to recognize the Christian symbols on the silverware because he had never attended a mass. The court believed this – probably due to profound ignorance regarding Jewish life in Hamburg and Karlskrona. Even though a specific German-Yiddish accent was a recurring target of mockery, a Jewish person who had moved to another country, married into a wealthy family, and worked as a merchant and trader, would not have survived only knowing Hebrew letters and Yiddish. It would also have been difficult for any person to live in a majority Christian society and never see a cross. In this case, the ignorance was to Ruben's benefit, as he was only found guilty of having

223 *Handlingar uti den wid södre Möre härads lofl. tings-rätt hållne undersökning om en i Madesjö kyrka skedd stöld af silfwer, så widt frågan rörer handlanden af judiska nationen Joachim Moses Ruben i Carlskrona, såsom den der köpt och: innehaft af samma silfwer* (Karlskrona: Swinhuvuds änka, 1819).

224 Marcus Liepmann, *Kurze Übersicht der Verhältnisse der Einwohner mosaischen Glaubens in den Großherzoglich Mecklenburg-Schwerinschen Landen* (Güstrow/Rostock: Oeberg, 1833), 24.

bought some of the silver, but not of knowing its origin, and he only had to remunerate the church and pay a minor fine for having dealings with a person selling silverware of dubious origin.

In an interesting, but most likely unrelated, postscript to this story, Moses Rubens was murdered in Karlskrona in October 1846. A well-known local confessed to this and to a large number of other felonies; he was executed, while the townspeople formed a citizens’ guard to patrol the streets at night.²²⁵

Given the accusation of buying and selling stolen goods, as well as mistreating church property, the outcome of this trial is surprising. The comprehensive publication of the written records, including the character testimonies for the Philipson-Rubens family, was probably an attempt to assuage potential public misgivings in this regard. It also served to demonstrate that even non-Christian citizens could expect a fair trial – but it also showed that class was a factor working to the benefit of upper-class Jews, while the Christian vagrant Wideman was seen as living down to what was expected of him and was sentenced accordingly, receiving a fine more than five times as high as Rubens’s, which he would not be able to pay off during his lifetime.

The academic discourse

In the middle of the century, Bishop Carl Adolph Agardh made a lengthy and very prominent contribution to the debate²²⁶ – Lars M. Anderson has even described it as “the most important anti-Jewish contribution in the Emancipation debate of the 1840s and 1850s.”²²⁷ Considering the quantity and rate of anti-Jewish texts being produced in those decades, this assessment merits further investigation. *Monopolium mot Judarne* was published relatively well disguised, as a subsection to a statistical analysis of Sweden’s economy and demographics. Coming from a well-educated and highly regarded man of academic standing, it fed into an academic discourse of Jew-hatred, but the popularity and significance of his work cannot compare with others that transmitted similar ideas. There were some direct responses, but other texts also provoked responses. In

²²⁵ Blekinge museum, “Månadens föremål: maj,” <http://museum.u6683237.fsdata.se/pages/1326>.

²²⁶ For biographical data, see “Agardh, Karl Adolf,” in *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyclopedi. Första Bandet: A – Barograf*, 1800-talsutgåvan (Stockholm: Gernandts boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1876).

²²⁷ Lars M. Andersson, “Agardh, Carl Adolph,” in *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 2.1, 3.

any case, it is not particularly original in its antisemitism, and the significance of the text can simply be attributed to the significance of the author.

Carl Adolph Agardh was a man of many talents, a professor in economics and botany, a member of the Svenska Akademien from 1831, and of the Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien from 1817. His academic home was Lund and his diocese was in Karlstad. Agardh was even active in politics as a member of parliament. His many fields of activity and influence make him one of the most significant and prominent supporters of an academic antisemitism which derived from both religious and economic stereotypes, and which even contained distinctly racist elements.

Together with C. E. Ljungberg, Agardh published *Försök till en Statsekonomisk Statistik Öfver Sverige* (1852–1863, 4 vols), in which the bishop advocated a state economy. In the first part, he described the Swedish people from pre-Christian times to the year 1772 and the land, culture, religion, and economy during the roughly 80 years following. He then moved on to the monetary system and general thoughts regarding various forms of labour engaged in by men and women. In the last and longest subsection to the chapter “De som vilja men icke få arbeta” (Those who want to work but are not allowed), he discusses Jews as one of the obstacles to male and female fairly paid labour, along with the guild system, patents, and different toll systems for different towns. The subsection “Monopolium mot Judarne,” in which he directly blames Jews, consists of about 35 pages.

Agardh saw Jews as mainly being interested in monetary affairs, not because of the restrictions of the judereglemente, but because of the Law of Moses. He went over the legal changes to Jews’ status which the 1838 reform proposed, the conflict around it, and the final decision by the Riksdag in 1840 to reinstitute the judereglemente of 1782 (pp. 149–150). He also summarized debates in the Riksdag from 1853. It was mainly in the footnotes that he voiced his own fears of a Jewish influx: soon Jews would buy all the land in Sweden and possess it as their “new Palestine, their own promised land” (p. 154) – an already-familiar scenario from the debates of 1815 and 1838.

Considering his position as bishop, Agardh paid relatively little attention to the religious aspects of Jewish immigration and integration. In line with his fear of a massive influx of Jews, he elaborated on the danger of Christians converting to Judaism and judaizing – there were no known cases of this having occurred in Sweden, but it had been a Christian fear since the Early Middle Ages. He admitted that Jews did not proselytize in Sweden but did not count this to their advantage, explaining instead that “this incurs harsh punishments in Swedish law.” He also noted that circumcision is a high price to pay for anyone in their right mind and that this probably prevents conversions more than the lack of proselytizing:

“ingen förnuftig menniska nu mera kan vilja underkasta sig den operation, som är villkoret för judeegenskapen” (no human in their right mind would want to submit themselves to the surgery which is a precondition for being Jewish, p. 153). This is actually the most original part of his article, as circumcision and Jewish proselytizing were otherwise barely mentioned in Swedish texts of the period.²²⁸ An open letter responding to Agardh focused on this aspect, arguing that Jewish law was itself very hesitant to allow people to convert to Judaism and relatively tolerant towards pious people of all faiths.²²⁹ This letter was published under the signature “by a Swedish Jew” and is attributed to Lipman Lipmanson, a prominent member of the community in Stockholm, a school director, author of Swedish-German conversation books, and one of three people invited to speak on behalf of Swedish Jews at the funeral of Henrik Wergeland in Norway in 1849. The fear in the Jewish community that Agardh’s text would have a negative influence on public and political opinion is evident in the responses.

Agardh’s antisemitism derived from his view of Judaism as a culturally determined religion and is distinctly racist: Jews are said to be the people with the highest birth rate, completely biologically homogenous, with a distinctive “märkvärdig typ” (notable typology) which they all share, and an inherent need to move to other countries (p. 165). He rejects the idea that the centuries-old hatred of Jews could have had a religious origin, since their religion was based on the Old Testament “hvarifrån såsom ur en rot det nya testamentets [tro] har utgått och som ännu erkännes af de Christne” (which the New Testament’s [faith] is also derived from, as from a root, and which is still recognized by Christians). According to this argument, religious hostility makes no sense because Judaism and Christianity share the same root – or rather, because even Christianity accepts the Old Testament as a holy book – and the supersessionism informing the argument is not seen as religious hostility. Instead, the political and cultural characteristics set out in the Old Testament define Jews negatively for Agardh: a major error in their religion is that they believe in the messiah as a secular ruler, which keeps them separate as a nation (p. 170). Religion, he argues, has never been more than a cover for the real reason for rejection and expulsion:

[att tänkande personer] ansett judarne utgöra ett folk inom folket, en stat inom staten; och att de om än bosatte ibland ett annat folk, fortfara att utgöra ett eget folk för sig. Ett motsvarande exempel finns uti Katholikerna ... därför att de lyda Påfven ...

²²⁸ For circumcision, see the discussion of *Omskärelsen eller den stundande tiden* above.

²²⁹ Lipman Lipmanson, *Öppet sändebref till herr biskopen m. m. C. A. Agardh, med anledning af uppsatsen “Monopolium mot judarne”* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus, 1856), 10.

([that thinking people] have seen Jews to constitute a people within a people, a state within the state; even if they settle amongst another people, they still constitute a separate people unto themselves. Catholics are a comparable example ... as they obey the Pope, pp. 170–171).

Agardh claims that it is theoretically possible that Jews could keep their religion while ridding themselves of everything else that makes them “Jewish,” namely, the homogeneity which makes them a nation within the nation (p. 171). A paradox occurs here, since Agardh believes that rites and laws such as circumcision, the Sabbath, and kashrut were only established to preserve Jews as a separate and homogenous people – according to his argument, there is therefore no religious core to Judaism, just the aspects which make Jews a nation within the nation. Religious and cultural aspects are merged: Jews, as an Eastern people, do not share the idea of male and female equality, which according to Agardh is a sign of Western spiritual superiority (p. 176), and instead construct family life as concubinage (p. 177). Jewish law sees all non-Jews and even converts as foreign because they lack a direct family connection to Jacob and Israel. This leads Jews to see themselves as a kind of nobility, and if Jews were to receive political representation, this would mean instituting a new nobility (p. 180). The idea of Jews seeing themselves as a nobility had already been mentioned in the contributions of the previous decades.

Despite the perceived Jewish focus on monetary affairs, Agardh was mainly afraid that once they were given permission, Jews would buy and own *all* the land in Sweden and would make the Swedes their servants (p. 186). This conclusion from his summary of contemporary debates, historical expulsions, and Jewish law and religion is somewhat surprising and might have been elicited by the farmers’ estate’s resistance to the liberalization of the *judereglemente* in the Riksdag – Agardh probably saw the farmers as his closest allies and sought to address their concerns, even though the question of land ownership did not feature in his pamphlet and its list of Jewish attributes. A biographical motive is also possible, considering Agardh’s failure as a land owner, which preceded the publication of *Försök till Statsekonomisk statistik*.

Old theme, old arguments

As was the case for the religious arguments and text genres, the economic aspects of the “Jewish question” had already been produced by 1815, and they included the tropes which would dominate anti-Jewish thought for the rest of the century. A relatively new addition to this discourse was the invention of “Jude-

vänner” and the labelling of people with certain political views as “Jews.” This created an opening for far-reaching conspiracy theories, filled some of the logical holes in the argument that a quantitatively very small group of people was responsible for such widespread economic consequences, and also completed the disengagement of hermeneutic Jews from actual people of Jewish faith. According to this definition, a Jew is simply someone who does Jewish things, with “Jewish things” being character traits and, resulting from these, business practices previously defined as Jewish.

In 1838, Jews were described as vampires, bloodsuckers, and Satan himself; the myths and arguments behind these terms were old and familiar, but the terminology was updated in connection with the failed Emancipation. *Den nya tiden eller Kanaans land* fits into the liberal-constitutionalist discourse of newspapers like *Aftonbladet*, *Freija*, and *Dagsposten*, which similarly condemned the Emancipation edict as signalling Sweden’s downfall. Most newspaper articles made a point of proclaiming their liberalism and even religious tolerance, arguing instead that the edict had been issued without proper permission from the estates, thereby indicating a return to absolutism – which was not exactly true, as there had been thorough consultations with the local governors involved. *Den nya tiden* is more open in its hostility towards Jews as a group. The language is harsh, no counterarguments are presented, and the repeated mention of how the cavalry put down the Stockholm riots suggests that a bloody condition approximating civil war already existed in Sweden, thanks to the Jews. Regarding antisemitic imagery, the connection between moneylending, bloodsucking, and total control is distinctly modern and also new in the Swedish context.

The short-lived but lively debate that followed jeweller Bengt Sander’s screed shows that the “Jewish question” was seen as being of public interest, worth discussing in the country’s leading daily newspaper. Both he and some of the responses he elicited described Jews as a group with collective traits, using religious language. It is striking how Sander himself, a seemingly random person, felt compelled to write a manifesto against Jewish business practices – maybe he felt threatened by new competition in his field of expertise. In any case, he combined personal fears, an ongoing debate about the guild system, and whatever he had in terms of “knowledge” about Jews, and turned these into a pamphlet. This widely distributed publication is like a volcano, spitting out lava from an underlying, invisible, but always active, stream.

The Michaelson and Benedicks families were popular targets of anti-Jewish propaganda. It was enough that they were rich, internationally well-connected, savvy immigrants with successful businesses, rewarded by the king – anti-Jewish knowledge filled the gaps in this picture with greed, fraud, and malice, and thus

populated an anti-Jewish matrix with actual people, leading to serious accusations against them and translating purely abstract knowledge into real-life actions.

Bishop Agardh combined economic arguments with other stereotypes in a powerful way – it is actually difficult to tell whether he saw economic or religious factors as being the primary cause of what he saw as “Jewishness”; certainly, the two are intimately connected in his interpretation of Jewish law and its influence on Jews as a group. His contribution is original in that regard, as it does not trace the money connection back to the European Middle Ages and the practice of usury and its condemnation by the Latin Church – for him, the connection between Jews and money ran much deeper, going back to the Torah and its laws. The circular argument, about Jewish difference deriving from religion but not being religious in nature, is a central pillar of Agardh’s text, the other being the connection between Jews and money, with this too being grounded in the religion itself, in his view. Already in biblical times, Jews had invented most of the basic institutions of monetary trade in use in modern times: currency exchange, because they needed to pay the temple tax from foreign lands; loans, because it is written in the Mosaic laws; and credit, to be followed by slavery for those who were not able to pay their debts (p. 183).

Money played a role in many, but certainly not all, anti-Jewish texts in the nineteenth century. Moreover, it was rarely the sole theme in texts, even though the bankruptcies of Jewish businesses in 1809 and the prominence of a few Jewish business owners were used as a peg on which to hang texts about generalized Jewish malice. Besides Bishop Agardh’s comprehensive and intricate combining of various stereotypes, most texts dealing with primarily economic prejudice focus on a single specific case, deriving from a personal conflict or a personal fear of business competition or general poverty. From this combination of personal fears, conflict with specific people, and traditional “knowledge” about the connection between Jews and money, the authors generalized an image of the Swedish-Jewish minority being rich, greedy, unfair in their business practices, as well as too successful to be good for the Swedish economy and, at the same time, dangerous because of their lack of success and their alleged attempts to hold on to their personal assets and funds, despite the bankruptcies.

Considering the longevity of the stereotypical “Jews–money” connection, the process that can be observed here is significant for the updating of the anti-Jewish archive. Since the Jewish minority in Sweden actually did form an economically atypical and privileged minority, due to the immigration restrictions, it might have been expected that most of the texts would focus on this fact and update their knowledge from the combination of actual people like Michael Benedicks, their success, and centuries-old images of usury. But even though this happened, it was far from being the most prominent strand of anti-Jewish text production.

5 Bodies and gender: entertaining literature

A popular topic

Cultural, artistic, and literary text production about Jews increased throughout the nineteenth century, in line with the general increase in the number of books being printed. Jews appeared in various shapes and functions in literary, satirical, and educational texts, which did not exist independently from the distinctly anti-Jewish political, theological, and legal discourse which aimed at preventing Emancipation for most of the century. For most readers – and theatre audiences – the Jewish figures personified and staged something they usually did not know as real people but as an abstract threat discussed in newspaper articles, sermons, and books. Within this framework, even those texts which do not bear distinctly antisemitic features played a background role of “creating a problem”: Jews were much more present in writings than they ever were in real life, and a Swedish, mainly urban, public became used to seeing Jews as a distinctive group which was constantly being debated. On the theatre stage, Jews were usually people to laugh at.

Both Jewish and non-Jewish authors were present in the vast field of entertaining literature, most of the former translated from German. While a thorough investigation of the differences between Jewish and non-Jewish perspectives on, for example, the culture of Orthodox Jews in Galicia would be important for questions of style, self-representation, and the situation of Jews in the German lands and the Habsburg Empire, these differences were not particularly relevant in Sweden. It is doubtful whether Swedish readers knew that Leopold von Sacher-Masoch was Christian, while Karl-Emil Franzos was Jewish, when both described an East European Jewish culture which in Swedish newspaper articles had already been presented as utterly foreign, filthy, and outdated. The following short overview of literary texts with Jewish themes will show that regardless of the intention and origin of the authors, Jews were considered an interesting topic in nineteenth-century Sweden, and that most of the Jewish figures in operas, plays, and novels were portrayed stereotypically: angry and strict fathers, beautiful and silent daughters, greedy moneylenders, outwitted businessmen.

As early as 1801, a first edition of Richard Cumberland’s play was published in a loose Swedish translation. *Juden. Komedi i 5 akter* was staged numerous times in the nineteenth century. The play had already been successful in England, where the text originated, and was equally popular in its Swedish translation; though mainly on the stage, as the first edition of the text was not followed by subsequent editions. In the German lands, one of the popular actors interpret-

ing the main character in Cumberland's play was Albert Wurm. He also played the Jewish character Jacob in Karl Borromäus Sessa's *Unser Verkehr*, a reaction against the Prussian Edict of Emancipation in 1812, in which Jews are portrayed as a collectivity incapable of change, driven by greed and selfishness, situated in the ghetto – which Sessa's Jews are not able to leave, partly due to their inability to acculturate. The play led to a controversy in Berlin in 1815, when Israel Jakobsohn intervened with Chancellor Hardenberg and had the performance forbidden due to its obviously hostile depiction of Jews.²³⁰ This play was also translated and staged in Sweden under the title *Spekulanterne, eller: Hoben se nix zu schachern?*²³¹ – already in the title alluding to the perceived “Jewish” practice of haggling and to the immigrants' language and accents. The controversy was also transmitted to Sweden, when Albert Wurm's account of the events leading to the censorship of the play and its later adaptations and staging was published under the title *Judisk hämd* (sic).²³² Wurm had written this text as a complaint about how “the Jews” had destroyed his career and reputation just because they could not handle a little joke. The text, originally published as a serial in the newspaper *Hamburgs Wächter* in 1817, lists a number of threatening letters and other personal attacks on the actor, which he ascribes to Jews. Together with the title, it gives the impression that Jews are a serious threat, alluding to the stereotype of the Jewish thirst for vengeance. The Swedish preface explicitly describes the text as

en stark varning för hvarje Christen, att icke såra den Judiska nationens fåfänga, men hvilken varning man icke dess mindre är nog öfverdådlig att trotsa medelst utgifvandet af denna öfversättning.

(a strong warning for every Christian not to wound the pride of the Jewish nation, even though one is about to defy this warning at length by publishing this text, n. pag.)

The comedy *Den pantsatte juden eller Moses uppståndelse ur kistan*, originally English, also came out in 1817. It centres around the love story between Qvins and the Jewish woman Bathseba, who is portrayed just like the Jews in *Spekulanterne*: unsympathetic, greedy, and slightly stupid.²³³ Bathseba and her inherited

230 Monika Schmidt and Bjoern Weigel, “Unser Verkehr,” in *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 7, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur, 2014).

231 Karl Boromäus Sessa, *Spekulanterne, eller: Hoben se nix zu schachern? Fars i en akt. Öfversättning efter tredje original-upplagan af Unser Verkehr* (Stockholm: A. Gadelius, 1817).

232 Albert Wurm, *Judisk hämd* (Stockholm: A. Gadelius, 1818).

233 *Den pantsatte Juden, eller: Mosis:s uppståndelse ur kistan. Lustspel i 2 akter* (Stockholm: Carl Nyberg, 1817).

fortune are controlled by Moses, who is unwilling to let her marry a poor Christian, and who also intends to withhold her money. The priest Snowt devises a plan to make Moses pay 1,000 pounds, and this succeeds with the help of a complicated trial. Bathseba never actually appears on stage. Her guardian Moses, on the other hand, is the prototype of the dishonest, avaricious moneylender who is outwitted by his own greed. The humorous part of the play was supplied by the malicious Moses and the lawyers at the trial. The characters provide the reader with an example of the “bad Jew,” Moses, with all the familiar features of greed and envy. Bathseba, on the other hand, is presented as a “good Jew”: willing to convert out of love for a poor Christian, oppressed, beautiful, and silent. Besides being an acceptable Jew, she is also an example of a “good woman” in general, and thus her gender performance outweighs her religious identity.

Wilhelm Hauff’s novel *Jud Süß* was translated and printed twice: in 1828 as *Juden Süß, först schackrare, sedan minister, sist hängd. Sann historia, tecknad efter naturen* (Jud Süß, first haggler, then minister, hanged in the end. True story, faithful to events)²³⁴ and one year earlier, the same year as the German original, under the title *Judeväldets undergång i upplysningens århundrade* (The downfall of Jewish dominion in the Age of Enlightenment).²³⁵ Neither of these published works mentioned the German author. The title of the second edition in particular emphasizes the novel’s being a metaphor for Jewish progress followed by self-destruction. The antisemitic potential of this literary adaptation of the biography of Joseph Süß Oppenheimer is something well known, as is the way in which it was later received by German National Socialism. Even here, the “bad Jew” is juxtaposed to a “good woman,” Joseph’s sister Lea, the love interest of the poor Christian Gustav Lanbek. This novel ends with the death of both good and bad Jews: Joseph is executed, Lea kills herself over his death and the unhappy affair with Gustav, who in turn becomes depressive.

These two editions of the same novel were the first texts by Wilhelm Hauff to be translated into Swedish, but in the following decades, even his romantic fairy tales became popular and were translated and printed several times. *Jud Süß*, printed in Swedish as a book, provided Swedish readers with “insight” into the seemingly disastrous influence Jews had on the royal courts of Europe. The title suggesting the downfall of “Jewish dominance” as a result of the En-

234 [Wilhelm Hauff], *Juden Süß, först schackrare, sedan minister, sist hängd. Sann historia, tecknad efter naturen* (Stockholm, Elméns och Granbergs tryckeri, 1828).

235 [Wilhelm Hauff], *Judeväldets undergång i upplysningens århundrade*, Öfversättning (Stockholm: Marquardska boktryckeriet, 1827).

lightenment actually ran contrary to Hauff's intentions and his epilogue to his novel, in which he criticized the despotic action of the Duke who had Oppenheimer executed and advocated for a more enlightened form of government and legislation.

Two years later, an anonymous collection of jokes and short stories, *Judarne i all sin glans och härlighet*,²³⁶ seems to have enjoyed a certain popularity. Compared to most of the other texts discussed here, it appeared in a fancier and better quality edition, with coloured plates inserted depicting scenes from the stories. A deeply ironic introduction, as well as the subtitle, refers to Jews as "gold people" (*guldmänniskor*). It implicitly compares a dialogue with Jews to "talking to dogs and donkeys" (p. 1), repeats the accusation that betraying Christians is based on Jewish religious laws (p. 2), and generally constructs Jews as a collective Other with distinct characteristics such as law-centredness, greediness, and crude cunning, without any aptitude for deeper thought. In the stories themselves, Jews are constructed as a group of foreigners who all speak a German-Yiddish-Swedish pidgin. Many of the stories have as their themes domestic violence within Jewish families, violence inflicted on Jews for no apparent reason, and, once again, business practices. The label "Jewishness" establishes a certain tone of ridiculousness, which does not come from anything specific that the characters do but from the fact that they are Jewish – many jokes would work just as well without the label "Jewish," but the book makes a point of repeating it. For example, story 46, about two Jewish girls who talk about what to wear to a masquerade, and a Christian office clerk who comments with disdain on their choice of attire – the religious difference adds a dimension to the story that has absolutely no reference in the conversation itself, which would have worked even without it. This provides a clue as to the origins of at least part of the text: probably these were commonly known or collected jokes and stories, which were spruced up by adding Jewishness or religious difference to the characters, with the result that the Jews are always the butt of the joke.

In other stories, either the Jewish religion or imagined Jewish characteristics are the main ingredients of the joke; these might include circumcision, consumption of pork, the rabbi's study habits, or the "Jewish odour" – or simply an abundant greed for money.

There is no explicit reference made to the specific legal circumstances of Swedish Jews or Sweden in general, the few actual places named are from all

²³⁶ Anonymous, *Judarne i all sin glans och härlighet, eller en utvald samling af 263 lustiga anekdoter, infall och märkvärdiga historier om dessa guldmenniskor. Med 6 kolorerade planscher* (Stockholm: Elméns and Granbergs, 1830).

over Europe: Munich, Vienna, London, Carlsbad, Poland. The range of professions and work situations the characters are situated in – stock trade, horse trade, teacher, even military service and unemployment – are much more varied than the demographics of the Swedish Jewish community, and they reflect a European post-Emancipation situation in which Jews theoretically had access to all areas of society.

Gender relations are portrayed in several stories about Jewish couples, most of them revolving around the wife's real or suspected marital infidelity, or their stupidity and nastiness. Male Jews are accused of polygamy because they "wanted to search until they found a good wife" (p. 173), or else they beat their wives regularly. Flirtation between Jews and Christians always ends badly.

The development and use of antisemitic images in Swedish media has attracted some interest in historical scholarship.²³⁷ Focusing on the visual imagery, Lars M. Andersson does not see this book as openly antisemitic, since the Jewish characters lack the already established visual markers for "Jewishness"²³⁸ – a somewhat incomplete assessment, since what is lacking in the images is abundantly represented in the texts. Indeed, there are only six images illustrating 184 pages of text, almost all of which show "established markers of Jewishness." Published in 1830, this manifesto of hatred established a very small group of immigrants as culturally different, as objects of ridicule and disgust, and in so doing also suggested that the men, women, and children of this group shared an unchangeable essence or nature.

Judarne i all sin glans och härlighet is a malicious mixture of different stereotypes, portraying a religious minority present in various European countries as a group of greedy, immoral, ridiculous, and stupid men and women. One needs to take into account that joking about minorities was probably widely accepted in

237 Lena Johannesson, "'Schene Rariteten': Antisemitisk bildagitation i svensk rabulistpress 1845–1860," in *Judiskt liv i Norden*, ed. Gunnar Broberg, Harald Runblom, and Mattias Tydén (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1988).

238 "Kurz nach der Fehde im Jahr 1830 erschien 'Judarne i all sin glans och härlighet eller en utvald samling af 263 lustiga Anekdoter, Infall och märkvärdiga Historier om dessa Guld-Menniskor' [Die Juden in all ihrer Herrlichkeit und Macht oder Eine ungewöhnliche Sammlung von 263 unterhaltsamen Anekdoten, Wunderlichkeiten und sonderbaren Geschichten über diese Gold-Menschen]. Es handelt sich um eine Zusammenstellung von Geschichten über Juden, viele davon sind jedoch keineswegs pejorativ. Es enthält sechs großformatige farbige Abbildungen, die 'Juden' in mehr oder weniger verfänglichen Situationen darstellen. Vier der sechs karikierten männlichen Juden haben große Hakennasen und alle tragen Bärte. Aber weder ihre physische Erscheinung im Allgemeinen – alle besitzen 'normale' Statur und Größe – noch ihre Kleidung unterscheidet sie von Nicht-Juden." Lars M. Andersson, "Schwedische Karikaturen," in *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 7, 439.



Fig. 7: Illustration from *Judarne i all sin glans och härlighet* (Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm).

nineteenth-century Sweden, but the book contains a specific melding of religious prejudice, racial constructions of Jewishness, and ridicule created within its stories and framed with references to religious difference. Various possibilities for Othering are employed and create a collective, yet varied, image of Jews as religiously, culturally, and essentially different. Conversion does not appear in the text. The variety of professions, places, and situations the Jews are situated in create a sense of their omnipresence.

Some of these texts had nothing special to say about Jews besides their title. For example, *Den spökande judinnan*, a three-page leaflet printed in Stockholm in 1819, was translated from a German collection of ghost stories and features a Jewish woman prominently in its title, though less prominently in the text itself. The supposed ghost of a gruesomely murdered Jewish woman, which greatly alarms a Prussian cavalry officer and his horse one night near Frisack in Mark Brandenburg, appears on closer examination to merely be a white tree trunk.²³⁹ There is nothing particularly Jewish about the figure of the ghost; she

²³⁹ Anonymous, *Den spökande judinnan* (Stockholm: Elmén and Granberg, 1819). Cf. Samuel

is simply referred to as “judinna,” becomes the victim of a crime, and is then a ghost. One can only speculate as to whether and why a Jewish ghost was supposed to be more or less scary than a Christian ghost. The text is one of several examples where the Jewishness of a character is mentioned prominently in the title but plays no significant role in the text itself.

Dulech, a story published at least twice, in 1772 and 1826, is slightly different. The subtitle promises a “story, translated from the Jews’ Talmud”; since the Talmud already played a prominent role in theological and political polemics, potential readers might have expected something dark and twisted – not quite what the text provides. Taking place in the city of “Susan” (Susa) in Persia during the reign of King Ahasverus, it bears the distinctive features of an Orientalist fairy tale. A rich old man, Rabner Samsson, sees a beautiful young woman dancing in an establishment called “Förtjusares Slott” (the castle of the enchanting), falls in love with her, and has a servant offer her large quantities of money if she would allow him to unclasp the band of gold and silver with which her stockings were held up. The girl, Dulech, accepts a small portion of the gold as a present but asks Rabner to wait a couple of days before she gives him her answer. She then sends a letter to her beloved partner Seva – Dulech is described as his “frilla” (concubine or second wife), and it later turns out that they already have a baby together – who is travelling, and asks his advice. Seva hurries home and uses various means, including showing her their child, to persuade Dulech to return the gold. The rest is a slightly pornographic description of how the two lovers celebrate their reunion, including detailed meditations on Dulech’s naked breasts.

The text exists in a clearly “Jewish” framework, by purporting to be translated from the Talmud. Dulech’s name also suggests that she is Jewish, and Ahasverus, even though the Bible describes him as a king who wanted to have all the Jews in Persia killed, was obviously the name associated with the Wandering Jew in Sweden at the time. Other names appearing in the story, such as Thamar (Dulech’s servant), Seva, and Rabner, also suggest the Jewishness of the characters, despite the Persian setting. Orientalist ideas and stereotypes merge in the story, particularly regarding gender relations. The fact that Dulech seems to have forgotten her son with Seva and that she dances in a brothel-like house for the amusement of old men suggests a severe violation of Lutheran family relations. The exotic family situation is rendered intelligible by the Swedish word “frilla,”

Christoph Wagener, *Fünfunddreissigste Erzählung: Die spukende Jüdin bey Frisack. Die Gespenster. Kurze Erzählungen aus dem Reiche der Wahrheit*, 2. Band (Berlin: F. Maurer, 1798), 260–65. The story is an excerpt, translated from the collection “Die Gespenster” by Samuel Christoph Wagener, a teacher and Lutheran priest in Brandenburg.

which can refer to a woman who has a sexual relationship with a man without being married, or a concubine, or simply a sex worker. At the very end, the text suggests that the rich man Rabner eventually got his way and made Dulech betray her lover – “this is written in the *Girls’ chronicle*, by those who were dancing and singing in *Förtjusarens palats* in Susa.”

Much later in the century, the satirical dialogue *Judarnes funderingar, pro eller contra*²⁴⁰ was very concretely situated in the juridical situation of the year 1838, when the king tried to establish civil Emancipation but was forced to revoke the edict after only a few weeks. It lists the different areas of trade and settlement which might be opened up to Jews, discussing the possibilities and dangers. For example, the danger is noted that Jews might be murdered when trying to move to smaller towns and villages. The general conclusion leans toward Emancipation being bad for Jews as well, since it would aggravate hostility towards them, and advises them to voluntarily remain within the restricted areas of trade and settlement. The text is structured by the dialogue between several Jewish siblings and their “Mutter Rachel,” who starts by lamenting her husband’s death and quoting his prophecy:

Redan den tiden då fråga uppstod att jaga oss Judar från Landet, sade han: “Vi stanna kvar; Sverige bör blifvå vårt rätta fädernesland, och Judas, min son Judas, skall blifva en stor man.”

(Already at the time when the question came up to expulse us Jews from the Land, he said: We are staying, Sweden should become our true fatherland, and Judas, my son Judas, shall become a big man, p. 1).

Her children Susanna, Aron, Benjamin, Moses, Jacob, Isac, Isacsan, Judith, and Judas discuss the different choices and possibilities they believe they will have after the Emancipation process is complete: one wants to become a high-ranking soldier, one a factory owner, one wants to move to a small town and become a peddler. As the other siblings are sceptical about their chances, they decide to stay home and wait to see how these endeavours turn out. It is not mother Rachel who is most prominent in the dialogue, but sister Susanna, whose wisdom represents an enlightened, humanist point of view on people’s equal rights and everyone’s moral obligations towards society. The text’s intention is difficult to grasp. It lists complications, hostility, and problems that Jews will encounter in Sweden despite their newly granted civil rights. The general tone is not hos-

240 Anonymous, *Judarnes funderingar, pro et contra, eller Mutter Rachels samtal med sina barn: Häfte 1 och 2* (Stockholm: A. G. Hellsten, 1838).

tile, even though the impression remains that they themselves are to blame for the anticipated problems, due to their collective behaviour.

In 1883, the collection of novels *Der Juden-Raphael*, by Leopold von Sacher-Masoch,²⁴¹ came out in Swedish translation, and in 1878, Karl Emil Franzos's novels *Die Juden von Barnow*²⁴² and *Judinnan* were both translated anonymously. Both books represent views on the Eastern European Jewish culture of the Pale of Settlement in Galicia, Poland, and the Russian districts, and have been labeled "ghetto narratives."²⁴³

Several popular publications contained stories revolving around Jewish characters or themes; these increased noticeably in quantity towards the end of the century. In these stories, unlike most other text genres, female Jewish characters played a central role. Between 1851 and 1900, no less than eleven books bore the title "The Jewess" (*Judinnan*), by both Jewish and non-Jewish authors and ranging from high literature to dime novels. Not all were clearly anti-Jewish, but the sheer number of titles testifies to a somewhat stereotypical focus on the interrelation of Jewish and gendered themes.

Two editions of Fromental Halévy's opera *La Juive*²⁴⁴ and Joseph Méry's *Judinnan i Vatikanen* were translated from French. The latter was a blunt presentation of religious antisemitism, deicide accusations, and the allegedly malicious character of Jews; it had been sanctioned by the Catholic Church.²⁴⁵

Jenny Maria Ödmann's²⁴⁶ and Agnes Lagerhjelm's²⁴⁷ two works, each titled *Judinnan*, were Swedish originals (Lagerhjelm's was also published under her initials A. L.). Philip Galen's *Jane, die Jüdin* (three volumes)²⁴⁸ was translated from German and was also published under his real name Philip Lange and "loosely translated by Blot-Sven." Heinrich Marschner's opera *Der Tempel und die*

241 Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *Jud-Raphael* (Stockholm: Skoglund, 1883).

242 Karl Emil Franzos, *Judarne i Barnow* (Stockholm: Seelig, 1878).

243 On this complex subject, see Francisca Solomon, *Blicke auf das galizische Judentum: Haskala, Assimilation und Zionismus bei Nathan Samuely, Karl Emil Franzos und Saul Raphael Landau*, *Im Spiegel der Literatur* 7 (Wien: Lit, 2012).

244 Fromental Halévy, *Judinnan* (Stockholm: Alb. Bonnier, 1866).

245 Joseph Méry, *Judinnan i Vatikanen eller Amor och Roma* (Stockholm: Hierta, 1851). See William Brustein, *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 60–61.

246 Jenny Maria Ödmann, *Judinnan* (Mariefred: Öhman, 1867). She also wrote *Rachel and Ruth* and a large number of other novels, most of them as serials in her husband's newspaper *Fäderslandet*. See <https://litteraturbanken.se/författare/ÖdmannJM>.

247 Agnes Lagerhjelm, *Judinnan* (Stockholm: Lundholm, 1870).

248 Philipp Lange, *Judinnan* (Stockholm: Wall, 1877).

*Jüdin*²⁴⁹ and Karl Emil Franzos's ghetto novel *Die Jüdin*²⁵⁰ were also translated from German. A comparable number of novels and plays were simply titled "The Jew": Cumberland's play; from German there was Carl Spindler's *Juden: tysk sedemålning från första hälften af femtonde århundradet* (in three volumes)²⁵¹ and Carl Gottlieb Samuel Heun's (Carl Heuer) *Den holländske juden*,²⁵² from Danish, Thomasine Gyllembourgh's *Berättelser: Juden*,²⁵³ from Russian, Ivan Turgenev's collection of novels *Två vänner, Juden* and *Min första kärlek*,²⁵⁴ in Danish and Swedish, Anna Maria Schunck's *Juden: sann händelse versifierad*.²⁵⁵ There was also Birger Mörner's *Juda*²⁵⁶ and Cederqvist's *Judens dotter*.²⁵⁷

Many of these books would not be classified as high literature. The Swedish originals by Cederqvist, Lagerhjelm, and Ödmann were cheap serials, published as booklets of a few pages each and coming out every few weeks. They deal with young, tragic love, the impossibility of interreligious relations, and conversion as the ultimate form of integration, which thereby represents a happy ending. Cederberg's book appeared as a series, but finished at number 14 instead of the 26 which had been promised. Lagerhjelm's novel adheres closely to the formula of the early modern conversion stories mentioned above: young Bertha grows up in a rich Jewish home, longs for conversion, her father is against it, she turns down Jewish Ferdinand's proposal, her father falls sick, she converts and has him converted as well, and in the end she marries Ferdinand (who has also converted). The number of conversions in this romantic series borders on the ridiculous.

Philip Galen's Jane is a Jew from Sweden, who ends up in a happy marriage with Reinhold, a Christian, and they never tell anyone that she used to be Jewish. In Cederqvist's *Judens dotter*, Nathan is cursed by a "gypsy" woman he had once

249 Heinrich Marschner, *Tempelherren och Judinnan* (Göteborg, 1865).

250 Karl Emil Franzos, *Judinnan* (Stockholm: Ad. Johnson, 1891).

251 Carl Spindler, *Juden: tysk sedemålning från första hälften af femtonde århundradet*, 3 vols (Stockholm: Hjerta, 1834).

252 Carl Gottlieb Samuel Heun, *Kortare berättelser och lustiga äfventyr, af Claren. Innehållande: Pistol-lektionen, Resan till lägret, Utseendet bedrager ofta, Korfbalen, Paulowna, Den holländska juden, m.fl.* (Stockholm: Ecksteinska tryckeriet, 1824).

253 Thomasine Gyllembourgh, *Nya berättelser. Af författaren till en "hværdags-historie". Utgifna af J. F. Heiberg. Tredje delen: Juden. Hvitkappan* (Stockholm: Hjerta, 1837).

254 Ivan Turgenjef, *Två vänner; Juden; Min första kärlek. Från ryskan öfversatta af – K* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1887).

255 Anna Maria Schunck, *Juden: sann händelse versifierad* (Malmö: Cronholm, 1862).

256 Birger Mörner, *Juda. Dramatisk dikt in en actus* (Göteborg: T. Hedlund, 1888).

257 August Cederqvist, *Judens dotter: Berättelse / af Curre* (Göteborg: J. F. Richters bokhandel, 1879).

kicked, but surprisingly all ends well for him and his daughter Raket, after yet another unhappy arranged marriage.

Anti-Jewish medievalism

The European Middle Ages were, at least after the First Crusade, admittedly not a happy period for the Jewish minority. Executions and waves of pogroms serve as a background to descriptions of Jewish–Christian relations as naturally violent.

Carl Spindler’s monumental novel (appearing in Sweden in 1834) deals with Jewish–Christian relations in 1414, in the period of the Councils of Constance and Basel. Hostility, violence, and restrictions on Jewish mobility, as well as the Jews in Frankfurt having to wear a yellow ring on their clothes, are all presented as the normal form of Jewish–Christian relations. His Jew is a stereotypically old, ugly, “Eastern”-looking moneylender, whose daughter Esther is beautiful and pure and is condemned to marry another Jew according to both the cruel laws of her people and the cruel wishes of her father. Halévy’s opera *Judinnan*, published in Sweden in 1866, also takes place in Constance in 1414; the story revolves round the relation between Eleazar, his daughter Rachel, and her lover Leopold – Eleazar prefers to see his daughter executed and to die with her, rather than see her convert. In the end, both are boiled to death in a cauldron. In Fromental Halévy’s opera, neither male Jews nor Christians are obviously sympathetic, only the female protagonist Rachel is portrayed as innocent – she dies in the end, and her father reveals that she was not an actual Jew but a Christian child he had saved and adopted.

Birger Mörner was a duke, traveller, diplomat, and author. His works include travel reports from Turkey and the Mediterranean, historical novels as well as poetry. As such, he belonged to the upper class and his writings enjoyed a certain popularity and discursive weight. *Juden* is a play in one act, featuring a Jewish family: “the Jew,” his daughter Ruth, an old woman, and “the foreigner.” It takes place, as many medieval pogroms actually did, on Christmas Eve, shortly after the Black Death in 1350. It is the old story of a cruel father – the absent mother having been killed by Christians. The foreigner turns out to be the couple’s first-born daughter, who married a Christian and was disowned by her father as a result. The child’s father died of the plague and the disowned mother killed her baby. The cruel father does not want her to meet her younger sister Ruth, not even after a final encounter with the daughter in which she begs for forgiveness.

Besides the unsympathetic father, the story takes on an anti-Jewish meaning by its framing of the daughter’s gruesome fate as well as the repeated references to anti-Jewish pogroms: it is the Jews’ own fault. The old woman explains to Ruth

why she is not allowed to go into the city centre: “Vi har mördat, se I, mördat.” (We have killed, you see, killed, p. 15). When Ruth’s father comes home bleeding, she draws on her new knowledge: “Juda slog Moses, nur slår kristfolket oss.” (Juda beat Moses, now the Christian people are beating us, p. 18).

In all of these cases, the medieval setting provides an opportunity to present violence towards Jews – pogroms, executions, and violations – as righteous responses to the deicide. Centring the religious difference and taking the deicide accusation at face value, extremely cruel and horrible stories fulfil entertaining purposes while also teaching the Christians a valuable lesson: it is the Christians’ right to kill Jews, most visibly and bluntly in the Middle Ages, but today as well.

The collective Jew receives a gender

There are a surprising number of belletristic texts in the corpus which not only had Jewish characters but which explicitly referred to these in the title. These contribute to a different part of the archive than political pamphlets, but just like the medieval legends and the conversion stories, they add to the general “knowledge” about Jews. There were operas, plays, and novels, which probably belonged to the area of high culture or literature, but there were also many dime novels, serials, and booklet series depicting romantic but tragic stories, which were probably read by a different public than the people who attended the opera and read the libretti. It is difficult to get a general picture of what Swedes took from all of these books and plays – did the occasional Jewish author and his self-perception of the Galician Shtetl culture, or the occasional didactic legend portraying a compassionate Jew, change the general perception of “Jews”?

Generally speaking, the representation of Jews in these works can be compared to today’s representation of queer and trans people in movies – or, for that matter, of strong, intelligent women in Henrik Ibsen’s plays. They can be either aggressive and dangerous or adorable and tragic, but they can never be happy – not as long as they hold on to their nature. For the Jews in Swedish literature, conversion or death are the only possible outcomes, with conversion being portrayed as a happy ending. The many conversion stories presented as romances, in operas or in plays, repeat the narrative patterns of medieval and early modern conversion stories: children touched by grace and wanting to convert, cruel parents, sickness or violent deaths stipulating redemption where conversion did not happen.

In contrast to all the other themes and texts, it is in the novels and plays that Jews have more than one gender. While the collective Jew in the Swedish imag-

ination is implicitly male, given that his business activities, circumcision, and political activities point towards male spheres of action in the bourgeois societies of the nineteenth century, literary products also know and depict female Jews, even in prominent and leading roles in the texts. The portrayal of Jewish men and women in literary texts followed popular stereotypes, which were in turn informed by the collective Jews from theological, political, and economic discourses, and yet here they were not a collectivity but individuals. This opened the possibility not only for different genders but also for individual character traits – even though this potential was certainly not explored as much as it could have been. The male characters are most often portrayed with at least some of the features of the collective Jew – greed, nastiness, ugliness, etc. Female Jews, on the other hand, seem to not participate in or share the collective features to the same extent as the males do – they do not deal with money, they can be either ugly or seductive and pretty, and they can be intelligent and well educated without the crude cunning of the male (collective) Jew.

It is important to note that the plays published do not represent the entirety of plays with central or peripheral Jewish figures that were staged, and that the printed texts followed different logics and patterns of text consumption than the plays. Clemens Räthel has written extensively about the most important Swedish plays with Jewish characters and how they were cast and interpreted. A much less hostile picture emerges from this than from the printed texts considered in context with the rest of the text production on the “Jewish question.” Räthel, looking not only at the staged plays but also at the reaction of the public and the Jewish communities to these, has analysed the potential for self-empowerment in these portrayals, revealing a multi-layered relation between inclusion, ridicule, and visibility.²⁵⁸ The situation with the printed texts is somewhat different, first, because the performative aspect is missing, and second, because popularity on the stage does not necessarily coincide with popularity in print. The paper versions of plays with Jewish characters are thus, again, only one aspect of the entire discourse. Furthermore, they could be supplemented with other texts supporting a rather negative reading of the Jewish figures. Love stories between Christian men and Jewish women, and the related troubles and misfortunes that befall both genders, are a prominent theme, as is an ethnographic view of Eastern European Jewish culture. They are not necessarily antisemitic per se, but must be read in the context of the rising antisemitism in Germany and Sweden at the time. While Franzos was himself Jewish, von Sacher-Masoch

258 Clemens Räthel, *Wieviel Bart darf sein? Jüdische Figuren im skandinavischen Theater* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2016).

was a cosmopolitan Christian inhabitant of the Habsburg Empire who was born in Lemberg, studied in Prague, and lived in Graz. Both authors took political stands condemning antisemitism but also contributed to mechanisms of Othering and alterity by portraying Eastern European Jewish culture as foreign, exotic, and from a different place and time – while it was immigrants from that region who were the main targets of Swedish antisemitism, both in propaganda and in terms of immigration policies, as Carl Henrik Carlsson has shown.²⁵⁹

Things are not going great in the Jewish family, even though their sex life seems to be great – as described in *Dulech*, in *Judarne in all sin glans och härlighet*, *Den pantsatte Juden*, and other works. In stories with only Jewish figures, the gender roles conform to the expectations of nineteenth-century bourgeois society. Seva, the traveller with the beautiful concubine at home, sees his masculinity and claim of ownership of Dulech's body restored. Dulech is situated in the polygamous world of sex workers, reminiscent of a harem – a mysterious female space where the women even have their own secret chronicle in which the end of her story is preserved, hidden from the Swedish readers' eyes. Both Dulech and Tamar are beautiful, fairly independent women, who need to be reminded of their moral and family obligations. Tamar is loyal to Dulech and no one else. The men in the story are driven by their desire (Rabner and Seva) or simply do what they are told (their servants), and everything they do in the story revolves around Dulech. The guilt for her moral flexibility is entirely put on her, not on Rabner who made the offer – and this might be another detail that makes the text more intelligible to Swedish readers, since blaming women for male desire and abuse is deeply rooted in Western culture.

Portraying Jewish families and couples in a cultural framework far removed from Protestant Sweden creates an opportunity for multiple and varied processes of Othering in which, in contrast to the other text genres, religion does not play a major role. The Jewish characters do not eat kashrut, they do not observe the Sabbath, and, generally, their Jewish religion is not established in a performative way. It is the Otherness that is established performatively, imagined according to the characteristics of the collective Jew: a “Jewish” language, a common striving for integration into Swedish society as well as its impossibility, and a hunger for power and money.

259 Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*.

Pro-Jewish contributions

Besides a number of direct responses to anti-Jewish texts, independent voices speaking up unprovoked for Jewish rights were rare, whether from the Jewish minority itself or from Christian authors.

Probably the most prominent pro-Jewish contribution came from Erik Magnus Pontin (1819–1852), a conservative publicist in service to the crown.²⁶⁰ In 1847, he published a political treatise, *Judarnes emancipation ur svensk synpunkt betraktad*, in which he summarized public opinion and government actions regarding the Jewish question and also described the, in his view positive, examples of Emancipation in other European countries. In his summary of the status quo, he mentions the petition sent from the Jewish community to the king on 22 March, 1847, which requested complete equality with other Swedish citizens. Pontin quotes from the subsequent consultations with communal authorities in the regions where Jewish communities lived (not unlike the situation in 1838). The *landshövdingeämbete* from Blekinge argued that the time was not right for such a reform:

Ehuru den upplystare delen av nationen i allmänhet sannolikt inser den sökta concessions öfverinstämmelse med tidsandans fordringar och civilisationens framskridande, mängden af Svenska folket likväl, i följd af dess tro på Evangelisk-Lutherska Lärans bekännande såsom oundgängligt villkor för ömsesidigt förtroende och redlighet, är så fäst vid uråldriga begrepp om nödvändigheten af enahanda troslära för statens emetsmän....

(Even though the more enlightened part of the nation obviously realizes that the concession requested accords with the needs of the spirit of the time and with the advance of civilization, due to their belief that the evangelical-Lutheran religion is a necessary precondition for mutual trust and morality, most Swedes remain bound to the antiquated idea that state servants must share a common faith ...)²⁶¹

Pontin believed this statement to be a coward's excuse, blaming "the simple people" and their conservatism for one's own opposition to reform. Still, the ar-

260 Erik Magnus Konstans Pontin was a rather conservative author on political matters; for example, in 1848 he denounced the French Revolution in another book. Nevertheless, he was committed to the education of workers and was generally liberal on social matters. In addition to his work as a publicist and editor, he tried his hand, unsuccessfully, as a literary writer. He also wrote another text regarding Jewish emancipation, in 1845: "Förtjena judarne politiska rättigheter?" "Pontin. Erik Magnus Konstans," in *Nordisk Familjebok: Konversationslexikon och Realencyclopedi*, vol. 21 (Stockholm: Nordisk familjeboks förlag, 1915).

261 Erik M. Pontin, *Judarnes emancipation ur svensk synpunkt betraktad* (Stockholm: Lundberg & Comp., 1847–1848), 35.

gument seems to have not been limited to this particular state employee, since even the authorities from Gothenburg rejected the planned reform with the argument of “the sanctity of the state religion” (*Stats-Religionens helgd*). Pontin also pointed out, in his summary of different statements by politicians regarding Emancipation, that Baron Sprengtporten, who already stood out in 1838 as a liberal-minded nobleman, was the first to note that a basic problem lay in the fact that Jews in Sweden were placed under the Board of Commercial Affairs, which had established the *judereglemente* in 1782. Sprengtporten argued that they instead belonged under the administration of general internal and political affairs, as limiting Jews to the role of merchants already implied a restriction of their civil rights. On 13 September, 1847, the Board of Commercial Affairs submitted a report detailing all the statements on the question received from throughout the country. Pontin also discussed the different estates’ interests in the rejection of the Emancipation request (p. 43 ff.).

Surprisingly, *Judarnas emancipation* presents the question of Emancipation in opposition to liberal arguments and in line with the position of the Swedish king at the time. Prior to his first contribution, *Förtjena judarne politiska rättigheter* (1845), Pontin had mainly written plays and novels; in the political arena, he was socially liberal but politically conservative. The newspaper *Morgonbladet*, which he edited in 1850 and 1851, was suspected of being directly under the king’s control and argued against liberal papers such as *Aftonbladet*.²⁶² As many liberal voices in Sweden argued that the Emancipation decree in 1838 had been issued without the approval of the estates and imagined various connections between the king and the Jewish community – ranging from Jews having bribed the king, to the king himself being Jewish – the conservative position automatically defaulted to a more pro-Jewish position. This is a clear difference from the political situation in the German Empire, where those with liberal positions were typically also pro-Jewish or pro-Emancipation. It is interesting that Pontin explicitly argued against the need for a state religion, and as such against the need for religious homogeneity.

It has been mentioned previously that the neighbouring Nordic countries and their strategies and policies regarding Jewish Emancipation did not play a major role in the Swedish debate and print production. Norway, having recently gained independence from Sweden, was probably too much of a sore spot to be used as an example, even though the infamous *jødeparagrafen* in its first constitution appeared as an attractive political solution to many in Sweden as well. In 1842, however, the most prominent opponent of the Norwegian anti-Jewish pol-

262 “Magnus Erik Konstans Pontin,” in *Nordisk familjebok*, Uggleupplagan, vol. 21.

icy, Henrik Wergeland, had one of his pamphlets translated, in which he advocated for the complete repeal of the paragraph in question.²⁶³

An anonymous author argued in 1862 in favour of the king's proposal, which was being debated at the time, to allow Jews and Christians to intermarry. It had previously been printed in the newspaper *Dagligt Allahanda*; while acknowledging the importance of religion in general, it also argued for the separation of Church and State.²⁶⁴

Many pro-Jewish contributions were translated from German, most but not all by authors belonging to the Jewish Reform movement in Prussia. One Protestant German text, Gerhard Friederich's *Huru skola judarna förbättras?*²⁶⁵ (1816), described Jews not as a monolithic group, but as being made up of different social classes. As a consequence, he called for measures of social and religious integration differentiated according to their economic situation. Theodor Mommsen's response to Treitschke during the *Berliner Antisemitismusstreit* was also translated, alongside the many anti-Jewish contributions from this dispute.²⁶⁶ The response of Swedish (and Danish) Jewish intellectuals to this event merits greater attention; as it was not published in book form, however, it does not appear in this corpus.²⁶⁷

In 1870, Associations-boktryckeriet in Stockholm printed a translation of Ludwig Philippson's book *Haben die Juden wirklich Jesum gekreuzigt?*²⁶⁸ This was a biblical-historical analysis comprised of several articles translated from the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, the central organ of liberal Judaism in Germany. Its main argument is that Jesus's conviction and execution by the

263 Henrik Wergeland, *Judarne i deras närvarande ställning inom samhället, med afseende på deras emancipation; jemte förslaget till upphäfvande af 2 §, sista momentet, uti Norges grundlag* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1842). See also Nils-Petter Enstad, "Henrik Wergeland og 'Jødeparagrafen'," *Idé 2* (2001): 14–15.

264 Anonymous, *I anledning af lagförslaget om äktenskap mellan kristna och judar* (Stockholm: N. Marcus, 1862).

265 Gerhard Friederich, *Huru skola judarna förbättras? Ett ord till behjertande för sanningens vänner* (Stockholm: A. Gadelius, 1818).

266 Matthias Jacob Schleiden and Theodor Mommsen, *De tyske stormännen Matthias Jakob Schleidens och Theodor Mommsens röst i judefrågan* (Uppsala: E. Edquist, 1881).

267 See Christoph Leiska, "Das Geschrei des 'Herrn von Germanenstolz': Dänisch-jüdische Intellektuelle und der moderne Antisemitismus im deutschen Kaiserreich," in *Einspruch und Abwehr: Die Reaktion des europäischen Judentums auf die Entstehung des Antisemitismus; (1879–1914)*, Jahrbuch zur Geschichte und Wirkung des Holocaust 2010, ed. Ulrich Wyrwa (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 2010).

268 Ludwig Philippson, *Hafva judarne verkligen korsfäst Jesus?* (Stockholm: Associationsboktryckeri, 1870).

Roman authorities followed an established procedure for Jews who claimed to be the messiah and that this was in order to pre-empt popular movements. Thus, the text argues against the obviously still current accusations of deicide, which had been informing anti-Jewish thought for centuries. Philippon, a prominent and very productive rabbi and author who lived in Magdeburg and was editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, also had two of his novels published in Sweden at the very end of the century.

In terms of political interventions in the public sphere, printed contributions by members of the Jewish community were rare and were usually published anonymously. This was true of the responses to anti-Jewish texts, and it also applies to a collection of statements from German (Prussian) professionals from the field of veterinary medicine regarding kosher slaughter. All of these statements, accompanied by the authors' names and affiliations, agreed that shechita was no more – and was perhaps even less – painful to the animal than conventional slaughter. There is no indication in *Utlåtanden öfver det judiska rituella slagtdet: öfversatt från tyskan* as to who it was commissioned by; it appeared in 1898.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ Anonymous, *Utlåtanden öfver det judiska rituella slagtdet: öfversatt från tyskan* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus' Boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1889).

6 The persistence of medieval stereotypes

Catholic anti-Judaism in Lutheran Sweden

One question that arises from this survey of the nineteenth-century archive of antisemitism in Sweden is why certain medieval legends continued to rank amongst the most popular and widely distributed anti-Jewish texts. There are two important factors that help explain this: first, the continuing intelligibility of Catholic anti-Judaism in Protestant societies, and second, the strong religious foundation of modern antisemitism in modern Sweden in general. The sizeable number of religious anti-Jewish texts that were widely available in nineteenth-century Sweden formed a significant part of the archive of antisemitism: what people thought they knew about “Jews” and what fragments of knowledge they were able to activate once they became interested in the topic.

While acknowledging the medieval roots of modern Swedish antisemitism, it has become apparent that there was a fluid passage of both medieval and early modern fragments of knowledge feeding into the archive. The Reformation had no obvious impact of note on this particular aspect of text transmission and tradition, or at least the motifs which were used and conveyed did not change significantly after Sweden became a Lutheran empire. This observation may be more interesting than the question that is still often raised in contemporary debates about antisemitism, as to whether it is a foreign and imported phenomenon or a Swedish original.

German antisemitism, which was developing rapidly at the time, played an important role as a model in the Swedish debate, despite the very different political and social circumstances and structure of the Jewish minority there. This does not mean that antisemitism was imported from the German lands – even though texts were translated, read, and adapted, the phenomenon itself was more one of cultural exchange, in which a similar phenomenon existed in two separate regions and one of the regions received considerable inspiration for its own development.

The fundamental political and social differences between Sweden and the German Empire were probably one of the reasons why primarily religious texts and arguments were most popular for the purposes of cultural exchange and stimulation; after all, Protestantism was similar in Prussia and Sweden, while most other aspects of politics, society, and the population differed. For some reason, translations from other Nordic countries were not used at all for the dissemination of primarily religious hostility, even though both Denmark and Norway could have provided models arguing for religious homogeneity, religious free-

dom excluding Jews (most clearly, in Norway's constitution of 1814), or for allowing Jewish immigration while simultaneously opposing religious freedom in general (for instance, in Denmark freedom of religion was only codified in 1849). Even after its integration into the Russian Empire, Finland did not amend the Swedish prohibition on Jewish immigration. Swedish bitterness at losing Norway and Finland and its historical hostility towards Denmark probably overshadowed any appeal in acquiring anti-Jewish arguments from these immediate neighbours.

Eleonore Sterling has analysed the origins of racist antisemitism in the German lands as a combination of two factors: the result of social and economic decline, or rather the fear thereof on the part of the bourgeoisie; and the wish to keep the Jewish communities in relative misery as a projection for one's own feelings of misery, fear, and (national and political) humiliation. Many scholars have drawn on her social explanation of the need to project various fears and anxieties onto the religious Other.

With the Swedish example in mind, however, this explanation either does not hold or needs to be adjusted. For example, Sterling has explained stereotypes about or related to Jewish homelessness as a reaction to a sense of German "homelessness" – the difficulties in forming a nation-state, political oppression, etc.²⁷⁰ As the present study has shown, the strongest image of Jewish homelessness/rootlessness as a punishment for deicide was transmitted in a text from the early seventeenth century, which can be traced back to the Middle Ages and which circulated in Sweden (and the other Nordic countries) in periods when the population had no reason whatsoever to feel homeless. Ahasver and the two texts accompanying his legend, containing accusations of deicide and a comprehensive list of negative physical attributes of "the Jews," circulated amongst Sweden's reading public at the time of its greatest glory: the era of the Swedish Empire, the occupation of large parts of Europe, and the colonies. Ahasver was still popular – indeed, became even more so – when Sweden lost its glory, its colonies, and even Norway and Finland, and had a French convert for a king. Ahasver was also popular in Denmark, which during the nineteenth century was still enjoying the heyday of its colonial era and was suffering from national humiliation or homelessness far less than Sweden.

This points to the fact that many attempts to explain the mix of religious and racist stereotypes in early nineteenth-century antisemitism have failed to acknowledge the longevity of their traditions. In particular, the religious texts

²⁷⁰ Eleonore Sterling, *Judenhaß: Die Anfänge des politischen Antisemitismus in Deutschland (1815–1850)* (Frankfurt am Main: Europ. Verlags-Anstalt, 1969), 168–69.

and religious motifs transmitted in didactic, entertaining, and political texts can be traced back directly to medieval or early modern model texts, and their relevance was not limited to Christian religious discourse. The generally accepted explanation proposed by Sterling, that Germans projected their own sense of misery onto Jewish communities and that this explains their opposition to Emancipation or to any improvement of said communities' living conditions,²⁷¹ cannot be applied to the Nordic situation. As discussed previously, the first generations of Jewish immigrants allowed into Sweden were well-to-do, internationally connected, and highly educated businesspeople, or else were highly specialized craftsmen. They never lived in ghettos but in nice houses in the central areas of the largest towns in Sweden.²⁷²

The other predominant explanation of German antisemitism, the bourgeoisie's fear of social decline, is usually seen as being more important towards the end of the nineteenth century, after the formation of the German Empire and in connection with the economic and social progress of emancipated Jews. In terms of the national framework, this situation seems more applicable to Sweden, with its low level of industrialization, emigration of a large part of its population to the United States due to poverty, and highly regimented class society. The uncertainties brought about by the modern era did inflict significant turmoil on the poor, though far less on the wealthy landowners, manufacturers, and ship owners.

What seems more relevant to the Swedish situation is the fact that antisemitic stereotypes were readily available to all classes and in all kinds of discourses – the text production shows very few innovations or changes over the course of the century; most motifs and arguments were already fully developed in 1815. The actual Jewish minority, their political struggles and economic successes or failures, were often used as a vehicle to promote more restrictive immigration rules or forced baptism or expulsion. What is much more apparent and consistent throughout the century, however, is the stability of a hermeneutic Jew – an idea of “the Jew” cobbled together from religious, racist, and economic discursive ingredients. Swedes did not need to be in a specific economic or political situation in order to read and reproduce anti-Jewish “knowledge,” which was not based on any experiences with actual Jews at home or abroad but on a long tra-

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 169.

²⁷² The spatial distribution of Jewish homes, schools, graveyards, etc. and its influence on the formation of Jewish and Christian spaces in Sweden has attracted some scholarly interest as of late: Leiska, *Räume der Begegnung*; Maja Hultman, “The Construction of the Great Synagogue in Stockholm, 1860–1870: A Space for Jewish and Swedish-Christian Dialogues (Report),” *Arts* 9, no. 1 (2020).

dition stretching back to the Middle Ages. In some cases, it has actually been possible to reconstruct how this anti-Jewish archive was formed from medieval and early modern model texts, legends, and narrative traditions about conversion. In other cases, imported texts, most of them German, added to the already existing fund of knowledge about a purely fictitious religious minority.

The Enlightenment has long been considered an important impetus behind the moves towards Jewish Emancipation, with this being followed in the German lands by a regression after 1815. According to many scholars, religion lost its place as the main pillar of the state, Jews were granted civil rights, and religious difference ceased to be relevant on the level of citizenship – and the development of antisemitism in its modern form began.²⁷³ Other scholars, notably Jacob Katz, have instead observed a continuum in the development and popularization of antisemitism in the second half of the eighteenth century, in which the religious aspect still played an important role but merged with other aspects. This has been referred to as “Frühantisemitismus.” By the end of this process, the religious Other had become the racial Other.²⁷⁴ Yet others, such as Jan Weyand, acknowledge fundamental changes in the development of anti-Jewish hostility but still recognize the significance of Christianity for the newly constructed national identity of the German Empire.²⁷⁵

Scholars of medieval history, on the other hand, have been pointing out that a racialization of Jewishness had been firmly established by 1350 at the latest and that medieval forms of Jew-hatred already merged religious hatred with ideas of Jewish Otherness regarding bodies, character, and essence.²⁷⁶ For the medieval North, this has been confirmed by the extensive research of Jonathan Adams²⁷⁷ and others.²⁷⁸ We lack knowledge about the transmission of antisemitic

273 Sterling, *Judenhaß*; Wyrwa, “Zur Entstehung des Antisemitismus im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts.”

274 Katz, *Vom Vorurteil bis zur Vernichtung*; Katz, “Frühantisemitismus in Deutschland”; Nicole Hartzitz, “Früh-Antisemitismus” in *Deutschland (1789–1871/72): Strukturelle Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Text und Argumentation*, Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 83 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988).

275 Weyand, *Wissenssoziologie*.

276 Heng, *The Invention of Race*, 55–109.

277 Jonathan Adams, “Grumme løver og menstruerende mænd,” *Rambam*, no. 21 (2012); Jonathan Adams, “Kristi Mordere: Jøder i danske passionsberetninger fra middelalderen,” *Danske Studier* (2013); Jonathan Adams, “Preaching About an Absent Minority: Medieval Danish Sermons and Jews,” in *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Adams and Hanks; Jonathan Adams, “On Preaching Passions and Precepts: The Role of Jews and Muslims in East Norse Sermons,” in *Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Preaching in the Mediterranean and Eu-*

stereotypes in Sweden during the early modern period; however, the many continuities described in this study seem to indicate that the Reformation did not have a significant impact on the development of anti-Jewish hostility. Catholic anti-Judaism remained intelligible, and since accusations of host desecration had not played a major role in the Scandinavian sources anyway, the main theological foundations of Jew-hatred remained in place: the deicide accusation and, in its wake, various expressions of punitive supersessionism.

Besides the medieval texts in modern translation and their adaptations, medievalism was also apparent in the field of anti-Jewish writing. Novels and plays situated in medieval periods enjoyed widespread popularity during the era of national romanticism, and when portraying Jewish families and their fate, the historical setting of pogroms and expulsions provided a framework which helped to normalize anti-Jewish hostility and violence. If medieval Jews were held accountable for having killed Jesus, why should modern Jews not be accused and punished for the same deed? The bluntness of medievalist anti-Judaism, as portrayed in texts such as those by Birger Mörner and Carl Spindler, differentiates it from many of the more subtle texts with modern settings. Furthermore, the absolute necessity of conversion (its only alternative being death) is only present in the tales with a medieval framework – but they nevertheless provide commentary on contemporary debates.

Creating a problem

In 1891, the author writing under the pseudonym Svän Bonde defined the “Jewish question” as “den bästa möjliga utväg att snarast möjligt blifva judarne qvitt” (how best to get rid of the Jews as quickly as possible, p. 4).²⁷⁹ During the preceding decades, the “Jewish question” had been defined and debated by the Swedish public in a much broader sense – it was actually *made*, not only in

rope: Identities and Interfaith Encounters, Sermo 15, ed. Adrienne Dupont-Hamy and Linda G. Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).

278 Richard Cole, “One or Several Jews? The Jewish Massed Body in Old Norse Literature,” *post-medieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 5, no. 3 (2014): 346; Richard Cole, “Kyn / Fólk / Þjóð / Ætt: Proto-Racial Thinking and Its Application to Jews in Old Norse Literature,” in *Fear and Loathing in the North*, ed. Adams and Heß.

279 Svän Bonde, *Är invandring af judar en lycka eller olycka för oss svenskar? En allvarlig fråga till hvarje svensk man och qvinna i allmänhet och till riksdagens ledamöter i synnerhet* (Stockholm: Nya tryckeri-aktiebolaget, 1891). The text was republished with commentary in 1934 by Einar Åberg, one of the most prominent Swedish right-wing activists and antisemites before, during, and after the Second World War.

the recurrent debates in the Riksdag but also in printed books. Considering the number of Jews in Sweden prior to the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of books printed on Jewish questions certainly seems disproportionate. It started long before Jewish immigration was legalized in 1782 and continued throughout the entire Emancipation process, which at the beginning of the century seemed to be moving backwards rather than forwards.

Peaks in text production on Jewish themes in Sweden coincide with the general periodization of the age of Emancipation as established by Ulrich Wyrwa.²⁸⁰ An initial peak in text production can be identified in the first decade of the nineteenth century, culminating in the *urtima riksdag* of 1815, when further restrictions on Jewish immigration were proposed. A second peak occurred in the years 1838–40 and then the rate of publications increased steadily over the last two decades of the century, following Emancipation. In 1815, the heightened interest was sparked by the circumstances – the first public debate on the topic – and was fuelled by the spectacular wave of bankruptcies, in which disproportionate attention was paid to the small number involving Jewish businesses, as well as the general sense of change in the wake of the coronation of Karl XIV Johan. Outside of these specific periods, however, interest in Jewish themes was evenly distributed over the century. Religious texts were popular throughout, as indicated by the repeated new editions of simple religious-didactic texts, but increased in quantity towards the end of the century, with the wave of converted evangelical lay preachers writing about their former religion.

Texts with Jewish themes and an anti-Jewish orientation were distributed equally over all genres – most surprising, perhaps, is the large number of entertaining and belletristic texts with Jewish characters and with titles alluding to Jewish themes. The immense text production raises the question of why Jews were of such interest in Sweden at the time – or were they, really?

Here, too, the year 1815 can serve as a looking glass. The written production that year started as a conflict regarding Jewish immigration and settlement. There were several other factors, however, which determined its unusual character. It was a short period of relative freedom of speech and the press, and the participants obviously enjoyed their efforts to produce booklet after booklet of witty, funny, satirical, and clever contributions on the same topic – which perhaps served as a relatively random canvas for their exercises in style. Authors, many of whom were anonymous, would join in and try to outperform everyone

²⁸⁰ Ulrich Wyrwa, “Die Emanzipation der Juden in Europa,” in *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Juden in Europa*, vol. 2, ed. Elke-Vera Kotowski, Julius H. Schoeps, and Hiltrud Wallenborn (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001).

else. The whole phenomenon seems to have been restricted to the capital; no publications were produced elsewhere, not even in Gothenburg, and it is difficult to tell whether the conflict, which was obviously to a large extent personal, was of any interest in the rest of the country. The excitement elicited by sharp-penned public debates about liberalism and Sweden's constitution was probably also encouraged by Napoleon's losses in the German lands and other macropolitical developments: the election of the French military commander Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte as crown prince of Sweden; the Congress of Vienna, which redefined Sweden's relation to Norway and Finland; and Norway's relative independence, which, significantly, led to the infamous *jødeparagrafen* in the neighbouring country's new constitution, forbidding Jewish immigration and presence entirely. Thus, the significance of the *Grevesmöhlska striden* to the *judefejden* needs to be qualified. On the one hand, the *Grevesmöhlska striden* was not so much about Jews as about a specific small elite section of Stockholm society and their political views. On the other hand, the print production lent visibility to the "Jewish question" at a time when Jews' existence in Sweden was already menaced by parliamentary attempts to deport them and confiscate their goods. The connection between the "Jewish question" and debates about the need to modernize and liberalize the economy, trade, and production, was expressed vividly in the *judefejden* and probably served as a template for similar arguments in later years and decades.²⁸¹

A close relation between liberalism and the integration or exclusion of Jews is familiar from other countries. Håkon Harket has pointed out that the *jødeparagrafen* was crafted by the most influential liberal intellectuals in Norway at the time, who took the criticism of religion from continental Enlightenment debates so seriously that they deemed that it would be impossible to integrate a group into the new constitution if they were seen to follow a different law. The motif of Jews (and Jesuits and Mormons) as a "state within the state" led to their exclusion via one of the most liberal constitutions in Europe at the time.²⁸² In Sweden, too, many liberal voices were against an increased integration of Jews into the state; they were motivated by various concerns, including the demand to be able to decide about questions of citizenship without the interference of the king and the notion that emancipated Jews would still enjoy the same privileges that

²⁸¹ See also Henrik Edgren's estimation of the *judefejden* being a signifier for the larger societal change from a society build on guilds to an individualized and market-based society. Edgren, *Societal change*, 140.

²⁸² Harket, *Paragrafen*, *passim*.

had been given to them in the judereglemente. But in contrast to the role of liberals in the Emancipation processes in the German Empire, in Sweden there was little ambiguity about where this political movement stood, and pro-Jewish voices were basically absent (with the exception of Magnus Erik Pontin).

Unlike other countries and cases, where public disputes about the “Jewish question” sparked pogroms, the Swedish judefejden of 1815 did not lead to violent attacks against members of the Jewish community.²⁸³ On a discursive level, however, it laid the basis for an enduring identification of Jews – or rather, Jewish immigrants – with a number of contemporary problems. *Grenzen des Sagbaren* – the limits of what it is possible and publicly acceptable to say – were already quite wide in Sweden, and had broadened in the direction of openly formulating the wish to deport and dispossess Jews, to force them to convert, to force them to pay a considerable part of the Swedish state debt, and to prohibit most interactions between Jews and Lutherans. Thus, the judefejden marked a new level of willingness to blame Jews and to publicly call for their expulsion. This was not restricted to publications released in immediate connection to the judefejden; significantly, it included translations of German theoretical texts and manifestos (Christoph Meiners, Friedrich Buchholz) which appeared in the same year as the Stockholm conflict and framed it in a larger historical and geographical context. The arguments employed, however, had already been established and would continue to be used throughout the century. They drew their strength from medieval European models as well as from the prevalent European focus on Jewish Emancipation in the first quarter of the century – with the Hardenberg edict and Emancipation in Denmark, the Norwegian constitution, a backlash in France, and pogroms and attacks in Prussia and Denmark.

Even beyond the year 1815, text production on Jewish questions was always partly about something else, most often the country’s self-definition as a religiously homogenous Lutheran society – or as a particularly liberal country, in Norway’s case. Unlike the fragmented territories on the continent, the connection between monarchy, State Church, and national identity was unbroken, and had been reinforced through anti-Catholic campaigns, witch hunts, and the forced Christianization of the Sámi. Sweden had positioned itself as a Lutheran superpower during the Thirty Years War. While the *stormaktstid* had obviously ended, Norway and Finland were lost, and the most recent king had not only been

²⁸³ For a comparative study on collective violence against Jews, see Werner Bergmann, *Tumulte – Excesse – Pogrome: Kollektive Gewalt gegen Juden in Europa 1789–1900*, vol. 1. Studien zu Ressentiments in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2020).



Fig. 8: Cover illustrations from different editions of *Berättelse om en jude och skomakare af Jerusalem* (all Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm).

brought over from France but had also been born a Catholic, the Christian aspect of national identity remained beyond question: Sweden was a Lutheran Christian country. The religious Other could only be imagined as far away and dangerous; unlike in most European countries, meeting the Other and finding ways to coexist had not seemed necessary prior to the *judereglemente*.

As has been noted by many Swedish scholars, many of the contemporary debates on various “Jewish questions” were also about the more general modernization of the country: freedom of the press, the constitutional monarchy and the role of parliament, reform of the guild system, internationalization of markets and production.²⁸⁴ In that regard, the Jewish minority was connected to social, economic, and political changes which initially had nothing to do with them. Unlike the debates in the German Empire, however, where Jews came to personify those aspects of modernity which were seen to be negative by certain conservative groups (rootlessness, urbanization, changing gender roles, social mobility), in Sweden most of the changes themselves were welcome and were supported by the leading elements of the estates. The Jews were instead accused of succeeding too much within the new market and manufacturing structures, profiting too much from the reform of the guild system, being too well connected internationally.

Realistically, the fact that a few hundred Jewish individuals had immigrated and settled in three, later five towns cannot have made a big difference in the lives of the majority of Sweden’s inhabitants. On the other hand, “Jews” had always been present in their lives – in sermons, catechisms, popular narratives, and stories – probably in the same way as ghosts, Black people, or the king: one need not have actually seen or met any of these in order to “know” that they existed and what they were like. But in contrast to fairy tales and stories about the king, stories about ghosts and Jews were always scary, and stories about Black people and Jews always carried a note of disdain. Neutral interest in Jewish matters or characters was rare, judging from the nineteenth-century text production.

Writing about Jewish themes did not require one to be an expert, as attested by the many pamphlets and novels which were single products written by people who otherwise had no expertise in the field and no contact with it. People who worked as translators, jewellers, singer-songwriters, or politicians suddenly felt the urge to write a pamphlet arguing against Jewish Emancipation, or advocating for the expulsion of all Jews from Sweden, or for establishing a Jewish colony in

²⁸⁴ See Hammarström, *I sällskap med judar*; Edgren, *Societal change*; Carlsson, *Medborgarskap och diskriminering*.

Latin America. This is an aspect in which the function of the archive as repository of passively stored collective knowledge, readily accessible and available to inscribe in a new context when needed, is very evident.

Translating and publishing books, most often from German, was easily and quickly done. The Swedish book industry kept up to date about new products in the German lands from what Rainer Erb and Werner Bergmann have called the “Nachtseite der Judenemanzipation” (dark side of Jewish Emancipation).²⁸⁵ Even though no similar struggle against Jewish Emancipation was necessary in Sweden, because there was no Emancipation yet, book publishers and translators sometimes tied novels, serials from journals and newspapers, scholarly works and pamphlets, and other contributions to very specific local incidents – such as the censorship of the play *Unser Verkehr* –, added prefaces arguing that the text in question was relevant in Sweden as it showed how dangerous the Jewish influx really was, and then released these translated publications on the Swedish market, often the same year as the original. Sometimes the original author was mentioned in the title, sometimes not, and it was a common practice to change the original title to something more scandalous, scary, or that emphasized the Jewish subject matter. Editions of these books were not restricted to a single publishing house or region; they were distributed throughout the entire country. Some were fancy books with illustrations and leather binding, some were simple chapbooks of only a few pages. Pictures and caricatures were not very common, nor were title illustrations. The Ahasver compilation is an exception, as it always had a title illustration, which changed slightly between the different editions but always showed the Wandering Jew in profile with a little sack, a long coat, a stick, and a long beard – it is noteworthy though that the man depicted in most versions did not have the stereotypical features of the caricatural “Jew.”

The picture emerging from a comprehensive analysis of nineteenth-century anti-Jewish book production in Sweden reveals a considerable number of people who felt confident, obliged, or simply entitled to write about Jews in a negative way and to have their texts printed and distributed, even if not all of them became bestsellers. The archive of anti-Jewish knowledge was sufficiently well stocked that people who wanted to speak out publicly, either on questions of Emancipation or about something entirely different (Christian identity, economic reforms, the labour market, love), could feel confident using Jewish themes as

²⁸⁵ Rainer Erb and Werner Bergmann, *Die Nachtseite der Judenemanzipation: Der Widerstand gegen die Integration der Juden in Deutschland 1780–1860*, Antisemitismus und jüdische Geschichte 1 (Berlin West: Metropol Verlag, 1989).

vehicles for their cause – and, of course, restricting Jewish immigration or integration might itself be their cause. Why this was a cause for so many who otherwise had completely different causes, professions, and fields of expertise is not made clear in the material itself.

An unchangeable collectivity

In the Swedish material of the nineteenth century, Jews are a collectivity. Many medievalist scholars have pointed out how during the Middle Ages, a certain concept of temporality developed in the Christian view of Jews: Christian theology supported concepts of history, of time in general, and of spirituality which established Christianity as triumphant over Judaism.²⁸⁶ Medieval Passion piety and *Imitatio Christi* asceticism and devotion sought to make the Passion immediate, ongoing, and of daily significance to Christians, and as a consequence also projected Jewish guilt into the present.²⁸⁷ These medieval conceptions of Christian time also positioned Jews, both the hermeneutic and the actual, in a paradox of time: they were the killers of Christ at the time of the Gospels, they were among the many contemporary enemies of Christ, and they were the people who would convert at the end of time. This conceptualization of Jews as an eternal group first developed in theological writings but is also evident in the legend of the Eternal or Wandering Jew: even though converted, he remains cursed and remains the same person in the past, present, and future, until the second coming of the messiah. Personified in the figure of Ahasver, the idea of Jewish rootlessness, as a punishment for deicide and for refusing to recognize Jesus as the messiah, is a broader theological feature that developed in late antiquity; in this narrative, the punishment of the individual Ahasver merged with the punishment of the entire people.

At first only applicable to the hermeneutic Jew, this idea also spilled out onto actual Jews and was manifested in continual accusations of deicide and various blasphemies. The presence of medieval anti-Jewish texts in modern Sweden testifies to the ongoing intelligibility of the eternal, or tripartite, temporality of Jews, which was applied to the first generations of immigrants as well, with the same error of confusion between hermeneutic and actual people.

²⁸⁶ For example, see Steven F. Kruger, *The Spectral Jew: Conversion and Embodiment in Medieval Europe*, Medieval Cultures 40 (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

²⁸⁷ Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 55.

Having been established as eternal, the Jewish collectivity was imagined as sharing certain character traits, the most important being a common religion – and just as in the medieval models, their common religion, understood primarily as a set of rules, determined their common ethics, culture, and, as a result, character. Herein lies one major difference with the discourse in Germany, even though it served as a template and inspiration for many of the invectives in Sweden. In the German lands, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century, all but the most radical anti-Jewish contributions demanded assimilation and acculturation from the Jewish minority in exchange for Emancipation. In Sweden, by way of contrast, assimilation did not play a significant role in the debate, other than in the form of a demand to completely reject or give up Judaism. Baptism, conversion, and having their children baptized were common strategies adopted by the first generations of Jewish immigrants in order to receive citizenship and access to society. From the Swedish perspective, this seemed to remain the most desirable version of “integration” of the Jewish minority.

Both original Swedish works, such as *Om judarnas företräde, värde och lycka*, and translations, such as *En son Israels till sina bröder*, frequently described Jews as an eternal collectivity, incapable of change. The extremely popular Ahasver compilation gave this unchangeable collectivity an image and a personification: Ahasver, eternally punished with having to wander the earth, and the twelve tribes, eternally punished with a bad smell and repulsive physical features. The ancient roots of the people of Israel, codified in the Hebrew Bible, are proof of their eternal existence and also of their eternally unchangeable condition. The fact that Christians also accept the same texts, which they call the Old Testament, and the Ten Commandments as part of scripture is not discussed in this corpus; as a result, Christianity is presented as something entirely different due to the new covenant established by the Gospel. Bishop Agardh represents an exception to this rule; he argued that religious hostility did not make any sense because of the common roots of Judaism and Christianity, but he nevertheless constructed Jews as a group distinguished by a set of religious rules which determined each individual’s character negatively.

The religious difference established a number of other differences between the Jewish collectivity and the Christian Swedish majority society in the Swedish text corpus. The Torah and Mosaic law were constantly pointed to as the root of the problem – in medieval and early modern texts, it was mainly the Talmud which was portrayed as a problem, as Christians believed it demanded Jews be hostile towards them. But in nineteenth-century Sweden, the Torah itself was described as establishing “the Jews” globally as a group with ancient, incomprehensible rules setting them apart from the societies they lived in. What

exactly these rules consisted of was less clear – circumcision was mentioned but not prominently, and kashrut seems to have either not been a factor or to have simply not been known. Acts such as the Yom Kippur atonement ritual only appeared in the early modern ethnographic texts, where they were presented as evidence that the *secreta Iudaeorum* were meaningless, crazy, and weird.²⁸⁸ The tone for perceiving Jewish difference was instead set by the popular medieval texts, in which deicide and blasphemy were presented as the main features of Jewish character.

The best and easiest way out of the unchangeable group was conversion, the corpus suggests. Conversion narratives formed the bulk of nineteenth-century anti-Jewish print production, elegantly bridging the divide between different Christian denominations: medieval model texts were recounted without the intervention of the Virgin Mary, which was replaced by the intervention of God's impersonal grace; Jewish converts wrote their memoirs according to pre-modern models, disclosing the *secreta Iudaeorum*; Lutheran priests were presented as the midwives of converting grace. The Jewish family constellations in the legends remained true to the medieval models: innocent children touched by heavenly intervention, violent or hostile parents and grandparents. All of these texts were popular, reprinted many times and widely available throughout the entire country. The plot structure was also repeated in several novels and plays, popularizing the alternative of “conversion or death” for Jews in a discursive field where this was probably more acceptable than it would have been in political debates. Towards the end of the century, the medieval models in Lutheran form disappeared in favour of a whole slew of texts by Jewish converts, promoted by the Pentecostal movement and by Föreningen för Israelsmissionen (founded in 1875, later Svenska Israelsmissionen, a missionary association which had as its purpose the conversion of Jews to Christianity). As soon as Swedish Jews were granted civil rights, domestic conversion attempts increased in frequency. When political antisemitism increased in the German Empire, with demands for the complete assimilation or expulsion of the Jews, Swedish publishers had only their most racist and *völkisch* products translated (with a few pro-Jewish exceptions). At the same time, a religious movement based in the Low Church took charge of the religious solution to the “Jewish question”: the missionary organization produced converts and the converts produced texts which presented conversion as viable, desirable, and necessary. Conversion is also pre-

²⁸⁸ See Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, “Jewish Life and Books Under Scrutiny: Ethnography, Polemics, and Converts,” in *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews: Johannes Pfefferkorn and Christian Writings About Jewish Life and Literature in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

sented as the only way to “cure” Jews in Nordforss’s *Judarnas företräde, välde och lycka*. Here, the author has a rabbi speak against Emancipation with the argument that religious tolerance might well work with other religions, but not with Judaism, as it commands its members to be hostile to others. The Christian fantasy of Jewish hostility had been repeated throughout the Middle Ages and was often acted upon by burning Jewish books, particularly the Talmud, where Christians suspected the hostility of being written down. While the Talmud is also mentioned as the source of the slightly pornographic Orientalist *Dulech* tale, “rabbinical writings” in general form the basis of the fiercely anti-Jewish book *Judendomen, framställd utur de rabbinske skrifterna*. This was part of a broader genre that had been well known since the early modern ethnographic interest in Judaism: collections of translated quotations from unspecified Hebrew texts, presented without context and rearranged in order to “prove” the hostile character of Judaism and Jews in general.

It is possible that a similar picture will emerge in other countries with a similar corpus, combining various political, theological, and sociological discourses. Previous research has often focused on single authors who denied the possibility of conversion because it would not “wash off” the Jewish race or character; these should be contrasted with contemporaneous evidence of conversion stories, which constituted a parallel textual tradition and model of Jewish–Christian relations. Even here, the archive contains a variety of fragments about conversion, most of them much older than the contributions to contemporary debates.

In the first half of the century, most of the more prominent voices of German/Prussian Frühantisemitismus were translated and published. In research about the phenomenon in the German lands, it is seen as a reaction against the Emancipation and the edicts of toleration in areas affected by the Napoleonic wars. In Sweden, however, the texts appeared accompanying very different political measures: the constant attempts to revoke the judereglemente, which allowed Jewish immigration within very restricted areas and frameworks, and to establish even stricter regulations or to expel the Jews completely. Therefore, a specifically Swedish Frühantisemitismus cannot be seen as a reaction against Emancipation: it was a reaction against Jews and Judaism itself, relying on medieval models, and thus existing relatively independent of the presence or absence of a Jewish minority. Consequently, various themes which can be subsumed under the term “supersessionism” are prominent in the Swedish texts.

The many texts in which Judaism itself was presented as the core of the problem constitute a disproportionately large part of the corpus as a whole. This includes those with explicitly religious themes, such as conversion or Talmudic quotations, as well as others with entirely different themes and genres, such as satirical dialogues discussing Emancipation, historical records from

other countries, or legends. None of the authors or translators had a particularly religious background, though, with the exception of Bishop Agardh. His contribution to the development of Swedish antisemitism was not original in terms of content; it merely summed up many of the previously translated and written texts. The main arguments – a specific Jewish character deriving from Mosaic law and the consequent intrusion and disruptive effect of Jews in all areas of business and public life in Sweden – had already been published, refuted, and taken up again in previous decades. The only difference was that these now appeared within a contribution to Swedish cultural and economic history, pointing to Jewish immigrants as a foreign element disturbing the otherwise beautiful and natural development of the Swedish people. Coming from a bishop, the rejection of religious arguments might have made the text seem all the more convincing. As a professor, a bishop, and a member of both Swedish and international academic institutions (he was appointed to the Leopoldina in 1819), Agardh made the widely available and shared hostility towards Jews acceptable in academic, religious, and other elite circles, arguing that Jews could and should never be a part of the Swedish nation.

The construction of Judaism as a religion with negative connotations was widespread in all parts of society – which is not particularly surprising, as all non-Lutheran religions and denominations were subject to negative constructions and connotations. But together with the fact that Judaism and Jewish themes made up a considerable part of the public debate, and accordingly of the printed corpus – in contrast to Islam or Catholicism, for instance – the texts about Judaism had a noticeably greater public impact. An impact which not only targeted the religion on an abstract level, but which also targeted Jews as the eternal personification of a religion people simply did not like.

Judaism was a religion many people had a clear opinion about – usually a negative one. Building on the many centuries-old stereotypes which came with the public, prominent, and negative construction and discussion of Judaism, many people also had a clear opinion about Jews – confusing the small and recently immigrated Jewish minority with the ancient, legendary, powerful, scary, and hostile collectivity imagined in the popular texts. It is difficult to know whether most of the authors, and consequently readers, of these texts in nineteenth-century Sweden had a hermeneutic Jew in mind or a hermeneutic Judaism – a fixed idea about a religion leading to a fixed idea about its believers. This is like the question of the chicken and the egg, however; what is important is the finding that the Jewish religion was portrayed as the main “root of evil” in the Swedish texts throughout the century. The entire argument about a “state within the state” or “nation within the nation” relied on the idea that Judaism commanded Jews to adhere to a law of their own, which was in conflict with

the nation's laws. From there, the construction of the Jews as an unchangeable collectivity with distinct character traits was a logical step with established precedents, following medieval models and supported by medieval and early modern model texts. Similarly, it was only a small step from the construction of such hermeneutic Jews to the attribution of certain physical traits.

Conclusion: The archive's medieval backbone

This study presents the development of antisemitism as a part of Sweden's collective memory. As has become apparent, this collective memory is not the property of a real, homogenous collectivity (the Swedish population) but of an imagined collectivity consisting of different reading audiences, social groups, and discourses. The survey of published works with Jewish and anti-Jewish themes has provided insight into that part of the archive which contains knowledge about Jews – as has become apparent, this knowledge constructs “Jews” instead of describing actual people, and it develops independently of the immigration and presence of actual Jews.

The archive is a relatively new and seldom-tested concept within the vast field of research on cultural and collective memory. In this study, it has been used in relation to one specific text corpus: printed matter over the course of 100 years pertaining to Jews. Its main advantage lies in the detection of passively stored cultural knowledge which can be referenced anew at any point and which carries with it many older fragments of knowledge. In this context, the presence of the medieval model texts turned out to be particularly significant – they are not visible in newspaper articles or parliamentary debates, and they may not be quoted directly in contemporary texts, but they nevertheless formed the backbone of “knowledge” about Jews in Sweden. It is significant to note that these medieval models continued to be available, intelligible, and popular in Sweden. The authors who wrote anti-Jewish texts in order to intervene in contemporary debates, particularly at the beginning of the century, had had access to a variety of texts (and orally transmitted information) about “Jews” and drew on all, or much, of this in their writings. Those who worked as translators, or were active in an academic or ecclesiastical field, were able to read not only the Swedish texts investigated here, but also French, German, English, and Latin texts. As relatively unbiased, neutral, and pro-Jewish texts were also available in this period, a phenomenon similar to contemporary social media “bubbles” is likely to have existed: people who were biased against Jews tended to read and/or believe only those texts and that information which confirmed their negative view; other information was not incorporated into their personal body of knowledge or else it was interpreted negatively. The archive held a range of information about Jews, but the likelihood for negative and stereotypical information to be read, understood, and transmitted was much greater than for neutral information. This phenomenon, known as the “illusory truth effect,” has been tested in psychological studies since the 1970s to explain the spread and impact of fake news and conspiracy theories. It has been found that people are much more likely to believe in

facts which have been presented to them previously; the more often they have been exposed to them, the higher the probability that they will believe even highly unlikely and illogical assertions. Flagging information as false barely compensates for the illusory truth effect.²⁸⁹

This also means that the archive was much more developed in its knowledge about “Jews” than about actual Jews, who played almost no part in the production of this “knowledge” unless they were converts – there were texts issued and produced by the Jewish community, or by individual rabbis, but most of these concerned matters only relevant to the community itself (debates about the Reform movement, regulations for Jewish youth associations, prayer books), and they rarely addressed a general audience. Stable and enduring stereotypes were much more widespread than, for example, information about the actual Jewish minority in Sweden or its neighbouring countries, or Jewish rituals and customs. Indeed, circumcision, kashrut, or Pesach celebrations are not discussed, being strangely absent from the Swedish corpus of printed matter.

These results can help to explain the functioning of the archive and the ongoing popularity of medieval legends. Swedish readers and listeners had been exposed to medieval antisemitic motifs for centuries. These contain aspects of religious difference, physical difference, collective character traits, and other aspects which have been seen as separating pre-modern from modern antisemitism. The results of the present study show that while new arguments and motifs developed, the older ones remained intelligible and were very frequently used – not in one text and one author's writings, or one political movement's newspaper, but amongst an entire audience of authors and readers and their collective memory and knowledge.

Texts and narrative plots with anti-Jewish themes and direct medieval antecedents appear frequently in the Swedish nineteenth-century print production. They can be traced back through the printing history of the eighteenth and even seventeenth century, which means that there had been a continual transmission and interest since the Middle Ages. In some cases the texts themselves were transmitted unchanged – such was the case with the exempla from *Legenda aurea* and the Old Swedish *Fornsvenska legendariet*, for instance – while in other cases it was the motifs that recurred, such as in the various conversion narratives. The immense popularity of the Ahasver compilation is the most striking example of an enduring motif, in which three texts originating from the Middle Ages are used – in an only slightly adapted form – for contemporary entertain-

289 Gordon Pennycook, Tyrone D. Cannon, and David G. Rand, “Prior Exposure Increases Perceived Accuracy of Fake News,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 147, no. 12 (2018).

ment and didactic purposes. At least with the Ahasver legend, oral transmission and folklore sources allow us to trace the spread of the motif. The Ahasver legend and “The Punishments of the Twelve Tribes” start from the Christ-killer accusation and then elaborate on different negative roles that Jews allegedly played during Jesus’s Passion and execution. The Judas legends function slightly differently, containing the potential for differentiated elaborations on the nature of evil and the significance and purpose of Christ’s suffering within the eschatological plan. In practice, however, they mainly served to “prove” the traitorous and evil nature of “the Jews.”

The Ahasver compilation and the Judas legends made no secret of their ancient origins. Quite the contrary, they made a point of the fact that the events surrounding Jesus’s death marked the beginning of a curse on the Jewish people, one which could be traced through different periods and places and was ongoing – just like the wanderings of Ahasver. The Judas text most prominently used in modern Sweden is directly and very closely based on the *Legenda aurea*. One of the legends also has a Swedish medieval lineage in *Fornsvenska legendariet* and *Själens tröst*. Both of these collections originate in the late thirteenth century.

The texts’ deep roots paralleled their description of a deeply rooted Jewish physiognomy and character. Of these texts, the most harsh is *Om the straff hwart släkte ibland judarne lida måste*, part two of the Ahasver compilation. Without mentioning them explicitly, it combines several anti-Jewish accusations: the torture, mocking, and also killing of Christ are presented as a collective endeavour of all the tribes of Israel. As a result, they are portrayed as collectively guilty and eternally marked by negative external qualities and features, supposedly to remind the Christian community of their misdeeds: bad smell, bad habits like spitting and incomprehensible talk, as well as uncontrollable bleeding and repulsive skin diseases and parasites, are all presented as the permanent attributes of all Jews, from biblical times to the present day.

It is noteworthy how clear it is that the Reformation did not change the basic functions of the texts despite the differences in literacy, scriptural use, and theological framing between medieval Catholic and early modern Protestant societies. Medieval *exempla* were read and employed in sermons and were therefore listened to. They were popular and widely used stories of moral edification, providing positive as well as negative examples to help one lead a good Christian life. They were developed in a period when a large majority of the Christian population had no access to written texts and when the clergy controlled their access to religious doctrine. An unlearned laity could easily be trusted with *exempla* such as the Judas text – there was not much room for misunderstanding. The Judas motif, the Jewish characters connected to the deicide narrative, and

their subsequent punishments all remained popular in Protestant Sweden throughout changes in its understanding of lay reading and access to scripture. Their continual reuse and adaptation in modern printed books and leaflets bear witness to an ongoing intelligibility of medieval religious and essentialist anti-Judaism – which had survived for centuries without any actual Jewish people living in the country to provide it with a real-life counterpart.

The evolution of a “Jewish physiognomy” in portrayals of Jews’ participation in the Passion is a familiar theme in medieval church paintings and iconography.²⁹⁰ In Sweden, only a few examples of medieval church art survived the Protestant iconoclasm, but popular texts such as those reprinted in the nineteenth century nevertheless provided a stable tradition of “knowledge” about how and why Jews were ugly, foul-smelling, and sick, not to mention traitorous.

Besides the tradition of anti-Jewish knowledge about specific physical features which Jews were supposed to have, these texts also fulfilled a function as slightly scary entertainment. The ancientness of the texts and the portrayals of the Jewish characters, the curses they had to bear, as well as the spookiness of the ever reappearing Ahasver and the disgusting habits and diseases of the Jews would have all made good material for scary stories – as long as the Jews themselves stayed far away, in distant times and places. But as Jews started to immigrate to Sweden and people were reading political debates, newspaper articles, and pamphlets about their potential Emancipation, the ancient images must have played an important role. How could Ahasver receive civil rights, when he could not receive redemption despite his firm belief in Christ? How could foul-smelling, cursed, and sick people be allowed to marry Swedish men and women? How could a religion so wrong even be allowed in the Lutheran kingdom?

The ongoing printing and distribution of texts must be seen in connection with the textual tradition most interested in the idea that Jews could be freed from the biblical curse they had incurred: conversion stories. Some of these were distinctly racist; others employed a more subtle anti-Jewish approach. While the stories about curses remained in line with the medieval texts, Protestant conversion stories invented a post-medieval understanding of the miracle, replacing the intervention of saints or the Virgin with grace. Both conveyed a similar message: Judaism itself was the problem.

²⁹⁰ Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, A Centennial Book 32 (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1993); Lipton, *Dark Mirror*.

Since late antiquity, Christian theology had fostered two main strands of anti-Jewish polemics: the deicide accusation and, as a consequence, punitive supersessionism. Each took on a distinctive Protestant form in the first decades of the nineteenth century in Sweden: First, that Jews' lack of a state, their homelessness and wandering amongst the nations, are part of their punishment for not recognizing Jesus as the messiah, but also that this is part of their religious-cultural-biological essence and character (the "nation within a nation" stereotype in racist form). Second, that the Gospels prophesy the conversion of the Jews at the end of times and at the same time demand their punishment – an argument already prominent in Martin Luther's writings after his disappointment with the Jews for failing to acknowledge Jesus even after the Reformation.²⁹¹ These two arguments, building upon the Christ-killer accusation and assuming an identity between biblical and contemporary Jews, are present in the works of various authors writing in various text genres – ranging from the medieval legendary motifs discussed above to translations of German Frühantisemitismus bestsellers to Swedish political pamphlets. Despite the prevalence of religious motifs, clerical authors do not predominate for the printed books – an indication of how widespread religiously based antisemitism was. Regarding potential religious arguments against Judaism and Jews, the Swedish texts are fairly complete: deicide, stubbornness, an outdated religion. Most relevant to the contemporaneous development of political arguments against Emancipation is the idea of a Jewish character which derives from religious difference and is manifested in law, faith, culture, language, bodies, and essence. This idea was already familiar, being present in medieval texts from the 1350s on, where the religious difference, manifested in a different legal status in the Holy Roman Empire, formed the basis for a general perception of difference, which in many cases already had the character of a biological essence.

In this way, the religious texts form a basis for the political texts, which mainly repeat two arguments against Emancipation: Jews engage in unfair business practices and Jews form a state within the state. The derivation of this figure of thought remains religious at its core: Jews are thought to be different because they have a different religion, which for centuries has forced them into different social, legal, and cultural forms, and this has shaped their collective character. As early as 1815, this trope figured prominently in the majority of texts, and it remained prominent until the end of the century.

²⁹¹ On this complex in general, see Thomas Kaufmann, *Luther's Jews: A Journey into Anti-Semitism* (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2016).

Both the medieval tradition and early modern forms of anti-Jewish thought contributed important elements to the public discourse, which would have made the requirement of forced conversion prior to settlement seem sensible. Combined with the equally entrenched idea of essential Jewish evil and punishment, conversion was something mainly promoted in the religious texts from the evangelical and charismatic movement. Within the context of the Emancipation debate, the “Jewish character” had already been established and conversion did not seem to be a particularly reliable method of changing it. The “de-dramatization of conversion”²⁹² which has been identified at the beginning of the nineteenth century probably also added to the idea that it did not help much. The “racialization” of Jews in nineteenth-century Sweden thus had stable and enduring medieval traditions to build upon. For the most part, the archive consisted of accessible, easy-to-read booklets with cover illustrations reinforcing the image of “the Jew” as male, old, crook-nosed, and unsettling.

As for the question of why these medieval models continued to be so popular, an inherent conservatism of the archive must be considered, as must the “illusory truth effect.” Well-known fragments of “knowledge” about Jews, often-told legends and details familiar from religious education and popular folklore, had a good chance of being recognized as reliable, interesting, and worth retelling – simply because they were already known. While contemporary “Jewish questions” of Emancipation and integration were new and also created a demand for new texts and inputs, the general role of Jews in Christian thought and polemics had been established for centuries: bloodthirsty foreigners.

The many popular narratives about Jewish conversion testify to the significance of discussing and manifesting religious difference in nineteenth-century Sweden (and before). While the topic of conversion is usually presented prominently in the book titles, general religious hostility is relatively hidden. Several examples show that authors and editors chose to publish primarily religious texts under titles which instead suggested debates about Emancipation, Jewish–Christian relations in other countries, or general political content. The religious aspect and argument is so prominent in this category of texts that they should be read in relation to the medieval traditions of anti-Judaism.

Initially, these Christian beliefs served as a background to debates about Jewish immigration, and then, from 1838 on, about Emancipation. They always included the question of conversion, and Emancipation was seen as either an impediment to conversion or as an incentive. The idea that conversion might not actually change the Jewish “character” existed alongside the hope for con-

²⁹² Hammarström, *I sällskap med judar*, 168.

version; it was not a matter of the one excluding the other. Thus, a mix of religious and racist arguments characterized debates about the “Jewish question” in Sweden as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, before Emancipation was even proposed and when the general aim of executive measures was to restrict Jewish immigration and prevent integration. Given the wide range of texts that include fragments or entire narratives of this kind, it is difficult to say whether they represent a cultural transfer or if they were building on local traditions. The range of religious themes in Swedish anti-Jewish printed matter reveals the interplay of local traditions and adaptations with model texts from Europe, including both the Latin and the Greek Christian areas, reaching 1,600 years back in time. In most cases, the medieval texts already had both a European model and a Swedish adaptation. Even though the texts themselves were not originally produced in Sweden by Swedish writers, the persistent and varied adaptation, translation, and use of these texts reveals a local continuity of anti-Jewish thought. The same is true of those texts with religious themes that do not rely on medieval models: most of them are translated, usually from the German lands. But translators and editors used and adapted them for local purposes: introductions were written or omitted, excerpts radically shortened and decontextualized, titles invented.

The analysis of the entire corpus of anti-Jewish texts in nineteenth-century Sweden shows that the question of antisemitism being a “literary import” or “cultural import” versus it being an indigenous product is not particularly relevant: by the nineteenth century, Swedes had been in contact with anti-Jewish ideas, images, and narratives for so long that it was no longer possible to distinguish which specific argument was “homemade” and which was inspired by a German or French debate. The medieval imagery – originally Christian and thus religious in nature, but as early as the Late Middle Ages having “racialized” aspects – formed an undercurrent to debates on the “Jewish question” even before Jews were allowed to immigrate, and increasingly so afterwards. New elements which entered into the debate, often inspired by German texts, were always accompanied by a large number of old texts and motifs; these accompanied the new arguments, supporting them and helping to make them intelligible in their application to “the Jews.” The immense interest the Swedish public had in Jewish themes should be interpreted as a sign that this undercurrent was actualized and adapted in the context of contemporary events, forming in turn a framework for these: the harsh rejection of the Jewish minority, the recurrent attempts to restrict immigration instead of promoting integration, should also be seen as a consequence of the long exposure Swedes had had to “Jews.” The archive of antisemitism was well stocked and provided “knowledge” based

on both domestic and international discursive elements, within which religious difference served as a basis for other forms of exclusion.

The present work is not a study of the Emancipation process in Sweden, nor is it a study of the Jewish minority. The reconstruction of the archive of antisemitism in a long-term perspective can only serve as a background for explaining and analysing the specific circumstances of these processes. At the same time, it can serve as one part of many contributing to a description of nineteenth-century Swedish society – how it treated immigrants, how it treated the religious Other, and, as a result, how it came to understand itself as a modern nation-state. Using the archive of antisemitism, the immense interest the Swedish public had in anti-Jewish texts, and the immense “knowledge” that resulted from this, provides one piece of this puzzle.

Appendix

Debates about Jews at National Diets 1800 – 1900

	Title
1812	Bill regarding rescinding Jewish trading privileges lapses.
1815	Bill preventing Jewish immigration and settlement without permission from the king; proposal for a new judereglemente is rejected.
1817/18	Demand that permission for Jews to immigrate be granted as sparingly as possible.
1823	Demand that Jews be forbidden to buy real estate in the country and that the prohibition on their travelling and trading be renewed.
1828/30	Bills demanding the expulsion of Jews from the country and other measures are rejected.
1834/35	Demand for the right of those Jewish youngsters who have the necessary privileges to live in the country to frequent all public educational institutions.
1834/35	Demand that no more permissions be granted to travelling Jews to trade in trinkets and haberdashery.
1840/41	Demand that Jews not be permitted to settle in the country, that the application of the constitution of 1828 be halted, and that the judereglemente of 1782 be reimplemented.
1840/41	Bill prohibiting Jews from employing Christians in their service is rejected.
1847/48	Demand that the estates of the Empire participate in the legislation for Jews.
1847/48	Demand that Jews be granted the right to bear witness.
1847/48	Bill regarding full civil rights for Jews born in Sweden lapses.
1850/51	Bill regarding extensions of those privileges that Jews have been granted within the country is rejected.
1853/54	Demand that Jews born in Sweden can settle in all towns in the country.
1853/54	Proposal that the king may appoint people of non-lutheran faith as teachers of handicrafts and art, declared resting.
1856/58	The preceding proposal is rejected.
1856/58	Proposal to allow calling people of the Jewish confession as members of a jury.
1859/60	Demand to allow Jews to buy and own property in Sweden without special permission from the king.
1859/60	Proposal to modify §18 of the constitution, so that Jews might be granted the right to participate in elections for the Riksdag, is declared resting.
1862/63	The preceding proposal is rejected.
1862/63	Constitution adopted regarding marriages between Christians and Jews.
1862/63	Proposal to modify §18 of the constitution, so that Jews might be granted the right to participate in elections for the Riksdag, is declared resting.
1865/66	The preceding proposal lapses.
1865/66	Proposal that people of non-lutheran confession may be appointed to certain positions, declared resting.
1872	Motion to seize the requirement of non-Lutherans to pay church tax and to allow them under certain conditions to vote on local school matters, is rejected.
1873	Riksdag changes the church law to include a regulation concerning the religious practice of non-Lutherans.

Continued

	Title
1882	Bill regarding the right of non-Lutherans to enter offices and services of the state is rejected.
1885	Bill regarding the right of non-Lutherans to enter offices and services of the state is rejected.
1885	Bill to exempt non-Lutherans and Jews from paying state church tax is rejected.
1886	Bill to exempt non-Lutherans and Jews from paying state church tax is rejected.
1891	Bill regarding the education of children from interreligious marriages lapses.
1892	Bill regarding the education of children from interreligious marriages.
1893	Bill to limit Jews' and other non-Lutherans' obligation to contribute to the salaries of the Swedish churches priesthood and maintenance of churches is rejected.
1895	Bill regarding changing of the 1838 regulation of Jewish religious practices is rejected.
1896	Bill to exempt non-Lutherans and Jews from paying state church tax is rejected.
1897	The preceding bill is rejected again.
1898	Change of regulation regarding the jurisdiction and punishment of non-Lutheran religious leaders.
1899	Riksdagen concedes that general regulations regarding caring for the poor also apply to Jews.

Source: Riksdagsprotokoll, Ståndsriksdagen 1800–1866, and Riksdagsprotokoll, Tvåkammarriksdagen, online available at <https://riksdagstryck.kb.se/>.

Printed matter with Jewish and anti-Jewish topics in Sweden, 1800–1900

Title	Author	Editions	Translated from
1. <i>Trenne trowärdige relationer / Berättelse om en jude och skomakare af Jerusalem, den odödliga Ahaswerus benämnd. Om det straff hwart slägte ibland judarne i synnerhet lida måste. Om Pilati död och oroliga döda kropp.</i>	Chrysostomos Dudulaeus Westphalus	[s. l., s. a. 17??]. [s. l., s. a. 175?]. Göteborg: 1759. Norrköping: 1776. Gävle: Ernst Peter Sundqvist 1780, 1793, 1797, 1798, 1800. Malmö: Berlingska Boktryckeriet 1832. Lund: Lundberg och Lönnegren 1833 Jönköping: N. E. Lundström 1826; Jönköping: J. P. Lundström 1833, 1836, 1855. Jönköping: J. K. Björk, 1855. Nyköping: J. P. Hammarin, 1787. Stockholm: Elméns and Granbergs, 1823. Christianstad: F.F. Cedergrens Boktryckeri, 1832. Örebro: 1842 (in <i>Folk-Sagor för Gamla och Unga</i> : 280–286).	<i>Förnyade tidender, om en jude, bördig aff Jerusalem benembd Ahasuerus ... aff Chrijsostomo Dudulæo Westphalo, afsatt på swenska aff Jacobo Balthasari.</i> [Stockholm]: 1643. <i>Sandru beskriffuelse om en Jøde, som vaar fød oc baaren til Jerusalem ved naffn Ahaswerus ... nu ny-ligen fordansket.</i> Kiøbenhaffn, 1631. <i>Sandfærdig Efteretning om een Jøde (ellers kaldet Jerusalems skoemager Ahasverus, saa og Pontij Pilati tvende missiver om Christi død og opstandelse, saa og beretning om de tolv jødiske stammer, hvad enhver af dem har gjort den Herre Christo til spot og forhaanelse etc.</i> Kiøbenhavn: J. Chr. Groth, 1730. Schudt, Jacob. <i>Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten</i> , lib. IV, cap. XX. Frankfurt: Hocker, 1717.
1. <i>En kort dock märkwärdig historia, om den wederstygge-lige och förgiftige förrädaren Judas, hans härkomst, fö-delse och lefwerne, samt hwad synder han hafwer bedrifwit uti denna werlden</i>	[Jacobus de Voragine]	s. l., 1740. Gävle: Sundqvist, 1800. Gävle: 1801. Kalmar: 1808. Uppsala: Bruzelius, 1827. Borås: 1827. Lund: 1833. Lund: Lundbergska boktryckeriet, 1835.	Jacobus de Voragine. <i>Legenda Aurea</i> . Cap. XLV: De sancto Mathia apostolo.

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Title	Author	Editions	Translated from
<i>ifrån sin ungdom; intil des han blef Christi apostel.</i>		Stockholm: P.A. Huldbergs, 1896.	
2. <i>Nådens werkan hos barn, märkeligen wisad uti följande twänne historier. Den första: om tre af judiska, den andra: om fyra af christna religionen. Öfversättning från tyskan.</i>	[Anonymous]	Göteborg: Samuel Norberg, 1791. Karlskrona: Amiralitetsstryckeriet, 1796. ⁷ Gävle: Sundqvist, 1798. Falun: Axmar, 1799. Gävle: Sundqvist, 1800. ¹⁰ Gävle: Sundqvist, 1802. Nyköping: Winge, 1802. Falun: Axmar, 1804. Falun: Axmar, 1806. Kalmar: Bagge, 1809. ³ Göteborg: Norberg, 1810. Falun: Axmar, 1810. Malmö: Berling, 1815. Stockholm: Rumstedt, 1816. Stockholm: Rumstedt, 1820. Skara: Torin, 1826.	[Anonymous] <i>Merkwürdige Bekehrungs-Geschichte dreyer Schwestern von acht, zeh'n und zwölf Jahren.</i> Elberfeld: Giesen, 1791.
3. <i>Cooper's Prädikan för judarna, och et bref från en resande jude.</i>	[Cooper, William]	Göteborg: Norberg, 1807.	Cooper, William. <i>The promised seed. A sermon preached to God's ancient Israel the Jews, at Sion-Chapel, Whitechapel. On Sunday afternoon, August 28, 1796.</i> Boston: Manning & Loring, 1796. Jung-Stilling, Johann Heinrich. "Schreiben eines reisenden Juden aus der Vorzeit." <i>Taschenbuch für Freunde des Christenthums</i> 3 (1807): 126–60.
4. <i>Berättelse, huru judarne äro ansedde i England. Öfversatt från medicine doktor T. Smollets historia.</i>	[Smollett, Tobias George]	Stockholm: Cederborgh, 1815.	Smollett, Tobias G. <i>Continuation of the Complete History of England</i> ; 5 vols, London 1763–65, also known as <i>The History of</i>

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Title	Author	Editions	Translated from
			<i>England from the Revolution to the Death of George II (designed as a continuation of Mr. Hume's History), vol. II.</i>
5. <i>En son Israels till sina bröder: en anmaning till judarna att åter inkräkta det förlofvade landet.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Elmén and Granberg, 1818.	"Ein Sohn Israels an seine Brüder," <i>Oppositions-Blatt</i> (20. 7. 1818), Beilage zu Nr. 62, Sp. 488–493.
6. <i>Huru skola judarna förbättras? Ett ord till behjertande för sanningens vänner.</i>	Friederich, Gerhard	Stockholm: A. Gadelius, 1818.	Friederich, Gerhard. <i>Die Juden und ihre Gegner, ein Wort zur Beherzigung für Wahrheitsfreunde, gegen Fanatiker.</i> Frankfurt am Main 1816.
7. <i>Svåra bevis emot judarna. Ur Meiners afhandling über den Handel und die Gewerbe der Völker des Mittelalters.</i>	Meiners, Christoph	Stockholm: Fr. Cederborgh & comp., 1815.	Meiners, Christoph. <i>Historische Vergleichung der Sitten, und Verfassungen, der Gesetze und Gewerbe, des Handels, und der Religion, der Wissenschaften, und Lehranstalten des Mittelalters mit denen unsers Jahrhunderts in Rücksicht auf die Vortheile, und Nachtheile der Aufklärung.</i> Hannover: Helwing, 1793–1794.
8. <i>Den pantsatte juden, eller: Mosís:s upståndelse ur kistan. Lustspel i 2 akter.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Carl Nyberg, 1817.	Translated from English?
9. <i>Den spökande Judinnan.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Elmén and Granberg 1819.	"Fünfunddreissigste Erzählung: Die spukende Jüdin bey Frisack." In <i>Die Gespenster. Kurze Erzählungen aus dem Reiche der Wahrheit.</i> Vol. 2. Edited by

Continued

Title	Author	Editions	Translated from
			Samuel C. Wagener, 260–65. Berlin, 1789.
10. <i>Judendomen, framställd utur de rabbinske skrifterna, såsom en fiende till christendomen och den rena sedligheten.</i>	[Frank, Christian]	Linköping: Petre och Abrahamson, 1822.	Frank, Christian. <i>Die Juden und das Judenthum wie sie sind: Dargestellt aus ihren eigenen Schriften als die erklärten Feinde des Christenthums und der reinen Sittlichkeit, ihrer Geschichte, ihren Schriften und der Erfahrung gemäss erkannt als offene und geheime Störer des bürgerlichen und moralischen Wohlstandes christlicher Staaten.</i> Köln: Peter, 1816.
11. <i>Spekulanterne, eller: Hoben se nix zu schachern? Fars i en akt. Öfversättning efter tredje original-upplagan af Unser Verkehr.</i>	Sessa, Karl Boromäus Alexander	Stockholm: A. Gadelius, 1817.	Sessa, Karl Boromäus Alexander. <i>Unser Verkehr. Eine Posse in 1 Aufzug.</i> Berlin: Bloch, 1814.
12. <i>Judisk hämd</i> [sic].	Wurm, Albert	Stockholm: A. Gadelius, 1818.	<i>Hamburgs Wächter</i> 29 (1817).
13. <i>Lurifaxiana. H. 2, Närvarande förhållande emellan judar och kristne i intellektuelt och moraliskt hänseende.</i>	[Buchholz, Friedrich]	Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815.	Compilation of several texts previously published in German.
14. <i>Lurifalsiana eller den tilltvålade Lurifaxiana. Första och sista häftet.</i>	Heilborn, Heinrich	Göteborg: Samuel Norberg, 1815	
15. <i>Judarne i verldshistoriskt afseende.</i>	Buchholz, Friedrich	Stockholm: 1822.	

Continued

Title	Author	Editions	Translated from
16. <i>Judarnas chrönika.</i>	Buchholz, Friedrich; Rüh, Friedrich	2 vols. Stockholm: Zacharias Haeggström, 1822.	Buchholz, Friedrich. <i>Moses und Jesus, oder über das intellektuelle und moralische Verhältniß der Juden und Christen: Eine historisch-politische Abhandlung.</i> Berlin: Unger, 1803. Rüh, Friedrich. <i>Über die Ansprüche der Juden auf das deutsche Bürgerrecht.</i> Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1815.
17. <i>Kortare berättelser och lustiga äfventyr, af Clauren. Innehållande: Pistol-lektionen, Resan till lägeret, Utseendet bedrager ofta, Korfbalen, Paulowna, Den holländska juden, m.fl.</i>	Heun, Carl Gottlieb Samuel	Stockholm: Ecksteinska tryckeriet, 1824.	Heun, Carl Gottlieb Samuel. <i>Der holländische Jude.</i> Wien: Haykul, 1825.
18. <i>Dulech. Historia, öfversatt utur judarnas Thalmud.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Grefingska, 1772. Stockholm: Wennlund, 1826.	Translated from Hebrew?
19. <i>Judeväldets undergång i upplysnin-gens århundrade.</i>	[Hauff, Wilhelm]	Stockholm: Marquarkska, 1827.	Hauff, Wilhelm. "Jud Süß." <i>Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände</i> 21 (2.–31.07. 1827): 157–182. Stuttgart 1827.
20. <i>Juden Süß. Först schackrare, sedan minister, sist hängd: sann historia, tecknad efter naturen.</i>	[Hauff, Wilhelm]	Stockholm: Elméns och Granbergs, 1828.	Hauff, Wilhelm. "Jud Süß." <i>Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände</i> 21 (2.–31.07. 1827): 157–182. Stuttgart 1827.
21. <i>Jude-emancipationen.</i>	[Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm] Trans. Eric Malmberg	Strängnäs: Carl Erik Ekmarck, 1839.	Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm. "Die Emancipation der Juden."

Continued

Title	Author	Editions	Translated from
			<i>Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung</i> 20–21 (1837): 337–338.
22. <i>Juden: tysk sedemålning från första hälften af femtonde århundradet.</i>	Spindler, Karl	Stockholm: Hjerta, 1834.	Spindler, Karl. <i>Der Jude. Deutsches Sittengemälde aus der ersten Hälfte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts.</i> Wien, Leipzig: Prochaska, 1827.
23. <i>Nya berättelser. Af författaren till en "hværdags-historie". Utgifna af J. F. Heiberg. Tredje delen: Juden. Hvitkappan.</i>	Gyllembourg, Thomasine	Stockholm: Hjerta, 1837.	Gyllembourg, Thomasine. <i>Nye fortællinger. Udg. af Johan Ludvig Heiberg; 3: Jøden. Hvidkappen.</i> København: Reitzel, 1836.
24. <i>Judarne i deras närvarande ställning inom samhället, med afseende på deras emancipation; jemte förslaget till upphäfvande af 2 §., sista momentet, uti Norges grundlag.</i>	[Wergeland, Henrik]	Stockholm: Bonnier, 1842.	Wergeland, Henrik. <i>Indlæg jødesagen, til understøttelse for forslaget om ophævelse af Norges grundlovs §2, sidste passus.</i> Kristiania: P.T. Mailings Officin, 1841.
25. <i>Passions-historien, betraktad som en rättegång efter judiska lagen, eller Jesus inför Caiphäs och Pilatus.</i>	Dupin, André-Marie-Jean-Jacques	Stockholm: Ecksteinska, 1842.	Dupin, André-Marie-Jean-Jacques. <i>Jésus devant Caïphe et Pilate: refutation du chapitre de M. Salvador intitulé Jugement et Condemnation de Jesuse.</i> Paris: 1828.
26. <i>En uppbygglig och sällsam historia om Rotschild I, judarnes konung.</i>	Satan [Dairnvaell, Georges Marie Mathieu]	Stockholm: Elmén and Granberg, 1846.	Dairnvaell, Georges Marie Mathieu. <i>Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rothschild Ier, Roi des Juifs.</i> Paris: 1846.

Continued

Title	Author	Editions	Translated from
27. <i>Judinnan i Vatikanen eller Amor och Roma.</i>	Méry, Joseph	Stockholm: Hierta, 1851.	Méry, Joseph. <i>La Juive au Vatican, ou Amor e Roma.</i> Bruxelles: Méline, Cans et Cie, 1851.
28. <i>Drag ur den portugisiska israeliten Capadose's lefnads-historia: af honom sjelf berättade.</i>	Capadose, Abraham	Stockholm: N. Marcus, 1857. Stockholm: Evangeliska fosterlands-stiftelsen, 1874.	Capadose, Abraham. <i>De bekeering van Dr. A. Capadose Portugeesch Israëliet.</i> Amsterdam: G. van Peursem, 1837.
29. <i>De judiska tvillingbröderna.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Palmqvist, 1864.	Translated from English.
30. <i>Tempelherren och Judinnan.</i>	Marschner, Heinrich	Göteborg: 1865.	Marschner, Heinrich. <i>Der Tempel und die Jüdin.</i> Leipzig: Focke, 1829.
31. <i>Judinnan.</i>	Halévy, Fromental (music), and Scribe, Eugène (text)	Stockholm: Alb. Bonnier, 1866.	Halévy, Fromental, and Scribe, Eugène. <i>La Juive.</i> Paris: H. Lemoine Edit., 1835.
32. <i>Kristen och jude: en berättelse från 16:e århundradet.</i>	Caspari, Karl Heinrich	Stockholm: Normans förlagsexp, 1867.	Caspari, Karl Heinrich. <i>Christ und Jude: eine Erzählung aus dem 16. Jahrhundert für das deutsche Volk in Stadt und Land.</i> Erlangen: Bläsing, 1861.
33. <i>Hafva judarne verkligen korsfäst Jesus? Öfversatt af C-c-g.</i>	Philippson, Ludwig	Stockholm: Associations-boktryckeri, 1870.	Philippson, Ludwig. <i>Haben wirklich die Juden Jesum gekreuzigt?</i> Berlin: 1866.
34. <i>De tyske stormännen Matthias Jakob Schleidens och Theodor Mommsens röst i judefrågan.</i>	Mommsen, Theodor; Schleiden, Matthias Jacob	Stockholm: F. & G. Beijer, 1881.	Compilation of texts translated from German.
35. <i>Judafolkets historiska och religiösa verldsställning: en fridsgåva till de tänkande bland christne och judar.</i>	Heman, Carl Friedrich	Lund: Gleerup, 1883.	Heman, Carl Friedrich. <i>Die historische Weltstellung der Juden und die moderne Judenfrage.</i> Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1881.

Continued

Title	Author	Editions	Translated from
36. <i>Två judiska noveller; i svensk öfvers. af A.</i>	Philippson, Ludwig	Göteborg: Bolinder, 1898.	Translated from German.
37. <i>Judendom och kristendom. Ett verk af gudomlig vishet.</i>	[Walker, James Barr]	Stockholm: Missionsföreningen, 1871.	Calvin E. Stowe (ed.)/Anon. ('An American Citizen': James Barr Walker): <i>Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation. A Book for the times. By an American Citizen.</i> New York: 1841/45.
38. <i>Israeliten: En judisk ynglings omvändelsehistoria.</i>	Translated by A. S[vedberg]	Helsingfors: Finska missionsällskapet, 1875.	Translated from Norwegian.
39. <i>Den lille judegossen som dog i tron på Jesus. Öfversättning. Samt Det skall icke skada dig och Kom till Jesus, sång af G.W.</i>	[G.W.]	Stockholm: Nya Boktryckeriet, 1876.	Translated from German.
40. <i>Judinnan.</i>	Lange, Philipp	Stockholm: Wall, 1877.	Galen [Lange], Philipp. <i>Jane, die Jüdin.</i> 3 vols. Berlin: Otto Janke, 1867.
41. <i>Judarne i Barnow. Noveller.</i>	[Franzos, Karl Emil]	Stockholm: Seelig, 1878.	Franzos, Karl Emil: <i>Die Juden von Barnow: Geschichten.</i> Stuttgart: Hallberger 1877.
42. <i>Ett barns bön: skildring af judiska lefnadsförhållanden.</i>	Translated by Ternkolen, Andreas	Kristinehamn: Broström & Komp., 1879.	Translated from German.
43. <i>Råd till judarne. Från tyskan.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: H. Lindgren, 1881.	Translated from German.
44. <i>Judarnes seger öfver germanerne betraktad från social och politisk ståndpunkt.</i>	Marr, Wilhelm	Upsala: Esaias Edquist, 1881. Helsingfors: Fyren, 1920. Helsingfors: Fyren, 1921.	Marr, Wilhelm. <i>Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum. Vom nicht confessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet.</i> Bern: Costenoble, 1879.

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Title	Author	Editions	Translated from
45. <i>Judarne och den tyska staten.</i>	[Nordmann, Heinrich, pseudonym Naudh, H.]	Stockholm: Ulrik Fredriksons, 1880 (two editions). Stockholm, A.L. Normans Boktryckeri AB, 1890.	Nordmann, Heinrich. <i>Die Juden und der deutsche Staat.</i> Berlin und Posen: Nicolaische Sortimentsbuchhandlung; 1861.
46. <i>Jud-Raphael.</i>	Sacher-Masoch, Leopold von; transl. by Lindqvist, Alfred	Stockholm: Skoglund, 1883.	Sacher-Masoch, Leopold von. <i>Der Judenraphael.</i> Leipzig: Morgenstern, 1882.
47. <i>Två vänner; Juden; Min första kärlek. Från ryskan öfversatta af – K – [Her- man Almkvist].</i>	Turgenjef, Ivan.	Stockholm: Norstedt, 1887.	Turgenjef, Ivan. <i>Два приятеля.</i> 1853; <i>Еврей.</i> 1847; <i>Первая любовь.</i> 1860.
48. <i>Utlåtanden öfver det judiska rituella slagtandet.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm, Isaac Marcus' Boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1889.	Translated from German.
49. <i>Judinnan.</i>	Franzos, Karl Emil	Stockholm: Ad. Johnson, 1891.	Translated from German.
50. <i>Monsieur Judas. Roman.</i>	Hume, Fergus: översatt från Mathilda Langlet	Stockholm: A. Granlund, 1891.	Hume, Fergus. <i>Monsieur Judas: a paradox.</i> London: Spencer Blackett, [1891].
51. <i>Nödvändigheten af reform inom den judiska gudstjänsten och grunddragen för en sådan.</i>	Geiger, Abraham	Stockholm: Isaac Marcus boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1893.	“Nothwendigkeit und Mass einer Reform des jüdischen Gottesdienstes. Ein Wort zur Verständigung.” <i>Abraham Geiger's Nachgelassene Schriften.</i> Edited by Ludwig Geiger. Vol 1. Berlin: Gerschel, 1875.
52. <i>Nya-Testaments-rörelsen eller Guds ords spridning bland judarne: Utg. af Mildmay-missionen för judar i London.</i>		Stockholm: Central-tryckeriet, 1896.	New Testament movement: Hebrew translation of the New Testament commissioned by the Mid May Mission in London.

Continued

Title	Author	Editions	Translated from
53. <i>Den vandrande juden. Öfversättning från franskan af W. Granath; med talrika illustrationer af P. Hedman m. fl.</i>	Sue, Eugène	Stockholm: Lundquist, 1898.	Sue, Eugène. <i>Le Juif errant</i> . Brussels: A. Warlen, 1844.
54. <i>Om den fara, för hvilken vår välfärd och karakter blottställas genom Judarna. Ett bihang till Prof. Rühs'skrift om Judarna.</i>	Fries, Jakob Friedrich	[s.l., s.a.]	Fries, Jakob Friedrich. <i>Über die Gefährdung des Wohlstandes und Charakters der Deutschen durch die Juden</i> . Heidelberg: Mohr u. Winter, 1816.

Swedish originals

Title	Author	Editions
55. <i>Den renlärige juden, eller Gamla testamentets uppenbarade föreskrifter, bestående i sexhundra tretton bud och förbud, jämte de talmudiska tilläggningar och ceremonier, hvilka af hvarje rättsskaffens jude böra iakttagas.</i>	Joëlsson, Nathanaël	Stockholm: Holmberg, 1800.
56. <i>Utredning af tidsräkningen, så väl den bibliska som borgerliga jämte förslag till rättelse af de fel, som sig deruti insmygt.</i>	Aurén, Pehr	Stockholm: Delén och Forsgren, 1800. Stockholm: Marquardska, 1813.
57. <i>Judiska lagstiftningen, eller Gamla testamentets stadgar, jämte de talmudiska tilläggningar och ceremonier, hvilka af hvarje jude iakttagas. Vol. 1–2.</i>	Joëlsson, Nathanaël	Stockholm: Uppsala, 1801–1803.
58. <i>Kongl. Maj:ts och Rikets Commerce-Collegii kungörelse, angående förbud för obehörige personer af judiske nationen, och italienare at til handels idkande</i>	Liljencrants, Johan	Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1802.

Swedish originals (*Continued*)

Title	Author	Editions
<i>resa omkring landet. Gifwen Stockholm den 8 februarii 1802.</i>		
59. <i>Kongl. maj:ts och rikets Götha hofrätts utslag uppå rådstufwurättens i Norrköping ... kongl. hofrättens pröfning: understådt utslag, igenom hwilket förstnämnde utslag, ej mindre skydds-juden Philip Jeremias ... blifwit befriad från det emot honom af gästgifwaren Lars Larsson Rylander gjorde tillmäle, att hafwa olofligen borttagit Rylandes [!] ...</i>		Norrköping: Ad. Fr. Raams enka, 1802.
60. <i>Några anmärkningar öfver herr Joëlssons Judiska lagstiftning, af Gedaliae Moses.</i>	Moses, Gedaliae	Stockholm: 1804.
61. <i>Kongl. Maj:ts och Rikets Commerce-Collegii kungörelse, angående förbud för judar at i riket inkomma. Gifwen Stockholm den 19 december 1806.</i>		Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1806.
62. <i>Kongl. Maj:ts och Rikets Commerce-Collegii kungörelse, angående dem af judiska nationen, som utan Kongl. Maj:ts särskildta nådiga tilstånd kunna finnas hafwa sig nedsatt på andre ställen än i Stockholm, Norrköping och Götheborg. Gifwen i Stockholm den 13 Juli 1807.</i>	Liljencrants, Johan	Stockholm: Kongl. Tryckeriet, 1807.
63. <i>Några ord om nödwändigheten, att, utan hinder af skrå författningarne, medgifwa lämpelige utvägar till försörjning för qwinnekönet och i synnerhet embets- och tjenste-mäns samt andre stånds-personers torftiga enkor och oförsörjda döttrar.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Peter Sohm, 1809.

Swedish originals (Continued)

Title	Author	Editions
64. <i>Några bewis, att judarne äfwen på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Sverige.</i>	[Sander, Bengt]	Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1809.
65. <i>Till juveleraren Sander, författaren af: Några bevis [sic!], att judarne äfwen [sic!] på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Sverige [sic!].</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Marquardska, 1809.
66. <i>Några ord, i anledning af en nyli- gen utkommen smådeskrift, kallad: Några bewis att judarne äfwen på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Sverige.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Peter Bohm, 1809.
67. <i>Till författaren af: Några bewis, att judarne äfwen på sitt sätt bidraga till den allmänna nöden i Sverige.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Marquardska, 1809.
68. <i>Sedan hof-juvelerarne af judiska nationen herrar Michaelson & Benedicks behagat skynda ...</i>	[Junbeck, Peter Jonas]	Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1812.
69. <i>Memorial, uppläst i riksens höglofl. ständers allmänna beswärs- och ekonomi-utskott den 7 julii 1812, innehållande dels tillägg och dels anmärkningar emot samma utskotts betänkande, rörande manufactureernas och fabri- quernas upphjelpande.</i>	[Stabeck, Gus- taf]	Örebro: Nils Magnus Lindh, 1812. Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815.
70. <i>Handlingar uti den hos kongl. maj:t anhängige rättegång, rörande handlande juden Bendix Emanuel, hwilken, sedan han, af kongl. öfwer-ståthållare-embetets cantzli, genom tresko-utslag, låtit döma sig, att wid bysättningst- wång betala: en till sedelhafwaren utgifwen revers stor 5166 r:d. riksgäldssedlar, i besvär hos kongl. Swea hof-rätt förnekat sin handskrift, men genom stadens kämnärs-rätt och högbemälte</i>		Stockholm: A. Gadelius, 1813.

Swedish originals (Continued)

Title	Author	Editions
<i>kongl. hof-rätts utslag blifwit ålagd wärjemåsed.</i>		
71. <i>Wår frälsares Jesu Christi barn-doms-händelser, sammanletade utur sednare fundne judiska handlingar år 1786.</i>		Karlstad: G. Wallencrona, 1813.
72. <i>Ytterligare handlingar hörande till judarnas historia i Sverige.</i>	[Laurin, Eric Petter]	Stockholm: Elmén and Granbergs, 1814.
73. <i>Lurifax, eller Det ohyggliga port-rättet. Pendant till baron Ludvig Boyes. Tillika med de sju vredens skålar. Jemte frågor, nyheter, välmenta råd och anekdoter. Tillegnad titulerade härads-höfdingen Bellander, och permitterade revisions : sekreteraren friherre Ludvig Boye & comp.</i>	Grevesmöhlen, Carl August	Stockholm: 1815.
74. <i>Plan till en ärestod åt svenska judarna, i anledning af deras senaste finance-operationer.</i>		Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815.
75. <i>Den judiska kuppen, eller svenska israeliternas triumftåg, tillika med några märkvärdiga scener ur ande-verlden [innehåller: Djefvulen, den där heter Lurifax, som bedrager hela verlden; eller: Banditen C.A. Galgeniano, minister på en timme, opera buffa i en akt].</i>	[Luciander] [Walberg, Carl Gustaf]	Stockholm: Carl Nyberg, 1815 (two editions) [reply to Grevesmöhlen's <i>Lurifax</i>].
76. <i>Förslag till förändringar i 1782 års reglemente för svenska medborgare af judiska nationen. Riksens höglofliga ständer tillegnad.</i>		Uppsala: Zeipel och Palmblad, 1815.
77. <i>Judiska nationens härvarande föreståndares förklaring till rikets höglofl. ständers särskilta utskott vid riksdagen år 1815, tillika med högberänte utskotts 2:ne betänkan den till rikets ständer, angående ändringar i jude-reglementet.</i>		Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1815.

Swedish originals (Continued)

Title	Author	Editions
78. <i>Det judiska stallbrödrskapet, eller: Herrar Grevesmöhlens och Påhlmans trovärdighet och patriotism. Tillegnad den bekante opinions-fabrikören och hans första verk-gesäll.</i>		Stockholm: Carl Nyberg, 1815.
79. <i>Viva-rop för Grevesmöhlen, Påhlman och judarne.</i>		Stockholm: Carl Nyberg, 1815. 2 eds.
80. <i>Med begreppet om rättvisa ... kan jag omöjlig förena den mot judarna riktade förföljelse, hvaraf friherre Ludvig Boyes nu upplästa ... projekt, på ett omisskänneligt sätt bära stämpel.</i>	Påhlman, Otto Fredrik	Stockholm: 1815.
81. <i>Erinringar vid herr O. F. Påhlmans yttrande i höglofl. ridderskapets och adelns plenum, d. 13 april 1815, angående judarna.</i>		Stockholm: Carl Nyberg, 1815.
82. <i>Svar på herr O. Fr. Påhlmans dictamen på riddarhuset, rörande judarna.</i>	Durées, Jacob Ludvig	Stockholm: Marquardska, 1815.
83. <i>Fortsättning af Jude-industrien, eller författarens försvar, i den, angående sistnämde skrift, på hofkanslers-embetets begäran, uppkomna rättegång.</i>	[Kullberg, Anders Herman]	Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815.
84. <i>Judar äro judar och blifva i evighet judar, eller det brydsamma försöket att 1815, kosta Sverige hvad det kan, broderligen stöpa judar och svenskar i en form till nästa riksdag: Första smältningen.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Fredrik Cederborgh, 1815.
85. <i>Jude-industrien, eller Allmänna kreditens likbegängelse. Svit af riksdags-komedien Förlikningsprojektet. Vålment tillegnad herr öfver-direktören C.A. Grevesmöhlen samt riksdagsmannen, herr majoren och riddaren Påhlman.</i>	[Kullberg, Anders Herman]	Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815.

Swedish originals (*Continued*)

Title	Author	Editions
86. <i>Memorial om nödige förändringar uti kongl. commerce-collegii reglemente af den 27 majj 1782 för de i riket inflyttade och bosatte medlemmar af judiska nationen, af J. Wegelin G:son. Upläst i vällofl. borgare-ståndets plenum den 1 majj: 1815 och på ståndets begäran till trycket lämnadt.</i>	[Wegelin, Johan]	Stockholm: Peter Sohm, 1815.
87. <i>Om judarnas företräde, välde och lycka: samtal.</i>	[Nordforss, Carl Gustaf]	Stockholm: Fredrik Cederborgh, 1815. (two editions). Stockholm: Svea rike, 1935.
88. <i>Opartiska politiska tankar för och emot judarna, bevis att de utgöra en stat i staten, samt undersökning huru de skola, så fritt och gladt som möjligt, kunna hysas och dväljas i ett land, utan förfång och skada för andra undersåtare.</i>	[Grevesmöhlen, Carl August]	Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1815.
89. <i>Några oveldiga anmärkningar vid riksdags-fullmäktigens från Sigtuna stad herr G. Stabecks till borgare-ståndet ingifna memorial vid riksdagen i Stockholm år 1815, angående judarna.</i>	[Grevesmöhlen, Carl August]	Stockholm: 1815.
90. <i>Den mängd, inom få dagar och i följd af hwarandra inträffade bankrotter, hwars följder ännu äro oberäkneliga men hwars grund nästan enstämmigt tillskrifwes judiska nationen, har föranledt att omtrycka följande ...</i>	Påhlman, Otto Fredric	Stockholm: Fr. Cederborgh & comp. 1815.
91. <i>Memorial, uppläst i det vällofl. borgare- ståndet den 19 junii 1815. Af G. Stabeck; innehållande dess anmärkningar och wedersläggning af ett ifrån särskilda utskottet till de respectiwe stånden inkommet betänkande, som tillstyrker dels: en oinskränkt nä-</i>	Stabeck, G[ustaf]	Stockholm: Marquardska tryckeriet, 1815.

Swedish originals (Continued)

Title	Author	Editions
<i>ringsfrihet för judiska nationen, och dels rättighet för ett oinskränkt antal att i riket inflytta, och med christna ingå giftermål, emot det de i banquen deponera wisza penningesummor i silfwer, hwarå de skulle draga: 5 af hundralet om året.</i>		
92. <i>Memorial om nödige förändringar uti kongl. commerce-collegij reglemente af den 27 majj 1782 för de i riket inflyttade och bosatte medlemmar af judiska nationen, af J. Wegelin G:son. Upläst i vällofl. borgare-ståndets plenum den 1 majj: 1815 och på ståndets begäran till trycket lämnadt.</i>	Wegelin, Johan	Stockholm: Peter Sohm, 1815.
93. <i>Memorial, uppläst i vällofl. Borgare-ståndet d.19 janii 1815 af G.Stabeck, innehållande dess anmärkningar och vederläggning af ett ifrån Särskildta utskottet inkommet betänkande, som tillstyrker dels en oinskränkt näringsfrihet för judiska: nationen och dels rättighet för att oinskränkt antal att i riket inflytta...</i>	Stabeck, Gustaf	Stockholm: 1815.
94. <i>Handels- och slöjde-fiscalen Junbecks Bemötande af judiska hofjouvelerare bolaget Michaëlssons & Benedicts förjäfves sökte rättfärdigande inför opinions-domstolen.</i>	Junbeck, Peter Jonas	Stockholm: Marquardska tryckeriet, 1815.
95. <i>Något begrundningsvärdt i anseende till judar, deras bankrotter, de olyckliga följderna deraf för det närwarande och de lyckligare för framtiden.</i>		Stockholm: Cederborgh, 1815.
96. <i>Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga kungörelse at judar icke hädanefter få, utan sär-</i>		Stockholm: Kungliga Tryckeriet, 1815.

Swedish originals (*Continued*)

Title	Author	Editions
<i>skildt nådigt tilstånd, til riket in-flytta och sig her bosätta. Gifwen Haga slott den 31 augusti 1815.</i>		
97. <i>Några ord om export-handel och judar.</i>	Howenschild, Johan Gustaf	Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1815.
98. <i>Förliknings-Projekt till biläggande af anfalls-kriget emot judarne.</i>		Stockholm: Carl Delén, 1815.
99. <i>Israels barn i öcknen. Tillägnadt svenska judars försvarare och dem som blifvit ruinerade genom deras bankrutter.</i>		Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1815.
100. <i>Handlingar uti den wid södre Möre härads lofl. tings-rätt hållne undersökning om en i Madesjö kyrka skedd stöld af silfwer, så widt frågan rörer handlanden af judiska nationen Joachim Moses Ruben i Carlskrona, såsom den der köpt och: innehaft af samma silfwer.</i>		Karlskrona: Swinhuvuds änka, 1819.
101. <i>Kongl. Maj:ts och rikets Commerce-Collegii kungörelse, angående läro- och tjenstår för dem af judiska nationen, som åstunda att komma i utöfning af minut- eller groszhandel; Gifwen Stockholm den 6 december 1819.</i>	Edelcrantz, Abraham Niclas	Stockholm: Kongl. tryckeriet, 1819.
102. <i>Den bortskänkte juden: Rättgångshandlingar rörande vaktmästaren J.P.Liljeströms klagan öfver de af till förordnade öfverståthållaren samt Stockholms dråtsel-commission och tre fjerdedelar af borgmästaren Hallqvists rådhus-rätts-division vidtagne åtgärder, hvarigenom fångne juden Moses Marcus tvärtemot K. Maj:ts nåd. dom på fri fot kommit.</i>		Stockholm: 1822.
103. <i>Några ord om den skandalösa brochuren: Judendomen, fram-</i>		Carlskrona: Flygare, 1822.

Swedish originals (Continued)

Title	Author	Editions
<i>ställd utur de rabbinska skrifterna såsom en fiende till christendomen och den rena sedligheten.</i>		
104. <i>Jesu dop med helig ande och med eld framställdt, wid en judisk ynglings döpelse ... Säljes till förmån för församlingens skola.</i>	[Berg, Anders]	Stockholm: Olof Grahn, 1827.
105. <i>Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga kungörelse, angående förbud emot uplåttandet till judar af ägande rätt och besittning af fastighet å landet; Gifwen Stockholms slott den 10 september 1828.</i>		Stockholm: Kungliga Tryckeriet, 1828.
106. <i>Motion rörande judarne, väckt hos höglofl. ridderskapet och adeln vid riksdagen 1828.</i>	Pereswetoff-Morath, Carl Axel	Stockholm: Bredberg, 1829.
107. <i>Judarne i all sin glans och härlighet: eller en utvald samling af 263 lustiga anekdoter, infall och märkvärdiga historier om dessa guld-menniskor.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: Elméns and Granbergs, 1830.
108. <i>Judarnes funderingar, pro et contra, eller Mutter Rachels samtal med sina barn. H. 1 och 2.</i>	[Anonymous]	Stockholm: A. G. Hellsten, 1838.
109. <i>Den nya tiden eller Kanaans land.</i>	[Sundborg, Johan Vilhelm]	Stockholm: Elméns och Granbergs, 1838
110. <i>Omskärelsen eller Den stundande tiden.</i>	[Hjerta, Gustaf]	Stockholm: Nordström, 1838.
111. <i>Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga kungörelse rörande tillämpningen i vissa fall af dess under den 30 sistlidne junii utfärdade nådiga förordning, angående mosaiske trosbekännares rättigheter och skyldigheter här i Riket; gifwen Stockholms slott den 21 september 1838.</i>		Stockholm: Norstedt & Söner, 1838.
112. <i>Förtjena judarne politiska rättigheter? Fråga till begrundande af</i>	[Pontin, Constans E. M.]	Stockholm: I. Marcus, 1845.

Swedish originals (Continued)

Title	Author	Editions
<i>Konstitutions-utskottet under 1844 och 1845 års riksdag.</i>		
113. <i>Judarnes emancipation ur svensk synpunkt betraktad. 2 Häften.</i>	[Pontin, Constans E. M.]	Stockholm: Lundberg and Comp., 1847–1848.
114. <i>Monopolium mot Judarne.</i>	Agardh, Carl Adolph	In: <i>Försök till en statsekonomisk statistik öfver Sverige D. 2. H. 2 Om arbetet, afsättningen och svenska jordnaturen.</i> Carlstad: Kjellin, 1856, 168–169.
115. <i>Öppet sändebref till herr biskopen m. m. C. A. Agardh, med anledning af uppsatsen "Monopolium mot judarne".</i>	[Lipmanson, Lipman]	Stockholm: Isaac Marcus, 1856.
116. <i>Kristendomen, dess uppkomst, dess lära, dess historia och dess utveckling jemte judendomens historia och litteratur. Efter nyaste forskningar utarbetad för folket.</i>	Lilja, Nils	Stockholm: Författarens förlag, 1860.
117. <i>Juden: sann händelse versifierad.</i>	Schunck, Anna Maria	Malmö: Cronholm, 1862.
118. <i>Den wandrande juden.</i>		Stockholm: P. G. Berg, 1871 and 1879.
119. <i>Judens dotter: Berättelse / af Curre.</i>	Cederqvist, August	Göteborg: J. F. Richters bokhandel, 1879.
120. <i>Den vandrande juden: föredrag hållet vid landsmålsföreningarnas fest i Upsala den 23 februari 1884.</i>	Schück, Henrik	Uppsala: 1886.
121. <i>Sverige åt swenskarne – eller åt judarne? Meningsbyte af en tidningstrio.</i>		Borås: Rydinska Boktryckeriet, 1886.
122. <i>Judarne i våra dagar.</i>	[Rosenthal, Nathanael]	Sala: [s.n.], 1886. 3 eds.
123. <i>Min omvändelse från judendomen till kristendomen.</i>	Rosenthal, Nathanael	Hedemora: Lidmans boktryckeri, 1885. 4. uppl. 1886.
124. <i>Betraktelser med anledning af doctent Eklunds veckopredikan: om</i>	Hellqvist, A. J.	Lund: Holmberg, 1882.

Swedish originals (Continued)

Title	Author	Editions
<i>"Judas Iscarioths utgång ur apostlakretsen" i domkyrkan den 22 sistlidne februari.</i>		
125. <i>I anledning af lagförslaget om äktenskap mellan kristna och judar.</i>		Stockholm: N. Marcus, 1862.
126. <i>Judinnan.</i>	Ödmann, Jenny Maria	Mariefred: Öhman, 1867.
127. <i>Judinnan.</i>	Lagerhjelm, Agnes	Stockholm: Lundholm, 1870.
128. <i>Jesu resor och underverk i judiska landet enligt evangelisternas berättelser.</i>		Stockholm: J. W. Svensson, 1873.
129. <i>Makkabeernas frihetskrig: en berättelse grundad på judiska historien.</i>	A. L. O. E.	Stockholm: Flodin, 1877.
130. <i>Hvarför öfvergå vi icke till kristendomen? Några betraktelser af en judisk rabbin.</i>		Stockholm: Svea i distr., 1882.
131. <i>Jude-frågan.</i>	Linck, Josef	Stockholm: Central-tryckeriet, 1882.
132. <i>Bidrag till filosofiens historia med särskildt hänseende till den judiska religionsfilosofien.</i>	Wolff, Moritz	Stockholm: Alb. Bonnier, 1882.
133. <i>Saligheten är af judarne: min lefnadsteckning, judarnes försöningsdag, är israelsmissionen behöflig?</i>	Wolff, Paulus	Stockholm: Hemlandsvännens tryckeri, 1884.
134. <i>Judiska sedelärer enligt Bibeln och Talmud.</i>		Stockholm: Isaac Marcus' Boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1884.
135. <i>Jesu lefnad jemte skildring af Messias-idéen hos judarne, Johannes Döparens uppträdande samt de judiska sekterna på Jesu tid.</i>	Nyblæus, Claës Gudmund	Södertelge: Södertelge bokhandels förlag, 1887.
136. <i>Juda. Dramatisk dikt in en actus.</i>	Mörner, Birger	Göteborg: T. Hedlund, 1888.

Swedish originals (*Continued*)

Title	Author	Editions
137. <i>Den bibliska kristendomen gentemot judendomen och hedendomen: en systematisk-teologisk undersökning.</i>	Johansson, Claës Elis	Uppsala: Akademiska bokhandeln, 1889.
138. <i>Är invandring af judar en lycka eller olycka för oss svenskar? En allvarlig fråga till hvarje svensk man och qvinna i allmänhet och till riksdagens ledamöter i synnerhet.</i>	Bonde, Svän	Stockholm: Nya tryckeri-aktiebolaget, 1891.
139. <i>Den bortröfvade judeflickan Eva Slawatitsky: och hennes "skyddshelgon"; eller Frälsningsarmén i sin prydno.</i>	[Nelson, Eric; Sterner, Karl]	Stockholm: Nya Boktryckeriet, 1892.
140. <i>Judarne gnugga händerna af glädje.</i>		Stockholm: Nya Boktryckeriet, 1892.
141. <i>Jude och kristen: Erfarenheter såsom jude och kristen upptecknade.</i>	Sapira, Isak Nathanael	Stockholm: 1892. Stockholm: 1898 (3rd ed).
142. <i>På hotell Cupido: en bild ur Stockholm nattetid.</i>	[Den Vandrande Juden]	Stockholm: Nya Boktryckeriet, 1892.
143. <i>Står Gamla Testamentets moral verkligen på barbarernas utvecklingskede? Föredrag öfver Letourneaus bok "Moralens utveckling."</i>	Klein, Gottlieb	Stockholm: Bonnier, 1892.
144. <i>Grefvinnans konstapel: en konturteckning ur "high life."</i>	[Den Vandrande Juden]	Stockholm: Nya Boktryckeriet, 1893.
145. <i>"I sängkamrar och boudoirer": pikanta rader ur en ungarls dagbok.</i>	[Den Vandrande Juden]	Stockholm: Nya Boktryckeriet, 1893.
146. <i>Skildring af modernt Stockholmslif: från Österlånggatas mysterier. Fri kärlek: en hufvudstadsberättelse.</i>	[Den Vandrande Juden]	Stockholm: Nya Boktryckeriet, 1893.
147. <i>Det judiska folkets pånyttfödelse i dess eget land som medel till lösningen af judefrågan. En appell till de goda och ädla af alla nationer.</i>	Birnbaum, Nathan	Helsingfors: Huvudstadsbaldets Nya Tryckeri, 1894.

Swedish originals (Continued)

Title	Author	Editions
148. <i>Judens dotter: verklighetsskildringar ur Stockholmslifvet.</i>	Cederberg, Björn	Stockholm: Hansen, 1894.
149. <i>Betlehem: Josef Rabinowitz och kristendomsrörelsen bland judarne i södra Ryssland, jemte en predikan af J. Rabinowitz, hållen i det judekristna templet Betlehem i Kischinew.</i>	Gordon, Philip-pus	Stockholm: A. V. Carlsons, 1895.
150. <i>Juden och göteborgarne. Ett val-program.</i>	[A. C. J.]	Göteborg: Joh. Olssons, 1896.
151. <i>Vår frälsare Jesu Kristi barndomsbok och om Joakim och Anna samt om jungfru Maria: Ur judiska handlingar sammanletad.</i>		Stockholm: Huldberg, 1896.
152. <i>Ivan Graham: berättelse om läkaremissionen bland judarne i Ryssland.</i>	Thompson, L.	Stockholm: Askerberg, 1897.
153. <i>Judefrågan och dess lösning eller Israels nutid och framtid.</i>	Baron, David	Stockholm: Föreningens för Israelsmission, 1898.
154. <i>På missionsresor bland judar i Östeuropa, Egypten och det Heliga Landet.</i>	Gordon, Philip-pus	Stockholm: Föreningen för Israelsmission, 1899.
155. <i>Jom Kippur: en berättelse ur det judiska folklifvet / af Ph. Gordon; öfvers. från tyskan af Theodor Lindhagen.</i>	Gordon, Philip-pus	Stockholm: Israelsmissionens förlag 1899. 2 editions.
156. <i>Studier öfver den judiska församlingens uppkomst under det persiska världsríkets tid.</i>	Wallis, Jonas	Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1900.

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