

DE GRUYTER

Jonathan Adams

JEWES IN EAST NORSE LITERATURE

A STUDY OF OTHERING IN MEDIEVAL
DENMARK AND SWEDEN

RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN THE NORTH

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Jonathan Adams

Jews in East Norse Literature

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



Edited by
Jonathan Adams
Cordelia Heß
Christhard Hoffmann

Volume 4

Jonathan Adams

Jews in East Norse Literature



A Study of Othering in Medieval Denmark and Sweden

Volume I: A cultural investigation

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Preface

What might have been considered an aberration of the “dark Middle Ages” or an isolated event of Nazism is frighteningly as relevant as ever. Antisemitism, racism, and intercommunal hostility are all said to be on the rise. At the same time, we live in a world where the difference between fact and fiction is becoming increasingly compromised, and where presidents and politicians in the “Free World” brand real events and fact-based reports “fake news.” Much of this book was written during the global Covid pandemic, and, as a medievalist, it has been hard not to see the flourishing conspiracy theories, scapegoating, vitriolic diatribes, and even outbreaks of violence through the lens of the fourteenth-century Black Death and the associated vilification of groups considered different from the social majority.

There are lessons for us to learn for today from investigating the portrayal of Jews and their use by authorities in countries entirely devoid of any religious minorities in the past: about how poisonous and cruel fictions are propagated and empathy eroded; how religious and ethnic difference is mocked from the pulpit (or any other soap-box); how hatred is celebrated in writing, images, and even music; how ignorance becomes the basis of a worldview and the obscenity of oppression merely a necessary trifle in ensuring the nation’s well-being; and how regulation – emotional, behavioural and social – is shaped through revulsion and hostility.

In many ways this book is an experiment, an attempt to see whether we can even talk of “Jews” in medieval Denmark and Sweden, let alone of a widespread attitude towards them. It does not aim to be exhaustive: indeed, it would be far beyond the scope of this book to discuss all East Norse texts that mention Jews. I have often had to focus on a selection of texts or works in either Old Danish or Old Swedish, but not both. Nonetheless, it is my hope that this book will open up new material and uncover strands of thought for other researchers and students to investigate further and demonstrate ways in which this might be done. While many of the topics will be familiar to historians of Jewish–Christian relations, the sources most probably will not. The book shows that Jews, or rather Christian fantasies of “the Jew,” were integral to medieval Scandinavians’ sense of themselves, of the infallibility of their faith and the Church, of time and history, and of place and geography. Although, perhaps, not a central feature of medieval Scandinavian thought, Jews permeate many different types of literary (and artistic) works, and alongside other “outside groups,” such as vagrants, foreigners, monsters, and even wandering preachers, provide a mirror through which we can see previously hidden characteristics of medieval Scandinavian society. And, as always, the many-centuries-long Middle Ages in all their variation – both familiar and strange – provide us with a glass in which to see our own reflection and to know ourselves better.

Abbreviations

AM	Den Arnamagnæanske Samling [Árni Magnússon's Manuscript Collection]
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [Vatican Apostolic Library]
BHL	Bibliothek der Hansestadt Lübeck [Library of the Hanseatic City of Lübeck]
BUB	Bergen, Universitetsbiblioteket [University of Bergen Library]
DAS	Den Arnamagnæanske Samling [The Arnamagnæan Collection]
DKB	Det Kongelige Bibliotek [Royal Danish Library]
DRA	Danmarks Rigsarkiv [Danish National Archives]
DRB	<i>The Douay–Rheims Bible</i> : English translation of the Vulgate Bible (1582, 1609, 1610)
EMDa.	Early Modern Danish
EMSw.	Early Modern Swedish
f(f).	folio(s)
Gk.	Greek
Heb.	Hebrew
HYK	Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto [Helsinki University Library]
JPS	JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh
KJV	<i>King James Version</i> : Reformed English version of the Christian Bible (1611)
K-BLB	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek [Baden State Library, Karlsruhe]
KSB-SGB	Kalmar stadsbibliotek – Stifts- och gymnasiebiblioteket [Kalmar City Library – The Diocesan and Secondary School Library]
Lat.	Latin
L-BL	London, British Library
lit.	literally
L-LPL	London, Lambeth Palace Library
LSB	Linköpings stifts- och landsbibliotek [Linköping Diocesan and Provincial Library]
LUB	Lunds universitetsbibliotek [Lund University Library]
LXX	<i>Septuagint</i> : The Greek Old Testament.
MEng.	Middle English
MT	The Masoretic Text (נוסח המסורה). The authoritative Hebrew and Aramaic text of the Tanakh.
NRA	Norges Riksarkiv [Norwegian National Archives]
NRSV	<i>New Revised Standard Version</i> : English translation of the Bible (1989)
ODa.	Old Danish
Olce.	Old Icelandic
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [Austrian National Library]
OSw.	Old Swedish
P-BNF	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France [National Library of France]
r	recto
SÁM	Stofnun Árna Magnússonar [The Arnamagnæan Institute, Reykjavík].
SBB-PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz [State Library of Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage]
SKB	Kungliga biblioteket [Royal (or National) Swedish Library]
SLUB	Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden [Saxon State and University Library, Dresden]
SRA	Svenska Riksarkivet [Swedish National Archives]

XXIV — Abbreviations

SSFS	Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet [Collections Published by the Medieval and Early Modern Swedish Text Society]
Trans.	English translation
UBG	Universitätsbibliothek Gießen [Giessen University Library]
UUB	Uppsala universitetsbibliotek [Uppsala University Library]
v	verso
<i>Vulg.</i>	Jerome's <i>Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem</i>

Editorial Procedure and Conventions

Quotations in the original language taken from manuscripts or early printed books are provided in diplomatic transcriptions. This system of transcribing aims to indicate to the reader as clearly as possible what the scribe has written on the manuscript page (or the printer has printed). Every attempt has been made to show which parts of the text have been corrected, inserted, deleted, or damaged, and how the text has been corrected, inserted, deleted, or damaged and laid out and organized on the page. In order to make the transcriptions as accessible as possible for the reader, they show the text in its final state, while secondary information about the appearance of the text has been described in the apparatus. Only editorial emendations deemed necessary for comprehension have been made in the text with a note in the apparatus. In addition to comments about the text's appearance, the apparatus includes known variations among different witnesses to the text and references to relevant works that discuss a particular point in the manuscript.

Transcription

Although spacing has been regularized according to modern principles, the original word division, punctuation, and capitalization have been retained even when they are at odds with modern orthographical principles.

The lineation of each manuscript has been reduplicated. Sometimes there is a lot of text in a single line in the manuscript, e. g., when the width of the folios or writing space is particularly large or the scribe has inserted numerous additions above the line. In such cases, where the constraints of space in this book require a line break in the transcription even though there is none in the manuscript, the text after the line break in the transcription is indented to show that it is not an original break found in the manuscript. For example, “ifwi the nath til mæsson · basilius dø om morghonen sama tima · Ok joseph døptis til cristin” which appears as a single line of text in the manuscript (SKB C 528) is reproduced in the transcription like this:

ifwi the nath til mæsson · basilius dø om morghonen sama tima · Ok joseph
døptis til cristin

The indentation of the words “døptis til cristin” thus shows that they are not found on a separate line from the preceding words in the manuscript.

The various forms of the pause symbol – *punctus* (·), colon (:), the single or double *virgula suspensiva* (/ //), the paraph (¶) – have been preserved. The

double hyphen, usually two small strokes written upwards at a 45° angle, has been rendered as a single hyphen (-).

No difference has been made between allographs: for example, unicameral and bicameral “a,” long and short “s,” and short or rotunda “r” are not distinguished. Similarly, dotted letters (usually “ÿ”) are written without a dot in the transcription.

Letters or punctuation written or flourished in red ink are reproduced in bold. Letters in other coloured ink also appear in print as bold, but their colour is mentioned in the apparatus. Letters or words that are underlined in the manuscript are also underlined in the transcription.

Abbreviations have been expanded in accordance with the preponderant spelling used by the relevant scribe elsewhere in the manuscript and expanded abbreviations are always provided in italics. This means that common abbreviations such as the svarabhakti vowel before “r” or forms such as “m̄3,” “th̄3,” and “th̄3tæ” may be expanded differently from text to text and, of course, from language to language. In segments of Latin text, abbreviations have also been expanded and are printed in italics. Their spelling follows that of the Medieval Latin and usage elsewhere in the manuscript.

Authentic ODa. or OSw. words cited from an original source appear within quotation marks: e. g., “høghfærdh.” Dictionary or normalized forms appear in italics without quotation marks: e. g., *høghfærþ*. Normalized forms are taken from *Gammeldansk Ordbog* for ODa. and Söderwall’s *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket* for OSw., although here I substitute ⟨æ⟩ and ⟨ø⟩ for Söderwall’s ⟨ä⟩ and ⟨ö⟩.

Apparatus

Curly brackets { } enclose letters that are written over an erasure. Illegible letters are indicated by a dash (-) and each dash designates one letter. Uncertain readings are marked with a question mark in brackets (?).

Letters added above or below the line or in the margin have been moved into the correct place in the text and are noted in the apparatus:

/text\	on or below the line
\text/	above the line
text	in the margin

Scribal errors, such as a missing letter or a word that has been copied incorrectly, are written in their corrected form in the main body of the text but described in the apparatus.

Suppressions are shown thus (note that it is not stated whether they are substitutions by erasure, deletion, or expunction.):

- [iube] The word “iube” has been suppressed but it is still legible.
 [iube] The word “iube” has been suppressed. It is no longer legible but can be reconstructed.
 [---] Something has been suppressed. It is entirely illegible and impossible to reconstruct.

Substitutions are shown thus:

- [ænsict > anlath] An entire word has been substituted, where the corrected word occurs above, below, or beside it, or in the margin. Here, “ænsict” has been substituted by “anlath”
 ju^{the}[k>p]il^{ter} Substitution by transformation, where the letter is written above, below or beside the original letter. Here, the scribe has corrected a “k” to a “p.”

Two other symbols are used. In transcriptions and the apparatus, a single vertical stroke (|) marks a line or column break, while a double stroke (||) marks a page or folio break. In the apparatus, the tilde (~) is used to indicate that the text is missing in a parallel manuscript variant.

Quotations

The book contains numerous quotations from many different manuscripts. These quotations do not have an apparatus, so in addition to flourishing, underlining, and abbreviations being replicated in the quotation, information about emendations, suppressions, and substitutions is included. The angle brackets < > enclose text that has been supplied in the quotations: where 1) letters have been lost due to trimming of or damage to the manuscript, 2) the scribe appears to have missed a word or phrase that is needed for the sentence to make sense. Line division is not reproduced in quotations.

Translations

All quotations in foreign languages have been translated somewhat literally into English in order to keep as faithful to the original as possible. Medieval vocabulary

has been retained (unless doing so would obscure the meaning) and syntax has been adjusted only for the purpose of comprehensibility. At times this may make the translation somewhat ungainly, unidiomatic, and even repetitive. However, the approach is intended to make comparison between the original quotation and the translation straightforward. Any words added by the editor in the translation that have been missed out by the scribe are enclosed in angle brackets ⟨ ⟩, whereas supplementary information or clarifications appear within round or square brackets. All translations are by the author unless otherwise stated. Translations are either marked by “Trans.” or appear in square brackets or between single quotation marks.

The use of quotation marks with certain terms (e. g., the “Jews,” “virtual presence,” and “free of Jews”) indicates an ideological colouring or special use that the reader should be alerted to.

Spellings

Abstract, normalized versions of words, “headwords” or “lemmata,” are taken from *Gammeldansk Ordbog* and *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket*, the two standard lexicographical reference works for East Norse. Generally, the headwords in *Gammeldansk Ordbog* are normalized forms based on Danish c. 1300, while those in *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket* reflect the earliest recorded example of the word, resulting in apparent inconsistencies: for example, the *þ* in *iube* ‘Jew,’ and the *dh* in *iudhinna* ‘Jewess.’ However, by using the forms as written in these two standard works, it is hoped that the reader will be able to look them up more easily.

When Old Danish (ODa.) and Old Swedish (OSw.) words are presented together, the order is always ODa. followed by OSw. with both words separated by a diagonal slash: e. g., *juthe/iube* – ODa. normalized form is *juthe* and OSw. normalized form in *iube*. If only one form is shown, it can be assumed that the ODa. and OSw. normalized forms are identical: e. g., *bok* – the normalized form of both ODa. *bok* and OSw. *bok*.

References to manuscripts and early printed books

Manuscripts and early prints are also referred to in an abbreviated form: e. g., *JesuBarndB* is used for *Hær begynnes aff Joachim oc aff sancta Anna oc aff hwat slæct the ære fodh oc aff theris leffnet Oc saa aff Jomfrw marie leffnet oc aff wors herre ihesu barndom* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, 1508); SKB K 4 for Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, K 4; and DAS AM 792 4^o for Copenhagen, Den Arna-

magnæanske Samling, AM 792 4^o. See the comprehensive List of Manuscripts at the end of this book.

References to specific points in a manuscript usually refer to the recto or verso side of a folio: e. g., f. 9v = folio 9 verso. However, some manuscripts are clearly paginated in ink or pencil, and here the page number will be used instead: e. g., p. 18. When both systems can be found in the manuscript, the folio come first, followed by the page number in brackets: e. g., ff. 228v–236v [pp. 456–472]. Columns are referred to as a (left-hand column) and b (right-hand column): f. 67rb = folio 62 recto right-hand column. Full numbers are provided in folio and page references for manuscripts and early printed books, e. g., ff. 228v–236v [pp. 456–472], not ff. 228v–36v [pp. 456–72]; ff. a4r–a5v, not ff. a4r–5v.

If a specific line is being referred to in a manuscript, the number follows the folio side directly (e. g., f. 9va6 = line 6 of left-hand column on folio 9 verso) or follows the page number from which it is separated by a colon (e. g., p. 6:12 = line 12 on page 6).

Bibliographical references

Referencing follows the Chicago system.¹ However, references to editions of works are usually given in an abbreviated form: e. g., *VejlPilgr* is used for Marcus Lorenzen, ed., *Mandevilles Rejse i gammeldansk Oversættelse tillige med En Vejleder for Pilgrimme* (Copenhagen: S. L. Møller, 1882), 207–25; *HellKv* for Carl Joakim Brandt, ed., *De hellige Kvinder: En Legende-Samling*, Skrifter udg. af Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie (Copenhagen: Gad, 1859); and *SMP VI* for Bertil Ejder, ed., *Svenska medeltids-postillor efter gamla handskrifter, delarna 6 och 7*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 23, no. 6 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1974), 1–132. See the full List of Works at the end of this book.

¹ *The Chicago Manual of Style, 17th Edition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017).



Medieval Scandinavia and Jews

1 Introduction

Christianization and the establishment of Western Christian culture in the North

The Vikings – Scandinavian sea-faring warriors and traders – are renowned for their voyages across enormous distances and their settlement in vastly different parts of the world: from North America in the west to Novgorod in the east. Abroad, these travellers came across many different peoples belonging to various religions – other pagans, Christians, Muslims, and Jews – and some of these Norse men and women incorporated elements of these religions into their own beliefs or they even converted. This is particularly true in the British Isles, Normandy, and Ireland where archaeological evidence from burial sites shows that the Viking settlers there adopted Christianity relatively quickly.¹ However, situated at the far edge of Europe, the peripheral location of Scandinavia proper meant that the region was one of the last parts of the continent to be drawn into the Christian cultural-political sphere to the south.

The Christianization of Denmark and Sweden was a prolonged process that began in the eighth century and lasted over four hundred years.² Initiated by missionaries from the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, the conversion of the Danes and Swedes – intermittent, sporadic, and opportunistic in nature – gradually resulted in a great expansion northwards for Western Christendom as well as a profound and enduring cultural, political, and economic influence on Scandinavia from the German lands. Christianization in Denmark and Sweden was a

1 Similarly, some Vikings in the east appear to have adopted elements from Islam or converted. In his account of the Volga Bulgars, Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān, a tenth-century Muslim Arab traveller, wrote that he saw 5,000 people called *al-baranjār* – i. e., *væringjar* [Varangians], the name given by Greeks (Βάρανγοι, *Váranḡoi*) and East Slavs (Варангъ, *Vareḡŭ*) to the Vikings – who had converted to Islam and built a wooden mosque. See Stig Wikander, *Araber – Vikingar – Våringar* (Lund: Hansson, 1978), 21, 57–58; Elisabeth Piltz, “Byzantium and Islam in Scandinavia,” in *Byzantium and Islam in Scandinavia: Acts of a Symposium at Uppsala University, June 15–16 1996*, ed. Elisabeth Piltz (Gothenburg: Åström, 1998), 36; Ibn Faḍlān, *Ibn Faḍlān and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North*, trans. Paul Lunde, intro. Caroline Stone (London: Penguin, 2012), 39. On the interpretation of *al-baranjār*, see Tadeusz Lewicki, “Handel Samanidów ze wschodnią i środkową Europą,” *Slavia Antiqua* 19 (1972): 12, quoting Károly Czegléd (pers. comm.); Wikander, *Araber – Vikingar – Våringar*, 21; Władysław Duczko, “Viking Age Scandinavia and Islam: An Archaeologist’s View,” in *Byzantium and Islam in Scandinavia*, ed. Piltz, 107–15.

2 For an account of the conversion of Scandinavia, see Anders Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

top-down process: kings and chieftains recognized the political and economic advantages of embracing Christianity and converted, often to secure trade, while their subjects followed their lead – at least in word, if not in deed. So, for example, despite the bold claim of the larger of the two Jelling runestones that “King Harald (Bluetoeth, d. 985/86) [...] made the Danes Christian,”³ we know that the Danes did not convert *en masse* and, indeed, Christianization only had limited success during his reign.⁴ The situation in Sweden was similar and Christianization here was accompanied by much violence for over a century before paganism was finally abolished.⁵ Indeed, even after the establishment of an episcopal polity in most of Denmark and Sweden in the eleventh century, Christian practices took considerable time to establish themselves among the population, and paganism and Christianity continued to coexist or merge, especially in parts of Sweden. Some pagan practices may have continued for more than a century: for example, the composers of the early thirteenth-century Law of Gotland (*Gutalagen*) apparently found it necessary to include a prohibition against pagan sacrifice (*blot*) and other heathen practices.⁶ However, by the mid-thirteenth century, we can consider the Danes and Swedes as thoroughly Christianized and fully integrated into Western Christendom through ecclesiastical networks, canon law, and the adoption of a rich and developed Christian culture.⁷ Bishopricks and their episcopal sees had

3 “haraltr : kunukr : [...] · t(a)ni (· karþi ·) kristna,” Jelling stone 2, DR 42; *Danske Runeindskriffter* at <https://runer.ku.dk/> (last accessed 5 April 2022).

4 See Michael H. Gelting, “The Kingdom of Denmark,” in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus’ c. 900–1200*, ed. Nora Berend (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 73–120.

5 See Nils Blomkvist, Stefan Brink, and Thomas Lindkvist, “The Kingdom of Sweden,” in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy*, ed. Berend, 167–213.

6 SKB B 64, f. A5r: “**aff blotan** Þet ier nu þy nest et blotir iru mannum mier firi buþin Oc fyrnsca all þaim sum haiþnu fylgir Engin ma haita a huathci a hult eþa hauga · eþa ha·fiþin guþ · huatki a vi e[ti]þa stafgarþa” [On Sacrifice (*blot*). Next is that sacrifice is strictly forbidden for people as also are all those earlier customs that accompany paganism. No-one may invoke (spirits?) at either groves or mounds, or a pagan god, either at sanctuaries or sites fenced by posts]. Edited and published in Hugo Pipping, ed., *Gutalag och Gutasaga jämte ordbok*, Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur, vol. 33 (Copenhagen: S. L. Møller, 1905–07), 6–7.

7 The only non-Christians in the region were the largely untouched Sámi of the far north who continued to follow animistic and polytheistic beliefs and shamanistic practices. On Sámi shamanism, see Louise Bäckman and Åke Hultrantz, eds, *Saami Pre-Christian Religion: Studies on the Oldest Traces of Religion Among the Saamis*, Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion, vol. 25 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1985). On the perception of Sámi in medieval Scandinavian (West Norse) literature, see Else Mundal, “The Perception of the Saamis and their Religion in Old Norse Sources,” in *Shamanism and Northern Ecology*, ed. Juha Pentikäinen, Religion and Society, vol. 36 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 1996), 97–116; Hermann Pálsson, *Úr landnordri: Samar og*

been created, monasteries and ecclesiastical foundations had been established, regular preaching to the laity was being introduced, and Latin written culture had been embraced. It is through this process of Christianization that most Scandinavians became aware of and learnt about Jews for the first time.

Jews in medieval Christian thought

Relations between Christianity and Judaism have never been easy and straightforward. At the core of this problematic relationship is the Jews' rejection of Jesus as the Messiah: Christianity attributes the fulfilment of the Old Testament (Jewish) prophecies to Jesus; Jews, however, do not. Although Jesus as messiah is not an issue in Judaism where he is simply considered one of a litany of false claimants, it is a difficult point for Christianity: why did Jesus' own people dismiss the claim that he fulfilled the messianic prophecies in the Hebrew Bible and reject him? And by extension, what then are the reasons that Christians should accept him? In short, who had got it wrong and why? Solutions to this conundrum would be offered through the next two millennia by showing that Jews did not understand their own Scriptures properly, that they were blind and stubborn, that they had been forsaken by God and replaced by Christians as the "New Israel" in his plan for humanity, and that, as anyone could see, homeless and scattered throughout the world, Jews were being punished by God for their disobedience.⁸ Moreover,

ystu rætur íslenskrar menningar, *Studia Islandica*, vol. 54 (Reykjavík: Bókmenntafræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands, 1997). On the portrayal of Sámi in medieval art, see Margrethe C. Stang, "Enemies of Christ in the Far North: Tales of Saracens, Jews and the Saami in Norwegian Medieval Painting," in *Tracing the Jerusalem Code*, vol. 1: *The Holy City Christian Cultures in Medieval Scandinavia (ca. 1100–1536)*, ed. Kristin B. Aavitsland and Line M. Bonde (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2021), 477–99. Descriptions of Sámi life and religion appear somewhat later in Swedish literature. See, for example, "De bellis et moribus sylvesterium paganorum ac vicinorum" [On the wars and customs of pagans in the forests and their neighbours] in Book IV of Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Rome: Giovanni Maria Viotti, 1555).

⁸ The literature on Christian antisemitism is vast; the following (with references) may act as an introduction: Joel Carmichael, *The Satanizing of the Jews: Origin and Development of Mystical Anti-Semitism* (New York: Fromm, 1993); John C. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Allan Gould, ed., *What Did They Think of the Jews?* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1991); Sidney G. Hall, *Christian Anti-Semitism and Paul's Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993); Luke Johnson, "The New Testament's Anti-Jewish Slander and Conventions of Ancient Polemic," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 108, no. 3 (1989): 419–41; William Nicholls, *Christian Antisemitism: A History of Hate* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1993); Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Seabury Press, 1974); Edward A. Synan, *The Popes*

Jews would be charged with having killed Christ rather than just rejecting him and as posing an ongoing spiritual and physical threat to Christians: they were not just a failed people, they were downright dangerous. Inevitably, these arguments and beliefs – stemming from an entirely internal, hermeneutic Christian debate – resulted in denigration, segregation, and violence towards Jewish communities and individuals across Europe. From the twelfth century, this anti-Judaism intensified and morphed into demonization, and fantasies of ritual murder, host desecration, and well poisoning began to flourish. Jews living under Christian rule were subject to social, political, and economic restrictions, such as ghettoization and mandatory dress codes, as well as periods of persecution, forced conversion, mass expulsions, pogroms, and massacres.

During the early centuries of the Common Era as Christianity drew, bolstered, and defended its boundaries, cemented its beliefs, and looked to distinguish itself from the Jewish tradition (while simultaneously appropriating many elements from it),⁹ the Church Fathers, such as Tertullian, John Chrysostom, Justin Martyr, and Pseudo-Cyprian, wrote numerous anti-Jewish tracts under titles such as *Against Jews*.¹⁰ In Romans 11:17–24, Paul used the image of the olive tree to show that the Gentiles had been grafted into God’s covenant with the Patriarchs, while the Jews had been “broken off”: a powerful image of Paul’s understanding of the relationship between God, Christians, and Jews.¹¹ Augustine (354–430), bishop

and the Jews in the Middle Ages (New York: Macmillan, 1965; Robert L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

⁹ See, for example, Marcel Simon, “Christian Anti-Semitism,” in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict: From Late Antiquity to the Reformation*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 131–73; Rosemary Radford Ruether, “The *Adversus Iudaeos* Tradition in the Church Fathers: The Exegesis of Christian Anti-Judaism,” in *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*, ed. Cohen, 174–89; Gavin I. Langmuir, “Faith of Christians and Hostility to Jews,” in *Christianity and Judaism*, ed. Diana Wood, Studies in Church History, vol. 29 (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1992), 77–81; Nicholls, *Christian Antisemitism*, 153–224; Miriam S. Taylor, *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity: A Critique of the Scholarly Consensus* (Leiden: Brill, 1995). On the early development of Christianity and its relation to Judaism in the first century of the Common Era, see James D. G. Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity*, 2nd edn (London: SCM Press, 2006).

¹⁰ For example, Tertullian and Pseudo-Cyprian (of Carthage): *Adversus Iudaeos* [Against Jews]; John Chrysostom: *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* [Against Jews]; Justin Martyr: *Πρὸς Τρύφωνα Ἰουδαῖον Διάλογος* [Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew].

¹¹ However, Paul was possibly using this allegory to confront the temptation for Christians to be arrogant towards Jews. See Amy-Jill Levine and Marc Zvi Brettler, eds, *The Jewish Annotated New Testament: New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 276–77.

of Hippo, developed Paul's line of thought further and constructed a "Jew" that better met the needs of Christian theology and exegesis. Picking up on the typology of the New Testament and early Christians, such as Ambrose, that everything from the advent of Jesus as the Messiah to the blindness of the Jews was prophesied in the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New Testament, he found a part that Jews could play in the contemporary world without having to compromise the truth of Christian doctrine. He assigned them the role of *testimonium veritatis*:

- Jews were living testimony to the truth of the Old Testament that prefigures Christ.
- As a dispersed people after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, Jews bore witness to God's judgement and their own iniquity.
- They bore the "mark of Cain" (Genesis 4:11–16): under the protection of God, they were forced to wander the earth.
- They demonstrated that Jesus was the Messiah for Gentile Christians.
- They proved that Christianity was true, and that God had elected Christians as the New Israel.¹²

As the original "bearers of the books,"¹³ who had received the messianic prophecies and witnessed Jesus' miracles while rejecting, tormenting, and murdering him, Jews and their continued presence – "protected" by the Church but kept in a lowly state, constantly vilified, and unable to pose any sort of real threat to Christianity – provided a living example of the Gospel teachings.¹⁴ Indeed, it was the Jews themselves who had called for their own condemnation: "his blood be upon us and our children."¹⁵ Thus, Augustine created a purpose and an essential place for Jews as witnesses to the truth: they corroborated Christianity. Again, following Paul (Romans 9:27, 11:26; cf. Isaiah 10:22), he argued that Jews would convert to Christ during the End of Days and all people would be united in a belief

¹² See, for example, Augustine's exposition on Psalm 58:2 DRB (59:1 KJV) in *Enarrationes in Psalmos 51–60*, ed. Hildegund Müller, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 94, no. 1 (Vienna: Verlag der ÖAW, 2004), 352–55, and *Epistula 149*, published in *Epistulae*, ed. Alois Goldbacher, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 44 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1904), 356.

¹³ Augustine used a variety of terms: *custos librorum* [a book custodian]; *bibliothecarius*, *librarius* [a librarian]; *scriiniarius*, *capsarius* [a guardian of the book cask]. See Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 36; Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 319–24; Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 35.

¹⁴ On the Jews' role as witnesses and "bearers of the books" in Augustinian thinking, see Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 23–71.

¹⁵ The "blood curse" in Matthew 27:25; see also Mark 15; Luke 22–23; John 18–19.

in one God. In this way, Augustine developed a role for Jews in the future and as this concept became an important part of Christian eschatology, he succeeded – whether it was his intention or not – in securing their survival.¹⁶ Jews drew value from the past (as the original recipients of the law and witnesses of the truth of Christianity) and from the future (in their as yet unfulfilled eschatological role). The importance of Augustine’s writings about Jews lies in their widespread dissemination in the monastic and university libraries throughout Europe, and although frequently challenged,¹⁷ his view of Jews was adopted by most theologians throughout Western Europe and formed the basis of the understanding and representation of Jews in medieval Scandinavia.

The Church’s treatment of the Jews can at times seem rather ambivalent: on the one hand holding a protecting hand over them, and on the other punishing them for killing its God.¹⁸ During the Middle Ages, there were in effect two “churches”: the hierarchy that laid down and defined general principles, and the minor clergy and laity who translated and put these principles into practice. These two “churches” were not always in agreement, so despite the hierarchy, and to some extent secular authorities, forbidding violence against Jews (albeit half-heartedly at times), the populace was incited by the teachings and sermons of the clergy and friars to shun or harm Jews. Joshua Trachtenberg puts it rather

16 In comparison, other “opponents” of the Church, such as Cathars and pagans, were ruthlessly annihilated. See Cohen, *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict from Late Antiquity to the Reformation*, 13–14.

17 For example, Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) saw no place for Jews in Christian society and argued that they posed a serious threat to Christian Spain. See Cohen, *Living Letters*, 104–22. On theologians’ varying attitudes towards Jews, see François Soyer, *Medieval Antisemitism? Past Imperfect* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), 23–42; Langmuir, “Faith of Christians and Hostility to Jews,” where he compares the thinking of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), Peter the Venerable (c. 1092–1156), and Peter Abelard (c. 1079–1142). For a comparison of the attitudes of Augustine, Ambrose (c. 340–97), and Birgitta of Sweden (c. 1303–73) towards Jewish culpability for deicide as expressed in ODa. Passion narratives, see Jonathan Adams, “Kristi mordere: Jøder i danske passionsberetninger fra middelalderen,” *Danske Studier* 108 (2013): 25–47. These are also discussed in Chapter 6: *Modelling Feelings and Behaviours*, pp. 265–95.

18 For example, on the subject of blood libel, Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54) issued a confirmation of the *Sicut Iudaeis* Bull with an addition forbidding anyone from accusing Jews of using human blood in their rites: Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, Studies and Texts, vol. 94 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 192–93 (no. 183); Pope Gregory X (r. 1271–76) published a bull declaring the evidence of a Christian inadmissible in a ritual murder charge against a Jew: Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, 242–43 (no. 234); and Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55) forbade the spreading of blood-libel accusations: Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, 919–21 (no. 765). Of course, as multiple examples show, these prohibitions were frequently ignored in cases throughout Europe and the blood libel flourished.

concisely: there was “a Church-fostered contempt and hatred which had sunk so deeply into the public consciousness that not even the highest authorities of the Church and state were able to meliorate it.”¹⁹ In other words, the Church was able to promulgate the theology that fed mob violence while at the same time condemning such attacks.²⁰ As Anna Abulafia has shown, Augustine’s doctrine created an ever-increasing tension between the Jews’ supposed theological role and their belief, behaviour, and actions in the contemporary world.²¹ More profoundly, the tension between the desire to avenge the murder of Christ (in the past) and to preserve the “keepers of the books” whose great conversion was anticipated during the End of Days (in the future) came to be played out in a variety of ways, not least textually.

Imagined Jews

As we shall see in the following chapter, Jews did not live in either Denmark or Sweden during the Middle Ages, nor did they travel there in significant numbers, yet they often figured in the art and literature of these countries. Since the early 1990s, scholars have tried to explain the ostensible paradox of the common presence in medieval literature (and art) of the absent Jew – “a figure who is here despite not being here”²² – by studying how this absent-present Jew becomes a tool for constructing Christian identity.²³ These “Jews” had much more to do with Christian attitudes and self-understanding than with actual Jews, and their representations can be considered as “manifestations of [medieval Christian] cultural power” that allow us to see what Christians believed they were not and did

19 Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*, intro. Marc Saperstein, rev. edn (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1983), 166–67.

20 Marc Epstein, “Review Essay. Re-Presentations of the Jewish Image: Three New Contributions,” *AJS Review* 26, no. 2 (2002): 332.

21 Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christian-Jewish Relations 1000–1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom*, *The Medieval World* (Harlow: Pearson, 2011).

22 Gloria Cigman, *The Jew as an Absent-Presence in Late Medieval England*, *The Seventeenth Sacks Lecture* (Oxford: Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, 1991), 2.

23 Some scholars focus on how representations of Jews and Judaism promoted nation building and the creation of national identity; for example, Janet Tormann, “The Jewish Other in Old English Narrative Poetry,” *Partial Answers* 2, no. 1 (2004): 1–19; Richard Cole, “The Jew Who Wasn’t There: Studies on Jews and their Absence in Old Norse Literature” (PhD thesis, Harvard University, 2015).

not want to be.²⁴ This scholarship, largely focusing on the continued preoccupation with Jews in post-expulsion England (that is, after 1290), has resulted in numerous terms to refer to this constructed figure: the hermeneutic, imaginary, paper, protean, spectral, theological, and virtual Jew.²⁵

Medieval English literature

One of the first scholars to address this absent presence, Gloria Cigman (1991), showed how the Jew in post-expulsion England became a mythological monster with a “continuing and firmly-rooted place in the society that he has been banished from,” whose existence was perpetuated by theologians, preachers, playwrights, and poets.²⁶ The Jew-hatred that he evoked was used to reinforce the Christian faith: “Hatred of the malignant outsider is calculated to regenerate a faith that has become weakened by inertia and undermined by corruption.”²⁷ In other words, against a background of dissent and moral degeneration, the Church created and put a monstrous foe into action in order to rally its members. Much subsequent research has followed a similar line, showing how “Jews” did not reflect actual Jews, and how they were constructed and marshalled to express

24 Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3.

25 Coinages: “the hermeneutic Jew” in Jeremy Cohen, “The Muslim Connection, or, On the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology,” in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 141–62; “the imaginary Jew” (*le juif imaginaire*) in Alain Finkielkraut, *Le Juif imaginaire* (Paris: Seuil, 1981); “the paper Jew” in Kathleen Biddick, “Paper Jews: Inscription/Ethnicity/Ethnography,” *The Arts Bulletin* 78 (1996): 594–621; “the protean Jew” in Denise Despres, “The Protean Jew in the Vernon Manuscript,” in *Chaucer and the Jews: Sources, Contexts, Meanings*, ed. Sheila Delaney (London: Routledge, 2002), 145–64; “the spectral Jew” in Steven Kruger, “The Spectral Jew,” *New Medieval Literatures* 2 (1998): 9–35; “the theological Jew” (*le juif théologique*) in Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Cerf, 1990), 585; “the virtual Jew” in Sylvia Tomasch, “Postcolonial Chaucer and the Virtual Jew,” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (New York: St Martin’s Press, 2000), 243–60. From a wider perspective, David Nirenberg has traced the long Western intellectual tradition of the “Jew” as a hermeneutic tool, through which Westerners made – and still make – sense of their world: David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013). A similar approach is found in many of the contributions in Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, eds, *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

26 Cigman, *The Jew as an Absent-Presence in Late Medieval England*, 7.

27 Cigman, *The Jew as an Absent-Presence in Late Medieval England*, 14.

and subsequently quell Christian dissent and to reinforce piety, doctrine, and religious identity. For example, the manifold stories of host desecration – Jews defiling the host, often stabbing or cutting it to make it bleed – are understood as a tool for addressing the uncertainty that existed among some Christians about the doctrine of transubstantiation – the divine presence in the Eucharist – by providing demonstrable proof that these doubts were unfounded: just as Christ bled when he was nailed to the Cross, so too does the host bleed when it is pierced by Jews, who are re-enacting their torture of the Christian messiah centuries earlier.

In his *Feeling Persecuted* (2010), Anthony Bale develops the concept of absent Jews by highlighting an oft-overlooked aspect of Christian spirituality.²⁸ He emphasizes the emotional function of these constructed Jews, and how they were used to cultivate appropriate affective devotional responses to central Christian biblical stories and concepts. The sacred violence of Christ's Passion in particular as well as the ugly, disruptive nature of Jews gave medieval Christians an opportunity to enter affectively into the Bible story, to experience events such as the Passion intensely through the senses, and to cultivate a generally more sensory, emotional approach to devotion. Readers and listeners were encouraged to feel empathy and compassion towards Christ, his mother, and his followers. The Jews in these stories are in effect an expression of Christian cultural aesthetics that valued violence and repulsion for the cultivation of appropriate emotions.

As an ideological construct, imaginary Jews took on a life of their own. The constant degradation of Jews in Christian thinking and the consistent use of negative stereotypes rendered literary Jews as less than human – physically and spiritually. They became monsters that resided beyond the realm of human emotion, behaviour, morality, and rationality. Not only were they outside of the Christian *communitas* and beyond humanity, but they also aimed to destroy it. Although Jews denied Christ as the Messiah, their actions showed that they did in fact recognize he was the Son of God and that the teachings of the Church were true – why else, for example, did they steal hosts to stab and cut unless they believed in transubstantiation and presumed that they were gashing the actual body of Christ?²⁹

28 Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010).

29 Two other studies of Jews in Middle English literature that have proved very useful are Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010); Kati Ihnat, *Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews: Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Norman England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

The paradigms used by Cigman and Bale, as well as others like Sylvia Tomasch and Miriamne Krummel,³⁰ all describe the sequence of absence following presence – an idea that there was some sort of post-expulsion “re-membering”³¹ of the pre-expulsion Jew. In Scandinavia, however, there had been no presence and no Jews to be expelled, re(-)membered, and exploited. For this reason, Andrew Scheil’s work on Old English and Anglo-Latin literature provides a helpful parallel to the Scandinavian situation.³² In discussing the representation of Jews in early medieval, principally religious, literature, written before any actual Jewish settlement in England, he shows that “[t]hinking about Jews in Anglo-Saxon England was an act of individual imagination, always conditioned and bounded by the ponderous weight of tradition [...]: the powerful fusion of local intention and the overarching power of the *auctor*-defined past.”³³ Nonetheless, Scheil shows how the representation of Jews in this early literature is more diverse than previously appreciated and how, despite the heavy weight of theological tradition, the texts are dynamic and engage with their sources rather than just replicate their images: there is a creative, imaginative development of an adopted tradition to meet contemporary needs. Jews are shown to be both “other” and “familiar” – on the one hand corrupted and blind, and on the other a righteous and beloved people of God.³⁴ Even though the Jewish “other” lived outside pre-Conquest England in both time and space, it held much importance and influence for how Anglo-Saxons were to understand their own place in the world and the universe. The most significant thing that the Anglo-Saxon material demonstrates so clearly is that the rhetorical figure of the “imagined Jew” is entirely removed and disconnected from actual Jews and lives a full and multifaceted life in a universe fashioned by the Bible and Christian myth and legend.

30 Miriamne A. Krummel, *Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England: Legally Absent, Virtually Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

31 The concept of “re-membering” – “putting back together the pieces of a nearly lost history” – is discussed in Krummel, *Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England*, 56.

32 Andrew P. Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004). See also the collection of essays in Samantha Zacher, ed., *Imagining the Jew in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture*, Toronto Anglo-Saxon Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

33 Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel*, 7. This is, of course, an echo of Jeremy Cohen’s “hermeneutically and doctrinally crafted Jew” in Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 2.

34 For example, Bede’s commentary of the book of Tobit (Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel*, 47–50), and Bede’s understanding of Jews as “formerly God’s chosen nation, the ‘antiquam illam Dei plebam’ [the ancient people of God]” (Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel*, 68) respectively.

West Norse literature

Whereas the Anglo-Saxon material considered by Scheil was composed before the escalation in anti-Jewish fictions and violence in Western Europe during the twelfth century, the Norse material dates from after this decisive change in attitudes. It thus contains newer “antisemitisms” – accusations of the ritual murder of Christian children, host desecration, well poisoning, iconoclasm, and exploitative usury – that supplement the older anti-Jewish rhetoric focusing on the Jews’ rejection and killing of Christ on the one hand and their use as role models, for example in parts of *Gyðinga saga*, on the other.³⁵

The first treatment of the representation of Jews in Old Norse is in an article by philologist Bjarne Berulfsen.³⁶ He argues that “literary antisemitism” (*litterær antisemittisme*), as he calls it, was imported from abroad through translations of religious texts (e. g., *Maríu saga*, *Postola sögur*, *Stjórn*) and only later appears in original West Norse works (e. g., *Gyðingavísur*). He does not question the role and purpose of these Jews who he seems to view as a stock motif and whose presence is just an inevitable consequence of the anti-Jewish flavour of the New Testament, although, he claims, they are often just lumped together with pagans: apparently medieval Norwegians and Icelanders were unable to distinguish between the two.³⁷ The article was published some three decades before the concept of the constructed Jew appeared in scholarship, and consequently Berulfsen does not address questions of how Christian spirituality influenced – and was itself influenced by – the constructedness of these “Jews.” He does, however, argue how the image of this literary Jew became so deep-seated that antipathy towards Jews led to the prohibition against them settling in Norway not being lifted until 1851.

Yvonne Friedman explores the Norwegian manifestations of anti-Jewish concepts in homilies, miracle stories, and church art, focussing on the Marian legends in *Maríu saga* in particular.³⁸ She concludes that strong anti-Jewish attitudes were not as developed in medieval Norway as, for example, in England: “The anti-Jew-

³⁵ See Kirsten Wolf, “An Old Norse Record of Jewish History,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 77, no. 1 (1986): 45–54; Kirsten Wolf, ed., *Gyðinga Saga*, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, Rit, vol. 42 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1995). Note that *Gyðinga saga* [History of the Jews] is a modern name given to the work. In his manuscript catalogue, the collector Árni Magnússon registered the relevant codices as “Historia Judaica” [Jewish History] and “Historia Macchabaeorum” [History of the Maccabees].

³⁶ Bjarne Berulfsen, “Antisemittisme som litterær importvare,” *Edda* 58 (1958): 123–44.

³⁷ Berulfsen, “Antisemittisme som litterær importvare,” 125–34.

³⁸ Yvonne Friedman, “Reception of Medieval European Anti-Jewish Concepts in Late Medieval and Early Modern Norway,” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism*, ed. Adams and Heß, 59–72.

ish concepts that were in vogue elsewhere in Europe may have been imported by Norwegian bishops who studied or travelled abroad, but they did not take root in the same way as they had in their original surroundings.”³⁹ Nonetheless, the reception of anti-Jewish concepts made “Norwegians unwilling to accept real Jews in their midst.”⁴⁰ The linking in both Berulfsen and Friedman’s articles between anti-Jewish sentiment in the Middle Ages and a reluctance to permit Jews to settle in modern Norway several centuries later is striking. It suggests that medieval anti-Jewish antipathy did in fact become deeply rooted, local, and long-lived, and that historically Norway has been more antisemitic than its neighbours – Sweden and Denmark – who admitted Jews one or two centuries earlier

Richard Cole’s PhD thesis constitutes a somewhat different type of study of Jews in West Norse texts.⁴¹ Here, and in a further article,⁴² he provides numerous examples from religious and secular literature as well as doodles and illustrations in manuscripts to show how “thinking with Jews” (after David Nirenberg’s *Anti-Judaism*) was implemented to tackle existential concerns generally as well as more specific questions of belief, race, and nation (*kyn*, *fólk*, *þjóð*, and *ætt*). Indeed, Cole’s work tends to highlight the political use of Jews in West Norse literature – particularly regarding questions of sovereignty, peoplehood, and “Iceland as a *judenrein* homotopia”⁴³ – rather than their devotional or doctrinal possibilities. As such, the figure of the Jew had an important and rooted role in the literature and the mind of medieval Icelanders and Norwegians.

East Norse literature

Generally, few scholars have investigated the understanding, construction, and portrayal of Jews (or “Jews”) in medieval Denmark and Sweden. An important exception for Denmark is the work of Martin Schwarz Lausten. In *Kirke og synagoge*, the first volume of his magisterial six-volume series on the relationship between Jews and the Church in Denmark, he investigates the extant material from the Middle Ages to c. 1700, with over 140 pages dealing solely with the medi-

³⁹ Friedman, “Reception of Medieval European Anti-Jewish Concepts,” 68–69.

⁴⁰ Friedman, “Reception of Medieval European Anti-Jewish Concepts,” 69.

⁴¹ Cole, “The Jew Who Wasn’t There.”

⁴² 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: Jews and Muslims in Scandinavia and the Baltic Region*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 239–68.

⁴³ Cole, “The Jew Who Wasn’t There,” 164–73.

eval period.⁴⁴ Lausten, a church historian, uses the material to elucidate the relationship between Jews and the Church in medieval Denmark. He later published two abridged single volumes of his series – one in Danish and one a translation into English – that both include a few pages on the Middle Ages.⁴⁵ Together the three works throw an important spotlight on an overlooked aspect of medieval Danish literature and describe the sources and their contents. He traces references to Jews in Danish and Latin religious writings from the beginning of the Middle Ages to the Reformation. He focuses on theological works, devotional literature, and some sermons in order to identify tendencies and relate them to influences from abroad. The work has some drawbacks – for example, it makes no mention of profane literature (it is, after all, a church history), it does not address the concept of absent-presence in any depth, it eschews recent foreign scholarship – but it does remain the standard work and has many excellent qualities.⁴⁶

The only historian to mention Jews and medieval Sweden, Hugo Valentin, does not tackle the question of absence and presence; indeed, he dedicates very few pages to the Middle Ages at all.⁴⁷ Valentin does, however, make an important point: from the time when trading corporations, such as the Hanseatic League, began to take over trade in Northern Europe in the twelfth century, there were no Jews in the cities which were most important for Swedish trade such as Lübeck

44 Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge: Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi (ca. 1100–ca. 1700)*, Kirkehistoriske studier, vol. 3, no. 1 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1992, repr. 2002), 15–156. Useful reviews of this volume can be found in Grethe Jacobsen, “Kirke og synagoge: Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi by Martin Schwarz Lausten,” [review article], *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24, no. 4 (1993): 988–89; Karin Weinholt, “Martin Schwarz Lausten: Kirke og Synagoge: De fromme og jøderne. Oplysning i kirke og synagoge,” [review article], *Rambam: Tidsskrift for jødisk kultur og forskning* 12 (2003): 133–37; Karin Weinholt, “Om mastodontserien Kirke og Synagoge,” [review article], *Rambam: Tidsskrift for jødisk kultur og forskning* 17 (2008): 66–78.

45 Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Jøder og kristne i Danmark: Fra middelalderen til nyere tid* (Copenhagen: Anis, 2012), 9–31; Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Jews and Christians in Denmark: From the Middle Ages to Recent Times*, The Brill Reference Library of Judaism, vol. 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1–18.

46 A recent dissertation discusses the representation of Jews in the twelfth-century *Gesta Swenonagni regis et filiorum eius et passio gloriosissimi Canuti regis et martyris* [The Deeds of King Sven-Magnus and his Sons and the Passion of the Most Glorious Canute, King and Martyr]: Philip Blüdnikow, “‘O cervix rigida!’ Forestillinger om jøder i Ælnoths krønike” (Master’s dissertation, University of Copenhagen, 2020).

47 Hugo Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1924), 7–9; Hugo Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1964), 12–13. The most recent history of Jews in Sweden, Carl Henrik Carlsson, *Judarnas historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2021) has just one page (19) on “medeltida föreställningar om judar” [medieval ideas about Jews].

and Danzig (Gdańsk).⁴⁸ Jews may have been resident in small numbers in Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Hanover where Sweden had mercantile connections, but there is no evidence that they made their way northwards across the Baltic Sea. Valentin's work highlights the absence of real Jews in Sweden, but makes no mention of how this plays out in medieval Swedish literature and art.

I have also previously published on the medieval Danish and Swedish material approaching the subject from the disciplines of philology and the history of ideas. My work has focused on preaching about Jews in both Old Swedish and Old Danish,⁴⁹ passion tales and treatises in Old Danish,⁵⁰ and the Danish translation of Johannes Pfefferkorn's anti-Jewish pamphlet *Libellus de Judaica Confessione* and its reception⁵¹ as well as collaborative edited volumes on Jew-hatred in the medieval and early modern periods that cover a broader geographical area and range of topics.⁵² Of particular interest to me is vernacular literature and the image

48 Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige*, 7–8.

49 Jonathan Adams, "Preaching about an Absent Minority: Medieval Danish Sermons and Jews," in *The Jewish–Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska, Routledge Research in Medieval Studies, vol. 6 (New York: Routledge, 2014), 92–116; 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 Europe: Identities and Interfaith Encounters*, ed. Linda G. Jones and Adrienne Dupont-Hamy, *Sermo*, vol. 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 93–119.

50 Jonathan Adams, "Grumme løver og menstruerende mænd," *Rambam: Tidsskrift for jødisk kultur og forskning* 21 (2014): 78–93; Adams, "Kristi mordere"; Jonathan Adams, "'Untilled Field' or 'Barren Terrain'? Researching the Portrayal of Jews in Medieval Denmark and Sweden," in *Antisemitism in the North: History and State of Research*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, *Religious Minorities in the North: History, Politics, and Culture*, vol. 1 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 21–40.

51 Jonathan Adams, "Hebraiske ord i *Jødernes hemmeligheder* (1516)," *Danske Studier* 105 (2010): 31–50; Jonathan Adams, *Lessons in Contempt: Poul Ræff's Translation and Publication in 1516 of Johannes Pfefferkorn's The Confession of the Jews*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vol. 581 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013); Jonathan Adams, "'Thus shall Christian people know to punish them': Translating Pfefferkorn into Danish," 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/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 135–54.

52 Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska, eds, *The Jewish–Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, Routledge Research in Medieval Studies, vol. 6 (New York: Routledge, 2014); Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, eds, *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015); Adams and Heß, eds, *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews*; Adams and Heß, eds, *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism*; Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, eds, *Antisemitism in the North: History and State of Research*, *Religious Minorities in the North: History, Politics, and Culture*, vol. 1 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2020).

of the Jew that it embedded in popular culture. Therefore, in my work to date I have described this conception and its attributes and manifold uses.

Medieval art in Denmark and Sweden

Art historian Ulla Haastrup has undertaken the most thorough investigation on the representation of Jews in art from the Danish Middle Ages, documenting and analysing the types and development of images found in medieval Danish churches, especially in wall paintings.⁵³ She has registered the scenes in which Jews can or do appear and how “good” and “bad” Jews are characterized.⁵⁴ Her work was ground-breaking and remains by far the best on depictions of Jews in medieval Danish art. Rather peculiarly, however, she claims these works prove a medieval Jewish presence in Denmark because the clothes, especially the hats, worn by Jews in some of these paintings were updated to mimic precisely innovations in the contemporary garb of European Jews.⁵⁵ However, that such alterations can be traced to clothing fashions among Jews living in Denmark, rather than to corresponding changes in artistic depictions abroad, is, understandably, far from accepted.⁵⁶ In order to depict Jews, painters followed an established pan-European visual code: a rather neutral portrayal for Old Testament Jews, though marked by clothing and bodily features, and a degrading caricature for New Testament Jews marked by a grotesque physiognomy and distinctive clothing. Just like spoken languages, this visual language developed and altered in its detail through time and geography (for example, the German visual language is different to, say, the Italian), but the principal elements of the code remained constant. It strikes me as curious to suggest that depictions of “Jews” in wall paintings reflect the appearance of real Jews. Artists did not need to have seen a real Jew in order to paint one, any more than they needed to have seen a mermaid, a unicorn, or Adam and Eve to paint them. Indeed, juxtaposing the fashionable attire worn by Jews with

53 Ulla Haastrup, “Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalderkunst,” in *Danish Jewish Art: Jews in Danish Art*, ed. Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen (Copenhagen: Society for the Publication of Danish Cultural Monuments, 1999), 111–67; Ulla Haastrup, “Representations of Jews in Medieval Danish Art – Can Images Be Used as Source Material on their Own?” in *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 341–56.

54 Haastrup estimates that Jews appear in at least 120 artworks from Danish churches. Haastrup, “Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalderkunst,” 126.

55 Haastrup, “Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalderkunst,” 159–61; Haastrup, “Representations of Jews in Medieval Danish Art,” 352–56.

56 See, e. g., Morten Thing, “Jøden og orientaleren,” *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning* 9, no. 3 (2004): 34.

the plain robes of holy figures had an important didactic purpose (see further on Herman Bengtsson's article below). The world created by wall paintings is the world as the Church would have its members see it, not as it actually was. In *Kirke og Synagoge*, Lausten dedicates several pages to depictions of Jews in medieval Danish church art and focuses on the image of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* – an allegorical representation of triumphant Christianity and broken, blind Judaism (particularly fitting given the ecclesiastical focus of his work).⁵⁷ He discusses this motif in wall paintings, crucifixes, and altarpieces to show how Danes understood the doctrine of supersessionism (replacement theology).⁵⁸

Bengt Söderberg's volume *Svenska kyrkomålningar från medeltiden* is a non-academic but thorough introduction and overview of medieval Swedish wall paintings that covers their use and purpose, the painters and schools, and the chronological development of the art form.⁵⁹ Although Jews are mentioned *en passant* – for example, Old Testament figures – they are never identified as such, nor is the portrayal of Jews discussed at all. In her pioneering book about medieval wall paintings in Sweden, *Program och funktion*, Anna Nilsén does treat paintings that depict Jews, albeit only in passing.⁶⁰ Her work contains many important insights, but unfortunately it is not arranged so that it is easy to look up depictions of Jews. Isaiah Shachar's book on the *Judensau* – Jews suckling at the teats of a pig – includes discussion of the stone-carving in Uppsala Cathedral and remains the most thorough study of the image to date.⁶¹ In his 2016 article, Herman Bengtsson considers the use of fashionable clothing in medieval Swedish wall paintings

57 Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge*, 132–56; Lausten, *Jøder og kristne i Danmark*, 25–31; Lausten, *Jews and Christians in Denmark*, 13–18.

58 Another particularly useful resource is the National Museum's serialized publication Ulla Haastrup and Robert Egevang, eds, *Danske Kalkmalerier*, 8 vols (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1986–92). Judith Vogt, *Jødens ukristelige image: et studie i katolsk billedmageri* (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1996) contains a couple of Danish examples of representations of Jews.

59 Bengt G. Söderberg, *Svenska kyrkomålningar från medeltiden* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1951).

60 Anna Nilsén, *Program och funktion i senmedeltida kalkmåleri: kyrkmålningar i Mälarskapskapen och Finland 1400–1534* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1986).

61 Isaiah Shachar, *The Judensau: A Medieval Anti-Jewish Motif and its History*, Warburg Institute Surveys, vol. 5 (London: Warburg Institute, 1974). On the *Judensau* motif in Sweden, including the wall paintings in Härkeberga and Husby-Sjutolft churches, see also Nilsén, *Program och funktion*, 454–55; Viktoria Munck af Rosenschöld, “Främlingsbilder: Om judar och judendom i medeltida danskt och svenskt kalkmåleri” (Master's dissertation, Lunds universitet, 2007), 22–25; Anders Andréén, “The *Judensau* in Uppsala,” in *Myth, Magic, and Memory in Early Scandinavian Narrative Culture: Studies in Honour of Stephen A. Mitchell*, ed. Jürg Glauser and Pernille Hermann, *Acta Scandinavia*, vol. 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 351–70.

as a marker for Jews and how it acts as a visual sign for their inner moral corruption.⁶² By doing so, he underscores the importance of symbolism and theology in interpreting images of Jews.

The aims of this book

The main purpose of this book is to describe, present, and explain the image of “the Jew” as it appears in East Norse texts, that is vernacular texts from Denmark and Sweden until 1515. The nature of the book is exploratory and descriptive, and in the case of many of these texts represents the first investigation on the topic of “the Jew.” The book and range of texts do not, however, make any claim to comprehensiveness, nor are all texts covered in the same breadth and depth. Furthermore, different methodological approaches are used for different types of text and certain aspects of the text might be focused on while others are treated only partially or not at all. Although not without its problems, this unequal treatment of the East Norse corpus is a natural consequence of my attempt to demonstrate the potential offered by our medieval literature for investigating how Jews, Jewish traditions, and Judaism were imagined in the northern peripheries. The book should be understood as an invitation to read, examine, and research this area of our history and reflect on its meanings for and parallels in Scandinavia today. The medieval Danish and Swedish roots of attitudes towards, ideas about, and imagery of Jews have proven resilient and long-lived, and the tree continues to bear fruit today.⁶³

In order to describe and present the stereotypes that make up the physical, behavioural, and moral profile of the “imaginary Jew” in East Norse texts,

62 Herman Bengtsson, “Samtida mode eller antisemitism? Demonisering och rasistiska tendenser i medeltidens bildkonst,” *Iconographisk post. Nordisk tidskrift för bildtolkning: Nordic Review of Iconography* 3/4 (2016): 4–41. Other discussions of Jews in Swedish wall paintings can be found in Rosenschöld, “Främlingsbilder” and Björn Miksch, “Judar i medeltida svensk konst: En studie av judeframställningar i tre svenska medeltidsmålares verk” (C-uppsats, Stockholms universitet, 1998). For medieval Swedish Finland, Elina Räsänen has discussed the Jews depicted in the Kalanti altarpiece: “Advocating, Converting, and Torturing: Images of Jews (and Muslimized Pagans) in the Kalanti Altarpiece,” in *Fear and Loathing in the North*, ed. Adams and Heß, 285–312.

63 See, e. g., Adams, “‘Untilled Field’ or ‘Barren Terrain?’” 37–39; Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, “A Rational Model for Blood Libel: The *Aftonbladet* Affair,” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge, 2018), 265–84; Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, “Rationaliserade ritualmord: religiösa antisemitiska stereotyper och debatten omkring *Aftonbladet* 2009,” in *Studier om rasism: Tvärvetenskapliga perspektiv på ras, vithet och diskriminering*, ed. Tobias Hübinette and Andréaz Wasniowski (Malmö: Arx, 2018), 51–67.

I have begun by collecting written (and, to a less extent, pictorial) material from medieval Denmark and Sweden that describes or illustrates Jewish appearance and behaviour, and then sifting through it to find how Jews are represented. For example, what clothes do they wear and what are their bodies like? And although the “Jew” is nearly always an adult male, I have also investigated the very few mentions and depictions of Jewish women and children to see the significance of gender and age. Furthermore, the Christian representation of Jews is described with a focus on doctrine, particularly supersessionism and iconicide, and affective devotion, especially deicide and hagiocide. A whole range of stereotypes and libels appear here: collaboration with Satan, ritual murder, host desecration, and well poisoning. Jews are presented as having a dangerous, scheming, and manipulative mind-set as well as revelling in violence, spilling blood, and mockery. They appear in comparisons with animals – wolves, lions, and dogs – or engaging in indecent intercourse with pigs. I have also attempted to show the roles that Jews in East Norse texts were given within a Christian understanding of the past, the present, and the future. It is shown that some of these stereotypes are restricted to certain texts genres or geographical areas. An analysis of the language used to describe Jews, particularly qualifying adjectives and associated verbs, also shows how writers constructed this image. There are also tentative attempts at uncovering the extent of knowledge of Hebrew in medieval Denmark and Sweden.

This study describes one of the rare examples of the representation of Jews in a Christian area that had never been home to a Jewish community but had absorbed late medieval anti-Judaism. There are studies that deal with the “imagined Jew” in post-expulsion England or even modern Romania, as well as in non-Christian areas such as Japan that are without resident Jews, but only few studies describe how Christian societies that had never experienced “real Jews” imagined and understood Jews to be.⁶⁴ These studies are important as they show how the worldview created by the Church and propagated through its teachings and art can be absorbed into profane literature and picked up on, nurtured, developed, and reduplicated in environments where Jews had no physical presence at all.

The first volume of this book deals with these stereotypes and discusses their use in the East Norse material. The second volume of the book comprises a selec-

64 On pre- and post-expulsion England, see earlier references; on Romania, see Andrei Oișteanu, *Inventing the Jew: Antisemitic Stereotypes in Romanian and Other Central-Eastern European Cultures*, intro. Moishe Idel, trans. Mirela Adăscăliței, Studies in Antisemitism (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); on Japan, see Isaiah Ben Dasan, *The Japanese and The Jews* (New York: Weatherhill, 1972); David G. Goodman and Masanori Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind* (New York: Free Press, 1995); Rotem Kowner, “The Imitation Game? Japanese Attitudes towards Jews in Modern Times,” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism*, ed. Adams and Heß, 73–94.

tion of edited source material in Old Danish and Old Swedish with English translations that provides the reader with an anthology of texts about and images of Jews from the beginning of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The source material covers an array of genres. Ideas about Jews were disseminated through the channels of the Church and one of the principal methods was preaching and church art. The study includes several sermons that were preached or acted as model sermons during the fifteenth century, and that demonstrate one of the most pervasive ways in which public opinion was shaped among the illiterate population. Another important vehicle for the spread of anti-Judaism – and with it increasingly emotional religiosity – is devotional literature: prayer books, Passion treatises, works for contemplation, miracle stories, legends, visions, and especially Marian literature which often demonstrates an extraordinary preoccupation with Jews. These are richly represented in the East Norse corpus and form the core of the texts discussed here. Secular literature is also represented by travel narratives, pilgrim itineraries, letters, and histories, but Jews appear to have been of less interest to the writers and readers here.

The Middle Ages in Denmark and Sweden are traditionally reckoned as lasting until the Reformation (in 1536 and 1531 respectively), but no text from after 1515 has been included in this study. This *terminus ad quem* ensures that the vernacular material is written in Old Danish (defined as up to 1515) and Old Swedish (defined as up to 1526), and it avoids the shift in polemics (first demonstrated by Poul Ræff's publication of *Nouiter in lucem data: iudeorum secreta* [*Recently Brought into the Light: The Secrets of the Jews*] in Denmark in 1516)⁶⁵ and contamination from Lutheran Reformation thought (for example, as expressed in Luther's *Von den Jüden und iren Lügen* [*On the Jews and their Lies*] and *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi* [*Of the Unknowable Name and the Generations of Christ*], both published in 1543).⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Although it is not included in detail in this study as it has been treated comprehensively elsewhere (see Jonathan Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*), Ræff's publication along with other works from between 1515 and the Reformation, such as the OSw. paraphrase of parts of the Old Testament in SKB A 1, will be referred to occasionally if they elucidate an important aspect of medieval Catholic attitudes towards Jews that is only touched upon in other sources. However, generally, and particularly for Sweden, more work still needs to be undertaken on the description of Jews in works from the time of the Reformation in Scandinavia. The only study currently available concerns Denmark: Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge*, 157–375.

⁶⁶ Thomas Kaufmann, *Luther's Jews: A Journey into Anti-Semitism*, trans. Lesley Sharpe and Jeremy Noakes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), with further references in sources and bibliography, 172–86.

The texts for investigation are selected from vernacular literature;⁶⁷ such works were usually aimed at a broader audience than just those able to read and understand Latin, and therefore better demonstrate the widespread attitudes, beliefs, and assumptions that cut across society than do the authoritative writings in Latin of the religious establishment.⁶⁸ Much “finer” literature, particularly in medieval Denmark, was composed or copied in Latin, for example, Saxo’s *Gesta Danorum*,⁶⁹ but such works are not representative of the literary mores of medieval Scandinavia nor can they be considered as good examples of the embedment of the image of the Jew within popular culture. Furthermore, we cannot be certain that those medieval Latin works that are extant today in Denmark and Sweden, were either written in Scandinavia or intended for a Scandinavian audience. We do, however, know that East Norse vernacular literature was written by and for Scandinavians and that it was the principal source of entertainment and instruction, and as such, the conception of the Jew that emerged from it reflects one of the basic convictions of the Danes and Swedes. In Volume 2, I have edited and translated 54 different texts distributed in 27 manuscripts and two early books (11 in ODa., 17 in OSw., and one in Lat.) that include stories about or descriptions of Jews.⁷⁰ These texts are simply ordered alphabetically by title. Each text may appear in more than one language or version (“text witness”) and be found within different genre contexts.

Table 1.1: A list of edited vernacular texts with manuscripts sorted by language.

Text	ODa.	OSw.
1. <i>A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven</i>		LSB T 181
2. <i>A Jew Predicts St Basil’s Death</i>		UUB C 528
3. <i>A Pregnant Jewish Woman’s Father Converts</i>		SKB A 110
4. <i>A Sermon for Good Friday</i>	<i>AlleEpoCeu</i>	

⁶⁷ However, due to a lack of alternative vernacular sources and to the importance of this case, I do make use of a Latin text as my principal source in Chapter 10: *The Jewish Plot to Destroy All Christendom*, pp. 486–517.

⁶⁸ Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 12–14.

⁶⁹ *Gesta Danorum* makes no mention of Jews.

⁷⁰ For the entire study in this book, I have consulted and quoted from almost 130 manuscripts in ODa., OSw., Lat., MLG, and MHG. A full list can be found at the end of the Bibliography in Volume 2.

Table 1.1 (continued)

Text	ODa.	Osw.
5. <i>A Sermon for Passion Sunday</i>	DKB GKS 1390 4 ^o	AMS AM 787 4 ^o ; SKB A 27
6. <i>Esther</i>		SKB A 108
7. <i>Jerusalem in The Travels of Sir John Mandeville</i>	SKB M 307	
8. <i>Jesus Raises a Jew from the Dead</i>	<i>JesuBarndB</i>	
9. <i>Judith</i>		SKB 108
10. <i>Mary of Bethezuba</i>	<i>AlleEpoCeu</i>	SKB A 108; UUB C 528; SRA E 8900
11. <i>Petronia and the Ring</i>	<i>AlleEpoCeu</i>	SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
12. <i>Sermons for the Feast of the Circumcision</i>		LSB T 181; UUB C 56
13. <i>St Barnabas and the Jews</i>		SKB A 3; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
14. <i>St Gamaliel the Elder Speaks to Lucian the Priest</i>		SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
15. <i>St James the Great and the Sorcerer Hermogenes</i>		SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
16. <i>St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew</i>		SKB A 34; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
17. <i>St James the Just and the Jews of Jerusalem</i>		SKB A 34; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
18. <i>St Macarius and the Talking Skull</i>		SKB A 108; SRA E 8900; UUB C 35; UUB C 528
19. <i>St Sylvester and the Disputation with the Twelve Jewish Scholars</i>		SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
20. <i>The Antichrist</i>		SKB A 108
21. <i>The Chains of St Peter</i>		SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
22. <i>The Clay Birds</i>	<i>JesuBarndB</i>	
23. <i>The Converted Jew and the Devil</i>		LSB Saml. 1 a; SKB D 3
24. <i>The Disputation and the Miracle</i>		UUB C 35
25. <i>The Emperor Hadrian</i>		SRA E 8900; UUB C 528

Table 1.1 (continued)

Text	ODa.	OSw.
26. <i>The Emperor Vespasian and Titus</i>	<i>AlleEpoCeu</i>	SKB A 108; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
27. <i>The Enclosed Jews</i>	SKB A 109; SKB M 307	SKB A 108; SKB D 4
28. <i>The Fifteen Places</i>	<i>JesuPassV</i> ; AMS AM 21 4 ^o ; DKB NKS 129 4 ^o	SKB A 49; SKB A 118
29. <i>The Finding of the Holy Cross</i>		SKB A 108; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
30. <i>The Flying Host and the Jew's Son</i>		SKB A 110
31. <i>The Helmeted Preface</i>	DKB Thott 8 2 ^o	
32. <i>The Hermit and the Jewess</i>		LSB T 180; LSB T 181
33. <i>The Host Desecration</i>		SKB A 110
34. <i>The Jew and the Lightning Strike</i>		SKB A 110
35. <i>The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold</i>		SKB A 108; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
36. <i>The Jew at the Devils' Council</i>		SKB A 108; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
37. <i>The Jew, the Axe, and St Nicholas</i>		SKB A 110
38. <i>The Jew, the Fish, and the Host</i>		SKB A 110
39. <i>The Jew, the Host, the Devil, and the Sieve</i>		SKB A 110
40. <i>The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier</i>		SKB A 34; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
41. <i>The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon</i>		SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
42. <i>The Jewish Boy in the Oven</i>		LSB T 180, LSB T 181; SKB A 34; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
43. <i>The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ</i>		SKB A 108; SKB A 110; LSB T 180
44. <i>The Life of Judas Iscariot</i>		SKB A 108; UUB C 528
45. <i>The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery</i>		LSB B 70 a

Table 1.1 (continued)

Text	ODa.	OSw.
46. <i>The Merchant's Surety</i>		LSB T 180
47. <i>The Pilgrims' Guide to the Holy Land</i>	AMS AM 792 4 ^o	
48. <i>The Punishment of the Jews</i>		SKB A 108
49. <i>The Stoning of St Stephen</i>	<i>AlleEpoCeu</i>	UUB C 56
50. <i>The Three Young Men in the Oven</i>	UUB C 529	SKB A 108
51. <i>The Virgin Mary Releases and Converts a Jewish Prisoner</i>		SKB A 110
52. <i>Theophilus and the Devil</i>		SKB A 34; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
54. <i>Yael</i>		SKB A 108

Table 1.2: A list of all text numbers consulted in this study grouped by language and genre.

	ODa.	OSw.	Lat.
Bible	31		
Devotional literature	8, 22, 27, 28, 50	6, 9, 10, 18, 20, 26, 27, 28, 29, 35, 36, 43, 44, 48, 50, 54	
Legendary		2, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 25, 26, 29, 35, 36, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 52	
Letter			53
Miracle (collection)		3, 23, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 43, 51	
Romance		27	
Sermon	4, 5, 10, 11, 26, 49	1, 5, 12, 18, 24, 32, 42, 43, 46, 49	
Travel	7, 27, 47		

As can be seen more clearly in Figure 1.1, there is a preponderance of texts written in OSw. with nearly four times as much OSw. compared to ODa. material being used. This is due to the fact that there are so few relevant texts from legendaries and miracle collections in ODa. as well as the larger number of extant texts in OSw. compared to ODa. generally.

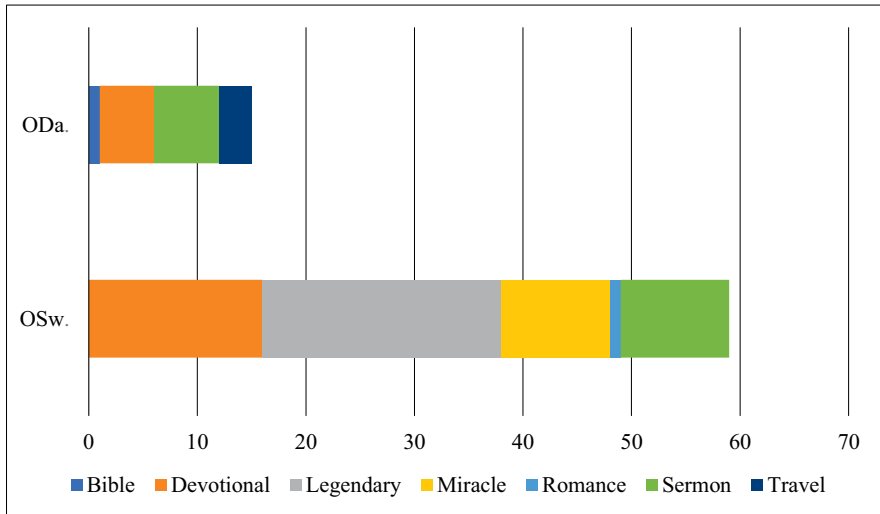


Figure 1.1: The number of text witnesses and genres in ODa. and OSw. used in this study.

Table 1.3: A list of all manuscripts consulted in this study grouped by library/archive and language.

	ODa.	OSw.	Lat.
AMS	AM 21 4 ^o (1475–1500) AM 792 4 ^o (1475–1500)	AM 787 4 ^o (1400–1500)	
DKB	GKS 1390 4 ^o (c. 1450) NKS 129 4 ^o (1700s) Thott 8 2 ^o (1475–1500)		
LSB		B 70 a (c. 1525) Saml. 1 a (c. 1500) T 180 (1400–1500) T 181 (1450–1500)	

Table 1.3 (continued)

	ODa.	OSw.	Lat.
SKB	A 109 (c. 1425)	A 3 (1502)	
	M 307 (1434/44)	A 27 (1450–1500)	
		A 34 (c. 1350)	
		A 49 (1420–30)	
		A 108 (1400–50)	
		A 110 (1385–)	
		A 118 (1450–1500)	
		D 3 (1476)	
		D 4 (1400–50)	
SLUB			Mscr. Dresd. A 59 (c. 1434)
SRA		E 8900 (1450–70)	
UUB	C 56 (1400–1500)	C 35 (1475–1500)	
	C 529 (c. 1425)	C 528 (1400–50)	
Printed works	<i>AlleEpoEu</i> (1515)		
	<i>JesuBarndB</i> (1508)		

It will be noticed again that among all the manuscripts consulted in this study, there are fewer sources in Old Danish than in Old Swedish. This is particularly noticeable for the earlier period until c. 1450–75 for which manuscripts in Old Swedish predominate. In this study I have always consulted the original medieval manuscripts and early prints. References to scholarly editions have been included where they are available.

There is an important caveat for any study of the transmission of ideas and beliefs using medieval Scandinavian manuscripts and incunabula, viz. the issue of artefact survival. Due to the consequences of war, fires (especially the Copenhagen fire of 1728), the Reformation’s destruction of Catholic works, and general poor care and preservation, there is not a wealth of surviving vernacular texts in Denmark and Sweden when compared, for example, with the vast corpora in England, France, Germany, and Italy. The extant corpus may thus not be representative of what was actually being written and read in the Middle Ages but rather these texts are remnants that reflect the tastes and interests of later collectors and libraries or that result from the serendipitous events that led to the manuscripts’ survival. For this reason, the “archive” of medieval Scandinavian anti-Jewish stereotypes may well have been constructed after the Middle Ages and provides only a partial or opaque view of the past.

In addition, texts did not function in isolation. As methods of transmission and mass communication, didactic works such as sermons worked alongside wall paintings, church art, sculpture, and stained-glass windows (as well as orally transmitted literature, drama, and folklore).⁷¹ Both Denmark and Sweden have a rich collection of preserved medieval church wall-paintings although it goes without saying that many have been lost. The destruction wrought by iconoclasm and whitewashing during and often first long after the Reformation and the problems caused by a cold, damp climate as well as earlier poor maintenance and restoration have all had repercussions to this day with the majority of Catholic artworks lost to us. Not only does this possibly skew our view of what was being depicted and how, but it leaves us with geographical clustering of churches with medieval art that at first sight appears to be significant but is in fact probably due to nothing more than the fact that the inventory of churches is better preserved in this area (e. g., on Gotland). Nonetheless, such visual art, both graphic and plastic, provides an invaluable insight into the creative and interpretative imaginations of medieval artists. The interaction between word and image is especially important for the preaching genre, and when looking at sermons we shall consider the role of “corroborative” church art at preaching venues. The book illustrations – manuscript illuminations and doodles and woodcuts in books – found in devotional literature such as prayer books and Passion treatises, also show how word and image interacted, reinforcing, nuancing, and communicating with one another. I have therefore incorporated art into this study in as far as it can help us read the medieval literature and help fill in any lacunae in what the texts tell us about how Jews were perceived to be. However, and I cannot stress this enough, a study of medieval art and its representation of Jews *per se* is not my intention nor have the extant images of Jews been studied methodically or comprehensively. For investigating extant representations of Jews in medieval Danish and Swedish art, I have made particular use of the online databases *kalkmalerier.dk* (<http://kalkmalerier.dk/index.php>); *Riksantikvarieämbetet* (<http://kmb.raa.se>), and *Medeltidens bildvärld* (<http://medeltidbild.historiska.se/medeltidbild/>) in addition to the aforementioned literature by int. al. Haastrup, Söderberg, Nilsén, and Bengtsson. International scholarship by Ruth Mellinkoff, Heinz Schreckenberg, Debra Higgs Strickland, and Sara Lipton has also proved invaluable.⁷²

⁷¹ Unfortunately, it is not possible to recreate the gestures, body expressions, and voice intonations that would have accompanied orally performed works, such as sermons and poems.

⁷² Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die Juden in*

The book has been written for a broad audience and should be of interest to both students and researchers of the history of the Middle Ages, of antisemitism, and of Jewish–Christian relations; to philologists of medieval Danish and Swedish, and of manuscript culture; to theologians and those working with the history of religion; to literary and art historians; and, finally, to curious readers who would like to know more about interfaith relations and the representation of Jews in older Scandinavian texts. As such, it contains information about Jew-hatred in the Middle Ages that may appear self-evident to some historians, as, indeed, may explanations of medieval language, literature, and manuscripts to some philologists. Likewise, it contains descriptions of aspects of Christianity or Judaism that some readers may find superfluous. I am merely trying to provide explanations of technical or religious terms and phenomena for whomever might need them. For those interested in following up some of the themes in this book, a comprehensive bibliography has also been provided at the end of Volume 2.

der Kunst Europas: ein historischer Bildatlas (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014).

2 Jews in Medieval Denmark and Sweden

Jewish–Scandinavian encounters abroad

A fundamental aspect concerning the representations of Jews in medieval Scandinavian manuscripts and books is the fact that there was not and never had been a resident Jewish population in the lands where these texts were produced. Yet even though there were no Jews living in Scandinavia, Danes and Swedes would have had opportunities to meet Jews abroad from the Viking Age on. For example, Swedish Vikings would have traded with Jewish merchants in Khazaria, a Turkic khaganate at the crossroads between eastern Europe and southwestern Asia.¹ Many Jewish communities lived there, and it appears that the ruling elite converted to Judaism during the eighth century. Khazaria lay on the major trade routes to the Arabian lands and the Khazars controlled much of the River Volga placing a tax on goods travelling through their territory. We know from runic inscriptions that Vikings travelled and sought wealth in this part of the world and the River Volga was used for transporting goods to and from Scandinavia. Seven extant runestones make explicit mention of **sirklant**, that is *Særkland*, while alluding to travels to the east.² In spite of its obvious similarity to “Saracen land,” there is no scholarly consensus where *Særkland* is.³ The name may derive from the city

1 On Khazaria and Judaism, see Douglas Morton Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954); Peter B. Golden, “Khazaria and Judaism,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 3 (1983): 127–56; Peter B. Golden, “The Conversion of the Khazars to Judaism,” in *The World of the Khazars: New Perspectives*, ed. Peter B. Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai, and András Roná-Tas, Handbook of Oriental Studies Section, vol. 8, Uralic and Central Asian Studies, vol. 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 123–62. For written sources (with facsimiles) on the Khazars, see Peter B. Golden, *Khazar Studies: An Historical-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, 2 vols, Bibliotheca orientalis Hungarica, vol. 25 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980); and on Hebrew documents, see Norman Golb and Omeljan Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982). On Vikings and Khazars, see Hugo Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1924), 2–7; Hugo Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1964), 9–12; Richard Cole, “The Jew Who Wasn’t There: Studies on Jews and their Absence in Old Norse Literature” (PhD thesis, Harvard University, 2015), 5–7. In modern times, the myth of a Khazar origin for Ashkenazi Jews has become an antisemitic canard that aims to discredit the idea that Jews have ancestral ties to the Land of Israel: Artem Fedortchouk, “Khazars,” in *A Dictionary of Jewish–Christian Relations*, ed. Edward Kessler and Neil Wenborn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 252.

2 *Sammordisk rundatabas*: G 216, Sö 131, Sö 179, Sö 279, U 439, and U 785.

3 Diana Whaley, “Skaldic Poetry,” in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 494n2; Judith Jesch, “Geography and

of Sarkel, a commercial centre in the land of the Khazars,⁴ or from the East Norse word *særker*, “shirt” or “sark” (cf. Old Norse *serkr*), and thus ultimately from Latin *sericum*, “silk,” referring either to the silk-producing lands or the clothes worn by the inhabitants.⁵ More evidence of contact with Jews in Khazaria can be found in the Spillings Hoard, the largest Viking silver treasure ever found. Hidden under the floorboards of an outhouse in the ninth century, the hoard of 67 kg of silver and 20 kg of bronze was discovered in 1999 on the island of Gotland. Among its more than 14,000 coins was a Khazarian coin dated to 838 that imitates an Arab dirham but replaces the *shahāda* – the customary Islamic formula announcing the prophethood of Muḥammad – with the phrase “Mūsā rasūl Allāh” [Moses is the Messenger of God] (cf. Deuteronomy 34:5). Four more coins cast from the same die were also found along with two variants, one of which had the phrase “arḍ al-khazar” [land of the Khazars].⁶ In Byzantium (*Miklagarðr*), also at the crossroads between Europe and Asia, Scandinavians in the Varangian guard – the elite guards of the emperor – would have encountered Jews who were active in trade in south-eastern Europe and Crimea,⁷ although we should note that none of the sagas featuring Varangians – such as *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* (in *Heimskringla*), *Saga Játvarðar konungs hins helga*, or *Laxdæla saga* – actually mentions Jews in any way.

Jews had lived in Normandy since Roman times, and there is no reason to assume they disappeared from there during Danish-Norman rule.⁸ Indeed, in a starr (שטר, *štar* [receipt given upon payment of a debt]) dated 29 September 1176, a century after the Viking Age ended, the English Jewish financier Aaron of Lincoln (c. 1125–86) mentions a certain “Deulecresse de Danemarchia.” Deulecresse [God increase him] is a Norman French translation of the Hebrew names Gedaliah (גדליה [God has become great]), and it is thus far more probable that *Danemar-*

Travel,” in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 124–36.

4 Gunnar Jarring, “Serkland,” *Namn och bygd* 71 (1983): 125–32.

5 Jonathan Shephard, “Yngvarr’s Expedition to the East and a Russian Inscribed Stone Cross,” *Saga-Book* 21 (1982–85): 235.

6 Roman K. Kovalev, “What Does Historical Numismatics Suggest about the Monetary History of Khazaria in the Ninth Century?: Question Revisited,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 13 (2004): 97–129 (esp. 112–15); Roman K. Kovalev, “Creating Khazar Identity through Coins: The Special Issue Dirhams of 837/8,” in *East Central & Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 220–51.

7 See Gertraud Rothlauf, “Vom Schtetel zum Polarkreis: Juden und Judentum in der norwegischen Literatur” (PhD thesis, Universität Wien, 2009), 50.

8 On the Jews in medieval Normandy, see Norman Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 18 with note for Normannic Jews and Vikings.

chia is here referring to the French-speaking “Danish” liminal overseas territory in Normandy, rather than Denmark.⁹ We can thus tentatively suggest that there was an unbroken settlement of Jews in Normandy from before the Viking colonization until the twelfth century.

Medieval Christian Scandinavians who undertook pilgrimages or Crusades south to the Holy Land would have encountered Jewish communities *en route* in Europe and in the Middle East.¹⁰ Unfortunately for our purposes, most extant Nordic pilgrim narratives come from Iceland and Norway; for example, the Icelandic Nikulás Bergsson’s *Leiðarvísir* that describes the route he took to Jerusalem and back (returning in 1154).¹¹ As far as Denmark and Sweden are concerned, the earliest evidence of people travelling to the Holy Land is preserved on runestones. There are three extant runic inscriptions, all from Sweden, that mention **iursala** [Jerusalem]: G 216, a late eleventh-century stone from Gotland that records the travels of two Gotlanders, Ormika and Ulhvatr, to Greece, Jerusalem, Iceland, and *Særkland*; U 136, a runestone from Broby bro in Uppland that dates to 1020–50 and was raised by Æstriðr in memory of her husband Øystæin who travelled to Greece and Jerusalem; and U 605†, a now lost (and undated) runestone from Stäket in

9 Pipe Roll, Mag. Rot. 9 Rich. I, Rot. 4. b. Everwich; see D’Bloissiers Tovey, *Anglia Judaica, or the History and Antiquities of the Jews in England* (Oxford: The Theatre, 1738), 36; Joseph Jacobs, ed., *The Jews of Angevin: Documents and Records*, English History by Contemporary Writers (London: Nutt, 1893), 58; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 29 September 1176 (England), no. 11760929001, <https://diplomatarium.dk/dokument/11760929001> [last accessed 5 April 2022].

10 A papal bull sent by Pope Innocent III (b. 1160, k. 1198–1216) to Archbishop Anders Suneson (b. c. 1167, r. 1201–28) of Lund, in which he encourages the Danes to participate in the (Fourth) Crusade, is still extant; see *Diplomatarium Danicum*, vol. 1.5, no. 29 ([April–May] 1213). It includes a prohibition on Jews taking interest on loans to Crusaders – in effect, an expectation that Jews would fund the Crusade – as well as a general ban on Christians having any form of contact with Jews under threat of excommunication: “simili cogi animaduersione mandamus · Iudeos uero ad remittendas ipsius usuras · per secularem compelli precipimus potestatem · ab uniuersis Christi fidelibus · tam in mercimoniis quam in aliis per excommunicationis sententiam · eis omnino communio denegatur” [We command that Jews are forced by secular power to waive their own interest from all faithful Christians; until they waive (the interest), these (Christians) must avoid associating with them under threat of excommunication in every way, whether in commerce or other matters]. In his *Den Danske Krønike*, begun in 1515/1516, Christiern Pedersen praises Christian I (r. 1448–81) for his crusading efforts against “then hellige christeligh troens fiender, som er Törker och Jödher Hedninge och Ketter” [the Holy Christian Faith’s enemies, who are Turks and Jews, pagans and heretics,” DKB GKS 827 2^o, f. 80r; ChrPed *Skr* V 515. On Scandinavian crusading in and pilgrimage to the Holy Land, see Paul Riant, *Skandinavernes Korstog og Andagtsreiser til Palæstina (1000–1350)* (Copenhagen: J. H. Schubothes Boghandel, 1868).

11 His *itinerarium* is preserved in DAS AM 194 8^o (dated 1387) among other manuscripts. For an edition, see Ericus Christianus Werlauff, *Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Ævi ex Monumentis Islandicis* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1821), 1–54.

Uppland that commemorates Ingirun who wanted to travel east to Jerusalem.¹² From other written sources, we also know of Swedes who undertook pilgrimages:¹³ Kol, bishop of Linköping, went to the Holy Land and died by the tomb of Christ towards the end of the twelfth century;¹⁴ Ragnhild travelled to Jerusalem in 1130;¹⁵ Gisle Petersson travelled there in the 1220s;¹⁶ and St Birgitta (1303–73) journeyed to the Holy Land in the last year of her life.¹⁷ As far as Danes are concerned, we can mention King Erik Ejegod (r. 1095–1103) who died on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre (“thæn hælyæ graff”);¹⁸ Johannes Sunesøn died in Jerusalem in c. 1202;¹⁹ Niels Grevesøn travelled to Jerusalem c. 1211–14;²⁰ one Tove went to the Holy Land at the end of the twelfth century;²¹ and a certain Anders from Slagelse

12 The translations of each stone (from *Samnordisk runtextdatabas*): G 216: ‘Ormika, Ulfhvatr(?), Greece, Jerusalem, Iceland, Serkland’; U 136: ‘Æstriðr had these stones raised in memory of Øystæin, her husbandman, who attacked Jerusalem and met his end in Greece’; U 605†: ‘Ingirun(?) Harðr’s daughter, had the runes carved in memory of herself. She wants to travel to the east and abroad to Jerusalem. Fotr(?) carved the runes.’

13 For a register of recorded Scandinavian travels abroad, see Dominik Waßenhoven, *Skandinavien unterwegs in Europa (1000–1250): Untersuchungen zu Mobilität und Kulturtransfer auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, Europa im Mittelalter, vol. 8 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006).

14 The *Cronica Episcoporum Lincopensium* (quoted here from Ericus Benselius, *Monumentorum Veterum Ecclesiae Sveogothicæ* [Uppsala: Wernerianis, 1709], 118) reads: “Omside tog han sik pelegrima staaf, | Och döde wid then helga graff, | Widh iiii mindre än xijc aar | Sidan Jhesus Gutz son födder war.” [Finally, he took up the pilgrim’s staff, | And died by the Holy Tomb, | In the year 1196 | After Jesus, the Son of God, was born.]

15 Trygve Lundén, *Sveriges missionärer, helgon och kyrkogrundare: en bok om Sveriges kristnande* (Storuman: Artos, 1983), 279–88. The following inscription in Leonine verse is found on Ragnhild’s grave: “Svecorum domina Ragnildis flos sine spina, | Regni regina, pergens pedes it peregrina | Roman, Iherusalem, firmans sibi spem venialem | Ferre triumphalem tytulo crucis, et sociale...” [Ragnhild, ruler of the Svear, a flower without thorns, | Queen of the realm, goes on a pilgrimage | to Rome and Jerusalem to assure herself of a merciful hope | of carrying the cross of victory and society (...)]. Ragnhild is depicted as a pilgrim on a wall painting from c. 1350 in Enångers Church, Hälsingland.

16 *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, DS no. 842 (1428), SDHK no. 603.

17 Birgitta does mention Jews in several of her revelations, although not in the context of her travels. Nonetheless, she must surely have encountered Jews during her travels in Europe and beyond. On Jews in Birgitta’s works, see Jonathan Adams, *Lessons in Contempt: Poul Ræff’s Translation and Publication in 1516 of Johannes Pfefferkorn’s The Confession of the Jews*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vol. 581 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 29–36.

18 *Rydårbogen*, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, E don. Var. 3 8^o, f. 200r.

19 *Diplomatarium Danicum*, vol. 1.3, no. 257 (1199); *Diplomatarium Danicum*, vol. 1.4, no. 90 (1203 or later).

20 *Diplomatarium Danicum*, vol. 1.5, nos 7–8 (1211–14).

21 Riant, *Skandinavernes Korstog og Andagtsreiser til Palæstina (1000–1350)*, 416.

undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and died in 1205.²² However, none of the sources (often just a preserved legal document, such as a will) relating to any of these pilgrims mentions Jews. Even DAS AM 792 4^o, the late fifteenth-century anonymous *Pilgrims' Guide to the Holy Land* (the sole extant medieval *itinerarium peregrinorum* in East Norse), never mentions contemporaneous Jews, only New Testament ones when locating religious sites within their historical context: “where they [the disciples] sat together for fear of Jews” and “two crossbow shots away from the place where Jews wanted to steal away the body of Our Lady when she was being carried to her grave.”²³

From the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century, the most popular universities for Scandinavian students were Paris and, for canon law, Bologna, while in the fifteenth century, they headed to universities in German-speaking lands, particularly Leipzig and Rostock, but also Erfurt, Greifswald, and Prague. Some Danish and Swedish students attended Oxford and Cambridge.²⁴ Scandinavians studying at some of these universities could have seen or interacted with Jews in those cities. Cash-strapped students may have borrowed money or pawned their books to Jewish moneylenders in order to fund their studies and living expenses.²⁵ We know, for example, that so many manuscripts had been taken by Jews in pawn at Oxford in 1244 that a student riot broke out.²⁶ The university chancellor, Robert

22 Martin Clarentius Gertz, *Vitae sanctorum Danorum* (Copenhagen: Selskab for Udgivelse af Kilder til dansk Historie, 1908–12), 410–18 (esp. 417–18); Vicente Almazán, *Dinamarca Jacobea, historia, arte y literatura* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1995), 58.

23 “ther the sade samen for Iodhe resle,” DAS AM 792 4^o, f. 191vb; “tw arborstæ scud foræ stadhen ær then stædh / som Iodher wilde haue taghet war fruæs ligheme / then thidh han bars til grauæ,” DAS AM 792 4^o, f. 190vb. See Text 47: *The Pilgrims' Guide to the Holy Land*.

24 Sten Lindroth, “Universitet,” in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, vol. 19, ed. Alan Karker et al. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1956–78), cols 312–14. See also Olle Ferm and Erika Kihlman, eds, *Swedish Students at the University of Vienna in the Middle Ages*, Scripta minora, vol. 20 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 2011); Olle Ferm and Sara Risberg, eds, *Swedish Students at the University of Leipzig in the Middle Ages*, Scripta minora, vol. 21 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 2014); Robert Andrews and Olle Ferm, eds, *Swedish Students at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford in the Middle Ages*, Scripta minora, vol. 26 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 2017); Olle Ferm and Élisabeth Mornet, eds, *Swedish Students at the University of Paris in the Middle Ages I*, Scripta minora, vol. 28 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 2021); Robert Andrews and Olle Ferm, *Swedish Students at the University of Paris in the Middle Ages II: Johannes Nicolai and his Extractio de Logica Burley*, Editiones, vol. 15 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 2021).

25 This scenario is also suggested in Bjarne Berulfsen, “Antisemittisme som litterar importvare,” *Edda* 58 (1958): 140–42.

26 Rebecca Abrams, *The Jewish Journey: 4000 Years in 22 Objects from the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2017), 120.

Grosseteste, banned all further contact between students and Jews and set up a loan-chest (St Frideswide Chest) so that students could borrow money directly from the university without jeopardizing their studies by pawning their books. The situation on the continent was somewhat different to that in England, as universities did make allowances for poor students. For example, students who were without means at German universities did not have to pay lecture and graduation fees as long as they reimbursed the universities when they could afford to do so. Similarly, students at Erfurt, Freiburg, and Vienna were provided with cheap lodgings.²⁷ However, even here students often needed recourse to extra funds – student life could be exuberant, bibulous, and expensive – and there is no reason to believe that students on the continent would not also have made use of Jewish moneylenders, and so, in this way, Scandinavian students abroad could also have met Jews in their university towns.

Jewish–Scandinavian encounters at home

There were thus opportunities for Swedes and Danes to encounter Jews abroad from the Viking Age to the Late Middle Ages, but we know of not one single Jewish community in Scandinavia proper even though no medieval law prohibiting Jews from entering or settling here has been preserved. A fifteenth-century Danish manuscript of ecclesiastical writings does include Jews, alongside pagans and heretics, among its list of those to be refused the protection and sanctuary of the Church: “Tesse effter screffne forbywder then helghe kerke syn hegn oc besker-melse The førsthe ære jøder hetninghe oc kettere [...]” [The Church refuses its protection and defence to the following: Jews, pagans and heretics (...)].²⁸ At first glance, it may seem that this could be evidence of Jews living in the country, but the list of those to be excluded is probably nothing more than a stock phrase translated from some now lost Latin original;²⁹ indeed, there were, as far as we know, no pagans (“hetninghe”) to be refused sanctuary in Denmark at the time either. The only suggestion of a sizeable Jewish community in Denmark during the

²⁷ Laurence W. B. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 37.

²⁸ Paul Diderichsen, *Fragmenter af Gammeldanske Haandskrifter*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz Forlag, 1936), 179, 402–403. This list of whom the Church refuses her protection is found on the empty section of the last page of DAS AM 683 a 4^o, a Latin manuscript (just three folios) containing *benedictiones* and *exorcismi*. The text is without parallel in the extant ODa. corpus.

²⁹ The phrase cannot, however, be found in the section “De immunitate ecclesiarum” of the *Liber extravagantium decretalium*, 3.49.

Middle Ages is a rather curious comment in Johannes Pfefferkorn's *Ich heuß eyn buchlijn der iuden beicht* (the German edition of *The Confession of the Jews*) that mentions an earlier expulsion of Jews from Denmark: "[...] Jews have existed and lived in many other towns and countries such as France, Spain, Denmark and [...] Nuremberg, Ulm, Nördlingen and others, who have now all been expelled."³⁰ Pfefferkorn is here claiming that Jews had once been resident in Denmark. However, neither the book's Latin version (*Libellus de Judaica confessione* published weeks after the German edition) nor its Danish translation (*Nouiter in lucem data* from 1516) mentions this settlement and subsequent expulsion. Church historians Martin Schwarz Lausten and Hans-Martin Kirn both agree that the reference to a Danish expulsion is not evidence of Jewish settlement in Denmark but should merely be considered as an expression of the Judaeophobic sentiment prevalent at the time.³¹ It could, of course, just as well be a straightforward mistake on the part of the author or printer that was corrected in the following editions.³²

Nonetheless, there were possibly Jewish traders, merchants, or envoys passing through Danish or Swedish territories during the Middle Ages. Indeed, we know of the Sephardi Jewish traveller, Avraham ben Ya'akov, from Tortosa, who wrote a somewhat unflattering description of the town Hedeby (*Shalash-wiq*, Schleswig) and his meeting with the residents there in about 962 CE. His account provides a unique snapshot of social life in the Viking-Age town: the

30 "[...] in vil enderen steden vnd lande als Franckreich Spanien Denmarck vnd [...] Nurenberg Vlm Noerlingen etc. juden gewest vnd gewoenet haben die nun mit eyn ander verdryben seyn," Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Ich heuß eyn buchlijn der iuden beicht* (Cologne: Johannes Landen, 1508), f. d1v. Johannes Pfefferkorn (1469–1521) was a Moravian Jewish convert to Christianity who published many pamphlets attacking Jewish beliefs and religious texts. On his writings, see Hans-Martin Kirn, *Das Bild vom Juden im Deutschland des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts: Dargestellt an den Schriften Johannes Pfefferkorns* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1989); Ellen Martin, *Die deutschen Schriften des Johannes Pfefferkorn: Zum Problem des Judenhasses und der Intoleranz in der Zeit der Vorreformation* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1994); Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*; Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, eds, *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews: Johannes Pfefferkorn and Christian Writings about Jewish Life and Literature in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017).

31 Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge: Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi (ca. 1100 – ca. 1700)*, Kirkehistoriske studier, vol. 3, no. 1 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1992), 110–11, and Hans-Martin Kirn (pers. comm. cited in Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge*, 111n5).

32 It may be possible that the confusion is due to the Latin name for Denmark and Sweden (*Dacia*) also being used to refer to parts of Romania, although there were not in fact any expulsions from Romania at this time either. On the contrary, the country served as a refuge for Jews expelled from Hungary during the second half of the fourteenth century. It should be noted that in addition to its formidable anti-Jewish polemical bias, Pfefferkorn's works contain innumerable factual errors besides this one.

inhabitants' sacrificial practices, their food, cases of infanticide, their cosmetics, and their dreadful singing: "worse even than the barking of dogs."³³ Avraham was probably not the last such visitor to Denmark, but it is, of course, highly unlikely that such fleeting contact between individuals had any influence on later ideas about Jews and Judaism. Other, somewhat more contentious evidence in Scandinavia – this time in the west – of contact with Jewish culture includes a runic inscription from Greenland that some have argued demonstrates a degree of familiarity with biblical Hebrew lexicon. A medieval wooden cross (GR 13) from Herjolfsnes (modern-day Ikigaat in Kujalleq, southernmost Greenland) and now in the Danish National Museum (D 10639) has the following inscription: "māria : iloih . . [io] ioānis fāþiir | isu tius mius iloi ok sunr ok anti" [Mary, *Eloihim*, (John,) John, father | Jesus, my God, *Eloi*, and the son and the spirit].³⁴ The Hebrew (or rather, Aramaic) אֱלֹהֵי (*Eloi*) is of course known from Mark 15:34 (cf. Psalm 21:2 *DRB*, 22:1 *KJV*) and is thus part of the Christian biblical lexicon, along with other words such as *hosanna*, *hallelujah*, *sabaoth*, and *amen*, and is hardly evidence of Hebrew scholarship.³⁵ Most examples of "Hebraism" in the runic material concern the use of the magic formula *AGLA* in around thirty inscriptions.³⁶ According to Jewish superstition, this kabbalistic acronym or *noṭriḱon*³⁷ for אַתָּה גִּבּוֹר לְעוֹלָם אֲדֹנָי (atah *gibbor le-'olam adonai* [You are mighty forever, O Lord]) was used to gain

33 F. Donald Logan, *The Vikings in History*, 3rd edn (New York: Routledge, 2005), 21; Peter Engels, "Der Reisebericht des Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb (961/966)," in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westen um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin. Band I*, ed. Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991), 422; Ibn Fadlān, *Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North*, trans. Paul Lunde, intro. Caroline Stone (London: Penguin, 2012), 163. Avraham is also known by his Arabic name Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb al-Isrā'īlī aṭ-Ṭartūšī, or, especially in English-language research, simply "al-Tartushi." The stories of his travels are preserved in *أثار البلاد وأخبار العباد* [*Athār al-bilād wa-ahbār al-'ibād*, *Monuments of the Countries and Histories of their Inhabitants*] by Zakariya ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmud al-Qazwīnī (1203–83) and *كتاب المسالك والممالك* [*Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, *The Book of Roads and Kingdoms*] by Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī (1040–94).

34 Magnus Bernhard Olsen, *Fra norrøn filologi* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1949), 55.

35 See further Dror Segev, *Medieval Magic and Magicians – in Norway and Elsewhere: Based upon 12th–15th Centuries Evidence*, Skriftserie – Senter for studier i vikingtid og nordisk middelalder, vol. 2 (Oslo: Senter for studier i vikingtid og nordisk middelalder, 2001), 113; Richard Cole, "Hebrew in Runic Inscriptions and Elsewhere," *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 11 (2015): 33–77.

36 See Mindy Macleod and Bernard Mees, *Runic Amulets and Magic Objects* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 188.

37 A *noṭriḱon* (נוטרִיקוֹן) or *notaricon*, from Gk. νοταρικόν (< Lat. *notarius* < *notarius* [a shorthand-writer]), is a system often used in kabbalah where each letter of a word corresponds to the first letter of another word, like in an acronym.

power over demons. At some point it came to be used by Christians and is actually found in more Christian spells than Jewish works. That Christians understood its acronymic formation, if not its Hebrew source, is shown by an inscription on wooden platters believed to be able to extinguish fire and found in Germany. The initials AGLA were read as “Allmächtiger Gott, lösch’ aus!” [Almighty God, extinguish].³⁸ Whether its users in the North were even aware of, let alone understood, the formula’s Hebrew origins is an open question.³⁹

It is claimed that the first registered Jew in Denmark was Jochim Jøde in 1592 in Helsingør.⁴⁰ There may, however, have been Jews living in Denmark some years before this date who arrived under false Christian names or who had undergone baptism.⁴¹ The earliest recorded Jew in Sweden is King Gustav Vasa’s doctor, Philipus Wolf: a letter dated 9 October 1557 (Västerås) describes a conflict between “these doctors of ours, doctor Kop and that Jew” (“desse våre medicos, doktor Kop och den juden.”)⁴² We do, nonetheless, find what appears to be the word “Jew” (ODa. *juthe*; OSw. *iube*) used as a byname in various earlier, medieval registers and documents. From Denmark, we have “Johannis Jødis” (Jutland, 1248); “Jacobus Jøthæ” (Copenhagen, c. 1370); “Iacop Yode” (Lund, end of fourteenth century); “Jacob Jothe” (Lund; 1425), and “Anders Iøe” and “Matz Iøæ” (Tranekær, 1500–02).⁴³ However, personal names – nicknames and bynames in particular – can be difficult to interpret, and there is no reason to assume that these men were necessarily Jews.⁴⁴ Indeed, Jacob Jothe has the epithet “borgare” [burgher] of Lund

38 Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman’s Jewish Book House, 1939), 262.

39 Later examples of medieval Christian Hebraism in Scandinavia are discussed in the excursus in Chapter 4: *The Language of the Jews*, pp. 117–27.

40 Provincial Archives of Sjælland, Helsingør byfogedarkiv, Tingbog XIII, f. 122b: “18 Decembris Anno etc. (1592) These epterschreffne Mendt bevillgis Borgerskab till første tingh Jochim Jøde” [18 December 1592: These following men have been awarded the status of burgher at the first council meeting: Jochim the Jew]. See Karsten Christensen, “Jochim Jøde i Helsingør i 1592,” *Dansk Jødisk Historie* 24 (1987): 11–16; cf. my reservations about using anthroponyms as evidence of “Jewishness” below.

41 Per Katz, “De første jøder i Danmark,” in *Judiskt liv i Norden*, ed. Gunnar Broberg, Harald Ringblom, et al. (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1986), 96.

42 Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige*, 8.

43 Gunnar Knudsen et al., eds, *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*, vol. 2: *Tilnavne* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1964), col. 524, s. v. “Iøthe.”

44 The runestone Sö 296 in Löfstalund, Södertörn, dated to the Viking Age, begins: “oskautr : raisti : stain : þinsi : aftir * airnfast : mu...[uþur sin : sun * kuþi(k)]s [...]” [Asgautr raised this stone in memory of Ærnfastr, his maternal uncle, sun · kuþiks (...)]. In normalized Runic Swedish, these last two words are *sun Gyðings*, which looks remarkably like it means ‘son of a Jew.’ However, a more likely interpretation of the patronymic is a form of the name Gøðingr derived from the

in 1425 – it is unthinkable that a Jew at this time was able to achieve the status of burgher under Danish city regulations that granted the title only to Christians of good standing. Perhaps the bynames are merely meant as nicknames referring to the bearers' perceived Jewish behaviour or appearance, possibly based on anti-Jewish stereotypes, or perhaps these men had immigrated as Jewish converts to Christianity. Another likely explanation is that these people were from Jutland as the ODa. word *juthe/iuþe* [Jew] is orthographically and phonemically very close to the word *jute/iute* [Jute, Jutlander, someone from Jutland] (compare also, for example, “Iudland” for Jutland and “Iudhaland” for Judea).⁴⁵ Some of the names mentioned above could therefore simply be corrupt, dialectal or idiosyncratic orthographic versions of the word for Jutlander; for example, “Matz Iøæ” could be interpreted as ‘Matthew from Jutland.’⁴⁶ Such geographical bynames were extremely common; for example, in Sweden we find “Erik Sjöllandsfarare” [Sjælland], “Jens Jude” [Jutlander], “Hans Skotte” [Scot], “Peder Svenske” [Swede], and “Hans Tysk” [German].⁴⁷ Similarly, in Nyborg, Fyn, there is also a “Jødestrædhe” [Jew Street] mentioned in a source from 1537, but as with the “Jew” bynames above it is difficult to assess its relevance and meaning.⁴⁸ What we do know, however, is that

adjective *gōþr* [good]. See Lena Peterson, *Nordiskt runnamnslexikon* (Uppsala: Institutet för språk och folkminnen, 2007), 95, 101–02.

45 “Iudland” is found in *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 5 September 1425, no. 14250905001, <https://diplomatarium.dk/dokument/14250905001> [last accessed 5 April 2022]; “Iudhaland” in *Sjælens Trøst*, Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 109, f. 59v (= p. 144), edited in *SjæTrø* 111. In Ælnoth’s Latin vita of the saint-king Knut (c. 1120), he calls the Jutes (responsible for persecuting Knut) Jews. Although he does not explicitly comment on the wordplay *jutius–judeus*, it is nonetheless conspicuous. See Philip Blüdnikow, “‘O Cervix Rigida!’ Forestillinger om jøder i Ælnoths krønike” (Master’s dissertation, University of Copenhagen, 2020), 46. See also p. 62n47 below.

46 The citation-slip collection of the *Dictionary of Old Danish* (available online at <http://gammeldanskordbog.dk> [last accessed 5 April 2022]) lists several spelling variants for *jute* “Jutlander” when used in combination with a personal name, although forms with ⟨o⟩ or ⟨ø⟩ are, however, not recorded here. Another possibility is a spelling variant of *jætte* “giant,” a word which does occur with both ⟨o⟩ and ⟨ø⟩. For example, “Jwl Jøte” [Jul the Giant], Langeland, 25 October 1459; Knudsen et al., eds, *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*, vol. 2: *Tilnavne*, col. 524; “Johannem Jotæn” [John the Giant], 9 March 1311; Knudsen et al., eds, *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*, vol. 2: *Tilnavne*, col. 511.

47 Cited in Christina Rosén, *Stadsbor och bönder*, Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology, vol. 35, Skrifter: Riksantikvarieämbetet: Arkeologiska undersökningar, vol. 53 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2004), 81. For Denmark, see the following in Knudsen et al., eds, *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*, vol. 2: *Tilnavne*, cols 950–51, s. v. “Siallandsfar”; cols 518–21, s. v. “Iuti”; cols 988–89, s. v. “Skotte”; cols 1108–09, s. v. “Swensk”; cols 1132–33, s. v. “Thythisk.”

48 For a different view, see Ulla Haastrup, “Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalderkunst,” in *Danish Jewish Art: Jews in Danish Art*, ed. Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen (Copenhagen: Society for the

there is no extant archival or archaeological evidence of Jews ever having lived in this street, or, indeed, anywhere in Scandinavia at the time.

Officially, Jews were not admitted to Denmark until 1622 when Christian IV invited Sephardi Jewish goldsmiths from Amsterdam and Hamburg to take up residence in Glückstadt in the Duchy of Holstein, nor to Sweden until 1718 when Karl XII permitted Jews to settle.⁴⁹ Before this time, a Jew would have required special permission to enter either country. Although we do know that some Jews had begun arriving in Stockholm in the seventeenth century where the cathedral's records cite Jews converting, it remained illegal for Jews to live as Jews in Sweden.⁵⁰ Concerned about the consequences of Jewish immigration and the dangers of religious "contamination," King Karl XI (1655–96), as a stern reminder to the city's officials, issued a ban on Jews residing in Stockholm or anywhere else in the realm:

Såsom Consistorium här uti Stockholm Oss i underdånighet tilkänna gifwit, huru såsom någre Judar skola uppehålla sig här i Staden, och icke allenast de understå sig här att föröfwa deras Judiske Religion, utan ock ännu flere wara hit förwäntandes med hustror och barn, till den ända sig här att nedsättia, hwarutaf lätteligen kan föllja förargelse och wara att befrukta, det ett och annat missbruk uti Wår rätta Evangeliska Religion däråf kunna insmyga; Och Wi sådant hafwe tagit betänckande, och för den Konungsliga ifwer Wi alltid drage för Wår rena obesmittade lära, och på det alt tillfälle må förekommas, hwarigenom den kan råka uti någon fara, hafwe funnit för godt, det inge Judar, såsom Christi Namns och Församlings försmädare, må tillåtas här i Staden eller annorstädes i våra provincier att wistas; Altfordensskull är härmed till Eder Wår nådige willje och befallning, att I straxt låten ansäja alle här uti Stadens befindtelige Judar, det de, inom 14 dagars förlopp, sig hädan utur Staden och landet förfoga, och wid högsta straff, icke understå sig öfwer den föresatte termin här att förblifwa.⁵¹

Publication of Danish Cultural Monuments, 1999), 160n130; Ulla Haastrup, "Representations of Jews in Medieval Danish Art – Can Images Be Used as Source Material on their Own?" in *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 355–56.

⁴⁹ For a general history of Jews in Denmark, see Arthur Arnheim, *Truet minoritet søger beskyttelse: Jødernes historie i Danmark* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2015) and Cecilie Felicia Stokholm Banke et al., eds, *En Indvandringshistorie: Jøder i Danmark i 400 år* (Copenhagen: Dansk Jødisk Museum, 2018). For Sweden, see Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige*; Carl Henrik Carlsson, *Judarnas historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2021).

⁵⁰ "In 1681, for example, two Jews of Stockholm, Israel Mandel and Moses Jacob, together with their families, twenty-eight persons in all, were baptized in the German church of that city in the presence of King Charles XI, the dowager queen Ulrika Eleonora, and several high state officials," Joseph Jacobs and Gustave Lindner, "Sweden," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Isidore Singer et al., vol. 11 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906), col. 607b.

⁵¹ Stockholm City Archives, 3 December 1685, SE/SSA/0018/Överståthållarämbetets Äldre kansli/E1a:7. Cf. also the king's letter sent to the Stockholm officials just over three weeks later

[The Council here in Stockholm has humbly informed Us how some Jews are residing here in the city, and not only do they dare to practise their Jewish religion here, but even more of them are expected (to come) here with wives and children with the aim of settling here, which can easily cause anger and fear that some abuse (i. e., false belief or practice) can creep into our correct evangelical religion from this. And We have taken this into consideration, and on account of the royal zeal that We always have for our pure untainted teachings (i. e., Lutheranism) and for any circumstance that might occur whereby it can come into danger, We think it best that no Jews, being blasphemers of Christ's name and assembly, be permitted to stay here in the city or anywhere else in Our provinces. For this reason, Our gracious will and commandment to you is that you immediately inform all the Jews that are to be found in the city, that they leave the city and the country within fourteen days, and at risk of the greatest punishment do not dare to stay beyond the stated deadline.]

Even after Jewish settlement was permitted, freedoms were limited; for example, Frederik III's national law of Denmark (1651) stated that any Jew found without an entry permit would be fined one thousand *rigsdaler* – the maximum fine for any crime at the time, greater even than that for traders cheating in commerce, priests performing marriages and baptisms outside of a church building, traders opening their shops on holy days, and landowners forging their cadastres.⁵² While in Sweden, initial freedoms were tightened later in the eighteenth century so that by 1782 Jews were restricted to residing in just four cities: Gothenburg, Norrköping, Landskrona, and Stockholm. Jews who lived elsewhere in the country had to move.

Jewish writings about Scandinavia

Jewish sources have little to say about medieval Scandinavia. The *Sefer Yosippon* (ספר יוסיפון) is a chronicle of Jewish history composed in the tenth century

on 29 December 1685: “Såsom Wi hafwe förnummit, at någre Judar sig ännu här i Staden uppehålla skola, hwilka Wi ingen längre härwist wele förinna; Ty är härmed till Eder Wår nådige villje och befallning, att I sådane Judar tillsäja låten, att de ofördröjeligen packa sig utur landet.” [We have heard that some Jews are still staying here in the city, to whom we no longer wish to grant residence here; therefore, Our gracious will and command to you is that you have such Jews told that they are immediately to get out of the country], Hugo Valentin, *Urkunder till judarnas historia i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1924), 9.

52 “Befindis nogen Iøde her i Danmarck / uden Geleits-Breff / hand hafver der med forbrut et tusinde Rix daler” [If a Jew is found here in Denmark without an entry permit, he should be fined a penalty of 1000 rigsdaler], Christen Ostersen Weylle, *Tractat offver alle de Faldsmaal oc Bøder* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1652), 49.

in southern Italy.⁵³ Named after its supposed author, Josephus, this fantasy-filled rendition of *The Jewish War* has been quoted in several works as a source referring to Denmark (and Sweden).⁵⁴ The passage in question reads:

דודנים הם דנישכי היושבים תוך ערי לשונות ים אוקיאנוס בארי דינאמכבא ובארדנא בתוך ים הגדול אש נשבעו לבלתי יעבדו לרומניים ויתחבאו בתוך גלי ים אוקיאנוס ולא יכלו כי הגיע שם ממשלת רומי עד אחרית איי הים וגלי תצאו וקראוטי וסלקיי וליצפים ולוומים וכרכאר וכיזרמין ובזמין מבני דודנים חשבו והם חונים בתוך הים מגבול בולגרי עד בונדיקיא ומשם מושבים עד הגבול עד הים הגדול הם הנקראים סקלבי ואומרים אחרים שהם מבני כנען אך הם מתיחסים לבני דודנים⁵⁵

[The *Dodanim*⁵⁶ are Danisci⁵⁷ who live in towns on points of land in the regions of Dinamachba and Ardena in the middle of the Great Sea.⁵⁸ They swore not to work for the Romans and hid in the waves of the sea. But they were not successful because the Roman Empire reached to the outermost island and wave, to Tezi'o,⁵⁹ and Křo'vaři,⁶⁰ and Slaři,⁶¹ and Lizpim,⁶² and Loomim,⁶³ and Kerk'ar,⁶⁴ and Kizremim,⁶⁵ and Bazmin.⁶⁶ It was thought that the descendants of the *Dodanim* also lived on the Bulgar coast as far as Bundiřah⁶⁷ and from there they

53 See Yael Feldman, “‘Not as Sheep Led to Slaughter’? On Trauma, Selective Memory, and the Making of Historical Consciousness,” *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, new ser., vol. 19, no. 3 (2013): 139–69 (especially 154–56). For a modern annotated edition, see David Flusser, ed., ספר יוסיפון [*Sefer Yosippon*], 2 vols (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1979–81).

54 Peter Friderich Suhm, *Critisk Historie af Danmark udi den Tid, fra Odin til Gorm den Gamle: I. Bind* (Copenhagen: Berling, 1774), 157; Gotthard Deutsch and David Simonsen, “Denmark,” in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Isidore Singer et al., vol. 4 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906), col. 522a; Cole, “The Jew Who Wasn’t There,” 2015), 8–9.

55 Joseph ben-Gurion ha-Kohen, *יוסיפון בן גוריון, id est: Josephus Gorionides, sive Josephus Hebraicus: juxtà Venetam editionem, ut & eam, quæ superioribus annis Francofurti ad Mœnum typis excusa est, Latine versus & cum exemplari Constantinopolitano / cujus Partem Munsterus Basileæ editit, collatus atque notis illustratus à Johanne Friderico Breithaupto* (Gotha [Gothæ]: Jacobus Mevius, 1707), 7–9. Note that place identifications as well as Latin forms in brackets are taken from this edition.

56 That is דודנים [Rhodians, inhabitants of Rhodes]; a common variant of רודנים *rodanim*. The alternation between the forms *Dodanim* and *Rodanim* may be due to epigraphic confusion between the letters *dalet* (ד) and *resh* (ר). See further on the following page.

57 Some manuscripts have דגישכי *dagiski*.

58 The הגדול *hayam hagadol*, one of the biblical names for the Mediterranean Sea; cf. Numbers 34:6.

59 Lat. *Tezio*, probably Dalmatia.

60 Lat. *Cravothi*, probably Croatia.

61 Lat. *Selecii*, possibly an error for *Sclavi* [slaves.]

62 Lat. *Lizpim*, probably from צירפים [servants.]

63 Lat. *Loomim*, probably Liburnia.

64 Lat. *Cercar*, probably the Carpathians.

65 Lat. *Cisremim*, probably Graz.

66 Lat. *Bazmin*, probably Bosnia.

67 Lat. *Bondeciah*, possibly Venice[!].

settled as far as the coast of the Great Sea. They are called *Sklavi* (or Slavs), and others say that they are the descendants of Canaan, but they refer to themselves as the children of the *Dodanim*.]

In addition to the variation between *Dodanim* and *Rodanim* in manuscripts as well as the obvious difficulty in locating the Danes in the Balkans, it is noteworthy that *Dodanim* according to Genesis 10:4 was the fourth son of Javan (יָוָן, *yavan* [Ionia; Greece]), son of Japheth. The list of parallel nations in 1 Chronicles 1:7 has *Rodanim* in the Hebrew Bible – and consequently in the Greek Septuagint, which incidentally also has *Ῥόδιοι* (*Rhódioi*) in Genesis 10:4 – but *Dodanim* in the Latin Vulgate translation:

	Genesis 10:4	1 Chronicles 1:7
<i>JPS</i>	וּבְנֵי יָוָן אֲלִישָׁה וְתַרְשִׁישׁ כְּתִים וְדַדָּיִם:	וּבְנֵי יָוָן אֲלִישָׁה וְתַרְשִׁישָׁה כְּתִים וְרוֹדָנִים
<i>LXX</i>	καὶ υἱοὶ Ἰωσὼν· Ἐλισα καὶ Θαρσίς, Κίτιοι, Ῥόδιοι. ⁶⁸	καὶ υἱοὶ Ἰωσὼν· Ἐλισα καὶ Θαρσίς, Κίτιοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι.
<i>Vulg.</i>	Filii autem Javan: Elisa et Tharsis, Cetthim et <u>Dodanim</u> .	Filii autem Javan: Elisa et Tharsis, Cethim et <u>Dodanim</u> .
<i>DRB</i>	And the sons of Javan; Elisa, and Tharsis, Cetthim and <u>Dodanim</u> .	And the sons of Javan; Elisa, and Tharsis, Cethim, and <u>Dodanim</u> .

As in the Greek, the Samaritan Torah version of Genesis 10:4 the fourth son of Japheth appears as *Rodanim*.⁶⁹ Ezekiel 27:15 also mentions the “men of Dedan” (בְּנֵי דֶדָן), traditionally understood as referring to men of Rhodes. In conclusion, the *Dodanim* in the *Josippon* passage do not refer to Danes as can be seen both by their location in the Mediterranean area (the Great Sea) and by the long exegetical tradition of interpreting *Dodanim* as *Rodanim*, the people of Rhodes. It should also be noted that both manuscript and printed editions of *Sefer Yosippon* in general contain numerous historical errors, various misconceptions and misunderstandings, and a great many variants and changes at the hands of copyists resulting in several different compilations.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Note that Gk. Ῥόδιοι, *Rhódioi*, means ‘inhabitants of Rhodes,’ ‘Rhodians.’

⁶⁹ In Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, vol. 2: *Kommentar* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), 39 (no. 26), the authors somewhat speculatively equate the *Rodanim* with the *Dananian* in the Karatepe Inscriptions or with *Yadnâna*, perhaps Cyprus, or with Adana, a city in southern Turkey.

⁷⁰ Note that in his edition, David Flusser writes that *Dodanim* means ‘Danes’ and reads דנישכי as an Old German form (*danisc*) noting that this is not the word used by the Danes themselves (*danskr*) which, according to Flusser, suggests that the writer’s informants were German-speakers: Flusser, ed., ספר יוסיפון, 7.

The Proto-Yiddish/Middle High German heroic epic, *Dukus Horant* (דוכוס הורנט) from 1382, does, however, mention Denmark several times – it is where the protagonist of the story was born: “He [King Itene] also had a companion, who was called Horant [הורנט, *Hurənt*], who was a duke, born into wealth, from Denmark.”⁷¹ The poem belongs to the cycle of tales surrounding the characters Kudrun (Gudrun), Hagen, Hilde, and Horant, which ultimately derives from a common Germanic tradition that also had later versions in Norse and Anglo-Saxon. It narrates the quest of King Itene’s emissary, Horant, to find him a bride in Greece.⁷² Denmark is just one of several countries named that all provide the story with the vast geographical backdrop, the exotic flavour, and the mixture of myth and history, that expected in a heroic tale;⁷³ for example, “פולין” (*Pulən* [Poland]), “ציציליון” (*Zizilium* [Sicily]), “טושקן” (*Ṭuškan* [Germany]), “בֶּרְנַקְרִיךְ” (*Vrənkrič* [France]), “טרויין” (*Ṭruin* [Troy]), “קריכן לנט” (*Ḳričan lənt* [Greece]), and “שפנגן לנט” (*Špəngən lənt* [Spain]). The tale does not tell us anything about what medieval German Jews knew about Denmark. The name is being used as a literary device to denote a foreign land of adventure where heroes are born rather than an actual location.⁷⁴

71 “ער הטא אוך איינן גוילן דער ווש זיך גהיישן הורנט דער ווש איין הירצוגא ריכא גבורן אוש דינמרקט לנט” (*er haʔa auch ainən gəzilən der uuəʃ zich gəhəiʃən Hurənt / der uuəʃ ain hirzuga riča gəbəurən auʃ Dinəmərḳtən lənt*), Cambridge University Library, T.-S. 10K22, f. 21v; here adapted from Peter F. Ganz, Frederick Norman, and Salomo A. Birnbaum, eds, *Dukus Horant*, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek: Ergänzungsreihe, vol. 2 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 1964), 134.

72 For research literature on this text, see Jerold C. Frakes, *The Politics of Interpretation: Alterity and Ideology in Old Yiddish Studies* (Albany: SUNY, 1989), s.v. “Dukus Hurnt” in Index for page references; Jerold C. Frakes, ed., *Early Yiddish Texts, 1100–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 34.

73 For example, the thirteenth-century Middle High German epic *Kudrun*, a poem often compared with *Dukus Horant*, has a vast geographical setting that includes a huge array of locations, such as Ireland, Norway, India, Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, Normandy, and a “Moorish kingdom.” An expansive and exotic spatial backdrop is one of the defining features of heroic epic, but the locations rarely reflect actual places: their purpose in the epic is rather to create a sense of the mysterious and fabulous where life and landscape are different.

74 We find Denmark being used in a similar way in the Middle Dutch drama *Lanseloet van Denemarken* [Lancelot of Denmark] from c. 1350, although the protagonist is far from a hero in this tale. See Hessel Adema, ed., *Lanseloet van Denemarken gevolgd door Die hexe* (Leeuwarden: Taal & Tekon, 1994). Cf. also Shakespeare’s use of Denmark as a backdrop in *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*.

Conclusion

Although it is possible that there were fleeting encounters between Jews and Scandinavians during the Middle Ages, not least abroad, there is no credible evidence of Jewish settlement in either Denmark or Sweden before the modern period. Jews were banned from settling in Hanseatic cities and those trading cities with which Danes and Swedes had most dealings. In this way, the southern Baltic shore functioned as a bulwark. Nonetheless, the physical absence of Jews in medieval Scandinavia does not mean that this group is absent from Danish and Swedish literature, art, and thought. Initially, the Church and its teachings acted as a channel for stories and knowledge about Jews to be transmitted northwards from the cradle of Catholic Europe. By the Late Middle Ages Jews appear in both religious and profane works that clearly demonstrate the absorption of Christian ideas and polemics about Jews into Scandinavian artistic, literary, and religious culture. Descriptions of and stories about Jews abound in the extant literature, especially in didactic works (sermons) and devotional texts (prayers, miracles, legends), and also in church wall-paintings as well as altarpieces and other carvings. These Jews are fantastical constructions, remote from reality, and they largely comprise violent, ugly murderers who oppose Christ and threaten his followers.⁷⁵ Indeed, the earliest vernacular Passion tale in East Norse, an illustrated runic inscription on the (Gotlandic) baptismal font in Aakirkeby Church, Bornholm, from c. 1200, describes the Jews as binding Christ and leading him to Calvary “and here the Jews nailed him to the Cross.”⁷⁶ Thus, it is possible to say that from the earliest centuries of the Church in Scandinavia, the idea of Jewish culpability for and involvement in killing the Christian messiah was being propagated.

We see the same accusation of deicide in early Christian art too, such as the twelfth-century Romanesque wall painting in Råsted Church, Jutland. Here, Jews – identifiable by their headgear and their small stature (much used in art to represent their lowly status) – have climbed up ladders on either side of the Cross and are hammering nails into Christ’s hands.⁷⁷ These God-killing Jews later develop into even more sinister creatures who try to corrupt and destroy contem-

⁷⁵ For an overview, see Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge*, 46–156, and Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*, 5–86.

⁷⁶ “ok : (n)ehldu : hiar : ioþar : iesus : a krus,” Aakirkeby Church stone, panel 11, DR 373; Erik Brate, “En gotländsk dopfont i en kyrka på Bornholm,” *Svenska fornminnesföreningens tidskrift* 19 (1888): 62–67. On the representation of Jews on the Aakirkeby Church font, see Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*, 8–11.

⁷⁷ The image is reproduced in Jonathan Adams, “Grumme løver og menstruerende mænd,” *Rambam: Tidsskrift for jødisk kultur og forskning* 21 (2012): 83.

porary good Christians – or just teach them a good lesson. They occur in a swathe of texts from various genres and take on several different roles, such as seducers, moneylenders, iconoclasts, innocent children, learned rabbis, and manipulative leaders, all dependent upon the ultimate purpose of the text and intention of the writer. What unites these various roles is their “otherness” and their usefulness in reassuring readers about their faith, guiding them in correct beliefs and emotions, and warning them about the dangers that could corrupt them and destroy Christendom. Many of these stories are found in Latin, German, and even French originals that were translated into Danish and Swedish. However, as we shall see, these tales about Jews were sometimes adapted in different ways to make them more suitable for a Scandinavian audience.

Language

3 Writing about Jews: A Guide to East Norse Terminology

Introduction

Danish and Swedish scribes writing in the vernacular employed a variety of terms to denote Jews and who they were, what they looked like, how they behaved, what occupations they had, and so on, in order to express different attitudes towards them. These “attitudes” were dependent upon the requirements of the text being composed or, more typically, translated. So, a typological text aiming to show how Jesus was the fulfilment of the Old Testament displays a positive attitude towards Jewish persons believed to prefigure him, while a devotional text detailing the suffering of Christ on the Cross demonstrates a negative attitude towards his tormentors, the Jews. The language used to refer to and describe Jews will reflect these contrasting attitudes: in typological texts terms are neutral or even positive but in devotional texts on the Passion negative terms are used to describe the Jews and their behaviour. As the East Norse literary corpus grew to include more profane works, so too did the ways of representing Jews. From being the Christ-killing Jews of the New Testament or the Israelites and Hebrews of the Old Testament, Jews came to be depicted in broader contexts: post-biblical men and women with families, homes, and lives in Europe and beyond. Generally, however, the words to denote all these different Jews and their use are remarkably stable within their genres, and their connotations do not change over time. This is no doubt due to the relatively late development of a vernacular literature in Denmark and Sweden. By the time texts were being written, attitudes towards Jews in Christian religious and secular thought had already shifted and worsened, and Augustine’s message of tolerance was more frequently and blatantly challenged. This stands in contrast to the visual arts, the earliest of which date from before vernacular literature took hold in both Denmark and Sweden. Here we see a general deterioration in the representation of Jews from the Romanesque to the Gothic periods: a change in the visual language that is not seen in the extant written records as they all come from the later period.

That said, although different words are sometimes used to talk about the Jews of the Bible on the one hand and about non-biblical Jews on the other, there is more overlap than might be expected. Moreover, specific terms that today have a more restricted semantic field were broader; for example, many of the compound nouns that have a pejorative meaning today – “Jew-language,” “Jew-boy,” and so on – were not negatively loaded terms but simply the East Norse words used to refer to the Hebrew language and to a male Jewish child. Reverence could be

expressed through the retention and use of higher-register, literary Latin terms and morphology in vernacular texts to refer to venerable Jews (typically in stories from the Old Testament); although even here, we find Latinized terms – albeit seldomly – used in rather negative contexts (typically of the New Testament). Another important aspect of the language used for Jews is the idea of collocability: the tendency of certain words to occur together in certain sequences more often than would be expected by chance when writing about Jews. To put it differently, there are specific words that frequently occur with “Jew” but not remarkably often with other words. In some cases, the juxtaposition between certain verbs and “Jew” is so frequent that we may be seeing certain actions and behaviours that were considered to be entirely Jewish. Below are described the most common terms in East Norse texts for referring to Jews and writing about their language, appearance, and behaviour. In a few cases grammar is discussed to show how Latin – not only the language of scholarship and the Church, but also of the original texts from which some of the East Norse works are translated – affects the syntax and morphology of words such as *judei* [Jews] and *hebrei* [Hebrews] in vernacular texts.

The people

The members of the ethnoreligious group *Jews* are referred to as Hebrews, Israelites, Judeans, and Jews in vernacular texts. The difference between the terms mirrors the distinction found in the Old Testament (Hebrews, Israelites, Judeans) and the New Testament (Jews) and usually reflects the usage in the Latin source texts.

Hebrei [Hebrews]

In ODa. works, the word *hebrei* [Hebrews] occurs only in the plural (i. e., never as **hebreus*) and is limited to *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse* [*The Old Danish Translation of the Old Testament*] preserved in DKB Thott 8 2^o (1475–1500). An important source for terminology about Jews in an Old Testament context, *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse* is a rather unusual text for several reasons, not least its sheer length (319 extant folios) and its peculiar linguistic form.¹ The trans-

¹ On *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse*, see Bodil Ejrnæs, *Gammeldansk Bibel: Studier i en dansk bibeloversættelse fra middelalderen* (Copenhagen: Eksistensen, 2019); Pål Dahlerup, *Dansk*

lation has been undertaken according to the principle of *verbum de verbo* and thus closely follows the Latin of the Vulgate in terms of syntactical and morphological constructions and the result can at times be difficult to decipher. For this reason, it does not represent typical late fifteenth-century Danish grammar or lexicon but is, in fact, a unicum. In the *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse*, the ODa. noun *hebrei* [Hebrews] is usually declined according to Latin morphology (and even syntax with regard to choice of grammatical case and sometimes the order of constituent elements):

forthy j styldom ær jæk lønlighe fōrdh aff hebreorum landh²
 [For in secret I was stolen away from the Hebrews' land]
quia furto sublatus sum de terra Hebraeorum (Genesis 40:15 *Vulg.*)

j skwlæ ey thiænæ hebreis³
 [you should not serve the Hebrews]
ne serviatis Hebraeis (1 Samuel 4:9 *Vulg.*)

to ok tywæ boghstawe wære hoos hebreos⁴
 [the Hebrews have twenty-two letters]
viginti et dua litteras esse apud Hebraeos (Jerome's Preface to the Books of Samuel and Kings *Vulg.*)

litteratur: Middelalder, vol. 1: *Religiøs litteratur* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1998), 535–40; Niels Haastrup, “En latinsk bibel på dansk. Omkring Thott 8 2^o, den ældste danske bibeloversættelse fra slutningen af 1400-tallet,” in *Levende ord & lysende billeder: Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark. Essays*, ed. Erik Petersen (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 1999), 173–84.

2 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 27ra; *GldBib* M 83. Note: “hebreorum”: genitive plural. The morphology and declension are Latin (cf. *Hebraeorum* in the Vulgate), but the syntax (modifier + head) is Danish: “hebreorum landh”; cf. Lat. *terra Hebraeorum*.

3 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 214va; *GldBib* I 39. Note: “hebreis”: dative plural (cf. Lat. *Hebraeis*). The ODa. verb *thjane* [to serve] originally took a dative object. However, the Danish case system collapsed during the Middle Ages and many previously differently declined forms merged. During the last quarter of the fifteenth century, from when the manuscript dates, we would expect that after *thjane*, a noun would be in the accusative case as the dative marking of nouns had largely disappeared by this point. For example: “Hwo der tien altered_{acc.} han skall och leffue aff altered” [He who serves the altar shall live from the altar], *ChrPed Skr* II 467; “ok swennen skal thiænæ bonden_{acc.}” [and the lad shall serve the farmer], *Skræer* II 74 § 18 (28 July 1430 Malmø); “rawen oc kolp [...] tiænæ sin scaper_{acc.}”; cf. Lat. *creatori_{dat.} suo_{dat.} subservientes* [The raven and the crow (...) serve their creator], *Suso ODa.* 179. As *thjane* takes the accusative in Danish by this time, we would expect the accusative form “hebreos” (Lat. *hebraeos*) here. However, in the example, a dative form (“hebreis”) has been used as if the word follows the syntax of a Latin sentence where it is preceded by *servio* [to serve] (+ dative) rather than a fifteenth-century Danish one.

4 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 210rb; *GldBib* I 1. Note: “hebreos”: accusative plural (cf. Lat. *Hebraeos*). Both the Latin (*apud*) and the Danish (*hos*) prepositions take the accusative case.

The use of Latin morphology in the Danish reflects both the source language and the metalanguage (Latin) used in translating religious texts. It is not unusual to find Latin words in ODa. texts inflected as if the entire context were Latin rather than vernacular, creating an explicit Latin influence on the ODa. text. The phenomenon is most common in religious works translated from Latin and in legal charters where Latin for a long time served as the working language.⁵ This is why a dative (*hebreis*) is used after *thjane* [to serve] in “thiænæ hebreis,” where an accusative is expected: Latin requires the dative case after the verb *servio* (equivalent of *thjane*).⁶

Occasionally the Latinized form is glossed with the vernacular adjective (*hebraisk*), possibly because the word *hebrei* was difficult for the translator to decline in a natural way, it was considered too foreign, abstruse, or affected, or this use of pleonasm was simply considered the desired technique for translating from Latin:

*thet ær egyptis folk wloffligt ædhæ meth hebreis ællær hebraiske*⁷
 [it is forbidden for the Egyptian people to eat with the Hebrews or Hebrew (people)]
illicitum est enim Ægyptiis comedere cum Hebraeis (Genesis 43:32 *Vulg.*)

*Hon miskundedhe thet ok sagdhe Thet ær eth aff hebreorum / ællær hebraiskes børn*⁸
 [She felt compassion for him and said, “He is one of the Hebrews’ or Hebrew (people)’s children.”]
miserta ejus, ait: De infantibus Hebraeorum est hic (Exodus 2:6 *Vulg.*)

It will be noted in the two examples above that the adjective appears to have undergone nominalization, i. e., *hebraisk* is treated as a noun, ‘(a) Hebrew’: “hebraiske” [Hebrews, Hebrew people]; “hebraiskes” [Hebrews’, Hebrew people’s]. This nominalized form is also found in other texts, such as Christiern Pedersen’s (c. 1480–1554) *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* [*The Book of Miracle Sermons*] first

⁵ See Jonathan Adams, “*In Danico Dicitur*: Glossing in Danish Manuscripts,” *Scandinavian Studies* 82, no. 2 (2010): 117–58.

⁶ See note 3 in this chapter.

⁷ DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 30va; *GldBib* M 94. Note: “hebraiske” appears in a nominative or accusative form rather than in the dative case as we would expect after the preposition *mæth* [with]. This is probably because after *cum* [with], Latin requires the ablative – a case that does not exist in ODa. Rather than deferring to Latin syntax, the grammatical incongruence between Latin and Danish results in a default nominative/accusative vernacular form here. However, the preceding *hebreis* is both a dative and ablative plural form.

⁸ DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 36va; *GldBib* M 114.

printed in Paris in 1515 and that is a considerably more idiomatic work than *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse*:⁹

Denne Epistell screff den verdighe apostell Sancte Pouild til de hebraisker¹⁰
[The worthy apostle St Paul wrote this epistle to the Hebrews]

effter hebraiskess sedwane¹¹
[in accordance with (the) Hebrews' customs]

This would suggest that there was no noun form for “a Hebrew” in ODa. and the translator followed the usage in Latin where *hebraeus* has a double function and can be both adjective and noun.¹²

The OSw. sources present a greater degree of variation and generally the translations of Latin *hebraeus* are more successful than in *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse*. Here, *hebrei* is either treated as a vernacular word or replaced by a native adjective + noun construction instead. For example, in a text describing the blessing of the Easter candles found in SKB A 3 (1502), a composite manuscript from Vadstena,¹³ *hebrei* has been declined as if a native OSw. word:

som rowadhe oc skinnadhe egyptana och rika giordhe / hebreana¹⁴
[who robbed and plundered the Egyptians and made the Hebrews rich] (Cf. Exodus 12:36)

Far more commonly, however, the Latin noun *hebraeus* is translated with the OSw. adjective (*hebrezker*) + a noun (and OSw. syntax). The following examples are taken from the OSw. Bible translations – often referred to as *Pentateukparafrasen*

⁹ On *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*, see Carl J. Brandt, *Om Lunde-kanniken Christiern Pedersen og hans Skrifter* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1882), 60–81; Tue Gad, *Legenden i dansk Middelalder* (Copenhagen: Dansk Videnskabs Forlag, 1961), 265–70; Jens Anker Jørgensen, *Humanisten Christiern Pedersen: En præsentation* (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 2007), 64–71; Jonathan Adams, “Christiern Pedersen’s *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*: Reading a Catholic Text in the Danish Reformation,” in *Circulating the Word of God in Medieval and Early Modern Catholic Europe: Preaching and Preachers across Manuscript and Print (c. 1450 to c. 1550)*, ed. Veronica O’Mara and Patricia Stoop, Sermo, vol. 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022).

¹⁰ ChrPed *AlleEpocEu*, f. 108r [cii]; ChrPed *Skr* I 317. This form “hebraisker” appears to be a full nominalization: the nominal has a plural suffix *-er* as only used with nouns.

¹¹ ChrPed *AlleEpocEu*, f. 105v [xcix]; ChrPed *Skr* I 309.

¹² On the nominalization of adjectives in OSw. (there is no such work for ODa.), see Carl-Eric Thors, *Substantivering av adjektiv i fornsvenskan* (Helsinki: Mercator, 1949), esp. 236 (*hebreiska manna*) and 290 (*grezske*).

¹³ On this manuscript, see *BonavBetrakt* ix–xxiii; *WHPinobok* ix–xxv.

¹⁴ SKB A 3, f. 59ra; *WHPinobok* 117; *SvKyrkobr* 318. Note: “hebreana”: The form is declined as an OSw. accusative plural in the definite form.

[*The Pentateuch Paraphrase*], even though it contains other books of the Old Testament than the Five Books of Moses – found in two Vadstena manuscripts: SKB A 1 (1526) and DKB Thott 4 4^o (1430–40).¹⁵

oc sidhan later hon op karith / oc hither a smaswenin oc thænker thaghar / [...] at thet barn monde wara aff hebreiskum barnom¹⁶

[And then she has the basket lifted up and finds the baby boy and immediately thinks (...) that the child must be of (the) Hebrew children]

aperiens, cernensque in ea parvulum vagientem [...] ait: De infantibus Hebraeorum est hic (Exodus 2:6 *Vulg.*)

Waar herra talar til moysen Gak in fore pharao konung oc sikh honum / at swa sigheter hebreisko folkx gudh oc herra¹⁷

[Our Lord speaks to Moses, “Go before King Pharaoh and say to him, that so says the God and Lord of (the) Hebrew people.”]

Dixit autem Dominus ad Moysen: Ingredere ad Pharaonem, et loquere ad eum: Haec dicit Dominus Deus Hebraeorum (Exodus 9:1 *Vulg.*)

15 DKB Thott 4 4^o (*SMB I*) contains just the Five Books of Moses followed by some biblical-philosophical questions, while SKB A 1 contains the Five Books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Judith, Esther, Ruth, Maccabees, and the Revelation of John (*FemMos*, *SMB II*). On the use of the two manuscripts, see Olof Thorell, *Fem Moseböcker på fornsvenska: En språklig undersökning på grundval av de bevarade handskrifterna*, Nordiska texter och undersökningar, vol. 18 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1951); Karl G. Johansson, “Bibeltexen i avskriftskulturens våld,” in *Studier i svensk språkhistoria* 8, ed. Cecilia Falk and Lars-Olof Delsing, Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetsenskap A 63 (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2005), 137–45; Karl G. Johansson, “Bröderna och världen: Prästbröderna och skriftbrukets utveckling i Vadstena kloster,” in *Det moderna genombrottet – också en språkfråga? Studier i svensk språkhistoria* 9, ed. Lars Wollin et al. (Åbo: Åbo akademi, 2007), 119–24; Karl G. Johansson, “The Birgittines and the Bible: On the Use of the Pentateuch Paraphrase at Vadstena Abbey,” in *Saint Birgitta, Syon and Vadstena: Papers from a Symposium in Stockholm 4–6 October 2007*, ed. Claes Gejrot, Sara Risberg, and Mia Åkestam (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2010), 188–99; Lars Wollin, “AD 1526: The Beginning or the End of the Beginning? Humanist Bibles in Sweden,” in *Beyond the Piraeus Lion: East Norse Studies from Venice*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Massimiliano Bampi, Selskab for Østnordisk Filologi · Sällskap för östnordisk filologi, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 2017), 237–49. On the translation of *The Old Swedish Paraphrase*, see Lars Wollin, “Stjörn och Pentateukparafrazen: Ett samnordiskt dominikanprojekt i högmedeltiden?” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 116 (2001): 221–99.

16 DKB Thott 4 4^o, f. 83v; *SMB I* 278. Note: “aff hebreiskum barnom”: The adjective and noun are declined in the dative plural as we would expect after the OSw. preposition *af* [of]. The Latin “*de infantibus Hebraeorum*” has *infantibus* in the ablative plural (after *de* [of]) and *Hebraeorum* as a genitive plural: ‘of the children of the Hebrews,’ ‘of the Hebrews’ children.’

17 DKB Thott 4 4^o, f. 90r; *SMB I* 298. Note: “hebreisko folkx gudh” [(the) Hebrew people’s God]: The adjective is in the genitive case to agree with the noun “folkx.” Cf. the Latin noun phrase “*Dominus Deus Hebraeorum*” [the Lord, God of the Hebrews].

Hon swarade iak ær een aff hebreitzkom qwinnom¹⁸
 [She replied, “I am one of (the) Hebrew women.”]
Quae respondit: Filia sum Hebraeorum (Judith 10:12 *Vulg.*)

Just as in ODa., the adjective is sometimes nominalized in the OSw. material. In the example below from the OSw. translation of *Actus apostolorum* [*Acts of the Apostles*] in the composite manuscript SKB A 110 (1385 onwards), possibly from Vadstena, both the adjectives *gresker* and *hebrezker* have been nominalized (cf. Lat. *graecus*, adj., n. [Greek] and *hebraeus*, adj., n. [Hebrew]):

Ok greezske korradhe mot them som crisne varo af ebræskom¹⁹
 [And (the) Greeks grumbled about those of (the) Hebrews who had become Christians]
factum est murmur Graecorum adversus Hebraeos (Acts 6:1 *Vulg.*)

However, forms of *hebrei* that are declined as Latin do also occur in the OSw. material:

hwar skyndadhe sigh til at vndfly hebreos²⁰
 [each hurried to escape (the) Hebrews]
evadere festinabant Hebraeos (Judith 15:2 *Vulg.*)

To summarize, the noun *hebrei* [Hebrews] caused difficulties for both Danish and Swedish scribes who generally preferred to retain its Latin morphological forms or simply replace or gloss it with an adjective + noun combination. In both ODa. and OSw. the adjective *hebraisk/hebrezker* [Hebrew] can be nominalized, e. g., “hebraiskes børn” [(the) Hebrews’ children]; “de hebraisker” [the Hebrews]; “af ebræskom” [of (the) Hebrews]. This is a process that was no doubt provoked or encouraged by the double nominal-adjectival role of the Latin *hebraeus*, adj., n. [Hebrew].

¹⁸ SKB A 1, f. 195vb; *SMB* II 162–63. Note: The OSw. translation “aff [...] qwinnom” [of (...) women] for Lat. *filia* [daughter] is quite free.

¹⁹ SKB A 110, f. 129r; *Kläs* 142.

²⁰ SKB A 1, f. 198va; *SMB* II 171. Note: “hebreos”: The form is declined as a Latin accusative plural (cf. Lat. *Hebraeos*).

Israelite [Israelite]

In ODa., we find the word “Israelite” (*israelite*) only in the Old Testament translation:

Ok til thaghæn steymesz ællær knyff / han jngik æfter heraelite^(a) man / j menæ qwymnæ boæth²¹

Notes: a. heraelite] hera\e/lite MS.

[(7) and having taken a dagger or knife, (8) he entered after the Israelite man into the common woman’s dwelling (i. e., brothel)]

et arrepto pugione, ingressus est post virum Israelitem in lupanar (Numbers 25:7–8 Vulg.)

Vtæn [fra] israhelites mans naffn / som j heel ær slawæn²²

[But the name of the Israelite man who has been killed]

autem nomen viri Israelitae qui occisus est (Numbers 25:14 Vulg.)

gedeones joas søns jsraelites manz^(a) swærd²³

Notes: a. manz] manz [søn] MS.

[the sword of Gideon the son of Joash, an Israelite man (lit. Gideon’s, Joash’s son’s, Israelite man’s sword)]

gladius Gedeonis filii Joas viri Israelitae (Judges 7:14 Vulg.)

Ok han sagdhe til thæm jæk kræwær ællær bedhær en bøn af edhær gifwær mik ørenstrænghe af edhært roff forthy jsraelite ware wone ath hawe gwl ørenstrengi²⁴
[And he said to them, “I demand or ask of you, give me the earrings from your booty!” because Israelites were in the habit of wearing golden earrings.]

Dixitque ad eos: Unam petitionem postulo a vobis: date mihi inares ex praeda vestra. Inares enim aureas Ismaelitae habere consueverant. (Judges 8:24 Vulg.)

21 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 123rb; *GldBib* M 349. Note: “thaghæn”: The word contains a small scribal error. The *n* is written with three minims, although the final stroke does not descend below the line as we would expect if it were intended to be an *m* (*thaghæm).

22 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 123va; *GldBib* M 350. Note: “israhelites”: The *h* in this word (and presumably also in “hera\e/lite” above) originates from the use of the abbreviation *ihl* for writing *Israel* in manuscripts. When scribes wrote such abbreviations out in full, the *h* was sometimes retained and considered a natural and proper part of the name (cf. also *ihlm* “Iherusalem,” “Hierusalem” [Jerusalem] and *ihs* “Ihesus” [Jesus]). See Adriano Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1912), 176.

23 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 193vb; *GldBib* M 532. Cf. OSw. SKB A 1, f. 174vb; *SMB* II 90: “gedeonis iohas sons swærdh · hwilken en ær aff israels mannom” [the sword of Gideon the son of Joash, who was one of the men of Israel].

24 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 195ra–b; *GldBib* M 536. Note that here “jsraelite” is a mistranslation of Lat. *Ismaelitae* [Ishmaelites]. Cf. OSw. SKB A 1, f. 176rb; *SMB* II 95: “thy at ysmaelite thet folkit plægado haffwa prydilse af gull giort j sinom ørom hænggiandis” [because Ishmaelites, that people, used to have decoration made of gold hanging in their ears].

The noun appears as a modifier followed by *man* [man]: “heraelite man,” “jsraelites manz,” and “israelites mans.” This peculiar juxtaposition suggests that *israelite* was in fact not perceived as a noun by the translator but was being used as an adjective (cf. the use of the adjective *hebraisk* as a noun, e. g., “hebraiskes børn” [(the) Hebrew (people)s’ children] mentioned above). Indeed, the adjective **israelitisk* cannot be found in ODa., and so *israelite* had this double nominal-adjectival role. It is possible that biblical terms of ethnicity in particular posed difficulties for the Danish translator of the Old Testament (or, we might say, provided him with various options), particularly given the double nominal-adjectival role of many such terms in Latin (*hebraeus*, *graecus*, etc.). It should also be borne in mind that the language in *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse* is rather peculiar and written in a somewhat unidiomatic and ungrammatical Danish: it possibly does not demonstrate typical forms or usage.

Only one of the above examples has a parallel among the OSw. Bible translations, but here, the word “Israelite” is paraphrased as the more idiomatic “one of the men of Israel”:²⁵

gedeonis iohas sons swærdh · hwilken en ær aff israels mannom²⁶
 [The sword of Gideon, the son of Joash, who is one of the men of Israel]
gladius Gedeonis filii Joas viri Israelitae (Judges 7:14 *Vulg.*)

Compare also “men of the tribe of Israel” in the tale of a confrontation between St James and some Jews in *Fornsvenska legendariet* [*Old Swedish Legendary*] in SKB A 34 (c. 1350) and UUB C 528 (Vadstena, 1400–50):²⁷

²⁵ It should be remembered that not all occurrences of “Israel” refer to Jews. In supersessionist texts that transfer the concepts of chosenness and covenant from Jews to Christians, Israel refers to Christians. Often understood implicitly, this use of Israel to mean Christians can also be stated explicitly as in the following example from an OSw. fifteenth-century sermon collection: “Til huilkit prophetin manar oss sigiande amos iiij^o paratus esto israel in occursum domini tui O israel som tekna crisna mæniskio var redhabin at løpa mote tinom herra” [To which the prophet exhorts us saying (cf. Amos 4:12), “Paratus esto Israel in occursum Domini tui!” (which means:) “O Israel! – which refers to Christian people – be prepared to run towards your Lord!”], DAS AM 787 4^o, f. 2va–b; *SermSac* 80; *SMP* I 7.

²⁶ SKB A 1, f. 174vb; *SMB* II 90.

²⁷ On these manuscripts, see George Stephens, ed., *Ett forn-svenskt legendarium*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 7 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1849–58), 1327–28; Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Håkan Hallberg, and Monica Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, vol. 5, Acta Bibliothecae Universitatis Upsaliensis, vol. 26, no. 5 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992), 330–32 (with bibliography); *FsvLeg* PAW I 14–24.

com en galin iuþe diæfla fuldar ok øpte ¶ æþla mæn israeþ slakt²⁸
 Kom en galin iudhe diæfla fulder Oc øpte ædhla mæn israels slækt²⁹
 [A mad Jew, full of demons, arrived and shouted, “Noble men of Israel!”]
*repente quidam templum ingrediens clamare cepit, “O uiri Israelite!”*³⁰

Indeed, it has not been possible to find **israelite* in the extant OSw. corpus.

Judei [Jews]

The Latin word *judei* [Jews] is only found in the plural in East Norse and in a New Testament context. It is rather uncommon with the preferred term being *juthe/iuþe* (see below). In a story based on the New Testament and found in the OSw. *Lucidarius* in the so-called *Jöns Buddes bok* [*Jöns Budde’s Book*], SKB A 58 (Naantali/Nådendal, c. 1487–91), we read:

*Thet ær tha som judei sculde graata ok roopa*³¹
 [That is when (the) Jews should weep and shout]

*Thy at mange aff judeis aff hulkom Apostoli vtgingo / kastadhe troena ok opbøriædhe mangha handha kættery*³²
 [Because many of the Jews from whom the apostles originate threw off their faith and embarked on many kinds of heresy]

It will be noted that like *hebrei* above, *judei* is declined as Latin in terms of morphology (“judei,” nominative plural; “aff judeis” [of (the) Jews] dative plural or possibly ablative plural after an implied *de* [of]). The following example is taken from an ODa. sermon for First Sunday after Ascension in UUB C 56 (fifteenth century) and shows how the Latin *judei* and the vernacular *juther* were synonymous.³³ Again, the Latinized version here is not used to refer to venerable Jews, but rather to the tormentors and killers of the apostles.

²⁸ SKB A 34, ff. 37v–38r; *FsvLeg* I 196; *FsvLeg* PAW II 266.

²⁹ UUB C 528, f. 41r.

³⁰ *LegAur* 449: ‘Suddenly someone entering the Temple began to shout, “O men of Israel!”’

³¹ SKB A 58, f. 14r; *SvKyrkobr* 151.

³² SKB A 58, f. 49r; *SvKyrkobr* 241.

³³ On the sermons in this manuscript, see Roger Andersson, *Postillor och predikan: En medeltida texttradition i filologisk och funktionell belysning*, Scripta minora, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 1993), 67–70; Jonathan Adams, “Preaching about an Absent Minority: Medieval Danish Sermons and Jews,” in *The Jewish–Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska, Routledge Research in Medieval Studies, vol. 6 (New

Oc then *timme apostoli predicathe gudz nadha*^(a) *Judei*^(b) *huthstrugho somma aff them / swasom / sanctus paulus sigher oc steende the j hiel somma*^(c) / *swasom sanctum stephanum / oc somma halshugo the / swasom sanctum iacobum / Oc somma meth eet oc somma annat / Thetta giorth the iøtha widher apostolos*³⁴

Notes: **a.** *nadha*] ordh *written above word, MS.* **b.** *Judei*] *Judei* [*hustrug*] *MS.*
c. *somma*] *\somma/ MS.*

[And when the apostles preached God’s mercy (or possibly: words of mercy), the Jews whipped some of them, as St Paul says, and stoned some of them to death, such as St Stephen, and beheaded some of them, such as St James, and one way or the other with others of them. This is what the Jews did to the apostles.]

It will be noted in the quotation above, that no vernacular forms are used for the venerable Latin terms *apostolus* or *sanctus*, which along with the personal names are declined as in Latin: “*sanctus paulus*” (nom.), “*sanctum stephanum*” (acc.), and “*sanctum iacobum*” (acc.).

***Juthe/iupe* [Judean; Jew]**

Unlike for the words *hebrei* and *israelite*, there was a vernacular form that could be used instead of *judei* and that posed no problems with regard to inflection so did not require paraphrasing, namely *juthe/iupe*. This was the most common term to refer to both Judeans and Jews in all contexts, both biblical and post-biblical. In the translations of Old Testament texts, *juthe/iupe* usually refers to a Judean or member of the tribe of Judah as in these examples from the OSw. Bible translations:

*Tha skipadhe nabogodonor sedechiam yngxsta son iosie konungx / fadherbrodher iecho-
nie vnga / konung ower iwdha land oc ierusalem*³⁵

[Then Nebuchadnezzar appointed Zedekiah, the youngest son of King Josiah, uncle of young Jeconiah, king of the land of the Judeans [Judah] and Jerusalem.] (Cf. 2 Chronicles 36:10)

York: Routledge, 2014), 92–116; 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 Europe: Identities and Interfaith Encounters*, ed. Linda G. Jones and Adrienne Dupont-Hamy, Sermo, vol. 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 93–119.

³⁴ UUB C 56, f. 110v [p. 220]; *SMP* III 163.

³⁵ DKB Thott 4 4^o, f. 3v; *SMB* I 9.

Nabogodnosor ødde swa egiptum som iudeam oc fangadhe oc fōrdhe bort badhe fæ oc folk
 Oc all iudha ther waro kompne fōrdhe han til babilonem Sidhan stodh iudea ødhe lxx aar
 aff iudha byghning Nabogodnosor satte iwdha land medh hedhno folke³⁶

[Nebuchadnezzar laid both Egypt and Judah waste and captured and carried off both war-
 booty and people and he led all the Judeans, who had turned up, to Babylon. Subsequently,
 Judah was devoid of any Judean settlement for 70 years. Nebuchadnezzar settled the land
 of the Judeans with pagans.]

Whereas in the context of the Old Testament the vernacular *juthe/iuþe* focuses the reader's attention on nationality, ethnicity, or tribal allegiance (Judeans, sons of Judah, etc.), in the context of the New Testament it draws attention to religion (as opponents of Christianity). The examples below are taken from a runic inscription in Gutnish on a baptismal font dating from c. 1200;³⁷ *Consolation of the Soul*, a popular devotional work found in both Danish (*Sjælens Trøst*: UUB C 529 and SKB A 109 from c. 1425) and Swedish (*Själens tröst*: SKB A 108 from 1400–50);³⁸ and an ODa. sermon for Christmas Day in UUB C 56 (fifteenth century):

[io]þar : toku | uarn : drotin : ok --nd- : --N : uiþ- -re : ok : [g]letu | siþan : ladu : [þa]ir : han :
 burt : þiaþa[n] : bundin | ok : [n]ehldu : hiar : ioþar : iesus : a krus³⁹

[The Jews took Our Lord and tied him to a tree and placed him under guard. Then they led
 him away from there, bound. And here the Jews nailed Jesus to the cross.]

36 DKB Thott 4 4^o, f. 5r; SMB I 13. Note that Judah (and later Judea) and *jutheland/iuþa land* are synonyms here.

37 On this inscription, see Jonathan Adams, *Lessons in Contempt: Poul Ræff's Translation and Publication in 1516 of Johannes Pfefferkorn's The Confession of the Jews*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vol. 581 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 8–11 (with references).

38 On the Swedish *Själens tröst*, see Ivar Thorén, *Studier över Själens Tröst: Bidrag till kännedomen om den litterära verksamheten i 1400-talets Vadstena*, Nordiska texter och undersökningar, vol. 14 (Stockholm: Geber, 1942); Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, "Själens tröst: om teologins popularisering i uppbyggelselitteraturen," in *Från hymn till skröna: medeltida litteratur i ny belysning*, ed. Alf Härdelin, Skrifter utgivna av Forum för medeltidsstudier i Uppsala (Stockholm: Natur och kultur), 162–82; Folke Nordström, "Det mystiska paradiset enligt Speculum Virginum och Johannes Rosenrods kormålningar i Tensta kyrka," *Formvannen* 103 (1955): 103–21. On the Danish *Sjælens Trøst*, see Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen, "Om Fragmenterne af den gammeldanske Siæla Trøst," *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* 9 (1934): 187–92; Jonathan Adams, "The Bishop Murderer," in *Beyond the Piræus Lion. East Norse Studies from Venice*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Massimiliano Bampi, Selskab for Østnordisk Filologi · Sällskap för östnordisk filologi, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 2017), 79–103.

39 Aakirkeby Church baptismal font, Bornholm; DK Bh 30 [DR 373].

Han ær min gudh oc min hærra oc min trøst · pylatus oc judhane the hafva honum pint oc corsfæst⁴⁰

[He (i. e., Jesus) is my god and my lord and my succour. Pilate and the Jews have abused and crucified him.]

Och jødherne wilde ey troo · ath war herræ war føddher aff reen jomfrwdom Wdhen kallede hanum smidsins søn⁴¹

[And the Jews did not want to believe that Our Lord was born of pure virginity but called him “the smith’s son.”] (Cf. Matthew 13:55)

The same term is used to refer to post-biblical, contemporary Jews and can be found in religious texts, such as the *The Jew who Stabbed the Icon in Fornsvenska legendariet*; “Whom the Church refuses Her protection” (DAS AM 683 a 4^o, 1475–1525) where Jews are placed first in a list of undesirables,⁴² and in profane works such as *Mandevilles Rejse [The Travels of Sir John Mandeville]* in SKB M 307 (1434/1444):⁴³

EN iudhe j constantinopoli grep eth kors⁴⁴

[A Jew in Constantinople grabbed a crucifix]

Tesse effter screffne forbywder then helghe kerke syn hegn oc beskermelse The førsthe ære jøder hetninghe oc kettere [...]⁴⁵

[The Church forbids the following people Her defence and protection. The first are Jews, pagans, and heretics (...)]

Saraceni [...] ladæ engin ind kommæ / huerken Cristnæ eller Iøder / vden te hafuæ synderligæ nodæ af soldanen⁴⁶

[The Saracens allow no-one to enter, neither Christians nor Jews, unless they have special permission from the sultan]

⁴⁰ SKB A 109, f. 2r [p. 29]; *SjæTrø* 29.

⁴¹ UUB C 56, f. 319v [p. 638]; *SMP* III 456.

⁴² On this text, see Paul Diderichsen, *Fragmenter af gammeldanske Haandskrifter*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1931–37), 179, 402–03.

⁴³ On the ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse* and Jews, see Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*, 69–78 (with references to international scholarship on other European versions).

⁴⁴ UUB C 528, f. 131v; *FsvLeg* II 724; *FsvLeg* PAW III 395.

⁴⁵ DAS AM 683 a 4^o, f. 1r; *Beskærm* 179. The other excluded groups in this list include excommunicated men, usurers, robbers, suicides, blasphemers, monks with property, those who foster pagan children, traitors, and children who die without being baptized. The use of “Jews” in this list is formulaic and is not evidence for Jews living in Denmark at the beginning of the sixteenth century (nor is it evidence for the existence of Danish pagans). They appear here in order to provide a complete list of opponents to the Church. See under “Jewish–Scandinavian encounters at home” in Chapter 2: *Jews in Medieval Denmark and Sweden*, pp. 35–41 (esp. 35).

⁴⁶ SKB M 307, p. 25b; *Mandev* 36.

In these contexts, *juthe/iuþe* denotes a religious (usually inimical) group rather than Judean nationality. The same can be said about the use in vernacular texts of the Latin *judei* in New (and post-New) Testament contexts.

Juthinne/iudhinna [Jewess]

In ODa., *juthinne* [Jewess] occurs extremely rarely. To my knowledge it only appears in Christiern Pedersen's lexicographical work *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum* [Vocabulary for the Use of Danes] from 1510 as the vernacular equivalent to the two Latin lemmata *theristrum* and *judea*:⁴⁷

theristrum : hoedklede som iøderynder bere⁴⁸
[*theristrum*: a head-covering that Jewesses wear]

iudea : iødynne⁴⁹
[*judea*: Jewess]

The occurrence of two forms for the same word – “iødynne” (< *juth-inne*; from MLG *jödinne*) and “iøderynder” (< *juth-er-inne*) – and particularly the latter's maverick word formation may be due to the word's relative rarity and uncertainty on the part of Pedersen.

⁴⁷ On this *vocabularium*, see Christiern Pedersen, *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum*, ed. Inger Bom and Niels Haastrup, Det 16. århundredes danske vokabularier, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 1973); Jonathan Adams and Peter Zeeberg, *Renæssancens Sprog i Danmark*, <http://renaessancesprog.dk/> (last accessed 5 April 2022); Henrik Andersson, Ebba Hjorth, and Merete K. Jørgensen, “Man skal ikke give bagerbørn hvedebrød. En artikel om leksikografisk arbejde,” in *Ord, Sprog oc artige Dict: Et overblik og 28 indblik 1500–1700. Festskrift til Poul Lindegård Hjorth*, ed. Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen, Marita Akhøj Nielsen, and John Kousgård Sørensen (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel, 1997), 101–14. Note also that the compound *juthekone* *‘Jew-woman, Jewess’ appears in *Gammeldansk Ordbog* citing the account books for 1505 from the court of Queen Christine (1461–1521): “Item 5 *skilling* en judequine, ther brvgde”; however, the interpretation of “judequine” here as ‘Jewess’ is surely a mistake, and it should be understood as a ‘Jutlandic woman.’ Cf. Otto Kalkar, *Ordbog til det ældre Sprog (1300–1700)*, Supplement vol., repr. (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 1976), s. v. “Judekone,” “Judekvinde”; Henrik Smith, *Libellus Vocum Latinarum* ([Copenhagen]: s. n., 1563), s. v. “jude” (‘Iutus,’ ‘Cimber’).

⁴⁸ ChrPed *Voc*, f. 183v. Cf. Ambrosius Calepinus's *Dictionarium* from 1509 which forms the foundation of Pedersen's text has “mulieres palæstinæ” for “iøderynder” here.

⁴⁹ ChrPed *Voc*, f. 91r.

In OSw. *iudhinna* appears in more varied contexts, such as in the *Fornsvenska legendariet* manuscript LSB B 70 a (Vadstena, c. 1525),⁵⁰ the sermon for the First Sunday after Epiphany in LSB T 181 (1450–1500), and in the story of Judith in *Själens tröst* in SKB A 108 (1400–50):

oc wæxte en rispa / mællan the jwdinnor som fōdda waro i greka landet oc mællan them fōdda waro i jwda landet / oc aldra mæst mællan them aff iherusalem som hōllo sik qwæm-likare wara æn andra i allo tiænist⁵¹

[and there arose a dispute between the Jewesses who were born in Greece and those who were born in Judah, and particularly those from Jerusalem who considered themselves more adept than others in all service.]

Tha sagho badhe prestin oc swa the judhinna / ath the hwitha dwan kom athir || flyghandis jn j ærmetans mwn⁵²

[Then both the priest and the Jewess saw that the white dove came back and flew into the hermit's mouth.]

Affwi een iudhinna hafwer oss fullelika skempt⁵³

[Woe! A Jewess has completely fooled us!]

More often, however, we simply encounter an adjective + noun construction as in Danish. For example, we find *iubiska qvinnor* in the OSw. *Själens tröst*:

Thessom qwinnomen bōdh konungen nær wara tha iudhiska qwinnor fōddo oc saghdhe them swa j skolin altidh nær wara tha iudhiska qwinnor fōdha barn ok all the swenbarn som fōdhas af them kolin j dræpa medh nokre kyndoghe list oc sighia swa at the fōddos dōdh Oc all mōbarn skolin j lata lifwa Thessa twa qwinnor fryktadho gudh oc giordho ey æpter konugxsins budh vtan loto barnin lifwa Thentidh konugin fik wita loth han them badha for sik kalla Oc spordhe hwi the hans budh ey hioldo The diktadho ena lygn at forswara sik medh oc saghdho swa Kære herra Judhiska qwinnor æro mykyt klokare æn^(a) andra qwinnor The kunno swa skipat at før æn wi wentom at tymen komber hafwa the fōt⁵⁴

Notes: **a.** æn] æn [d] MS.

[(15) The king (of Egypt) ordered these women to be present whenever Jewish women gave birth (16) and told them, “You must always be present when Jewish women are giving birth to children, and you shall kill all the baby boys who are born unto them by some act of clever deceit and say that they were stillborn. And you shall let all the baby girls live.” (17) These two women feared God and did not do as the king had ordered, but let the children

⁵⁰ On this manuscript, see Vilhelm Gödel, “Handskriftstudier,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 24 (1912): 266–69.

⁵¹ LSB B 70 a, f. 112rb; *FsvLeg* I 294.

⁵² LSB T 181, pp. 136–137; *SMP* V 106.

⁵³ SKB A 108, p. 216; *SjäTrö* 255; *SjäTrö* K 344.

⁵⁴ SKB A 108, p. 202; *SjäTrö* 241.

live. (18) When the king found out about this, he summoned them to appear before him and asked why they did not follow his command. (19) They concocted a lie to defend themselves and said, “Dear Lord! Jewish women are much cleverer than other women. They can plan things so that before we are expecting the moment to come, they have given birth.”] (Exodus 1:15–19)

Uviner/ovinir [enemies]

A particularly common hypernym that is used to refer to Jews, among others, is *uviner/ovinir* [enemies]. In texts relating the events of the trial of Jesus, the Passion, and the Crucifixion, Jews are equated with “his enemies” as seen here in Christiern Pedersen’s devotional work *Vor Froe Tider* [*Our Lady’s Book of Hours*] from 1514:

Thet giorde dw iøderne dyne vuenner til blysel oc skendsel fordy at de icke ville tro at han vor sander gud oc dyn eneste søn aff hiemelen⁵⁵
[You made it a shame and disgrace for the Jews, your enemies, because they did not believe that he was the true God and your heavenly son.]

Ieg skal giffue euigh dom pine och skendsell offuer hanss vuenner som er genuordige iøder oc andre onde menniske⁵⁶
[I shall give eternal judgement, pain, and shame to his enemies, who are recalcitrant Jews and other evil people.]

The same phenomenon is found in OSw. texts, such as in this sermon for Epiphany in LSB T 181:

Som war herre^(a) syælfuir sagde synom owinom judomyn⁵⁷
Notes: a. herre] herre [fæk] MS.
[As Our Lord himself said to his enemies, the Jews]

In some Passion texts only “his enemies,” not Jews (or Romans), are mentioned, but there is no mistaking the equation *Christ’s enemies = Jews*. The view of Jews as Christ’s enemies was reinforced through sermons, prayers, plays, and religious art, that all ensured that it was clear that Jews were being referred to even when they were not named explicitly. For example, Christiern Pedersen’s *Vor Froe Tider* (1514):

⁵⁵ ChrPed *VFrTid*, f. Aa4r; ChrPed *Skr* II 283.

⁵⁶ ChrPed *VFrTid*, f. Ff2r; ChrPed *Skr* II 315.

⁵⁷ LSB T 181, p. 116; *SMP* V 91.

Thii ath naar mine vuenner gribe mig da handtere de mig saa vmildelighe som grumme løffuer eller vlffue ther flyde eth vskyldigh lom [...] Oc ath de vmildhe grumme iøder mwe gribe mig sla mig træde migh vnder deriss føder hustruge mig⁵⁸

[Because when my enemies catch me, they treat me so cruelly like ferocious lions or wolves who tear apart an innocent lamb (...) And when the cruel Jews can catch me, they beat me, tread under their feet, scourge me.] (Cf. John 1:29)

The term “enemies” does not, of course, always refer to Jews, nor is it the only non-ethnonym used to talk about Jews. We also find neutral terms such as “people of the Book” as well as more negative ones such as “opponent” (also used about the devil), “murderers,” and various animal names, such as “dogs,” “wolves,” and “lions.”

***Juthisk/iupisk* [Jewish] and compound nouns (Jew + noun)**

To refer to Jewish things and people, the adjective *juthisk/iupisk* can be used descriptively, such as in ODa. Christiern Pedersen’s *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*, the OSw. Bible translations, and OSw. *Själens tröst*:

Iegh fand icke sa stor tro i blant alt dette iødiske folk⁵⁹
[I did not find such great faith among all this Jewish people]

Thenne matathias war prester j iwdaska laghom⁶⁰
[This Mattathias was a priest in Jewish law]

Antechristus skal fødhas j babilonia aff iwdhiske slækt aff eens^(a) patriarcha slekt som heeth dan⁶¹

Notes: a. eens] ees *MS*.

[Antichrist will be born in Babylon from the Jewish people from a line of patriarchs that is called Dan.]

Ther æpter bødth konungen ofwer alt sit land / at all the swenbarn ther føddos af iudhiskom qwinnom skulden kastas j nila flodh⁶²

[After this the king ordered throughout his entire country that all male children who are born of Jewish women should be thrown into the River Nile.] (Exodus 1:22)

⁵⁸ ChrPed *VFrTid*, f. B3v; ChrPed *Skr* II 361.

⁵⁹ ChrPed *AlleEpoecEu*, f. 68r [lxii]; ChrPed *Skr* I 193.

⁶⁰ SKB A 1, f. 212ra; *SMB* II 223.

⁶¹ SKB A 108, p. 81; *SjäTrö* 97. The tribe of Dan is one of the twelve tribes of Israel.

⁶² SKB A 108, p. 20; *SjäTrö* 241.

In these examples, the adjective clearly means Jewish rather than Judean.

In the following example from a sermon for the First Sunday after Epiphany in LSB T 181, we find a woman referred to as “a Saracen, a pagan, Jewish woman.” The conflation of these terms is in itself of interest, but later the same woman is referred to in the text simply as a “Jewess” and then as “a pagan”. It all points to a lack of clarity in the mind of the author about what a *Jewish* woman exactly is.

Nw mædhan han ther war skyndhade dyæffwolin aff stadh ena saracenam / ena judiska hedna *quinno* / til ath vmga *medh* honum / [...] Tha sagho badhe *prestin* ok swa the judhinman / ath the hwitha dwan kom athir || [...] Ok fore *thetta* jærteknith skuld wardh the hedniska *quinnan cristin*⁶³

[Now while he was there, the devil quickly led a Saracen (woman), a Jewish pagan woman to be with him (...) Then both the priest and also the Jewess saw that the white dove came back (...) And because of this miracle the pagan woman became a Christian.]

However, overall, the adjective “Jewish” (*juthisk/iubisker*) is used surprisingly rarely, with compound noun forms found more frequently.⁶⁴ For example, the compound noun *iuba lagh* [Jew-law] is far more common than *iubisk lagh* [Jewish law], and ODa. *juthepilt* and OSw. *iuba smasven* [Jew-boy] are used instead of *juthisk pilt* or *iubisker smasven* [Jewish boy]. In some of these noun + noun constructions, it can be difficult to see whether it is a single compound noun or a noun phrase (comprising *juthe/iuba*, i. e., genitive plural, followed by another noun). In compound nouns the *juthe/iuba* element qualifies the following noun by describing its Jewishness (“a Jewish x”); for example, *en iuba smasven* [a Jewish boy], lit. ‘a Jew-boy.’ In noun phrases, the second element somehow pertains to or has a bearing on “the Jews” (“an x of the Jews”); for example, *iuba rab* [council of the Jews, Jews’ council], lit. ‘Jew-council.’ It is sometimes difficult to distinguish clearly between compounds and phrases. Compare these two examples from *Fornsvenska legendariet* of a compound and a noun phrase:

þa iacobus [...] prædicæþe for caipha iuþa biscope⁶⁵
[then James (...) preached to Caiaphas, a Jewish high priest.]

⁶³ LSB T 181, pp. 136–37; *SMP* V 106. There are also other points of confusion in this short text: for example, the holy man living alone in the forest is referred to both as a hermit (“ærmeth”) and a priest (“prestin”).

⁶⁴ The same cannot be said of the adjective *kristen/kristin* [Christian] which is used almost exclusively. Compound nouns with *kristen/kristin* are exceedingly rare, e. g., ODa. *kristenman* [Christian (man)].

⁶⁵ SKB A 34, f. 37vb; *FsvLeg* I 196; *FsvLeg* PAW II 266.

Caiaphas was a Jewish high priest which points to “iuþa biscope” here being a compound noun (=Jew-bishop) with the meaning ‘Jewish bishop.’ However, the meaning here could also be ‘high priest over the Jews,’ or ‘high priest of the Jews,’ pointing to a noun phrase (=Jews’ bishop).

A siutanda are vars hærra var pilatus iuþa domare⁶⁶
[In Our Lord’s seventeenth year Pilate was the judge of the Jews.]

Pilate was of course not Jewish and could therefore hardly be a ‘Jewish judge’ (i. e., a compound noun, Jew-judge) The meaning must be ‘judge over the Jews’ (i. e., a noun phrase: Jews’ judge).

Sometimes, it is possible to see whether a compound noun or a noun phrase is intended by looking for similar forms in a work. For example, in the fifteenth-century Bäckaskog sermon collection in UUB C 56, we find two instances of “jwdha formen” [leaders of Jews].⁶⁷ That it should be analysed as a noun phrase (‘leaders of Jews’) rather than a compound (‘Jewish leaders,’ ‘Jew-leaders’) is shown by the occurrence of the noun phrase “judhanes formen” [leaders of the Jews, the Jews’ leaders] elsewhere in the manuscript with the same meaning.⁶⁸

The practice of *Gammeldansk Ordbog* is to write all such noun + noun constructions as compounds (*juthepilt*), whereas *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket* writes them all as noun phrases (*iuþa smasven*). In the sources themselves, we find great variation in the spacing between elements, even for the same word. In this study they are all considered as compounds, even though they are spelt in accordance with the relevant dictionary entries.

There are many compound nouns with the prefix *juthe-/ iuþa-* in East Norse:

Groups and types of people

- Jewish people (ODa. *juthefolk*; OSw. *iuþa folk*); Jewish people (ODa. *juthe-slækt*; OSw. *iuþa slækt*); Jewish crowd (ODa. *juthemughe*; OSw. *iuþa moghe*); Jewish crowd (ODa. *jutheskare*); Jewish commoners (ODa. *juthealmughe*).
- Jewish king (ODa. *juthekunung*; OSw. *iuþa konunger*); Jewish ruler (ODa. *juthe-høvthing*; OSw. *iuþa høfdhinge*).
- Jewish high priest (ODa. *juthebiskop*; OSw. *iuþa biskoper*); Jewish priest (ODa. *juthepræst*; OSw. *iuþa præster*); synagogue leader (OSw. *iuþa kirkio høfdhinge*); Jewish clerk (ODa. *juthedjakn*).

⁶⁶ SKB A 34, f. 16vb; *FsvLeg* I 72; *FsvLeg* PAW II 92.

⁶⁷ UUB C 56, ff. 257v (“judhanes formen,” p. 518), 289v (“jwdha formen,” p. 578); *SMP* III 356, 404.

⁶⁸ UUB C 56, f. 259v [p. 518]; *SMP* III 356.

- Jewish teacher (ODa. *juthemæstere*; OSw. *iūþa mæstare*); Jewish servant (ODa. *juthethjanere*); Jewish bailiff (ODa. *juthefoghet*); Jewish boy (ODa. *juthepilt*; OSw. *iudha smasven*).
- Jew-devil (OSw. *iūþe diæfla*).

Places

- Judah, Judea (ODa. *Jutheland*; OSw. *Iuþa land*).

Jewish religion

- Judaism, Jewish custom (ODa. *juthesith*; OSw. *iūþa sidher*); Jewish law (ODa. *juthelogh*; OSw. *iūþa lagh*); Jewish book, Talmud (ODa. *juthebok*).
- Jewish temple, the Temple (ODa. *juthetempel*, *juthekirkje*; OSw. *iūþa kirkia*); Jewish sacrifice (OSw. *iudha offer*).

Attributes

- Jew-hat (ODa. *juthehat*).
- Jew-spittle (ODa. *juthespyt*).
- Hebrew language (ODa. *juthemal*; OSw. *iūþa mal*, *iūþa tunga*).

The relatively small number of words associated with the accoutrements of religion reflects the lack of interest (and knowledge) about Jewish religious life and ceremonies beyond Temple Judaism as described in the Bible.⁶⁹ The most important religious “fact” was that Jews had rejected (and killed) Jesus. How they worshipped was largely irrelevant beyond its being the antithesis of correct Christian practice. Indeed, reference is often made to Jewish laws with little explanation beyond stating some hideous consequence of violating them, such as stoning, the death penalty, or ostracism. The focus of writers at that time was instead on the alleged behaviour and characteristics of the Jewish people. In both religious and profane genres, Jews were described using largely the same terms. Although “positive” descriptions of post-biblical Jews exist in other European languages, such as Giovanni Boccaccio’s *Abraam* and *Melchizedech* in the second and third

⁶⁹ The first Danish exposition on Jewish ceremonies and traditions appeared at the end of the Middle Ages with the 1516 publication of a translation of Johannes Pfefferkorn’s *Libellus de Judaica Confessione* (1508) by Poul Ræff. See Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*; Jonathan Adams, “‘Thus shall people know to punish them’: Translating Pfefferkorn into Danish,” in *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews: Johannes Pfefferkorn and Christian Writings about Jewish Life and Literature in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 135–53. The first such work in Swedish was Christian Petter Löwe’s *Speculum Religionis Judaicae* from 1732. An annotated edition of Löwe’s polemic ethnographical work is under preparation.

novella of the first day respectively in the *Decameron*, descriptions in East Norse range from mildly to vehemently negative.⁷⁰ The principal difference regarding how Jews are referred to in different genres is one of quantity. Whereas a profane work might simply refer to the “Christ-killing Jews,” contemplative works revel in the gory details of how Jews killed the Son of God: their deeds, faces, bodies, cruel thoughts, modes of speech, and so on.⁷¹

Word frequency and collocability: Old Danish

The most readily accessible collection of citations from East Norse texts is the ODa. citation slip collection belonging to *Gammeldansk Ordbog* [*The Dictionary of Old Danish*].⁷² Although it does not offer a complete index of every single occurrence of a word in ODa. (or, of course, East Norse) texts, with its 950,000 citations, it does allow us to obtain an impression of the contexts in which words that form the foundation of *Gammeldansk Ordbog* are found. Below is an alphabetically arranged list of the most frequently used words that collocate with *juthe* in the citation slip collection alongside an example. By collocate, I here mean verbs being performed by Jews, adjectives describing Jews, or nouns that are modified by the word *juthe*, including placenames and prepositional phrases, and that preferably occur within the space of three words either side of *juthe*. The list thus comprises the set of lexical items that most often can be juxtaposed with *juthe* in a lexically acceptable way.⁷³

70 Although even here there are a few exceptions. See, for example, Text 23: *The Converted Jew and the Devil* and Text 35: *The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold*.

71 See Chapter 6: *Modelling Feelings and Behaviours*, pp. 221–98.

72 The ODa. citation slip collection housed at Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab [The Society for Danish Language and Literature] in Copenhagen is available online: <https://gammeldanskseddelssamling.dk/> (last accessed 5 April 2022). For an overview of the collection and its history, see Merete K. Jørgensen, Marita Akhøj Nielsen, and John Kousgård Sørensen, *Gammeldansk Ordbog*, Præsentationshæfte, no. 21 (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 1992).

73 Of course, such a method does not pick up “Jewish contexts” where the word *juthe* does not appear, for example verbs with the subject/agent pronoun *they* or *them* (where this refers to Jews mentioned earlier in the text) rather than the noun *Jews*.

band, n. [bond, fettle]

frelss oss aff^(a) alle wore vwenners vrede bode ðynliig oc vðynliig ðaa ðom thw frelste pedher apostell oc Sancte powell aff iøðerniiss bande⁷⁴

Notes: a. oss aff] oss *MS*.

[Save us from the fury of all our enemies, both visible and invisible, just like you saved the Apostle Peter and St Paul from the Jews' bonds.]

beflimelse, n. [insults]

naar thu for [...] iøthers beflimælse ropthe thic at ware forlathen aff gudh⁷⁵

[When you (...) because of the Jews' insults shouted that you were forsaken by God.]

bespotte, vb. [to mock]

tha lupæ iudherne til oc bespottedhe hamom⁷⁶

[Then the Jews ran up and mocked him.]

binde, vb. [to tie, bind]

Arlæ om morgen kommæ iudæ høffdinghæ och the fræmstæ aff folkæt timblica attir oc ladhæ vor herræ Ihesu bynnæ hendernæ attir om baghin⁷⁷

[Early in the morning, the Jewish chieftains and the most prominent of the people came back in good time and had Our Lord Jesus' hands tied behind his back.]

bønehus, n. [prayer house, synagogue, temple]

at silo ter som jøðernæ bønæ hus^(a) vor føræ en vdy iherusalem⁷⁸

Notes: a. hus] hus [oc] *MS*.

[Shilo, where the Jews' temple was before (it was) in Jerusalem.]

disputere, vb. [to dispute]

Tha komæ sammæn thee wtro jøde ath dispwteræ cum stephano⁷⁹

[Then the faithless Jews arrived to dispute with Stephen.] Cf. Acts 6:9.

⁷⁴ *BønneB* IV 250 (*MLauridsd*).

⁷⁵ *BønneB* II 290 (*BønneB AM 418,12*). Note that the word *beflimelse* is a *hapax legomenon*.

⁷⁶ *Pass* [AM] 92r.

⁷⁷ *BonavMedit* 75vb.

⁷⁸ *Mandev* 56.

⁷⁹ *SMP* III 460.

draghe i har, vb. [to pull hair]

then tymæ war han fanghen aff iødhernæ [...] oc wor drauen i haar⁸⁰
[When he was captured by the Jews (...) and had his hair pulled.]

dræpe, vb. [to kill]

Mæt thærne ræten wilde iudhene dræpæ hærren Ihesum⁸¹
[Using this law, the Jews wanted to kill the Lord Jesus.]

drøvelse, n. [sorrow]

then meglæ drøwelsæ ther iødernæ giordhæ *Ihesus Christus* then tymæ⁸²
[The great sorrow that the Jews caused Jesus Christ at that time.]

døne, vb. [to smell]

Aff then lukt dønne iudherne there mwn oc there spyt⁸³
[The Jews' mouths and spittle stank of that stench.]

døth, adj. [dead]

ellewe thwsand judhe bliffwe dødhe oc hundrade ware fangne / oc thrediogho saldis fare
een pæning⁸⁴
[Eleven thousand Jews were dead and a hundred were captured, and thirty sold for a penny.]

falsk, adj. [false]

mit barn matte frælsses aff the falske oc grymmeste iudhes hændher⁸⁵
[My child could be saved from the false and vile Jews' hands.]

80 *KlosterB* 56.

81 *Pass* [AM] 76v.

82 *KlosterB* 59.

83 *Pass* [AM] 58v.

84 *SMP* III 427.

85 *Pass* [AM] 7v–8r.

fange, vb. [to capture]

forthi then tymæ war han fanghen aff iødhernæ oc wor spõtthet oc slauen oc skuthen fraa en oc til annen⁸⁶

[Because at that time he was captured by the Jews and was spat upon and beaten and shoved from one (person) to another.]

flængje, vb. [to whip, scourge]

Thy at næste fredaghen ther æffter / skulde han i hennæ aasywn / oc nærwarelse grymmelige flænghias / oc korsfæstes / aff the falske iødher⁸⁷

[Because the following Friday, in her view and presence, he was to be cruelly whipped and crucified by the false Jews.]

forbannet, adj. [damned, accursed]

han gik wt fra the forbarnadhe jødha / ther han matte them alla forderffuat meth eet ordh / wm han haffdhe wiliat⁸⁸

[He left the damned Jews, when he could have condemned them all with one word if he had wished.]

forman, n. [spokesman, leader]

Tha sagde Judhe formæn⁸⁹

[Then the Jewish leaders said]

forrathe, vb. [to betray]

i yrthægordhen som man kaller Jessemanj / ther som han vor forodder aff then ondhe Jøde⁹⁰

[In the garden that is called Gethsemane where he was betrayed by the evil Jew.]

forsma, vb. [to disdain]

Men the som ær i then fiærde diell them scal øffuer faa een ønckeligh oc swar forbannet dom Thet er the som then hellige troo haffuer forsmadh som ær iøder oc hedningh oc onde cristen menniske⁹¹

86 *KlosterB* 56.

87 *Pass* [Sth] 4vb.

88 *SMP* III 142.

89 *HellKv* 16.

90 *DePassDom* 14.

91 *FemtenTegn* 9v.

[But those in the fourth part shall have a pitiable and very cursed judgement befall them: that is those who have disdained the Holy Faith, who are Jews and pagans and evil Christian people.]

fortapelse, n. [loss, forfeiture]

War herra jhesus christus græt mildelika jude fal oc fortapilsse⁹²

[Our Lord Jesus Christ wept mildly (charitably) over the fall and loss of the Jews.]

Galilea, n. [Galilee]

Tha Pylatus hørde at iødherne næffnde Galilea i theræ kæræmall⁹³

[When Pilate heard the Jews mention Galilee in their complaint.]

genemstinge, vb. [to pierce, puncture, stab through]

jødhænæ giordhe mech threggæ handæ pinæ køn [...] jærnet / *met* hwilke the ginom stungo mynæ hænder ok føter⁹⁴

[The Jews caused me three types of pain (...) the iron with which they pierced my hands and feet.]

gisle, vb. [to whip, scourge]

Nw worth herren synderlige slagen *meth* giislær Thy at iøderne hafde then sidh ath the giislædæ them som moth theræ logh giorde⁹⁵

[Now the Lord was beaten specially with whips, because the Jews had the custom to whip those who went against their law.]

gripe, vb. [to catch]

iak wordher griben aff iudherne⁹⁶

[I am caught by the Jews.]

⁹² *SMP* III 323.

⁹³ *Pass* [Sth] 35r.

⁹⁴ *SMP* VIII 181.

⁹⁵ *Pass* [Sth] 38r.

⁹⁶ *Pass* [AM] 11v.

grim, adj. [ugly]

the grymme iudher the sighe thik i thæssæ daghe at thw est forbanneth⁹⁷
[The ugly Jews are saying about you these days that you are damned.]

græte, vb. [to weep]

Tha scal iøderen robe met oc grede · at them sculle noger tijd komme i howæ at the sculde
saa ønckeligh hantære thiære gud oc thiære scaber⁹⁸
[Then the Jew(s) will cry and weep that they should ever remember that they had treated
their god and creator so pitifully.]

gul, adj. [yellow]

oc saraceni te weuæ tørris hofueth *meth* hwet linet [...] oc iødernæ *meth* gult⁹⁹
[And the Saracens wrapped their heads in white linen (...) and the Jews in yellow.]

harthhet, n. [harshness, severity; insensibility]

Jødhers hordhet straffes som ey togge tak vppa Gudz godgerning / vten blefwe i sin ilherde-
het¹⁰⁰
[(The) Jews' harshness is being punished, those who did not accept God's good deed but
remained in their evil obstinacy.]

helaghdagh, n. [holy day, holiday]

oppa then timman war een Iudhana hælgha dagh næst theres pascha¹⁰¹
[At that time, it was one of the Jews' holy days, close to their Easter (Passover/Pesach).]

hemelik, adj. [secret]

iudherne wore i eet hemeligt radh ath tractere aff Ihesu dødh¹⁰²
[The Jews were in a secret council to plan Jesus' death.]

⁹⁷ *Pass* [AM] 9r.

⁹⁸ *FemtenTegn* 10v. The word “iøderen” is here being used as a collective noun: ‘the Jews.’

⁹⁹ *Mandev* 58. Note that in iconography the colour yellow was associated with cowardice and betrayal (and often with Judas). See vol. 1, pp. 150, 152n66, 154, and 155–57.

¹⁰⁰ *Suso ODa*. 91. ODa. *harthhet* translates Lat. *duricia* here.

¹⁰¹ *SMP* III 114. The ODa. *helaghdagh* in reference to Jewish holidays usually means either Shabbat or Pesach.

¹⁰² *Pass* [AM] 24v.

huthstryke, vb. [to scourge]

Oc then timme apostoli predicathe Gudz nadha Judei hustrugho somma aff them¹⁰³
[And when the apostles preached God's mercy, the Jews scourged some of them.]

hærthske, n. [harshness, severity, brutality]

Tha grædh herren Ihesu beeskælighe / for iødherne hærdszkæ¹⁰⁴
[Then the Lord Jesus cried bitterly because of the Jews' harshness.]

høghfærthigh, adj. [proud, arrogant]

jhesus predighedhe thriggæ hamde sannend hwilke høghfærdughe jødhæ amot sagdhe¹⁰⁵
[Jesus preached three kinds of truth which arrogant Jews argued against.]

i bjarghene, prep. phrase [in the mountains]

oc udi te bierghæ boo mangæ iødher innæluctæ aff te thy slekter¹⁰⁶
[And in these mountains live many enclosed Jews of the Ten Tribes.]

ille luktende, adj. [stinky, bad smelling]

iødherne i then tyme ware eet illæ luctendhæ Ok dønendhe folk / Thy at the aathe rødh løg
/ ok hwidløg ok swamp og paddhe hatte Ok sligh owan kost¹⁰⁷
[The Jews at that time were a stinky and smelly people, because they ate red onions, and
garlic, and mushrooms, and toadstools, and such aforementioned food.]

ilskefulle thanke, n. [thoughts of evil/anger, wicked thoughts]

Ok tha opinbarædes the ilzskæfullæ thankæ mot gutz søn som føræ waræ lønlighe ij
jødhænæ hiærtæ¹⁰⁸
[And then were revealed the thoughts of evil towards the Son of God that previously were
hidden in the Jews' hearts.]

103 *SMP* III 163.

104 *Pass* [Sth] 30va.

105 *SMP* VIII 159–60.

106 *Mandev* 158.

107 *Pass* [Sth] 33ra. Onions, garlic, and mushrooms were considered to be particularly typical food items in the Jewish diet. See under *Foetor judaicus*, vol. 1, pp. 193–96.

108 *SMP* VIII 64.

Israels folk, n. [the people of Israel]

Israels folk som ere iøderne oc alle andre baade konger oc herrer offuer all verden skulle komme omsiger til den hellige tro oc tiene den alsommectiste gud samdirectelige¹⁰⁹

[The people of Israel, who are the Jews, and all others, both kings and lords, from throughout the world will finally come to the Holy Faith and serve God Almighty in harmony.]

jamerlik, adj. [terrible; pitiable]

O y iæmerlige iøder / skonner meg enthet / men y haffwe nw korsfest myn en søn¹¹⁰

[O, you terrible Jews! Spare me from nothing! But you have now crucified my only son!]

Jerusalem, n. [Jerusalem]

Tha alexandir com nogut nær ierusalem som judhane the bødho · tha vordho the migit rædde¹¹¹

[When Alexander approached Jerusalem where the Jews lived, they became very afraid.]

Jutheland, n. [Land of the Jews, Judea]

Ther kom saa thidendæ aff iøde landh | en iomffrw fick barn for vdhen mandh¹¹²

[Then news came from the land of the Jews (Judea), a virgin had had a child without a man.]

kaste, vb. [to throw]

Item sa then stadh Nayn [...] ther som Iodhe wilde haue cast Ihesum nedher af biæriæt / som there stadh stoodh bigdar a¹¹³

[Furthermore, the town Nain (...) where the Jews wanted to have Jesus thrown down the hill on which their town was built.]

korsfæste, vb. [to crucify]

pylatus oc judhane the hafva honum pint oc corsfæst¹¹⁴

[Pilate and the Jews have tortured and crucified him.]

¹⁰⁹ ChrPed *VFrTid*, f. Kk2r; ChrPed. *Skr* II 343.

¹¹⁰ *BønneB* III 320 (*VisdSp*).

¹¹¹ *SjæTrø* 118.

¹¹² *Rimkr* I d5r.

¹¹³ *VejlPilgr* 223.

¹¹⁴ *SjæTrø* 29.

kunung, n. [king]

Pylatus sporde hannum ath estw Judae konningh¹¹⁵
 [Pilate asked him, “Are you the king of the Jews?”] Cf. Matthew 27:2.

lagh, n. [law]

Ihesus Christus wilde ey bryda jøthirnis logh¹¹⁶
 [Jesus Christ did not want to break the Jews’ law.]

linklæther, n. [linen clothes]

Tha togh Iohannes Oc Nichodemus oc the andræ til at svøbæ ligommet i thy linnæ kledærnæ æffter thy som iødærnæ plægædæ at gøræ¹¹⁷
 [Then John and Nicodemus and the others began wrapping the body in the linen cloths like the Jews used to do.]

lukt, n. [stench, smell (of onions)]

Aff then lukt døndhe iøder theræ mwñ ok theræ spyt so saare At then ondhe døn matte bryte wors herræ Ihesu hiærte¹¹⁸
 [Jews’ mouths and spittle smell so badly of that stench that the vile smell could break Our Lord Jesus’ heart.]

oker, n. [usury, interest on a loan]

Ma iac taga ogir af en jødha¹¹⁹
 [May I take interest from a Jew?]

ond, adj. [evil]

Saraceni siæ Iødernæ ath varæ megit ondhæ / mest forthy at tee ikcæ hollæ gutz logh¹²⁰
 [The Saracens say that the Jews are very evil mostly because they do not keep God’s law.]

115 *HellKv* 16.

116 *SMP* III 378.

117 *BonavMedit* 88va.

118 *Pass* [Sth] 33ra.

119 *SjæTrø* 102.

120 *Mandev* 72.

paskedagh, n. [Easter (Pesach, Passover)]

Then tydh ther iøderne ville holde theriis Poske dag / tha gick wor herre offuer mæreth¹²¹
[When the Jews were to celebrate their Pesach, Our Lord walked across the sea.]

pine, vb. [to torment, torture]

aff iødher lodh han segh pinæ saræ¹²²
[He allowed himself to be greatly tortured by the Jews.]

rath, n. [council]

Tha ganger Judas [...] til Juthæ radh¹²³
[Then Judas goes (...) to the Jews' council.]

rope, vb. [to shout, yell]

Tha ropede alla iudhene thu skalt korsfæsten¹²⁴
[Then all the Jews shouted, "You must crucify him!"]

rykje (op), vb. [to yank, push, pull (up)]

Tha rukte iøderne herræn snarth vp¹²⁵
[Then the Jews quickly pulled the Lord up (off the stone).]

ræt kristelik sjal, n. [true Christian soul]

The iutha haftho rætt cristelec sial · for thy the græto oc ømkatho Jhesus ma¹²⁶
[Those Jews had true Christian souls because they wept and felt compassion with Jesus' case.]

ræthsel, n. [terror]

the sade samen for Iødhe resle¹²⁷
[They were sitting together for fear of the Jews.]

121 *BønneB* III 278 (*VisdSp*).

122 *KlosterB* 148.

123 *HellKv* 13.

124 *Pass* [AM] 68v.

125 *Pass* [AM] 85v.

126 *ChrOpst* 71.

127 *VejlPilgr* 216.

san, adj. [true]

at thu skalt blifwe aff there tal som æræ sanne iødher / ey i scrift vten i and¹²⁸
[That you shall be one of their number who are true Jews, not in scripture but in spirit.]

sethvænje, n. [custom, practice]

Iosephus sigher / iødhene sædhwænie war / at alle them som the fongedhe ok wildhe
dræbæ / them fæstæ the *meth* iærn om hændrene¹²⁹
[Josephus says that it was the Jews' custom to secure all those whom they captured and were
to kill with irons around their hands.]

skjute, vb. [to push, shove]

Tha skødh iøderne wor herre Ihesum Christum meth korsset saa ynkelighe och saa hoorde-
lighe ath woor herre Ihesus Cristus benediede næse oc mundh the toghe i steen hallen och
hans welsignede themmer the slowe løse aff hans benediede kinbeen¹³⁰
[Then the Jews shoved Our Lord Jesus Christ carrying the cross so pitiably and so hard that
Our Lord Jesus Christ's blessed nose and mouth hit the rock and his blessed teeth were
struck loose from his blessed jaw.]

skære umkring, vb. [to circumcise]

Och sydhen lode the skæræ theræs børn wm kryngh *meth* iærnknyffwe Och thet holde jøde
æn j dagh¹³¹
[And then they had their children circumcised with iron knives and Jews still keep this (prac-
tice) today.]

sla i hæl, vb. [to kill]

Den tiid skall komme at huilken aff iøderne som kand bliffue mechtig at sla eder i hiel Han
skal mene at han gør gud stor tieniste der met¹³²
[The time will come when any Jew who can become powerful enough to kill you will think
that he is offering God a great service by so doing.] Cf. John 16:2.

¹²⁸ *Suso ODa.* 159.

¹²⁹ *Pass* [Sth] 33v.

¹³⁰ *JesuPassV* d2r.

¹³¹ *SMP* III 461.

¹³² *ChrPed AlleErocEu*, f. 148v [cxlii]; *ChrPed Skr* II 68.

smælikhet, n. [mockery]

jødhæne reknædhæ hannem til smælichet¹³³
 [The Jews reckoned him for mockery.]

snøth, adj. [bad, evil]

nar han sagdæ mægh thørstær i huilke ordh vor moder oc Iohanni^(a) och them som i thieræ fylgæ varæ stor varkummen Oc the snødæ iødærnæ mygget gledes¹³⁴

Notes: a. Iohanni] Ihamni MS.

[When he said, “I am thirsty,” with which words Our Lady and John and those in their company felt great compassion, the evil Jews were greatly pleased.]

spjut, n. [spear]

tha komme iøderne igeen farende wth aff staden wempte / oc een aff them stak hanum meth eth spywdh i hans benedede sydhæ wth i genem hierther¹³⁵

[Then the Jews came out of the city again, armed, and one of them stabbed him with a spear in his blessed side straight through the heart.]

spyt, n. [spit]

Iosephus sigher at iøderne haffde swa gantze saare forwend herren^(a) Ihesum meth theræ spyt at the ekki kwnne see hans oghen eller mwn eller nogher skapnet vnder¹³⁶

Notes: a. herren] herr MS.

[Iosephus says that the Jews had so greatly transformed the Lord Jesus with their spittle that they were not able to see his eyes or mouth or any figure beneath it.]

spytte, vb. [to spit]

thæt spyttet som iudhene hafdhe spyttet vnder hans øghon Thæt war hordneth¹³⁷
 [The spittle that the Jews had spat below his eyes had hardened.]

133 SMP VIII 182.

134 BonavMedit 83rb.

135 BønneB III 90 (BønneB AM 75,8).

136 Pass [Sth] 42r.

137 Pass [AM] 61r.

stene, vb. [to stone]

Jødha sankadhe stena samman oc wilde stena war herra¹³⁸
 [Jews gathered up stones and wanted to stone Our Lord.]

støtte, vb. [to shove]

tha vor han greben aff te wmillæ jødher / [...] oc alt thet ther vor i weyæn / stenæ / tyrnæ oc
 becke / tha støtte the hamum vdi¹³⁹
 [Then he was captured by the cruel Jews (...) and they shoved him into everything that lay in
 his path: stones, thorns, and streams.]

sundersla, vb. [to smash]

then tiidh jøderne komme oc vildæ thin kærstæ søns been senderslaa¹⁴⁰
 [When the Jews came and wanted to smash your dear son's bones.]

thornekrone, n. [crown of thorns]

the torn krwnæ / som Iødernæ setthe ponne Jhesu Christi hoffweth¹⁴¹
 [The crown of thorns that the Jews placed on Jesus Christ's head.]

thvo, vb. [to wash]

a then same hand er natatoria Syløe / · thet heder ogh so for thi / at Iodhe thoe them ogh
 summæ ther i¹⁴²
 [On the same side is the Pool of Siloam (*natatoria Siloae*). It is also so called because Jews
 and others wash in it.]

umild, adj. [cruel]

tha vor han greben aff the wmillæ jødher / och meth reff bwnden / Pinther oc sworlige
 Plaweth¹⁴³
 [Then he was grabbed by the cruel Jews and bound with rope, tortured, and badly tor-
 mented.]

138 *SMP* III 141–42.

139 *DePassDom* 14.

140 *BønneB* IV 162 (*MIssd*).

141 *Mandev* 8.

142 *VejlPilgr* 214.

143 *DePassDom* 14.

umskoren, adj. [circumcised]

appella : iøde som er omskaaren¹⁴⁴
 [Appella: a Jew who is circumcised.]

umskære, vb. [to circumcise]

smasuemen jhesus skulde omskæræs æfter judhænæ logh¹⁴⁵
 [The infant boy Jesus was to be circumcised in accordance with Jewish law.]

urene hænder, n. [unclean hands]

Iðernæ togæ ponnæ hannum met tørres wrenæ hender¹⁴⁶
 [The Jews grabbed him with their filthy hands.]

usal, adj. [wretched]

O uih uslæ iuþha / O uih umilde iuþha / sparer mik æi¹⁴⁷
 [O woe, wretched Jews! O woe, cruel Jews! Do not spare me!]

utkaste, vb. [to throw out, eject]

Æn these rikesins søner / som æra judhana sagdhe war herra · The skula vtkastas j ydarsta
 myrket / oc ther skal wardha graat oc tarnagnizl¹⁴⁸
 [But these sons of the kingdom, who Our Lord said are the Jews, will be thrown outside into
 the furthest darkness and there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.] Cf. Matthew 8:12.

utro, adj. [faithless, lacking in faith]

the wtro iødher haffde fanget thin alzkærste søn¹⁴⁹
 [The faithless Jews had captured your dear son.]

144 ChrPed *Voc*, f. 12r.

145 *SMP* VIII 57.

146 *Mandev* 50.

147 *Mariakl* 22.

148 *SMP* III 55; cf. *SMP* VIII 89 and “judhane skulu wthkastas y ytra myrkrit / ther skal vara
 \gratir ok/ thanna gnizlan” [the Jews will be thrown outside into the furthest darkness. There
 will be weeping and gnashing of teeth] in a fragment (VIIIr) in NRA and described in Bertil Ejder,
 “Fragment av en svensk medeltidspostilla,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 68 (1953): 160.

149 *BønneB* II 172 (*ABrade*).

utvalt, adj. [chosen]

han haffdhe wtualt jødhænæ til meere wærdughet æn noghet annet folk¹⁵⁰
[He had chosen the Jews for greater honour than any other people.]

æve, vb. [to doubt]

thee wtro jwdene scwlde jeffwe wm ath han føddes aff skær møø¹⁵¹
[The faithless Jews would doubt whether he had been born of a pure virgin.]

øpe, vb. [to shout]

Oc ther øpte the fwle jødher øfwer hannom meth there falske twnge Crucifige Crucifige eum¹⁵²
[And then the vile Jews shouted over him with their false tongues, “Crucify, crucify him!”]

The majority of collocates are verbs (32 in all), nouns (29), and adjectives (17).¹⁵³ The considerable number of biblical and religious texts, particularly devotional ones that mention Jews, is clearly reflected in the vocabulary used in conjunction with *juthe*. The twenty most frequent words that collocate with *juthe* (in descending order of frequency) are:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. to shout, yell (<i>rope</i>) | 11. to whip (<i>flængje</i>) |
| 2. to crucify (<i>korsfæste</i>) | 12. king (<i>kunung</i>) |
| 3. to kill (<i>dræpe</i>) | 13. evil (<i>ond</i>) |
| 4. false (<i>falsk</i>) | 14. to torment (<i>pine</i>) |
| 5. spokesman, leader (<i>forman</i>) | 15. to shake, push (<i>rykje [op]</i>) |
| 6. to catch (<i>gribe</i>) | 16. to tie, bind (<i>binde</i>) |
| 7. ugly (<i>grim</i>) | 17. to capture (<i>fange</i>) |
| 8. law (<i>lagh</i>) | 18. damned (<i>forbannet</i>) |
| 9. council (<i>rath</i>) | 19. to disdain (<i>forsma</i>) |
| 10. terror (<i>ræthsel</i>) | 20. to stone (<i>stene</i>) |

150 SMP VIII 156.

151 SMP III 456.

152 *OpbygSkr* 218v.

153 Verbs: *bespotte*, *binde*, *disputere*, *draghe i har*, *dræpe*, *døne*, *fange*, *flængje*, *forrathe*, *forsma*, *genemstinge*, *gisle*, *gribe*, *græte*, *huthstryke*, *kaste*, *korsfæste*, *pine*, *rope*, *rykje (op)*, *skjute*, *skære umkring*, *sla i hæl*, *spytte*, *stene*, *støtte*, *sundersla*, *thvo*, *umskære*, *utkaste*, *æve*, *øpe*. Nouns: *band*, *beflimelse*, *bønehus*, *drøvelse*, *forman*, *fortapelse*, *Galilea*, *harthhet*, *helaghdagh*, *hærthske*, *ilskefulle thanke*, *Israels folk*, *Jerusalem*, *Jutheland*, *kunung*, *lagh*, *linklæther*, *lukt*, *oker*, *paskedagh*, *rath*, *ræt kristelik sjal*, *ræthsel*, *sethvænje*, *smælikhet*, *spjut*, *spyt*, *thornekrone*, *urene hænder*. Adjectives: *døth*, *falsk*, *forbannet*, *grim*, *gul*, *hemelik*, *høghfærthigh*, *ille luktende*, *jamerlik*, *ond*, *san*, *snøth*, *umild*, *umskoren*, *usal*, *utro*, *utvalt*.

Thus, the most typical words used in connection with Jews in ODa. texts:

People and things (nouns):	spokesman/leader, law, council, terror, king.
Describing Jews (adjectives):	false, ugly, evil, damned.
Jewish actions (verbs):	shout/yell, crucify, kill, catch, whip, torment, shake/push, tie/bind, capture, disdain, stone.

The use of the word *juthe* to identify the killers of Christ was a standard trope from the earliest days of Christianity in Scandinavia as the final sentences of the runic inscription (DK Bh 30) on the Aakirkeby Church baptismal font on Bornholm from c. 1200 quoted above show.¹⁵⁴ This enduring written history of Jewish involvement in the Passion and Crucifixion in East Norse has resulted in a large body of texts (e. g., prayers, sermons, Passion treatises, and miracles) that narrate and detail their deicide crime. This explains, of course, why so many of the most frequent words that collocate with Jews are terms associated with the actions of “the Jewish mob” during the last days of Jesus (e. g., yelling, crucifying, killing, scourging, and shoving) and the power structures that enabled or urged them to kill Jesus (e. g., their law, leaders, false beliefs, and council). It is noteworthy that over half of all the words are verbs in the active voice: Jews are performers of actions, agents or “doers” as it were. It is the Jews’ enemies who are the direct objects or recipients of their actions.

By categorizing the words, we can see that most concern negative physical and moral attributes and behaviours. Words to do with loud speech, murder, dishonesty, leaders, and law collocate most frequently with *Jew* in the material. The items can be grouped according to three broad themes below:

What are Jews?

- Jewish tradition (law, custom, circumcision, Pesach, Shabbat)
- Places (synagogue, Jerusalem, Galilee, Judea)
- People (leader, king)
- Occupation (usury)

What are Jews like?

- Negative moral attributes (false, terrifying, damned, evil, haughty, unkind, lost)
- Positive moral attributes (converted, chosen by God, true, real Christian)
- Physical attributes (ugly, stinking, unclean, linen clothes, yellow headgear)

¹⁵⁴ On the Aakirkeby baptismal font, see vol. 1, p. 265.

How do Jews behave?

- Physical violence (crucify, kill, whip, shove, tie, stab, throw, beat)
- Verbal violence (ridicule, mockery)
- Loud vocalization (shout, dispute)
- Neutral verbs (wash, cry)

The positive moral attributes are only found in relation to venerable figures from the Old Testament, such as Prophets, or to converted Jews. Geographically, Jews in biblical texts are linked to the Holy Land, whereas contemporary Jews are found elsewhere in locations that are simultaneously familiar and exotic, such as Rome and Constantinople. The only occupation mentioned for contemporary Jews is usury and it only occurs rarely in connection with Jews in ODa. This may seem surprising, but it is probably a reflection of the absence of Jews engaged in business and moneylending in medieval Denmark.

Needless to say, just because Jews are described as tormentors in the texts does not mean that tormenting is a solely Jewish activity.¹⁵⁵ Yet some of these words are in fact strongly associated with Jewish behaviours and occur almost exclusively in extant texts about Jews.

Table 3.1: Number of occurrences of certain verbs and nouns in combination with Jews and non-Jews and percentage of occurrences with Jews.

	Jews	non-Jews	Percentage of occurrences involving Jews
<i>hon</i> [mockery]	10	0	100
<i>stene</i> [to stone (to death)]	46	2	96
<i>gabbe</i> [to deride]	16	1	94
<i>spytte</i> [to spit]	54	26	68
<i>spe</i> [derision]	27	25	52
<i>bespottelse</i> [blasphemy]	13	18	42
<i>hone</i> [to mock]	1	2	33

¹⁵⁵ Indeed, most vocabulary used about Jews is, of course, not exclusive to Jews. For example, in SKB K 4, f. 40r (1480–85); *HellKv* 30, St Margaret the Virgin of Antioch says to Olybrius, the governor of the Roman Diocese of the East: “hør thu vscamfull hund thu gør thin faders gerning ther deffule ær” [Listen, you shameless dog! You do the work of your father, who is the devil!]. Cf. John 8:44.

In the same way that church art could be used to “fill in the gaps” in sermons, for example by helping the listeners identify unnamed perpetrators of the Crucifixion as Jews, so too could this vocabulary trigger a range of ideas and emotional responses about the people it describes.¹⁵⁶ To put it another way, certain words predict a “Jewish environment.” Upon hearing words like spit, mockery, and gape used in contexts such as Good Friday sermons, the audience would automatically have made the connection to Jewish behaviours. These lexical connections would have been constantly reinforced through repetition in preaching and prayer as well as illustrations in religious public art. It is difficult to believe that upon hearing these lines from the fifteenth-century ODa. sermon for the Third Sunday after Easter (Jubilate Sunday) in UUB C 56, the audience would have imagined anyone other than Jews torturing their messiah even though they are not mentioned by name:

J these helghe læst ær forst mærkande / At Jhesus sigher liten stund ær atj skulin ey see mik / som ær naar jak skal aff omylda mæn fangas · flengias · oc gabbas · korsfestas oc dræpas / Oc tha skulin j ey see mik *medh* likamlik hugnadh / oc thy skulin j tha sørghia oc græta¹⁵⁷
 [In this holy text, the first thing to notice is that Jesus says, “For a short while you will not see me. That is when I am captured, whipped and mocked (by gaping mouths), crucified and killed by cruel men. And then you will not see me in bodily form and so then you will grieve and weep.”]

The short passage contains many of the words commonly found to describe Jews and their actions in Passion scenes from the New Testament: *dræpe*, *fanga*, *flængje*, *gabbe*, *korsfæste*, and *umild*. Could the listeners really disassociate these words from Jews and consider others as possible perpetrators?

To take another example, Marine Jespersdatter’s prayer book (DAS AM 421 12^o) from 1500–24 contains, among other things, an Hours of Our Lady (*Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*) with several prayers for contemplating the events leading up to the Crucifixion. The book is lavishly illustrated with decorated initials and full-page coloured images depicting scenes from the Passion. The book is as close

¹⁵⁶ It should be noted, that of the occurrences of *spytte* [to spit] that do not involve Jews, more than half are from medical texts and most of the remainder are found in Christiern Pedersen’s lexicographical work, *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum* (1515), s.v. “screo,” “spuo.” Beyond the fields of medicine and lexicography, spitting is not a documented action typical for non-Jews in medieval Danish literature.

¹⁵⁷ UUB C 56, f. 119v [p. 238]; SMP III 179. Cf.: “ihesus sigir litin stund ær ok j skulin ey se mik som ær nar iak scal af omildom mannom fangas / flengæs gabbas korsfestas oc dræpas” [Jesus says, “There is a short while and you will not see me, that is when I am captured, scourged, mocked (by gaping mouths), crucified, and killed by cruel men”], DAS AM 787 4^o, f. 49vb; *SermSac* 222.

to an illuminated manuscript as can be found among medieval Danish codices. Instructions after each prayer for how many times the petitioner should say *Ave Maria* and *Pater Noster* and for what purpose are written in red. In the prayer on the arrest of Jesus, we read (f. 57r): “**O** Sødhe herre ihesu *christe* loff ware tegh ffor then bespyttelse som tyd faawre andlædhe war bespytthet **O**ch ther tyll meth war skyld med eth wrenth kledhe” [O sweet Jesus Christ! May you be praised for the spittle that was spat upon your fair face! And that was furthermore rinsed with a dirty cloth].¹⁵⁸ There are no agents for the spitting – or wiping – here, although for the reader versed in religious language, spitting would be a familiar “Jewish activity.” The prayer faces a full-page illumination (f. 56v) that illustrates the events in Gethsemane, and here, the guards making the arrest are clearly marked as Jews: pointed hats, dark pointed beards, and one has his face in profile to highlight a large nose. The men are all armed and appear to be mistreating Jesus. The link between the spitting and Jews is made clear through the combination of image and text. Similarly, no culprits are specified by name at the flagellation (f. 59r): “loff hedher och ære ware teg ffor thym wmyskwndelig flængelssæ oc tyth hellige blotz wdgyffwelse” [May you receive praise, glory and honour for the merciless flagellation and the outpouring of your holy blood!]¹⁵⁹ However, in the facing illustration (f. 58v) two Jews (pointed yellow hats, dark pointed beards, clothing) are beating Jesus with a spiked mace and another unidentifiable weapon that is probably another one of the *Arma Christi*. On the crowning of Jesus, Jews are again not mentioned in the text (f. 60r): “som kroneth war med alsomskarpysthe torne och meer en ·M· saar haddhe” [that was crowned (passive, no agent) with the sharpest of thorns and had more than a thousand wounds].¹⁶⁰ However, in the facing illustration (f. 59v) at least one of the characters forcing the crown of thorns onto his head is depicted as a Jew with a pointed hat, dark hair, and face in profile. In Herod’s court (f. 58r), Jesus was “iførth y eth hwyth dare klædhe oc regneth en dare aff herodes oc hans tienere” [dressed in a white fool’s robe and considered a fool by Herod and his servants].¹⁶¹ Herod’s servants are not specified using the term “Jew,” but in the facing illustration (f. 57v), there is a figure marked as a Jew (black hair, face in profile, yellow hat, particoloured tunic) pointing his finger and tongue out in mockery. In the *ecce homo* scene on f. 60v, Jews, again identifiable by their pointed hats, cry out “Crciffige” [crucify (him)!] but there is

158 See Figure 3.1.

159 See Figure 3.2.

160 See Figure 3.3.

161 See Figure 3.4.



Figure 3.1: The arrest of Jesus. Marine Jespersdatter's prayer book (1500–1524): Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 421 12^o, f. 56v. Photo: Suzanne Reitz. Reproduced with permission.

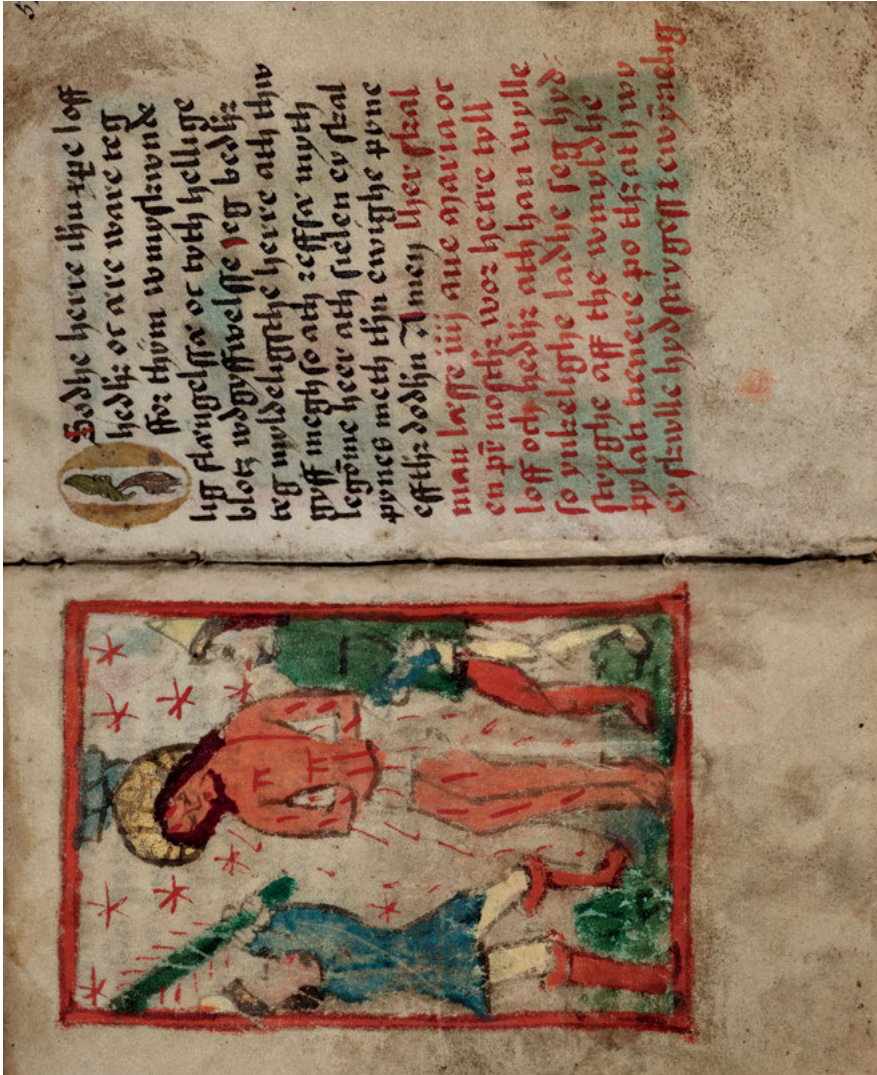


Figure 3.2: The scourging at the pillar. Marine Jespersdatter's prayer book (1500–1524): Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 421 12^o, f. 58v. Photo: Suzanne Reitz. Reproduced with permission.

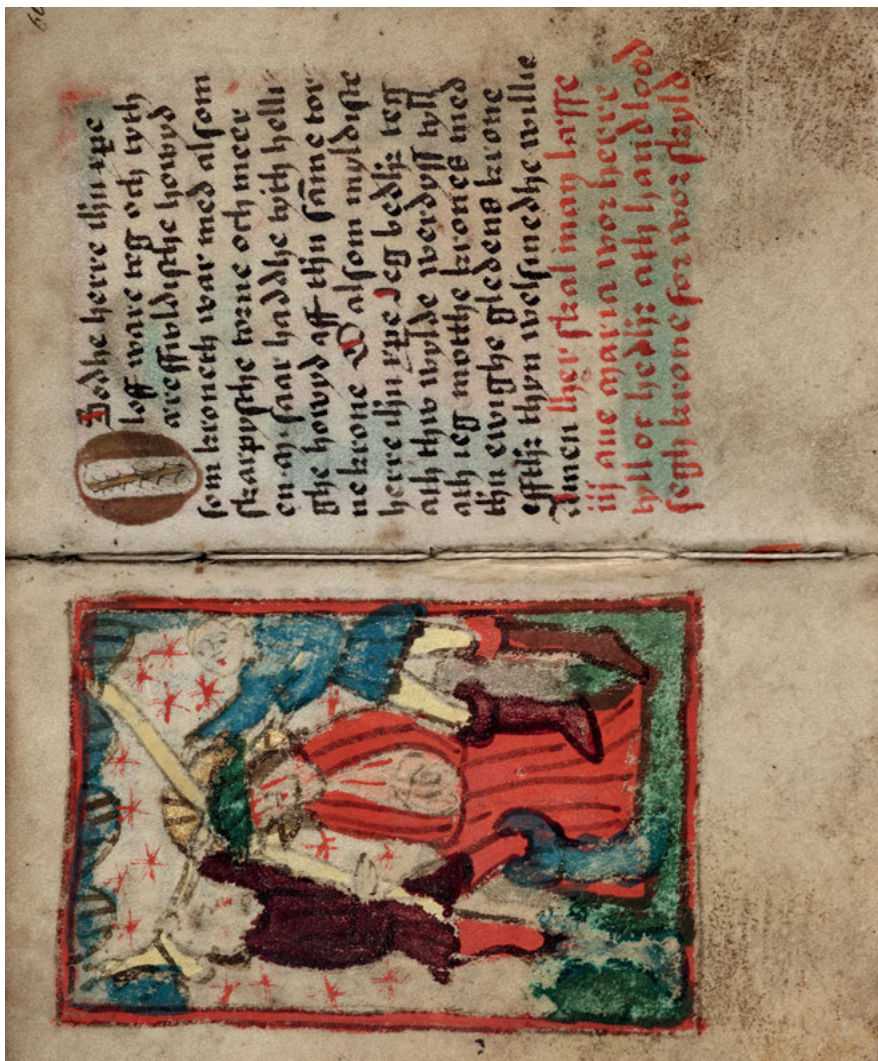


Figure 3.3: The crowning with thorns. Marine Jespersdatter's prayer book (1500–1524): Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 421 12^o, f. 59v. Photo: Suzanne Reitz. Reproduced with permission.

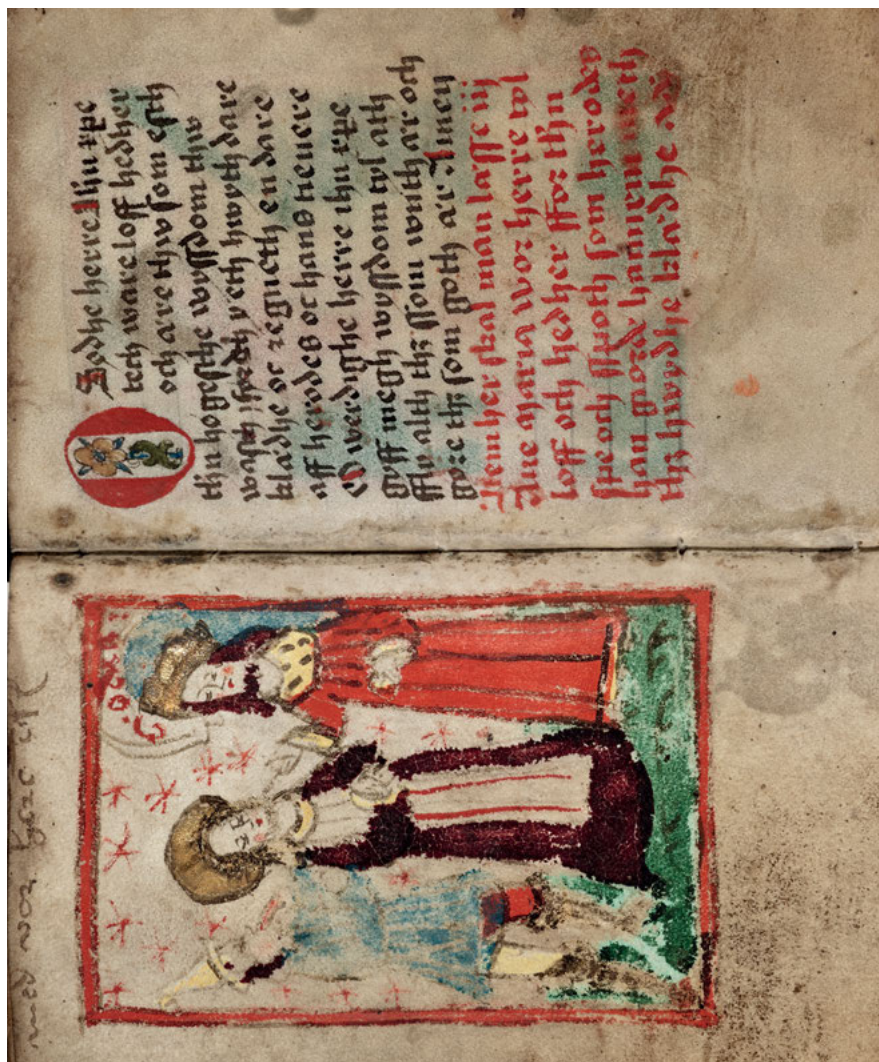


Figure 3.4: Jesus at Herod's court. Marine Jespersdatter's prayer book (1500–1524): Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 421 12^o, f. 57v. Photo: Suzanne Reitz. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 3.5: “Ecce homo. Crvciffige”: Marine Jespersdatter’s prayer book (1500–1524): Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 421 12^o, f. 60v. Photo: Suzanne Reitz. Reproduced with permission.

no mention of this in the prayer text.¹⁶² Indeed, in the entire prayer book of 120 folios, the term “Jews” appears just four times.¹⁶³ The interplay between text and image is thus essential for understanding the language used to talk about Jews.

Conclusion

The lexical analysis in this chapter reveals that there is a degree overlap and lack of differentiation between discrete concepts with some terms appearing as partial or full synonyms. The *Hebrews* appear only in Old Testament contexts and the *Jews* in New Testament or post-biblical ones. In some works, especially Passion tales, *Jew* is a loaded term and has connotations of opponent, enemy, and torturer. In others, such as some miracles, it can be more neutral and merely refers to a follower of another (albeit false) religion: *Jew-boy*, *Jew-child*, and *Jew-servant*. The context is important for decoding the precise semantics of terms referring to Jews: we cannot rely on the terms themselves as they are ambiguous. Furthermore, as vernacular literature arrived somewhat late on the Scandinavian manuscript scene compared to elsewhere in Europe, it inherited an already developed range of embittered attitudes towards Jews. We are therefore unable to discern any chronological development in the meanings of lexical items; for example, it is not

¹⁶² See Figure 3.5.

¹⁶³ In addition to mentioning “iødhe landh” (Jew-land) as the site of Christ’s crucifixion, Jews are mentioned by name just four times:

1) “tha skwddhe thw hans werdighe hoffwyd som ynkelighe war stwnghen meth then hwasse toorne krone so ath blodyd war rwnneth offwer alt hans andledhe oc war bespyththith offwer alth aff iødherne || so ath thet war so ynkelig tyl ath see som eth spytalst memmiskæ” [Then you observed his worthy head that was pitifully pierced by the sharp crown of thorns so that the blood ran all over his face and was all covered in spittle by the Jews so that it was as pitiful to see as a leper], DAS AM 421 12^o, f. 32r–v.

2–3) “**H**ell wære tw wor herris ihesu christi alsomclareste anseect [...] Som for oss forsmædelighe bespyththit · oc aff iødernes vmilde hænder forslagith war **H**ell wære tw ihesu christi alsomydmygelighe halss · som for wor skyld aff iøderne met reeb oc lyner hordelighe betwinghet war” [Hail Our Lord Jesus Christ’s most very bright face (...) that was mockingly spat upon and beaten by the Jews’ cruel hands for us. Hail Our Lord Jesus Christ’s most humble throat which for our sakes was harshly subdued by the Jews with ropes and cords], DAS AM 421 12^o, f. 79v.

4) “**O** iomfrw maria i hw kom then siette sware sorg thw figst i tiith hierte then tiid thin benedide søn war nedhertagen aff thet hellige korss oc lagd i tiith skød oc thw sost iøderne komme ighen aff iherusalem · oc meente at the wilde taget hærnmv || fra tegh” [O Virgin Mary! Remember your sixth sorrow that you had in your heart when your blessed son had been taken down from the holy cross and laid in your lap and you saw the Jews coming back from Jerusalem and you thought that they wanted to take him from you], DAS AM 421 12^o, f. 89r–v

possible to see a deterioration in the connotations associated with *juthe/iuþe* from the earliest texts to the later ones.¹⁶⁴ The meanings of and emotions connected to the words are entirely due to the context, genre, and purpose for which the text was written, not when it was written. Lexical items that are frequently juxtaposed with *Jew* demonstrate many negative, immoral attributes and behaviours as well as ugly physical bodies. There are few religious terms (the law, synagogue, temple, sacrifice) which parallels the lack of knowledge and interest in Judaism *per se* in the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁵ As far as the selection of words and their citations compiled as the foundation of *Gammeldansk Ordbog* is concerned, it is possible to discern certain words that only or very frequently occur in the written material in connection with Jews, e. g., mockery, derision, gaping, spit, and stoning to death, but that rarely occur in non-Jewish contexts. All this, together with the fact that *enemy of Christ* was used as a synonym for *Jew*, clearly shows that the language used in writing about Jews in ODa. and OSw., having been shaped by centuries of Christian tradition, was rather circumscribed and predictable right from the beginning, even if the precise connotation of each occurrence of a word may need to be found in the wider textual, graphic, or performative context.

164 This is different to the situation with church wall-paintings, some of which predate the beginnings of vernacular manuscript culture in Denmark and Sweden. Here, we can trace a development in the portrayal of Jews from the earliest to the later paintings. More on this can be found in the next chapter.

165 In Pedersen's *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum*, there are a couple of technical terms involving Jews; for example: "synagoga: sted som flere forsambles i vel kirke" [synagoga: place in which several [people] gather or church], f. 180r, and "appella: iøde som er omskaaren" [appella: Jew who is circumcised], f. 12r. These are almost certainly due to the source of his work (Ambrosius Calepinus's *Dictionarium* [Paris: Josse Bade, 1509]) rather than actual usage in Denmark.

4 The Language of the Jews: Knowledge about Hebrew in Medieval Scandinavia

Introduction

The original languages of the Bible – Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek – were little studied in the West during the Middle Ages. As St Jerome (c. 347–420) had translated the Bible into Latin, they were largely seen as unnecessary for the purposes of biblical exegesis. In addition to literal interpretation, Christian scholars used other approaches in biblical criticism for shedding light on difficult passages in the Old and New Testaments, such as the typological (connecting the events of the Old and New Testaments), anagogical (mystical relating to the afterlife and the future), and tropological (moral) methods. None of these four methods of scriptural interpretation, known collectively as the *Quadriga*, requires an investigation of the text in the original language. This circular hermeneutical approach resulted in a form of Christian exegetical “self-sufficiency,” and due to the difficult relationship, both religious and secular, between Jews and Christians, Hebrew thus remained of little interest to the Church. Indeed, as Jews themselves were seen as the blind opponents of Christianity, so too was their sacred tongue, Hebrew, viewed as void of truth. Jerome’s Vulgate – imbued with the Holy Spirit – was not merely an adequate substitute for the original texts, it was deemed an improvement.¹

The first religious Hebrew texts that piqued the interest of medieval Christian readers were the post-biblical works, most notably the Talmud. Sections of it were first translated into Latin by the Jewish convert to Christianity Nicholas Donin in the 1230s. From the beginning, the Talmud was not used by Christians as a tool to shed light on Judaism or the Bible, but rather as a weapon to employ in their polemical attacks on Jews. Passages were cherry-picked from Talmudic literature as prooftexts to demonstrate Jews’ false beliefs and hatred towards Christianity. This vitriolic use of the Talmud led to numerous “disputations” – staged trials at which learned Jews were forced to defend the Talmud against Christian accusations – as well as public burnings of the work (for the first time on 17 June 1242 when copies of the Talmud in Paris were burned on the orders of the pope and the

¹ For a thought-provoking investigation of the role of translation in Jewish–Christian relations, see Naomi Seidman, *Faithful Renderings: Jewish–Christian Difference and the Politics of Translation*, *Afterlives of the Bible* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

French king).² The first blatant attack on the Talmud in East Norse is *Nouiter in lucem data: iudeorum secreta*, the 1516 Danish translation by Poul Ræff (d. 1533) of Johannes Pfefferkorn's (1469–1521) *Libellus de Iudaica Confessione* (1508). This anti-Jewish ethnographical publication is of foremost importance in investigating the polemical use of the figure of the Jew in early modern Denmark and has been thoroughly investigated elsewhere.³

In 1500, there were probably fewer than a hundred non-Jews in all Europe (many of them converts from Judaism) who were able to read Hebrew, although within just half a century the situation changed dramatically.⁴ Denmark and Sweden, where the Reformation in particular marked a surge in interest in the study of Hebrew, were by no means an exception to this European trend.⁵ However, evidence for extensive knowledge of Hebrew in Scandinavia during the Middle Ages has not been preserved (and probably never existed).⁶ In the vernacular material, we find brief discussions of the Hebrew alphabet, usually in translated works that echo the writings of Jerome, but little else.⁷ What is clear is that Hebrew was not only understood to be the original and sacred language – the language of Creation, Adam, and the Bible – but also the language of the murderers of Christ. This friction between linguistic sacrosanctity and abomination

² On the events leading up to the Paris burnings, see Robert Chazan, Jean Connel Hoff, and John Friedman, *The Trial of the Talmud: Paris, 1240*, Mediaeval Sources in Translation, vol. 53 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012).

³ Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Kirke og Synagoge: Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi (ca. 1000–ca. 1700)* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1992), 108–32; Jonathan Adams, “Hebraiske ord i Jødernes hemmeligheder,” *Danske Studier* 105 (2010): 31–50; Jonathan Adams, *Lessons in Contempt: Poul Ræff's Translation and Publication of Johannes Pfefferkorn's The Confession of the Jews*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vol. 581 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013); Jonathan Adams, “‘Thus shall Christian people know to punish them’: Translation Pfefferkorn into Danish,” 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 Hefß (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 135–53.

⁴ Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1983), 13.

⁵ On the post-medieval study of Hebrew in Scandinavia, see Even Hovdhaugen, Fred Karlsson, Carol Henriksen, and Bengt Sigurd, *The History of Linguistics in the Nordic Countries* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2000), 37–39.

⁶ On (dubious) runic evidence for knowledge of Hebrew, see also under “Jewish–Scandinavian encounters at home,” in Chapter 2: *Jews in Medieval Denmark and Sweden*, pp. 37–38.

⁷ The publication *Nouiter in lucem data* (1516) mentioned above includes several Hebrew words and phrases as well as their translations into Danish. They are largely curses and terms of abuse allegedly used by Jews against Christians, their holy figures, and religious symbols. See Adams, “Hebraiske ord i Jødernes hemmeligheder (1516)””; Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*, 169–79.

may at first glance seem to be the reason why several different terms existed in East Norse to refer to Hebrew ('Hebrew,' 'Jew-language,' 'Jewish'), but the boundaries between these terms do, in fact, appear to have been somewhat blurred. The greatest evidence for any more substantial understanding of Hebrew is found in Latin manuscripts, and this chapter includes a brief excursus that investigates the manuscript evidence for an interest in Hebrew and Greek at Vadstena Monastery.

Terminology

For medieval Danes and Swedes, the Jews' language was Hebrew: Yiddish, Ladino, and the like are never referred to in the extant material. There were three terms in use to denote Hebrew: *hebraisk/hebrezka* [Hebrew], *juthemal/iuþa mal* [Jew-language], and *juthisk* [Jewish] (in ODa. only). Reading through the extant East Norse material, it would seem that there is not much difference in meaning or intention between the various terms. For instance, consider these two examples about Jerome and his learning Hebrew in the ODa. and OSw. *Consolation of the Soul*:

oc lærdhe thera maal / oc vænde oc skreef the hæghe skrift af ebraisko / oc grezsco maal / oc j latine⁸ (ODa.)

oc lærdhe thera maal / wende oc screff the helgo script / aff ebreydzko oc gredzko j latiin⁹ (OSw.)

[and (Jerome) learnt their languages, translated and wrote the Holy Scripture from Hebrew and Greek into Latin.]

Tha biskoben thætta forstoth sænde han honum xxii mæstara som skrifwo oc vændo honum lowin af judha maal oc i grezt maal¹⁰ (ODa.)

Tha biscopin thetta forstodh / sænde han honom xxij mestara / som scrifwo oc wendo laghin / aff iwdha maal / j grezth maal¹¹ (OSw.)

[When the bishop understood this, he sent him twenty-two learned men who wrote and translated the Law from the Jewish language into the Greek language.]¹²

In these two examples, it will be seen that Hebrew is referred to both as "ebraisko/ebreydzko" and "judha maal/iwdha maal." Indeed, in the ODa. and OSw. *Conso-*

⁸ UUB C 529, p. 5; *SjæTrø* 8.

⁹ SKB A 108, p. 3; *SjæTrø* K 4.

¹⁰ UUB C 529, p. 4; *SjæTrø* 7.

¹¹ SKB A 108, p. 3; *SjæTrø* K 4.

¹² The number "twenty-two" here is also reflected in the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet and the number of books in the Bible. See the discussion below on Jerome's "Helmeted Preface," a prologue to Samuel 1.

lation of the Soul generally, we find Hebrew in the context of a sacred language of the Bible being translated with both ‘Hebrew’ and ‘Jew-language’ without any apparent difference in meaning or intent. In the ODa. *Mariager Legende* [*Mariager Book of Legends*], from 1488 and preserved in DKB GKS 1586 4^o, the term used for ‘Hebrew’ is *juthisk* [Jewish]:

Ther han war barn tha foer han till Rom oc nam ther fulkommeligh bogh paa gretzskæ lathinæ oc jødsckæ¹³
[When he (i. e., Jerome) was a child, he went to Rome and there fully learnt “a book”¹⁴ in Greek, Latin, and Jewish.]

Jerominus præsth kunnæ thrennæ maall som war Llatinæ Gretskæ oc jødhske¹⁵
[The priest Jerome could speak three languages which were Latin, Greek, and Jewish.]

In both these examples, the original Latin tale in the *Legenda aurea* refers to Hebrew as *litterae hebraicae*.¹⁶ Sometimes, however, it is possible to sense a pejorative connotation. For example, in the following quotation from an ODa. collection of devotional texts in SKB A 29 (c. 1500), one might wonder whether the choice to use *juthisk* [Jewish] to refer to Hebrew was made in order to link the Crucifixion even more firmly to the villains of the piece: the Jews (*juther*).¹⁷

Oc wærfdo the af Pylato een skrift som wththørkte thin dõtzh sagh Oc war skrefuen vppa jødeske grezske Oc latyne¹⁸
[And they acquired from Pilate a sign that expressed his death penalty, and it was written in Jewish, Greek, and Latin.]¹⁹

13 DKB GKS 1586 4^o, f. 101v; *MariagerLeg* 364.

14 Probably with the meaning ‘literature,’ ‘writings.’ Cf. “litteris [...] hebraycis” (*LegAur* 1003).

15 DKB GKS 1586 4^o, f. 105v; *MariagerLeg* 372. It is noteworthy that the “j” of “jødhske” has not been rubricated like the initial letters for the other two languages.

16 “litteris [...] Hebraicis” (*LegAur* 1003) and “hebraeo” (*LegAur* 1008) respectively.

17 Note that although Hebrew can be referred to as ‘Jewish’ or ‘Jew-language,’ Latin is almost never called ‘Roman’ (*romersk/romersker*). The only example, I have been able to find is in the OSw. *Legend of Saint Gregory of Armenia*: “Ok tha sancta gaiana thaladhe thetta medh ripsimia a romara maal somleke thet vndirstodho hwat hon saghdhe borthdrogho hona fraan dørrenne slandis hona alra værst oc sarghandis medh grymmum sarum hæenna ænlite” [And when St Gayane spoke of this to Hripsime in Latin (lit. the Romans’ language), everyone who understood what she was saying dragged her from the doorway while beating her most dreadfully and injuring her face with ugly wounds], SKB A 49, f. 81v; *Gregorius* 381. It is worth noting that in the anti-Jewish pamphlet *Nouiter in lucem data* from 1516 the Hebrew language is referred to numerous times in an extremely negative manner, but the term that is always used is *hebraisk* [Hebrew], and never *juthisk* [Jewish] or *juthemal* [Jew-language].

18 SKB A 29, f. 195v; *OpbygSKr* f. 195v.

19 Cf. John 19:20 *Vulg.*: “et erat scriptum hebraice, graece, et latine.”

Generally, however, it must be said that the various terms for Hebrew in East Norse texts appear to be synonyms that were used interchangeably with little or no difference in meaning.

Understanding about Hebrew

Of the three sacred languages, it was of course not Greek or Hebrew, but Latin that was studied by Scandinavians abroad. Latin functioned as the language of learning and the Church throughout Western Europe, and as such it was not exactly a dead language, but nor was it the native language of any living soul. On the one hand, Latin enabled Danes and Swedes to pursue ecclesiastical careers at home and abroad, and on the other made it possible for Europeans to enter clerical circles in Scandinavia without needing to learn the vernacular.²⁰ As Bernhard Bischoff has observed:

Being the language of the Western church which every little child admitted to an ecclesiastical school had to learn, it became for many centuries the general vehicle of spiritual culture and of practical record. [...] In the mediaeval West the majority of the population were ignorant of Latin; but whoever learned it became part of a European community; with Latin he could cross all vernacular language frontiers, if only he remained within the social stratum where it was understood.²¹

20 On two humorous medieval Scandinavian examples of the consequences of this linguistic situation for the clergy, see Jonathan Adams, “Language Difficulties in Some Medieval Vernacular Scandinavian Sermons,” in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson, Sermo, vol. 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 191–95. Here I discuss both the case of Johannes the Flemming in *Laurentius saga* who worked as a clergyman in Trondheim but was made fun of because of his extremely poor Norse and that of Sven the Swede who was transferred back to Sweden from Marienwold monastery near Lübeck because of his inability to preach in the local vernacular.

21 Bernhard Bischoff, “The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages,” *Speculum* 36, no. 2 (1961): 210. As Bischoff also points out, the non-ecclesiastical world at times also had its international languages. Here we might think of the role of Middle Low German in the trading ports of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway during the Middle Ages. On Middle Low German in medieval Scandinavia, see Kurt Braunnüller and Willy Diercks, eds, *Niederdeutsch und die skandinavischen Sprachen*, 2 vols, Sprachgeschichte, vols 3–4 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Carl Winter, 1993–95); Ernst Håkon Jahr, ed., *Nordisk og nedertysk. Språkkontakt og språkutvikling i Norden i seinmellomalderen* (Oslo: Novus, 1995). For a different view of Latin fluency in ecclesiastical environments, see Julie Barrau, “Did Medieval Monks Actually Speak Latin?” in *Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Eleventh–Thirteenth Centuries)*, ed. Steven Vanderputten (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 293–317.

This does not mean that Greek and Hebrew were entirely ignored, but rather than being learnt, they were learnt *about*, and a number of myths and traditions grew up around them, particularly Hebrew. Of interest to us is what was known about Hebrew, what stories were told about it, and how this affected the view of Jews in Scandinavia.

St Jerome

As elsewhere in medieval Christendom, the great Hebrew linguist in the eyes of the East Norse authors was St Jerome (c. 347–420). According to the OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet*, Jerome was literate as a youth, but he read only pagan books until one night when he had a vision in his sleep:

Han *scrifu*ar aff sik siælfuum eth mærkelikt thing at a hans wngom aldre tha han studerade mæst j hedhna manna bokum tha drømde hanum drøm som han ware draghin for gudz dom ok hard||leka bardher til ængla badho for hanum ok han lofuadhe sik aldre meir læsa hedhna bøkir ther widh wagnade han *medh* blaam sidhom²²

[He writes a remarkable thing about himself, that in his youth, when he was mainly studying pagan books, he had a dream as if he were being pulled before God's judgement and was harshly beaten until angels prayed for him and he promised never again to read pagan books. With that he woke up with bruised sides.]

Jerome converted to Christianity about 360–66 in Rome where he studied Latin and Greek. Later he spent time in Antioch, the Holy Land, and Alexandria, and he was known to be a very learned scholar.²³ Between 382 and 405 he translated the Old Testament from Hebrew texts, and he wrote several other works, including numerous biblical commentaries before dying in Bethlehem in 420. Jerome's skills in Hebrew – and a swathe of other languages – were apparently second to none.²⁴ In *Fornsvenska legendariet*, Jerome's translation work in Bethlehem and its consequences for his health are described in the following succinct terms:

²² UUB C 528, f. 120r–v; *FsvLeg* I 628; *FsvLeg* PAW II 303–04.

²³ In the OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet*, we read, for example: “*Sanctus ieronimus sigher sik hafua seth ok læsit vj thusandh bøkir som origines giordhe*” [St Jerome says that he has seen and read 6,000 books that Origen wrote], UUB C 528, f. 77v; *FsvLeg* I 392–93; *FsvLeg* PAW II 565.

²⁴ On Jerome in the East Norse tradition, see Karl G. Johansson, “St Jerome and the Authority of Medieval East Scandinavian Texts,” in *Beyond the Piraeus Lion: East Norse Studies from Venice*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Massimiliano Bampi, Selskab for Østnordisk Filologi · Sällskap för östnordisk filologi, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 2017), 215–35.

Thædhan for han til bethleem ok war ther l · oc v · aar ok vij manadha vidh dygirt ærfuodhe ther nam han ebrezsko thungo ok kaldeghsko^(a) ok læs sidhan jwi alla hælgha bøkir ok wænde them fra ebrezsko til latin ¶ Swa wardh han wm sidhe wanfōr aff mōdho · at han laa j siæng ok drogh vp at sithia medh repe bundit widh bielka ey forlæt han thæs hæller clostirs syslo²⁵

Notes: a. kaldeghsko] kalde\gh/sko MS.

[From there (i. e., Egypt) he travelled to Bethlehem and was there for 55 years and seven months. Working hard, he there learnt the Hebrew language and Chaldean (i. e., Aramaic) and then read all the holy books and translated them from Hebrew to Latin. Eventually he became lame from the effort, so he lay in bed and in order to sit up he pulled himself up by means of a rope hanging on a beam. Nor did he abandon the work of the monastery.]

In the ODa. *Mariager Legende*, Jerome's linguistic skills are listed more precisely:

Ebraiskæ oc greskæ Caldeorum · persarum Medorum oc arabitorum^(a) oc^(b) noghet nær alle thwnghe oc bōgghe kunne han · swa som han haffde wæreth fōdh oc vpfostrheth i them²⁶

Notes: a. arabitorum] {arabitorum} MS. b. oc] \oc/ MS.

[He (i. e., Jerome) could (understand) Hebrew and Greek, Chaldean, Persian, Medean, and Arabic, and just about all languages and books as if he had been born and raised among them.]

It is this belief in Jerome's infallibility and the perfectness of the Bible in Latin – the language of the Gentiles and the true inheritors of the Covenant with God – that made study of Hebrew irrelevant: the language, its speakers, and their religion had all been superseded.

The language of Adam and Creation

The language of the Old Testament and the Jews and their ancestors who inhabited its landscapes is usually referred to as Hebrew (ODa. *hebraisk*, *hebraisk mal*, *hebraisk tunge*; OSw. *[h]ebrezka*, *[h]ebrest mal*, *[h]ebresk tunga*) in the manuscripts, and here the language carries a certain amount of respect as the language of God, Creation, and the Bible. In accordance with medieval thinking, Hebrew was the original language given to Adam by God and the language that Adam used to name the animals.²⁷ In the OSw. Bible translation in DKB Thott 4 4^o, the

²⁵ UUB C 528, f. 120r; *FsvLeg* I 627; *FsvLeg* PAW III 301–02.

²⁶ DKB GKS 1586 4^o, f. 48v; *MariagerLeg* 181–82.

²⁷ Genesis 2:20.

language's noble origins and survival are expounded upon in the context of the Tower of Babel:²⁸

J hans daghum bygdhe nemrot babel torn · / oc alle mæn medh honum · / vtan heber · / han wille ekki medh them wara · Oc fore thy hiolt han [ena] ensamen · / thet gambra maalith som adam war skapadher medh · Oc alle mæn taladho thet ther til war herra skipte tungom widher them som opgiordho babels torn Oc fore thy kallas thet gambra maalith nw hebreist maal aff honum heber som ensamen hiolt thet · / thy at han war ekki widh tornith babel Aff honum callas oc iudha hebrei · som æn tala thet sama maalith²⁹

[During his life, Nimrod built the Tower of Babel together with every man except Eber. He did not want to join them and so he alone kept the ancient language with which Adam was created. And every man spoke it until Our Lord created languages for those who were constructing the Tower of Babel. And so, the ancient language is now called the Hebrew language after him, Eber, who alone preserved it because he was not at the Tower of Babel. After him Jews are also called Hebrews who still speak the same language.]

In addition to grounding Hebrew as the original language, the story of Eber explains the etymological origin of the name of the language: Hebrew (עברית, *ivrit*) is named after its guardian Eber (עבר, *'ever*).³⁰ Furthermore, what is only inferred in the story of the Tower of Babel in Genesis is clearly stated here, viz. that God had abandoned Hebrew, creating a variety of new languages for humanity: just as Adam fell from grace in the Garden of Eden, so too did his language fall

²⁸ Genesis 11:1–9. On expansions of the story of the Tower of Babel in the Middle Ages, see Brian Murdoch, *The Medieval Popular Bible: Expansions of Genesis in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), 127–48.

²⁹ DKB Thott 4 4^o, f. 2r; *SMB* I 4–5.

³⁰ The same motif of Eber as the preserver of the Hebrew language is widespread in the Middle Ages. For example, it is also found in the West Norse *Veraldar saga*: “[þessir varo langfedgæra i odrvm all dri heims ok patriarche · Noi ok Sem Arfaxat ok Cainan Salæ ok Heber er Hebrei erv fra komnar · i hvsi Heber hellz in sama tvnga sem adr hafdi mælt verit · Af hans nafni hetir ebresca sv tvnga er a Gytingalandi er mælt” [These were the ancestors and patriarchs during the Second Age of the World (i. e., the post-diluvian period): Noah and Shem, Arpachshad and Cainan, Selah and Eber from whom the Hebrews are descended. In the house of Eber, the same language that had previously been spoken is preserved. On account of his name the language that is spoken among the Jewish people is called Hebrew], Jakob Benediktsson, ed., *Veraldar saga* (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1944), 14. And in *Stjórn*: “Sua segir Josephus · at Ebrei eru kalladir af nafni Heber · þiat i hans husi at eins hellz ebresk tunga eptir tungnaskiptit · enn fyrr uar hon ecki kaullut ebresk tunga” [So says Josephus, that the Hebrews are so called from the name Heber because in his house the Hebrew language was preserved after the confusion of languages (i. e., at the Tower of Babel). Before this it was not called Hebrew], Carl Richard Unger, ed., *Stjorn: Gammelnorsk Bibelhistorie: Fra Verdens Skabelse til det Babyloniske Fangenskab* (Christiania [Oslo]: Feillberg & Landmark, 1862), 66. See Ian McDougall, “Foreigners and Foreign Languages in Medieval Iceland,” *Saga-Book* 22 (1986–89): 180–233.

at the Tower of Babel. Remarkably, the term “hebrezt mal” in the passage above is being used also to denote the language of contemporary Jews: “Hebrews who still speak the same language.” This is unusual as we shall see later, but it underscores the idea that Jews speak a “fallen” language, i. e., one that is appropriately corrupted and false.

Rather surprisingly, the tradition of Eber, the great-grandson of Noah’s son Shem, refusing to help with the building of the Tower of Babel and thus retaining the original human language Hebrew appears to be Islamic in origin.³¹ Although Muslim scholars usually maintained that Syriac was the language of Adam, in his *Concise History of Humanity* (المختصر في أخبار البشر, *Al-muḥtaṣir fi ’aḥbār al-bašār*), Abulfeda (Abū al-Fidā, 1273–1331) quoted a story by the astronomer Abū ‘Īsā al-Maghribī that is identical to that found in the OSw. Bible translation:

On the cause of the confused languages, Abū ‘Īsā relates: Those of the descendants of Noah, who grew up after the Flood, together formed a plan in common to build a citadel in which, if by chance a new flood should erupt, they could protect themselves. Therefore, it was decided to construct a very high structure, the highest point of which would rise up to heaven. With this plan, the first of seventy-two towers was built and in this every single man of rank invested whatever the work required. But God dealt with this great arrogance by turning their language into diverse dialects among them. Only through Eber, who disapproved of the venture and persisted in his obedience to God, was the Hebrew language that had been abandoned by God preserved for the future.³²

The natural, original aspect of Hebrew is also demonstrated in the ODa. *Sydrak* [*The Book of Sydrach the Philosopher*], a popular philosophical work from 1450–1500, where the Adamic language – Hebrew before the Tower – is considered an innate element, “in the heart.”³³ It is part of humanity’s “correct nature” and lies at the very core of every woman and man:

Jtem koningen spurde The menniske som fødhes dowe eller stwmmæ / hwat maal forsta the J therres hiertæ Capitulum E iij Sydrak swaredhe The menniske som fødhes stwm eller døff / han tencker ok forstaar J sith hierte Syn første forældres maall Adams Ok hans maal

³¹ Morris Jastrow Jr. et al., “Babel, Tower of,” in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, ed. Isidore Singer et al. (New York: Funk & Wagnells, 1901–06), 397.

³² Translated from the Latin version in [Abū al-Fidā], *Abulfedae historia anteislamica arabice e duobus codicibus Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis 101 et 615, edidit, versione latina, notis et indicibus, auxit*, ed. Henricus Orthobius [Heinrich Leberrecht] Fleischer (Leipzig: F. C. G. Vogel, 1831), 19 (Arabic original on p. 18).

³³ On *Sydrak*, see Alex Wittendorff, “Folkeuniversitet anno 1500: Håndskriftet ‘Sydrak’ og dets historie,” in *Mark og menneske: Studier i Danmarks historie 1500–1800*, ed. Claus Bjørn and Benedicte Fonnesbech-Wulff (Ebeltoft: Skipperhoved, 2000), 113–21.

war hebrayske **Thet samme maal nwmæ the menniske Aff ræt natwæ / lighæ / hwosom^(a)** toghe eet barn xl **Dawe gammelt^(b)** / eller meer **Ok sættæ thet j een stedh / ther som thet engen man sowæ eller hørde talæ Ok gaffwe thet samme barn syn nyttørf^(c)** **Tha skulde thet barn talæ syn første fadhers^(d) maal Adams Nar then tiidh komme Ath thet skulde talæ³⁴**

Notes: **a.** hwosom] [m] hwosom MS. **b.** xl Dawe gammelt] xl [---] gammelt Dawe in MS with the correct order shown by superscript a, b, c. **c.** nyttørf] nyttøfft MS. **d.** fadhers] fødhes MS.

[In addition, the king asked, “Those people who are born deaf and mute, what language do they understand in their heart?” Chapter E3.

Sydrach answered, “The person who is born mute or deaf thinks and understands in his heart the language of his first parent, Adam, and his language was Hebrew. These people learn this very language through correct nature. Similarly, whoever were to take a child forty days old or more and put it in some place where it never saw a man or heard (him) speak, and were he to give that same child his basic needs, then, when the time came for the child to speak, that child would speak the language of its first father, Adam.]³⁵

The importance of Hebrew words

There are some occurrences of Hebrew words in medieval Danish and Swedish texts, particularly (and unsurprisingly) in religious works, but they are essentially direct, that is untranslated, loans from Latin, which in turn had taken the word from Hebrew, often via Greek.³⁶ Words of Hebrew origin thus appear largely in formulaic expressions adopted from Latin liturgical use. We can find a few instances where the author notes that the words are Hebrew, rather than Latin. Words encountered in East Norse texts are all biblical and include (here, in their ODa. forms):

- the names of God (*Adonai*; *Immanuel*; *Messias*; *Zebaot*)
- personal names (e. g., *Sjadrak*; *Misak*; *Abed-nego*)

³⁴ NKS 236 4^o, f. 85rb–va; *Sydr* 129.

³⁵ Umberto Eco quotes from the *Chronica* of Salimbene de Adam da Parma (1221–88) that describes such an experiment: “[Frederick II, 1194–1250] wanted to discover which language and idiom children would use, on reaching adolescence, if they had never had the opportunity to speak to anyone. So he gave orders to the wet nurses and to the feeders to give the infants milk, prohibiting their talking to them. He wanted to find out whether the children would speak Hebrew, which was the first language, or else Greek or Latin or Arabic, or indeed if they did not always speak the language of their natural parents. But the experiment came to nothing, because all the babies or infants died.” (Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language*, trans. James Fentress, The Making of Europe [Oxford: Blackwell, 1995], xii.)

³⁶ On Hebrew words reaching vernacular European languages via Greek and Latin, see Eduard Yechezkiel Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, ed. Raphael Kutscher (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1982), 112–14. On direct loans into medieval Latin, see Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, 173–75.

- placenames (e. g., *Geba Benjamin; Haabarim; Sodoma*)
- interjections (*amen; halleluja; hosianna*)
- biblical creatures and objects (*kerub; seraf; manna*)
- Jewish observances (*sabbat*)

These words can sometimes stand out in a text, and indeed the use of foreign-sounding words in the liturgy was thought to add a sense of mystery and awe during Mass. As Christiern Pedersen explains in his book *I denne bog leriss at Høre messe [On Hearing Mass]* from 1514:

Man maa merke det hellige sacramentiss verdighed oc mectighed i fem honde maade · [...] I den femte maade At Messen bliffuer hedred oc æred met mange twngemaal; først meth Hebraiske som er amen Alleluya Sabaoth Osanna · Siden met Grekeske som er Kyrieleyson cristeleyson Saa meth latine som er *Dominus vobiscum · pax tecum* (Ite missa est)³⁷
 [We must mark the dignity and enormity of the holy sacrament in five ways (...) The fifth way by praising and honouring the Mass with many languages. Firstly with Hebrew, which is “amen,” “hallelujah,” “sabaoth,” “hosanna.” Then with Greek, which is “Kyrie, eleison,” (and) “Christe, eleison.” And then with Latin, which is “Dominus vobiscum,” “pax tecum” (“Ite missa est”).]³⁸

Untranslated, and therefore their original meaning and etymology presumably not understood by the vast majority of the audience, Hebrew words, in particular, were felt to prevent the liturgy from being profaned or made banal; they were elements unaffected by time and seen as being linguistic monuments from the age before Babel.³⁹ For example, the Swedish translation of *Speculum Virginum [The Virgins’ Mirror]* in SKB A 8 (1473–86)⁴⁰ by the Vadstena monk Mathias Laurentii (d. 1486) contains a discussion of the word “amen”:⁴¹

³⁷ ChrPed *Messe*, f. 56r; ChrPed *Skr* II 468.

³⁸ The meanings of these words: “amen” < אָמֵן, *amen* [Heb.: so be it]; “hallelujah” < הַלְלֵי־יְהוָה, *halleluyah* [Heb.: praise to God]; “sabaoth” < שְׁבַא־וְאוֹת, *zeva’ot* [Heb.: the hosts of heaven]; “hosanna” < הוֹשַׁע־נָה, *hoša’na’* [Heb.: save]; “Kyrie, eleison” < Κύριε, ἐλέησον, *kýrie, eléēson* [Gk.: Lord, have mercy]; “Christe, eleison” < Χριστέ, ἐλέησον, *Christé, eléēson* [Gk.: Christ, have mercy]; “Dominus vobiscum” [Lat.: the Lord be with you]; “pax tecum” [Lat.: peace be with you]; “Ite missa est” [Lat.: Go, it is the dismissal, i. e., mass is over].

³⁹ See Marie-Luce Demonet-Launay, “La désacralisation de l’hébreu au XVI^e siècle,” in *L’Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. Ilana Zinguer, Jewish Studies, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 159.

⁴⁰ Ingela Hedström dates the manuscript possibly later: *Medeltidens svenska bönböcker: Kvinnligt skriftbruk i Vadstena kloster*, Acta humaniora, vol. 405 (Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo · Det humanistiske fakultet, 2009), 110–11.

⁴¹ In Denmark, the word is even found six times in four different runic inscriptions on stones and amulets (*Samnordisk runtextdatabas*, <http://www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm> [last accessed 5 April 2022]). It later appears in both religious and secular works where it often forms

Amen ær hwatzske gredzska ællir latina / wthan thz ær hebreisth maal / ok thz wtrykkis wara swa mykit som santh ællir sannelika / ællir thz skal wardha / ællir troligha / ok ær thz for thy ey i annath twngo maal wænth / at thz ey skuli aff thy at thz ware saa allom kwnnogth / forsmas ællir wanwordas / ok hebredzska twngan latinis okwnnok / skulde idhka ok bruka thera hogha / som stwdera wilia ok læsa hebredzska scrifftena

[“Amen” is neither Greek nor Latin, but it is Hebrew, and it means as much as “true” or “truly,” or “so be it,” or “certainly.” And this is the reason it is not translated into another language, so that it will not be known to all, to be looked down upon and despised; and the Hebrew language, unknown to Latinists, shall exercise and train the minds of those who want to study and read the Hebrew scriptures.]⁴²

Some other explanations of Hebrew words are included to underline the negative behaviour of the speakers of the language. For example, in the following excerpt, taken from a Danish sermon in DKB GKS 1390 4^o, the meaning of *hosianna* is given as ‘I ask you to heal me,’⁴³ which provides the scribe with an opportunity to expound on the alleged wickedness of the mocking Jews at the Crucifixion:

I dagh ropadhæ the osanna som thyder jak bedher thech helæ mech / ok tha han war korsfæsther tha sagde the^(a) til hannem meth vbrygdilsæ / gør thech siælfwer hel / thy at thu giordhæ andræ hellæ / æn thech siælfwer kan thu æy helle Ok om thu æst gutz søn / ok israels konning tha faræ nedher aff korset ok wj wiliæ tro hannem⁴⁴

Notes: a. the] \the/ MS.

[Today they (i. e., the Jews) shouted “Hosannah!” which means “I ask you to heal me.” And when he was crucified, they said to him scornfully “Heal yourself, as you healed others! But you are unable to heal yourself! And if you are the Son of God and the king of Israel, then descend from the cross and we will believe him.”]

Explanations of the etymologies of Hebrew placenames can sometimes be found and they follow the interpretations found in Jerome’s *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*. For example, the placename Bethphage⁴⁵ has been interpreted in accordance with Jerome:

part of the liturgical formula ‘and let us say’ (cf. וְאָמְרוּ אָמֵן, *ye'imru amen* [and let us say, amen] used in Jewish liturgy). See, for example: *De Femten Tegn før Dommedag (The Fifteen Signs before the Day of Judgement)*: “oc saa sige wij alle Amen” [and then we all say “amen”], *FemtenTegn*, f. 5v; *Dværgekongen Laurin (The Dwarf-King Lavrin)*: “ther til seye wi allæ amen” [and to this we say “amen”], SKB K 47, f. 169r; *Flores og Blanseflor (Flores and Blancheflor)*: “ther til seye wi allæ jaa amen” [and to this we say “yes, amen.”], SKB K 47, f. 225v.

⁴² SKB A 8, pp. 314–315; *SpeVir* 577.

⁴³ The interpretation is possibly based on how the phrase is translated in the Old Testament part of the Vulgate: for example, הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי [hoši'eni, save me; Psalm 119:94 JPS] as *Vulg.: salvum me fac* [save me] and *LXX: σώσον με* [sōsón me, save me] in Psalm 118:94.

⁴⁴ DKB GKS 1390 4^o, f. 135v; *SMP* VIII 169.

⁴⁵ The village is mentioned in Matthew 21:1; Mark 11:1; Luke 19:29.

*betphage jd est domus bucce / hwilkin vthydhis vidher fultz kinbens hws / ok teknar vidhergangho fore syndhena [...] iherusalem / som tydher frydhsins stadher / ok teknar hymerikis ryke*⁴⁶

[Bethphage, that is *domus bucce*, which is translated as ‘house of the colt’s jawbone’⁴⁷ and symbolizes confession of sins (...) Jerusalem, which means ‘city of peace’ and symbolizes the kingdom of heaven.]

On Bethphage, Jerome has: “domus oris vallium vel domus bucce. Syrum est, non Hebraeum. Quidam putant domum maxillarum vocari” [the house of the mouth of the valleys or the house of the jaw (of the valleys). It is Syriac (Aramaic), not Hebrew. Still others believe it to be called the house of the jaw].⁴⁸ About the placename Jerusalem, he writes: “visio pacis” [the vision of peace].⁴⁹

The motives of some Old Testament characters are explained by interpreting their names:

Annantidh ær mærkjande at then som sadde onda sædhena ær diæflin hulkin tha saar mæst sina onda sædh naar syndoghir man sofuir j sinom synda lusta Hulkit som teknat ær j scripthinne thær som sigx ij regum iiij^o ath ysbosæth som teknar skæmdeliken man sofuir j sinne sæng j hetom lusta om midhian dagh [...]. Tha ingingo twe røfuara barnoa^(a) som tydhir kom tækkir som teknar værlz goz hugnadhîr hulkit mange swa tækkelica taka at the gløma gudhi Annar røfuarin heth recab han tydhîr bløthîr^(b) faghîr ok teknar bløtan køtz lustha⁵⁰

Notes: *SermSac* reads (a) as “barn[o]a” and (b) as “[bløthîr]” but the suppressions are not unambiguous.

[Second, it is noteworthy that the one who sowed bad seeds is the devil who sows most of his bad seeds when sinful men are asleep in their sinful desires. Which is shown in Scripture where it says in 4 Kings (i. e., 2 Kings),⁵¹ that Ishbosheth, which means ‘shameful man,’ is asleep in his bed in hot desire at midday (...) Then two thieves entered: Ba’anah which means ‘come! delight!’ and signifies pleasure in worldly goods, in which many take such pleasure that they forget God. The second thief was called Rechab. His name means ‘soft, handsome’ and signifies lusting after soft flesh.]

⁴⁶ LSB T 181, p. 4; *SvJPost* 147; *SMP* V 5–6.

⁴⁷ My translation rests on “fultz” being a genitive form of the noun *fyl* [colt, foal]; Bethphage was, after all, the place where Jesus sent his disciples to find a colt for him to ride upon (Luke 19:30). However, it is possible that it is the genitive form of the adjective *fulder* [complete, entire]: ‘house of the entire jawbone.’

⁴⁸ *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 23, 839–40 (§ 89). The placename Bethphage (from Aram. בית פגי, *beyt fagey*) actually means ‘house of the unripe figs.’

⁴⁹ *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 23, 829–30 (§ 73). There are several suggested etymologies for Jerusalem (from Heb. ירושלים, *yerušalayim*) including ‘city of peace’ (עיר שלום, ‘*ir šalom*’).

⁵⁰ DAS AM 787 4^o, f. 26ra; *SermSac* 147; *SMP* I 74.

⁵¹ In the Catholic (and Orthodox) tradition, the two books of Samuel and the two books of Kings are often referred to as Books 1–4 Kings. This derives from usage in the Septuagint where they comprise a single four-part book called Βασιλειῶν [*Vasileiōn*, Of Reigns].

While the name Ishbosheth (אִישׁ-בִּשֶׁת [man of shame]) has been correctly understood, the other two etymologies – although fitting for the preacher’s purposes – are, in fact, incorrect. Ba’anah is most probably from בענה [son of/in affliction] or בן־ענה [son of ‘Anah], and not בוא־היהנה [come delight]; Rechab derives from רכב [rider; chariot], and not רך [soft]. However, it is not difficult to see why a connection between these names and the Hebrew words has been made. These etymologies are unlikely to be the creation of the Swedish sermon writer; rather they are taken from his sources, although I have been unable to identify them.

Familiarity with rabbinic literature?

The Odense priest Michael Nielsen (or possibly Clausen, c. 1450–c. 1510) is the author of three religious poems, which despite their Lat. titles are composed in ODa: *De creatione rerum* [On the Creation of Things] from 1514, *De vita hominis* [On the Life of Man] from 1514, and *Expositio pulcherrima super rosario beate Marie virginis* [A Most Beautiful Exposition on the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary] from 6 February 1515. All these works were published posthumously by the printer Poul Ræff.⁵² In a short afterword in *Expositio pulcherrima super rosario beate Marie virginis*, Ræff describes Michael as a “gammel dandhæ mandh som heed her Michael : och war sogneprest vti Othensæ til sancti Albani kirckæ” [an old honourable man who was called Reverend Michael and was the parish priest in Odense at St Alban’s Church]. Little else is known about this man, who is one of just two known medieval poets in Denmark who composed original works in the vernacular. What is of particular interest to us here are three references to rabbinical commentaries concerning Genesis in *De creatione rerum*:⁵³

⁵² The poems have been edited and republished in *HrMich*.

⁵³ On the sources to Michael’s work, see Helge Toldberg, “Lidt om Hr. Michaels og Per Ræff Lilles kilder,” *Danske Studier* 56 (1961): 18–26. The three references to rabbinical commentaries are mentioned, but not identified, in Tue Gad, “Jøder,” in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, vol. 8, ed. Alan Karker et al. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1963), col. 76, and Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Kirke og Synagoge: Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi (ca. 1000–ca. 1700)* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1992), 107. See also Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*, 80–84. Michael introduces his poem with a short summary: “Hær begyndher en lidhen bogh. Hwilcken ther tractherer och vnderwijs met stor løst hwarledz gud fader aff førsthæ begyndelsæ haffuer al ting sckapt. Och hwarledz dieffuelen han beswegh woræ førsthæ foreldernæ Adam och Euam. Met en subtilig forklaring: hwarledz forbeneffndhæ Adam och Eua the bleffuæ vtdreffnæ aff paradis strax effther syndhen. Och hwad plagher them sidhen offuergick for syndzens sckylt” [Here begins a little book that with great delight deals with and teaches how God the Father created everything from

Uælløst och glædhæ hæffdhæ gud them giord
 swo klaer war paradises iord
 som nogher cristal kan wæræ
 The vrther ther stodhæ hæffdhæ krafftig lwcht
 aldrig saa nogher swo løstælig frwcht
 som træenæ the mwnæ bææ⁵⁴

Rabbi zacha.
 in glo geñ .ij.

[God had created pleasure and happiness for them (Adam and Eve) | The soil of Paradise was as clear | as crystal can be. | (Rabbi Zachariah's gloss of Genesis 2) | The plants which were there had a strong scent | Never did anyone see such pleasant fruit | as the trees could bear.]

Thi adam tæncckthæ grandgiffuælig paa
 huad ændhæ thet bid thet sculdhæ faa
 stor rætzlæ bar han ther foræ
 Dieffuelen sagdhæ : adam æsthw ræd
 allæ ting ære wnder thinæ fødher træd
 som the tilforen woræ⁵⁵

Rab. isaac. geñ
 iij in glo.

[For Adam thought about exactly | what consequence that bite would have, | So he was very afraid. (Rabbi Isaac's gloss of Genesis 3) | The devil said, "Adam, are you afraid? | All things are still trodden under your feet | as they were before."]

for gang som adam och eua the gaa
 gud ladhæ thet foræ theres synder staa ||
 begynthæ tha baadhæ at raabæ
 Allæ diwr som sckaphthæ waaræ
 mellom adam och gud the witnæ baaræ
 aff paradijis strax the løbæ⁵⁶

Rab moy.
 geñ iij.

[What a path Adam and Eve go! | May God let it be the punishment for their sins. | Both began then to shout | All the animals that had been created | They bore witness between Adam and God (Rabbi Moses Genesis 3) | They immediately ran out of Paradise.

These glosses do not appear in the most important classical or medieval rabbinical commentaries, and it has thus not been possible for me to identify them using Jewish material.⁵⁷ This is most probably because they derive from some Christian source, such as Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, the biblical commentaries

the very beginning and how the devil betrayed our first parents, Adam and Eve, with a refined explanation of how the aforementioned Adam and Eve were expelled from paradise immediately after the sin and of what torments befell them on account of the sin], *De creatione rerum* (Copenhagen: Poul Ræff, 1514), f. a1r; *HrMich* 125.

⁵⁴ *De creatione rerum*, f. a5v, l.10; *HrMich* 133.

⁵⁵ *De creatione rerum*, f. b2v, l. 12. *HrMich* 136.

⁵⁶ *De creatione rerum*, f. c3r, l. 24; *HrMich* 150.

⁵⁷ There is certainly no "rabbi Moses" known before the tenth century, which would date the third gloss, if indeed it is a genuine Jewish source, as medieval.

of Nicholas of Lyra, the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, or the apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae* – although I have not been able to locate them.⁵⁸ The three references to rabbinical commentaries are close to one another in the poem, and this could be because Michael had at hand a commentary about precisely this section of Genesis. It is also possible that they are the inventions of Michael, Poul Ræff, or, indeed, someone else. They might be attempts to mimic these great biblical commentaries and imbue the work with even greater scholarly authority: such references or artistic embellishments might have been considered as desirable elements that added a sense of greater truth, authority or wisdom, or an international flavour.⁵⁹

Whatever their origin, these marginal references to rabbinical literature are unique in a medieval Danish text, and they show us that, in learned circles at least, it was possible to make non-polemical references to rabbinical literature (real or otherwise). Cultural and religious channels from Europe did not just bring anti-Jewish sentiment, but possibly also an awareness of (and a respect for?) Jewish exegetical works, albeit rather on a rather superficial level.⁶⁰

58 The first example may be from or inspired by chapter 22 of *Historia scholastica* (Genesis); it also has a parallel in Apocalypse (Revelation) 21:11 where the light of Jerusalem is described as “like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal.” Elsewhere in Europe, the use of Hebrew sources in popular expansions of the Bible was not uncommon. See Brian Murdoch, *The Medieval Popular Bible: Expansions of Genesis in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003). On the Hebrew traditions in *Historia scholastica*, see Esra Shereshevsky, “Hebrew Traditions in Peter Comestor’s ‘Historia Scholastica’: I. Genesis,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 59, no. 4 (1969): 268–89.

59 There are other similar examples of authors attributing certain knowledge to Jews in order to make their work more prestigious and reliable; for example, the fourteenth-century *Epistle of Rabbi Samuel of Morocco*, supposedly translated from Arabic, but in fact composed, by the Spanish Dominican friar Alfonso Buenhombre. See Ora Limor, “The Epistle of Rabbi Samuel of Morocco: A Best-Seller in the World of Polemics,” in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy Stroumsa, Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism, vol. 10 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1996), 177–94; cf. also Edward Kessler, *An Introduction to Jewish–Christian Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 82. However, the use of a fictional reference in this way is highly unusual.

60 In Old Danish, the term “rabbi” is only found here and in the story of Judas kissing Jesus (Matthew 26:49). For example, Judas greets Jesus with “ave rabbi” in two accounts of the Passion (SKB A 31, f. 29rb and DAS AM 72 8^o, f. 50r) and in Pseudo-Bonaventure’s *Meditationes vitae Christi* (SKB A 31, f. 73vb). In OSw. the term also appears twice as an epithet for Moses – “raby moyses” – in the *Pentateuch Paraphrase* (SMB I 474 and 485).

The Hebrew alphabet: *alefbet*

It is highly unlikely that scribes had access to Hebrew books in medieval Scandinavia. However, one of the most important tools for education and Latin literacy during the Middle Ages was the Psalter,⁶¹ and it is here that the Hebrew alphabet would have been introduced to Danish and Swedish clerics who read and studied the book: several of the Psalms are structured around Hebrew acrostics where the first letter of each verse begins with the successive letters of the Hebrew alphabet or *alefbet*: for example, Psalms 37 *JPS, KJV* (36 *Vulg., DRB*), 111 *JPS, KJV* (110 *Vulg., DRB*), 112 *JPS, KJV* (111 *Vulg., DRB*), 119 *JPS, KJV* (118 *Vulg., DRB*), and 145 *JPS, KJV* (144 *Vulg., DRB*). When Jerome produced the Vulgate, he was confronted by this essentially untranslatable feature of the Hebrew Bible and chose to follow the Septuagint by including the names of the Hebrew letters as headings for each verse. In this way, the names of the Hebrew letters⁶² (if not their appearance) would have become familiar to readers of the Psalter. In his *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum*, Jerome expounded on the many meanings of the letters' names,⁶³ and thus, the names and meanings of the Hebrew letters would have been available to learned communities of readers. The actual appearance of the letters, however, would have remained something of a mystery.

Any knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet demonstrated in the East Norse texts is only found in translated works and tends to centre upon the number of letters in the *alefbet*. The details of Greek and Hebrew, the two principal biblical languages that were not studied by the Nordic clergy in the Middle Ages, are sometimes confused. For example, the OSw. *Speculum Virginum* has the following comments on the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew alphabets:

Peregrinus Hwat sigher gudz son j iohannis apocalipsi / jak ær sigher han alfa ok o Førsta ok sidhzsta / opbørianen ok ændhin thænne bokstaffwin a ær badhe nær grezska / latina / ok hebreska / første j a b c d / ok o ær ythersta nær the ebrezkska⁶⁴

[Stranger: What is the Son of God saying in John's Apocalypse? "I am," he says, "alpha and o(mega), the first and the last, the beginning and the end." (Apocalypse [Revelation] 22:13)

⁶¹ Damian Fleming, "Christian Hebrew in England with and without Jewish Books," *Early Middle English* 1, no. 1 (2019): 74.

⁶² Hebrew letters have acrophonic names, e.g., א *alef* [ox], ב *beit* [house], ג *gimel* [camel], and ד *dalet* [door].

⁶³ Hieronymus [Jerome], *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos; Liber interpretationes Hebraicorum nominum; Commentarioli in Psalmos; Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, ed. P. de Lagarde, G. Morin, and M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959), 57–161; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 23, cols 815–904.

⁶⁴ SKB A 8, p. 283; *SpeVir* 514.

This letter *a* is both in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew the first in the alphabet, and *ō* is the very last in Hebrew.]

*Quid ait in apocalipsi Iohannis filius dei? "Ego sum," inquit, "alfa et omega, primus et novissimus, principium et finis." A apud Graecos, Latinos et Hebraeos principium est elementorum, ω vero finalis elementorum apud Hebraeos.*⁶⁵

The last letter of the Hebrew alphabet is ת (*tav*, ‘t’); it is surely the Greek alphabet the author is thinking of, where ω (*ōmega*, ‘ō’) is the final letter. The same mistake is found in all extant Latin versions of the same passage and was simply followed and translated in OSw. by Mathias Laurentii who presumably was none the wiser.

In *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse* (ff. 210ra–211va) we find an ODa. *verbum de verbo* translation of Jerome’s preface to his Latin translation of the First Book of Kings (1 Samuel), the so-called *Prologus Galeatus* [*Helmeted Preface*].⁶⁶ Jerome prefixed a short notice to the beginning of each book of the Bible that described its character. Hieronymian prefaces were rarely absent from Vulgate manuscripts in the Middle Ages. *The Helmeted Preface* is the earliest and most celebrated of these prefaces and has a more general aim than the others. In addition to defending Jerome against his opponents, *The Helmeted Preface* offers a schedule of the books of the Old Testament, that they might be distinguished from the apocrypha, and explains his method of translation from Hebrew. It contains several paragraphs in which he explains some of the history of the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Samaritan alphabets as well as the more mystical aspects of the Hebrew alphabet, such as the number of letters (twenty-two) and its relation to the number of books of the Old Testament (twenty-two).⁶⁷ Furthermore, Jerome assures the reader that, as any trustworthy Jew can confirm, his translation is closer to the Hebrew than the Greek Septuagint is. The main contribution of Jerome’s preface to “vernacular knowledge” about the Hebrew alphabet is his placing it within an historical context and in relation to Aramaic and Samaritan writing systems:

Syrorwm ællær syrenes *theth* folkins twnghe / **Ok** caldeis winnebær to ok tywæ boghstawe wære hoos hebreos *theth* ær hebraiske Hwilken som twnghe ær hebreens næstæ af stoor deel / **F**orthy the hafwe to ok tywæ elemente *theth* ær bogstawe *meth* thæn same lydilse / **W**then i ath skilielighe teghne ællær bogstawe / **Ok** samaritani skrifwe pentatevcum^(a) *theth*

⁶⁵ [Peregrinus (Conradus Hirsauensis?)], *Speculum Virginum: Jungfrauspiegel*, ed. and trans. Jutta Seyfarth, *Fontes Christiani*, vol. 31, nos. 1–4 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 910.

⁶⁶ The ODa. text is provided in full together with the original Latin in Text 31: *The Helmeted Preface*.

⁶⁷ Jerome also points out the the total number of books can be calculated differently to give twenty-four and relates this to the twenty-four elders in the Book of Revelation (4:4).

ær moyses fæm bøgher *meth* sa manige boghstawe ath eniste *meth* figuris ok høwe boghstawe atskiliaene / *Theth* ær wist esdram^(b) skrifwere ok lowæns *kernefædhær* æftær *jherusalem* taghin ok templens genbyggilse wndhær *zorobabel* pa fwmneth andre bogh stawe hwilke *som* the nytte nw mædhen the same samaritanes ok hebraischis teghne ok boghstawe ware wth til thæn tidh⁶⁸

Notes: **a.** pentatevcum] pentate[u]vcum MS. **b.** esdram] esdram [ok] MS.

[The language of the *Syrori* or Syrians, i. e., the vernacular, and of the *Chaldaei*, bears witness to twenty-two letters among the *Hebraei*, i. e., Hebrews, which is for the most part similar to the Hebrew; because they have twenty-two elements, i. e., letters, with the same sound, but in different characters or letters. The *Samaritani* write the Pentateuch, i. e., the Five Books of Moses, in the same number of letters, only they differ in shapes and high letters. It is certain Ezra, the scribes, and doctors of the Law, after the capture of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple under Zerubbabel, invented other letters, which they now use, while these same Samaritan and Hebrew symbols and letters were up to that time the same.]

Regarding the purpose and intended readership of *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse*, current research provides no answer.⁶⁹ Although vernacular translations of parts of the Bible in the form of sermon themata or pericopes were commonly read or mediated to a broad group of listeners, both lay and clerical, it remains an open question whether *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse* with its unique translations of Jerome's prefaces was ever intended for anything more than a small group of learned readers. It remains an enigmatic text that holds its secrets well. For this reason, it is not possible to know who had access to the ODa translation of *The Helmeted Preface* and its description of Hebrew and its history.

Comparing the sacred languages

In vernacular manuscripts, we occasionally come across attempts at comparing words or names in the three sacred languages – Latin, Greek, and Hebrew – that go beyond simple descriptions of the alphabets. For example, in Christiern Pedersen's *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515):

Da komme de hellige tre konger til Iherusalem de kaldiss paa hebraiske Appelleius Amerius oc damascus paa Grekiske kaldis de Galgalat magalat oc Saracin · Paa latine oc Danske kaldiss de Jaspas Melchior oc Baltasar⁷⁰

⁶⁸ DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 210rb; *GldBib* I 1–2.

⁶⁹ Bodil Ejrnæs, *Gammeldansk Bibel: Studier i en dansk bibeloversættelse fra middelalderen* (Copenhagen: Eksistensen, 2019), 130–31.

⁷⁰ *AlleEpocEu*, f. 56v [I]; *ChrPed Skr* I 158.

[Then the three kings arrived in Jerusalem. In Hebrew, they are called *Appelius*, *Amarius*, and *Damascus*. In Greek, they are called *Galgalat*, *Magalat*, and *Sarachin*. In Latin and Danish, they are called *Jaspar*, *Melchior*, and *Balthazar*.]

Der pilatus hørde disse ord Da ledde han ihesum aff raadhuset oc sette sig for en domstoll som bygder vor aff sten oc kallediss paa gredske lycostratos oc paa hebraiske gabatha⁷¹
[When Pilate heard these words, he led Jesus from the city hall and sat before a court that was built of stone and in Greek is called *lithóstrōtos* and in Hebrew *gabatha*.]

Of course, this does not show that Pedersen had any knowledge of Hebrew. The names of the magi were found in Christian legends and the “three kings” were by this time well established in tradition and regarded as saints, whose relics were enshrined in Cologne.⁷² The word *gabatha* – actually Aramaic גבתא [elevation] rather than Hebrew – appears in John 19:13 to refer to the site of the trial of Jesus.⁷³

The language of the friends of Christ

There are a couple of examples in the fourteenth-century OSw. collection of legends known as *Fornsvenska legendariet* that explicitly mention Hebrew in connection with Christian missionary activity. When St Thomas the Apostle is in India, he is ordered by a pagan king to worship an idol, but Thomas is having none of it:

Tomas fiol ·a· knæ ok saghþe sua ·a· hebrezko male / iak heþrar ok þo eigh bilætet / ¶ iak heþra ok eigh gullet / iak heþra sannan guþ ok eigh diæwlen / iak heþra min hærra [min hærra] ihesum *christum* ok ·i· hans namn biuþar iak þik leþe diawl ·i· bilæteno bo · at þu bryt ok mal ·i· miøl þætta bilætte⁷⁴

[Thomas fell to his knees and said thus in the Hebrew language: “However, I also do not honour the image. Nor do I honour the gold. I honour the true God, and not the devil. I honour my Lord Jesus Christ, and, in his name, I command you, evil devil [who] resides in the image, to smash and grind this image to powder!”]

The speaking “in the Hebrew language” is found in the Latin original (*Hebraice*). That Thomas spoke to the demon resident in the idol using Hebrew, rather than any other tongue, underlines the miraculous power associated with the language.

⁷¹ *AlleEpocEu*, f. 117r [cxi]; *ChrPed Skr* I 345.

⁷² See, for example, the miracle about the two widows and the three kings in Cologne found in UUB C 528, f. 170r–v; *FsvLeg* II 915–17; *FsvLeg* PAW III 658–63.

⁷³ Gk. λιθόστρωτος, *lithóstrōtos* [mosaic pavement], also appears in the text here.

⁷⁴ SKB A 34, f. 36va; *FsvLeg* I 189; *FsvLeg* PAW II 258–59.

In the same work, St Bartholomew the Apostle is described by the early-sixth-century writer Theodorus Lector in Constantinople as having translated the Gospel According to St Matthew from Hebrew for the King of India:

Sanctus þeodorus sighar ok skriuvar af *sancto* bartholomeo / at han prædicape først ·i· indye lande / · ok vende þe læst sanctus matheus skrivar af hebrezko / tel indye lans kunungh · ok sighar · at han do siþan cors fæstar : som *sanctus* petrus ·i· mæsta staþ armenie rikes / som heter albana / ok var þæt høght · iartigne ok dyrt martirium / at liua sua længe siþan han var flaghin / ok hittes þæt skrivat at han do eigh ·a· corseno før æn han varþ halshugen⁷⁵

[St Theodorus says and writes about St Bartholomew that he first preached in India and translated the Gospel written by St Matthew from Hebrew for the king of India and says that he died after being crucified like St Peter, in the largest city in Armenia which is called Albanopolis. And it was a great miracle and precious martyrdom to live so long that he was flayed, and it is found written that he did not die on the cross until he was beheaded.]

The claim here that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew and Bartholomew translated it to an Indian language is not found in the Latin original. However, the idea that the Gospel was written by Matthew in Hebrew (rather than a later anonymous Greek-speaking Jewish Christian) would have made perfect sense to the Swedish scribe.⁷⁶

The language of the enemies of Christ

In addition to Hebrew, the Jews also speak Latin in East Norse works. Whereas the speech of Jesus and Pilate, for example, is rendered in ODa. or OSw., the native language of the reader or audience, the Jews who call for Christ to be executed, often yell out in Latin: “Crucifige!” The examples here are taken from devotional works in ODa. (*Opbyggelige Skrifter*, SKB A 29, c. 1500) and OSw. (*War Herra Pino bok*, SKB A 3, 1502):

⁷⁵ SKB A 34, f. 41vb; *FsvLeg* I 209–10; *FsvLeg* PAW II 287. According to early Christian tradition, St Peter was crucified upside-down with his head downwards.

⁷⁶ Unknown to the writer of *Fornsvenska legendariet*, a bishop names Papias (c. 125) said, according to Eusebius, that Matthew did, indeed, record the sayings of Jesus in Hebrew. However, nowhere in the Gospel According to Matthew is authorship by Matthew claimed nor does the text read like a translation from Hebrew. See Amy-Jill Levine and Marc Zvi Brettler, eds, *The Jewish Annotated New Testament: New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1.

Oc ther øpte the fwle jødher øfwer hannom *meth* there falske twnge Crucifige Crucifige eum⁷⁷
[And then the vile Jews shouted over him with their false tongues, “Crucifige, crucifige eum!”]⁷⁸

skadha han nw før gudz skuld / hwru han staar oc slar nidher ænletet før swa myklom
mogha ropandhe oc skriandhe crucifige crucifige / thet ær^(a) hænck op han gabbande han oc
hædande / som the wæren alle wisare æn han⁷⁹

Notes: **a.** ær] ær [hæn] MS.

[Observe him now for the sake of God, how he stands and turns down his face before such a great crowd shouting and screaming, “Crucifige, crucifige!” – that is “Hang him up!” – while mocking and blaspheming as if they were all wiser than him.]

It is noteworthy that this one critical phrase – *crucifige eum* – that was to change everything about the relationship between Jews and Christians was sometimes given in a higher register, viz. that of the Church itself. It is textual code-switching precipitated by extra-textual concerns: Jews in Judea did not speak Latin, but the New Testament does. Quoting directly from the New Testament and providing this phrase in Latin made it all the more powerful and the words shouted by the crowd were transformed into dogma. It should be said, however, that the speech of Jews in this part of the Passion and elsewhere is more usually given in the vernacular and the word used for ‘crucify’ is *korsfæste/korsfæsta*:

thet grymma dødzens^(a) skrii oc roop^(b) almoghen ropadhe / oc saghdhe korsfæst korsfæst
hanom⁸⁰ (OSw.)

Note: **a.** dødzens] dø[z>d]zens MS. **b.** roop] [s>r]oop MS.

[The common people yelled that cruel scream and shout of death and said, “Crucify, crucify him!”]

pylatus leede han fram fore judhana ij rødhom klædhom ok sagdhe sein idher konungher
vthan judhane ropadho ath han skuldhe kors festas ok ey wara thera konungher⁸¹ (OSw.)

[Pilate led him forth before the Jews in scarlet robes and said, “See your king!” But the Jews shouted that he should be crucified and was not their king.]

77 SKB A 29, f. 218v; *OpbygSkr* f. 218v.

78 “Crucifige, crucifige eum!” means ‘Crucify, crucify him!’ Cf. John 19:6. Note that “*meth* there falske twnge” could also be translated ‘with their false language.’

79 SKB A 3, f. 48va; *WHPinobok* 96.

80 UUB C 22, f. 13v; *SkrUppM* 282.

81 SKB A 54, f. 52v; *DagSJT* 217.

Conclusion

Of the various words to refer to Hebrew (*hebraisk/hebrezka*; *juthemal/iuþa mal*; *juthisk*), it is only occasionally possible to show that the term *juthemal/iuþa mal* has been used to link the language directly to Jews (*juther/iuþar*) as the enemies of Christ. Generally, the East Norse terms used to refer to Hebrew appear to have been interchangeable: there is no evidence that they are anything but synonyms. Ideas about the language and its origins are the stuff of West European Christian legend and in this way, Denmark and Sweden are anything but unusual: Hebrew is the original language, given by God, spoken by Adam, and salvaged by Eber at Babel. It was the tongue of the Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews, and as such it was the sacred language of the Old Testament and the vile speech of the crowds baying for Christ's blood, although the phrase "Crucify him!" with its full doctrinal force can be found in Latin (*Crucige eum!*). Furthermore, contemporary Jews are known still to speak this language; however, just as those people have been abandoned and left in the past, so too has their language no more to offer Christians beyond providing the liturgy with occasional flashes of mystery and links to the biblical world through the use of Hebrew terms. There is no evidence in the vernacular material of anything but a superficial awareness of Hebrew, and although the alefbet draws some attention, there is no evidence of any understanding of the structure or lexicon of Hebrew. The ODa. translation of Jerome's *Helmeted Preface* is the most in-depth vernacular explanation of Hebrew and the language of the Old Testament. The name of and ideas about the language are conventional in a Western Christian context and repeated often enough to suggest that they were widespread. Meanwhile, the peculiar case of Michael's references to rabbis in *De creatione rerum* raises many questions but provides few convincing answers.

Excursus: Hebrew and Greek learning at Vadstena

Whereas it is straightforward to gain an impression of ideas about and attitudes towards the original biblical languages in medieval Denmark or Sweden by reading the vernacular East Norse material, the existence of actual study of Hebrew or Greek in the North can only be inferred. For more immediate evidence of an interest in and learning of these languages it is necessary to turn to the Latin manuscripts where, although few and far between, there are, indeed, examples of engagement with both Hebrew and Greek. Below is presented evidence from three Vadstena manuscripts.

Hebrew in Uppsala, University Library, C 637

The Latin manuscript UUB C 637 in the so-called C Collection from Vadstena Monastery that is now housed in the Uppsala University Library is a good example of Hebrew learning in medieval Sweden. The manuscript comprises 100 folios and contains a copy of Giovanni da San Gemignano's (c. 1260/70–1335) *De exemplis et similitudinibus rerum* (*Liber I*) (ff. 8r–88r), Alexander de Villa Dei's (c. 1174–1240/50) *Summarium Biblicum* (ff. 88r–89v, 99v–100r), Odo of Cheriton's (1180/90–1246/47) *Fabulae* (ff. 90r–99r), and a few shorter notes, tables, and index. On f. 100v there is an *ex libris* note that reads: “Istum librum attulit frater petrus iohannis olim clericus Strenginensis” [Brother Petrus Johannis, formerly a cleric in Strängnäs, brought this book].⁸² Petrus entered Vadstena Monastery in 1393.

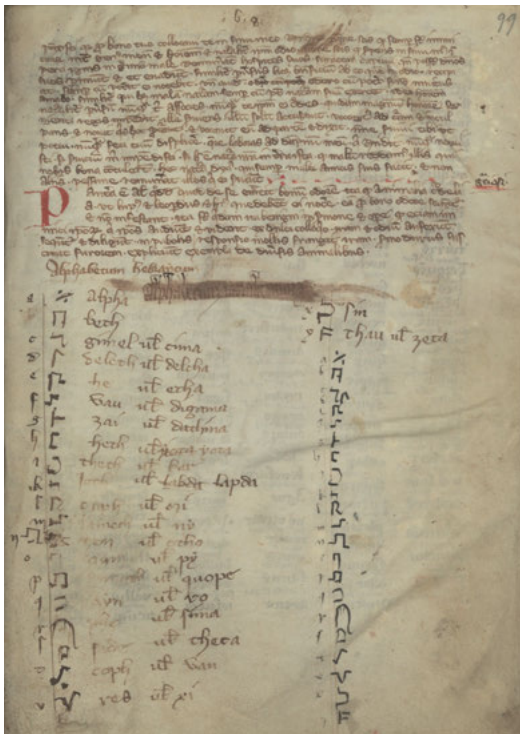


Figure 4.1: “Alphabetum hebraicum”: Uppsala, University Library, C 637, f. 99r (fourteenth century). Alvin: Platform for Digital Collections and Digitized Cultural Heritage (<https://www.alvin-portal.org>). Public domain.

⁸² See Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Håkan Hallberg, and Monica Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, vol. 6: C 551–935, *Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsalensis*, vol. 26, no. 6 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1993), 187.

On f. 99r of the manuscript is an attempt at writing the complete Hebrew alphabet, the “alphabetum hebraycum.”⁸³ The Latin alphabet (*a–y*, without *j* and *u*) has been written vertically in the left-hand margin. Alongside each letter is a Hebrew letter, its Hebrew name, and a Greek letter name. The Hebrew letter forms are angular, like Hebrew block letters, but they are unrecognizable. From their names, however, we can see that they are ordered as in Hebrew. Either the letters have been poorly copied or taken from an incorrect original, or they are pure fantasy on the part of the scribe. The alphabet is reminiscent of those found in the Mandeville manuscripts from elsewhere in Europe.⁸⁴ The scribe’s creations demonstrate “a strong desire to fill an obvious void concerning the appearance of Hebrew letters, even when scribes had no recourse to Hebrew books.”⁸⁵ The Latin letters are ordered as in the Latin alphabet, the Hebrew letters and their names as in the Hebrew alphabet, and the Greek letter names as in the Greek alphabet, and therefore neither the Latin nor the Greek letters corresponds to the Hebrew ones as the order of the letters is not the same in the three languages’ alphabets. Whereas the names of the Hebrew letters are overall correct, the names of the Greek letters are often corrupt or plain wrong. Similarly, unlike the Hebrew letters, the order of the Greek letters is not quite correct.

83 The title “alphabetum moralitatum” has been crossed out above the list of letters and names. An *alphabetum moralitatum* [morality alphabet] is an alphabetically arranged list of words that are considered to refer to or are linked to moral traits and behaviours. See, for example, the *alphabetum moralitatum* in Graz, University Library, 230 (1456), ff. 60r–90v: “Amicus · Ascendere · Beatus · Confortat · [...] Videre · Vocare · Voluntas” [Friend. Ascend. Blessed. Comfort. (...) See. Call. Will].

84 See, for example, Elmar Seebold, “Mandevilles Alphabete und die mittelalterlichen Alphabet-sammlungen,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 120 (1998): 435–49; Martin Przybilski, “Die Zeichen des Anderen: Die Fremdsprachenalphabete in den *Voyages* des Jean de Mandeville am Beispiel der deutschen Übersetzung Ottos von Diemeringen,” *Mittelaltai-nisches Jahrbuch* 37, no. 2 (2002): 295–320; Charles William Reuben Dutton Moseley, trans., *The Travels of John Mandeville* (London: Penguin, 2005), 93; Iain Macleod Higgins, trans., *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2011), 266–69; Anthony Bale, trans., *Sir John Mandeville: The Book of Marvels and Travels*, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 54.

85 Fleming, *Christian Hebrew in England with and without Jewish Books*, 74.

Alphabetum hebraicum

a alpha
 b beth
 c gimel uel cima
 d deleth uel deltha
 e he uel etha
 f vau uel digama
 g zai uel dathima
 h heth uel yota yota
 i theth uel kar
 k joth uel labda lapda
 l caph uel mi
 m lameth uel ny
 n mem uel otho
 o nun uel py
 p samech uel quope
 q ayn uel ro
 r phe uel sima⁹⁰
 s sade uel theta
 t coph uel vau
 v res uel xi
 x sin
 y thau uel zeta

Interpretation

a – *alef*, א [ʾ] (– *alpha*, α [a])
 b – *bet*, ב [b/v] (– *bēta*, β [b])
 c – *gimel*, ג [g] – *gamma*, γ [g]⁸⁶
 d – *dalet*, ד [d] – *delta*, δ [d]
 e – *he*, ה [h] – *ēta*, η [ē]
 f – *vayv*, ו [v] – *digamma*, Ϝ [w]
 g – *zayin*, ז [z] – ~⁸⁷
 h – *het*, ח [h] – *iota*, ι [i]
 i – *țet*, ט [t] – *kappa*, κ [k]
 k – *yud*, י [y] – *lambda*, λ [l]
 l – *kaf*, כ [k/ch] – *mu*, μ [m]
 m – *lamed*, ל [l] – *nu*, ν [n]
 n – *mem*, מ [m] – *omikron*, ο [o]⁸⁸
 o – *nun*, נ [n] – *pi*, π [p]
 p – *samech*, ס [s] – *qoppa*, Ϙ [k]⁸⁹
 q – *ayin*, ע [ʿ] – *rho*, ρ [r]
 r – *pe*, פ [p/f] – *sigma*, σ [s]
 s – *zadi*, צ [z] – *thēta*, θ [th]
 t – *kuf*, ק [k] – *phi*, φ [ph]
 v – *reš*, ר [r] – *ksi*, Ξ [ksi] or χ [chi]
 x – *šin*, ש [š/ś] (– *psi*, ψ [ps])⁹¹
 y – *tay*, ת [t] – *zēta*, ζ [z]

Figure 4.2: The names of the Hebrew letters. Uppsala, University Library, C 637, f. 99r.

Although further examples may well exist in other Latin manuscripts from Scandinavia, this is to my knowledge the only extant attempt to write Hebrew letter forms in a medieval Swedish or Danish manuscript.⁹² The alphabet is presented

⁸⁶ The interpretation of “cima” as *gamma* is uncertain.

⁸⁷ It has not been possible for me to interpret the letter name “dathima.” It may be of relevance that in 1 Maccabees 5:9 and 29, we read of “the fortress Dathema” (Δαθημα τὸ ὀχύρωμα, *Dathema tò ochýrōma*) in Gilead where Judah Maccabee defeated the Ammonite general Timothy. It might for some reason even be intended to denote διάθημα *diáthema* [disposition (of the stars), constellation].

⁸⁸ The interpretation of “otho” as *omikron*, ο [o] is uncertain.

⁸⁹ The interpretation of “quope” as *qoppa* is uncertain.

⁹⁰ The name “sima,” rather than *sigma*, suggests that the letter *gamma* γ [g] is pronounced as a voiced velar [ɣ] here. If the letter name had been heard and transcribed by ear, the *gamma* may well have disappeared. On the transcription of *gamma* in these manuscripts, see below.

⁹¹ This interpretation of “sin” as ψ *psi* is pure conjecture based on finding a Greek letter similar to the name “sin” and to the shape of the Hebrew letter ש *šin* and that has not already been mentioned in the list of Greek letters.

⁹² A similar attempt from medieval Iceland to write the Greek and Hebrew alphabets can be found at the back of the theological miscellany DAS, AM 685 d 4^o, ff. 30v–31r (1450–1500). Here the names of the Hebrew letters are correct, but how they are written is entirely incomprehen-

Aleph *id est doctrina vel dicitur deus*

[*Alef* א: doctrine or it says God]

Beth *id est domus vel ffilius dicitur*

[*Bet* ב: house or it says the Son]

Gimel *id est tribulatio vel doctrina vel plenitudo*

[*Gimel* ג: tribulation or doctrine or fullness]

Delet *id est pauper vel timor*

[*Dalet* ד: poor or fear]

Vau *id est ipse*

[*Vav* ו: itself]

Zai · Het · Beth *id est vita* ·

[*Zayin* ז, *het* ח, *bet* ב: life]

Theth *idem / vel heth id est domus*

[*Tet* ט: the same or *het* ח: house]

vel *narratio / vel zai id est doctrina*⁹⁴

[or narrative; or *zayin* ז: doctrine]

Figure 4.4: An explanation of some Hebrew letters. Uppsala, University Library, C 447, f. 211v.

The investigation of Hebrew here is a repetition or reworking of standard commentaries on the Old Testament. It does not appear to be a direct copy of a particular authority but rather a compilation of interpretations by several exegetes.

Greek in Uppsala, University Library, C 447 and C 450

These attempts at recording the Hebrew alphabet, organizing it, comparing it to Latin and Greek, and explaining the letters meanings demonstrates a more advanced appreciation of the rudiments of the non-Latin biblical languages than is found in East Norse vernacular manuscripts.⁹⁵ Latin manuscript culture

⁹⁴ After this point in the manuscript, there is a discussion of the Greek word λάμια (*lámia* [child-devouring, blood-drinking witch]). Λάμια is used in the Vulgate to translate Lillith (לילית) in Isaiah 34:14: אִי־דְבַשׁ הַרְגִיעָה לִילִית > *ibi cubavit lamia* (KJV: “the screech owl also shall rest there”).

⁹⁵ The exception here is the ODa. translation of Jerome’s “Helmeted Preface” in *Den Gameldanske Bibeloersættelse* discussed above.

undoubtedly provided a more apt milieu for writing about the languages of the Bible more closely. Indeed, in two Latin manuscripts in the C Collection there are transliterations using Latin letters of the Greek prayers *Πάτερ ἡμῶν* [*Pater Noster*] and *Ἀβε Μαρία* [*Ave Maria*]: the aforementioned Lund breviary from Nyborg 1474 (1477?), UUB C 447, f. 60v (the prayers are an obvious later addition), and an antiphony from 1486–1511 for use by the monks at Vadstena, UUB C 450, f. 69v.

UUB C 450, f. 69v ⁹⁶	New Testament Greek (Matthew 6:9–13)	Transliteration
<i>Pater noster graecum</i> ⁹⁷		
Pater ymo ne dys wraneis	Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς	Pater hēmōn, ho en tois ouranois
aitite tonomase	ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου	hagiasthētō to onoma sou;
Elteto yvassiliasso	ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου	elthetō hē basileia sou;
genitite to telimasso	γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου,	genethetō to thelēma sou,
osse vrano ke petis gis	ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·	hōs en ouranōi, kai epī tēs gēs;
to nartonimo tou exiosion	τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον	ton arton hēmōn ton epiousion
dos	δοῦς	dos
	<i>ἡμῖν σήμερον</i>	<i>hēmin sēmeron;</i>
	<i>καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα</i>	<i>kai aphes hēmin ta</i>
	<i>ἡμῶν, ὡς</i>	<i>opheilēmata hēmōn, hōs</i>
ke mys effigome tas efeletas	καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις	kai hēmeis aphiemēn tois opheiletaiis
	<i>ἡμῶν</i>	<i>hēmōn;</i>
	<i>καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς</i>	<i>kai mē eisenenkēis</i>
ymas yspirasmo	ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,	hēmas eis peirasmon,
alarisse ymas a potoponiro	ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.	alla rhusai hēmas apo tou ponērou.
my		
emenys	Ἀμήν.	Amēn.

[*Pater noster* in Greek: Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, thy will be done as it is in heaven also on earth. Give us our daily bread. And we forgive those who trespass. Us into temptation but deliver us from evil. Amen.]

Figure 4.5: The Lord’s Prayer in Greek. Uppsala, University Library, C 450, f. 69v.

⁹⁶ Note: the line division is not original. The Greek and transliterated text in italics is missing in the OSw. manuscript.

⁹⁷ Lat.: ‘The Greek “Our Father.”’

UUB C 450, f. 69v ⁹⁸ <i>Aue maria graecum</i> ⁹⁹	Reconstructed Greek prayer	Transliteration
Chere kekaritomeni maria partteni (?) ochyrios metassena yssy nexi keuolo ¹⁰⁰ ymenos o karpos tykiliasso topsitonimo	Χαῖρε Μαρία κεχαριτωμένη, παρθένε ὁ Κύριος μετά σοῦ, <i>Ἐυλογημένη</i> σὺ ἐν γυναιξί, καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν	Chaire Maria kecharitōmenē parthene ho Kyrios meta sou <i>Eulogēmenē</i> sy en gynaiksi, kai eulogēmenos ho karpos tēs koilias sou tōn psychōn hēmōn
kere nyfi i(?) nyfe esste	Χαῖρε νύφη ἡ νύφη ἔστι	Chaire nyfi hē nyfi esti.

[*Ave Maria* in Greek: Rejoice, Mary, full of Grace, the Virgin! The Lord is with thee. *Blessed* art thou amongst women and blesses is the fruit of thy womb, of our souls. Hail, bride! She is a bride.]

Figure 4.6: “Hail Mary” in Greek. Uppsala, University Library, C 450, f. 69v.

The transliterations in the manuscripts do not include the two Greek prayers in full, nor are they always accurate. Surprisingly, they comprise a distorted reproduction of (contemporaneous) spoken Greek rather than a transliteration of the written New Testament language. There are several points that demonstrate this.

1) The diphthongs *αι* [ai], *ει* [ei], and *οι* [oi] are rendered as monophthongs: *αι* > *e/a* [e, a(!)], *ει* > *i/y* [i], and *οι* > *i/y/ei/a* [i, a(!)] as was typical of spoken medieval Greek:

αι [e, a]	καὶ “ke”; Χαῖρε “Chere”; γυναιξί “-y nexi” (also <i>ὀφειλέταις</i> “ <i>efeletas</i> ”)
ει [i]	βασιλεία “-vassilia-”; εἰς πειρασμόν “ <i>yspirasmo</i> ”; ἡμεῖς “mys”
οι [i, a]	κοιλίας “-kiliias-”; τοῖς οὐρανοῖς “ <i>dys wraneis</i> ” (also τοῖς “tas”)

However, the use of “a” in “tas” τοῖς and “efeletas” *ὀφειλέταις* is an example of a transliteration that seems to be entirely distorted and unlikely to have originated from a native speaker or a letter-for-letter transliteration. These spellings do not accurately reflect the monophthongization of these diphthongs (one would expect “i” and “e” respectively).¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Note: the line division is not original. The Greek and transliterated text in italics is missing in the OSw. manuscript.

⁹⁹ Lat.: “The Greek “Hail Mary.””

¹⁰⁰ The reading “keuolo” is uncertain. It should possibly read “kenolo.”

¹⁰¹ Other peculiarities that are difficult to explain as phonological changes include the frequent use of “ss” and final -ou becoming “-o” (or “-e”).

2) The transliteration of the letter gamma γ [g] shows that the phoneme has become a voiced velar [ɣ] or voiced palatal fricative [j]:

“aistite” for *ἁγιασθήτω* [ajas'θito]

“yssi nexi” for *σὺ ἐν γυναιξί* [sinjine'ksi] or, more likely, *εἰς γυναιξί* [isjine'ksi]

“keuolo ymenos” for *καὶ ἐύλογημένος* [kevloji'menos]

3) On the whole words are divided incorrectly with separate words running into one another or spaces appearing in the middle of discrete words. Often when words in the transliteration run into one another, it corresponds to the correct phrasing in ordinary spoken Greek, whereby several words run into one another to form a single phonetic unit; for example, a negative particle, conjunction, preposition, or article runs into a following word, while a noun runs into a post-positioned possessive pronoun.¹⁰² Thus, the transliteration represents a correct phonetic division of units, but an incorrect orthographic one.

“yvassiliasso” for *ἡ βασιλεία σου*¹⁰³ [ivasi'liasu]

“a potoponiro” for *ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*¹⁰⁴ [apotuponi'ru]

“keuolo ymenos” for *καὶ ἐύλογημένος*¹⁰⁵ [kevloji'menos]

“tykiliasso” for *τῆς κοιλίας σου*¹⁰⁶ [tiski'liasu]

Because of this division into phonetic units, the fact that many of these words end in an open syllable (especially “-ne”), and the type of manuscripts these Greek prayers are found in, I am tempted to suggest that the text is not just a record of spoken Greek, but of chanted or sung Greek; in other words, that these texts are renditions of *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* as sung in Greek.

4) The use of the word “nyfi,” *νύφη* (*nýfē* [bride]), if interpreted correctly, is possibly a reference to the identification of Mary as the bride in the Song of Songs. It is of interest here as it shows the medieval merger of $\mu\phi > \varphi$ (*νύμφη*, *nýmfē* > *νύφη*, *nýfē*).

102 Possessive pronouns are enclitic to the nouns they modify in Greek.

103 Note the correct phrasing in the transliteration, i. e., the definite article, noun, and possessive all form a single phonetic unit as occurs in ordinary speech.

104 Note that the preposition, definite article, and noun are (almost) correctly phrased into one phonetic unit.

105 Note the conjunction is (correctly) prefixed to the noun that is then incorrectly divided into two parts.

106 Note the correct phonetic phrasing in the transliteration.

5) The form “effigome” is a transliteration of the medieval (and modern) Greek *ἐφύγομε* [we avoided < φεύγω].¹⁰⁷ The word is perfectly comprehensible Greek that also makes sense in this context, but it is not the correct word used in the prayer; the New Testament has *ἀφιεμεν* [we forgave]. It seems that such a substitution could only have come about if someone with a good knowledge of Greek, perhaps a mother-tongue speaker, had spoken this prayer aloud and made the change, and a scribe has then written what he heard. Whether this was a scribe active in Vadstena, or one at a much earlier stage whose transliterated prayer was copied into the manuscript is not possible to determine.

6) The form “metassena” is a clear reflection of the spoken Greek *μετά σενα*, rather than the written *μετά σου*. Only a Greek-speaker would have used this spoken form. Another change that reflects correct Greek, but that is not the standard form found in the prayer, is “yssy nexi” for *εἰς γυναιξί*, rather than *σὺ ἐν γυναιξί*.

7) Other details that point to a spoken, contemporary Greek rather than a transliteration of written Greek include: “ne dys” for *ἐν τοῖς* which suggests that the consonant combination ντ was being pronounced [nd]; “petis gis” for *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* which demonstrates uncertainty about the preposition *ἐπὶ* and its pronunciation which suggests that it had fallen out of use in spoken Greek by this point;¹⁰⁸ and the loss of final ν [n] in several spellings:

- “γμο,” “-imo” for *ἡμῶν*
- “osse” for *ὡς ἐν*
- “του” for *τὸν*
- “effigome” for *ἐφύγομεν*
- “γspirasmο” for *εἰς πεφρασμόν*
- “topsitonimο” for *τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν*

All this strikes me as extraordinary. Was someone in Vadstena able to recite prayers in Greek? Or did the scribe for some reason copy these two transliterations of spoken prayers from another manuscript originally from outside of Vadstena? How did transliterations of contemporary spoken Greek end up in Vadstena? Were they intended to be sung?

¹⁰⁷ The classical form would, of course, end in ν [n].

¹⁰⁸ In the following line, we find a very unusual form “exiosion” for *ἐπιούσιον* [epi'usion]. Again here, one explanation may be unfamiliarity with the preposition *ἐπὶ* [on, at] found here as a prefix *ἐπι-*.

The examples under discussion here are all from manuscripts that once belonged to the monastery in Vadstena: UUB C 637, C 447, and C 450. They demonstrate that there was interest in Hebrew and Greek language and liturgy there and, although it probably remained at a modest, rudimentary level, these examples shed an important light on the study of sacred languages at the monastery. Furthermore, they demonstrate that more research needs to be undertaken before we can determine with any certainty the level of engagement with Hebrew and Greek at Vadstena.



Identifying “the Jew”

5 The Jewish Body: From Top to Toe

The debasement and representation of the Jewish body

Certain physical features, behaviours, and character traits – most with negative connotations of corruption and evil – have long been ascribed to Jews. Christian perceptions of the Jewish body in the Middle Ages (and before and after) were very much a social and historical construction, and Christianity and its theological foundation as an all-pervasive culture were the decisive factors that shaped the body and appearance of Jews in art, literature, and the popular imagination. Although we can discern traces of it in antiquity, the invention of “the Jewish body” and its widespread dissemination flourished for the first time in the medieval period. As Sara Lipton has shown, before the year 1000 there were no discernible markers in Christian art that singled out Jews, but gradually “a host of visual clues were developed to render them, first, recognizable, and, ultimately, despicable. By the close of the Middle Ages, the Jew had become one of the most powerful and poisonous symbols in all of Christian art.”¹ The earliest artistic depictions of Jews in Denmark and Sweden date from the Romanesque period (c. 1150–1300) and Jewish figures are either visually unmarked or the motif of the “Jewish hat” is used to identify them. Sometimes, they appear smaller in stature if placed alongside non-Jewish figures.² In the Gothic period (after 1300), from when the majority of wall paintings are preserved, Jews became clearly marked out by a range of other visual signs, such as long pointed beards, unusual clothing, and the angle of the head ensuring a profile (or three-quarter-profile) view that highlighted exaggerated facial features, while their inner wickedness and depravity were mirrored by an outer ugliness: their contorted faces; dark or red hair, beards, and skin; thick lips, and long, hooked noses. Moreover, their “other-

1 Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014), 3.

2 Generally, the larger the figure, the more important and holy s/he is, and the smaller the figure the less important and more evil s/he is. See Ulla Haastrup, “Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalderkunst,” in *Dansk jødisk kunst: jøder i dansk kunst*, ed. Mirjam Gelfer-Jørgensen (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Danske Mindesmærker, 1999), 133–34. For example, the Crucifixion scene in Råsted Church, Århus (1100–25) where the characters standing on ladders and hammering the nails into Christ’s hands are wearing Jewish hats and are much smaller than Christ and the other surrounding figures. Image available in Jonathan Adams, “Grumme løver og menstruerende mænd,” *Rambam: Tidsskrift for Jødisk Kultur og Forskning* 12 (2012): 83.

ness” meant that their bodies functioned in an unnatural way, and in East Norse texts we read about their vile odour – the *foetor judaicus* – and about male Jews who menstruate. Their non-human instincts gave them animal-like behaviours – they spat, howled like wolves, gnashed their teeth, and suckled pigs – while their lack of spirituality resulted in an overriding carnality in their religion exemplified in illustrations of circumcision and exaggerated prostrations. Thus, Jewish otherness was shown in two ways: in physical, somatic signs seen in facial features and hair that mark an embodied otherness, and in behaviour, including patterns of speech, customs, laws, and sexuality, what we might call the performance of otherness. Jews were inferior to Christians because they adhered to inferior customs and rituals and because they clung to an alien, superseded creed. Jews’ inferior status and alterity were initially due to their behaviour and performance of otherness rather than any physical differences. However, over time this inferior status came to be manifest in concepts of embodied otherness: the physical appearance of Jews changed in the Christian imagination. According to the discipline of medieval physiognomy, the soul influenced the body in such a way that the outward, physical appearance of a human was a mirror of the character and condition of the soul.³ As Jews were believed to share the same set of (terrible) moral characteristics, so their physical appearance became uniform and their shared evil, irrational, and perfidious attributes were reflected in a shared series of bodily features. The increasing insistence upon a string of shared physical traits and the construction of “the Jewish body” as an object of revulsion came to strip Jews of their individuality and, ultimately, of their humanity. In both Christian writing and art, Jews were presented as a malignant collective with a hive mind and a shared anatomy. Furthermore, because the conception of Jews as physically different to non-Jews came to evolve into a belief in certain shared, inherited “ethnic” or “racial” traits, the Jewish body became a physical expression of a racialized or biological religiosity. In other words, Jews’ religious affiliation was discernible on their bodies because of the unnatural marks of corruption and monstrosity that were passed on from parent to child. Laws con-

3 On medieval physiognomy and Christian views of Jews, see Peter K. Klein, “‘Jud, Dir kuckt der Spitzbub aus dem Gesicht!’ Traditionen antisemitischer Bildstereotype oder die Physiognomie des ‘Juden’ als Konstrukt,” in *Abgestempelt: Judenfeindliche Postkarten auf der Grundlage der Sammlung Wolfgang Haney*, ed. Helmut Gold and Georg Heuberger (Heidelberg: Umschau/Braus, 1999), 43–78; Irven M. Resnick, *Marks of Distinction: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 2012), 13–52; Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), 65–89 (“The Jewish Profile and the History of Ugliness”).

cerning ‘blood cleanliness’⁴ on the Iberian Peninsula after the *Reconquista* in 1492 show, conversion to Christianity was not considered sufficient to wipe away the individual’s tarnish of Jewishness and corrupting influence of Judaism: for generations, Christians descended from Jewish converts were subject to special regulations and persecution.⁵ This racialized thinking tied medieval Jews even more closely to their murderous New Testament ancestors.⁶ In both text and art, Jewish characteristics – dark, ugly, irrational, and bestial – are contrasted with Christian ones – fair, beautiful, rational, and human. Yet despite Jews’ supposed physical alterity, in “real life” Christian Europe still needed to mark them out on the streets with special identifiers – hats, badges, and clothing – in order to avoid improper interactions with them. The Church’s concerns about the danger of improper sexual relations between Christians and non-Christians seem to have been the driving force behind at the Fourth Lateran Council imposing these markers throughout Western Christendom by law in 1215.⁷ Special Jewish hats taken from “real life” where they were imposed to distinguish Jews are also found depicted in illustrations, paintings, and sculptures in medieval Denmark and Sweden (sometimes pre-dating 1215) along with symbolic clothing styles such as extravagantly coloured and patterned vestments that signalled worldliness, pride, and lack of propriety.

This focus on Jews’ physicality and their bodily otherness can be traced back to the very beginnings of Christianity and the writings of Paul the Apostle (c. 5–c. 64/67). With Paul, Christianity began to distance itself from Jewish ritual practices, such as circumcision and kashrut, and came to understand itself as a spiritual faith in opposition to Judaism, which, it was alleged, remained a carnal religion bound to the flesh.⁸ Paul claimed that Jews had rejected Jesus because they “saw only the outside of God’s gifts – their literal, carnal, and ceremonial

⁴ This concept of blood cleanliness is usually referred to by the Spanish term *limpieza de sangre*, but of course it also existed in Portuguese- and Galician-speaking (*limpeza de sangue*), Basque-speaking (*odol garbitasun*) as well as Catalan-speaking (*neteja de sang*) areas.

⁵ See Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

⁶ As François Soyer points out, thinking of Jews as a “race,” a *gens Iudeorum, populum iudaicum*, or *gens Hebraeorum* was probably encouraged by the presence of such concepts and terms in the Vulgate (Esther 3:7; 1 Maccabees 8:20–25, 12:3–13:42). See François Soyer, *Medieval Antisemitism?* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), 16.

⁷ On the Church’s belief in the threat of the Jews’ impure sexual appetite and legislation that demanded that Jews wear distinctive attire, see Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, 80–92.

⁸ For example, on circumcision, Paul famously wrote: “Circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter” (Romans 2:29). On Christian dietary laws, see Acts 10; Colossians 2:16–17, and the parenthetical note in Mark 7:19.

significance – rather than their inner or spiritual meaning.”⁹ Marcion of Sinope (c. 85–c. 160) disparaged Jewish carnality by arguing that Christ had renounced “fleshly Jewish practices” such as kashrut, circumcision, fasts, feasts, and the Sabbath.¹⁰ In his *City of God* (17.11: “Adversus Judaeos”), Augustine of Hippo (354–430) contrasted spiritual Christianity (the New Israel) with the carnal Israel (the Jewish Israel of old). Jews’ lack of spiritual understanding meant that they were entirely unable to understand their own scriptures, seeing only the words on the page rather than their real, figurative meaning. Indeed, this opposition between “true spiritual” and “false carnal” was even reflected in the two religions’ clergy: unmarried Christian priests experienced the true, spiritual love of God, whereas rabbis knew only the carnal love of their wives. Jews’ alleged obsession with the flesh and the physical world came to be played out variously in East Norse literature and art. For example, in wall paintings we see that Jews have a worldly preoccupation with fashionable clothing; they dance wildly (around the Golden Calf); they revel in the spilling of the blood of Christ; they handle coins and moneybags; there is even an illustration of a monstrous, circumcised male with exaggerated genitalia.¹¹

Whereas the written word was the privilege of those who could read and afford books, public works of art were available to all.¹² Such art was largely to be found in churches where the laity would learn about the beliefs, precepts, and stories behind Christianity. While attending services and listening to sermons, the audience were surrounded by richly painted walls, statues, and reliefs that both aimed to draw them to prayer, adoration, and the love of God, and sought to educate, illustrate, and supplement the teachings of the Church. This art included portrayals of Jews and guided the viewer in what to think and feel about Jews. In the medieval churches of Denmark and Sweden, images of Jews have been preserved in numerous wall paintings as well as painted altarpieces, such as in Holmstrup Church, Roskilde (1475–1500) with its mocking, “gaping” Jew

⁹ David Nirenberg, *Aesthetic Theology and its Enemies: Judaism in Christian Painting, Poetry, and Politics* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2015), 10.

¹⁰ Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 227.

¹¹ The wall painting from c. 1480 is located in Hästveda Church, Skåne, and is discussed further below.

¹² Art could, of course, also be an exclusive medium. For example, manuscript illustrations, such as those found in Marine Jespersdatter’s prayer book (DAS AM 421 12⁹) from 1514 and discussed in Chapter 3: *Writing about Jews*, pp. 86–93. See Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, and 5.7.

in a Passion scene;¹³ sculptures, such as the *Judensau* (c. 1340–50) in Uppsala Cathedral;¹⁴ carvings in bone and ivory, like the Gunhild Cross (c. 1150) with its *Ecclesia-Synagoga* motif carved in walrus tooth,¹⁵ and metal work, for example, Moses and the blind *Synagoga* in the Romanesque golden altar (c. 1200) from Sahl Church in Vinderup, Viborg,¹⁶ and the preserved relief from a golden altar (c. 1200) in Tamdrup in Horsens, Århus, that depicts two figures wearing pointed Jewish hats scourging Jesus at the pillar.¹⁷ Stained glass is less well preserved in Scandinavia, mostly due to the harsh climate, poor maintenance, iconoclasm during the Reformation, and the need and fashion for more light during the post-medieval period.¹⁸ The vast majority of medieval stained glass windows that remain *in situ* can be found in Sweden with a particular concentration on Gotland. For example, some of the original windows in Dalhem Church, Visby (c. 1230), such as the “Judas kiss” (Figure 5.1) include representations of Jews.

Denmark and Sweden have some of the best-preserved medieval church wall-paintings in the world from the Romanesque period through the Gothic period until the Reformation (and indeed after). The earliest paintings from the twelfth century display clear influence from the continent, England, and Byzantium. In the Gothic period, many of the paintings were executed by workshops, each with its own distinct style. Generally, the artworks demonstrate influence from western and northern Germany, where some of the painters themselves were known to have come from. For example, the paintings of Albertus Pictor (Albrikt Immenhusen, c. 1440–1509) from Hessen that are found in some thirty-seven churches,

13 Marie-Louise Jørgensen and Hugo Johannsen, *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 4: *Holbæk Amt*, no. 3 (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseets Forlag, 1986), 1825–26.

14 Isaiah Shachar, *The Judensau: A Medieval Anti-Jewish Motif and its History*, Warburg Institute Surveys, vol. 5 (London: The Warburg Institute, 1974), 27–28, plates 19–21. See also Figure 5.24.

15 Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge: Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi (ca. 1100–ca. 1700)*, Kirkehistoriske studier, vol. 3, no. 1 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1992, repr. 2002), 142–48.

16 Christ on a throne in the middle of this altar frontal from Sahl Church. To his left is *Synagoga*, clothed in unsewn fabric, her right arm and breast exposed to the viewer. She is blindfolded, her crown on the ground, and her lance facing downwards. She is led away from the Messiah by Moses who carries a scroll in his hand. Does this panel suggest that Moses is guilty of leading Jews away from God? On the Moses and *Synagoga* figures from the Sahl golden altar, see Anders C. Christensen and Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen, *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 18: *Ringkøbing Amt*, no. 4 (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseets Forlag, 2018), 2782–853. See also Figure 5.3.

17 See Kjeld de Fine Licht, *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 16: *Aarhus Amt*, no. 9 (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseets Forlag, 1996–2002), 5043–176 (5122–23).

18 Aron Andersson, “Glasmålning,” in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, repr., vol. 5 (1981): cols 349–53.



Figure 5.1: The Judas kiss. Dalhem Church, Visby, Gotland (c. 1230). Jesus and Judas are surrounded by Jews wearing stylized conical hats (*pilei cornuti*). Photo: Wolfgang Sauber. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

geographically concentrated in Uppland, Stockholm, and Södermanland, have a distinct German style.¹⁹ In all, well over a thousand wall paintings have been preserved in Denmark and Sweden. They provide a unique and rich source of information about how medieval churchgoers were instructed in the stories of the Bible and saints, how they were to understand the world and society around them, and what sort of values, fears, desires, and preoccupations they – or, rather, the commissioners of the paintings – had. These paintings both mirror and shape the attitudes of the medieval viewers. Furthermore, church paintings provide an

¹⁹ On Albertus Pictor, see Agnes Geijer, *Albertus Pictor: Målare och pärlstickare*, Riksantikvarieämbetets och Statens Historiska Museums utställningar, vol. 7 (Stockholm: Statens historiska museum, 1949); Jan Öberg, Erik Kihlman, and Pia Melin, eds, *Den mångsidige målaren: Vidgade perspektiv på Albertus Pictors bild- och textvärld*, Scripta maiora, vol. 4 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, 2007).

excellent parallel to written sources, particularly sermons, prayers, and religious tractates. Features that are only mentioned a few times in the written sources, for example Moses' horns, may occur much more frequently in wall paintings or other visual art forms. We can thus assume that upon hearing about Moses in a sermon, churchgoers would have imagined him with horns more often than the written sources might suggest: they would have seen Moses in church and not just imagined his appearance *ex nusquam* upon hearing his name.²⁰

This chapter considers how Jews were described in medieval Danish and Swedish written sources and depicted in art, especially church wall-paintings as well as sculptures, carvings in bone and ivory, stained glass, metal work, and manuscript illustrations. Beginning with the head, the chapter moves “through” the Jewish body, before considering other indicators and symbols of Jewishness such as clothing, the portrayal of gender, and the use of animals in connection with Jews.

Horns

As a great prophet and – in the Christian view – a symbol of God's teachings as reinforced and explained in their correct interpretation by Jesus, Moses is a prominent figure found in both medieval Danish and Swedish religious writings and works of arts. His unique role in Christian understanding of the history of humanity as well as his having appeared to and spoken with Jesus during the Transfiguration²¹ required a special iconographical marker to identify him; for example, he is shown carrying the two Tablets of the Covenant or holding his staff. Sometimes he is found in both wall paintings and texts as a horned figure.²² These horns are most likely due to a Latin mistranslation of the Hebrew Bible found in Jerome's Vulgate. Because Hebrew is written without vowels, the translator had to point the text (i. e., supply the vowels) himself. Usually this was straightforward, the context making the correct pointing clear, but when confronted by the word קרן (*k-r-n*) in Exodus 34:29–30, the Latin theologian and translator Jerome (c. 347–420 CE) made what appears to be an extraordinary choice: rather than point the word

²⁰ See also the discussion of Marine Jespersdatter's prayer book (DAS AM 421 12⁹) under “Word frequency and collocability: Old Danish” in Chapter 3: *Writing about Jews*, pp. 69–93.

²¹ Matthew 7:1–18; Mark 9:2–8; Luke 9:28–36.

²² For an interdisciplinary study of the iconographical representation of the horned Moses, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970). See also Judith Vogt, *Jødens ukristelige image: et studie i katolsk billedmageri* (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1996), 133–36.

as קָרַן (*karan* [shone]), he chose instead קֶרֶן (*kēren* [horned]). So the Hebrew קָרַן עוֹר פָּנָיו – pointed in modern Hebrew Bibles as קָרַן עוֹר פָּנָיו (*karan* ‘or *panay* [the skin of his face was radiant]) – was rendered in the Latin Vulgate as *cornuta esset facies sua* [his face was horned].²³ Providing Moses with horns may at first glance seem to explain why the Israelites became so afraid when they saw him: “Videntes autem Aaron et filii Israel cornutam Moysi faciem, timuerunt prope accedere” [And Aaron and the children of Israel seeing the face of Moses horned were afraid to come near], Exodus 34:30. However, “horn” in the Bible was typically used metaphorically to signify power, honour, kingship, courage, and salvation,²⁴ so perhaps this choice did not seem so strange to Jerome and his early readers as it does to us: in late classical antiquity when the translation was made, the horns may well have been understood as identifying Moses as an honourable figure. By the medieval period, however, horns had acquired quite different connotations, principally as signs of evilness: in depictions of the devil,²⁵ or of persons worthy of

23 The Greek Septuagint has: “δεδόξασται ἡ ὄψις τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ” [the appearance of his face’s skin was made glorious/magnified]. In later Lutheran Bibles, the Exodus text follows the Hebrew. For example, in Hans Tausen’s translation of the Pentateuch from 1535, we find: “Der Moses stig nw neder aff bergh Sinai / oc hadde widnes byrdens tho taffler y syn hand / oc wiste icke at huden paa hans anlede tindrede / der aff att han hadde saa taled med hannom / Oc som Aaron oc alle Israels børn sowe Mose / see / da tindride huden paa hans anled / da reddes de at komme hannom nær / Der raabte Mose ad dennom / saa wende de seg hæden til hannom bode Aaron oc alle høwitzmendene for menheden.” [(29) When Moses now came down from Mount Sinai and had the two tablets of testimony in his hands and did not know that the skin of his face was radiating light because he had spoken to him. (30) And when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, behold! the skin of his face was shining, then they were afraid to approach him. (31) Then Moses called to them, so both Aaron and all the leaders of the congregation turned back towards him], HanTau *FemMB* (Exodus 34:29–31). And in Gustav Vasa’s Bible from 1543: “Tå nu Mose gick nedh aff berghit Sinaj / hadhe han the twå witesbyrdzens tafflor j sinne hand / och wiste icke at hudhen aff hans ansichte skeen / ther aff han hadhe talat med honom. Och tå Aaron och all Israels barn sågho / at hans ansichtes hwdh skeen / fruchtadhe the nalkas honom. Tå kalladhe Mose them / Och til honom wende sigh bådhe Aaron och the öffuerste för menighetenne.” [(29) When Moses went down from Mount Sinai, he had the tablets of testimony in his hands and did not know tha the skin of his face was shining because he had spoken to him. (30) And when Aaron and the children of Israel saw that the skin of his face was shining, they were afraid to approach him. (31) Then Moses called to them and both Aaron and the leaders of the congregation turned back towards him], *GVB* (Exodus 34:29–31).

24 See, for example, Ezekiel 34:21; Deuteronomy 33:17; Luke 1:68–69; Psalm 74:11 *DRB* (75:10 *KJV*); Daniel 8:20–21. See further Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses*, 76–93.

25 For example, the devil and demons in Fanefjord Church on Møn, Denmark, all have horns. See Annett Scavenius, *Elmelundsmesteren i Fanefjord Kirke* (Copenhagen: Vandkunsten, 2010), 23, 31, 77, 93, 99, 101. A particularly interesting example is the horned devil (with pointed beard, dark, bushy hair, and an exaggerated nose) standing behind Herod in the wall painting on the

ridicule, such as jesters,²⁶ cuckolds,²⁷ and wearers of *Schandmasken* (masks used for punishment and public humiliation).²⁸

The “horned Moses” also appears in the East Norse translations of the Bible as they are, of course, based on the Vulgate. In the ODa. Bible translation in DKB Thott 8 2^o, we read:

thæn tidh moyses thog til at fare nedher aff synais biergh / han hiolt too witnæbyrdens tawfflæ / han ikke wistæ ath hans anlath^(a) war hornet / aff herrens talæns sælskap / vtæn aaron seændhæ ok israels søner at moyses anlath war horneth / the ræddæs nær til at gonghæ / ok the kalledhe aff^(b) hannom jgenkommæ / swo wæl aaron som jødhekirrens høffdinghe²⁹

Notes: **a.** anlath] [ænsict > anlath] *MS*. **b.** aff] \aff/ *MS*.

[(29) When Moses started to come down Mount Sinai, he was holding two tablets of testimony. He did not know his face was horned from talking in the company of the Lord, (30) but Aaron and the sons of Israel, upon seeing that Moses' face was horned, were so afraid that they were about to leave, (31) and after being called by him, they, both Aaron and the leaders of the Temple, returned.] (Exodus 34:29–31)

In the OSw. Bible translation in DKB Thott 4 4^o (1430–40), we find:

Ællris mæn israels sona ræddos mykith / første the fingo at se han / thy at horn syntos wtga aff hans ænne³⁰

[However, the men, sons of Israel, were at first very afraid when they could see him because horns³¹ seemed to be sticking out of his forehead.]

eastern vault in Reerslev Church, Sjælland (c. 1450). He is holding Herod in his clawed clutches and fills him with evil thoughts while they look onto the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents. This is a graphic illustration of the common trope of Jews carrying out the devil's work. The devil behind Herod shares the same facial features as the Jews scourging Jesus, placing the crown on his head, and leading him to the cross in the other wall paintings in the same church.

26 For example, in Brøns Church, S. Jutland, and Nørre Saltum Church, Vendsyssel. See Elna Møller and Erik Moltke, *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 21: *Tønder Amt*, no. 2 (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseets Forlag, 1957), 1226, and www.kalkmalerier.dk (last accessed 5 April 2022).

27 The image of the horned cuckold became particularly common towards the end of the Middle Ages. See Claire McEachern, “Why Do Cuckolds Have Horns?” *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (2008): 607–31.

28 For example, the horned masked with a hooked, warty nose at the Mittelalterliche Kriminalmuseum, Rothenburg ob der Tauber (inventory no. 11099c).

29 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 66va–b; *GldBib* M 197.

30 Thott 4 4^o, f. 106v; *SMB* I 354; cf. the OSw. Bible translation from 1526 in SKB A 1, f. 103va; *FemMos* 275.

31 In SKB A 1, f. 103va (*FemMos* 275), we read, “at horn syntis vt ganga aff hans ænni” [that (a) horn seemed to be sticking out of his forehead]. The noun form “horn” can be singular or plural, but the past-tense verb form “syntis” [seemed] is in the third person singular.

However, this is followed in the Old Swedish Bible translation by an extraordinary interpretation of these “horns,” which explains that the correct meaning is indeed “rays (of light)” and that it is in fact the Jews who have misinterpreted the word as “horns”:

¶ Hær skulom wi vnderstanda / at swa som mantzins likame ær mærkelika bæter skipadher / tha han ær gladher oc quidholøs / æn tha han ær medh omsorgh oc genwærdho Swa ær oc myklo fræmmermeer bætra likamins skipilse sidhan siælin faar glædhi medh gudhi siælwom Thy at æpter domadagh / wardha ware likama siw lotom liwsare æn solin / Oc komber thet liws aff thy liwse som siælin hawer aff gudz asynn / thy at gudz liws skiin genom siælina / oc siælinna liws genom likamen Oc fore thy at moyses hafdhe hemelika talath medh gudhi oc seet han siælwan / nakra stund / tha war hans siæl swa frygdha full / oc liws / at aff hans ænne gingo wt swa skinande liwsgislør at israels sønir tholdo ey widh at se gen honum / oc thæssu liwsgislør kalladhis horn aff iwdhom³²

[By this we should understand that just as man’s body is clearly in better shape when he is happy and without sorrow than when he has worries and troubles, so too is the body in much better shape when the soul receives joy with God himself, because after the Day of Judgement our bodies will be seven times brighter than the sun and that light will come from the light that the soul has received from the sight of God because God’s light shines through the soul and the soul’s light through the body. And because Moses had spoken with God alone and for some time seen him himself, his soul was filled with joy and light so that radiant rays of light shone from his forehead and the sons of Israel could not bear to see him again, and these rays of light were called horns by the Jews.]

The interpretation continues and explains the meaning provided by Moses and his horned face to the contemporary Church:

Æn moyses siælwer wiste ey / at hans ænne hafdhe horn / kirkiorna formannom til æpterdøme / at the skulo oc ey allaleedh thænkia eller akta sit mykla wald / oc stanga kollot diwr som ære fatighe klærkia oc lekmæn / Vtan hælder wænta sik syndogha oc litith wærdha fore gudhi Sidhan holde moyses sit ænlite hwar then tima han taladhe widh folkith Oc hwilkin tima han taladhe widh gudh / tha lagdhe han aff ænlitis skrwðhin Fore thy hawer biscooper thwahørnadha krono tha han sigher sungna mæsso / Æn sidhan ganger han som andre klærka Swa længe wi ærom medh iordhrikis folke / tha hawom wi hult ænlite / oc seem ey gudhlikt thing / vtan vnder tronna skiwle Æn huilkin tima wi fa tala widh honum siælwan a domadagh / oc sidhan ewinnelika / tha seem wi han opnum øghom tholkan som han ær³³

[But Moses himself did not know that his forehead had horns as an example to the leaders of the Church that they too should not think about and consider their great power at all and gore hornless animals who are poor clergymen and laypeople, but rather (they should) attend to sinful men and that of little value to God. Afterwards, Moses hid his face every time he spoke to the people and whenever he spoke to God, he removed the cover from his face.

32 Thott 4 4^o, f. 106v; *SMB* I 354–55; cf. SKB A 1, f. 103va–b; *FemMos* 275.

33 Thott 4 4^o, ff. 106v–107r; *SMB* I 355; cf. SKB A 1, f. 103vb; *FemMos* 275.

Therefore, a bishop wears a mitre with two horns when he sings the mass, and afterwards he dresses like other clerics. For as long as we are among the peoples of the earth, we have a hidden face and do not see godly things but (only) what is hiding the faith. However, when we get to speak directly to him (God) on the Day of Judgement, then we will see him with open eyes just as he is.]

These commentaries show that some in medieval Sweden found it noteworthy that Moses had horns and that it required some sort of explanation. Furthermore, it points to an exegetical tradition that has reassessed this identifying marker of Moses in light of the Masoretic Hebrew text.

There was, in fact, a stream in Jewish Midrashic tradition that Moses had horns when he descended Mount Sinai.³⁴ However, somewhat contrary to Ruth Mellinkoff, I think that it is very unlikely that knowledge of this midrash was widespread among Christian theologians – at least as far as the evidence of the OSw. Bible translation is concerned. Here, the horned Moses tradition is being assigned to Jews, not in recognition of Jewish learning, or even as a passing linguistic remark, but rather just to make a polemical point: while Christians understand that they can – and will – be illuminated by the presence of God, Jews see only the outer physicality: frightening horns. Jews remain in spiritual darkness beyond the light of God and salvation.

The image of the horned Moses in medieval Danish and Swedish art (the earliest is a fragmentary painting in Kil Church, Närke, mid-twelfth century) is interesting as horns were only used for marking Moses, never any other Jews, despite the association of both horns and Jews generally with the devil and demonic behaviour.³⁵ Of the forty-four images of Moses in medieval Danish and Swedish wall paintings and altarpieces I have surveyed,³⁶ eighty per cent have horns.

34 See Rimón Kasher, “The Mythological Figure of Moses in Light of Some Unpublished Midrashic Fragments,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 88, nos 1–2 (1997): 19–42; Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses*, 84–86 on Rashi (Shlomo Yitzchaki, 1040–1105).

35 Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*, intro. Marc Saperstein (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1993), 44–47. Note that images using rays of light rather than horns first appear with the Reformation. See, for example, the wall painting in Møgeltønder Church, Ribe (mid-sixteenth century).

36 Twenty-six are in Sweden, predominantly Uppland, and eighteen in Denmark. The material I have used is from www.kalkmalerier.dk and *Medeltidens bildvärld*, <http://medeltidbild.historiska.se/medeltidbild/> (searchword: *Moses/Mose*; both last accessed 5 April 2022). Neither of these databases is complete; for example, Anna Nilsén has located 132 medieval images of Moses in Swedish (and Finnish) churches alone, although unfortunately she does not list them: *Program och funktion i senmedeltida kalkmåleri: kyrkmålningar i Mälardalskapen och Finland 1400–1534* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1986), 292.

Clear examples of wall paintings that portray the horned Moses in a positive light are in Keldby Church, Møn (c. 1325), that illustrates three scenes from the life of Moses;³⁷ Kirkerup Church, Roskilde (c. 1325), that shows Moses in the Ark of the Covenant – resembling a wheeled ship – on his way to heaven,³⁸ and Söderala, Hälsingland (1500–25), that depicts Moses before a mountain(?).³⁹ In all these cases, the prophet has been painted with both horns and a halo or nimbus: the horns act as visual markers for Moses and the halo for his holiness. In earlier artworks from the Romanesque period, when Jews tended not to be marked by negative accoutrements, the prophet is made identifiable in a different way. For example, in Bjäresjö Church, Lund (c. 1220), and the Sahl altarpiece, Jutland (c. 1200), Moses appears with just a halo, no horns – but can be identified as he is receiving or holding the two Tablets of the Covenant.



Figure 5.2: Moses without halo or horns. Wall painting (1400–25; under restoration) in Tirsted Church, Maribo. Photo: Hans A. Rosbach. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

³⁷ Moses and a pillar of cloud (Exodus 13:21–22, 33:9); Moses before Aaron and another man; Moses and the burning bush (Exodus 3:2–4).

³⁸ The same motif of Moses in a wheeled vessel is found in Härkeberga Church, Uppland.

³⁹ The Söderala wall paintings were restored and repainted somewhat heavy-handedly in the nineteenth century and many of the details that identify people and objects have been lost. See Henrik Cornell, *Norrlands kyrkliga konst under medeltiden* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1918), 120.



Figure 5.3: Moses with a halo and scroll but no horns leads *Synagoga* with her breast exposed by the hand (detail). Altarpiece (c. 1200) from Sahl Church, Vinderup, Jutland. Photo: Biopix. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 5.4: Moses with a single horn. Wall painting (1323) in Gamla kyrkan, Södra Råda, Södra Råda, Värmland. Photo: Sven Rosbom. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.



Figure 5.5: Moses with two horns sitting in the ark, a cart, or a wheeled ship. Wall painting (c. 1325) in Kirkerup Church, Roskilde. Author's own photo.

Nonetheless, images with a halo are in the minority; the majority are simply horned (and sometimes also labelled using a banderol with the name *Moises*). Although there are normally two horns – either short and straight (goat-like) or long and curved (ox-like) – in Gamla kyrkan [Old Church], Södra Råda, Värmland (1323), “Moises propheta,” as the banderole reads, appears facing David with a single horn rising from the top of his head mirroring the king’s crown.⁴⁰ There are also a few paintings of Moses without either halo or horns: the very complex painting from Tirsted Church, Maribo (1400–25), that retells the major events of the Exodus as well as in churches in Estruplund, Århus (c. 1500); Ekeby, Uppland (1500–25), and Knutby, Uppland (c. 1500). In all the images surveyed, only these four had neither horns nor halo. Thirty-six had horns: of the thirty-five of these images with two horns, eight had short goat-like horns and twenty-seven had longer ox-like horns (often curved). Seven images of Moses had halos (of which three also had horns).

Although a well-educated clergyman might have been aware of the classical theological and symbolically positive reasons for Moses’ horns, what did these images of a horned Moses mean to the medieval viewer? The connection between horns and symbols of evil – such as the devil,⁴¹ terrifying beasts and monsters,⁴² and demons⁴³ – created a context in which Moses as an honourable prophet did

40 The church was burnt down in an arson attack in 2001. Note also that the OSw. Bible translation quoted above appeared to be talking about a single horn: “horn syntis” [horn appeared].

41 For example, the devil shaped like a monkey with goat horns in Christiern Pedersen’s ODa. sermon collection: “da kom der en diffuel oc stod hoss hans føder som skapt vor som en abe och hagde tw horn som en gedebwck” [then a devil came and stood by his feet, who (i. e., the devil) was formed like a monkey and had two horns like a billy goat], *AlleEpoEu*, f. 209r [ccii]; *ChrPed Skr II* 261. See also the horned devil in the bottom medallion on the Gunhild Cross: Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge*, 146.

42 For example, Alexander’s horse Bucephalus in the OSw. *Konung Alexander*: “bucefalus war hans namn | thiwra howdh hafde han | ij hans panno waro stoor horn” [His name was Bucephalus, | He had the head of a bull | In his forehead were two great horns], SKB D 4, f. D30r; *KonAl* 20. Or the serpents on the plain where pepper grows in the same work: “han sa ther koma a markena widha | rædhelik diwr margh oc stoor | the al saman moot hærin foor | the hafdho hoorn i hofwudh sit | the waro lang oc aff staale hwiit | the waro skapt som nakar swærdh | oc waro the rask i thera færth” [he saw come over the wide field, | many and huge terrifying animals. | They were all hurrying towards the army. | They had horns on their heads, | they were long and made of white steel, | they were shaped like a sword, | and they were moving fast], SKB D 4, f. G16v; *KonAl* 301.

43 For example, the two fire-breathing devils dragging people’s souls to hell with iron hooks in Gotfred af Ghemen’s ODa. *Sjælens og Kroppens Trætte* from 1510: “The wore sorthæ som thære bode | met theris lad wor ingen nodhe | Iern kroge the i hende føre | oc brennende ild aff theris mund kørde | Aff theris næse gik vth orme | som ræde wore mod sielen at storme | ... | The hafde horn i ænne sijne | som siele drofue til helwedis pijnæ” [They were both as black as tar, | there

not belong but would have been perceived as so doing. Furthermore, the association between Jews and the devil, the devil and horns, and, indeed, horned hats and Jews (on the *pileus cornutus*, see “Hat” below) would have left the viewer with a clear understanding of the meaning of Moses’ horns: demonic Jew. Illiteracy among the vast majority of the population meant that any understanding of the Bible was second-hand, often conveyed through an ignorant churchman.⁴⁴ On this basis, Ruth Mellinkoff has argued that the average medieval viewer of images of Moses was probably not aware of the early classical tradition of interpreting Moses’ “rays of light” as “horns” – markers of honour – and would have assumed that they were simply animal-like horns, symbols of evilness: that Moses, prophet or not, was just a Jew like any other and worthy of scorn and dishonour.⁴⁵ Indeed, Moses’ appearance in images of Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf – often interpreted as a symbol of contemporary idolatry – would have made him guilty by association,⁴⁶ e.g., Häverö Church, Uppland (c. 1500). The widespread and long-lasting use of the image of the horned Moses indicates that it had important significance for medieval men and women, even though its meaning may have been quite different for the educated, literate clergy on the one hand and the less well-educated laity on the other.

Hair, beard, and skin

Jews were often depicted in medieval art with red hair, beards, and clothes; even skin could have a ruddy hue.⁴⁷ In iconography, the colour red was used to symbol-

was no mercy shown with their tools. | They carried iron hooks in their hands | and burning fire came from their mouths. | Out of their noses came serpents | that were ready to charge towards the soul. | [...] They had horns in their foreheads | that herded the souls to the torments of hell], *EnYnkH*, f. b3r–v [pp. 13–14]; *SjKrTræt* 83–84.

⁴⁴ Mellinkoff, *Horned Moses*, 124.

⁴⁵ Mellinkoff, *Horned Moses*, 121–37. It will be remembered that the two images mentioned above of Moses without horns but with a halo – Bjäresjö and Sahl Churches – are from the Romanesque period, and pre-date the demonization of Jews in art using ugly facial attributes. Might this mean that the introduction of the horns should indeed be seen as part of a negative portrayal of Moses, a denigration intended to malign him alongside other Jews which parallels the deterioration in Jewish–Christian relations from c. 1200 onwards?

⁴⁶ Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 106.

⁴⁷ On red hair, ruddy skin, and Jews, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, vol. 1: *Text*, California Studies in the History of Art (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 147–59.

ize wickedness and guilt, and it was linked to the Seven Deadly Sins. A possible biblical source for the symbolism is found in Isaiah 1:18: “if your sins be as scarlet (*ut coccinum*), they shall be made as white as snow: and if they be red (*rubra*) as crimson (*quasi vermiculus*), they shall be white as wool.” In East Norse texts, we find the colour red (*røth/røper*) being associated with deceit and the colour is used to mark something out as *svikelik/svikliker* [perfidious, treacherous]. For example, in the ODa. sermon for the Second Sunday in Advent in DKB GKS 1390 4^o from c. 1450, the red dragon that appears in Apocalypse (Revelation) 12:3 is interpreted as both the devil and being deceitful:⁴⁸

Ok tha wordher thet teknet som scripten sigher aff / een stor draghæ som teknær diæffuelen
rødher / thy at han ær swiklik / syntes haffuæ siw howdh thy at han lakker til siw dødhelighe
synder Ok tj horn thy at han stanger ok ægger til at bryte tj gutz budhordh⁴⁹
[And then it is shown as the Scripture (Apocalypse [Revelation] 12:3) tells: A great dragon,
who represents the devil, red, because he is treacherous, appears to have seven heads
because he indulges in the Seven Deadly Sins and tens horns because he pushes and encour-
ages (people) to break God’s Ten Commandments.]

The interpretation of the great dragon’s red colour as treacherous and devilish does not appear in the New Testament but has been supplied by the exegete or author of the sermon.⁵⁰ The use of red to mark something or someone as tarnished or made dirty (*smitteful*), bad or ugly (*vanskelik*), and a snake (*orm*) is made in this remark about the work of artists in the ODa. translation of Henry Suso’s (1295–1366) *Horologium Sapientiae* from c. 1500:⁵¹

48 Cf. also the same section from the Book of Revelation recounted in the ODa. sermon for the Second Sunday in Advent from in a mid-fifteenth-century collection: “Tekn syntes j himmelin Een stoor draky som ær diæwlin stoor j ildzsko / oc rødher / thy at han ær swiklekin” [A sign appeared in the heaven: A great dragon who is the devil, great in evil and red because he is treacherous], UUB C 56, f. 8v [p. 16]; *SMP* III 14; and the OSw. one for the same occasion in DAS AM 787 4^o, “Teknin syntis j himpenom en stoor draki som ær diæfwlin stoor j ilsko / rødhir for thy at han ær suikliken” [A sign appeared in the heaven: A great dragon who is the devil, great in evil and red because he is treacherous], DAS AM 787 4^o, f. 4vb; *SermSac* 86; *SMP* I 13.

49 DKB GKS 1390 4^o, f. 12r (c. 1450); *SMP* VIII 36.

50 Apocalypse (Revelation) 12:3: “et ecce drago magnus rufus habens capita septem, et cornua decem: et in apitibus ejus didemata septem” [and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads].

51 Suso also uses the word to translate Lat. *maculosa* [spoilt] (“smitful,” *Suso ODa.* 55) and *contagioso* [contagious] (“smitteful,” *Suso ODa.* 89).

Sapientia : Ien klog maler pleyier at legge mannehanne farræ vppa / oc nyter sin konst tha then thing ær vonskelig / som ther ær vnder / oc thet han seer være smitteful⁵² / thet drafuor han ower met rubric eller røt / oc so aff then fortekt swigelig skapels ær ey vitherliget at ien orm skyles i yrten⁵³

[Wisdom: A clever painter is used to applying many different colours and he makes use of his art when the subject is ugly that is under the surface and he considers it to be tarnished; he draws over it with *rubrica* or red, and so from this covertly deceitful form it is not evident that a snake is hidden in the grass.]

In the ODa. Bible translation of Genesis 30, red is also used as a colour of something that is blemished or tarnished (*smitteful*):

Hwat skal jæk giffwe thic / ok han sagdhe jæk wil enktæ wtæn om thu gør hwilkæ som jæk kræffwer jæk skal jgæn fødhe / ok gømæ thinæ fææ Omkring gak allæ thinæ^(a) hiorðhe ok atskil allæ manie hondhe lydh faar / Theth ær manie hondhe lydh / swo sigher catholicon then bogh Ok meth wtspredhe wlfæth Ok hwat som røth ok smittefull ok maniehondhe lydh wordher, swo wæl j far / som j gedher / skal wordhe myn løn, [...] Ok allæ hwilkæ som ikkæ wordhe manie hondhe lydh ok smittefullæ ok røðhe / swo j faar som j gedher / straffæ mik thyffweriis⁵⁴

Notes: a. thinæ] {--}inæ MS.

[(31) What shall I give you? And he (Jacob) said, I want nothing except that you do what I demand: I will again feed and keep your cattle. (32) Walk through all your flock and separate out all the sheep of many colours, that is “of many colours” according to the book *Catholicon* (s. v. *varius*), and with speckled fleece, and whatever is red and tarnished and of many colours, whether among sheep or among goats, that shall be my wages. (...) (33) And for whatever is not of many colours or tarnished or red, whether among sheep or among goats, I shall be punished for theft.] (Genesis 30:31–33)

⁵² Lat.: *maculosum esse*.

⁵³ DAS AM 783 4^o, f. 32r; *Suso ODa*. 48. Cf. Lat. “Prudens pictor ubi subiectum deficit, accidentia multiplicare consuevit. Et quod maculosum esse cognoverit, rubrica linire festinabit, ut ex sophisticata forma ignoretur quia latet angwis in herba” [A wise painter, where the subject is lacking, is accustomed to increasing what is not essential. And when he recognizes that it is spoiled, he hurries to fill it with red so that the sophisticated shapes will not be detected like a snake hides in the grass], [Henry Suso], *Henrici Susonis seu Fratris Amandi Horologium Sapientiae: Textus*, ed. Josephus Strange (Cologne: J. M. Heberle [H. Lempertz], 1861), 60. The OSw. version of the same text makes no mention of red: “Snillen swara, Hwar en sniældher malare, hwar nakor bristilse ær i belæthet ællir huario hælst tinghe som han hanthera, Ther øker han oc alæggher mangha handa lither oc færghor Mædh huilkom han gør thet tækt oc faghort som tilförandha war leth oc osynlekit” [Wisdom replied: Every talented painter, when there is some mistake in a picture or in whatever he is working with, he increases and adds many different tones and colours with which he makes hidden and colourful that which before was unpleasant and ugly], *Suso OSw*. 80.

⁵⁴ DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 19vb; *GldBib* M 60.

The biblical passage describes Jacob separating out the weaker animals (those that are speckled, spotted, or have patches) from the stronger animals (those of a single colour). In the ODa. translation, *røth* [red] is being used to translate Lat. *furvus* [black, dark, obscure];⁵⁵ *smitteful* [tarnished] for *maculosus* [spotted, speckled, or blemished]; and *mangehande lit* for *varium* [spotted]. The adjective *røth* is thus being used to describe something weak that would not usually be chosen or wanted.

In his *Parabolae*, here quoted from a 1506 print and a late-fifteenth-century manuscript, Peder Laale warns against taking the advice of a man with a red beard:

Tagh raadh aff rødskægghet man fleræ ondhe æn godhe⁵⁶ (ODa.)

tak radh aff rødhum flere ondh æn godh⁵⁷ (OSw.)

[Take advice from a red(-bearded) man, more bad than good; i. e., more pieces of advice from a red-haired man are bad than good]

The association between red and deceitful behaviour is further made clear in *Ludus de sancto Canuto duce*, a play about St Knud Lavard that dates to the very end of the Middle Ages but is first recorded in the sixteenth century, we read:

Troer ey hans ord hører nu min røst,

Hannd tencker eder ilde ath Leenne,

Hans skeg er røtt som en reff.

Wden y eder vell tage vare,

Eders blod aff eder monne hand vdkreff

Hannd acter eder ey ath spare,⁵⁸

[Do not believe his words, hear my voice! | He intends to repay you poorly. | His beard is as red as a fox.⁵⁹ | Unless you take care of yourself, | He will demand your blood. | He does not intend to spare you.]

⁵⁵ This may well have come about through a misreading of the Lat. *furvus* as *fulvus* [fulvous: reddish-yellow, tawny] by the Danish scribe.

⁵⁶ *PLaale* [Gh. 1506], f. L2r [p. 113], no. 939.

⁵⁷ UUB Palmskiöldska Samlingen 405, no. 836 (1400–50).

⁵⁸ DKB Thott 1409 4^o, f. 66v; Leif Stedstrup, ed., *Ludus de Sancto Canuto Duce: Et spil om Hellig Hertug Knud Lavard* (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab / C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 2005), 71.

⁵⁹ A common motif in church art is that of the red fox preaching to geese. It acts as a warning to the congregation against being led astray by deceitful and heretical preachers and being seduced by false doctrines. For example, see the wall paintings in the churches in Ottestrup, Sjælland (c. 1500); Fjälkinge, Skåne (1450–1500); Västra Vemmerlöv, Skåne (c. 1500); Kungs-Husby, Uppland (1475–1500); Tensta, Uppland (1437); Tolfta, Uppland (1500–25). The story of the deceitful preaching red fox first appears in the twelfth-century tales of Reynard the Fox, such as the Old French *Le roman de Renard* by Pierre de St. Cloud (c. 1170) and the Middle High German

The association between treachery and red hair continued into later times, and the term *Judasfarve* [Judas colour] is found in modern Danish literary texts to describe red hair.⁶⁰

Of course, the colour red is associated with other things than devils, danger, and deceit in East Norse texts: roses, gold, silk, and the blood of Christ are some of the more positive connections.⁶¹ And, indeed, other colours also had negative connotations similar to *røth*: yellow, for example, also associated with Jews in iconography, signified betrayal and cowardice.⁶² Nonetheless, as the great sinners who had turned away from God, who were un-chosen, and who were guilty of killing Christ, the perfidious Jews, full of treachery and deceit, became closely associated with the colour red.

In addition to the association of Jews with the colour red as a marker of deceit, the connection between Jews and red also had another, quite different scriptural foundation in the story of Isaac and Rebecca’s two sons, Jacob and Esau.⁶³ Before giving birth to the twins, God told Rebecca, “Two nations are in thy womb, and peoples shall be divided out of thy womb; and one people shall overcome the

Reinhart Fuchs by Heinrich der Glíchezære (c. 1180). The later *Van den vos Reynaerde* (c. 1250) by Willem die Madoc maecte is considered one of the literary highlights of Middle Dutch.

60 For example, in Christian Winther’s *Paa Landet*: “[...] svøbte hun godmodigt de røde Haar ind i et Stykke Papir [...] ‘Kjender jeg da Nogen, som har saadanne Haar!’ [...] Men nei! Ingen af hendes Bekjendtskab har denne saakaldte Judasfarve” [(...) she wrapped the red hair genially in a piece of paper (...) “Do I know anyone with such hair?” (...) But no! None of her acquaintances has this so-called Judas hair], *Samlede Digtinger*, vol. 9 (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1905), 46–47. On Judas’s red hair, see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 150–54, and Wayland D. Hand, “A Dictionary of Words and Idioms Associated with Judas Iscariot,” *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 24 (1942): 289–356.

61 For example, in the Swedish translation of Henry Suso’s *Horologium Sapientiae*: “huilken nær staddis / i osighelike matho wæn oc faghor / røødth i kinnom / som wænasta roos aldrom whitastom lith sken hon fæghre oc wænaren æn solen” [who stood before me, unspeakably beautiful and fair, with red cheeks like the most beautiful rose, with the whitest colour of all she shone more fairly and beautifully than the sun], SKB A 4, f. 38; *Suso OSw*. 75.

62 The traditional association between yellow and Judas (and Jews) is also seen in medieval Danish and Swedish wall paintings and the linking of Jews generally with yellow is found in *Mandeville*: “tee [af samariam] bæra eet røth linet clædæ weep om tørris hofueth oc saraceni te weuæ tørris hofueth meth hwet linet och cristnæ meth iacinctino oc iødernæ eth gult” [The Samaritans wear a red linen cloth wrapped around their heads and the Saracens wrap their heads with a white cloth and the Christians with jacinth (violet blue) and the Jews with yellow], SKB M 307, pp. 43b–44a; *Mandev* 58.

63 On this typology, see Israel Jacob Yuval, *The Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 1–20.

other, and the elder shall serve the younger” (Genesis 25:23). The elder son was Esau and the younger Jacob, and true to God’s words, it was Esau who came to serve Jacob: one day, when Esau returned from the fields, he was hungry from work and felt faint, and so he asked his brother Jacob to give him some “red pottage”⁶⁴ that he had prepared (Genesis 25:29–34). Jacob offered Esau some in exchange for his birthright (the right to be recognized as firstborn), and Esau agreed and sold his birthright to his half-brother Jacob for this bowl of red pottage. The nation that descended from Esau, was called Edom (from אֶדוֹם, *adom* [red]), which alluded to the red stew that Esau received in exchange for his birthright. Christians saw a parallel between the red Esau, who surrendered his “chosenness” to satisfy his belly and who thus lost his father’s blessing on the one hand, and the Jews who lost the blessing of God on the other. In accordance with this supersessionist interpretation, they saw themselves as Jacob, the rightful younger successor who was served by the “red” elder brother Esau, i. e., the Jews.

This Christian interpretation is, of course, an inversion of the Jewish understanding of the episode and meaning of the Jacob/Esau story. Jews see Jacob as their ancestor, while Esau came to be equated with the ancestor of Gentile Rome; the city is even called אֶדוֹם (*Edom* < *adom* [red]) in Medieval Hebrew. Indeed, the rabbis may have made the Edom–Rome connection partly in response to Christian claims that “the red Esau” was the ancestor of the Jewish people.⁶⁵

64 Lit. האדם האדום, *ha’adom ha’adom* [the red red (stuff)].

65 The *Sefer Nizahon Vetus* (ספר ניצחון, *The Old Book of Victory*), a Jewish anti-Christian polemical work composed in Germany c. 1300, also comments on Jews’ and Christians’ different skin tones: “The heretics ask: Why are most Gentiles fair-skinned and handsome while most Jews are dark and ugly? Answer them that this is similar to a fruit; when it begins to grow it is white but when it ripens it becomes black, as is the case with sloes and plums. On the other hand, any fruit which is red at the beginning becomes lighter as it ripens, as is the case with apples and apricots. This, then, is testimony that Jews are pure of menstrual blood so that there is no initial redness. Gentiles, however, are not careful about menstruant women and have sexual relations during menstruation; thus, there is redness at the outset, and so the fruit that comes out, i. e., the children, are light. One can respond further that Gentiles are incontinent and have sexual relations during the day, at a time when they see the faces on attractive pictures; therefore, they give birth to children who look like those pictures, as it is written, ‘And the sheep conceived when they came to drink before the rods.’ (Genesis 30:38–39)” Article no. 238 in David Berger, ed., *The Jewish–Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the Nizahon Vetus with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, [5739] 1979), 159 (for Hebrew), 224 (for English). Curiously, in his response to the heretics, the author of *Sefer Nizahon Vetus* does not challenge the aesthetic presumption upon which their question is asked.



Figure 5.6: Judas receives silver coins for betraying Jesus. Wall painting (c. 1440) in Brönnestad Church, Lund, Skåne. Photo: Sven Rosbom. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

In East Norse written sources, most references to red-haired or red-skinned Jews are in those texts that mention the “Red Jews” who live beyond the borders of Europe and will come to the aid of Antichrist and help destroy Christendom. These Red Jews are dealt with in Chapter 11: *The Jewish Threat to Destroy All Christendom*. It is in the medieval wall paintings in Danish and Swedish churches that the connection between Jews and the colour red is most clearly and frequently made: the colouring of hair, beards, skin, and clothing. Judas, who betrayed Jesus and is in many ways the archetypal evil Jew (as well as a hypostasis of the devil), is most frequently portrayed with bright red or chestnut hair and a red beard.⁶⁶ Sometimes the colouring is a light reddish yellow (“ginger”) or very

⁶⁶ See the examples numbered 2, 6, 8, 9, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, and 28 listed below in Table 5.1. See also Marine Jespersdatter’s prayer book (DAS AM 421 12^o, f. 55v; 1514) with its image of Judas betraying Jesus with a kiss. He has bright red hair and beard and is wearing a long yellow cloak: Figure 5.7.



Figure 5.7: The Judas kiss. Marine Jespersdatter's prayer book (1500–1524): Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 421 12^o, f. 55v. Photo: Suzanne Reitz. Reproduced with permission.

dark, even black.⁶⁷ In a couple of images Judas is bald with ugly facial features.⁶⁸ Occasionally, Judas’s face – along with that of the chief priest who pays him to betray Jesus – have been coloured red, giving the figures a very ruddy complexion.⁶⁹ Judas is usually clothed in red and yellow, the colours of betrayal and cowardice,⁷⁰ and he sometimes carries his money bag.⁷¹ His head is often angled to show his face in profile with an exaggerated nose, thick lips, and sharp teeth, and in contrast to the holy figures that surround him in paintings, he is without a halo.⁷²

The “Judas colouring” – dark or red skin, hair, and beard – is also found on other Jewish characters from the New Testament, such as in the wall painting from Brönnestad Church (see Figure 5.6), where the chief priest has ruddy features and is also dressed in luxurious clothing.⁷³ The characteristic beards, red or black, that are divided into two points, can also be found elsewhere.⁷⁴ Baldness as an ugly marker of the persecutors of Christ also appears in several images to mark Jews.⁷⁵

67 For reddish yellow hair, see Table 5.1, nos 1 and 15; for black hair, see nos 7 (with a red beard), 19, and 22. The colour we see today may be due to faded paint or renovation and not representative of the colour that was originally applied to the wall.

68 See Table 5.1, nos 10 and 11.

69 See Table 5.1, nos 4, 9 and 12.

70 See Table 5.1, nos 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, and 25.

71 See Table 5.1, nos 3, 6, 10, 19, and 28.

72 See Table 5.1, nos 3–6, 11, 12, 15–19, 24, and 26.

73 Dark skin is also used as one of the Jewish markers, the others being a long nose, thick lips, large eyes, in an illustration of a mocking Jew in Härkeberga Church, Uppland, c. 1480s; see Figure 5.10. On the figure of Judas in art, see Michel Pastoureau, *Couleurs, images, symboles: Études d’histoire et d’anthropologie* (Paris: Le Léopard d’or, 1989), 69–84.

74 For example, the Jew to the right of Moses in the scene of the bronze serpent in Täby Church, Uppland, 1480s. Reproduced in Herman Bengtsson, “Samtida mode eller antisemitism? Demonisering och rasistiska tendenser i medeltidens bildkonst,” *Iconographisk post. Nordisk tidskrift för bildtolkning: Nordic Review of Iconography* 3–4 (2016): 4. See also the red-haired Jew with beard divided into two points leading Christ to the Crucifixion in Figure 5.13 from Kongsted Church, Sjælland, c. 1430. On the strong association between beards and the Jewish religion, see Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 20–21.

75 For example, the two images of Judas in Hällestad Church, Skåne, c. 1460, and the bald man with grotesque features eating manna in the scene where Moses strikes the rock in Härkeberga Church, Uppland, 1480s. See also the bald Jew with grotesque features and dark skin accompanying Christ at King Herod’s court in Figure 5.11 from Kongsted Church, Sjælland, c. 1430. On Jews and baldness, see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 184–85.

Table 5.1: Examples of images of Judas taken from medieval Danish and Swedish church art and listed chronologically.

No.	Location	Year	Scene	Colour or type of:			Carrying	Facial features
				hair	beard	robe		
1	Strängnäs, Södermanland	c. 1350	Gethsemane	reddish yellow	reddish yellow			
2	Gerlev, Slagelse, Sjælland	1400–20	Gethsemane	red	red			
3	Ottestrup, Slagelse, Sjælland	1425–40	Gethsemane	red	red		money bag	face in profile, large nose
4	Brönnestad, Skåne	c. 1440	receiving the silver coins					face in profile, ruddy cheeks, large nose
5	Färentuna, Uppland	c. 1450	Gethsemane	long	long			face in profile, large nose
6	Høve, Slagelse, Sjælland	c. 1450	Gethsemane	red	red		money bag	face in profile, large nose
7	Norrlanda, Gotland	c. 1450	Gethsemane	black	red	yellow		
8	Jetsmark, Jammerbugt, Jutland	1450–75	Last Supper	red	red			no halo
9	Danviken, Södermanland (painted altarpiece)	1450–1500	Gethsemane	red	red	yellow		red face in profile
10	Hällestad, Skåne	c. 1460	Gethsemane	red (or bald with head covering)			money bag	

Table 5.1 (continued)

No.	Location	Year	Scene	Colour or type of:				Carrying		Facial features
				hair	beard	robe	cloak			
11	Hällestad, Skåne	c. 1460	Last Supper	bald		red				face in profile, gaping, large nose
12	Nørre Herlev, Hillerød, Sjælland	1460–80	Gethsemane							ruddy cheeks, face in profile, large nose
13	St Mary's, Helsingør, Sjælland	1460–1525	Gethsemane	red	red	yellow	red			
14	Sänga, Uppland	1475–1500	Gethsemane	long		red	red			face in profile
15	Torpa, Södermanland	1475–1500	Gethsemane	reddish yellow	reddish yellow					face in profile, large nose
16	Västeråker, Uppland	1475–1500	Gethsemane	red	red	red	blue and white			face in profile, large nose
17	Estruplund, Djursland, Jutland	1480–1515	Gethsemane	red	red	yellow				face in profile, large nose
18	Almunge, Uppland	1480s	Gethsemane	red	red					face in profile, large nose, and thick lips
19	Berghem, Västergötland	c. 1500	Last Supper	dark	dark			money bag		in profile, large nose, no halo

Table 5.1 (continued)

No.	Location	Year	Scene	Colour or type of:				Carrying		Facial features
				hair	beard	robe	cloak			
20	Hjembæk, northwest Sjælland	c. 1500	Gethsemane	red	red		yellow			
21	Hjembæk, northwest Sjælland	c. 1500	receiving the silver coins	red	red		yellow			
22	Tingsted, Guldborgsund, Fyn	1500–20	suicide	black						
23	Åstrup, Guldborgsund, Fyn	1500–20	suicide	red						
24	Tolfta, Uppland	1500–25	Gethsemane	long	long		yellow		face in profile, large nose	
25	Tortuna, Västmanland	1500–25	Gethsemane	red	red		red		face in profile	
26	Vireda, Småland	1500–50	Last Supper						face in profile, large nose, sharp teeth	
27	Harg, Uppland	1514	Gethsemane						face in profile	
28	Harridslev, Randers, Jutland	1515–25	Gethsemane	red	red			money bag	face in profile	

The face

According to medieval physiognomists, the face in particular could reveal the most about the moral character and condition of the soul; so, for example, the *Malleus Maleficarum* [*Hammer of Witches*] from the late fifteenth century reads, “a human’s secret will is read in his facial expression.”⁷⁶ Descriptions of Jews’ faces are, however, few and far between, and facial characteristics are usually described as “actions” in combination with a verb, so, for example, teeth *gnash*, faces *grimace*, and mouths *spit* and *scream*. Therefore, the principal sources for medieval Danish and Swedish ideas about the “Jewish face” are visual, for example, wall paintings and stained glass. In these images, the head, sometimes disproportionately large, is often turned from the viewer so the face appears in profile. In this way, noses, lips, and teeth could be depicted and highlighted to contrast with illustrations of Christians. Below I have attempted to isolate the separate elements of the face that together determine the impact of the expression and look of a Jew in medieval Christian writing and art in Denmark and Sweden.

Eyes

In East Norse, Jews’ eyes are not described, but the ability to see, or rather the opposite – blindness and the inability to see – is a commonplace in combination with Jews. In the Bible, blindness is sometimes described as a punishment from God.⁷⁷ For example, we read the following in the Old Danish Bible translation about the defeat of the Syrian army in 4 Kings (2 Kings *KJV*) 6:

Framledæs heliseus bath herræn sigændhe jæk bedhær slo thettæ folk meth blindheet / Ok han^(a) slo them ath the skulde jkke see hoos æller æftær heliseis ord⁷⁸

Notes: a. han] hræn MS.

[Moreover, Elisha prayed to the Lord saying, “I pray, strike this people with blindness!” And he struck them so they could not see upon or after Elisha’s words.] (4 Kings 6:18)

⁷⁶ Henricus Institoris and Jacobus Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. Christopher Mackay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 286; quoted in Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, 18.

⁷⁷ It is also described as a means for Jesus to display the works of God by curing the blind (John 9:1–3). Blindness is also listed among the various sufferings that bestow dignity upon people. See *Suso ODa. 97*; *Suso OSw. 436*.

⁷⁸ DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 300va; *GldBib IV 300va*.

According to *Lucidarius*, the first man to turn blind was Lamech who lost his sight as punishment for breaking God’s commandment and practising polygamy.⁷⁹ Indeed, being struck down with blindness is not an isolated consequence of disobedience to God. See, for example, Deuteronomy 28:28–29 (here, in the Old Danish Bible translation):

Herræn skal sla thik *meth* een galnheth ok blindheth ok *meth* hwghæns gelnæ / ok thw skalt træwæ j middawen swo som blind man pleyær ath træwæ j myrky⁸⁰
 [The Lord shall strike you with senselessness and blindness and madness of the mind. And you will grope about at midday like a blind man usually gropes about in the darkness.]

Some early East Norse medical works, such as DKB NKS 314 b 4^o possibly by Henrik Harpestræng, attribute one of the causes of blindness to the person being conceived during the mother’s menstrual period:

*Item hwilken quinnæ som haffwer siin syughæ hwn skal vocthe segh for mand sammæ stwnd · forthi affles eth barn i then vghe thet fongher en soet som aldrig fonger boed thet bliffwer galeth eller spetals eller half taghet bort eller en krøwel · halt eller blind eller foer then fallinde soet eller noghen andhen saadhan vanskelssæ⁸¹
 [Furthermore, that woman who has her sickness (i. e., menses) should beware men during that time, because if a child is conceived during that week, it will acquire an illness that will never be cured. It will become mad or leprous or paralytic or a cripple, lame or blind, or epileptic or some other such affliction.]*

According to the Old Testament, the eyes of the blind will only be opened upon the arrival of the Messiah (Isaiah 35:5), and consequently, according to the New Testament, one of the important themes in Jesus’ ministry is that he cured several people of blindness. For example, in the fifteenth-century Bäckaskog sermon collection in UUB C 56, we read in a sermon for the Third Sunday in Lent:

79 “tæn sammæ lamæt vor ond for gudh *met* sin leffnæt forti han vor tæn førstæ ther mot gutz budh hadæ to *hustruær* sænz i hoor oc forti fik han til syndæ gæld *thet* at han vor blind oc vor tæn førstæ ther blind vor” [This same Lamech was wicked in his manner of living before God because he was the first man who contrary to God’s commandment had two wives at the same time in whoredom and for which he received the punishment for sin that he turned blind and was the first man who was blind], DAS AM 76 8^o, f. 86v (1450–1500); *DanTeachM* 345.

80 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 160rb; *GldBib* M 443. The OSw. Bible translation reads slightly differently: “Gudh skal oc plagha thik *medh* witløso / swa at thu kænner enkte *thet* thu seer *medh* thinom øghom hæller [el] æn thu ware blinder” [God will also afflict you with confusion so that you do not recognize what you see with your eyes as if you were blind], DKB Thott 4 4^o, f. 126v (1430–40); *SMB* I 428.

81 DKB NKS 314 b 4^o, f. E9v (c. 1475–1500); *Lægeb.* [Harp.?] C, f. E9v.

Oc ther *medh* giordhe war herre *jhesus christus* sina nadha *medh* honum j fira handa mata / som først war at malløs wardh talande / døffuer hørande / blinder seende / oc then som dyeffuulin war wtj war frelster fran honum⁸²

[And with this Our Lord Jesus Christ showed his mercy in four ways: which were first the mute became able to talk, the deaf able to hear, the blind able to see, and whoever was possessed by the devil was saved from him.]

In the ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse*, the author in describing the location of the Pool of Siloam relates the events of John 9:6–11 where Jesus heals a man from blindness:

*Jtem fram at ten gadæ som man gonger henner ten dal iosaphat stonder en keldæ som kalles natatoria syloe tid sennæ vor herræ ten som blinder vor fødder at too sinæ øfuen han kom j gen wel sende*⁸³

[Moreover, down the street by which you cross the Valley of Jehoshaphat is a spring that is called the Pool of Siloam (*natoria Siloae*). Our Lord sent a man who was born blind there to wash his eyes. He was able to see well again.]

The episode at the Crucifixion, when the blind Longinus is given his eyesight when he pierces Christ’s side with a spear and is showered in the blood-water mixture that pours out, was a well-known legend, and in Johanne Nielsdatter’s ODa. prayer book from c. 1480, we read:

O ihesu christe / fredsens tegen och kiærlighetz bandh / Iech heder och signer thin hellighæ side och saar ther opp laden vort *meth* iet huast spydh aff hwilke vt gik blodh och vand och lyuste *longinum* ridder ther blind war hans øgen igien och andeligh hans hiærte / giff mik thit ewimeligh lyus · Amen⁸⁴

[O Jesus Christ! Sign of peace and bond of love! I honour and praise your holy side and wound that was opened with a sharp spear from which blood and water flowed and brought light again to the eyes of the knight Longinus who was blind and spiritually to his heart. Grant me eternal light! Amen.]

⁸² UUB C 56, f. 73r [p. 145]; *SMP* III 110. Some further examples: “ihesus gaff blindom syn” [Jesus gave sight to the blind], DAS AM 787 4^o, f. 6ra (fifteenth century); *SermSac* 90; *SMP* I 16; “Blinde tekna høghfærdogha hulke ey vilia skodha *medh* siælomme syn” [The blind represent the arrogant who will not see using the sight of the soul], DAS AM 787 4^o, f. 6rb; *SermSac* 90; *SMP* I 16–17; “jhesus christus gaff blindom syn” [Jesus gave sight to the blind], UUB C 56, f. 11r [p. 21]; *SMP* III 18; “Han giordhe all thing wæl / han lot døwa høræ oc blinda see Oc dumba tala” [He did all things well. He made the deaf hear, and the blind see, and the mute talk], UUB C 56, f. 245v [p. 490]; *SMP* III 339; cf. Mark 7:37.

⁸³ SKB M 307, p. 36a; *Mandev* 48.

⁸⁴ SKB A 42, f. 75v (c. 1480); *BønneB* I 96 (no. 21k). Cf. Anna Brade’s ODa. prayer book, Thott 553 4^o, f. 83r (1497); *BønneB* II 138 (no. 240k).

Later, Christian saints and their relics continued the practice of miraculously curing blindness. For example, in the Mariager Legend manuscript from 1488, the preternatural power of St Jerome's body could cure blindness:

Een blindh man aff syn fødelsæ thymæ · thog paa hans leghom then dagh han iordethes · oc fik gænsthæn at see⁸⁵

[A man, blind from birth, touched his (i. e., St Jerome's) body the day that he was buried and immediately he was able to see.]

The altar in St Stephen's Church was believed to be able to imbue objects with curative powers that could give the blind the ability to see. In his *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515), Christiern Pedersen wrote:

Sanctus Augustinus in libro xxii de ciuitate dei scriffuer At de blomster som hagde ligget paa hanss altere waare siden lagde paa en blind quindess øgen oc hun fik strax sin sywn igen⁸⁶
[St Augustine, in Book 22 of *De Civitate Dei* writes that those flowers that had been lying on his (i. e., St Stephen's) altar were then placed on a blind woman's eyes, and she immediately regained her sight.]

2 Corinthians 4:4 reads “In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of unbelievers, that the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, should not shine unto them,” and so in religious works, blindness (*blinde*, *blindhet*, *blindelse/blinde*, *blindhet*) is most frequently used as a metaphor: an affliction of the heart rather than the eyes. In patristics, blindness is the absence of light and a metaphor for sinning, and so the sinner in prayer books is often referred to as “spiritually blind” or having a “blindness of the heart.” As Herr Michael writes rather concisely (1514–15): “Syndhen gør merniskken blind och lam | forhwerffuer gudz wredhæ och wærlødzens sckam” [Sin makes a person blind and lame, It earns God's wrath and the world's shame].⁸⁷ Christiern Pedersen, in his *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* explains that this spiritual blindness is due to the devil:

Dieffuelen beblinder och øgene i syndige menniskiss hierter ath de icke kwnde angre dem eller beskerme dem fra hanss swig oc falskhed thii drager han dem fra en synd och till anden som en der leder i blinder mand hwort han vil Met denne blinde mand vnderstondiss hwert syndigt menniske som dieffuelen saa forblindet haffuer at han icke kand se døden faare sig och gwdz strenghe dom han skall møde paa och sware till sine gerninger Han kan icke see bag sig de synder han bedreffuit haffuer som kære och klage paa hannem Han kan icke

⁸⁵ DKB GKS 1586 4^o, f. 41v (1488); *MariagerLeg* 156.

⁸⁶ *AlleEpoceEu*, f. 34v [xxviii]; *ChrPed Skr* 1 91.

⁸⁷ *HrMich* 28.

see paa syn høgre side wor herriss store velgerninger Han kan icke se paa syn venstre side diffuelenss findsckab och beswigelse Han kan icke se offuer sig hiemmerigiss glæde Oc icke helder vnder sig heluediss store pine oc ewindelige fordømelse⁸⁸

[The devil also blinds the eyes in sinful people’s hearts so that they cannot repent or protect themselves from his deceit and falseness as he pulls them from one sin to the next like someone leading a blind man where he wants. By this blind man we are to understand every sinful person whom the devil has blinded so that he is unable to see death before him and God’s strict judgement that he shall encounter and answer for his deeds. He is unable to see behind him those sins that he has committed that accuse and inculpate him. He is unable to see to his right Our Lord’s great good deeds. He is unable to see to his left the devil’s enmity and damage. He is unable to see above him the joy of heaven or below him the great torment and eternal damnation of hell.]

This spiritual understanding of the inability to see meant that blindness in the Old Testament was reinterpreted in devotional and didactic texts within a Christian framework. For example, in a mid-fifteenth-century ODa. sermon for Shrovetide, it says:

Thy at swa som blinder matte æy inga ij mønstrit ij ierusalem Swa ok then som andelighe blinder ær ma æy inga hymmerighes mønster⁸⁹

[Because just like the blind man was not allowed to enter the temple in Jerusalem, so the spiritually blind man is not allowed to enter the temple of heaven.]

This sort of typological reading of the Old Testament is also found in the fifteenth-century Bäckaskog sermon manuscript where the author interprets Isaiah 9:2:

Thet scwlle wy wndherstandhæ ther moises spade · *Populus gentium qui ambulabat in tenebris* · vidit lucem magnam Thet folk som gigh j myrke · thet saa eth storth ljws · Thet war thet wsle^(a) mankøn · ther gik j synde myrk · ther diæffwælæn haffde them blyndh giordh · thet saa eth storth ljws · then tydh war herræ^(b) loth sigh føde · och løsde os medh syn harde døth til himærighs ljws⁹⁰

Notes: **a.** wsle] [f-]wsle MS. **b.** herræ] herræ [-] MS.

[We should understand this is what Moses foresaw: *Populus gentium qui ambulabat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam*, ‘The people who were walking in the darkness have seen a great light.’ It was the wretched human race that was walking in the darkness of sin where the devil had blinded them. They saw a great light when Our Lord was born and released us through his harsh death into the light of heaven.]

⁸⁸ *AlleEpoecEu*, f. 87r [lxxxix]; *ChrPed Skr* I 253.

⁸⁹ DKB GKS 1390 4^o, f. 98r (c. 1450); *SMP* VIII 127. Cf. 2 Samuel 5:8: “The blind and the lame shall not come into the temple.”

⁹⁰ UUB C 56, f. 327r; *SMP* III 466.

The blindness of the human race at the time of Old Testament is transferred to Jews for all time both as a marker for their sinfulness and their punishment, but also as a sign of their flesh-bound thinking, their material, corporeal vision, and their blindness to spiritual truths.⁹¹ The Jews of the New Testament are constantly referred to as blind or blinded, and their opposition to Jesus is explained as blindness. So, on John 16:2, Christiern Pedersen writes in *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*:

Løderne vaare saa forblindede oc vanwittige ath de mente ath den som omwende sig til Ihesum Cristum At han plat forswor israelss gud Men den vanwittighed kunde icke aarsage dem for gwd i hiemerige thii hwn kom aff had oc awind⁹²

[The Jews were so blinded and crazed that they believed that whoever converted to Jesus Christ flatly foreswore the God of Israel. But this craziness could not earn them forgiveness in heaven because it derived from hatred and jealousy.]

In an ODa. prayer in Anna Brade's prayer book from 1497, the former Jewish faith of St Paul is referred to as "villelse oc blindhedh" [error and blindness] and contrasted with the light ("lywss") of the Church:

O herre gudh som omwænde sancte powel apostell i fordom alle thine tiæneris awendz man / aff vrangre troess villesse oc blindhedh / oc vildæ ath han skulde vorde then hellige kyrkes / thin brudz æræfullæ lywss⁹³

[O, Lord God who converted St Paul the Apostle, previously the enemy of all your servants, from the error and blindness of the incorrect faith and wanted that he become the honourable light of the holy church, your bride.]

Spiritual blindness was of course also applied to post-biblical Jews to explain their delusion and opposition to converting to Christianity. In the tale of the flying host (see Text 30: *The Flying Host and the Jew's Son*) found in the late-fourteenth-century *Järteckensbok* [*Book of Miracles*] from Vadstena, we read that, "EN iudhe wændis til kristna tro ok gaffs j swart brødhra klostir ok hans son bleff atir blindir j sinne willo mæst mot gudz likama" [A Jew was converted to the Christian faith and joined a monastery of the Black Friars (i. e., the Dominicans) and his son remained blind in his delusion mostly against the Body of God (i. e., the host)].⁹⁴ In her *Revelations* (4.61), St Birgitta of Sweden (c. 1303–73) writes, "Thy ær ey vndir at dyæfwllin gør blind oc hærdhe thera hiæarta Ok æggia thom oc radhir oblygh thing hulkin som æru mot trønne" [Thus it is no wonder that the devil makes them (i. e.,

⁹¹ On the Jews' blindness, see Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 3–7, 64.

⁹² *AlleEpocEu*, f. 149r [cxliiii]; ChrPed Skr II 70.

⁹³ DKB Thott 553 4^o (*ABrade*), f. 196r; *BønneB* II 261 (no. 310 "Collecta"); cf. DKB GKS 1614 4^o (*Mlssd*), f. 129v.

⁹⁴ SKB A 110, f. 62 (c. 1385); *Klås* 31 (no. 42).

Jews) blind and hardens their hearts and prods them on and advises them towards shameless things which are against the faith].⁹⁵ The connection between spiritual blindness and Jews is also expressed in the legend surrounding the Virgin Mary’s funeral (see Text 40: *The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary’s Bier*). According to this tale, found in *Fornsvenska legendariet*, the Jews who turn up to disrupt the burial procession and to steal Mary’s corpse are struck with blindness in the style of a punishment as in the examples of the Syrian army and of Lamech mentioned at the beginning of this section. This blinding is thus a fitting choice of disability with which to punish the disbelieving Jews: their blindness is both their crime and their punishment. Their spiritual blindness has become a physical one, and their only cure is a spiritual one through a physical act: touching the palm branch and declaring their faith in Christ and the virginity of his mother.



Figure 5.8: A Jew mocks the Man of Sorrows. Wall painting (c. 1500) in Sanderum Church, Fyn. Photo courtesy of <https://kalkmaleries.dk/>.

In representations of Jews in medieval Danish and Swedish wall paintings, sometimes only one eye is visible as the face is turned in profile. Occasionally, eyes are enlarged or bulging, such as the mocking Jew (see Figure 5.8); bulging eyes have never been considered a sign of beauty in art.⁹⁶ There are a few examples of eyes being covered in some way to signal blindness. For example, the eyes of one of the Jews dancing around the Golden Calf in Täby Church, Uppland, is covered by a

⁹⁵ SKB A 5 a, f. 104rb [col. 414] (1400–20); BU IV 115.

⁹⁶ On “Jewish eyes,” see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 123–24.

hat (see Figure 5.20). Similarly, one of Joseph's brothers in a painting in the same church also has his eyes covered by a hat. In images of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, such as on the altarpiece from Sahl Church (see Figure 5.3) and the wall painting in Spentrup Church (see Figure 5.9) both in Jutland, *Synagoga* is blindfolded. She has been blinded by her decision to turn away from Jesus Christ.⁹⁷



Figure 5.9: *Synagoga* and *Ecclesia*. Spentrup Church, Jutland, c. 1200. Photo courtesy of <https://kalkmalerier.dk/>.

Nose

The first explicitly antisemitic caricature in Western Europe dates from the first half of the thirteenth century and it is the nose that is used to mock and act as a

⁹⁷ From the twelfth century onwards, the figure of *Synagoga* is no longer seen to represent the virtuous Jews of the past, but rather the Jews who had rejected and continue to reject Christ. See Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 35–36.

marker for various Jewish vices. On the 1233 Norwich tallage-roll, the devil points at the nose of the Jew-hat-wearing Norwich man “Mosse-Mokke” and his wife Ave-gaye.⁹⁸ Their elongated, hooked noses match those of the horned demons also found in the image. From the second half of the thirteenth century, Jews in illustrations in the margins of the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa Maria* by Alfonso X (1252–84) are distinguished from their Christian counterparts by their large crooked noses, although usually a nose cannot stand in isolation as a marker of Jewishness: it needs to be accompanied by a beard or hat (or both).⁹⁹ In “Jesus before Caiaphas” in the illuminated English book of hours called the *Salvin Hours* (c. 1275), Jews are portrayed with distorted grimacing mouths, dark skin, and hooked noses.¹⁰⁰ They resemble the devil and contrast to the barefoot, peaceful Jesus they are placed alongside. From the thirteenth century, Jews’ noses appear as either indistinguishable, or long, crooked, and beak-like, or bulbous and snout like. Exaggerated and grotesque noses also appear on “bad” non-Jews and their role is to provide a visible form to Christian ideas about faith, morality, and sin: they demonstrate an excessive attachment to the material.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, crooked noses marked those who were unable to take the right path to God.¹⁰²

Like much else about the appearance of Jews, there are no descriptions in the extant medieval vernacular written material from Denmark and Sweden. Instead, one needs to consider preserved art, most notably wall paintings, in order to gain an idea of how Jews’ rhinal appearance was conceived. The examples are many. Although there are images of Jews without exaggerated noses, such as “The Judas kiss” (Figure 5.1) in Dalhem Church, Visby, Gotland (c. 1230) that date from before the inception of this rhinal marker of Jewishness, the depictions of Jews from the Late Middle Ages often have grotesque noses. In the porch of Härkeberga Church, Uppland, a figure has been painted by Albertus Pictor (1480s). He has a bulbous, elongated nose and is wearing a pointed Jew hat.¹⁰³ His skin is dark, his eyes

98 Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 178–82; Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book*, 3–4; Frank Felsenstein, “Jews and Devils: Antisemitic Stereotypes of Late Medieval and Renaissance England,” *Literature and Theology* 4, no. 1 (1990): 15–17. On the Jewish nose, see Robert Jütte, *Leib und Leben im Judentum* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, 2016), 36–48; Sara Lipton, “What’s in a Nose? The Origins, Development, and Influence of Medieval Anti-Jewish Caricature,” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge, 2018), 183–203.

99 Jütte, *Leib und Leben im Judentum*, 39.

100 L-BL Add. MS 48985, f. 29r; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 109–10.

101 Lipton, “What’s in a Nose?” 200.

102 Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 77.

103 Bengt Ingmar Kilström, *Härkeberga kyrka, Sveriges Kyrkor*, vol. 123 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1968), 51; Bengtsson, “Samtida mode eller antisemitism?” 31. See Figure 5.10.



Figure 5.10: A Jew (detail) mocks Christ and the host as he looks down onto St Gregory's Mass. Wall painting (1480s) by Albertus Pictor, Härkeberga Church, Uppland. Photo: Håkan Svensson. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain. Detail courtesy of Upplandsmuseet, Uppsala.



Figure 5.11: A Jew accompanies Jesus to King Herod’s court. Wall painting (c. 1430) in Kongsted Church, Sjælland. Author’s own photo.

large, and his hands are pulling at his mouth while he pokes out his tongue (cf. Proverbs 14:3). Below him is a scene from St Gregory’s Mass, the host has transubstantiated, and Christ has appeared on the altar with some of the instruments of his torture. The grimacing Jew is mocking Christ and showing contempt for the host.

Jews appear in several wall paintings from c. 1430 in Kongsted Church, Sjælland.¹⁰⁴ They are depicted as those responsible for the torture and crucifixion of Jesus. In Figure 5.11, a bald, dark-skinned figure accompanies Jesus to the court of Herod. He is painted in profile with a large, hooked nose. His trousers have fallen down exposing his legs that appear curiously coloured – possibly to indicate an illness (e. g., leprosy)¹⁰⁵ or a skin condition such as sores, boils, or freckles.¹⁰⁶ His semi-nakedness contrasts with Christ’s modesty. Figure 5.12 shows no fewer than four Jewish men scourging and crowning Jesus. Their heads are shown in profile with beastly faces, grotesque features, and snarling expressions. Their chequered clothing contrasts with the simple robe worn by Jesus. The Jew in Figure 5.13, leading Jesus on a rope to his execution, has a long nose and red hair and beard (divided into two points). He is wearing a knife at his waist and carries a bag of tools in his hand. His trousers have fallen down to expose his lower body. This nakedness both mocks Christ and creates a contrast between his modesty and the

¹⁰⁴ Haastrup, “Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalderkunst,” 154–55.

¹⁰⁵ On Jews and leprosy, see Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, 93–143.

¹⁰⁶ On Jews and skin blemishes, see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 163–68.



Figure 5.12: The scourging and crowning of Jesus by Jews. Wall painting (c. 1430) in Kongsted Church, Sjælland. Author's own photo.



Figure 5.13: Jesus is led to Golgotha by a Jew. Wall painting (c. 1430) in Kongsted Church, Sjælland. Author's own photo.

Jew's vulgarity. The Jewish figures, two of whom have large noses, at the scene of the execution in Figure 5.14 wear luxurious, "oriental" clothes, colourful tunics, and headgear that contrast with the simple robes worn by the holy figures on the left-hand side.



Figure 5.14: Jews at the Crucifixion. Wall painting (c. 1430) in Kongsted Church, Sjælland. Author’s own photo.

Lips

Lips are referred to a few times in translations of the Old Testament. For example, Moses’ “uncircumcised” lips, meaning that he stuttered or was not skilled in rhetoric, are referred to in the ODa. Bible translation:

Moyses swaredhe for herræn see israels børn ællær søner / the høre ikke mik / ok hwre skal pharao høre mik / syndherlighe mædæn jæk skal waræ w omskuren j læbænæ¹⁰⁷
 [Moses answered before the Lord: “Behold, the children or sons of Israel do not hear me and how shall Pharaoh hear me especially as I am uncircumcised of lips?”] (Exodus 6:12)

Herræn taledhe til moysen sigændhe Jæk herræ talæ til pharao egiptes konnyng / allæ ordh / hwilkæ som jæk talær til thic / Ok moyses sagdhe fore herræn See jæk ær womskoren j læbænæ / hwre skal pharao høræ mik¹⁰⁸
 [(29)The Lord spoke to Moses, saying: “I, the Lord, speak to Pharaoh king of Egypt all words that I speak to you.” (30) And Moses said before the Lord, “Behold, I am uncircumcised of lips. How shall Pharaoh hear me?”] (Exodus 6:29–30)

107 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 39vb (1475–50); *GldBib* M 123. Cf. the OSw. Bible translation: “**Moyses swaradhe waarom herra Thu seer at israels sønir / the ære mik olydhughe huru mykith minna mon pharao konunger / lydha minom ordhom Oc hælzt fore thy / at iak ær ey kringskorin i minom ordhom oc ey wæl talande**” [Moses answered Our Lord: “You see that the sons of Israel do not obey me; how much less will King Pharaoh heed my words! And most likely because I am not circumcised in my words and not well spoken”], Thott 4 4^o, f. 87r–v; *SMB* I 290.

108 DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 40ra (1475–50); *GldBib* M 124.

Among the ODa. prayer books we find a translation of Psalm 50:17 *Vulg.* (51:17 *JPS*, 51:15 *KJV*), familiar in Jewish liturgy as the introductory prayer before the *'Amidah*: “Otthe sangh O herræ oplade thu myne læby · Oc myn mundh skal kywngiøre tith loff” [Evensong: O Lord, may you open my lips! And my mouth shall declare your glory!]¹⁰⁹ and “O alsommectiste gud oplad mine leber At ieg maa tacknemmelige loue dig” [O, Almighty God! Open my lips that I may praise you in gratitude].¹¹⁰ However, Jews’ lips as a specific feature are not described in the East Norse material.

In anti-Jewish imagery, thick lips started to appear as early as the thirteenth century.¹¹¹ In medieval Danish and Swedish wall paintings, there are also depictions of “Jewish lips,” usually in combination with grimacing. For example, Judas in Almunge Church (1480s), and Cain in Odensala Church (c. 1500) and Härkeberga Church (c. 1480; see Figure 5.15), all in Uppland, are shown in profile with thick, fleshy lips.¹¹² The largest Jew in the *Judensau* sculpture in Uppsala Cathedral (c. 1350) has exaggerated, plump lips (see Figure 5.24 below).



Figure 5.15: Cain. Wall painting (1480s) in Härkeberga Church, Uppland. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

¹⁰⁹ DAS AM 75 8^o, f. 114r (c. 1500); *BønneB* III 44 (*BønneB* AM 75,8).

¹¹⁰ *VorFrT*, f. g6r (1514); *ChrPed Skr* II 319.

¹¹¹ Jütte, *Leib und Leben im Judentum*, 48–49.

¹¹² See also Bengtsson, “Samtida mode eller antisemitism?” 7 (fig. 2), 8, 13, 14 (fig. 7), 16, and 17 (fig. 10).

Teeth and tongue

Although teeth can appear protruding, sharp and pointed in wall paintings (for example, Judas at the Last Supper in Vireda Church, Småland), Jews’ dental characteristics remain undescribed in East Norse texts. However, verbs such as *gnistre/gnistla* [to gnash] and *skære/skæra* [to grind] are found in combination with Jews and their teeth, typically when expressing beast-like fury. For example, the Sanhedrin show their anger towards Stephen by flashing their teeth in this late-fifteenth-century rendition of Acts 7:54:

Ther omyldhe mæn^(a) hōrdhe thette tha drōffwethes the i theres hiærthe · oc gnistrethe oc skare meth thændrenæ amoth hannum¹¹³

Notes: a. mæn] \mæn/ MS.

[When the cruel men (i. e., the Sanhedrin) heard this, they were upset to the core and gnashed and ground their teeth at him (i. e., Stephen)]

Contempt towards Jesus is also shown through an animal-like gnashing of teeth in this ODa. collection of devotional literature from the end of the fifteenth century:

Æn thyne Owenner mishalnedhe thic meth tanne gnisten oc fwle oord Oc hadhe fulle slagh oc tyttedhe oc stōtte thik meth stym¹¹⁴

[And your enemies tormented you with teeth-gnashing (*tannegnisten*) and vile words and hateful beatings and they howled and pounded you with (their) noisy racket.]

A frequently occurring translation of Matthew 8:12 also has Jews gnashing their teeth in hell, albeit in distress rather than anger. The following example is from an OSw. fifteenth-century sermon for the Third Sunday after Epiphany:

ok rikinsins syni som waro iudhane skulu vtkastas j ytra mōrkrith ther scal varda gratir ok tanna gnislan¹¹⁵

113 DKB GKS 1586 4^o, f. 4r (1488); *MariagerLeg* 15.

114 SKB A 29, f. 191v (c. 1500); *OpbygSkr.* 191v.

115 DAS AM 787 4^o, f. 22vb [col. 88] (fifteenth century); *SermSac* 137; *SMP* I 64. Cf. “Ok rigesins sønnær som ære jōdhæne the skulæ wtkastæs ij yterstæ myrket Ther skal wordhæ gradh ok tanna gnizlan” [And the sons of the kingdom, who are the Jews, shall be cast out into the outer darkness. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth], DKB GKS 1390 4^o, f. 61v (c. 1450); *SMP* VIII 89; “Æn these rikesins soner som æra judhana sagdhe war herra · The skula wtkastas j ydarsta myrket oc ther skal wardha graat oc tannagnizl” [But the sons of the kingdom, who are the Jews, Our Lord said, they shall be cast out into the outer darkness and there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth], UUB C 56, f. 37r (fifteenth century); *SMP* III 55; “Men iōderne som kaldiss gudz eget folk de skulle neder kastiss i helwediss mōrck i huilket som er swar graad oc tender gnidsle

[And the sons of the kingdom, who are the Jews, shall be cast out into the outer darkness. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth (*tanna gnistlan*).]

Gnashing, clenching, and grinding teeth to express anger and disdain is not a solely “Jewish” activity, but it nonetheless does occur frequently in encounters between Jews and Jesus and the Christian faithful.¹¹⁶ Similarly, expressing despair by gnashing teeth is not only performed by Jews. Indeed, in Matthew 8:12 (quoted above) the children of the kingdom are not identified by nationality (Judean) or religion (Judaism), but in each of the four East Norse translations the author interpolates that the verse is here referring to Jews.

Another common action to express contempt that is associated with Jews is gaping and extending the tongue (*gape/gapa*).¹¹⁷ In the ODa. Passion treatise *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder som wor herre tolde syn pyne paa* [*Here Begins the Fifteen Places Our Lord Suffered his Torture*] (1509), we read:

tha faldhe iøderne paa eth knæ oc gabledhe meth mwnd oc glode meth øghen och wtrachte twnghen oc ropte och sagdhe Hælseth wære thu iøde koning¹¹⁸
 [Then the Jews fell to their knees and gaped with their mouths and glared with their eyes and poked out their tongues and said, “Hail, King of the Jews!”]

The gaping mouth builds on Psalm 113:13 *DRB* (115:5 *KJV*): “They have mouths, but cannot speak.”¹¹⁹ A poking tongue, a common image of mockery, was much used in the portrayal of Jews in Passion scenes in both art and writing. Good examples are the altarpiece carved by Claus Berg in Bregninge Church on the island of Ærø and the wall painting in Hjembæk Church on Sjælland 1400–25 (see Figure 5.16).¹²⁰

for vden ende” [But the Jews, who are called God’s own people, they shall be cast down into the darkness of hell in which there is much weeping and gnashing of teeth without end], *AlleEpoEu*, f. 66v [lx] (1515); *ChrPed Skr* I 189–90.

116 On “Jewish teeth,” see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 122.

117 On Jews and vulgar gestures, see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 197–208.

118 *JesuPassV*, f. C3v.

119 Cf. also Psalm 134:16 *DRB* (135:16 *KJV*).

120 See Axel Bolvig, *Den ny billedbibel* (Copenhagen: Politikens Forlag, 2003), 258.



Figure 5.16: Jews mock and beat Jesus on his way to Golgotha. Wall painting (1400–25) in Hjembæk Church, Sjælland. Photo courtesy of <https://kalkmalerier.dk/>.

Voice

In East Norse texts, Jews usually vocalize by shouting and yelling. For example, in the OSw. Text 45: *The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery* (LSB B 70 a, c. 1525), Jews are described as howling like wolves:

Æn jwdhane komno henne enkte swara / wtan stodho gratandhes oc tywtandhes i hymellen
 som en wargha hoper
 [And the Jews were unable to reply to her, but stood crying and howling at the sky like a
 pack of wolves]

Similarly, in the tale of a confrontation between St James and some Jews in *Fornsvenska legendariet* in SKB A 34 (c. 1350) and UUB C 528 (Vadstena, 1400–50), Jewish shrieking is described in somewhat unhuman terms:

com en galin iuþe diæfla fuldar ok øpte ¶ æþla mæn israel slakt¹²¹
 Kom en galin iudhe diæfla fulder Oc øpte ædhla mæn israels slækt¹²²
 [A mad Jew, full of demons, arrived and shouted, “Noble men of Israel!”]

¹²¹ SKB A 34, ff. 37vb–38ra; *FsvLeg* I 196; *FsvLeg* PAW II 266.

¹²² UUB C 528, f. 41r.

In the same work, we also read how all the Jews shouted as if with one mouth. They do not just have a hive mind but a single, shared voice with which the individual is erased and becomes part of a single, synchronous, screaming entity:

ok øpto alle iamskyt som enom munne¹²³

Ok opto iæmskøt alle som medh^(a) enum munne¹²⁴

Notes: a. medh] \medh/ MS.

[And immediately they all shouted as if with one mouth.]

Indeed, Jews are often portrayed all shouting together:

Tha ropte och iøderne alth sammen Han hafuer forbwdeth at gifue keyseren skat¹²⁵

[Then all the Jews also shouted together, “He has forbidden paying tax to the emperor!”]

tha ropte alle iøderne meth een hyw røsth oc sagde hans blod thet scal gaa offuer oss oc ofuer wore børn¹²⁶

[Then all the Jews shouted with one loud voice and said, “His blood shall be upon us and upon our children!”]

tha rophte alle iøderne oc sagde [...] tha ropthe the annen syn alle samen oc sagde Crucifige Crucifige¹²⁷

[Then all the Jews shouted and said (...) Then they all shouted together for a second time and said, “Crucifige! Crucifige!”]

The crowd at the trial before the Crucifixion, screams “cruelly” with a “shout of death” in an OSw. account of the life of Jesus in UUB C 22 (1300–1500):

thet grymma dødzens^(a) skrii oc roop^(b) almoghen ropadhe / oc saghdhe korsfæst korsfæst hanom¹²⁸

Notes: a. dødzens] dø[z>d]zens MS. b. roop] [s>r]oop MS.

[The common people yelled that cruel scream and shout of death and said, “Crucify, crucify him!”]

The crazed, unhuman shouting underlines the difference between Jews and followers of Christ. To the Christian author’s mind, Jews sound different because they are different, and then the inability to speak calmly reveals them as argumentative, aggressive, irrational, and beast-like.

123 SKB A 34, f. 38rb; *FsvLeg* I 197; *FsvLeg* PAW II 269.

124 UUB C 528, f. 41v.

125 *JesuPassV*, f. a4v.

126 *JesuPassV*, f. b4v.

127 *JesuPassV*, f. d4r.

128 UUB C 22, f. 13v; *SkrUppM* 282.

Spittle

Bodily excretions are bound up with huge cultural and social symbolism that explains the different reactions that various bodily fluids provoke: tears might elicit compassion, whereas rheum evokes disgust.¹²⁹ In medieval vernacular works from Denmark and Sweden (as, indeed, texts from elsewhere), a recurring bodily excretion in connection with Jews is phlegm.¹³⁰ Historically, sputum has both positive and negative connotations: it was used as a cure in folk medicine,¹³¹ and, when ejected in the wrong social space, it was a sign of contempt. According to Mary Douglas, “uncleanliness is matter out of place” and most bodily fluids are considered disgusting or inappropriate if they appear in the wrong symbolic or spatial location.¹³² In the Hebrew Bible, spitting is regarded as a means of expressing contempt (e. g., Numbers 12:14; Deuteronomy 25:9). In the Gospels, Christ is spat on during the torments he endures before being crucified: sputum appears entirely out of place creating a shocking scene where the body of Christ becomes contaminated.¹³³ The spitting here is believed to fulfil the prophecy in Isaiah 50:6: “I have given my body to the strikers, and my cheeks to them that plucked them: I have not turned away my face from them that rebuked me, and spit upon me.” As one of the instruments of Christ’s torture (the so-called *Arma Christi*), spitting came to occupy a fundamental role in devotional practices and imagination in the Middle Ages, and so it is principally in descriptions of the Passion that we find phlegm. Jews are described as covering Christ in their foul expectorant and defiling his body to humiliate and shame him. In this way an opposition is created between the Christian mouth that produces prayer and praise, and the Jewish mouth that expels phlegm and abuse. In the ODa. Passion treatises in DAS AM 72 8^o (1475–1500; *spyt* [spittle, sputum]) and SKB A 31 (c. 1500; *spytte* [to spit]), we read:

129 See Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, Mary Douglas: Collected Works, vol. 2 (London: Routledge, 1996 [1966]), 126.

130 On spittle and Jews, see Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 151–54; Brett D. Hirsch, “The Taming of the Jew: Spit and the Civilizing Process in *The Merchant of Venice*,” in *Staged Transgression in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. Rory Loughnane and Edel Semple (New York: Palgrave, 2013), 136–52; Jonathan Adams, *Lessons in Contempt: Poul Ræff’s Translation and Publication of Johannes Pfefferkorn’s The Confession of the Jews*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vol. 581 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 19–21.

131 Jesus uses his own spittle for healing in Mark 7:33.

132 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 40.

133 Matthew 26:67, 27:27–30; Mark 14:65, 15:16–19. Cf. Luke 22:63–65 where there is no spitting.

Iosephus sigher at iøderne haffde swa gantze saare forwend herren^(a) Ihesum meth theræ spyt at the ekke kwrne see hans oghen eller mwn eller nogher skapnet wnder¹³⁴

Notes: a. herren] herr MS.

[Josephus says that the Jews had so greatly transformed the Lord Jesus with their spittle that they were not able to see his eyes or mouth or any shape under it.]

thæt spyttet som iudhene hafde spyttet vnder hans øghon Thæt war hordneth¹³⁵

[The spittle that the Jews had spat below his eyes had hardened.]

The same verb and noun appear in OSw. For example, in the devotional text on the suffering of Christ in SKB A 3 (1502; *spot* [spittle, sputum]) and the didactic text on prayer hours in SKB A 54 (1410–1500; *spotta* [to spit]):

fæghersta christi ænlete gørs fwlt aff iudhamna spotte¹³⁶

[Christ's exceptionally beautiful face was made ugly through the Jews' spittle.]

then tiidh ihesus christus vildhe dræpas tha war han fangadher sputtadher aff ok hedher aff iudum¹³⁷

[When Jesus Christ was to be killed, he was captured, spat at, and mocked by Jews.]

And in the OSw. *Fifteen Stations* in SKB A 118 (1450–1500: *besputa* [to cover in saliva]):

Æn then tith hans modher iomfrv maria ssagh han swa smælica ledhas / skiwtas / oc dragas / aa gatwne / oc hans anlitæ war allth besputtath tha oppfyltis henne hierta medh osighelica sorgh¹³⁸

[And when his mother, the Virgin Mary, saw him being led so shamefully, shoved, and pulled along the street and his face was completely covered with spittle, her heart was filled with unspeakable sorrow.]

The spittle is sometimes described as stinking:

Aff then lukt dønnde iudherne there mwn oc there spyt¹³⁹

[The Jews' mouths and spittle stank of that stench.]

134 Pass [Sth] 42r.

135 Pass [AM] 61r.

136 SKB A 3, f. 6vb (1502); *WHPinobok* 12.

137 SKB A 54, f. 52r (1410–1500); *DagSjT* 215.

138 SKB A 118, f. 15r; *FsvLeg* III 81.

139 Pass [AM] 58v.

At times, the spittle has an iconic or emblematic quality that particularly in enumerations acquires an almost meditative aspect. For example, in these OSw. devotional texts:

Hwat ær stōrre æn gudh **O**k hwat ær fulare æn syndaren **O**k thu gudh wille for syndara skuld spwttas ok gabbas aff syndarum¹⁴⁰

[What is greater than God? And what is uglier than the sinner? And you, God, for the sake of sinners wanted to be spat upon and mocked by sinners.]

herra^(a) ihesu *christe* som føddis aff rena jomfrv maria ok war fangadher ok sputadher aff iudhum¹⁴¹

Notes: **a.** herra] herra ihesus *MS*.

[Lord Jesus Christ! Who was born of the pure virgin Mary and was captured and spat on by Jews.]

¶ Hær bōrias xx aue *maria* som læsande æro *mædh* atwakth oc gudhlikheet [...] thridhi fore alth anleth hwilkit fwl't waar *mædh* blodh oc judhanna sputte¹⁴²

[Here begin the twenty Ave Marias to be read with care and devotion (...) the third: for his entire face that was (made) ugly with blood and the Jews' spittle.]

Hær mærkias nakra beesklikheet i wars hærre pino [...] xvij ær at the han thær i hans ænlitte sputtadho¹⁴³

[Here is meant some bitterness in Our Lord's suffering (...) the seventh (thing) is that they spat into his face.]

¶ Attondhe storbekaren war the smæliko oc hwassa anbodh *som* reddos til hans dōdh / Aff huilkom smælikast war æn thot annor waro hwassare / at han war sputtadhir j sith ænlite¹⁴⁴

[The eighth chalice was the disdainful and sharp tools that were prepared for his death. Of which the most disdainful even though others were sharper was that he was spat at in his face.]

Hon saa han kronadhan hon saa hans liwffwa ænlithe alth smittat aff sputh ok blodh¹⁴⁵

[She saw him crowned (i. e., with the Crown of Thorns). She saw his fair face made completely filthy with spittle and blood.]

140 Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Stimulus amoris*; SKB A 9, f. 167v (1498–1502); *SkrUppM* 74.

141 SKB A 54, f. 53r; *DagSjT* 219.

142 UUB C 22, f. 16r (1450–1500); *SkrUppM* 286.

143 UUB C 47, f. 262r; *SkrUppM* 291.

144 SKB A 3, f. 6rb; *SkrUppM* 325.

145 UUB C 181, f. 19ra (1450–1500); *SkrUppM* 390.

However, Jewish spittle is not reserved just for Jesus, but it is also spat at other holy figures to humiliate them. In the OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet* (UUB C 528, 1400–50), we read that Peter and Paul were also subject to being spat upon by Jews and pagans:

hwa munde tarom haldha j then^(a) stund domber war gifwin : At korsfæsta petrum ok halshugga paulum : Tha matte man^(b) see iudha ok hedhna flokkom^(c) koma Ok pusta thera kinben : ok sputa ok spotta^(d) j thera ænlike

Notes: a. then] the MS. b. man] \man/ MS. c. flokkom] !flokkom! MS. d. spotta] sp[y>o]tta MS.

[Who could keep back their tears when the verdict was given to crucify Peter and behold Paul. Then you could see the Jewish and pagan crowds arrive and smash their cheekbones and spray phlegm and spit in their faces.]

Spitting by Jews is an expression of an inverted hierarchical relationship between the Jews and Christians and illustrates the horror of Christian defilement through contact with the Jews when social boundaries are transgressed.¹⁴⁶ The connection between spitting and Jewish behaviour was possibly further reinforced by Christian accounts that claimed that Jews spat three times when Jesus' name was mentioned: a Christian misunderstanding of the Jewish custom of spitting when reciting “הַבֵּל וְרִיק” (*hevel varik* [vanity and emptiness]) during the '*Aleinu lešabeaḥ* prayer.¹⁴⁷

In Brönnestad Church, Skåne, there are wall paintings dating from 1425–50. Among them, are numerous grimacing heads or masks that usually appear in pairs. Although it is likely that most of them represent devils and demons, there are two heads that face one another and have Jewish characteristics: profile angle with large, hooked noses and gaping mouths. The figure furthest left shows his teeth and is spitting.¹⁴⁸ There is also a Jewish profile facing a horned figure (another Jew?). By comparing different masks in the church, it is clear how devils and Jews shared several characteristics in medieval Christian art.

146 See Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, University of Pennsylvania Press Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 87. There may also be a link between this spitting and contemporary Christians' anxieties about poisoning by Jews; see Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 106–10.

147 Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 200. The strange connection between “vanity and emptiness” and Jesus seems to have come about c. 1300 when a Jewish convert denounced the phrase as a secret anti-Christian curse because the numerological value of רִיק, *varik* [and vanity] is 316, the same as the name ישו, *Yešu* [Jesus].

148 On this image, see Haastrup, “Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalderkunst,” 149.



Figure 5.17: Grimacing masks. Wall paintings (1425–50) in Brönnestad Church, Skåne. The three masks from the left on the top row show grotesque Jewish traits. Photo: Hans A. Rosbach. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

The rest of the body

Circumcision

In East Norse texts, circumcision is mentioned principally in sermons and prayers for the Feast of the Circumcision (1 January; cf. Luke 2:21). This holy day is found in the Roman liturgy from about the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and is one of the outcomes of Christian discussion about the meaning of ritual circumcision, both of Jesus and of Jews past and present. The role of Jewish rites and observances was much discussed in early Christianity and there were a range of opinions. Some argued that circumcision remained a valid act of faith for Christians, whereas others – most notably Paul – considered circumcision to be

spiritual rather than physical: “For it is not he is a Jew, who is so outwardly; nor is that circumcision which is outwardly in the flesh: But he is a Jew, that is one inwardly; and the circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God.” (Romans 2:28–29).¹⁴⁹ Indeed, Paul uses the term “circumcision in Christ” to refer to baptism (Colossians 2:11–12). By the time of Augustine, Paul’s stance of circumcision had become doctrine:

Et apostolus Paulus ait, *Circumcisi estis circumcissione non manu facta, non in exspoliatione carnis, sed in circumcissione Christi (Coloss. II, 11). Quid ad hæc dicimus, Synagoga? Ecce non carnis, sed cordis circumcisio mandabatur, scilicet ut vitia cordis incideres, ut libidinem desecares, ut idololatriæ caput auferres, ut tunicam fornicationis scinderes.*¹⁵⁰

[And Paul the Apostle says, “In whom also you are circumcised with circumcision not made by hand, in despoiling of the body of the flesh, but in the circumcision of Christ” (Colossians 2:11). What do we say to that, Synagogue? It is circumcision not of the flesh but of the heart that is commanded, namely you cut the vices of the heart, excise lust, remove the head of idolatry, rend the tunic of fornication.]¹⁵¹

However, the question remained as to why Christ was circumcised if this commandment belonged to the Law he was sent to overturn. The answer is provided in Christiern Pedersen’s, *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515):

149 On Christian attitudes towards ritual circumcision in Judaism, see Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, 53–92.

150 Augustine of Hippo, *De Altercatione Ecclesiae et Synagoga*; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 42, col. 1134.

151 Today, circumcision is still a requirement in the Coptic Church, whereas the Orthodox Church is very opposed (possibly to distinguish themselves from Muslim neighbours rather than due to theological arguments). The Catholic Church is somewhat ambivalent. Guy Cox and Brian J. Morris, “Why Circumcision: From Prehistory to the Twenty-First Century,” in *Surgical Guide to Circumcision*, ed. David A. Bolnick et al. (London: Springer, 2012), 250–51. In Denmark and Sweden today ritual male circumcision of infant boys has become a contentious issue about what constitutes the best interests of the child. Representatives of the largely Lutheran majority claim that it is a harmful practice that should be banned, while representatives of the Jewish (and Muslim) minority argue that banning ritual male circumcision would limit the child’s ability to partake in religious tradition, would infringe the child’s and parents’ right to religious freedom, and would mean that the state introduces measures to single out a particular religious group. See Johanna Schiratzki, “Banning God’s Law in the Name of the Holy Body: The Nordic Position on Ritual Male Circumcision,” *The Family in Law* 5 (2011): 35–53. Voices calling for a ban in Denmark have become particularly vitriolic and it is far from rare that their contributions in the public debate draw on antisemitic tropes that first gained traction during the Middle Ages. Nearly 500 contributions about Danish Jews and ritual male circumcision have been collected on the blog page <http://exitdk.wordpress.com> (last accessed 5 April 2022).

HER motte nogen spørge for hwad sag vor herre ville lade sig omskære men han hagde engen oprindelse synd paa sig Her til suarer *sanctus* Thomas Ath han det gjorde for syw honde sag Først ath han ville obenbarlige til kende giffue at han hagde ret legeme aff kød oc blod som andre menniske Anden sag wor at han fwldkomme vilde omskærelsen som han selff bødh forme tiid Tredie sag At han beuise vilde at han vor selff født aff Abrahamss slect som anammede den low aff hannem Fierde At han betage oc forware vilde at iøderne icke skulle haffue aarsage til at sige at de icke vilde anamme hannem for han icke vor omskaaren Femte sag Ath han ville giffue oss alle exempel oc efterligning till at vere hørige oc lydige Siette At han som kommen vor til verden at anammede mandom som eth andet menniske paa legemmens vegne At han icke forsmaa vilde ath fulkomme den artickel aff louen som pleyde at afftwo synden aff legemet Siwende sag At i det han selff fulkommede louen At han der met frelse skulle alle som waare vnder lowen som Sancte Pouild siger ad galatas iiiii ca. Misit deus filium suum factum sub lege Gud fader vdsende sin søn som føddiss vnder logen At han dem alle frelse skulle som vaare vnder lowen Thi vilde han omskæriss en dog han vor for vden all synd Som han oc siden dø ville at wi der met alle frelsiss skulde fra den euindelige død¹⁵² [Here someone might ask for what reason Our Lord had himself circumcised when he had no original sin.¹⁵³ To this St Thomas answers that he did so for seven reasons: First, that he wanted to reveal publicly that he had a real body of flesh and blood like other people.¹⁵⁴ The second reason was that he wanted to undergo circumcision as he had commanded in earlier times.¹⁵⁵ The third reason, that he wanted to prove that he was himself born of Abraham’s tribe who received the law from him.¹⁵⁶ Fourth, that he wanted to make sure and guarantee

152 *AlleEpoEu*, f. 47v [lxi]; *ChrPed Skr* I 131–32.

153 Cf. “[...] det rene vskildige barn ihesus lodh sig omskere alligeuel ath han vor alder renist for vden al synd som en klar spegel er vden all smytte” [(...) the pure innocent child Jesus had himself circumcised even though he was purest without any sin like a clear mirror is without any impurity], Christiern Pedersen, *Messe*, f. b2r–v (1514); *ChrPed Skr* II 426.

154 His circumcision was one of the signs of his humanity; cf. “Ok han ær wordhen man for thinæ skuld Ok omskaren / døpter fattigher Ok nækndher ødhmyuker Ok forsmadher Ok fastadhe / hwngradhe Ok tørste” [and he became a man for your sake and circumcised, baptized, poor and naked, humble and despised, and fasted, and went hungry and thirsty], DKB GKS 1390 4^o, f. 168v; *SøndEv* 184.

155 Cf. “[...] cristus ihesus predickedede Iøderne omskerelse Och lod sig selff omskere paa det ath han stadfeste ville oc fulkomme alle de ord som gwd fader i hiemmerige deriss forfedre de hellige patriarcker tilforn loffuit hagde” [(...) Christ Jesus preached circumcision to the Jews and had himself circumcised because he wanted to affirm and fulfil all the words that God the Father in heaven had previously commanded their ancestors the patriarchs], *AlleEpoEu*, f. 12r [vi]; *ChrPed Skr* I 22–23.

156 God’s commandment to Abraham to circumcise himself and the males of is household is described thus in the Old Danish Bible translation (1475–50; Genesis 17:10–14, 23–27): “Thet ær myn samsæt / hwilket j skullæ gøme mellom mik ok edher / ok thin slækt æftær thic / Ther skal omskæres j edher all mankøns / ok j skullæ omskære edher foræskærelses køth / [Ottæ] ath thet skall ware j samsættes tegn / mellom mik ok edher Ottæ dags barn skal omskæres blant edher / all mankøns j edre slækte / swo wæl thiænere som træll / skal omskæres / Ok hwilkæn som helst ikke skal wordhe aff edher slækt / Ok myn samsæth skal wordhe j edhert køth / til ewymnelighe samsæt / Mankøn hwes forskærelsæs køth ikke wordher omskoreth / Thæn siæl skal affslætæs

that the Jews did not have a reason to say that they would not accept him because he was not circumcised. The fifth reason, that he wanted to provide us with an example and role model to be obedient and disciplined. Sixth, that he who had come to the world accepted humanity as another human in terms of the body that he did not want to despise the paragraph of the law that usually washed sin from the body. The seventh reason that by fulfilling the law himself he thereby saved everyone who was under the law, as St Paul says in Galatians 4[:4]: *misit Deus Filium suum factum (ex muliere, factum) sub lege* ‘God sent forth his Son, made (of a woman, made) under the law.’ That he would save everyone who was under the law. For these reasons, he wanted to be circumcised even though he was entirely without sin as he would also die later that we would all be saved by this from eternal death.]¹⁵⁷

The blood from the cut and the pain of the circumcision became two principal elements of Christian devotional practice in connection with the Feast of the Circumcision. The blood of the circumcision was considered a symbol of the eucharist while this act of suffering (the first of many that climaxed years later at the Passion) was believed to foreshadow the spilling of Christ’s blood at the Crucifixion.¹⁵⁸ In

aff sit folk fforthy hon giorde myn samsæt til enktæ [...] Abraham han thog sin søn ysmael ok allæ hans huses thiæneræ / ok allæ hwilke han haffdhe køpt / Ok allæ mankøns aff all sith huses mæn · Ok han omskar theræ foreskærelses køth gensten j then dagh som gudh haffdhe budheth hannom / Abraham war jx ok halfffæmtæsintywe aar / thæn tidh han omskaar sin foreskærelses køth / Ok ysmael hans søn war trættæn aar / j foreskærelses tyme / I thæn samæ [tymæ > tidh] war abraham omskoren / ok ysmael hans søn / ok allæ hans hws mæn / swo wæl thiæneræ som trælæ / ok wtletnynghe worde ok omskornæ” [(10) This is my covenant, which you shall keep between me and you and your tribe after you. Every male among you shall be circumcised (11) and you shall circumcise your foreskin’s flesh; that it shall be a token of the covenant between me and you. (12) An eight-day-old infant shall be circumcised among you, every male in your generations, both servant and slave shall be circumcised. And whoever is <not> of your family. (13) And my covenant shall be in your flesh for an eternal covenant. (14) A male whose foreskin’s flesh is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people because he has negated my covenant (...) (23) Abraham took his son Ishmael and all the servants in his house and all who he had bought and all males among all the men of his house, and he circumcised their foreskin’s flesh immediately that very same day, as God had commanded him. (24) And Abraham was ninety-nine years old when he circumcised his foreskin’s flesh. (25) And Ishmael his son was thirteen years old at the time of the <circumcision of his> foreskin. (26) At the same time Abraham was circumcised, and Ishmael his son. (27) And all the men of his house, both servants and slaves, and foreigners were also circumcised], DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 9ra–va; *GldBib* M 27–28.

157 For further examples of how the circumcision of Jesus is treated in East Norse sermons, see Text 12: *Sermons for the Feast of the Circumcision*.

158 In one medieval Jewish anti-Christian polemical text, the Catalan-Jewish rabbi Hasdai ben Judà Cresques (c. 1340–1410) asks why the blood from Jesus’ circumcision was not enough to atone for the sin of humankind; why was his blood at the Crucifixion necessary for atonement? See Hasdai Crescas, *The Refutation of the Christian Principles*, trans. Daniel J. Lasker, SUNY Series in Jewish Philosophy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 34–35.

the ODa. prayer book known as *Visdoms Spejl* [*The Mirror of Wisdom*] in DAS AM 782 4^o (1500–25), we read for example:

oc tacker ieg teg almegtiste gwt for all then pyne och plage oc thyth verdige blotz vdgiffwelse tw haffer vdgiffweth for vor skyld fraa første tyd tw lod teg omskære och saa tyll langfredag at tyth hiarte vor sønderstwngeth paa kosseth / oc tw opgaff tyn dyrebare syell aff thyth hellige legeme¹⁵⁹

[And I thank you, Almighty God, for all the torment and suffering and outpouring of your worthy blood that you have bled for our sakes from the first moment when you had yourself circumcised and until Good Friday when your heart was pierced on the cross and you gave up your valuable soul from your holy body.]

ieck beder teck alsom kæreste herre for all then pyne tw haffwer lyth for meck och for alle syndige menniske oc for alt thit verdige blotz vdgiffwelse fraa then første omskærelse och saa ynd thyl thyn hellige syde vor egemen stwngen / lat mig aldry bliffwe vde lwckct fran then glæde som the haffwe y hemerige¹⁶⁰

[I ask you, dearest Lord, for all the torment that you have suffered for me and all sinful people and for the outpouring of all your worthy blood from your first circumcision and until your holy side was pierced, let me never be excluded from the joy that they have in heaven.]

The blood that “poured” from Jesus during his circumcision is the focus of several prayers; for example, in Marine Issdatter’s prayer book, we read: “Herræ gudh forthi ath tw lost tek til mønsteret bære ottende dagh / oc lodh tek omskære oc strømmæ blodh for alle cristnæ memiske helsæ skyldh” [Lord God, because you had yourself carried to the Temple on the eighth day and had yourself circumcised and poured blood for the sake of the salvation of all Christian people].¹⁶¹ It is usually listed as one of the salvific fluids excreted by Jesus during his various torments. In the ODa. prayer book DAS AM 75 8^o (c. 1500), we read:

O aldherkæresthæ oc alzwoldugestæ oc aldersødesthæ herræ ihesu *christe* / tek vare oc vordæ loff oc tak oc hære for allæ thinæ helighæ leghemes blodz drober som thu vth gøsth i thin helighæ omskærelssæ oc i thin swetz wdgywdelssæ oc i thin hwassæ flængelssæ oc tornæ kronæ vthgiwdelssæ blodssens senckæ Oc i thimæ helgæstæ hender oc sødesthæ fødher oc thit helgistæ hiertens blodz vthgiwdelssæ · Amen¹⁶²

[O dearest and mightiest and sweetest Lord Jesus Christ! May you now and in the future be praised and thanked and honoured for all the drops of blood from your holy body that you poured during your holy circumcision and during the outpouring of your sweat and during your sharp scourging and the outpouring of the crown of thorns, a quagmire of blood, and the outpouring of blood from your holy hands and sweetest feet and your holiest heart. Amen.]

¹⁵⁹ DAS AM 782 4^o, f. 88r–v (1500–25); *BønneB* III 261 (no. 628; *VisdSp*).

¹⁶⁰ DAS AM 782 4^o, ff. 176v–177r (1500–25); *BønneB* III 373 (no. 742; *VisdSp*).

¹⁶¹ DKB GKS 1614 4^o, f. 101r–v; *BønneB* IV 176 (*Mlssd*).

¹⁶² DAS AM 75 8^o, f. 237r (c. 1500); *BønneB* III 162 (no. 507 “Oracio”; *BønneB* AM 75,8).

Circumcision is seen both as a holy rite and as one of the cruel acts perpetrated against Jesus. Just as contemplative literature describes the suffering endured by Mary at the crucifixion of her son, so her distress upon witnessing the circumcision is also mentioned in some prayers. In Marine Jespersdatter's prayer book (1500–24), the petitioner asks Mary to cut out evil thoughts from her heart:

O alsommyldysthe Ionfru Maria / Ieg bedher teg ydmyghelighe ffor then modherlighe ønck thw haddhe offwer thyn kære søn ihesum christum then tyd hand bleff omskorind y hans klene oc alsomsubtiligsthe legommæ oc wdgavd syth benedidhe blodh · O alsommyskwndysthe oc ærefwllesthe Ionffrw Maria / borth skær alle wndhe tenckelssæ aff myth hierte · Amen¹⁶³

[O most mild Virgin Mary! I pray humbly to you for the maternal pity you felt for your son Jesus Christ when he was circumcised in his delicate and most fine body, and he poured out his blessed blood. O most merciful and most honourable Virgin Mary! Excise all evil thoughts from my heart! Amen.]

In the fifteenth-century altarpiece from St Mary's Church in Helsingborg, Skåne, the blood from Jesus' circumcision looks as if it would flow onto the altar itself, anticipating the blood from the Crucifixion.¹⁶⁴

However, it was not only the blood from the circumcision of the infant Jesus that was the object of adulation, but his foreskin also became a venerated relic. Jacobus de Voragine wrote in his *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*] from 1263–73:

De carne autem circumcisionis domini dicitur quod angelus eam Karolo Magno attulit et ipse eam Aquisgrani in ecclesiam Sancte Marie honorifice collocavit. Karolus uero illam postea fertur Carosium transtulisse, nunc autem dicitur esse Rome in ecclesia que dicitur Sancta Sanctorum. Vnde et ibidem scriptum legitur: "Cicumcisa caro Christi sandalia clara, atque umbilici viget hic praecisio cara." Vnde et ea die fit statio in Sancta Sanctorum. Sed si hoc uerum est, ualde utique mirabile est; cum enim caro ipsa sit de ueritate humane nature, credimus quod reurgente Christo rediit ad locum suum glorificatum. Aliqui dixerunt quod hoc uerum sit iuxta opinionem illorum qui dicunt id solum esse de ueritate humane nature quod ab Adam traductum est et id solum resurgere.¹⁶⁵

[What about the flesh removed by the Lord's circumcision? It is said that an angel carried it to Charlemagne, and that he enshrined it at Aix-la-Chapelle in the church of the Blessed Mary and later transferred it to Charroux, but we are told that it is now in Rome in the church called Sancta Sanctorum where there is the following inscription: "Here are the circum-

¹⁶³ DAS AM 421 12^o, f. 47r; *BønneB* IV 224 (no. 976a).

¹⁶⁴ See Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, 62; Ulla Haastrup, "Representations of Jews in Danish Medieval Art – Can Images Be Used as Source Material on Their Own?" in *History and Images: Toward a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 341–56 (esp. 347–48).

¹⁶⁵ *LegAur* 128–29.



Figure 5.18: The circumcision of the infant Jesus. The fifteenth-century altarpiece from St Mary’s Church (*Mariakyrkan*), Helsingborg, Skåne, with detail from the left-hand side of the central panel. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

cised flesh of Christ and his bright sandals, here too is preserved a precious cutting of his umbilicus.” For that reason, a station takes place at this church on this day (1 January). But if all this is true, it is certainly to be wondered at. Since the flesh belongs to the true human nature, we believe that when Christ rose, the flesh went back to its glorified place. There are some who say that this is true according to the opinion of those who hold that only what was handed on from Adam belongs to the true human nature, and that alone rose from the dead.]¹⁶⁶

In one of St Birgitta’s visions (*Liber Caelestis* 6.112.1–4), the Virgin Mary informs her that she had kept Christ’s foreskin and that it was now to be found in Rome – most probably referring to the relic of the Holy Prepuce kept in the Papal Archbasilica of St John Lateran:

¹⁶⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 1, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 77.

Maria certificat sponsam de prepucio Christi, quod diligenter seruabat et seruandum Iohanni euangeliste tradidit cum sanguine Christi, qui remansit in vulneribus Christi.

Maria ait: “Cum filius meus circumcideretur, ego membranam illam in maximo honore seruabam, vbi ibam. Quomodo enim ego illam traderem terre, que de me sine peccato fuerat generata? Cumque tempus vocationis mee de hoc mundo instaret, ego ipsam commendavi sancto Iohanni, custodi meo, cum sanguine illo benedicto, qui remansit in vulneribus eius, quando deposuimus eum de cruce. Post hoc sancto Iohanne et successoribus eius sublatis de mundo, crescente malicia et perfidia, fideles, qui tunc erant, absconderunt illa in loco mundissimo sub terra, et diu fuerunt incognita, donec angelus Dei illa amicis Dei reuelauit. O Roma, o Roma, si scires, gauderes vtique, ymmo si scires flere, fleres incessanter, quia habes thesaurum michi carissimum et non honoras illum.”¹⁶⁷

[Mary assures the bride that she carefully saved the foreskin of Christ and then gave it to John the Evangelist to save along with the blood of Christ that was left in his wounds.

(Mary said:) “When my Son was circumcised, I saved the skin of his and kept it with the greatest reverence wherever I went. How could I have buried in the ground something born from me without sin? When the time for me to be called out of this world was at hand, I entrusted it to St. John, my guardian (cf. John 19:26), along with the blessed blood that was left in his wounds when we took him down from the cross. After St. John and his successors were taken from the world, since wickedness and faithlessness were on the rise, the faithful of the time hid them in a perfectly clean spot underground. They remained there unknown for a long time until an angel of God revealed them to God’s friends. O Rome, Rome, if only you knew (cf. Matthew 23:37), you would surely rejoice, and if you only knew how to weep, you would weep ceaselessly, for you have a treasure that is most dear to me, and you do not treat it with reverence.”¹⁶⁸

Not all the larger extant East Norse sermon manuscripts have a sermon for New Year’s Day and the Feast of the Circumcision (e. g., UUB C 35 and LSB T 180), but in those sermons that do exist, the expositions focus on one of two events: either the naming or the circumcision of the infant Jesus. The expositions in DAS AM 787 4^o, SKB A 27, and DKB GKS 1390 4^o all deal with the name “Jesus,” that was given him by the angel before he was born. The manuscripts SKB A 111, UUB C 56 and LSB T 181 as well as the early print by Christiern Pedersen, *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* have expositions that discuss the topic of Jesus’ circumcision and its meaning for Christianity.¹⁶⁹

Images of the Circumcision of Christ can be found in the wall paintings and altarpieces of several churches. In most, Christ is laid out on a table (often resembling an altar and thus linking Christ’s blood and the eucharist) and the mohel

¹⁶⁷ Birger Bergh, ed., *Sancta Birgitta: Revelaciones. Book VI*, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 7, no. 6 (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1991), 272.

¹⁶⁸ Denis Searby and Bridget Morris, trans. and ed., *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 3: *Liber Caelestis, Books VI–VII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 175.

¹⁶⁹ For UUB C 56 and LSB T 181, see Text 12: *Sermons for the Feast of the Circumcision*.

is dressed as a Christian bishop.¹⁷⁰ In the altarpiece scene in Årsunda Church, Gästrikland (1500–25), the bishop is wearing spectacles, while in the altarpiece in Skattunge Church, Dalarna (mid-fifteenth century), the bishop’s mitre has been decorated with two crucifixes. In most images, the mohel is bearded, but in the wall painting in Norra Strö Church, Skåne (1475–1500) he is also tonsured and has a halo. These images all demonstrate that the Circumcision has been framed as an entirely Christian affair. The religious figures are recognizable to the viewer as bishops and holy men – they are not engaging in some strange rite belonging to another religion. Mohalim with a more exotic appearance are rare. The man carrying out the circumcision in an early modern wall painting in Sulsted Church, Børglum (mid-sixteenth century) is wearing a turban, and it looks as though Joseph (a rare appearance) is holding Christ. In a wall painting in Fanebjerg Church, Møn (c. 1500), Jesus is sitting on the lap of a seated man with beard and long dark hair who is wearing an exotic fur(?) hat and has his right hand raised in blessing. The infant’s legs are being held down by a kneeling male figure with long red hair who is also performing the circumcision. See Figure 5.19.



Figure 5.19: The circumcision of the Infant Jesus. Wall painting (c. 1500), Fanebjerg Church, Møn. Author’s own photo.

¹⁷⁰ For example, in Tingsted Church, Falster (fifteenth century), Tuse Church, Sjælland (1460–80), St Mary’s Church, Helsingør (fifteenth century), Fulltofta Church, Lund (1450–1500), Övergran Church, Uppland (1470s).

For many centuries, Christian writers paid little attention to Jewish circumcision beyond that of Abraham and the infant Jesus. Whereas circumcision until the coming of Christ was considered an act of virtue and covenant, continued Jewish practice was largely ignored and not commented upon for centuries. In European writings from the twelfth century onwards, the differences between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations are expressed through an increasingly critical condemnation of Jewish practices both in text and image. Circumcision is increasingly portrayed as an unclean, violent, and cruel act.¹⁷¹ Its positive purpose until the time of Christ having been superseded by baptism, circumcision now marked the Jews as a separate people, the Old Israel, who were distanced from the Church and *Christianitas*, the New Israel. In popular Christian views of circumcision, it came to be seen as an abominable practice of mutilation.¹⁷² In his *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515), Christiern Pedersen describes circumcision as so painful that many children died of it: “Oc da skulde der skeriss i sticke faare aff barnenss lønlig ting met i flinte sten thi vor samme omskerelse saa pin actelig oc suar at mange børn døde der aff” [And so a piece of foreskin should be cut from the child’s penis with a flint stone; because of that, this circumcision was so painful and difficult that many children died from it].¹⁷³

Beyond stories relating to biblical events, especially concerning Abraham and the infant Jesus, circumcision is not much discussed in East Norse texts. It is mentioned in some vocabularies (e. g., Lat. “appella” is translated as ‘iøde som er omskaaren’ [Jew who is circumcised] in Christiern Pedersen’s *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum*, 1510), and it is used as a marker of difference and a link between Jews and Antichrist in *Själens tröst* (1400–50):

Antechristus skal fødhas j babilonia aff iwdhiske slækt aff eens^(a) patriarcha slekt som heeth dan / Han wardher onækta føddir aff forbannadhe qwinno oc forbannadhun man / Han wardher oc vmskuren som een iwdhe¹⁷⁴

Notes: a. eens] ees MS.

[Antichrist will be born in Babylon from the Jewish tribe of the family of a patriarch called Dan. He will be born illegitimately of a cursed woman and a cursed man. He will also be circumcised like a Jew in accordance with the law of the Jews.]

171 On the link between circumcision and ritual murder allegations, see Paola Tartakoff, “From Conversion to Ritual Murder: Re-Contextualizing the Circumcision Charge,” *Medieval Encounters* 24 (2018): 361–89; Felsenstein, “Jews and Devils,” 24–25.

172 Resnick, *Marks of Distinction*, 77.

173 *AlleEocEu*, f. 47r [xli]; ChrPed Skr I 129.

174 SKB A 108, p. 81; *SjäTrö* 97–98.

With the possible exception of a wall painting of a Jew in Hästveda Church, Skåne (see below under “Hat”), there are no images of circumcision beyond the context of the life of Jesus.

Male menstruation

One of the more extraordinary claims about the Jewish body was, that like women, Jewish men menstruated.¹⁷⁵ This idea of the bleeding Jewish male can be traced back to Book II chapter 23 of *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180–c. 1240). He wrote that Jews suffered from a bloody flux on Good Friday, presumably as punishment for their deicide:

In civitate quadam Angliae puella quaedam habitavit, Judaei cuiusdam filia, et secundum genus suum satis speciosa. Hanc iuvenis quidam clericus, Episcopi eiusdem civitatis cognatus, et ecclesiae maioris canonicus, ut vidit, concupivit, et verbis amatoris ad consensum suae libidinis cum multo labore inclinavit. Ad cuius amplexus dum aspiraret, et nimiis incendiis aestuans, eam quotidie ad commixtionem sollicitaret, respondit illa: Patri meo multum sum dilecta, qui in tantum custodit me, ut neque ego ad te, neque tu possis venire ad me, nisi in nocte sextae feriae, quae Pascha vestrum praecedat. Tunc enim Judaei laborare dicuntur quadam infirmitate, quae fluxus sanguinis dicitur, circa quam occupati, aliis tunc minus intendere possunt.¹⁷⁶

[In a city of England, there lived a daughter of a Jew, who like many of her race was a very beautiful girl. A clerk, a relative of the bishop of that city and canon of the cathedral, saw her and fell in love with her, and after much difficulty persuaded her at last to consent to his desires. When in his impatience and consuming passion, he kept daily urging her, she said to him at last, “I am very dear to my father, who watches over me so carefully that neither can I come to you nor you to me, unless it be on the night of Friday before your Easter.” For

175 On the myth of Jewish male menstruation, see Willis Johnson, “The Myth of Jewish Male Menses,” *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998): 273–95; David S. Katz, “Shylock’s Gender: Jewish Male Menstruation in Early Modern England,” *The Review of English Studies* 50 (1999): 440–62; Irven M. Resnick, “Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menses,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 93, no. 3 (2000): 241–63; Bettina Bildhauer, “Blood, Jews, and Monsters in Medieval Culture,” in *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, ed. Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 75–96; Sharon Faye Koren, “The Menstruant as ‘Other’ in Medieval Judaism and Christianity,” *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women’s Studies & Gender Issues* 17: *Sexuality in Jewish Contexts* (2009): 33–59 (esp. 45–48); Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1199–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 148–49, 151–52; Jütte, *Leib und Leben im Judentum*, 282–87; Felsenstein, “Jews and Devils,” 22–23.

176 *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi Ordinis cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum*, vol. 1: *Textus*, ed. Joseph Strange (Cologne: H. Lempertz & Co., 1851), 92–94.

then the Jews are said to labour under a sickness called the bloody flux, with which they are so much occupied that they can scarcely pay attention to anything else at the time.]¹⁷⁷

Further, Thomas de Cantimpré (1201–72) asserted that this bloody flux was the fulfilment of the blood curse (Matthew 17:25) and his interpretation received further scriptural support in Psalm 77:66 *DRB* (78:66 *KJV*): “And he smote his enemies on the hinder parts: he put them to an everlasting reproach.”¹⁷⁸ Just like the haemorrhaging woman in Luke 8:43–48, it was believed that by accepting Christ, bleeding Jewish men could be healed. However, Thomas claimed that instead of converting, Jews chose to kill Christians because they believed that the ingestion of Christian blood was the only way to stop the flux.¹⁷⁹ This idea – that Jews drank Christian blood to replenish their own and thereby staunched their sinful bleeding – had dramatic consequences and fed directly into and off other canards involving the attainment of blood: blood libel, ritual murder, as well as host and icon desecration.

Willis Johnson writes that this particularly Jewish flux described by Caesarius and Thomas is not menstruation, but rather a symbol of heresy originating from the “bursting of Judas’s belly” (Acts 1:18). He goes further to suggest that it was not until the fifteenth century that the Jewish male flux became gendered and should be interpreted as menstruation.¹⁸⁰ Irven Resnick, however, convincingly argues that there was always an intent to feminize the male Jew through the slander of menstrual bleeding. Indeed, Jacques de Vitry (c. 1165–1240) claimed that Jewish men, like women, bled every month, and that they “have become unwarlike and weak even as women, and it is said that they have a flux of blood every month.”¹⁸¹ The ridiculing and feminization of the Jewish male through the claim that he menstruated like a woman rendered him unnatural and contemptible in a warlike, male-dominated society: he was stripped of his masculinity and made submis-

177 *The Dialogue on Miracles*, vol. 1, trans. Henry von Essen Scott and Charles Cooke Swinton Bland (London: Routledge, 1929), 102–04. See also Ivan Marcus, “Jews and Christians Imagining the Other in Medieval Europe,” *Prooftexts* 15 (1995): 217–23; Ivan Marcus, “Images of the Jews in the Exempla of Caesarius of Heisterbach,” in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 250.

178 Scholars of the thirteenth century had various ideas about Jews and their flux of blood. Albertus Magnus wrote that Jews were susceptible to haemorrhoids due to their salty diet. Others suggested it was because “healthy foods” were forbidden to them due to the rules of kashruth. Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 176–77.

179 Johnson, “The Myth of Jewish Male Menses,” 275.

180 Johnson, “The Myth of Jewish Male Menses.”

181 Resnick, “Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menses,” esp. 259.

sive, powerless, and other.¹⁸² In the early fourteenth century it was claimed that “after the death of Christ all Jewish men, like women, suffer menstruation.”¹⁸³

The unmanly menstruating Jewish male appears in one of Christiern Pedersen’s sermons. Here, as in Thomas de Cantimpré, it is claimed that ever since they cried out for Jesus’ blood (Matthew 27:25), Jewish men have been cursed with menstruation:

Ieg er wskyldig aff denne retuise mandz blod Iøderne robede Hanss blod skal komme offuer oss oc vaare børn Det skede oc saa aff gudz heffn Thii de finge oc haffue alle blodspot¹⁸⁴ saa lenge de leffue men verden stonder Men de hagde icke trod at der skulde kommet saadan heffn der effter Saa gaff Pilatus blodig dom offuer hannem oc antworde iøderne hannem at de hannem korss feste skwille¹⁸⁵

[(Pontius Pilate): “I am innocent of this righteous man’s blood.” The Jews shouted, “His blood shall be upon us and our children!” And so, it also happened by God’s vengeance as they all caught and suffer the bloody flux for as long as they live while the world exists. But they had not believed that such revenge would come from this. Then Pilate gave his bloody verdict over him (Jesus), and the Jews answered him that they would crucify him (Jesus).]

The bloodthirsty Jews who brought about the bloody death of Jesus were forever to bear the mark of their crime: menstruation. Jewish men were thus thought not to be like other men. Their character and sex were ambiguous: a male exterior but with female bleeding.¹⁸⁶

182 It is noteworthy that in John Mandeville’s account of the Red Jews, the Jews enclosed behind the Caspian Mountains are unable to escape because their means of exit is watched over by a nation of women (the Amazons). In this part of the world the Jewish men have been feminized and the non-Jewish women masculinized. See Chapter 11: *The Jewish Threat to Destroy All Christendom*, pp. 526–27.

183 In Cecco d’Aescoli’s commentary on Sacrobosco’s *De Sphaera* cited in Resnick, “Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Menses,” 244.

184 In the dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Danish *blodspot* is translated into Latin as *dysenteria* [dysentery] and *profluvium sanguinis* [haemorrhage, bleeding] in Henrik Smith, *Libellus Vocum Latinarum* (Copenhagen: Johann Zimmermann, 1563), 70, and Poul Jensen Colding, *Dictionarium Herlovianum* (Copenhagen: Salomon Sartor, 1626), 55; and as *dysenteria* and *hemorrhoids* [haemorrhoids] in Poul Nielsen Hingelberg, *Vocabulorum variorum expositio* (Copenhagen: Mads Vingaard, 1576), 46.

185 *AlleEpoce*, f. 120r–v [cxiii]; ChrPed Skr I 355–56.

186 Sometimes the cause of this male bleeding was said to be haemorrhoids rather than menstruation: Jütte, *Leib und Leben im Judentum*, 282–87.

Foetor judaicus

The smell exuded by a person was believed to have both medical and theological causes in the Middle Ages. A bad body odour was also associated with disease, especially leprosy, and while a holy person, even after death, had a sweet, fragrant scent, a sinful person smelt unpleasant.¹⁸⁷ Jews were believed to have an especially noxious stench, a *foetor judaicus*, that would disappear upon baptism.¹⁸⁸ It is possible that the ascription of a distinctive smell to Jews has its roots in antiquity,¹⁸⁹ but in the Middle Ages it acquired a whole different meaning than just otherness: it was a not just a foul smell, but a combination of stench and unbelief. The thirteenth-century Austrian poet Seifried Helbling (b. 1230) wrote:

ez wart sô grôz nie ein stat
sie waer von drîzec juden sat
stankes unde unglouben¹⁹⁰

[There was never a state so large | that it would not be saturated by (a mere) thirty Jews | with stench and unbelief.]

This foetid stench is often described as being like that of a billy-goat, thus tying in with the Jews' goaty-beards and horns. The goat was also the devil's favourite animal.¹⁹¹

Among the East Norse material, I have only found the *foetor judaicus* mentioned a few times in ODa., although never as a goaty smell, but rather a stench

187 For example, in Johanne Nielsdatter's book of hours from 1475–1500 (SKB A 42), we read that her sins “fullest dømner” [smell most vile] to Christ (*BønneB* I 115). Descriptions of hell and heaven in East Norse also have a strong olfactory element with hell having a diabolical stench; for example: “manne aff them vorde kast i ien diwþ pyt / aff huilket vtgik rædhelig røk oc vnd døn” [Many of them were thrown into a deep pit from which emanated a terrible smoke and a vile stench], *Suso ODa.* 76.

188 On the *foetor judaicus*, see Israel Lévi, “L'odeur des juifs,” *Revue des Études Juives* 20 (1890): 249–52; Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 47–50; Pierluigi Lanfranchi, “*Foetor judaicus*: archéologie d'un préjugé,” *Pallas* 104 (2017): 119–33; Felsenstein, “Jews and Devils,” 22. In East Norse material, saints and Jesus are often given the modifying adjective *søt/søter* [sweet(-smelling)], e. g., *søte Jesus*.

189 Benjamin Aldes Wurgaft, “Food Smells and Ethnic Tension,” *Gastronomica* 6, no. 2 (2006): 58; Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 47–50.

190 Moritz Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Frankreich und Deutschland von der Begründung der jüdischen Wissenschaft in diesen Ländern bis zur Vertreibung der Juden aus Frankreich X.–XIV. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1880), 145; Cited in Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 227n17.

191 Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 47; Vogt, *Jødens ukristelige image*, 43–44. In Randlev Church, *Synagoga* carries a goat's head in her hand.

like onions, garlic, or mushrooms. Indeed, it is their diet rather than their sins that produced the noxious stench of their spittle with which they covered Jesus’ face during the torments of the Passion. For example, in the ODa. Passion treatise in SKB A 31 (fifteenth century), the link between Jews’ diet and smell is made clear:

*Thet kommer ther aff / som kærnefædhære sighe ath iødherne i then tyme ware eet illæ
luctendhæ Ok dønendhe folk / Thy at the aathe rødh løg / ok hwidløg ok swamp og paddhe
hatte Ok sligh owan kost*¹⁹²

[As the scholars say this is because the Jews at that time were a stinky and smelly people, as they ate red onions, and garlic, and mushrooms, and toadstools, and such aforementioned food.]¹⁹³

*Ok then samme kost lukter ok døner aldremest æfter mynmat / første han skal sig fordøffue
Aff then lukt døndhe iøder theræ mwn ok theræ spyt so saare At then ondhe døn matte bryte
wors herræ Ihesu hiærte*¹⁹⁴

[And this very food stinks and smells most of all after midnight when it is to be digested. Jews’ mouths and spittle smell so badly of that stench that the vile smell could break Our Lord Jesus’ heart.]¹⁹⁵

192 *Pass* [Sth] 33ra. Cf. DAS AM 72 8⁹ that has been copied from the Stockholm manuscript: “Thæt kommer ther aff som kænfædher sighe at iudherne i then tyme var et ille dønende ælle luktende folk thy ath the ato rødhløg oc hwiteløg oc swamp oc padde hatte oc sligh owan kost” [It is due, as scholars say, to the fact that the Jews at that time were a stinky or smelly people, as they ate red onions, and garlic, and mushrooms, and toadstools, and such aforementioned food], *Pass* [AM] 58v.

193 Curiously, medical books suggest eating copious amounts of red onions to cure bad breath: “ond døn aff mwn Ffor ondh døen aff mwnd dugher røt løg ytylghe æden” [Bad smell from out of your mouth: For a bad smell from your mouth eating plenty of red onions helps], *Lægeb.* [Harp.?] A, f. 41r; “ond døn aff mwn Ffor ond døn aff mwn dugher rødhløg ydhelighe æthin” [Bad smell from out of your mouth: For a bad smell from your mouth eating plenty of red onions helps], *Lægeb.* [Harp.?] A, f. 30r–r; “[F]or ond døen aff mwn duger rødeløg idelige æden” [For a bad smell from your mouth eating plenty of red onions helps], *Lægeb.* [Harp.?] B, f. 230; “Item rødløg idhelige ædhen dugher” [Moreover, eating plenty of red onions helps], *Lægeb.* [Harp.?] C, f. D7v.

194 *Pass* [Sth] 33ra. Cf. *Pass* [AM] 58v: “Oc then samme kost lukter oc døner aldra mest æpter midhmat forst han skal sigh fordøwe Aff then lukt tha dønede iudherne there mwn oc there spyt so soræ ath then onde døen motte bryte wors hærre Ihesu Christi hiærta” [And this very food stinks and smells most of all after midnight when it is to be digested. Jews’ mouths and spittle smell so badly of that stench that the vile smell could break Our Lord Jesus Christ’s heart.]

195 Elsewhere the sweet scent of Jesus is described as poisoned by the Jews’ foul-smelling spittle: “Swo word thyn alszøtteste døn forgifteligh af judhene jlleluchtende spyt” [Thus your (i. e., Jesus’) exceedingly sweet scent was poisoned by the Jews’ foul-smelling spittle], *OpbygSkr* 197v. Jesus’ scent was so sweet it was believed to be able to raise the dead: “hans døn resæs vp døthæ” [his smell raises the dead], *HellKv* 75.

What is particularly interesting is that the *kænnefædher*, in other words theologians or scholars (cf. Lat. *doctores*), are the source of this information about why Jews smell. Rather than presenting a theological explanation for the foul stench, the *kænnefædher* have here provided a physiological one: Jews stink because of the food they eat. The foods listed are significant. Mushrooms and toadstools had unpleasant connotations in the Middle Ages and were treated with caution, not least because many varieties were poisonous. Furthermore, they sprouted up from one day to the next and were rootless: there was no explanation for where they came from and how they grew. These fungi became associated with Jews as they shared, so it was claimed, the same characteristics.¹⁹⁶ The idea of a particular love of garlic and onions among Jews has its roots in the Bible.¹⁹⁷ After leaving Egypt and their enslavement, the Israelites, tired of a monotonous diet of *manna*, began to yearn for the leeks, onions, and garlic that they had enjoyed in Egypt: “We remember the fish that we ate in Egypt free cost: the cucumbers come into our mind, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic.” (Numbers 11:5) Garlic is also mentioned a few times in the Talmud and its consumption encouraged; for example: “The rabbis taught that garlic has five qualities: it satiates and warms the body and brightens the face, it increases semen, and it kills parasites in the intestines. Others add that it instils love and so eliminates jealousy” (Bava Kamma 82a). In Jewish–Christian discourse, food and the distinctive odour it left on those who ate it became a distinguishing characteristic between the two religions. The smell of “Jewish food” (i. e., onions and garlic, imagined or otherwise) was invested with values that became internalized by Christians. By presenting Jewish fare as appalling – its smell according to the treatise SKB A 31 quoted above was one of the torments during the Passion! – Christian scholars are using the smell of ingested food as a line of demarcation drawing a clear social boundary. The only way to cross from the inferior to the superior group and lose one’s stench was through baptism.

196 Later, for example, the fleshy ear-like fungus that grows on the elder tree (the species that Judas hanged himself on) was name Judas’ ear or Jew’s ear; see Otto Kalkar, *Ordbog til det ældre danske Sprog (1300–1700)*, repr. (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 1976), s. v. “jødeøre.” The association between Jews and mushrooms in the modern era resulted in Ernst Hiemer’s infamous antisemitic children’s book *Der Giftpilz* (Nuremberg: Stürmeverlag, 1938).

197 For a discussion of garlic in Jewish–Christian polemics, see Maria Diemling, “‘As the Jews Like to Eat Garlick’: Garlic in Christian–Jewish Polemical Discourse in Early Modern Germany,” in *Studies in Jewish Civilization*, vol. 15: *Food and Judaism*, ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon, Ronald A. Simkins, and Gerald Shapiro (Omaha: Creighton University Press, 2004), 215–34.



Figure 5.20: The prophet Ezekiel (detail) pinches his nose to avoid smelling the Jews dancing around the Golden Calf (“*Idolum pharaonis*” [pharaoh’s idol]) in the scene above. Wall painting (1480s) by Albertus Pictor, Täby Church, Uppland. Author’s own photo.

A rare case of the *foetor judaicus* being referenced in Scandinavian art can be found in a wall painting by Albertus Pictor.¹⁹⁸ Below a scene illustrating the Israelites dancing around the Golden Calf (Exodus 32) found in Täby Church, Uppland, and dating from 1480s, we see the prophet Ezekiel holding his nose: the foul smell of the revelling Jews is too much for him.¹⁹⁹ The sin of the calf illustrates Jewish impiety and disobedience to God and Ezekiel’s pinching his nose draws together the Jews’ unbelief and their stench.

¹⁹⁸ Pia Melin, “Bildspråk och bildberättande hos Albertus Pictor,” in *Albertus Pictor: Målare av sin tid*, vol. 1, ed. Pia Melin (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitetsakademien, 2009), 141–43; Christina Sandquist Öberg, *Kalkmålningar av Albertus Pictor i Täby kyrka: motiv och språkband i Täby kyrka på originalspråket latin med svensk översättning* (Täby: Täby församling, Svenska kyrkan, 2009), 39–40; Bengtsson, “Samtida mode eller antisemitism?” 23–25.

¹⁹⁹ The text in the banderol reads: “[Ezeziel XVIII]: Q[uacumque hora] *homo ingemuerit omnem iniquitatem eius non recordabor*” (a paraphrase of Ezekiel 18:22: “*omnium iniquitatum eius, quas operatus est, non recordabor*” [I will not remember all his iniquities that he hath done: in his justice which he hath wrought, he shall live]). Ezekiel’s cowl has a soft, peaked hood that is shaped like the pointed hat (*pileus cornutus*) that was obligatory for Jews to wear (see below). The colours – a black cape and a white habit – are reminiscent of Dominican dress.

Clothing

Style

Fashion in the Late Middle Ages was characterized by extravagance and increasing use of bold colours alongside a broadening interest in clothes and style among the new middle class. Indeed, wealth was a driving force behind changes in attire across society:

On the honour of the Danes. The Danes who imitate the habits of the Germans, with whom they are familiar because they have lived in their neighbourhood for so long, are now adopting the dress and weapons of other nations. Previously, they dressed like seamen because they lived by the coast and were always preoccupied with ships, but now they clothe themselves not only in scarlet, particoloured and grey furs, but also in purple and fine linens. The reason for this is that they have all become very rich due to the fishing that takes place every year around Scania. While this fishing is taking place, merchants arrive from all of the surrounding nations with gold, silver, and other treasures to buy herring from the Danes. They catch the herring at no cost to themselves, by the abundant grace of God, while the merchants offer the best they have in order to secure a good bargain – and sometimes even lose their lives in shipwrecks.²⁰⁰

Sumptuary laws, largely targeting women, were introduced to regulate dress and prevent lower classes from imitating the clothing and style of the nobility. The laws specified such things as what material and colours each social class was allowed to wear. The Church considered people who took too great an interest in their appearance as guilty of the sin of pride (*superbia*), and dress was often criticized from the pulpit with preachers thundering against the vanity of extravagant and luxurious attire. In *Liber Caelestis* 8.57, the Virgin Mary explains to Birgitta that one of the reasons God sent the Black Death to the kingdom of Sweden was to punish three sins, including pride (*superbia*). One of the ways to appease God was for everyone – especially women – to adopt true humility in their dress:

Primum est, quod omnes assumant veram humilitatem in vestibus, habendo vestes moderatas, non nimis longas more feminarum nec nimis strictas more scurrarum nec scissuras et fissuras vestium dispendiosas et vanas et inutiles, quia talia displicent Deo. Corpora eciam sua sic honeste gerant, ut nec prominenciora appareant, quam Deus creavit ea, propter ostentacionem, nec breuiora vel subtiliora per aliquas ligaturas vel nodos vel similia arti-

200 Carsten Jahnke, “Introduction. Conference: ‘Textiles and Economy in the Middle Ages,’ Copenhagen, 19–21 April, 2012,” in *Textiles and the Medieval Economy: Production, Trade and Consumption of Textiles 8th–16th Centuries*, ed. Carsten Jahnke and Angela Ling Huang, Ancient Textile Series, vol. 16 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), 1.

ficia, sed omnia sint ad utilitatem et honorem Dei. Mulieres eciam deponant vestes ostentacionis, quas propter superbiam et vanam gloriam assumpserunt, quia dyabolus dictavit mulieribus contempnentibus mores patrie sue antiquos et laudabiles quandam nouam abusionem et ornamenta indecencia in capitibus et pedibus et reliquis membris ad prouocandum luxuriam et irritandum Deum.²⁰¹

[The first thing is for everyone to adopt true humility in their clothing. They should be moderate in their dress without having overly long garments like women or overly tight garments like dandies and without wasteful frills and cuts that are mainly vain and useless; such clothes displease God. They should carry their bodies in a respectable way without trying to be any more conspicuous than God has created them, neither smaller or thinner by means of belts or knots or similar artifices; all their clothing should serve a purpose and be for the honour of God. Women should do away with ostentatious fashion which they have adopted out of pride and vanity. For the kind of women who despise the honest old fashions of their country, the devil has prescribed modern abuses and indecent ornaments for their heads and feet and other parts of their body for the purpose of arousing desire and of provoking God.]²⁰²

In iconography, fashionable clothing – bright particoloured outfits, pointed shoes, very short tunics, and so on – were used to signal the wearer as of poor character, particularly when shown alongside holy figures wearing timeless, classical block-coloured robes that reached to the ground.²⁰³ As Herman Bengtsson has shown, fashionable attire was used to signal the deteriorating standards of morality in society and in Church art became a marker of Jewishness.²⁰⁴ In Figure 5.20 (Täby Church, Uppland), the men dancing around the Golden Calf are not only marked as Jews by special hats (see below), ruddy hue and red beards and hair, grotesque facial features in profile, but their clothing is also fashionable displaying their pride. One of the figures is wearing a knife in his belt, possibly to use to sacrifice animals.²⁰⁵ In contrast, the “good Jew,” the prophet Ezekiel, is wearing a simple cassock and cowl. The Crucifixion scene in Kongsted Church, Sjælland (Figure 5.14), juxtaposes good and bad people at the foot of the Cross. The Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, Mary of Cleophas, and John on the left-hand side wear simple, monochrome, full-length robes and cloaks. Their holy status is shown most clearly by the nimbi about their heads. The Jews on the right-hand side of the

201 Hans Aili, ed., *Sancta Birgitta: Revelaciones. Book VIII*, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 7, no. 8 (Uppsala: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2002), 223.

202 Denis Searby and Bridget Morris, trans. and ed., *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 4: *The Heavenly Emperor's Book to Kings, The Rule, and Minor Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 102.

203 On clothing and Jews in late medieval northern European art, see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 5–31 (patterns) and 41–43 (colours).

204 Bengtsson, “Samtida mode eller antisemitism?”

205 On the knife as representative of Jewish error and unbelief, see Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 7.

picture are dressed quite differently: they contrast with the three Marys and John and thereby underline the four's holiness. One of the Jews, presumably a high priest, wears a feathered hat, luxurious, particoloured robes, and two belts. The other two figures have short, coloured tunics exposing their legs and footwear. One of the men wears a large soft hat. These men are proud, extravagant, and fashionable. They are bound to the physical and the present, whereas the holy figures are portrayed in a timeless, classical manner. Most importantly, through the use of fashionable clothing the illustration of the Crucifixion has conflated “bad Jews” from the New Testament with contemporary Jews.

Hat

As an element of segregationist legislation to avoid the unintended mixing between Christians and non-Christians, the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 decreed that Jews should wear distinctive clothes (*habitus*). This was sometimes implemented as a badge that Jews should wear on their clothing. Later church councils ordered Jews to wear a *pileus cornutus*, or pointed cap, when outside of Jewish areas.²⁰⁶ This “Jew hat” appears in a variety of shapes in medieval Danish and Swedish wall paintings.²⁰⁷ By far the most common types of hats are pointed, but their shapes vary considerably. Some are funnel-shaped (e. g., Figures 5.1: Dalhem Church, Gotland, and 5.13 Kongsted Church, Sjælland); some terminate in a spike (e. g., Figure 5.2: Tirsted, Lolland – figure on left-hand side) or a “soft” bent peak (e. g., Ezekiel in Figure 5.20: Täby Church, Uppland). Some hats are formed as cones (e. g., Figure 5.10: Härkeberga Church, Uppland), and others are dome-shaped (e. g., Figure 5.2: Tirsted Church – right-hand side). There are other variations, too, with and without brims (e. g., the men dancing around the Golden Calf in Figure 5.20: Täby Church, Uppland). Occasionally, even in older wall paintings from before the Fourth Lateran Council, Jews are portrayed wearing hats.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Between 1215 and 1370, strict adherence to the law on distinctive clothing was upheld by twelve councils and nine royal decrees. Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *Antisemitism: A World History of Prejudice*, 3rd edn (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2022), 88.

²⁰⁷ On Jewish headgear in Christian art, see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 59–64; Haastrup, “Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalderkunst,” 134–37.

²⁰⁸ For example, the Crucifixion scene in Råsted Church, Århus (1100–25), see Adams, “Grumme løver og menstruerende mænd,” 83; a gathering of Jews listening to John the Baptist in Jelling Church, Jutland (c. 1080) and the group catching the adulteress woman (John 8:1–11) in Sindbjerg Church, Jutland (1175–1200), see Haastrup, “Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalderkunst,” 114 (fig. 50) and 119 (fig. 54) respectively.

In these older paintings it is only the hats (and sometimes the figures’ stature) that reveal them as being Jews: they lack the grotesque features associated with later portrayals of Jews.²⁰⁹ In later medieval wall paintings, high priests or Jews of high status appear with rather elaborate headgear: the feathered hat in Figure 5.14: Kongsted Church, Sjælland, and also the figure circumcising Christ and wearing a fur hat in Figure 5.19: Fanefjord Church, Møn.²¹⁰ The torturers of Christ in Passion scenes at Gislev Church, Fyn, wear turbans.²¹¹



Figure 5.21: An illustration found in SRA E 8900 (1450–70) of a figure, possibly Lot, being led by the hand away from a city by an angel. Author’s own photo.

209 A Jewish hat is not by itself necessarily derogatory. For example, Mary’s husband Joseph is frequently portrayed wearing such headgear in wall paintings (e. g., churches in Keldby, Skibby, Over Dråby, Vallensbæk, Tuse, and Kirkerup on Sjælland; in Stoby, Skurup, and Långaröd in Skåne; in Sulsted and Skivholme in Jutland, and in Schleswig). It is the combination of this hat and other markers of alterity (usually exaggerated physiognomy or clothing) that move the figure from being merely different to unambiguously disdainful.

210 Haastrup, “Jødefremstillinger i dansk middelalderkunst,” 131 (fig. 64).

211 Between ff. 51v and 52r in SRA E 8900 (c. 1450–70), an illustration has been inserted of a long-haired, bearded man wearing long robes, a turban, and carrying a shield or rope(?) and being led by the hand away from a city by an angel. We do not know when the illustration was glued in place between the two folios, and it does not clearly relate to the surrounding text in the manuscript. Identifying the turban-wearing figure is therefore not straightforward. However, he resembles a “worthy Jew,” and I wonder whether it might not be Lot being escorted away from Sodom by an angel (Genesis 19:16) or Gideon and the angel (Judges 6:11–23). See Figure 5.21.

“Jew hats” are not mentioned in East Norse texts, although the word “iudha hat” does appear written in a banderole above a couple of wall paintings. A particularly unusual use of the Jewish hat is found in Hästveda Church, Skåne, which has wall paintings dating from the thirteenth century and from c. 1480. The older Romanesque paintings of *int. al.* the apostles are by an anonymous painter and found in the apse.²¹² The more recent works were painted by the “Everlöf master” and are his best executed and preserved pieces. The work was sponsored by two noblemen from Jutland – Knud Skielmsøn Gere and Aksel Lavesøn – who both owned farms in Hästveda. The paintings decorate the entire ceiling and large parts of the walls in the nave (the Creation, the Fall, the Resurrection, and the Final Judgement) and in the choir (the Annunciation, the Birth of Jesus, and the Flight to Egypt). On one supporting wall column, an exhibitionist Jew with shoulder-length yellowish-red hair and a long, broad nose is depicted unapologetically crouching over a large, upturned hat with enormous, exposed genitals – his penis appears to be circumcised – and he is presumably defecating and using the hat as a receptacle. The image is accompanied by the words “iudha hat” [Jew-hat, Jews’ hat]. Similar images appear in the churches in Kågeröd and Röddinge which are also painted by the Everlöf master.²¹³ The Kågeröd painting is accompanied by the words “iuda hat | iuda(?) skat” [Jew hat, Jew treasure], although here the hat resembles underwear and his genitals have been erased. These are the only extant written occurrences of this word in either East or West Norse to my knowledge.

Furthermore, as we have seen, the Jewish hat is usually used to mark out Jewish figures in scenes of the Passion, the Crucifixion, Christ in the Temple, and so on. Here, however, churchgoers are being presented with an object that is not in its customary place: lying on the ground, the hat has been labelled by the artist with the words “Jew hat” which enables the – presumably, very few literate – viewers to de-code the image, identify the figure as Jewish, and interpret its meaning. They are being shown what a “Jew hat” is full of – piss and shit – and by extension made aware of the defiled and filthy status of its wearer. Due to the image’s poor condition, it is difficult to make out some details, but it appears that the Jew’s tunic is open at the front, exposing his stomach and chest. This may be to reveal his unhealthy body or to act as a sign of his gluttony. Perhaps it is simply to show the “contents” of the man and his soul soon to be emptied into his hat or to demonstrate his disdain for the sacred space and the Christian viewer. It may also be possible that this “opening” should be interpreted as an exaggerated vulva similar to those seen on *sheela-na-gig* sculptures and grotesques elsewhere

²¹² See *Danske Kalkmaterier*, vol. 2, 166–67 (no. 50).

²¹³ Only the man’s torso and arms are still visible in the painting in Röddinge Church.



Figure 5.22: A “iudha hat.” Wall painting (c. 1480) in Hästveda Church, Skåne. Photo: A. Kulle. Wikimedia commons. Public domain.



Figure 5.23: A “iuda hat.” Wall painting (c. 1480) in Kågeröd Church, Skåne. Photo by Lennart Karlsson. Reproduced with permission from Statens historiska museum, Stockholm.

in Europe. In this view, the giant vulva can be seen as matching the enlarged male genitalia below it, thus furnishing the Jewish figure with ambiguous sexual characteristics and effectively transforming it into a hermaphrodite. This was possibly to mock the Jewish male body or portray it as monstrous: spanning across boundaries between different genders and blurring distinctions that were important to medieval Christians’ understanding of the natural world.

This is one of the few non-biblical images that mocks Jews’ appearance and clothing by means of a vulgar joke, and it falls into the same group of antisemitic caricatures as the *Judensau* (see below). It appears that it was only used by the Everlöf master in the churches in Skåne.

Accessories

Figures from the Old Testament hold or carry their identifying objects, e. g., David holds a harp, Moses the tablets or a staff, and Israelites during the Exodus hold

baskets of manna. Other Jews are usually empty-handed, although Judas is frequently portrayed with a money purse or receiving his silver coins, e.g., in the church wall-paintings in Ottestrup and Høve, Sjælland; Harridslev, Jutland; Berghem, Västergötland; Hällestad and Brönnestad (see Figure 5.6), Skåne. Occasionally, Jews are shown carrying weapons or hammers, e.g., in scenes from the Passion where they torture Christ. Male Jews can be found with daggers at belts on their waists, e.g., one of the Jews dancing around the Golden Calf in Täby Church, Uppland (see Figure 5.20).²¹⁴ The items held by Jews are thus imbued with symbolic meaning (as, of course, are the accessories carried by Christians in these paintings.)

Jewish women

Jewish women can only be found in a few East Norse texts: the wife who converts along with her husband to Christianity (Text 23), the daughter who becomes pregnant by a Christian (Text 3), the seductress who tempts a Christian hermit (Text 32), the widow who converts (Text 33), the mother to the Jewish boy in the oven (Text 42), and the young girl Rachel who joins a nunnery (Text 45).²¹⁵ Even though there are so few cases it is possible to draw out three themes in the portrayal of Jewish women: passivity, willingness to convert, and sexual activity. These female characters are dealt with in more detail under the discussion of the individual texts, so what follows is a brief summary.

The mother in the sermon exemplar of Text 42: *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* appears as a passive figure and is unable to oppose her violent husband and stop him from murdering their son. Her appearance in the tale is both to act as a plot device to push the action forwards (her screaming attracts the townspeople who uncover the husband's crime) and as a contrastive figure to the Virgin Mary. The mother, unable to protect her child, shows her gratitude and malleability through her conversion.

Jewish women in the East Norse material want to become Christians but are all too frequently held back by their husbands. So, in *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* and in Text 33: *The Host Desecration*, it is Jewish widows who turn to Christ. Otherwise, it requires the conversion of the father or husband before a woman converts.

²¹⁴ Sara Lipton interprets Jews with knives as instruments for animal sacrifice that show Jews' mistaken adherence to the letter of scripture rather than its spirit. Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 7.

²¹⁵ On the image of the Jewish female in medieval literature, see Sara Lipton, "Where Are the Gothic Jewish Women? On the Non-Iconography of the Jewess in the Cantigas de Santa Maria," *Jewish History* 22, nos 1–2: *The Elka Klein Memorial Volume* (2008): 139–77; Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *The Christian Jew and the Unmarked Jewess: The Polemics of Sameness in Medieval English Anti-Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021).

The most notable exception is Text 45: *The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Convent*. In this extraordinary tale, a Jewish girl loves the Virgin Mary so intensely that she willingly leaves her family and community to convert and join a nunnery. In Text 23: *The Converted Jew and the Devil*, a married couple makes the decision to convert together on equal terms, although it transpires that the wife – like all Jewish women – has long been calling upon the Virgin for assistance.

Just as some Jewish women are open to the Christian message, others, it would seem, are susceptible to the prodding of the devil who makes them engage in sexual acts with Christian men.²¹⁶ In this way, they are both attraction and ugliness combined into the one figure of the Jewish temptress. In Text 3: *A Pregnant Jewish Woman's Father Converts*, a young Jewish woman is seduced by (or seduces?) a Christian man and becomes pregnant. Her disobedience and immorality are further highlighted by the fact that she refuses to convert and marry the Christian man and she will not answer her father's questions about her pregnancy. In Text 32: *The Hermit and the Jewess*, a Jewish woman, who is also described as a Saracen and a pagan, seduces a holy man causing him to lose the Holy Spirit.

Three women of the Old Testament, the heroines Esther, Judith, and Yael, also appear in the OSw. *Själens tröst* (Texts 6, 9, and 54 respectively). Here, Jewish women (Esther and Judith) and defender of the Jews (Yael) are shown to be intelligent, brave, and obedient to God. Through their heroic acts, they save the Jewish people from destruction. Esther uses her high status as Ahasuerus's wife to prevent her people's massacre at the hands of Haman. Her bravery lies in the risk she runs of being executed if her identity is uncovered too soon and her plan fails. Judith and Yael kill the enemies of the Jewish people (Holofernes and Sisera) in bloody acts of violence. Here, they demonstrate “male” qualities: before carrying out her attack, Judith prays to God and asks him to give her “eet manlikit hiærta” [a manly heart]. *Själens tröst* frames these three “good” women as a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary: their obedience, bravery, intelligence, and ability to save foreshadow the Mother of God and are contrasted with the failings of Eve. Even though Jewish women in East Norse texts are generally portrayed as “less Jewish” than their male counterparts and as less set on rejecting Christianity, Esther, Judith, and Yael are quite different: obedient to God and truly Christian before their time and role models for contemporary Christians.

216 Beauty and seduction are not characteristics reserved just for Jewish women. Jewish men, too, albeit much more rarely, can be portrayed in this way. For example, in *The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Convent*, one of Rachel's male relatives is described as “en wænaste wngher man” [an extremely handsome young man] and he is sent to the nunnery presumably to seduce and abscond with the young convert.

Although Jewish women are conspicuously absent in medieval art, the figure of *Synagoga* is a common motif. This female figure represents the Jewish people and faith. As she is unwilling to see the truth, she is pictured with closed eyes or a blindfold. In a wall painting in Spentrup Church, Jutland (c. 1200), *Synagoga* appears defeated, blindfolded, and unable to see. Her crown has tumbled from her head. Beside her you can see the victorious, crowned queen *Ecclesia*, representing the Church. *Synagoga* is actually stabbing the Lamb of God with her spear in this image. Is she being portrayed as trying to kill him? *Ecclesia* is gathering the lamb's blood in a cup, symbolizing the eucharist. This is a very strong illustration of the position and status of the Jews according to replacement theology.²¹⁷ Sometimes she has a coat of arms featuring a devil or a goat, for example in the predella painting from Randlev Church, Jutland (now in the National Museum, Copenhagen) where she is one of the Foolish Virgins and holds a goat's head and a broken rod topped with an ensign bearing the image of a black devil (see under "The devil" in Chapter 8: *Darkness and Light*). Occasionally, she also appears with her hair out and breasts shamelessly exposed as in the altarpiece from Sahl Church (see Figure 5.3). Here, she is a female personification of not only the obduracy of Judaism, but also its carnality.

In summary, Jewish women appear but rarely in medieval texts and are largely invisible in images from medieval Denmark and Sweden. In the often violent portrayal of Jews, it is the male Jew that is the favoured object of focus, and where women do appear, they are usually "softer," more open to the Christian message, and offer a hope for the eventual conversion of the Jews. Negative portrayals of women centre upon sexuality, licentiousness, and lust, elements that are sometimes also transferred to the figure of *Synagoga*.

Jews and animals

By comparing Jews to animals or showing them in close contact with dangerous or unclean creatures, Christian writers and artists could show Jews as being less than human, akin more to brute beasts than the children of God. In this way they could debase the figure of the Jew to the level of an animal. Furthermore, by being classed as beasts, Jews were shown to be lacking reason or rational thinking, as this is precisely what distinguishes humans from animals. Indeed, in the East Norse material, as we shall see, Jews are portrayed as resistant to rational arguments and truths about Christianity and as unable – or unwilling – to accept reason.

²¹⁷ On this image, see Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge*, 152–55.

Pigs

The vicious, defamatory image of the *Judensau* [Jew-sow] was one of the more common motifs found in the medieval anti-Jewish Christian art of northern Europe.²¹⁸ The pig is unclean (Heb. טמא, *ṭameʿ*; Yid. טרייף, *treyf*) in Jewish law and it is forbidden to eat pork or wear or use anything derived from pigs (Leviticus 11:2–8). The rejection of the pig as a distinguishing feature between Jews and non-Jews is found in the New Testament (Matthew 7:6 and 2 Peter 2:22) and early Church Fathers, such as John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), referred to Jews as swine. The sins of gluttony (*gula*) and lust (*luxuria*) were also often symbolized using pigs, and in the 840s the influential Benedictine theologian Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780–856) drew a connection between pigs, gluttony, lust, and Jews in his *De Universo*, although it was not until the thirteenth century that the image of the sow and Jews in intimate contact appeared. From the thirteenth century, and the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 especially, the absolute rejection of Judaism as a valid religion became cemented and there was a dramatic increase in the amount and variety of virulent, anti-Jewish material used to deride and humiliate Jews. The pig became the favourite animal with which to mock Jews and it occurred predominantly in a revolting composition of Jews in obscene contact with a large sow: suckling its teats, eating its excrement, drinking its urine, and embracing, fondling, or kissing it. The public nature of these images that were located in churches, and later also on other public buildings and structures such as bridges, would have disgusted (and possibly amused) Christian viewers and consolidated their prejudices about Jews. There can be little doubt that Christians knew about the Jewish dietary laws, particularly concerning the consumption of pork.²¹⁹ The revolting acts, that Jews in these images were engaged in, deprived them of their humanity and reduced them to the level of filthy animals. Furthermore, Jews were shown as lusting after that which their scriptures forbade them: they are not fol-

218 On the *Judensau*, see Shachar, *The Judensau*; Vogt, *Jødens ukristelige image*, 44–47; Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die Juden in der Kunst Europas: Ein historischer Bildatlas* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 343–49; Claudine Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast: Jews, Christians, and the Pig*, trans. Carl Volk, *European Perspectives: A Series in Social Thought and Cultural Criticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Erika Holm, “Bilden av hat,” *Judiska krönika* 65, no. 4 (1997): 16–18; Birgit Wiedl, “Laughing at the Beast: The *Judensau*: Anti-Jewish Propaganda and Humor from the Middle Ages,” in *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, its Meaning, and Consequences*, ed. Albrecht Classen, *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, vol. 5 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2010), 325–64.

219 Wiedl, “Laughing at the Beast,” 347.

lowing religious law. It is not their faith (or Christ or Mary) that nourished and sustains them: it is the pig. In this way the images could create an even greater social, theological, and biological distance between the viewers and the depicted.

The image started to appear from the beginning of the thirteenth century, first in church art (carvings, sculptures, and paintings), then in civic places, and by the end of the Middle Ages in woodcut form. The Jewish figures (always men) are recognizable from their attire: a Jewish hat or a badge. There are nearly fifty known images extant in Europe. The vast majority are from those lands that today comprise Germany, but images are also found in Austria (Salzburg and Wiener Neustadt), Belgium (Aarschot), France (Colmar and Metz), Poland (Gniezno), and Switzerland (Basel), and there are no fewer than three occurrences of the *Judensau* in Sweden: Uppsala Cathedral and the churches in Härkeberga and Husby-Sjutolft, all in Uppland.



Figure 5.24: “Judensau” in Uppsala Cathedral, Uppland (c. 1350). Author’s own photos.



Figure 5.25: “Judensau” by Albertus Pictor in Husby-Sjutolft Church, Uppland (1480s). Photo: Pia Melin. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 5.26: “Judensau” by Albertus Pictor in Härkeberga Church, Uppland (1480s). Photo: Pia Melin. Reproduced with permission.

On a corbel in Uppsala Cathedral, just over two metres above floor level, there is a carving of a *Judensau* (Figure 5.24).²²⁰ Dating from c. 1300–10, it is remarkably similar to the one in Magdeburg Cathedral from c. 1270 and may have been made by the same sculptor.²²¹ The subject is carved over three sides of the corbel. On the far left, there is an oak tree with many acorns. A bearded Jew with side-locks and a conical hat is sitting next to the tree and leaning to his left up against the sow which he is feeding with acorns. The sow is eating from a bowl placed in front of it. Under the bowl a second Jew with side-locks and a conical hat is carved lying on his side and sucking one of the sow's teats. He is using his right hand to hold the conical hat onto a third Jew with side-locks who is lying on his back and sucking another one of the sow's teats. This third Jew is naked, and his emaciated body is evident from his very visible ribs. The depiction aims both to mock the aberrant, unhealthy Jewish body but also to demonstrate the Jews' disdain for the sacred Christian space by being naked. His legs are being held by a fourth Jew who is much bigger than the other three. His hat is more ornamental than the others', and although it is attached to his neck by a ribbon, it is toppling from his head to reveal thick curls. This Jew has been given a pronounced nose and lips and he is wearing some sort of object on his chest, tied around his neck: perhaps a temple priest's breastplate (חושן, *hošen*) or some keys. His face glares and his mouth grins as his right hand holds up the sow's tail keeping the animal in place and making it easier for the emaciated man access the pig's hindquarters and suckle, eat its excrement, or drink its urine. In addition to its anti-Jewish message, the sculpture is an illustration of the vice gluttony (*gula*).²²² The sow scoffs acorns while her adorers suck her teats and take their fill of milk.

220 Folke Nordström, *Virtues and Vices on the 14th Century Corbels in the Choir of Uppsala Cathedral*, Figura Studies Edited by the Institute of Art History University of Uppsala, vol. 7 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), 51–58; Shachar, *The Judensau*, 27–28, plates 19–21; Anna Nilsén, *The Gothic Sculpture of Uppsala Cathedral: On Spiritual Guidance and Creative Joy* (Turnhout: Brepols 2014), 20–23; Bengtsson, “Samtida mode eller antisemitism?” 10–11; Anders Andréén, “The *Judensau* in Uppsala,” in *Myth, Magic, and Memory in Early Scandinavian Narrative Culture: Studies in Honour of Stephen A. Mitchell*, ed. Jürg Glauser and Pernille Hermann, Acta Scandinavia, vol. 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 351–70.

221 The dating of the corbel, is taken from Nielsén, *The Gothic Sculpture of Uppsala Cathedral*, 11. Other authors date the corbels a few decades later.

222 Shachar, *The Judensau*, 28. In *The Gothic Sculpture of Uppsala Cathedral*, Nilsén interprets the Uppsala *Judensau* as nothing more than a representation of “the Jewish faith, portrayed in negative terms in opposition to Christianity.” (p. 21). Downplaying the role and portrayal of Jews in medieval Christianity, she argues, “[h]istorical research tells us that there were no Jews in medieval Sweden, so it is unlikely that the use of this motif in the cathedral or the churches mentioned [Husby-Sjutolft and Härkeberga] is to be interpreted as an expression of anti-Semi-

The two wall paintings – Husby-Sjutolft and Härkeberga – were both painted by Albertus Pictor from Hessen in the 1480s and it can be assumed that this is a motif that Albertus brought with him to Sweden.²²³ In the Husby-Sjutolft painting Jesus is standing in front of a group of Jews, identifiable by their hats, grotesque features, and heads in profile. They are next to an upturned barrel or vat that is being lifted to reveal a smiling sow suckling two Jews. A third Jew is at the rear of the sow with his mouth open to drink the urine pouring from its rear. A fourth Jew grovels in front of the beast. The Härkeberga painting is less well preserved, but it shows the same scene: Jesus and the standing Jews are visible as also are the upturned vat and the sow suckling two Jews. The two paintings are an illustration of an apocryphal tale that existed in various versions. According to this story, a certain Jew hid inside a barrel as a test while his friends asked Jesus if he knew where the Jew was hiding. Jesus answered that he did not, but he did know there was a sow inside the barrel (where the Jew was supposed to be hiding). When the Jews looked inside the barrel, the man had been transformed into a sow.²²⁴ Other versions of the story have Jewish parents hiding their children in an oven so that they will not play with Jesus. When Jesus came and asked what was in the oven, the parent replied that there were just pigs inside. “So let them be piglets!” said Jesus and the children were transformed and ran away from their parents.²²⁵ In another version, a Jew asked Jesus to guess the contents of a barrel in which he

tism.” (p. 21) Furthermore, concerning the *Judensau* images in the churches in Husby-Sjutolft and Härkeberga (see below), Nilsén writes, “[...] the motif was probably painted to amuse, like other burlesque subjects in the same churches. There were no Jews in these areas and hence no one who could understand and take offence at its anti-Semitic implication.” (p. 23) It seems somewhat trite, albeit apparently necessary, to make the point that hatred and demonization of Jews is not dependent upon the presence of Jews. Jew-hatred was prevalent throughout the medieval North-West. The argument that the *Judensau* – one of the most grotesque antisemitic images to come out of medieval Germany that plays on a host of anti-Jewish beliefs – should not be seen in Sweden within the context of antisemitism seems to me unconvincing. Swedes were not a special case who were somehow immune to Jew-hatred while being open to other ideas that were part of the medieval belief system in Western Christendom.

223 In “The *Judensau* in Uppsala” (353), Andrén mentions a wall painting of a *Judensau* from the 1480s in the church in Härnevi, but there is no such image there. Among the wall paintings in Härnevi is an image of a pig playing an organ, and this might be the image that Andrén has confused with a *Judensau*. Cf. Bengtsson, “Samtida mode eller antisemitism?” 32 (fig. 27).

224 Henrik Cornell and Sigurd Wallin, *Albertus Pictor, Sten Stures och Jacob Ulvssons målare: Hans ställning i den europeiska konsten. Hans betydelse i det konstnärliga och religiösa livet i Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1972), 88; Nilsén, *Program och funktion*, 454–55 (“Judesuggan”).

225 Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 25; Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Penguin, 2010), 203.

had hidden a slaughtered pig. When Jesus replied that the man's children were inside the barrel, he was mocked and told there was a pig inside. "So let them be piglets!" said Jesus, and with that, the man's children were transformed into piglets.²²⁶ Whereas theological writings compared Jews to unclean pigs, these tales were not symbolic: Jews were pigs – and at Christ's behest, too! By extension, it became clear why they did not eat pork: it would be cannibalism.



Figure 5.27: A pig's head at the Last Supper. Wall painting (1440–1500) in St Mary's Church, Helsingør, Sjælland. Author's own photo.

The only image involving Jews and pigs I have been able to find in Denmark is from St Mary's Church in Helsingør, where at the centre of the table at the Last Supper – the Passover meal – a boar's head is placed on a large platter. One might expect unleavened bread or wine – the two elements of the eucharist instituted by Jesus – to be present on the table (Luke 22:19–20) or even lamb (representing the *Agnus Dei*; John 1:29), but not a pig. As many Christians were aware of the dietary laws in Deuteronomy and the prohibition against eating pork, does the boar's head have a divisive message here? By portraying Christ and his disciples alongside an animal abhorrent to Jews, does its inclusion as the table's centrepiece

²²⁶ Esther Cohen, *The Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 90.

symbolize the victory of the New Law over the Old?²²⁷ Or is it simply an addition to depict a banquet as understood by a medieval Dane with no further intended message?

Dogs

Dogs were associated with the devil, and uncivilized peoples, particularly in the East, were often compared to dogs.²²⁸ Just like dogs, these people cannot communicate the word of God, but can only bark. “Dog” was used as an insulting term in the ancient world (cf. 1 Samuel 17:43; Philippians 3:2) and the Greek cynics (< κυνικός, *kynikós* [dog-like]) were probably so called because of their shameful, coarse behaviour and mode of living. The use of dogs to represent Jews most likely has its origins in the Bible: “Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and unchaste, and murderers, and servers of idols, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie” (Apocalypse [Revelation] 22:15).²²⁹

In the OSw. version of Pseudo-Bonaventure’s *Meditations on the Life of Christ* in the so-called *Codex Bergmanianus* (LUB Mh 20) from c. 1420, we read:

Eet sin om kirkmæssona nar var herra ihesus var in porticu salomonis · skikkadho the rifwande vluane sik kring om han medh mæste gæld skærande tarnomen ok sighiande · længe vilt thw dragha for os · Sigh os oppinbarlica vm thu æst *christus* Æn var millaste herra ihesus swaradhe them ødhmiuklica sighiande · gærningana som iak gør the bæra vitne af mik / Ffor gudz skuld · skodha han nw væl i thætta sin · thy at han taladhe ødhmiuklica til theræ · Æn the stimadho oc gøddo medh gæld mot honom som hunda · kringom gifwande han alra vægna²³⁰

[Once upon a time during a festival when Our Lord Jesus was in Solomon’s Colonnade, the ferocious wolves gathered around him in a craze, grinding their teeth and saying: “You want to keep us in suspense for a long time. Tell us plainly if you are Christ!” But Our most gentle Lord Jesus answered them humbly saying: “The deeds that I do testify about me.” For the sake of God, he took great care this time because he spoke to them humbly, but they crowded noisily around and barked at him crazily like dogs, surrounding him in every direction.]²³¹

²²⁷ Note than in Text 47: *The Pilgrims’ Guide to the Holy Land* (ll. 442–58), Christ’s eating of the paschal lamb and subsequent distributing bread and wine at the Last Supper is interpreted as his ending the Old and beginning the New Testament.

²²⁸ Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 84; Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 204.

²²⁹ Cf. Isaiah 56:10; Psalm 21:17, 21 *DRB* (22:16, 20 *KJV*); Psalm 58:7, 15 *DRB* (59:6, 14 *KJV*). On the use of dogs to represent Jews, see Kenneth R. Stow, *Jewish Dogs: An Image and its Interpreters* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

²³⁰ LUB Mh 20, ff. 116v–117r; *Bonavetrakt* 154.

²³¹ Cf. John 10:22–30.

In the ODa. translation of the same work, Jews are also compared to dogs during the Passion:

oc æn øktæs thieræ sorgh oc var thismeeræ at the sogē sin mæstæræ oc sinæ herræ so fuligæ
dræffwæs som spagestæ lam ther fōlgher vthen giensegelsæ thit som the snødæ hundæ
vildhæ thet dræpæ²³²

[And their (i. e., the disciples') sorrow grew greater when they saw their master and lord
dragged <with a rope> so cruelly like the tamest lamb, who without protest follows along to
where the evil dogs wanted to kill it.]

And later in the same text:

Nu tha the hanom leed hanom attir til pilatum fulfōlghiaē the hundene trætteligæ sinæ
falskæ kiæræmal meth myglæ dierffwæ²³³

[Now, when they had brought him back before Pilate, the dogs recklessly pursued their false
case with much rashness.]

Should we choose to pursue the connection between Jews and dogs further, this short saying in Peder Laale's proverb collection (here quoted from Gotfred af Ghemmen's 1506 edition) may be a comment on the alleged inability of Jews (or perhaps any non-Christian) to change character, even when washed by the cleansing waters of baptism:

¶ merso iordani menda fit equa cani

Kastæ hwnd i iordens flodh tha ær hwnd som føre war²³⁴

[An error (or: blemish) immersed in the Jordan²³⁵ is still a dog. | Throw a dog into the River Jordan and it still remains a dog like before.]

In other words, a baptized Jew was, is, and always will be a Jew. This not only expresses anxieties about Jewish recidivism and doubts about sincere Jewish conversion, but it also suggests that Jews need more than water to cleanse their souls.

In the ODa. *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1434/44) numerous monstrous races and peoples are described. It is not impossible that some of them build on anti-Jewish stereotypes, a sort of veiled reference to Jews. For example, the author

²³² SKB A 31, f. 74rb; *BonavMedit.* 51.

²³³ SKB A 31, f. 76vb; *BonavMedit.* 61.

²³⁴ *PLaale* [Gh. 1506], f. g1v [p. 72], no. 592.

²³⁵ The River Jordan is, of course, a reference to John the Baptist's ministry (e. g., in Matthew 3:3).

of *Mandeville* writes about a race of dog-heads, “rimaphali” (*cynocephali*),²³⁶ who worship an idol in the form of a golden ox:

Tæden oc ofuer *teth* vestræ haff far man ind vdi eet rygæ hether natumeram [...] *teth* falk som ther *fødis* hafuæ hofuith som andræ hundæ tee hetæ in *greco* rimaphali [...] te bedæ oc allæ til een oxæ oc ter foræ bær huer *terræ* ther j sith ænlidæ een oxæ aff guld eller aff sølff²³⁷
 [From there and across the western sea one travels into the kingdom called Natumeran (...)
 The people who are born there have the head of a dog; they are called Cynocephali (*κυνοκέφαλοι*) in Greek (...) They also all worship an ox, for which reason they each wear
 the image of a golden or silver ox on their face.]

This is a clear allusion to the Israelites’ worshipping of the Golden Calf in Exodus 32:1–6. Could these dog-heads who have lost their human qualities be the bull-worshipping Israelites who escaped the swords of the Levites (Exodus 32:26–28) and recreated their idol in this kingdom?²³⁸

Wolves and lions

The portrayal of Christ as the lamb of God, *Agnus Dei*, invited the depiction of his enemies as the sorts of animals that attack lambs, such as wolves and lions. For example, in Christiern Pedersen’s *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515) and *Vor Froe Tider* (1514):

Der de saage ihesum da bleffue de glade som en wlf der fanger i lom²³⁹
 [When they saw Jesus, they became happy like a wolf that catches a lamb.]

Thii ath naar mine vuenner gribe migh da handtere de mig saa vmildelighe som grumme løffuer eller vlfue ther slyde eth vskyldigh lom²⁴⁰
 [So when my enemies seize me, they treat me like cruel lions or wolves that tear apart an innocent lamb.]

236 The word “rimaphali” is probably an error that the scribe has tried to correct. The Latin has “cynophaly” and the reading “cinaphali” might be correct one here. There is a small dot under the (r) which might mean that the letter has been underpricked (deleted) and there is a small (c) written above it. Furthermore, if we read the (m) as (in), the reading would be: “[r>c]inaphali.”

237 SKB M 307, pp. 84b–85b; *Mandev* 103–04.

238 It should be noted, however, that the writer stresses these beings’ rationality, not a feature usually ascribed to Jews in Christian writing: “toch hafuæ te skel oc vidh” [yet they possess reason and understanding].

239 *AlleEpoEu*, f. 118v [cxii]; ChrPed *Skr* I 351.

240 ChrPed *VorFrT*, f. A5v; ChrPed *Skr* II 361.

In the miracle story about the conversion of the little Jewish girl Rachel, the young convert dumbfounds the city's Jews who are left speechless and only able to howl loudly like wolves:

Æn jwdhane konno herne enkte swara / wtan stodho gratandhes oc tywtandhes i hymellen
som en wargha hoper oc war theras roop oc toth swa høkt at the hørðhos til sancti lamberti
kirkio hwilken ganzska lankt ligher fran domkyrkionne i leodio
[And the Jews were unable to reply to her but stood crying and howling to the sky like a pack
of wolves, and their crying and howling was so loud that they could be heard in the Church
of St Lambert which is quite a long way away from the cathedral in Liège.]

Goats

In a fifteenth-century predella painting from the altarpiece in Randlev Church (Jutland; now in the National Museum, Copenhagen), the figure of *Synagoga* has been depicted with her crown tumbling from her head and holding a goat's head in her right hand (like the *Synagoga* statue at Erfurt)²⁴¹ and a broken rod in her left. The goat's head here has several symbolic meanings (see Chapter 8: *Darkness and Light*), but on a coarse level it illustrates the goaty stench (*foetor judaicus*) associated with Jews.²⁴²

Owls

As a creature that prefers the darkness to the light, the owl was used in Christian art and in bestiaries as a pejorative symbol for sinners in general and Jews in particular, as they choose to remain in spiritual darkness and shun the light and truth of Christ.²⁴³ Furthermore, the owl was said to hover around cemeteries and roost in its own excrement. Sometimes the owls were given an anthropomorphic appearance with hooked noses/beaks and horns that represented the hats that Jews were forced to wear. The identification of the owl with Jews was probably

²⁴¹ Wiedl, "Laughing at the Beast," 337 and 353.

²⁴² Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 46–47.

²⁴³ For more detail on the owl and Jews, see Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 56 and 137; Bengtsson, "Samtida mode eller antisemitism?" 12–16 and 30; Mariko Miyazaki, "Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-Semitism," in *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, ed. Debra Hassig (New York: Garland, 1999), 23–49; Anthony Bale, "Fictions of Judaism in England before 1290," in *Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 141.

strongest in those areas where there was a long history of anti-Jewish hostility.²⁴⁴ Nonetheless, although not a common motif in Scandinavia, owls of a plausible “Jewish type” can be found in wall paintings in Elmelunde Church and Fanebjerg Church, both on Møn and dating from the end of the fifteenth century, and in Kumla Church, Västmanland, from 1482. There is also an owl above a crucifixion scene on an altarpiece in Västra Eds Church, Småland (1526) which must have been included to highlight the Jews’ guilt for the death of Jesus.



Figure 5.28: An owl in Elmelunde Church, Møn (1450–1500). Photo: Hans A. Rosbach. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

Non-pejorative images

Some Jews of the Old Testament, such as Abraham and David, were not portrayed in a bad light, but in neutral or favourable terms. They wear full-length, classical clothes, are not shown in profile, and do not have any negative characteristics. Similarly, “good Jews” from the New Testament, such as Mary’s husband Joseph, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea, were also depicted without grotesque features and occur in texts as witnesses and God’s chosen people. They even occasionally appear in paintings with nimbi. Nonetheless, symbols such as horns for Moses or a hat for Joseph were also used more often than not to mark these figures

²⁴⁴ Miyazaki, “Misericord Owls and Medieval Anti-Semitism,” 33.

out as different. Similarly, figures such as Noah and Cain were painted with Jewish markers and characteristics.²⁴⁵

Conclusion

The Jewish body was different and recognizable to the eyes, ears, and noses of Christians. Jews sounded different and were always yelling; they smelt different because of the food that they ate; they had a different facial appearance with red skin and ugly noses, lips, and teeth. Their hair was long, and their beards pointed. Jewish men menstruated as a punishment for condemning Jesus to death and Jewish circumcision was a sign that Jews were bound to the physical and unable to understand the spiritual. It is noteworthy that all the senses are involved in detecting Jewish difference. The Jewish body inundates the Christian environment around it, crossing boundaries, and pouring into the visual, auditory, and olfactory receptors. Viewers and readers would have been repulsed and reacted to the Jewish body with horror and disgust.

The material is vast, and the above is at best a review of sporadic examples, but it does demonstrate that the stereotypes of the Jewish body known from other European sources can all be found in medieval Danish and Swedish texts and art. Ideas about the Jewish body had evolved in response to Christian ideas about otherness and the necessity for the Church to present itself as the pure, uncorrupted, spiritual inheritor of God's covenant. By mirroring itself in the Old, this New Israel could contemplate questions of the flesh, of physicality, and of materiality by maligning Jews' moral and spiritual qualities through their bodies. However, ideas about the Jewish body did not just live within the realm of theological deliberations and polemic. The constructed Jewish body was not just an expression of everything that Christians feared or doubted, but it shaped how Christians came to see Jews more broadly and fed directly into and cemented prejudices connecting Jews to filth, stench, and excrement. Other ideas also spread beyond their original context to the wider public outside. For example, "Judas colour" came to be used to refer to the colour of red hair on any individual. In a case of real life

²⁴⁵ For example, in Fjellie Church in Skåne, Noah is shown steering his ark. He has a hat and red hair and pointed beard. Cain is painted with grotesque facial features, a black beard, and a Jewish hat in Albertus Pictor's late fifteenth-century works in churches in Uppland, such as Almunge, Härkeberga, Härnevi, Odensala, Täby, and Vänge. In Farup Church, South Jutland (c. 1200) Cain appears in profile with red hair and beard stubble with the devil accepting his offering. On Cain, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, vol. 1, 133–34.

imitating art, we have also seen that Jewish hats appeared in wall paintings before distinguishing clothing was imposed by law at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

For more than half of the Middle Ages in Christian Europe, the Jewish body was not described or depicted as any different to non-Jewish figures.²⁴⁶ There were no large noses, red skin colour, conical hats, or pointed beards. However, from the end of the twelfth century grotesque features and hooked noses did begin to appear, particularly in scenes of the Passion. These ugly traits initially marked the figures as hard hearted and evil, but gradually came to be seen as Jewish. By the time Denmark and Sweden has been christianized and developed a written vernacular culture, Jewish physiognomic stereotypes have become entrenched in Christian culture which had increasingly turned away from a celebration of Christ’s triumph towards more contemplative and affective devotional practices. This new devotion that revolved around the suffering and beauty of a very human Christ encouraged the creation of the cruel and ugly Jew as the perfect backdrop, and with that the Jewish body, the diametrical opposite of the Christian body, was born. Because of this chronology, it can be difficult to plot a development in the creation of the Jewish body through East Norse sources. The texts simply reflect a fully developed, late medieval Christian devotion at its most anti-Jewish stage.

²⁴⁶ On this, see Lipton, “What’s in a Nose?” 189–96.

Killing Christ

6 Modelling Feelings and Behaviours: Jews and the Passion in Sermons and Devotional Literature

Jews and the Passion

The New Testament laid the foundation for later interpretations of the role played by Jews in the Passion and their responsibility and guilt for the events that resulted in the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus.¹ This is not the place to provide a thorough discussion of Jews and the Passion as described in the Bible, but it is important to note that later theological, literary, and artistic developments largely build on – rather than replace or offer an alternative to – the portrayal of Jews provided in the Christian biblical scriptures.² According to the Gospels, it is Pilate and the Roman authorities who authorized the execution of Jesus, but it is the Jewish religious leaders and the Jewish mob who bore responsibility for it: they rejected Jesus and his teachings, conspired against him, found him guilty of baseless charges, and demanded he be executed rather than pardoned, choosing to free the “notable prisoner” Barabbas instead.³ The role of Judas is of particular importance in the Jews’ actions. Despite being one of Jesus’ disciples, Judas was motivated to conspire with the high priests and betray his teacher in return for thirty pieces of silver. The corrupt Judas, whose name simply means ‘Jew’ or ‘Judean,’ symbolizes all Jews who rejected and ultimately murdered the Messiah. Furthermore, the story of Judas introduced several enduring anti-Jewish stereotypes into Christian culture: Jews’ duplicity and perfidy, a Jewish conspiracy against Christians, Jews’ corruption by and preoccupation with money, Jews’

1 On the Passion and the development of ideas about the role of the Jews in Jesus’ death, see William Nicholls, *Christian Antisemitism: A History of Hate* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1995); John Dominic Crossan, *Who Killed Jesus? Exposing the Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Gospel Story of the Death of Jesus* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996); Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan* (London: Allen Lane, 1996); Jeremy Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

2 Regardless of whether or not the New Testament is inherently hostile to Jews and the Jewish faith, there can be no doubt that it has been used for centuries by the Church as a source for teaching contempt and supporting oppression of Jews. See Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Seabury Press, 1974)

3 Matthew 27:16: “δέσμμιον ἐπίσημιον” (Gk.), “vinctum insignem” (Lat.).

murderous intent, and so on.⁴ The Gospels disagree on the finer details of the events of the Passion, but the three synoptic Gospels do agree on the following main points: 1) The chief priests in Jerusalem plot to have Jesus killed;⁵ 2) Judas is recruited by the chief priests to betray Jesus;⁶ 3) Jesus and his disciples share a Last Supper;⁷ 4) They walk to the Garden (of Gethsemane) to spend the night;⁸ 5) Jesus is arrested in the Garden and led away;⁹ 6) Jesus is put on trial before the chief priests who fabricate charges against him;¹⁰ 7) Jesus is beaten and humiliated;¹¹ 8) Jesus is taken to Pilate who finds him innocent;¹² 9) Pilate offers to release Jesus;¹³ 10) The Jews call out for the release of Barabbas and the crucifixion of Jesus;¹⁴ 11) Jesus is humiliated and tortured again, and then crucified;¹⁵ 12) The skies darken.¹⁶ The anti-Jewish tone common to all the Gospels is intensified in John, particularly in the Passion narrative. Here, the opponents of Jesus and his followers are no longer just Jewish leaders, but the collective of “the Jews.” As Jeremy Cohen notes:

This phrase [the Jews] appears more than sixty times in John alone, and only fifteen times in the synoptic Gospels altogether. Of the sixty-two occurrences in John, twenty-five make reference to the people at large with overtones of hostility; of these, at least six occur in the Passion narrative. More significantly, John repeatedly depicts Jesus, his disciples, and his subsequent followers as distinct from the Jews, contrasting, as it were, between “us” and “them.”¹⁷

4 In ODa., a *judasværk* [lit. Judas-deed, Judas-act] meant an act of betrayal. So, e. g., in *Vederloven*, the law for the Danish king’s *hirth* [retinue] from c. 1200, we read: “Of annan hendir awotha oc vskæpice tro swikere at wortha oc iudas werk at winne meth ilt rath gen herræ sinum · tha hawir han sik sielwan forgiort oc alt thet han a” [If disgrace and misfortune befall any man that he becomes a betrayer of faith and performs a “Judas-deed” with bad counsel against his lord, then he has destroyed himself and all that he owns], DKB E. don. var. 136 4^o, f. 85v (c. 1430); *GdaLæseb* 116a.

5 Matthew 26:3–5; Mark 14:1–2; Luke 22:2.

6 Matthew 26:14–16; Mark 14:10–11; Luke 22:3–6.

7 Matthew 26:20–29; Mark 14:17–31; Luke 22:14–38.

8 Matthew 26:36; Mark 14:32; Luke 22:39.

9 Matthew 26:47–56; Mark 14:43–50; Luke 22:47–54.

10 Matthew 26:57–66; Mark 14:53–64; Luke 22:66–71.

11 Matthew 26:67–68; Mark 14:65; Luke 22:63–65.

12 Matthew 27:1–2, 11–14; Mark 15:1–5; Luke 23:1–16.

13 Matthew 26:15–17; Mark 15:6–10; Luke 23:16–17.

14 Matthew 26:20–23; Mark 15:11–14; Luke 23:18–23.

15 Matthew 26:27–31; Mark 15:16–20; Luke 23:34–38.

16 Matthew 26:45; Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44.

17 Cohen, *Christ Killers*, 33.

It goes without saying that the different Gospel accounts do not accurately reflect what happened in every detail: they are not history remembered; they are “prophesy historicized.”¹⁸ Events, chronology, motives, and persons were shaped in each of the Gospel accounts to highlight different aspects of the story of the death and resurrection of the Messiah, such as eschatological and anti-Pharisaic elements, as well as the fulfilment of biblical prophecies, mainly from Psalms and Isaiah. Subsequent Christian writers then amalgamated these varying accounts with apocryphal Gospels (especially that of Nicodemus) and historical and exegetical works (especially Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica* from the twelfth century and Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea* from the mid-thirteenth century) into a single harmonized narrative that shaped later theology, devotion, literature, and art.¹⁹ These reconstructed narrative accounts formed the basis of a polemical interpretation of the Passion with a particular focus on the role of the Jews and episodes such as the abuse of Jesus and the Blood Curse as well as on the significance of the Jews’ deicide for their later punishment by God and treatment in Christian European society.

Using descriptions of the Passion of Christ found in East Norse sermons and contemplative texts (passionals and prayer books) and focusing on the themes of violence, emotions and behaviour, and guilt, this chapter investigates what audiences were taught about the behaviour and actions of Jews during the last days of the Christian messiah on earth and what part they played in his suffering and death.

Sermons

Medieval preaching

Spreading the Word of God through preaching has been one of the central occupations of the Church from its earliest days. Together with theatre and public art, the sermon was the most important means of mass communication and for dissem-

¹⁸ Crossan, *Who Killed Jesus?*, 10.

¹⁹ *Evangelium Nicodemi* is particularly influential in expanding the role of Joseph of Arimathea and detailing Mary’s lament and reluctance to be separated from her son. Many recurring, gruesome details in Passion narratives may have drawn upon contemporary methods and experiences of torture, e. g., Christ’s tightly bound hands, his fingernails spurting blood, and the stretching and pulling of his body. See Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, University of Pennsylvania Press Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 155–56.

inating the Christian faith during the Middle Ages. In 1215, at the Fourth Lateran Council under Pope Innocent III, it was decided that the laity should be instructed about the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, sins, and sacraments through frequent and qualified preaching in their own language.²⁰ Consequently, sermons came to be the principal vehicle by which the clergy could convey aspects of religious, social, and political education to their lay audiences across Europe.²¹ With spiritual authority, preachers strove to transmit and teach the Gospel so that audiences would understand the message of Christianity and be able to apply it to their own lives. Their words both reflected the society around them and shaped the religious ideas and sensibilities of their listeners. As regards communicating the faith, medieval sermons represent the intersection between scholarly and popular theology, where often rather complicated theological concepts were transmitted to the laity in more perspicuous, palpable terms and, particularly in the later Middle Ages, by using an increasingly affective and emotional imagery and language.

20 See especially Canon 10 of the Council: *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Joseph Alberigo and others (Basel: Herder, 1962), 215–16. See also Leonard Eugene Boyle, “The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology,” in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas Hefferman (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 30–43.

21 The literature on the medieval sermon studies and the way in which Christian preachers shaped religious, social, and cultural identities is vast. Among the most important works are: Nicole Bériou and David d’Avray, eds, *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History, and Sanctity* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1990); Louis-Jacques Bataillon, *La prédication au XIII^e siècle en France et Italie: Études et documents*, ed. David d’Avray and Nicole Bériou (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993); Nicole Bériou, *L’Avènement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 1998); Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, vol. 90 (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Population Devotion in the Late Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Beverly Mayne Kienzle, ed., *The Sermon*, Typologie des sources au Moyen âge occidental, vols 81–83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, A New History of the Sermon, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Carolyn Muessig, “Sermon, Preaching and Society in the Middle Ages: Historiographical Essay,” *Journal of Medieval History* 28 (2002): 73–91; Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini: predicatori e piazze alla fine del Medioevo*, Biblioteca storica (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005); Roger Andersson, ed., *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, Sermo, vol. 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, ed., *From Words to Deeds: Reflections on the Efficacy and Effects of Preaching* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); Anne T. Thayer, “Medieval Sermon Studies since *The Sermon*: Deepening and Broadening the Field,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 58 (2014): 10–27; and the journal *Medieval Sermon Studies*.

Sermons come in many different forms. Some of the oldest are line-by-line commentaries of a section of Scripture that aim to explore and uncover the true meaning of the text. These homilies can be somewhat rambling without identifiable divisions. However, later homilies, the so-called thematic sermons, had a more clearly defined structure.²² They took the reading for the day (*pericope*) as their topic (*thema*) which was then discussed in the exposition (*expositio*) that was usually divided into smaller *divisiones*, each with an important lesson to be learnt from the *thema*. The sermons then conclude with a short optative phrase and prayer such as “May God grant us this!” Sometimes, the sermon proper is followed by an *exemplum*, a short instructive, often entertaining, tale that reinforces the sermon’s teaching. These thematic sermons with a clear structure based on a *thema* and several (usually three) *divisiones* are by far the most common in East Norse.²³

As shown by the ever-increasing number of publications on the subject, the study of Jews in medieval Christian sermons is a rapidly growing area of research.²⁴ This scholarship has demonstrated that sermons about Jews have an exceedingly long history beginning in antiquity, long before the Fourth Lateran Council, and

22 On sermon structure, see Louis-Jacques Bataillon, “Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons,” *Leeds Studies in English* 11 (1980): 19–35, and reprinted as chapter 1 in Bataillon, *La prédication au XIII^e siècle en France et Italie*. See also Woodburn O. Ross, *Middle English Sermons*, Early English Text Society, vol. 209 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), xliii–lv.

23 On the structure of thematic sermons in East Norse, see Jonathan Adams, ed., *Displaced Texts: An Old Swedish Birgittine Revelation in Copenhagen, GKS 1154 fol. and Three Sermons in Vienna, Cod. Vind. 13013*, SSFS ser. 3, vol. 4 (Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, 2008), 46–54.

24 Important studies include: Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982); Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), esp. 128–70; Steven J. McMichael and Susan E. Myers, eds, *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, The Medieval Franciscans, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Alexander Deeg, Walter Homolka, and Heinz-Günther Schöttler, eds, *Preaching in Judaism and Christianity: Encounters and Developments from Biblical Times to Modernity*, *Studia Judaica: Forschungen zur Wissenschaft des Judentums*, vol. 41 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2008); Katherine Ludwig Jansen and Miri Rubin, eds, *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching, 1200–1500*, *Europa Sacra*, vol. 4 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2010); Michael Hohlstein, *Soziale Ausgrenzung im Medium der Predigt: Der franziskanische Antijudaismus im spätmittelalterlichen Italien*, *Norm und Struktur*, vol. 35 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2012); Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska, eds, *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, *Routledge Research in Medieval Studies*, vol. 6 (New York: Routledge, 2014); Linda G. Jones and Adrienne Dupont-Hamy, eds, *Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Preaching in the Mediterranean and Europe: Identities and Interfaith Encounters*, *Sermo*, vol. 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).

that preaching about Jews was ubiquitous in all parts of Western Europe. In areas with resident Jews, sermons could focus on the supposed dangers of Christians interacting and mingling with Jews (i. e., “preaching against Jews”), whereas in other areas, the focus of sermons mentioning Jews remained on teaching Christian doctrine as well as about sins and sacraments, and here Jews were “just” used as instruments for instruction rather than being the focus or topic of the sermons (i. e., “preaching about Jews”). At various times in some parts of Europe, Jews were forced to listen to Christian sermons that aimed at converting them (i. e., “preaching to Jews”). Of course, many of the fundamental beliefs in medieval Christianity, such as supersessionism and Jewish guilt for deicide, shaped the content of preaching from the outset everywhere, but preachers themselves had a crucial role in the creation and peddling of anti-Jewish stereotypes and topics, such as blood libel, economic exploitation, and the desecration of holy objects: allegations that had very real social and political consequences in the towns and cities of Europe. Scandinavia inherited and developed these European homiletic traditions, so these same allegations are also found in East Norse sermons, but they are used in a rather circumscribed, hermeneutical manner: the polemic of these sermons is more discursive – i. e., aimed at edification and formation – rather than effective – i. e., aimed at defeating or converting the other.²⁵ One might say, then, that there are East Norse sermons about Jews that aim to teach their listeners something about themselves, but no sermons against or to Jews.

East Norse sermons

Sources

Compared to the corpora of preserved medieval vernacular sermon literature elsewhere in Europe, the corpus of extant East Norse sermon manuscripts, early books, and fragments is rather small: just half a dozen in ODa. and seventeen in OSw.:²⁶

²⁵ Linda G. Jones and Adrienne Dupont-Hamy, “Introduction,” in *Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Preaching in the Mediterranean and Europe*, ed. Jones and Dupont-Hamy, 1–2.

²⁶ As a comparison, there are approximately 3,700 different sermons (or 11,000 duplicates) in Middle Dutch preserved in more than 550 manuscripts. See Daniël Ermens and Willemien van Dijk, eds, *Repertorium van Middelnederlandse preken in handschriften tot en met 1550 / Repertorium of Middle Dutch Sermons Preserved in Manuscripts from before 1550*, vol. 7, *Miscellanea Neerlandica*, vol. 29 (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 1. For further details on East Norse sermon manuscripts, see Roger Andersson, *Postillor och predikan: En medeltida texttradition i filologisk och funktionell belysning*, *Scripta minora*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Runica et Mediævalia, 1993), esp. 24–25.

Old Danish sermons

1. DAS AM 783 4^o (1490–1510): 33 folios (ff. 236r–268v);²⁷
2. DAS AM 76 8^o (1450–1500): 14 folios (ff. 128r–141v);²⁸
3. DKB GKS 1390 4^o (c. 1450): 157 folios (ff. 1r–157r);²⁹
4. UUB C 56 (fifteenth century): 369 folios;³⁰
5. ÖNB Vind. 13013 (c. 1450): 3 folios (ff. 54ra–vb, 56vb–57va);³¹
6. Christiern Pedersen, *AlleEpoce* (1515): 211 folios.³²

Old Swedish sermons

1. DAS AM 787 4^o (fifteenth century): 120 folios including blank pages;³³
2. Barmen, private ownership (early fifteenth century): 4 folios (as 2 sheets);³⁴
3. BUB Hannaas 66 (1450–1500): 3 folios;³⁵
4. HYK, uncatalogued (beginning of sixteenth century): 2 folios (1 sheet);³⁶
5. LSB T 180 (fifteenth century): 81 folios (ff. 1r–54v, 71r–97v);³⁷
6. LSB T 181 (late fifteenth century): 159 folios;³⁸
7. LUB Mh 51 (beginning of sixteenth century): 4 folios (2 sheets);³⁹

27 Kristian Kålund, *Katalog over Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel/J. Jørgensen, 1892), 202.

28 *KlosterB* 183–202; *DanTeachM* 510–65.

29 Carl Joakim Brandt, ed., *Kirkeårets Søndags-Evangelier med Udlæggelse fra Advent til Langfredag*, Dansk Klosterlæsning fra Middelalderen, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1865); *SMP* VIII; Andersson, *Postilla och predikan*, 26; Bertil Ejder, “Om den medeltida danska postillan i cod. GkS 1390 4^o och dess ställning i nordisk tradition,” *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 76 (1977): 67–92. On its dating, see Britta Olrik Frederiksen, “Et forsøg til datering af det gammeldanske postilhåndskrift GkS 1390 4to,” in *Oppa swänzsko oc oppa dansko: Studien zum Altnordischen*, ed. Harry Perridon and Arend Quak (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 151–206.

30 *SMP* III; Andersson, *Postilla och predikan*, 67–70, 148–55.

31 Jonathan Adams, “Tre gammeldanske prædikener – et nyt tilskud til den gammeldanske homiletiske litteratur,” *Danske Studier* 99 (2004): 5–41; Jonathan Adams, “‘Thet giuæ os guth amen’: Three Sermons on Marriage, Tithing and Easter Sunday in Vienna, Codex Vindobonensis 13013,” in *Displaced Texts*, ed. Adams, 36–80.

32 *ChrPed Skr* I–II.

33 *SermSac*; *SMP* I.

34 Rudolf Meissner, “Fragmente einer mittelschwedischen Postille aus Barmen,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 39 (1923): 224–43.

35 Andersson, *Postilla och predikan*, 38–46; Jonathan Adams, “‘Beware of false prophets’: A Fragment of the Old Swedish Miracle Homily Book,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 60 (2016): 5–20.

36 *SMP* II 289–96, 305.

37 *SMP* VI–VII; Andersson, *Postilla och predikan*, 49–66.

38 *SMP* V; Andersson, *Postilla och predikan*, 46–49.

39 *SMP* II 275–88.

8. NRA, Norrøne membranfragmenter 88–90: 21 fragments;⁴⁰
9. SKB A 27 (1450–1500): 156 folios (ff. 120ra–275vb);⁴¹
10. SKB A 107 (before 1488): approx. 1 folio (ff. 19v, 20v–21r);⁴²
11. SKB A 111 (1450–1500): 77 folios;⁴³
12. SKB uncatalogued: approx. 1/4 folio;⁴⁴
13. SRA Arkivariens skr. 1 (1400–50): 2 folios (1 sheet);⁴⁵
14. UUB C 4 (fifteenth century): 6 folios (ff. 194r–199r);⁴⁶
15. UUB C 35 (late fifteenth century): 192 folios;⁴⁷
16. UUB C 181 (1450–1500): 5 folios (ff. 296r–300v);⁴⁸
17. UUB C 389 (1400–50): 3 folios (ff. 70r–72v).⁴⁹

In total there are estimated to be between 380 and 400 sermons in East Norse.⁵⁰ There are many more collections in Latin, and they may include sermons that were delivered in the vernacular even though they are recorded in Latin.⁵¹ East Norse

40 Bertil Ejder, “Fragment av en svensk medeltidspostilla,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 68 (1953): 153–77 (some fragments only, the remainder are unpublished).

41 *SMP* II 1–263.

42 Roger Andersson, “Några texter till belysande av den homiletiska verksamheten i Sverige under medeltiden,” in *Smärre texter och undersökningar*, ed. Börje Tjäder, SSFS ser. 3, vol. 1 (Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftssällskapet, 1993), 20–26.

43 Johan Ernst Rietz, ed., *Svensk järteckens postilla: efter en gammal handskrift från Norrige första gången utgifvet Järteckens postilla* (Lund: Berling, 1850); Andersson, *Postilla och predikan*, 31, 38–46.

44 Andersson, *Postilla och predikan*, 25; this fragment in the Royal Library in Stockholm has not been published.

45 Isak Collijn, “Fragment av en fsv. postilla,” *Samlaren* 34 (1913): 290–93.

46 Hans Ronge, “En predikotext i UUB C 4 utgiven och kommenterad,” in *Smärre texter och undersökningar*, ed. Börje Tjäder, SSFS ser. 3, vol. 1 (Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftssällskapet, 1993), 39–70.

47 *SMP* IV; Andersson, *Postilla och predikan*, 35–38.

48 Hans H. Ronge, “Tre homilier i UUB C 181 utgivna och kommenterade,” in *Smärre texter och undersökningar*, ed. Börje Tjäder, SSFS ser. 3, vol. 2 (Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftssällskapet, 1998), 32–85.

49 Andersson, “Några texter till belysande av den homiletiska verksamheten,” 7–19.

50 Andersson, *Postillor och predikan*, 18.

51 On Latin sermons from medieval Denmark, see Anne Riising, *Danmarks middelalderlige prædiken* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1969). To gain an idea of what sort of Latin material is available from medieval Sweden, browse the catalogue of the so-called C Collection from Vadstena Monastery: *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, ed. Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Håkan Hallberg, and Monica Hedlund, *Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis*, vol. 26, nos 1–6 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1988–93).

manuscripts that contain sermons vary greatly in length: sometimes sermons fill the entire manuscript, sometimes they occur in small groups on just a few pages. Moreover, the size of the folios, their spaces for writing, the size of the script, and consequently the amount of text on each page vary.

The percentage of manuscripts that contain sermons with pericopes, expositions, or exempla that talk about Jews in any substantial way is 50 per cent for ODa. (DKB GKS 1390 4^o; UUB C 56; Pedersen, *AlleEpoEu*) and just under 30 per cent for OSw. (DAS AM 787 4^o; LSB T 180; LSB T 181; SKB A 27; UUB C 35).⁵² With half of the Danish manuscripts and almost a third of the Swedish manuscripts mentioning Jews, these non-Christians, physically absent in Scandinavia, appear to be a common motif, not least because of the presence of readings from the Gospels and Epistles in the sermons.

The liturgical calendar

In the Middle Ages, there were three ways of choosing the topic for a Sunday sermon: the preacher could comment on the day's reading from the Gospels; he could comment on the day's reading from the Epistles, or he could give a sermon about one of the saints whose day it was. The most common was to preach on the Gospel reading, and here the extant East Norse sermons largely demonstrate the *sermo modernus* style of preaching where a few words from the reading are chosen as the theme of the sermon which is then developed in the exposition. This meant that the topic for the sermon was largely dictated by the prescribed reading for the day, so the same topics came up on certain Sundays and specific holy days year in and year out.⁵³ Consequently, certain days in the church calendar were particularly associated with anti-Jewish preaching, because these days had New Testament readings in which Jews played a role (usually in confrontation with Jesus and/or his followers). Three such days that are associated with anti-Jewish preaching are Passion Sunday (Fifth Sunday in Lent) and Good Friday, both during the Easter period, and the Tenth Sunday after Trinity (between 12 July and 15 August depending on when Easter fell).⁵⁴ The Passiontide sermons focus on

⁵² By "talk about Jews," I here mean sermons that mention Jews in a meaningful and purposeful way, and not just cursorily refer to them.

⁵³ David d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 251; Jussi Hanska, "Sermons for the Tenth Sunday after Holy Trinity: Another Occasion for Anti-Jewish Preaching," in *The Jewish-Christian Encounter*, ed. Adams and Hanska, 195–212.

⁵⁴ The Tenth Sunday after Trinity according to Franciscan and Roman liturgy, but the Ninth Sunday after Pentecost according to Dominican and Parisian liturgy. On anti-Jewish preaching

the suffering and crucifixion of Christ and use readings from John 8:46–59 for Passion Sunday and John 18:1–19:42 for Good Friday (a feast day that does not fall on a Sunday but that had a set reading), while the Tenth Sunday after Trinity uses Luke 19:41–48 and deals with the cleansing of the Temple of money changers and traders and the later destruction of Jerusalem (70 CE). The East Norse material was investigated to see whether Jews were mentioned in sermons on Passion Sunday (*kæresundagh* or *pinelsesundagh/kæro sunnodagher*), Good Friday (*lange fredagh/langa fredagher*), and the Tenth Sunday after Trinity.⁵⁵

Although the sermon writers did not always take the opportunity offered to them by the liturgical calendar to engage in anti-Jewish preaching, Jews are nearly always mentioned in the expositions of these sermons. They are particularly prominent in the Passiontide sermons and in LSB T 181, DKB GKS 1390 4^o, and in *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*. However, the full potential of the presence of Jews in these sermons to engage in anti-Jewish preaching is not always exploited. Sometimes, Jews are mentioned just as a backdrop, or they are referred to in passing by terms such as Christ's enemies (*uviner/ovinir*). Nonetheless, it is clear that the liturgical calendar rather than local circumstances dictated whether or not Jews should be mentioned in sermons. This is important to bear in mind when looking at the East Norse material and considering the homiletic use of Jews in this part of the world where there were no Jews: with regard to preaching about Jews, the presence or absence of Jews in the local area was of far less importance than the liturgical calendar and its requirements and expectations.⁵⁶

on this occasion, see Amnon Linder, "The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday," *Sacris Erudiri* 30 (1987–88): 187–88, 253–92; Amnon Linder, "Jews and Judaism in the Eyes of Christian Thinkers of the Middle Ages," in *Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studies, vol. 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 113–23; Hanska, "Sermons for the Tenth Sunday after Holy Trinity."

55 The sermons can be found in the following manuscripts (and editions): Passion Sunday: DAS AM 787 4^o, ff. 38rb–40va (*SermSac* 187–92 [no. 21]; *SMP* I 103–10); SKB A 27, ff. 153va–154vb (*SMP* II 63–66); UUB C 56, ff. 82v–87v [pp. 162–175] (*SMP* III 121–29); LSB T 181, pp. 309–318 (*SMP* V 232–39); DKB GKS 1390^o, ff. 125v–132r (*SMP* VIII 158–65); *AlleEpoEu*, ff. 107v–111v [ci–cvi] (*ChrPed Skr* I 317–28). Good Friday: DAS AM 787 4^o, ff. 41va–43va (*SermSac* 197–202 [no. 23]; *SMP* I 114–20); UUB C 56, ff. 90r–91r [pp. 179–181] (*SMP* III 132–33); DKB GKS 1390^o, ff. 137v–152r (*SMP* VIII 172–87); *AlleEpoEu*, ff. 115v–125r [cix–cxix] (*ChrPed Skr* II 341–70). Tenth Sunday after Trinity: DAS AM 787 4^o, ff. 81vb–83vb (*SermSac* 332–38 [no. 44]; *SMP* I 246–53); SKB A 27, ff. 235va–238ra (*SMP* II 196–200); UUB C 56, ff. 228v–236v [pp. 456–472] (*SMP* III 319–28); UUB C 35, pp. 226–234. (*SMP* IV 161–68); *AlleEpoEu*, ff. 185r–186v [clxxvii–clxxx] (*ChrPed Skr* II 183–87).

56 On Jews in East Norse sermons, see Jonathan Adams, "Preaching about an Absent Minority: Medieval Danish Sermons and Jews," in *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska, Routledge Research in Medieval Studies, vol. 6 (New York: Routledge, 2015), 92–116; Jonathan Adams, "On Preaching Passions and Precepts: The Role

Table 6.1: Occurrence of Jews in East Norse sermons for Passion Sunday, Good Friday, and the Tenth Sunday after Trinity.

Manuscript	Passion Sunday	Good Friday	10th Sunday after Trinity
AM 787 4 ^o	Jews form the core of the sermon.	Christ is tortured by his enemies [“owini”]	No mention of Jews.
SKB A 27	Jews mentioned briefly in the reading.	<i>No sermon.</i>	1. Jews cried alongside Lazarus’s sister 2. Christ’s enemies [“ouina”]
UUB C 56	Jews mentioned briefly in the reading.	Jews torture Christ [The end of the sermon is missing.]	1. Jews cried alongside Lazarus’s sister 2. Christ’s enemies [“owiners”]
UUB C 35	<i>No sermon.</i>	<i>No sermon.</i>	The destruction of Jerusalem is punishment for Jews torturing and crucifying [“pint ok kors fæst”] Christ
LSB T 181	Jews mentioned in the reading and extensively in the exposition. ⁵⁷ [The end of the sermon is missing.]	<i>No sermon.</i>	<i>No sermon.</i>
DKB GKS 1390 4 ^o	Jews mentioned throughout the sermon.	Jews torture and crucify Christ.	<i>No sermon.</i>
Christiern Pedersen, <i>Alle Epistler oc Euangelia</i>	Jews form the core of the sermon.	Jews torture and crucify Christ.	The siege of Jerusalem and the story of Mary of Bethzuba eating her own child.

of Jews and Muslims in East Norse Sermons,” in *Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Preaching in the Mediterranean and Europe: Identities and Interfaith Encounters*, ed. Linda G. Jones and Adrienne Dupont-Hamy, Sermo, vol. 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 93–119.

⁵⁷ The exposition has the curious heading “moralitas blodpølsa” [the black pudding of morality] in the manuscript.

Differences between the extant Old Danish and Old Swedish sermons

In the extant ODa. sermon material, it is on the whole only biblical Jews who are mentioned. Old Testament figures such as the patriarchs and matriarchs are treated positively (or at least neutrally), while New Testament Jews are portrayed as being in opposition to Christ as well as his teachings and his followers, as being deicides, and as having been replaced in God's plan by the Gentiles. Many of the words that collocate with "Jew" described in Chapter 3: *Writing about Jews* can be found in these sermons in connection with New Testament Jews who are described as *blind* [blind], *forbannet* [cursed], *fortvivlet* [desperate], *ful* [unclean], *genværthigh* [hostile], *grim* [vile], *hoffærthigh* [arrogant], *slim* [filthy], *umild* [cruel], and *vil* [savage]. Supersessionism lies at the core of these sermons: Jews have been replaced by Christians in God's plan and their covenant with God has been annulled, while their city Jerusalem has been destroyed and they have been scattered throughout the world as punishment for going against God and killing Christ. A line is drawn from the murderous Jews of the New Testament to contemporary Jews to explain why they are still reviled and destined for hell. In the sermon for Epiphany in Christiern Pedersen's *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515), we read:

oc iøderne som vaare vnderuissde oc lerte aff Profeterne oc scrifften de forsaade at kende hannem thii ere de forhaaned oc forsaade aff alle for deriss vantrø⁵⁸

[And the Jews, who were instructed and taught by the Prophets and Scriptures, despised recognizing him – this is why they are mocked and despised by all for their unbelief]

Furthermore, in Pedersen's sermon for the Second Sunday after Trinity:

Iøderne som kaldiss gudz eget folk for vor herre serdeliss vdsent aff gud fader at frelse dem De skulle kastiss i heluediss mørk (Thii ath de forsaade myn lerdome och bleffue forherdede i deriss ondscaff oc synder)⁵⁹

[The Jews, who are called God's own people, as Our Lord was specially sent by God the Father to save them, they are to be thrown into the darkness of hell (because they despised my teaching and became hardened in their evilness and sins).]

Within the context of extant vernacular sermons from Scandinavia, Christiern Pedersen is somewhat unusual in this respect. His sermons do not only mention Jews of the New Testament era, but Jews in the present as well as in the future where they will play a role in the End of Days by converting *en masse* to Christianity:

⁵⁸ *AlleEposEu*, f. 53v [xlvi]; ChrPed *Skr* I 150.

⁵⁹ *AlleEposEu*, f. 68r [lxii]; ChrPed *Skr* I 193–94.

Men hwo som helst de waare Iøder eller hedninger Rig eller fattig Fribaaren eller træl Ung eller gammel Mand eller qwinde Som hannem kerlighe anammede meth en stadig tro Dem gaff han alle mact med dob oc cristendom ath bliffue alle sammen gudz børn til den ewighe salighed⁶⁰

[But whoever they might be, Jews or heathens, rich or poor, freeman or slave, young or old, man or woman, that receive him lovingly with a constant faith, he will give all of them through baptism and Christianity the power to all become God's children for eternal salvation]

There is nothing remarkable about Pedersen's theological claims here as the belief in the conversion of the Jews during the Final Days was, and to some extent still is, a hope of the Church that is founded on Romans 9:27, 11:26 (cf. Isaiah 10:22). Nonetheless, it is unusual to find these claims expressed in the extant East Norse vernacular sermon material.

There are very few exempla about Jews in the ODa. material. This is surprising given the considerable number of exempla in Pedersen's *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* and his lengthy discussions about the iniquity of New Testament Jews in his expositions. In his sermon collection we find just one exemplum with a proper Jewish character, viz. the miracle tale Text 11: *Petronia and the Ring*. Also, in his sermon for the Tenth Sunday after Trinity, he includes the story of Mary of Bethzuba, the woman who cooked and ate her child during the siege of Jerusalem (Text 10: *Mary of Bethzuba*), that is first found in Josephus's *Jewish War*, Book 6.⁶¹ He calls this story "Eth Iertege.ñ om hunger" [a miracle (or portent) about starvation],⁶² but it is difficult to see where the miracle is to be found in this tragic tale.

The OSw. sermons are both similar and different to the ODa. material. The worldview is, of course, the same: supersessionism, Jewish responsibility for deicide, God's punishment of the Jews, and so on. Furthermore, the adjectives used to describe Jews are largely the same as in ODa. sermons: e. g., *forbannadher* [cursed], *grymber* [vile], *høghfærdhogher* [arrogant], *onder* [evil, bad], *snødher* [wicked], *omilder* [cruel], *osæl* [wretched], and *otro* [unfaithful]. The difference is that, largely due to the quantity of exemplum material in the manuscripts LSB T 180 and T 181, the number of exempla that mention non-biblical Jews is greater in the OSw. material: Text 42: *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* (T 180); Text 43: *The Jews*

⁶⁰ *AlleEpoEu*, f. 25r [xix]; *ChrPed Skr* I 62. On Christian attitudes towards the fate of the Jews, see Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 112–35.

⁶¹ Josephus, *The Jewish War*, vol. 3: *Books IV–VII*, ed. and trans. Henry St. John Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 210 (London: William Heinemann, 1928), 434–37 (Greek text with English translation). The text is discussed in Chapter 9: *Jews in History*, pp. 465–70.

⁶² The error "Iertege" for "Iertegen" (*jartekn*) appears in the original print.

who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ (T 180); Text 46: *The Merchant's Surety* (T 180); Text 32: *The Hermit and the Jewess* (T 180, T 181), and Text 1: *A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven* (T 181). In these exempla, we find described the behaviour and thoughts of Jews in a non-biblical setting. Exempla and miracle tales in ODa. and OSw. sermons are discussed in the following two chapters.

Performance and art

What we are unfortunately unable to recreate from the written sources is the actual performance of the sermon and its venue, the preacher's tone, expressions, and gesticulations, and the existence of any visual didactic aids. The sermon and the church space with its carvings and wall paintings combined to reinforce the message of the preacher whose authority was enhanced by his physically elevated position and the accompanying sense of occasion. In sermons, we might hear of a Jew piercing the side of the crucified Christ with a spear (as in Christiern Pedersen's sermon for Good Friday) and such a scene might have been punctuated by the preacher making a thrusting lunge or been depicted on the walls of the church. This is the case, for example, in Reerslev Church, Sjælland, where the Longinus figure (tradition usually has him be a Roman centurion) is portrayed as a Jew complete with hooked nose, beard, and ostentatious clothes.⁶³ Such illustrations of cruel Jews inflicting pain upon Jesus abound in church art. They provided parallels to the descriptions of the Passion in many sermons, where, even if the preacher did not name Jews explicitly while relating the arrest and Passion of Christ, the listeners would have understood his tormentors to have been Jews just by looking at the walls around them. We can imagine a preacher pointing at these paintings during his sermon, imploring his audience with a "Look!" to visualize the scene, hear the characters' voices, take in the screaming and jeers of the Jews, feel Christ's pain and suffering, and consider what they can learn from it.⁶⁴

⁶³ Similar depictions of Longinus as a caricatured Jew are also found in Jetsmark Church (1474), Jutland; Keldby Church (c. 1325), Møn, and Skibby Church (c. 1359), Sjælland. See <http://www.kalkmalerier.dk> (last accessed 5 April 2022). Longinus as Jew is also found in some East Norse texts. See, for example, the fourteenth station in the ODa. version of *The Fifteen Places* (Text 28).

⁶⁴ Such an imperative is found on the Aakirkeby baptismal font (c. 1190–1225) that has carved panels illustrating the life and death of Christ: "si : fram : a þita" [See (i. e., 'look at' or 'witness') what is right before you!]; <https://runer.ku.dk> (DK Bh 30; last accessed 5 April 2022).

Treatises on the Passion

Contemplating the Passion

In Christian devotion, contemplating the Passion serves two principal purposes. First, it is a means to understanding the gravity of sin: Jesus had to undergo extreme physical and emotional torments to atone for humanity's sins. Second, it reveals the depth of Christ's love for humanity. Both of these realizations can be made all the clearer by meditating on elements of Christ's torture, such as the blood he sweated, the wounds he sustained, and the forms of abuse he was subjected to. As actions require agents to carry them out, focusing on Christ's suffering means it is necessary to imagine those who inflicted this suffering upon him. After Christianity became the state religion of Rome, Christian exegesis minimized the Romans' responsibility for the Crucifixion and increasingly placed the blame on Jews. This shift was gradual and initially the Jewish deicides were considered as symbols for the wickedness of *all* humanity, but from about the late twelfth century the anti-Jewish tone of texts on the Passion intensifies and Jews are no longer mere symbols for wickedness, but the physical embodiment of it. They are depicted in art with identifiable markers that render them both recognizable and despicable.⁶⁵ In texts, Jews – the agents of Christ's torture – are described in monstrous terms and their lack of humanity is contrasted with Christ's boundless compassion. Indeed, there are numerous contrasting parallels that become established in the Passion narrative and that offer the possibility of elaboration – evil versus good, activity versus passivity, cruelty versus clemency, ugliness versus beauty, and so on – all personified in Jews on the one hand and Christ (and his followers and mother) on the other. As with the vast majority of medieval representations of Jews, the reality of life in Europe where Jews were the victims of Christian hostility and brutality was turned on its head: beginning with Christ and continuing with the stories about the early martyrs and later ritual murders, well poisonings, and host desecrations, Jews were portrayed as the perpetual tormentors and persecutors of Christians. In these texts, the violent Jew acts, among other things, as a stimulus to elicit the reader's pity and sorrow and creates an occasion for Christians to engage with religion affectively and feel the pain that was inflicted by the monstrous Jews and mediated through the text.

Generally, the representation and use of Jews in medieval Passion treatises or passionals, i. e., devotional accounts of Christ's final days on earth, has not

⁶⁵ Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014), 3.

been the focus of scholarship, and until the work of Thomas Bestul these texts were largely overlooked as sources by both historians of spirituality and of anti-semitism.⁶⁶ This is rather surprising as these texts were among the most widely read and influential during the Middle Ages and played an important role in perpetuating and reinforcing anti-Jewish hostility. Passion treatises are full of Jewish violence, blood, and frenzied sadism. They evoke both compassion for Christ and humanity and condemnation and abhorrence of the enemies of Christ and humanity – i. e., the Jews – in spite of his appeal to “Forgive them, they know not what they do” (Luke 23:24). Descriptions of the Passion found in these treatises often have their origin in the Franciscan devotional work *Meditationes vitae Christi* by Pseudo-Bonaventure (probably the Tuscan Franciscan John of Caulibus) from c. 1300.⁶⁷ The work was phenomenally popular in the Middle Ages and exists in both ODa. and OSw. translations.⁶⁸ As an example, Jesus’ trial in the OSw. version (here, the fifteenth-century LUB Mh 20 from Vadstena) is described thus:

Æn hør nu ok skodha hulkin stridhin var · Somlike gripo hand a honom · oc somlike bundo han · en fløghir oc annar skriar · / en skiwer oc annar rykker · en hædhir ok annar sputtar · / en draghir atir / oc annar fram · / Een spør han · ok annar ledhir fram mote honom falsa vitnara en liughir oc annar vitnar · somlike røghia honom ok somlike bæra thøm fals vitne · en hyl vm øghonin^(a) hans · Somlike sla han i ænlitit · oc somlike pusta han vidh kinbenin · Somlike rykkia han til studhenna · oc somlike fœra han w klædhomen · Somlike sla han vidhir at han^(b) ledhis · oc somlike skria oc ropan · en takir han aat sik til at thrøttelica mødha han · oc annar bindir han vidh studhina · / Somlike spiærna han medh fotomen · oc somlike flængia han medh gislomen · Somlike fœra han i purpura klædhe honom til smælek · oc somlike sætia honom thornkronona a howdhit · Een faar honom røna i handena · ok annar fatar hona atir af rætte gæld · oc slar hans thorn kronadha howdh · somlike hadhueta honom medh knæfallom ok somlike wræka honom sputtit i ænlitit · ledhis sidhan atir oc fram · forsmas ok wræcx · skwfs ok vændis · hiit oc thiit swa som en dare \ · [...] Nw til annam oc nw til caypham \ · Nw til pylatum · oc nw til herodem · oc sidhan æn atir til pylatum · oc ther wrocx han · oc drogx badhe in oc wt⁶⁹

Notes: **a.** øghonin] øgho{nin} MS. **b.** at han] athan MS.

[But listen now and see what a struggle there was. Some people seized him, and some bound him. One jumps up and another screams. One twists and another shoves. One jeers and another spits. One drags (him) backwards and another forwards. One questions him and

⁶⁶ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 43–56. For more a more recent study that investigates images of Jewish violence and their meaning for Christian affective piety, see Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010).

⁶⁷ See Sarah McNamer, “The Origins of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*,” *Speculum* 84 (2009): 905–55.

⁶⁸ ODa.: SKB A 31 (c. 1500); OSw.: LUB Mh 20 (1450–1500; “Codex Berghmanianus”) and SKB A 3 (1502; excerpts).

⁶⁹ LUB Mh 20, f. 129r–v; *BonavBetrakt* 181–82.

another brings false testimony against him. One lies and another testifies. Some accuse him and some bear false witness. One covers his eyes. Some hit him in his face and some punch him on the cheek. Some shove him towards the pillar and some remove his clothes. Some hit him while he is being led and some scream and shout at him. One begins furiously to torment him and another ties him to the pillar. Some kick him with their feet and some flog him with whips. Some dress him in a purple robe to mock him and some place a crown of thorns upon his head. One places the reed in his hand and another grabs it back out of fury and hits his head crowned with thorns. Some mock him by kneeling and some spit phlegm into his face. (He) is led back and forth, jeered and mocked, shoved and turned around here and there, like a fool (...) Now to Annas and now to Caiaphas. Now to Pilate and now to Herod and then back again to Pilate. And there he was mocked and dragged both in and out.]

Although descriptions of pain, tears, and violence are very much present in this OSw. translation of *Meditationes*, it is noteworthy that it does not contain the same sort of demonizing language about Jews as later Passion treatises do. In the quotation above, we are just told that *sumlika* [some, several (people)], *en* [one (person)], or *annar* [another (person)] tormented Christ. Furthermore, verbs are often in the passive voice with no mention of agents: “ledhis [...] atir oc fram” [is led (...) back and forth], “forsmas ok wræx” [is jeered and mocked], “skwfs ok vændis” [is shoved and turned around], “wroxx” [was mocked], and “drogx [...] in oc wt” [was dragged (...) in and out]. Occasionally in the passages on Jesus’ arrest, trial, and execution in the OSw. *Meditationes*, the agents who accuse, humiliate, and torture Christ are identified, but even here the word *iubar* [Jews] is just one of several names used to refer to the tormentors:⁷⁰

Unidentified by religion (including “enemies” and “soldiers,” possibly Romans):

Ther lupu the saman ææ hwar the varo stadde swa væl wtlændningane som borgharene · swa væl the som man hiolt for godha mæn · som the fwlasto ribballane⁷¹

[There they all ran about together, those who were present, both foreigners and citizens, both those considered good men and (those considered) the vilest rascals.]

Ok æn thot han længdan sa sina ouini koma medh blom oc vaknom [...] ⁷²

[And even though he long saw his enemies coming with torches and lanterns (...)]

⁷⁰ The OSw. *The Fifteen Places* contains much influence from Pseudo-Bonaventure’s *Meditationes vitae Christi*, including word-for-word quotations. This may be the greatest contributing factor to why the OSw. text contains less anti-Jewish imagery than the ODa. version which has a looser, less direct connection to *Meditationes*. See further below.

⁷¹ LUB Mh 20, f. 129v; *Bonavetrakt* 182.

⁷² LUB Mh 20, f. 132v; *Bonavetrakt* 188.

Riddarene som hawa korsfæst honom [...] ⁷³
 [The soldiers who have crucified him (...)]

Æn en høghfædoghir omillir riddare ther hæt longinus forsmande thera grat oc bøn^e ⁷⁴
 [And a haughty, cruel soldier who was called Longinus mocked their weeping and prayer.]

Leaders (including High Priests and Pharisees):

the omildo hyfdhingane oc pharisei · vnge oc gamble · oc mang thousand folk standa
 thrættelica mote hanom ⁷⁵
 [The cruel leaders and Pharisees, young and old, many thousands of people stood per-
 sistently against him.]

Æn tha som han presenteras biscopomen oc iudha høfdhingomen · ther som the varo
 samansankadhe · frøgdha the sik ok glædhias som leonit nar thet hawir fatat bradh-
 ena ⁷⁶
 [But when he was presented to the bishops (i. e., high priests) and leaders of the Jews,
 whose who were assembled, they were joyful and happy like the lion when it catches
 its prey.]

Høfdhingane oc formænnene glædhias · at the hawa sin wranga vilia fulcompnat ⁷⁷
 [The chiefs and leaders were pleased that they had carried out their iniquitous will.]

Æn presta høfdhingane ropadho oc sagdho · Ær han gudz son · tha nidhírfari nw af
 korseno oc vi trom honom ⁷⁸
 [But the chief-priests shouted and said, “If he is the Son of God, then he’ll come down
 from the cross now and we’ll believe him.”]

Jews:

Allir iudha moghin som ther vm kring stodh [...] ⁷⁹
 [All the Jewish mob that was standing about there (...)]

[...] huru han hæntir saman klædhin siin · [...] ok i føre sik i thøm for thøm iudhomen ⁸⁰
 [(...) how he gathers up his clothes (...) and puts them on in front of those Jews.]

73 LUB Mh 20, f. 138v; *BonavBetrakt* 201.

74 LUB Mh 20, f. 141v; *BonavBetrakt* 207.

75 LUB Mh 20, f. 129v; *BonavBetrakt* 182.

76 LUB Mh 20, f. 133r; *BonavBetrakt* 189.

77 LUB Mh 20, f. 136r; *BonavBetrakt* 196.

78 LUB Mh 20, f. 138v; *BonavBetrakt* 201.

79 LUB Mh 20, f. 136r; *BonavBetrakt* 195.

80 LUB Mh 20, f. 136v; *BonavBetrakt* 196.

Æn the snødhe iudhane som ække villo længe dwælia *medh* dødhenom · ok ræddos at pylatus som hafdhe beuist at han ville gifwa han løsan · skulle atirkalla domin · nøddo en som hæt symon · til at han skulle bæra korsit⁸¹

[But the wicked Jews, who did not want to take their time over the killing and were afraid that Pilate who had shown that he wanted to free him (Jesus) would recall the judgement, forced a (man) called Simon to carry the cross.]

nar han sagdhe · mik thørstir · i hulko ordheno vardh modhorinne oc iohanni oc them som i thera følghe varo stoor varkunnan · / Ok thøm snødho iudhomen mykyn glædhi⁸²

[When he said, “I am thirsty,” in which words there was great compassion for his mother and John and those who accompanied them and much joy for the wicked Jews.]

The Jews are clearly held responsible for the crucifixion in *Meditationes* – there can be no doubt about that – but they are not described repeatedly using the types of adjectives discussed in Chapter 3: *Writing about Jews* (e. g., *forbannadher*, *grymber*, *høghfærdhogher*, *onder*, *snødher*, *omilder*, *osæl*, *otro*).⁸³ The addition of these epithets is presumably a later expansion in East Norse works on the Passion.

A development in the genre of Passion treatises is the texts’ merger with the devotional practices of pilgrimage, procession, and meditating on objects. The increasing popularity of pilgrimage to Jerusalem led to the widespread desire to replicate the *Via dolorosa* at sites closer to home by establishing processional routes between a number of shrines. The number of shrines (or “stations”) varied but each one commemorated an event from Christ’s route to Calvary. In addition to actual “physical” shrines and routes, the stations of the Cross are also found enumerated in Passion treatises as a means to engage in personal devotion. These treatises encourage meditation at each station and the reader is explicitly instructed where to focus attention (“Now contemplate how...”). Topics for contemplation include the blood shed by Jesus, the weapons of torture (*Arma Christi*), Jesus’ last seven sayings on the Cross, and the distress that the Virgin Mary felt on seeing her son tortured and killed. One particular variant of these Passion treatises that makes use of the “stations structure” is found in both ODa. and OSw., where the reader accompanies Mary and is taken on a spiritual journey of affective piety along Christ’s route to Calvary passing fifteen stations for contemplation.⁸⁴

⁸¹ LUB Mh 20, f. 137r; *BonavBetrakt* 198.

⁸² LUB Mh 20, f. 139v; *BonavBetrakt* 203.

⁸³ That is not to say that these adjectives do not occur (cf. “the snødhe iudhane” in the examples above), but they are not used repeatedly.

⁸⁴ See Alf Härdelin, ed., *I Kristi och hans moders spår: om stationsandakter i Vadstena kloster. Textutgåvor och analyser*, Scripta minora, vol. 8 (Stockholm: Runica et Mediævalia, 2003); Pil

As we shall see, these treatises that are structured around the fifteen places where Jesus suffered and that I refer to as *The Fifteen Places* include numerous descriptions of Jews. Indeed, perhaps more than any other, Marian texts such as *The Fifteen Places* portray Jews in opposition to Christianity on an intensely human and emotional scale.⁸⁵

East Norse treatises on the Fifteen Places: sources

There are several extant versions of *The Fifteen Places* in East Norse.⁸⁶ In ODa, there are three extant Passion treatises that are all structured around fifteen stations.⁸⁷ The first version is DAS AM 21 4^o, ff. 184r–192r (“de passione domini

Dahlerup, *Sanselig Senmiddelalder: Litterære perspektiver på danske tekster 1482–1523* (Århus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2010), 329–40. (Note, however, that I do not agree at all with Dahlerup’s insistence on the Vadstena origin for the ODa. text. See note 89 in this chapter.)

85 Johannes Heil and Rainer Kampling, eds, *Maria Tochter Sion? Mariologie, Marienfrömmigkeit und Judenfeindschaft* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001).

86 They have been edited here as Text 28: *The Fifteen Places*. On this text, see Jonathan Adams, *Lessons in Contempt: Poul Ræff’s Translation and Publication in 1516 of Johannes Pfefferkorn’s The Confession of the Jews*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vol. 581 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 14–29; Jonathan Adams, “Grumme løver og menstruerende mænd,” *Rambam: Tidsskrift for jødisk kultur og forskning* 21 (2014): 83–85; Dahlerup, *Sanselig senmiddelalder*, 329–40; Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Kirke og synagoge: Holdninger i den danske kirke til jødedom og jøder i middelalderen, reformationstiden og den lutherske ortodoksi (ca. 1100 – ca. 1700)*, Kirkehistoriske studier, vol. 3, no. 1 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1992), 75–79; Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Jews and Christians in Denmark: From the Middle Ages to Recent Times ca. 1100–1948*, The Brill Reference Library of Judaism, vol. 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 2–3.

87 There are, of course, other Passion treatises in East Norse, such as ODa. DAS AM 72 8^o, ff. 1r–114r (fifteenth century) and DAS AM 79 I η 8^o (fifteenth century; fragment); OSw. UUB C 19, ff. 115r–123r (c. 1450) and SKB A 27 (1450–1500), ff. 121ra–130rb, and SKB A 31, ff. 2r–61v (c. 1500) in a mixture of ODa. and OSw. However, they are not structured around the fifteen places which is the type of text under discussion here. A broader investigation of the portrayal of Jews in all passionals remains a desideratum. On these Passion texts, see Carl Joakim Brandt, ed., *Gammeldansk Læsebog: En Håndbog i vor ældre Litteratur på Modersmålet*, vol. 1: *Til Bogtrykkerkunstens Indførelse* (Copenhagen: C. G. Iversen, 1857), 241–43 (DAS AM 72 8^o); Brandt, ed., *Gammeldansk Læsebog*, vol. 1, 247–48 (DAS AM 79 I η 8^o); SMP II 297–98 (UUB C 19); SMP II 5–30 (SKB A 27), and Brandt, ed., *Gammeldansk Læsebog*, vol. 1, 243–47 (A 31). Editions of the full text of DAS AM 72 and SKB A 31 can be found in *Gammeldansk passionstraktat: Duplikeret til brug for Ordbog over det ældre danske sprog* (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1968) and the works are discussed in Mette Nordentoft, “Zum (nord)europäischen Stemma des Passionstraktates Heinrichs von St. Gallen,” in *Akten des 4. nordischen Symposions “Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien” in Lübeck-Travemünde 22.–25. August 1991* ed. Huber-

Uidendes ær oss jomffru maria ydeligæ effther at hennis søn vor opfaren til hymmerigh [...]” [On the Lord’s Passion. We know that after her son had ascended into heaven, the Virgin Mary continually (...)]. It dates from 1475–1500 and is the oldest version in ODa. The second version is undated and was printed together with a guide to confession as *Modus confitendi* (“utilis valde sua peccata in specie secundum singulos peccandi modos confiteri volentibus [especially useful particularly for individual sinners who intend to confess their sins]). The work is now lost but survives as a handwritten copy made by Jón Mortensen (DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 8v24–16v8: “De passione Domini”) and subsequently published in 1866 by Christian Bruun.⁸⁸ The final version, *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder som wor herre tolde syn pyne paa oc hoo som the betencker hwer daw i sith hierthe then forthiener stor affladh* [Here begins “The Fifteen Places Where Our Lord Suffered his Torture” and whoever contemplates them every day in his heart will receive a great indulgence], was printed in Copenhagen by the Dutch printer Gotfred af Ghemen (Govert van Ghemen, d. c. 1510) in 1509.⁸⁹ It com-

tus Menke and Kurt Erich Schöndorf (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1993), 168–95; Mette Nordentoft, “Nogle Sprogtræk i Den gammeldanske Passionstraktat,” *Selskab for Nordisk Filologi: Årsberetning 1994–95* (1996): 41–54; Mette Nordentoft, “Glosserende synonymier i den gammeldanske passionstraktat,” in *Ord, Sprog og artige Dict: Et overblik og 28 indblik 1500–1700. Festskrift til Poul Lindegård Hjorth*, ed. Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen, Marita Akhøj Nielsen, and John Kousgård Sørensen, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vol. 544 (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1997), 67–82.

88 Christian Bruun, ed., *Modus Confitendi: De Passione Domini. Et tabt dansk Skrift fra ca. 1500* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1866), 12–26. See also Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*, 15–16.

89 LN 259. In *Sanselig senmiddelalder*, 335, Dahlerup describes *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder* as a Vadstena Way of the Cross (“Vadstena-korsvej”), “[...] men teksten er ikke en direkte oversættelse af den svenske. Flere steder er der næsten orderette sammenfald, men Ghemens tekst er kortere og mange steder helt anderledes [...] but the text is not a direct translation from the Swedish. In several places there is a word-for-word correspondence, but Ghemen’s text is shorter and, in many places, completely different]. I do not agree with her opinion, or, indeed, that of the reviewers in *Danske Studier* 106 (2011): 202, for several reasons, most notably that in spite of possible Birgittine influence some places in the text, the two most conspicuous and unique details of Birgitta’s revelations on the Crucifixion – and therefore Birgittine Passion devotion – are missing entirely: that Jesus was fixed to the Cross not before, but after it was raised and while it was standing, and that two nails, not just one, were hammered through his feet. See *Liber Caelestis* 7.15.4–7, 7.15.9; Birger Bergh, ed., *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones: Bok VII*, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 7, no. 7 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967), 164–65; BU VII 271–72; Denis Searby and Bridget Morris, trans. and ed., *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 3: *Liber Caelestis, Books VI–VII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 234–35. These two principal elements are found in the OSw. Passion treatises that belong to the Vadstena tradition; see, e. g., SKB A 118, ff. 23v–24r and 24v; *FsvLeg* III 89; SKB A 49, f. 232r–v in Roger Andersson, “Om de femton platser Maria besökte efter Jesu död. Den fornsvenska texten,” in *I Kristi och hans moders spår: Om stationsandakter i*

prises 28 folios and survives today in just two copies, both of which are housed in the Danish Royal Library collections. The work was republished in a facsimile edition in a hundred copies in 1915.⁹⁰ There are small variations between the ODa. versions which were most probably translated from a now lost Latin original. For example, in the Crucifixion scene, Mary faints at the cross and nearly dies in *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder*, whereas in NKS 129 4^o and AM 21 4^o she faints and is nearly trampled to death by the Jews: “ner dõt” [nearly dead], “oc vor nær ihiel trodh, aff jødherne,” and “oc vor nær i hiel trodh, aff jødherne” [and was nearly trodden to death by the Jews].⁹¹ However, on the whole, the active involvement of the Jews in the Crucifixion is much more apparent in Ghemen’s printed work of 1509.

There are two extant versions of the *Fifteen Places* in OSw. SKB A 118, ff. 5r–43v from 1450–1500 (previously known as Codex Schürer 104 12^o) and SKB A 49, ff. 221r–235v from the fifteenth century.⁹² These Swedish versions are more elaborate than the Danish ones with longer passages for contemplation taken from the Pseudo-Bonaventure’s *Meditationes vitae Christi*. Sometimes these passages are quoted verbatim. Compare, for example, this part of the section on the washing of the disciples’ feet (based on John 13:1–17), which is almost identical in the two works:⁹³

OSw. *Meditationes vitae Christi*

Nw thaghan swa var timat · stodh var
herra ihesus vp fran bordeno · ginstan
stodho oc apostlane op · oc visto tho ække
hwart han ville ganga Æn han gik nidhir
medh thøm i en annan stadh nidhir bætir

OSw. *The Fifteen Places* (SKB A 118)

tha stodh war herre opp fraan bordeno /
genstan stodho oc apostlana vp tha gik
han medh them / j een annan stadh nidher
bæther j huseno / oc ther loth han tom
sithia alla oc tith bødh han bæra vatn /

Vadstena, ed. Alf Härdelin, *Scripta minora*, vol. 8 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 2003), 123–24.

⁹⁰ Hans Osterfeld Lange, ed., *Jesu Passionsvandring. Opbyggelsesskrift trykt i København 1509 af Gotfred af Ghemen. Faksimiletryk* (Århus: Aarhus Stiftsbogtrykkeri, 1915).

⁹¹ *JesuPassV*, f. e1v; DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 14v (= Bruun, ed., *Modus Confitendi*, 22); DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 190r respectively.

⁹² SKB A 118 has been edited and published by George Stephens as “Om Christi pina” in *FsvLeg* III 72–107. SKB A 49 has been published in Andersson, “Om de femton platser.” Cf. Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Bonaventuras betraktelser*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 15 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner), xxxi–xxxiii. On SKB A 49, see also Maria Arvidsson, “En handskrifts tillkomst- och brukshistoria: En närstudie av Cod. Holm. A 49 (Nådendals klosterbok)” (PhD Thesis, University of Copenhagen, 2016), 112, 114–17.

⁹³ I am using LUB Mh 20 merely as an example of *Meditationes vitae Christi* in OSw. and am not suggesting that it was this manuscript from which the passages were copied into SKB A 118.

i huseno som the sighia som stadhin hawa seet · ok ther læt han alla sitia · thijt bōdh han bæra vatnit · Sidhan lagdhe han af sik klædhin oc giordhadhe sik *medh* eno linno klædhe / han læt vatnit i ena steen mullōgh *medh* hulko han ville thwa thera fōtir Nw tha han ville thwa sancti pæters fōtir · nekadhe han · oc vardh vnderlica vidhir · ok flydde · som honom thikte swa ohuelikit thing · Æn nar han hōrdhe van herra sighia · at han skulle ællighis ække haua lut *medh* honom · vænde han viislica radhit i bætra oc læt sighia sik / Thænk nu væl alla gærningana · oc thu mat væl vndra oppa *thet* som gōrs / Hōxsta valdit oc ødhmiuktinna mæstare · bōghir sik · ok lutar sik nidhir til fiscaranna fōtir · han star nidhir lutter · ok sidhan a sinom knæm for thōm sitiandom · ok thwar ok thōrkar *medh* sinom eghnom handom oc kōssir alra thera fōtir Æn *thet* gaar owir ødhmiuktena at han gōr forraderenom samo thiænistena⁹⁴

Notes: a. lagde han] lagde MS.

[Now, as soon as it was time, Our Lord Jesus rose from the table. Straightaway the apostles also stood up and did not know where he wanted to go. But he walked down with them to another place lower down in the house, as say those who have seen the place, and there he had them all sit down, and he ordered water to be carried there. Then he removed his clothes and girded himself with a linen cloth. He poured water into a stone basin with which he wanted to wash their feet. Now, when he wanted to wash St Peter's feet, he refused and was amazed by this and declined what he thought such an unfitting thing. But when he heard Our Lord say that he would otherwise not have part with him, he wisely changed his opinion for the better and became convinced. Now consider all these deeds carefully and you

sidhan lagde han^(a) aff sigh clædhin / oc giordadhe sigh *medh* eno linno clædhe / han looth wathnith i ena steen mwllōgh / *medh* huilka han wilde twa sancte pedhers fōther / tha warth han vnderlica widher / oc tyktæ *thet* ey hōffwelikit wara / tha sagde war *herre* honum / twaar ey iak tik taa ffaar thu ey loth *medh* mik / tha loot sancte pedher segia sigh / oc baadh wan herra twa / hender oc fōther / oc hoffwdh / her maa thu mykit vndra oppa gudz stora ødhmiwkt / ath ærona konunger bōgher oc lwther staar til iorddinna for fyskarena fōther / han staar lwther aa synom knæm / for tom sittiandem twaar oc torkar them *medh* synom eghnom handom / oc kysser allas thera fōther / æn *tet* gaar ower ødhmiwktena / ath han gōr *thet* synom fōrradhare sama thiænistena⁹⁵

[Then Our Lord rose from the table and straightaway the apostles also stood up, and he walked with them to another place lower down in the house. And there he had them all sit down, and he ordered water to be carried there. Then he removed his clothes and girded himself with a linen cloth. He poured the water into a stone basin with which he wanted to wash St Peter's feet. He (St Peter) was amazed by this and did not think it fitting. Our Lord said to him, "If I do not wash you, then you have not part with me." Then St Peter became convinced and asked Our Lord to wash his hands and feet, and his head. Here, you can wonder at Our Lord's great humility, that the king of glory genuflects and bows to the ground before the feet of the fishermen. He kneels before those (who

94 LUB Mh 20, ff. 125v–126r; *Bonavetrakt* 174.

95 SKB A 118, ff. 6v–7r; *FsvLeg* III 74.

can wonder at what was happening. The highest majesty and master of humility bows and bends down before the feet of fishermen. He stands bent over and then on his knees before those (who are) sitting, and washes and dries (them) with his own hands and kisses all their feet. But his performing the same service to his betrayer transcends humility.]

are) sitting, washes and dries them with his own hands, and kisses all their feet. But his performing the same service to his betrayer transcends humility.]

The same event in the ODa. *Fifteen Places* is described rather more succinctly:

han tog watn i en mwlwe oc gik omkring oc togde alle sine apostolis føder oc tyrde them met eth linet klæde oc køste them met sijn welsignedhe mundh⁹⁶
[He took water in a basin and walked about washing his apostles' feet and dried them with a linen cloth and kissed them with his blessed mouth.]⁹⁷

The close affinity between *Meditationes* and the OSw. *Fifteen Places* is clear, and some of the stations have large sections taken directly from Pseudo-Bonaventure's work.⁹⁸ Yet in spite of these longer passages for contemplation, the active involvement of the Jews in the Crucifixion is on the whole much more apparent in the ODa. *Fifteen Places*. Here, readers are offered very vivid and explicit descriptions of Christ's sufferings and his tormentors' cruelty and are provided with graphic cues for empathy. The descriptions in the OSw. texts are nowhere near as luridly violent and, as in *Meditationes*, the agents of violence against Christ are not often identified by name.⁹⁹

The ODa. and OSw. *Fifteen Places* describe the fifteen locations (or Stations of the Cross) where Jesus was abused during the Passion, and which were regularly visited by his mother for fifteen years after his ascension. In Christian tradition, the number of years Mary lived after Jesus died ranges from two (in the *Transitus Mariae* tradition) to twenty-four (in the *Legenda aurea*). The fifteen-year period here probably derives from Birgitta of Sweden's revelation in *Liber Caelestis* 7.26.2

⁹⁶ *JesuPassV*, ff. a2v–3r.

⁹⁷ Cf. John 13:5: "After that, he putteth water into a basin, and began to wash the feet of the disciples, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded."

⁹⁸ See Alf Härdelin, "I Kristi och hans moders spår: Om stationsandakter i Vadstena," in *I Kristi och hans moders spår: Om stationsandakter i Vadstena*, ed. Alf Härdelin, Scripta minora, vol. 8 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 2003), 10–67 (esp. 42–43). Härdelin makes a compelling case for *The Fifteen Places* (the SKB A 49 version) being based on a Latin Passion sermon.

⁹⁹ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Penguin, 2010), 246–47; Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 43–56.

where the Virgin tells visionary: “Attende, filia! Ego, postquam filius meus ascendit ad celos, vixi in mundo per XV annos et tanto tempore plus, quantum est de festo Ascensionis eiusdem filii mei vsque ad mortem meam” [Listen, daughter! After my son ascended into heaven, I lived in the world for fifteen years and then for as much time more as there is from the feast of my son’s ascension and to that of my death].¹⁰⁰

The Fifteen Places relates the story of the Passion as seen through the eyes of Mary, the *mater dolorosa*, and it focuses on Jesus’ sufferings and his mother’s sorrow. Rather than simply retracing Jesus’ steps, it is Mary’s steps that the reader follows, seeing events from her viewpoint and sharing her emotional state. Indeed, Mary as co-sufferer, first expressed by Bonaventure (d. 1274), is an important theme in Passion meditations.¹⁰¹ Mary’s visiting the sites of Jesus’ life and death is found in other works too, such as chapters 35–36 of the anonymous fourteenth-century *Speculum humanae salvationis*¹⁰² and in the *Legenda aurea*, here with its OSw. translation:

sua scriuas aff siþan apostoli skildos ok skiptos vm væruldena at prædica : boþe maria ii iherusalem viþ montem syon : ok gik opta vm kring landet : at vitia þe staþa gesus fodes ok døptes fastaþe oc predicaþe · iærtigne giorþe ok døþ þolde : hans graf ok þær han tel himna stægh¹⁰³

[Then it is written that after the apostles dispersed and sailed throughout the world to preach, Mary lived in Jerusalem at Mount Zion, and she often wandered about the country to visit the places where Jesus was born and baptized, fasted and preached, performed miracles and suffered death, his grave and where he ascended to heaven.]¹⁰⁴

In *The Fifteen Places*, Mary’s feelings and inner thoughts are put before the reader and her inner monologues and dialogues with others are reported as direct

100 Birger Bergh, ed., *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones: Bok VII*, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 7, no. 7 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967), 195; *BU VII* 285; Denis Searby and Bridget Morris, trans. and ed., *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 3: *Liber Caelestis, Books VI–VII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 255. See also Carl Marx and Jeanne Drennan, *The Middle English Prose Complaint of Our Lady and Gospel of Nicodemus* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Carl Winter, 1987), 137. Birgitta also refers to Mary in the years after Christ’s ascension visiting the sites where he had suffered sorrow and performed miracles in *Liber Caelestis* 6.61–62.

101 Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 45.

102 See Walter Buckl and Silke Egbers, “Speculum humanae salvationis,” in *Marienlexikon*, vol. 6, ed. Remigius Bäumer and Leo Scheffczyk (St Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1988–94), 227–31.

103 SKB A 34, f. 5ra–b; *FsvLeg* I 12.

104 On Mary as the first pilgrim, see Ora Limor, “Mary in Jerusalem: An Imaginary Map,” in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt, *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, vol. 18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 11–22.

speech. This focus on Mary and the mother-son relationship creates a climate of heightened intimate affection rather than detached deference.

In addition to the number of years that Mary lived after Jesus' death, the number of stations – fifteen – is also due to Birgittine influence. The Franciscans established the stations tradition in Europe during the Late Middle Ages. In an attempt to duplicate those of the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem, they set up series of shrines usually numbering just seven.¹⁰⁵ Birgitta, however, identified fifteen stations for devotions commemorating the Passion.¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, beyond the structure around the fifteen stations, the stations and their descriptions in the ODa. and OSw. versions are rather dissimilar. For example, the fifteen places visited by Mary are different:

Station	ODa.	OSw.
1	Simeon's house: Jesus washed the disciples' feet and taught.	The Last Supper: Jesus washed the disciples' feet, preached, and taught.
2	Near the Mount of Olives: Jesus sweated blood in prayer to his father.	At the Mount of Olives: Jesus sweated blood in prayer to his father.
3	Garden of Gethsemane: Jesus betrayed by Judas.	Garden of Gethsemane: Jesus betrayed by Judas, arrested, beaten, and taken to Annas.
4	Court of Annas: Jesus beaten and tortured.	House of Caiaphas: Jesus beaten, tortured, and humiliated.
5	House of Caiaphas: Jesus beaten and tortured.	Trial by Pilate: Jesus falsely accused.
6	Trial by Pilate: Jesus beaten.	Trial by Herod: Jesus ridiculed.
7	Trial by Herod and Pilate: Jesus ridiculed and mocked.	The stone pillar: Jesus scourged.
8	The stone pillar: Jesus scourged.	The chair: Jesus crowned with thorns and forced to carry the cross.
9	<i>Lithostrotos</i> : Jesus crowned with thorns and mocked.	The road: Jesus walked with the cross.
10	The road: Jesus walked with the cross.	The city gate: Jesus fell under the cross.

¹⁰⁵ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 2 (London: Lund Humphries, 1971–72), 82.

¹⁰⁶ On the number of the Stations of the Cross, see Tue Gad, "Kristus," in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, vol. 9, ed. Alan Karker et al. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1964), col. 374.

11	Calvary: Jesus mocked and forced to dance.	The hill: Jesus crucified, Longinus's spear, and taken down from the cross.
12	The rock cliff: The thieves were crucified.	Mary's lap: Jesus' body washed and shrouded.
13	Site of the crucifixion: Jesus crucified and died.	The stone tomb: Jesus buried.
14	Site of the crucifixion: Longinus's spear and Jesus taken down from the cross.	Outside the tomb: Jesus appeared to Mary.
15	The stone tomb: Jesus buried and Mary prayed to the cross.	Mount of Olives: Jesus ascends into heaven.

The most noteworthy difference in the stations is that there is no resurrection in the ODa. version of the *Fifteen Places*, which instead ends with Mary praying to the Cross. Jews play a much more prominent role in the ODa. version of *The Fifteen Places* compared to the OSw. They are held solely responsible for the misery, judgement, and crucifixion of Jesus, and they thus play a central role in this core narrative of Christianity. Indeed, the book is one long tirade against the Jews who are presented as a singular group of cruel and barbaric Christ killers.¹⁰⁷

Prayer

Medieval prayer

For Christians, Jesus showed the importance of prayer through his own actions: the Gospels describe him praying to his father regularly, not least in the Garden of Gethsemane where his fervour made him sweat blood (Luke 22:43–44). He also spoke about prayer (e. g., Matthew 6:5; Luke 18:10–14) and, most famously perhaps, he taught the Lord's Prayer during the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 6:9; Luke 11:2–4). In medieval Europe, prayer was an important part of devotion and one of three important *opera satisfactoria* [satisfactory, i. e., expiatory, works]: charity,

107 It is noteworthy that at least two of the earliest printed books in ODa. – *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder* and *Nouiter in lucem data: Iudeorum secreta* – are vehemently anti-Jewish. Printers must have been confident that such works would sell and be profitable. For comparison with early print production in Low German, see Cordelia Heß, “Jew-Hatred Sells? Anti-Jewish Print Production in the German Dialects,” 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/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 121–34.

fasting, and prayer. Thomas Aquinas explained that just as fasting expiates the sins of the body, so prayer repairs the soul.¹⁰⁸ As an act of reparation and penance, prayer was the most important aspect of private and communal worship in the Middle Ages. The structure of a prayer is largely constant, and prayers can be divided into various rhetorical sections. The French theologian and philosopher Guillaume d’Auvergne (1180/90–1249) divided prayer into *exordium* [introduction: the supplicant requests God’s attention], *narratio* [narration: the supplicant sets out his/her sins and refers to God’s previous acts of mercy], *petitio* [petition: the supplicant asks God for forgiveness], *confirmatio* [confirmation: the supplicant refers to God’s call for believers to pray and willingness to forgive rather than punish], and *conclusio* [summary].¹⁰⁹ It is in the *narratio* that we find most references to Jews where they are framed as sinners.¹¹⁰

East Norse prayer books: sources

The largest source of extant medieval prayers in ODa. and OSw. are the prayer books that belonged to various middle-class and noble women and were commissioned by them or written specifically for them. These books reflect the growth in lay piety among increasingly literate women in the later Middle Ages. They were intended for private devotion at home or, in the case of those women who had become nuns, in a convent. Their content reflects the topics that dominated in everyday religious life: prayers to the Trinity, the suffering Christ, the Virgin Mary, and certain saints; prayers of penance and communion; rosaries and promises of indulgence. As such, prayer books are not just vehicles for private devotion but rather they link private spirituality to larger theological and social themes.¹¹¹ Vernacular prayer books are well represented in the East Norse area. They are

108 Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Sentences* IV, d. 15, q. 1, a. 4.3; see Jarl Gallén, “Bön,” in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, vol. 2, ed. Alan Karker et al. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1980), col. 501.

109 Pil Dahlerup, *Dansk litteratur: Middelalder*, vol. 1: *Religiøs litteratur* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1998), 454–55. For more on prayer as “divine rhetoric,” see Eckart Conrad Lutz, *Rhetorica divina: Mittelhochdeutsche Prologgebete und die rhetorische Kultur des Mittelalters*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, Neue Folge, vol. 82, no. 206 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 1984).

110 On prayer generally, see Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vols 11–12: *Nubu–Saic* (New York: Macmillan, 1995), s. v. “prayer,” and on prayer in the Middle Ages, Gallén, “Bön.”

111 Denise Despres, “Immaculate Flesh and the Social Body: Mary and the Jews,” *Jewish History* (1998): 48.

largely translations from Latin and German (and sometimes between Danish and Swedish), and many of the same prayers appear in different books in both ODa. and OSw. There are many preserved prayers in ODa. The most important extant prayer books number twenty-one:¹¹²

DAS AM 72 8^o (includes a passionate, fifteenth century), AM 75 8^o (c. 1500), AM 418 12^o (c. 1500), AM 420 12^o (c. 1500), AM 421 12^o (“Marine Jesperdatter’s prayer book,” c. 1500), AM 423 12^o (“Marine Lauridsdatter’s prayer book,” sixteenth century), AM 782 4^o (beginning of sixteenth century), AM 784 4^o (1523), AM 790 4^o (beginning of sixteenth century); DKB GKS 1613 4^o (“Else Holgersdatter’s book of hours,” beginning of sixteenth century), GKS 1614 4^o (“Marine Issdatter’s prayer book,” end of fifteenth century), GKS 1615 4^o (beginning of sixteenth century), Thott 152 8^o (sixteenth century), Thott 553 4^o (“Anna Brade’s prayer book,” 1497); KSB-SGB Kalmar 33 (“Knud Bille’s book of hours,” 1514–25); LSB T 217 (1500–29); LUB Mh 35 (“Karen Ludvigsdatter’s book of hours,” c. 1500); SKB A 29 (c. 1500); A 40 (“Ingeborg Predbjørnsdatter’s book of hours,” beginning of sixteenth century), A 42 (“Johanne Nielsdatter’s book of hours,” end of fifteenth century), A 51 (1450), A 85 (sixteenth century).

There are a couple of fragments from prayer books:

DAS AM 789 4^o (“fragment af en papistisk Bønnebog” [fragment of a papist prayer book], fifteenth century), AM 1056 4^o (fragments: XII–XIII, XXX–XXXV, 1450–1500).

And three printed prayer books (one is just a fragment):

Gudelige Bønner (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, 1509); Christiern Pedersen, *Vor Froe Tider* (Paris: Josse Badius Ascensius, 1514); Roskilde fragment.¹¹³

In OSw. we have seventeen important prayer books and manuscripts:

DAS AM 422 12^o (“En Vadstena-nunnas bönbok” [A Vadstena nun’s prayer book], 1450–1500); Gävle, Vasaskolan Ms. 2 (“Jungfru Marie Psaltaregilles bönbok” [Prayer book for the Guild of the Virgin Mary’s Psalter], 1525–50); SBB-PK Mscr. Theol. Lat. 71 8^o (“Kristina Petersdotter’s

112 The list of ODa. and OSw. prayer books does not include multitext manuscripts where the main contents are not prayers even though they do contain some prayers. For a full list of ODa. prayers, see Karl Martin Nielsen, ed., *Middelalderens Danske Bønnebøger*, vol. 5: *Kommentar og registre* (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1982), 1–26. On prayers in ODa., see Pål Dahlerup, *Dansk litteratur: Middelalder*, vol. 1, 447–75; Pål Dahlerup, *Sanselig Senmiddelalder: Litterære perspektiver på danske tekster 1482–1523* (Århus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2010), 269–346. The ODa. have been edited and published in Karl Martin Nielsen, ed., *Middelalderens Danske Bønnebøger*, 5 vols (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1945–82). **113** On the Roskilde fragment, see Gunnar Skov, *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 6, no. 5 (1945–47): 241–47.

prayer book,” end of fifteenth century); SKB A 36 (fifteenth century), A 37 (“Märta Thuresdotter’s prayer book,” before 1506), A 38 (“Christina Hansdotter’s prayer book,” c. 1500), A 43 (“Ingegerd Ambjörnsdotter’s prayer book,” 1501–27), A 80 (“Birgitta Andersdotter’s prayer book,” 1518–32), A 81 (“Dorothea Nilsson’s prayer book,” 1492–1519), A 82 (“GM’s prayer book,” beginning of sixteenth century), A 82a (“Anna Karlsdotter’s prayer book,” 1420s), Rål. 4 8^o (“Christina Nilsson Gyllenstierna’s book of devotion,” after 1514); SRA E 9068 (“Margareta Matsdotter’s prayer book,” beginning of sixteenth century); UBG 881 8^o (after 1506); UUB C 12 (“Liber horarum ad usum sororum Ordinis S. Salvatoris” [Book of Hours for the Use of the Sisters of the Order of St Saviour], c. 1500), C 475 (c. 1500), C 68 (1450–1500).

Two fragments:

SKB A 49 (1420s), A 78 (c. 1500).

A couple of printed books of prayer (one of which is just a fragment):¹¹⁴

Vor fruwe tydher (Uppsala: Jürgen Richolff, c. 1525); LUB 3 prayers, printed fragment (probably also Jürgen Richolff in Uppsala, c. 1525).

Prayers are also found scattered about in other devotional works and the extant books represent just a fraction of what prayers must have been written and read in the Middle Ages. As a central practice in Christian worship, these prayers had a much broader audience and a larger impact than we might assume when considering each preserved book individually. It is noteworthy that prayers on the Passion and the Crucifixion frequently describe Christ’s torture and crucifixion as being at the hands of the Jews. The prayers are full of descriptions of violence and gore, and, just like sermons and Passion treatises, they include elements that are at variance with the narratives in the Gospels. I shall only be referring to OSw. material in the following as I have discussed the description of Jews in the ODa. prayer material in detail elsewhere.¹¹⁵ In addition, as mention of Jews is rather sporadic and cursory (and usually in predictable set-phrases “arrested..., bound..., beaten by the Jews”), it is near impossible to extract a picture of “Jewish emotions” from the prayers. They are therefore only used as sources in the section below on the responsibility for killing Christ.

¹¹⁴ For a list of OSw. prayers, see Ingela Hedström, *Medeltidens svenska bönböcker: Kvinnligt skriftbruk i Vadstena kloster*, Acta humaniora, vol. 405 (Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo · Det humanistiske fakultet, 2009), 43–52. Hedström’s book – her doctoral thesis from the University of Oslo – provides an excellent account of medieval Swedish prayer books and their use. Many of the OSw. prayers have been edited and published in *VadstNunB*; *SvKyrkobr*; *SkrUppM*; *SvBM*.

¹¹⁵ Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*, 50–69.

Killing Christ: Jews and the Passion of Jesus Christ

Appropriate and inappropriate emotions and behaviours

Details of the blood spilt, the phlegm spat, and the horrific acts of violence carried out by the Jews provided the Christian faithful with an occasion for compassion and empathy. The Passion narrative created an opportunity for the listener to experience devotion through the senses by imagining the pain and feelings of Christ as he was crucified and of his mother as she witnessed her son being put to death by his monstrous bloodthirsty enemies. By engaging their senses, Christians could gain a deeper, more individual relationship with their faith and experience a spiritual dimension to corporeality. This form of affective piety emerged by 1300 and is found in works by the Benedictine philosopher and theologian Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) and the major, influential figure of medieval monasticism Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), and it became particularly widespread in women’s religious communities. Before long, emotional and bodily experience began to permeate Christian spirituality, seen in practices that spanned a vast spectrum: from rather mild actions such as weeping and meditating on the *Arma Christi* to far more extreme ones such as mortification, licking wounds, and eating scabs at the other. Emotional – and, to some extent, self-castigating – practices such as immersing oneself in the Passion and imitating Christ’s suffering required the idea of persecuting agents – the Jews – to inflict the suffering and who represented everything that Christ was not. Just as the Passion was made present and ongoing through Passion piety and *imitatio Christi*, so too was Jewish guilt projected into the present.¹¹⁶

One of the sources for imagery and language to describe Christ’s brutalized body was the Old Testament and the passages used in typological exegesis that were believed to be fulfilled by the events of the Passion. One such text is Isaiah 53:2–5, 7:¹¹⁷

And he shall grow up as a tender plant before him, and as a root out of a thirsty ground: there is no beauty in him, nor comeliness: and we have seen him, and there was no sightliness, that we should be desirous of him: Despised, and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with infirmity: and his look was as it were hidden and despised, whereupon we esteemed him not. Surely he hath borne our infirmities and carried our sorrows: and we have thought him as it were a leper, and as one struck by God and afflicted.

¹¹⁶ Bale, *Feeling Persecuted*, 55.

¹¹⁷ On how Passion narratives draw inspiration from prophecies in the Old Testament, see Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 28–29.

But he was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our sins: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his bruises we are healed. [...] He was offered because it was his own will, and he opened not his mouth: he shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter, and shall be dumb as a lamb before his shearer, and he shall not open his mouth.

By the Late Middle Ages, these passages came to be understood as literal descriptions of Christ's physical torments. So, we find in the East Norse material Christ described as being made ugly, looking like a leper, being heavily bruised, being led like a sheep to the slaughter, and so on. What Christ was before (beautiful, glorious, radiant, regal, well-spoken) is contrasted with what he has been transformed into by the Jews (deformed, broken, helpless, and silent). His body is subsequently, of course, transformed back to its former beauty through the Resurrection.

The lurid textual descriptions of Jewish violence against Christian bodies encouraged – demanded, even – the reader to engage sensorially and emotionally with the text. In tales of the Passion, the Jews' active, hate-ridden brutality is juxtaposed with Christ's passive, loving response to the pain they are inflicting upon his body – he welcomes his suffering. For readers wishing to imitate Christ – as all good Christians should – they needed to emulate and share in his suffering, not just physically through acts of mortification, but affectively, by feeling the same emotions as he did. This required not just an act of compassion (known in East Norse as *mæthlithelse/mædhlihning*), but also of empathy or *Einführung* on the part of the devotee. The animal-like, brutish feelings expressed by Christ's tormentors through their violence are contrasted with his clemency. Wrong, i. e., Jewish, emotions are held up against correct, i. e., Christ-like or Christian, emotions. Readers are being taught not just what to believe in order to be Christian, but what to feel – and what not to feel. The Passion was the paramount Jewish crime against God, and it established a template for stories about future acts of Jewish violence against Christians. In this section, sermons and devotional texts are investigated to uncover their “emotional content” and what behaviours are being encouraged by contrasting them with fantastical Jewish savagery.

Sermons: Alle Epistler oc Euangelia, GKS 1390 4^o, and UUB C 56

Rhetorical violence permeates Passiontide sermons, especially for Good Friday, and those written in East Norse are no exception.¹¹⁸ The descriptions of how Jesus was treated by his enemies express medieval Christians' fantasies about Jewish wickedness and cruelty, and this use of devotional violence illustrates

118 This section is based on my 2019 article “On Preaching Passions and Precepts.”

how writers sought to move their audiences affectively through repulsive descriptions of brutality, filth, and ugliness towards greater piety. One way this was done was to describe actions, behaviours, and motivations that are not found in the Gospels. For example, in Christiern Pedersen's Good Friday sermon in *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515), the Jews arrest Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, tie him up, and throw him off a bridge into the K̄idron river where they nearly drown him:

Her scriffue somme doctores ath den tiid de komme till den aa som løber mellem staden oc oliueti bierg offuer huilken der laa en spong oc bro som de pleyde at gonge offuer paa naar det vor høyt vande Der slebede de vor herre vden faare i vandet paa de hwasse stene meth rebene som de hagde om hanss halss oc liff Oc røcthe hannem om kwld i vandet en dog det vor icke swarlige dybt Der slebede de hannem bort oc igen till han vor saa gaat som halff døð¹¹⁹

[Some scholars write about this that when (the Jews) came to the (K̄idron/Cedron) river that runs between the city and the Mount of Olives, over which there was a gang plank and bridge that they used for crossing when there was high water, there they dragged Our Lord alongside in the water across the sharp stones using ropes that they had tied around his neck and waist. And they pushed him down into the water although it was not very deep. There they dragged him back and forth until he was almost half-dead.]¹²⁰

It would seem that the Jews in this sermon are torturing Christ for their own amusement. Their violence is continuous and excessive, and they express a macabre pleasure in torturing Jesus. After leading him to Golgotha, they nail him to the cross:

119 *AlleEpoEu*, f. 118v [cxii]; *ChrPed Skr* I 350–51. Among other torments that are described in the sermon but that do not appear in the Gospels we find the secret torment (“det hemmelig pine”) during his first night of imprisonment (*AlleEpoEu*, f. 118v [cxii]; *ChrPed Skr* I 351), his maltreatment before the judges (*ChrPed Skr* I 351, 353) and details of his crowning (*ChrPed Skr* I 358) and crucifixion (*ChrPed Skr* I 358–59). See Text 4: *A Sermon for Good Friday*.

120 That such extra-Gospel material sparked the interest of readers can be seen from later additions and marginalia in extant copies of *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*. For example, a reader of “eks. 1” [copy 1] in DKB has written the following in the margin of f. 118v regarding this episode: “En Bro, Som de slebte Jesvm offuer mellem Jervsalem oc Ollie biergit (offuer en Aae)” [A bridge that they dragged Jesus over between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives (over a stream)]. The same passage is highlighted by markings in the margin in the LN 208 copies “Eks. 3: Hielmst. 19 2^o” and “Eks. 5” in DKB. On the marginalia in extant copies of Christiern Pedersen's miracle sermon collection, see Jonathan Adams, “Christiern Pedersen's *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*: Reading a Catholic Text in the Danish Reformation,” in *Circulating the Word of God in Medieval and Early Modern Catholic Europe: Preaching and Preachers across Manuscript and Print (c. 1450 to c. 1550)*, ed. Veronica O'Mara and Patricia Stoop, *Sermo*, vol. 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022).

Der de hagde saa fest hannem till korsset da opregdsde de deth met hanss verdige legeme Och lode det saa falde ned till iorden igen met reth foract at de der met hanss pine for øge skulde Siden reyssde de korsset op igen oc støde det saa haardelige ned i hwlen som det skulde stonde med hanss suare legeme¹²¹

[When (the Jews) had fastened him to the cross, they raised it with his worthy body attached. And they let it fall to the ground again with great contempt so that they could increase his suffering. Then they raised the cross again and slammed it down as hard as possible into the hole in which it was to stand with his heavy body.]

Pedersen describes the Jews' treatment of Christ in terms of savagery beyond the human. Jews continually humiliate, torment, punish, and mutilate Jesus and his body. They are described as "vmilde" [cruel, evil], "fule" [filthy, vile], "fortwilede" [despairing; ruthless], "slemme" [bad], "offuergiffne" [unrestrained, licentious], and "gerige oc figende [...] paa hanss død" [greedy and eager (...) for his death].¹²² They are "skalke" [villains],¹²³ who attack Jesus, *Agnus Dei*, "som grumme løffuer falde paa eth wskyldigt lom" [like savage lions fall upon an innocent lamb] and who become "glade som en wlff der fanger i lam" [happy like a wolf who catches a lamb] when they see him arrested.¹²⁴ They seize, tie, beat, shout, scream, drag, accuse, spit, laugh, point, and shove throughout the sermon. They behave "vmildelige" [evilly], "haardlige" [harshly], "skadelige" [harmfully], and "spottelige" [mockingly].¹²⁵ Jews are thus described using the language of brutality and depicted in an entirely negative and unambiguous manner.

The Jews' threatening behaviour and cruelty is also directed towards Jesus' mother, Mary. Along with her companions she is subjected to attacks by Jews: "de kaste sten oc vrenlighed aff rendestenen effter hanss verdige moder oc de andre marier oc Sancte hanss" [They throw stones and filth from the gutter at his worthy mother and the other Marys and St John].¹²⁶ Her grief is so great that she collapses and dies at the foot of the cross:

¹²¹ *AlleEocEu*, f. 121v [cxv]; *ChrPed Skr* I 359.

¹²² Examples: *ChrPed Skr* I 350, 351, 363, and 365 ("vmilde"); *ChrPed Skr* I 353 and 356 ("fule"); *ChrPed Skr* I 354, 355, and 363 ("fortwilede"); *ChrPed Skr* I 354 and 355 ("slemme"); *ChrPed Skr* I 355 ("offuergiffne"), and *ChrPed Skr* I 357 ("gerige oc figende [...] paa hanss død").

¹²³ *ChrPed Skr* I 354 and 365.

¹²⁴ *AlleEocEu*, f. 118v [cxii]; *ChrPed Skr* I 350 and 351.

¹²⁵ *ChrPed Skr* I 342 ("vmildelige"); *ChrPed Skr* I 342, 343, and 352 ("haardlige"); *ChrPed Skr* I 353 ("skadelige"), and *ChrPed Skr* I 354 ("spottelige").

¹²⁶ *AlleEocEu*, f. 119v [cxiii]; *ChrPed Skr* I 352–53. A reader of DKB's "Eks. 1" has added in the margin here: "Jødernis wforskammede hierter" [the shameless hearts of the Jews].

Da vor der en blant dem som hed longinus han vor meget offuerdadig paa den tiid men han bleff siden ydmyg oc hellig Han stack vor herriss høgre side op *met* et spyud oc der vd rand blod oc vand Saa styrte Jomfru Maria moren død vti Sancte Marie magdalene hender¹²⁷

[Among them there was then a man called Longinus. He was very arrogant at the time, but later became humble and holy. He stabbed Our Lord's right-hand side with a spear and blood and water ran out. Then the Virgin Mary the mother fell down dead in St Mary Magdalene's arms.]

However, when the Jews leave the site of the Crucifixion, Mary miraculously comes alive again “ligerwiss som hun hagde op vognet aff en søffn” [as if she had awoken from sleeping].¹²⁸ The Virgin and Jesus' other followers – Mary Magda-

¹²⁷ *AlleEpoEu*, f. 123r [cxvii]; ChrPed Skr I 364.

¹²⁸ In most Passion texts, Mary swoons, but does not die at Golgotha. The tradition of Mary overcome with grief and collapsing started with the *Opusculum de passione Domini* by Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856); see Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 211. The source for her appearing to die is Bernard of Clairvaux's *Dominica infra octavam Assumptionis Beatae Virginis Mariae sermo*. Here, Mary suffers an inward martyrdom: Longinus's spear does not reach Jesus' soul as he is already dead, but it pierces the soul of Mary: “vere tuam, o beata mater, animam gladius pertransiuit” [truly, O blessed mother, the sword pierced your soul]; see Sandro Sticca, *Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages* (Athens [GA]: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 108. In a vision to St Birgitta (*Liber Caelestis* 1.10.33, 3.30.4, 7.2.4), Mary tells her about her heart and soul being pierced by a sword in fulfilment of a prophecy (cf. Luke 2:34–35). Below is an account of this vision as related in an OSw. sermon in LSB T 180, p. 6a–b: “Nw thet andra hymils tungil som «wi» wndherligit tekn skulde see vti fore doma dagh / thet ær ij mananom / thet samæ teknit war oc teknat *sancto iohanni* eptir ty han scrifwar oc sigher vt af at han saa manan waræ wendan allan ij eit røth blod / wid thetta hymils thungl manan ma liknas iomfrv maria gudz modher som stor wanskilse ok dræfwilse leid oc tolde ij sinne welsignade sons dødz tima / Swa at hon af i«n»dherlike sorgh oc dræfwilse war all formæktthadh* oc wanskeligin wordin som hon sielf tede sik *sancte birgite* / oc sagde swa ij mins sons pino tima war ek swa bedrø[d>f]d oc wanmektoogh wordin at allæ mina lime waro som the waro dødhe / swa at vppa thet ytersta tha iudanae honom korsfestho / oc ek hørðhe liudit af hambromom / tha kændhe ek einthet til mik eller viste wtan mina systra oc maria magdalena the holdo mik oppe millom sinna handa / tha fulkomnadis iomfrv marie then spadomen oc ordhin som then gamble prophethin spadhe symeon til henne lanth til forenne *Quam ipsius animam gladius pertransiuit* / thet ær at eit hwasth sorghenna swerdh skal ga genom thina sel oc tith hiertha oc swa som iomfrv maria war tha syrgiande oc bedrøfdh ij them thimanom fore thera fula iudanna grymheit skuld / Swa bedrøfwar hon sik en nw at wars herra dødher warder forsmadher oc gabbadher af falsom *crisnom* mannom eller heidnom iudom” [Now the second heavenly body that we should see as a strange portent before Doomsday is in the moon. The same sign was also described by St John because he writes about this and says that he saw the moon had turned completely red. (Revelation 6:12). To this heavenly body, the moon, we can compare the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, who suffered and bore a great loss and sorrow at the hour of her blessed son's death. So that she was made completely without strength' and grief-stricken from her heartfelt grief and sorrow. As she appeared to St Birgitta and said, “I had become so sorrowful and powerless during my son's torture that all my

lene, Mary of Cleophas, John, Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus – have to hide and act in secret out of fear of the Jews’ revenge.¹²⁹ Jesus’ bloody walk through the streets of Jerusalem to Golgotha is a predictably gory affair from beginning to end. Everyone along the route (“huer mand paa vegn”)¹³⁰ subjects him to derision and violence by mocking, kicking, and beating him. The Jews of Jerusalem are treating the spectacle of Jesus in the street as a reason for macabre festivities.

Pedersen’s sermon contains the usual elements of a Good Friday sermon: the blood curse,¹³¹ the pain of crucifixion,¹³² and the piercing of Jesus’ side by Longinus.¹³³ *Juthespyt* [Jew-spittle] is spat into Jesus’ “holy face” no fewer than three times: “De [...] robte oc skrege paa hannem oc spøtte hannem i hanss hellige ansict” [They (...) shouted and screamed at him and spat in his holy face],¹³⁴ “Da wor han saa ynckelige slagen oc bespøtten i hanss hellige ansict at hwn nep-pelige kwnde hannem” [Then he was so pitilessly beaten and his face covered in spittle that she hardly recognized him],¹³⁵ and “Der hwn saa hannem [...] at hanss hellige ansict vor saa blodigt oc bespøttet at hwn hannem neppelige ende kunde” [When she saw him (...) that his holy face was so bloody and covered in spittle that she could hardly recognize him].¹³⁶ Spitting Jews occur in prayers

limbs were as if they were dead, so that in the end, when the Jews were crucifying him and I heard the sound of the hammers, I felt nothing and lost consciousness, but my sisters and Mary Magdalene held me up between them with their hands.” Then the Virgin Mary fulfilled the prophecy and the words that the old prophet Simeon had foretold to her long before: “*Quam ipsius animam gladius pertransibit.*” (= Luke 2:35: *Tuam ipsius animam pertransiet* [a sword shall pierce through thy own soul]) That means that a sharp sword of sorrows will go through your soul and your heart. And so, Mary was then grieving and sorrowful at that hour on account of the Jews’ cruelty. She is still mourning like this now that Our Lord is killed, mocked, and ridiculed by false Christians or pagan Jews], LSB T 180, p. 6a–b, *SMP* VI 27. *The participle “formæktthadh” (< *formækta* [to be able, capable]) makes little sense here and is surely a scribal error for a word such as *vanmæktogh* or *omæktogh* [powerless, adj. f. sg.] or it is a loan from MLG *vörmechtet* [overcome, overwhelmed] < *vörmechten* [to overcome, overwhelm, overpower, subdue].

129 ChrPed *Skr* I 347 and 367. That Mary and the disciples had to hide “for fear of the Jews” (John 20:19) is where the Gospel of John’s condemnation of “the Jews” reaches its climax. See Stanley A. Leavy, “‘For Fear of the Jews’: Origins of Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity,” *American Imago* 63, no. 1: *Analyzing Christianity* (2006): 57–79.

130 ChrPed *Skr* I 347 and 356.

131 ChrPed *Skr* I 355.

132 ChrPed *Skr* I 354 and 358.

133 ChrPed *Skr* I 364.

134 *AlleEpoEu*, f. 118v [cxii]; ChrPed *Skr* I 351.

135 *AlleEpoEu*, f. 119r [cxiii]; ChrPed *Skr* I 352. A reader of “eks. 1” [copy 1] in DKB has changed “kwnde” to “kiende” [knew, recognized].

136 *AlleEpoEu*, f. 120v [cxiiii]; ChrPed *Skr* I 357. On Jews spitting, see under “Spittle” in Chapter 5: *The Jewish Body*, pp. 176–79 (with references).

and images of mocking, jeering Jews beating, flogging, and spitting at Jesus are frequent in medieval wall paintings and reinforce the descriptions of behaviour and emotions in the sermons.¹³⁷ Even when it is Pilate's men torturing Jesus, Pedersen manages to denigrate the Jews. For example, at one point, the Jews present consider themselves above the dirty work of whipping Jesus: "Saa befall han sine tienerne at de hannem hustruge skulde Thii at iøderne lode dem selffue vere for gode till at pine hannem mod deriss paaske høgtiid" [Then (Pilate) ordered his servants to scourge him because the Jews considered themselves to be too good to torture him on their Passover holiday].¹³⁸ The Jews' power to corrupt lies in their money and this is why Pilate does not want to upset them: "Han vilde oc haffue venskaff met iøderne oc mente at de skulde giffue hannem store penninge" [He also wanted the friendship of the Jews and thought that they would give him a lot of money].¹³⁹ High priests had, of course, used money to reward Judas for betraying Jesus. The association between Jews and money has its origins in the Gospel story of Jesus cleansing the Temple and expelling the moneychangers (Mark 11:15–19). Anti-Jewish interpretations of this New Testament passage together with the contrast between the alleged materialist mentality of Judaism and the spirituality of Christianity provided a theological basis for the belief in shady Jewish business practices and ill-gotten wealth. Pilate's belief that he will be paid off by the Jews if he allows them to kill Jesus and the corrupting influence of Jewish money implied in Pedersen's sermon act to condemn Jews as both a criminal people and economic exploiters.

Sometimes, sermons turn the accusation of Jewish perniciousness onto the audience. Having drawn the listeners into feeling the suffering of Christ at the hands of the Jews, the preacher uses a technique to achieve a distancing effect (*Verfremdungseffekt*) and suddenly tells the audience that they are worse than

137 For an example of spitting in a prayer, see St Birgitta's prayer to Christ in Margareta Matsdotter's prayer book from the beginning of the sixteenth century: "Signadhiri wari thu min hærra ihesus christus / thær til cayphas hws leddis / oc fore pylati dom antwardadhis / oc til herodes sændis / ok aff honom oc hans hærs-kapi sputtadhis / oc atir mædh spot / oc haadh til pylatum leddis" [May you be blessed my Lord, Jesus Christ, who was led to Caiaphas's house, and was given to Pilate's judgement, and was sent to Herod, and was spat at by him and his companions, and was led back to Pilate with mockery and derision], SRA E 9068, p. 125; *SvBM* 115–16 (no. 11). For wall paintings of spitting Jews, see, for example, Jews scourging Jesus in Over Dråby Church (1460–80) and Skibby Church (1325–50), both on Sjælland, and a Jew mocking Jesus in Sanderum Church (1175–1275) on Fyn. The images are reproduced in Adams, "On Preaching Passions and Precepts," 105, 106, and 107 respectively. On "Jew-spit," see under "Spittle" in Chapter 5: *The Jewish Body*, pp. 176–79.

138 *AlleEpocEu*, f. 119v [cxiii]; *ChrPed Skr I* 353.

139 *AlleEpocEu*, f. 120r [cxiii]; *ChrPed Skr I* 355.

Jews and forces them to confront their own sinfulness and the ways they inflict pain on Christ. For example, the inimical image of Jews in GKS 1390 4^o is used as a sort of parallel description of contemporary Christians, of the audience themselves, who similarly torment, mock, and crucify their god every day with their wickedness, sin, and failure to live up to Christian ideals:

Thridiæ war at the ijgengulde^(a) hannem ont for got / thy at han haffdhe wtualt jødhænæ til meere wærdughet æn noghet annet folk / han gaff them bæstæ land ij allæ werldemnæ war / han wiste them sin wiliæ medh prophetenæ ok han frælstæ them^(b) afftæ af^(c) liiffs wadhæ han waldæ sik een jomfrw til modher aff theræ slækt / han predigedhe ok giordhe jærteknæ for them Æn for thessæ godhgerningæ ok mangæ andræ tha wilde the ængeledh latae hannem leffuæ æn the^(d) beddes aff domæren tha han wilde gefue jhesus løs / æn the bedhdes een mandræpæræ till liff ok jhesum til korsins dødh Swa gøræ nu mangæ ledhæ ok forbannædhæ synder mot guth / hwilke han gør mangfalde godhgerningæ medh syndughæ mænniskæ Som sancta paulus sigher at^(e) the annen tidh korsfæstæ gutz søn / ok haldæ hannem for gab ok hon Ok nu mædhen then som forwanz medh twa æller thre witnæ at haffuæ brutit / moysi logh han skulde dø wden al miskund O hwre meghet hardhæræ pinæ the forskulde som forsma gutz søn medh thet at the syndæ mot hans budhordh Ok thy kærer guth rætwislighe / medh propheten^(f) offwer syndughe mænniskæ ok sigher^(g) / hwat æy ijgengældz ont for got thy at the groffwæ graff for myn siæl swiglighe ok lønlighe ok sattæ for mech manga dødz forsæt¹⁴⁰

Notes: **a.** ijgengulde] ijgengu lde *written either side of a hole, MS.* **b.** them] \them/ MS. **c.** af] \af/ MS. **d.** the] |the| MS. **e.** at] \at/ MS. **f.** medh propheten] medh propheten *written either side of a hole, MS.* **g.** ok sigher] ok sigher *written either side of a hole, MS.*

[The third point is that they repaid his good with evil. He had chosen the Jews for greater worth than any other people. He gave them the best land in the whole world where he showed them his will through the prophets, and he often saved them from life's difficulties. He chose a virgin from their stock to be his mother. He preached and performed miracles for them. And in return for these and many other good deeds, they would not let him live under any circumstances, but rather, when the judge wanted to release him, they asked for a murderer to be spared instead, and Jesus to be crucified. So too now do many evil and cursed people, for whom God performs many good deeds, commit sins against him. As St Paul says, they crucify God's son for a second time and insult and mock him. (Hebrews 6:6) And just as he once could be condemned by two or three witnesses for having broken Moses' Law and had to die without mercy, so also now. O, how much greater torment they cause him, those who disdain God's son by sinning against his commandments! And so, through the prophets, God righteously condemns sinful people and says that those who paid for good with bad, they deceitfully and secretly dug a grave for his soul and placed before him many deadly traps.]

140 GKS 1390 4^o, f. 142r–v; SMP VIII 176–77.

It is possible to say that Jewish crucifiers here retain some of the symbolic value of sinful people in general. Drawing a parallel between Jews' wicked actions and contemporary Christians' sinfulness is also a feature commonly found in the revelations of St Birgitta and in Birgittine literature. The sermon quoted above is from the manuscript GKS 1390 4^o (c. 1450) that most likely came into existence in the Birgittine milieu in Maribo, Lolland.¹⁴¹ It is clearly influenced by Birgitta's writings and her preoccupation with moral decay in society – in this instance, the excessive drinking habits of the members of a guild to whom the sermon is addressed. Birgitta's revelations, recorded in OSw. as *Revelations* and Lat. as *Liber Caelestis*, are often quoted in Birgittine sermons. In her own writings, the saint did not portray Jews using stereotypical tropes such as moneylenders, host desecrators, infanticides, poisoners, and so on. Instead, they almost always only appear within the context of the New Testament in order to draw a parallel between their evil actions and Christians' mockery of Jesus.¹⁴² Birgitta uses the motif of Christ-killers to illustrate contemporary Christians' neglect of their faith and to call them to a life of godliness and piety.¹⁴³ She even compares the pope himself to the Jewish crucifiers:

Thu æst omanlikare æn iudane thy at the korsfesto min ensamman likama Æn thu korsfester ok pina minna vtualda manna siæla · hulkom thin ilzska ok thina synde æru beskare æn nakar swærdz stiongir¹⁴⁴

[You are more contemptible than the Jews, because they only crucified my body, but you crucify and torture the souls of my chosen men for whom your malice and your sins are more bitter than any wound from a sword.]

It is difficult to imagine that Birgitta did not encounter Jews during her travels across Europe and to the Holy Land, but they have left no trace in her revelations. The fact that Birgitta only used Jews in their role as Christ-killers as a mirror to reprimand her coreligionists does not mean that she was particularly kindly disposed towards Jews. In one revelation she links them directly to the devil who spurs them on in their evil actions:

141 See Britta Olrik Frederiksen, “Et forsøg til datering af det gammeldanske postilhåndskrift GkS 1390 4to,” in *Oppa swänzsko oc oppa dansko: Studien zum Altnordischen*, ed. Harry Peridon and Arend Quak (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 151–206.

142 See, e. g., *Liber Caelestis* 1.37, 41, 53; Carl-Gustaf Undhagen, ed., *Sancta Birgitta: Revelaciones Book I*, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 7, no. 1 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1978), 347–52, 360–68, 409–14; *BU I* 111–15, 122–30, 181–86. An English translation can be found in Denis Searby and Bridget Morris, trans. and ed., *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 1: *Liber Caelestis, Books I–III* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 114–16, 120–24, and 146–49 respectively.

143 See Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*, 29–36.

144 *Revelations* 1.41.16; SKB A 33, f. 63rb–va [cols 254–55]; *BU I* 124. The pope is Clement V.

Æn at diæfwllin sagdhe at ængin aff sniæлло judhomen vilia *thet* tro suara jak thik / judhane æru suasom the som haua mist høgthro øronin oc halta *medh* baadhom fotomen andelica for hulkit the æru osniælle oc skulu vara til ændalyktena / Thy ær ey vndir at dyæfwllin gør blind oc hærdhe thera hiærta Ok æggia thom oc radhir oblygh thing hulkin som æru mot tronne / thy huru opta nakor tholkir thanke løpir mot thik aff christi licamma tha sigh thet thinom andelicom vinom oc stat stadhugh j tronne / Oc vit vtan jæff at thæn licammin som jak tok aff jomfrune oc thæn som korsfæstir var oc styre j himerike thæn sami ær a altarenoc oc han taka badhe godhe oc onde¹⁴⁵

[But to the devil saying that none of the wise Jews want to believe in this, I answer you: The Jews are like those who have lost their right ears¹⁴⁶ and spiritually they limp along on both feet as they are irrational and shall remain so till the end. Thus, it is not strange that the devil blinds and hardens their hearts. And he induces and counsels them to shameless acts that are against the faith. So, whenever some such thought about the body of Christ occurs to you, tell your spiritual friends, and stand firm in the faith. And know without any doubt that the body that I assumed from the Virgin and that was crucified and reigns in heaven is the very same body on the altar, and that both the good and the wicked receive it.]

Being put into the same category as deicide Jews or being described as more wicked or less godly than Jews would have been enough for Birgitta's readers and this sermon's audience to shame them and encourage them towards life of devotion and godliness. The Jew in the role of Christ-killer is being used here as a metaphorical symbol of evil and unchristian, immoral behaviour, and through the mechanism of shame operates as a tool with which to castigate the Christian audience. Whereas Jews only killed Christ's body and humanity, sinful Christians (who, like the Jews before them, have been chosen by God but reject him) kill Christ's spirit and are therefore guilty of a greater crime.¹⁴⁷

Only the beginning of the ODa. Good Friday sermon in UUB C 56, ff. 90r–91r [pp. 179–181] is extant. Nonetheless, even here we find a teaching on the correct Christian response to Christ's suffering that is explicitly compared to the wrong Jewish behavioural response:

Oc thy tilbør oc hwarie ene *cristne* menniskio a mote the fula judhana oc therras grymmo gælnisko at hidhra oc æra oc lowa wars herra jhesu *christi* lekama swa hardelika oc ønkelika for os syndogha memiskior sargadhan oc plaghadhan¹⁴⁸

[And it is also appropriate that every single Christian, in response to the vile Jews and their cruel insanity, exalt and honour and praise Our Lord Jesus Christ's body (that was) so harshly and pitifully wounded and tormented for us sinful people.]

¹⁴⁵ *Revelations* 4.61.21–22; SKB A 5 a, f. 104rb [col. 414]; BU IV 115.

¹⁴⁶ The Lat. version has “right eyes” (*dexteris oculis*) here.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 63.4 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 36, cols 762–63, and Anselm, *Cur Deus homo* 1.9 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 158, cols 370–73.

¹⁴⁸ UUB C 56, f. 90v [p. 180]; SMP III 133.

In the East Norse sermons, Jews are framed as the enemy of Christ and the embodiment of evil, ugliness, and violence. The Jews found in sermon expositions are of course biblical and create an opportunity for listeners to experience their religion affectively. Their cruelty allows the Christian audience to “feel with” the characters of the New Testament and other holy or innocent victims of the Jews, to immerse themselves in the suffering of Christ at the hands of his persecutors, and to create an emotional connection to their faith. Sometimes, after being encouraged to feel with Christ and to detest the Jews and all they represent, the sermon’s focus shifts onto the current persecutors of Christ: sinful Christians. The audience is subsequently rebuked and charged with behaving worse than the deicide Jews: they continually kill Christ’s spirit, while the Jews only once killed his body.¹⁴⁹ Thus, after a shift of perspective and an emotional turn-around the listeners are made to question how they themselves continue to torment Christ through their sinning or to develop and feel empathy with Christ or his mother.

Treatises on the Passion: Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder

The Passion narrative in *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder*, the ODa. version of *The Fifteen Places*, very much follows that of the aforementioned Good Friday sermons and comprises an expanded version of the narrative in the Gospels that portrays the Crucifixion as a Jewish crime. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the ODa. Ghemen print contains more references to Jews than other ODa. and OSw. versions of *The Fifteen Places*, and for this reason, it will be the focus here. In the introduction to *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder*, the reader is informed of the purpose of the text:

I ho som tæsse fæmthen stæder hwer dag yffuer faar i sith hiærte *meth* een reen hwg oc een sand attraa han scal døø fra verdens elskw och gøres lefuendis i gutz kærlighed forthi *thet* teckes gud oc iomfrw maria meget gerne for inden tæsse fæmten stæder tha løckes all wor herre ihesu *christi* pyner och passie¹⁵⁰

[Whoever considers these fifteen places every day in his heart with a pure mind and a true desire, he will die from the love of the world and be revitalized in the love of God because God and the Virgin Mary are very fond of these fifteen places. Then all Our Lord Jesus Christ’s torments and passions will end.]

¹⁴⁹ Elsewhere, however, Jews are accused of still continuing their attacks on Christ and the Church, e. g., by means of host desecration. Jewish perniciousness was of a malleable kind that could be moulded by Christian writers to fit any size or purpose.

¹⁵⁰ *JesuPassV*, f. a2v.

The requirement to *yverfare* [review, consider; pass through] the fifteen places in the heart and with a pure mind and a sincere desire draws upon the reader's emotions, rationale, and intent. The reader is not being asked to learn what happened, but to experience it.

An important aspect of the text is therefore the juxtaposition between Christ's feelings and actions on the one hand and those of his Jewish tormentors on the other. A comparison of the verbs performed by Christ and his enemies, and the qualifiers (adjectives, adverbs, prepositional phrases, etc.) used to describe them or nouns used in connection with them makes an informative list of "desirable" and "undesirable" behaviours and feelings for Christians and their enemies.¹⁵¹ The verbs "fall down, collapse" and "answer" (i. e., during interrogations) occur most frequently, i. e., in four or more stations, followed by "be dislocated," "put on, dress (in clothes)," and "hit (his own face against a stone)" which occur in two to three stations each. The following verbs occur less frequently: "ascend to the cross," "atone," "be silent," "be tortured," "bleed," "blink," "burst open," "carry," "chatter (teeth)," "commend," "console," "cover himself," "crumple," "drink," "dry (feet)," "find," "hang," "kiss," "knock his own teeth loose," "look for," "pick up," "pray," "rest," "rise from the dead," "save," "shake," "shiver," "spurt blood," "stand up," "straighten himself up," "stretch out," "suffer death," "sweat (blood)," "taste," "teach," "walk away," "wash (feet)." None of these verbs express revenge or violence to others. Indeed, except for just a few verbs, such as "console," "wash," and "atone," the verbs either have no object or they are reflexive and have Christ himself as both the subject and object. The eight most common qualifiers used in combination with Jesus are: "blessed," "bloody, filled with blood," "frozen," "with a humble voice," "humble, meek," "like a lamb," "patient," and "powerless."

The vocabulary used for activities performed by Jews is quite different and they often involve violence. The most common verbs in descending order are: "bind, tie up," "shout," "shove," "lead," "push," "torture," "accompany," "beat," "crown," "dress (him) up," "force," "interrogate," "press down," "run forward," "scourge," "stretch," "throw," and "torment." Less frequently used verbs for Jewish actions include: "betray," "capture," "cast lots," "crucify," "cut free," "dance (in mockery)," "fall to knees (in mockery)," "fasten a plank to clothing," "gape (in mockery)," "gather up," "glare," "grab," "hang," "hit," "jump about," "kiss (i. e., Judas)," "mix vinegar and gall and myrrh," "mock," "nail," "pierce," "place a spear in someone's hands," "poke out tongue (in mockery),"

¹⁵¹ I have not included what we might call "neutral" or semantically vague verbs and adjectives (e. g., go, take, say, give) in the brief study below.

“pull hair and beard,” “pull up,” “regain eyesight” (i. e., Longinus), “ridicule,” “run around,” “seat,” “seize,” “send,” “shed blood,” “stab,” “tear off,” and “tread under foot.” The most common adverbs used to describe these actions are “harshly,” “cruelly,” “pitilessly,” “together, all together as one” and “mockingly, contemptuously.” Jews are described as “brutal,” “like cruel wolves,” “merciless,” and “vile,” and the instruments used to carry out their actions include “blunt iron nails,” “iron rods,” and “whips and flails.”

In short, verbs expressing acts of hatred and violence have Christ as their patient (or object) and Jews as their agent (or subject), while only “non-violent” verbs such as “atone,” “wash,” and “console” have Christ as their agent. The exception to this is the action of kissing: Jesus kisses the disciples’ feet and Judas kisses Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane. What is to Jesus and humanity a simple, yet powerful, expression of love and peace has become the symbol of the ultimate betrayal upon the lips of the Jew Judas. A sign of respect and friendship is transformed through a Jew to its antithesis: a sign of disrespect and enmity.¹⁵² Words in the text that describe how actions are performed are positive for Christ and express humility and patience (“like a lamb”), while they are negative for Jews and express cruelty and a swarm mentality (“like a pack of wolves”). The language of the text evokes feelings of compassion towards Christ and of contempt towards his killers. However, the text does not only create an emotional response in the reader but sets out in black and white what behaviours and responses are appropriate and inappropriate for a follower of Christ. He is on the whole passive and bears his torments with humility and restraint while his tormentors’ emotional response to his suffering is hardly human.

Feeling and acting Jewish and feeling and acting Christian

The behaviour of Jews in these texts arouses the emotions of love and compassion for Christ on the one hand and fear of and contempt towards Jews on the other. The graphic descriptions of suffering at the hands of his tormentors stimulate the reader’s love for Christ and create vivid images of realistic and exaggerated violence in his or her mind. In these texts, Jews are no longer symbols of a more general, sinful humanity, but are the physical embodiment of evil and the perpetrators of deicide.

In addition to encouraging affective piety, these sermons and treatises plotted out appropriate Christian emotions. Being Christian required emotional dis-

¹⁵² On the Judas kiss in Passion treatises, see Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 85–86, and 89.

cipline, an “emotional regime” to use William Reddy’s term.¹⁵³ Certain deviant emotions were to be avoided (e. g., jealousy, lust, covetousness) and other normative ones were to be cultivated and expressed (e. g., empathy, compassion, love) in order to belong to the Christian community. Jews in sermons were used to help listeners navigate the spectrum of emotions by acting as practitioners of deviant, unchristian emotions (anger, violence, spite) and repelling the listeners from these emotions (and behaviours). Repulsion was achieved through graphic and unambiguous depictions of Jewish violence and gore as well as through more subtle, “psychological” devices, such as by reversing or perverting a symbol of love (e. g., Judas’s kiss) or by placing “internal” bodily fluids outside the body (e. g., phlegm or brain matter splattered on Christ’s face). Furthermore, passages from the Old Testament used in typological exegesis to show that they were fulfilled by the events of the Passion came to be understood as literal descriptions of Christ’s torments. The use of monstrous Jews in Passion tales was one of the ways that a Christian emotional community could be formed and shaped. In Text 5: *A Sermon for Passion Sunday* from DAS AM 787 4^o (fifteenth century), Jewish behaviours and actions are held up as abominable examples of how not to treat Christ and react to his teachings.

The (mis)use of Jews in these sermons is not just based on fear and anxiety about contamination and defilement through associating with Jews. Jews are one of several devices aimed at providing Christian spirituality with an affective turn and creating an emotional faith. In this, the Jews had a distinctive position as the eternal enemies of Christianity and a unique one as Christ-killers, but it should be remembered that they were just one of several options for the “contrastive baddies” in illustrating Christian doctrine and cultivating affective piety. Other outgroups included devils, women, foreigners, and heretics, although unlike these other marginalized groups only Jews were accompanied by comprehensive polemics of rejection.¹⁵⁴

153 William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 125–26.

154 See Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jew: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997); Jonathan Adams, “The Life of the Prophet Muḥammad in East Norse,” in *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 203–37; Adams, “On Preaching Passions and Precepts.”

Jews' responsibility for killing Christ

The decorated baptismal font in Aakirkeby Church on Bornholm (c. 1190–1225) has eleven Romanesque panels with images carved in sandstone, each with a runic inscription describing the events depicted in the panel.¹⁵⁵ The font is in Gotlandic style (and the language of the inscription is similarly Gutnish), its carver is Master Sigreifr, and it is one of a group of similar baptismal fonts found in Skåne and on Gotland carved by the same man. It represents the oldest vernacular description of the life and death of Jesus in Scandinavia and covers the period from the Annunciation to the Crucifixion. The final four reliefs illustrate and describe the abuse and death of Jesus, and only Jews are blamed here. They are accused of having bound, beaten, and nailed Jesus to the Cross. Neither Pilate nor Roman soldiers appear on the font:

bair : þet : hi(a) : fram : s--(u) : (io)þar : toku | uarn : drotin : ok --Nd- : --N : uip- -re : ok : (g)etu | siþan : ladu : (þa)ir : haN : burt : þiaþa(n) : bundin | ok : (n)ehldu : hiar : ioþar : iesus : a krus : si : fram : a þita¹⁵⁶

[Then it is this far in the story (?). The Jews took Our Lord and bound him to a tree¹⁵⁷ and placed him under guard. Then they led him away from there, bound. And here the Jews nailed Jesus to the cross. Witness that which is right before you!]

In another early text, a translation into Danish of *Planctus Mariae* known as *Mariaklagen* [*The Plaint of Mary*] from c. 1325 and written with runes, we read:

O uih uslæ iuþha : O uih umilde iuþha : sparer mik æi : Mæþan i kryzæn min ening sun : kryzær ok mik hans usla moþær : ællar mæþ annan besk døþ dræpær mik : at iak þo dør mæþ hanum :¹⁵⁸

[O woe, wretched Jews! O woe, cruel Jews! Do not spare me! While you are crucifying my only son, crucify me too, his wretched mother or kill me by some other bitter death, so that I may die alongside him!]

¹⁵⁵ This section is based on my article “Kristi mordere: Jøder i danske passionsberetninger fra middelalderen,” *Danske Studier* 108 (2013): 25–47. On the portrayal of Jews on the Aakirkeby baptismal font, see Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*, 8–11.

¹⁵⁶ The transcription is taken from the Danish National Museum’s runic database at <https://runer.ku.dk> (last accessed 5 April 2022). The monument and inscription are registered in the database as DK Bh 30.

¹⁵⁷ Or “uip- -re” could mean ‘to a wooden beam,’ e. g., a column or post.

¹⁵⁸ SKB A 120, f. 6v; *Mariakl* 22. Also, in facsimile in “Marias Klagen vid korset,” in *Småstycken på forn svenska*, ed. Gustaf Edvard Klemming (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1868–81), 163–74.

The murderous Jews are a widespread motif in religious literature, e. g., medieval prayers and devotional works,¹⁵⁹ and they also appear in profane literature.¹⁶⁰ Just as on the Aakirkeby baptismal font, Christ-killing Jews are found in religious art from across medieval Denmark and Sweden.¹⁶¹ Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus was just as deeply an embedded element in Christian belief and devotion in Scandinavia as elsewhere in Europe, where, indeed, the charge of deicide was not repudiated officially until after the Second World War and even then some Protestant churches protested this “absolution” of Jewish guilt.¹⁶²

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the long history of the charge of deicide against the Jewish people can be traced back to the New Testament according to which some religious leaders of the Jews in Jerusalem were involved in the trial against Jesus that led to his crucifixion at the hands of Roman authorities.¹⁶³ Although it is possible to find justification for the charge of Jewish deicide

159 Jews rather than Romans crucify Jesus in the following prayers: *BønneB* I 124 (no. 30d); *BønneB* II 290 (no. 334i), 307 (no. 343f); *BønneB* III 85 (no. 441j), 89 (no. 443b), 90 (no. 443d-e), 106 (no. 463), 320 (no. 686); *BønneB* IV 160 (no. 925f), 162 (no. 925n), 394 (no. 1130c), 436 (no. 1154c); *BønneB* V 51–55 (no. 857l). Note also “judhane the hafva honum pint oc corsfæst” [the Jews have tortured and crucified him], *SjæTrø* 29; “ath de vmildhe grumme ioder mwe gribe mig sla mig træde migh vnder deriss føder hustruge mig Oc syden pine migh till døde och plath vdslocke mit naffn” [that the evil, cruel Jews can seize me, beat me, tread upon me with their feet, scourge me, and then torture me to death and simply extinguish my name], *VorFrT* in *ChrPed Skr* II 361; cf. also *ChrPed Skr* II 398, 400, and 407.

160 In ODa. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (SKB M 307, 1459), a work that describes an English knight’s fictitious journey to the East, the author writes that Muslims do not believe that Jesus died but that he was assumed living into heaven (cf. Qur’ān 4:157–58). And in this connection, it is his torture at the hands of the Jews, rather than the Romans, that is mentioned: “Jtem siæ Saracener, at Iødernæ æræ vantro och gioræ illæ, at the ikcæ villæ thro Ihesum, som thøm aff gud sendher wor. Te thro oc ikcæ, at han villæ ladæ sek pinæ af Iødernæ, men at Ihesus ford til hemmærygiss, och Iødernæ pintæ een amnen” [Furthermore, Saracens (i. e., Muslims) say that the Jews are infidels and behave wickedly as they will not believe in Jesus who was sent to them by God. They (Muslims) also do not believe that he (Jesus) would have let himself be tortured by the Jews, but instead he went to heaven and the Jews tortured someone else (in his place)], SKB M 307, p. 50a; *Mandev* 65–66.

161 See, e. g., the images of mocking Jews in Chapter 5: *The Jewish Body*, pp. 164–74.

162 On reactions to the Vatican’s *Nostra Aetate* declaration of 1965, see, e. g., Judith Hershcopf, “The Church and the Jews: The Struggle at Vatican Council II,” *The American Jewish Year Book* 67 (1966): 45–77.

163 For an overview of the death of Jesus according to the Gospels, see John Dominic Crossan, *Who Killed Jesus? Exposing the Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Gospel Story of the Death of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper, 1996). On the history and development of the Jew as Christ killer, see Jeremy Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

in the New Testament,¹⁶⁴ it is in the writings of early Christians during antiquity that all Jews were condemned for killing Jesus for the first time.¹⁶⁵ During the Middle Ages, emphasis was increasingly placed on the Jews' responsibility and, critically, on their cruelty, and it was the widespread perception that Jews rather than Romans (or pagans) be condemned for the torture, crucifixion, and death of Jesus.

Although the New Testament placed some of the responsibility for the Crucifixion on the Jews, they were not condemned by either Paul or the evangelists, who were, of course, well aware that Jesus and the disciples were Jewish. However, the condemnation came shortly afterwards when Christianity and Judaism began to parts ways. Eventually, Christianity came to stand alongside, rather than within, the Jewish community, and in order to promote this separation and independence and to create a Christian identity, it was necessary to mark and reinforce religious boundaries. The Church Fathers held up Christians and their New Testament on the one hand in opposition to Jews and the Old Testament on the other.¹⁶⁶ The life-giving power of Christ and the Cross was contrasted with the killing of God at the hands of the Jews and their subsequent punishment by God as evidenced by the destruction of their Temple and their expulsion from Jerusalem.

In Melito of Sardis's homily *Peri Pascha* (*Περί Πάσχα*, c. 165), Jews are accused of murdering Christ for the first time.¹⁶⁷ He wrote: "And where has he been murdered? In the middle of Jerusalem! By whom? By Israel!"¹⁶⁸ In the Gospels, both Pilate and the Roman soldiers play a prominent role in Christ's torment and crucifixion, but in *Peri Pascha* these Gentiles are not mentioned with a single word. Unlike for Paul, for Melito the Jews alone bear the blame. The only mitigating circumstance, according to Melito, is that the Jews did not know who Jesus was: "But you did turn out to be 'Israel'; you did not 'see God,' you did not recognize

164 See, e. g., Matthew 27:24–27 (the blood curse); John 5:16–18 (Jews plot to kill Jesus); 1 Thessalonians 2:14–15 ("[...] the Jews: Who both killed the Lord Jesus, and the prophets [...]"), and Acts 2:23, 2:36, 4:10, 4:27, 5:30, 10:39, and 13:27–28.

165 Christian authorities in antiquity such as Justin Martyr (c. 100–c. 165), Melito of Sardis (d. c. 180), John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), and Peter Chrysologus (c. 380–c. 450) first levelled the charge of deicide against Jews. See below.

166 On how early Christian writers developed the story of the death of Jesus, see Timothy P. Henderson, *The Gospel of Peter and Early Christian Apologetics: Rewriting the Story of Jesus' Death, Burial, and Resurrection* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

167 Eric Werner, "Melito of Sardis, First Poet of Deicide," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 37 (1966): 191–210.

168 Melito of Sardis, "*On Pascha*" and *Fragments*, ed. Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 72.

the Lord.”¹⁶⁹ Indeed, Melito depicts the Crucifixion as the Jews’ killing of God: “God has been murdered; the King of Israel has been put to death by an Israelite hand.”¹⁷⁰

For the later Fathers of the Church, the answer to the question of whether the Jews knew who it was they were killing was complex. This is not so unexpected as there are conflicting narratives in their source text, the New Testament. Here, Jews are described as both ignorant and knowledgeable about Jesus’ status as the Messiah and/or God. The question of whether the Jews deliberately killed God became a growing concern for theologians and had great significance for how the Jews who lived among them were to be treated.

Augustine (354–430) emphasized that Jews also bore the responsibility for Christ’s death even though it was the Romans who crucified him:

Non dicant Judaei: Non occidimus Christum. Etenim propterea eum dederunt judici Pilato, ut quasi ipsi a morte ejus viderentur immunes [...] Sed si reus quia fecit vel invitus; illi innocentes qui coegerunt ut faceret? Nullo modo. Sed ille dixit in eum sententiam, et jussit eum crucifigi, et quasi ipse occidit; et vos, o Judaei, occidistis. Unde occidistis? Gladio linguae: acuisit enim linguas vestras. En quando percussistis, nisi quando clamastis, *Crucifige, crucifige!*¹⁷¹

[Do not let the Jews say, “We did not kill Christ!” For this purpose, they handed him over to the judge Pilate so that they could appear to innocent in his death (...) But if he (Pilate) is guilty because he acted unwittingly, then are those who forced him to do it innocent? Under no circumstances! But Pilate judged him and ordered him to be crucified, and in this way, they killed him. O Jews, you kill him too! How did you kill him? With the sword of your tongues because you sharpened your tongues. And when did you strike? When you shouted “Crucify him! Crucify him!”] (Luke 33:21; cf. Matthew 27:22–23; Mark 15:13–14)

Nonetheless, Augustine maintained that the Jews had killed Jesus as retribution for his blasphemy without realizing that he was “the true God,” and later men of the Church followed Augustine’s teaching. For example, Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) was of the opinion that no person could ever wish – at least not knowingly – to kill God.¹⁷² Therefore, the Jews must have acted out of ignorance and should not be condemned.¹⁷³ However, Petrus Alphonsi, a Spanish Jew (Moshe

¹⁶⁹ Melito, “*On Pascha*” and *Fragments*, 82. There is a pun at play here: the final part of the name ישראל (*Yiśra’el*, [Israel]) sounds similar to ראה אל (*ra’ah el* [(he) saw God]).

¹⁷⁰ Melito, “*On Pascha*” and *Fragments*, 96.

¹⁷¹ Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 63.4 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 36, cols 762–63.

¹⁷² Anselm, *Cur Deus homo*, 1.9 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 158, cols 370–73.

¹⁷³ Peter Abelard (1079–1142) developed this train of thought further. In *Scito te ipsum*, he wrote that it is not possible to sin unwittingly. As the Jews did not know who Jesus was, they could not have sinned in crucifying him. Actually, according to Abelard, they would have sinned if they

Sefardi) who converted to Christianity in 1106, believed that if the Jews had known who Jesus was then they would have been fulfilling his wish to be sacrificed for the salvation of humankind. But it is precisely because they rejected and killed him out of envy rather than killing him to fulfil the prophecies and save humankind that they are to be condemned. The Jews had killed Christ for the wrong reasons.¹⁷⁴ Augustine's teaching on the Jews' blindness dominated the medieval view of the Jews and served until the twelfth century as the foundation of a certain tolerance towards them.

Looking at writings from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is possible to discern a growing rejection of Augustine's view of the Jews' ignorance. The Crusades to the Holy Land and the Iberian Peninsula as well as the recently opened universities led to a renewed interest in Jews and their supposed guilt or innocence in the death of Christ and consequently in whether they should be punished and, if so, how. The discovery of the Talmud led to the realization that Jews did not only follow the teachings and laws of the Old Testament and that rather than following its natural successor, the New Testament, they adhered to the Talmud. By accepting the Talmud, Jews were thus believed to be rejecting Jesus knowingly and on purpose. They could no longer be protected as ignorant and blind: in the eyes of Christians, they were quite the opposite. This view of Jewish intentionality changed the Christian view of the role of Jews in the death of Christ. This can first be seen in the writings of Peter Lombard (c. 1100–60) in whose view it was impossible for the Jews to have killed Jesus out of envy without knowing that he was the Son of God, and so he wrote that Jewish leaders knew perfectly well who Jesus was. Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) took Peter Lombard's arguments further and in his *Summa Theologica* he found a new, and catastrophic, explanation: the Jews had acted “knowingly ignorantly”:

Possumus tamen dicere quod etiam verum Dei filium cognovisse dicuntur, quia evidētia signa huius rei habebant, quibus tamen assentire propter odium et invidiam noluerunt, ut eum cognoscerent esse filium Dei.¹⁷⁵

[Yet we may hold that they are said to have also known that he was truly the Son of God, in that they had clear signs of this. But out of hatred and envy they refused to believe these signs by which they would have known that he was the Son of God.]

had not crucified him because they would then be acting against their conscience. However, Abelard's statement had limited impact. Indeed, his finding Jews innocent in the murder of Christ was one of the charges brought against him when he was tried for heresy in 1140.

¹⁷⁴ Petrus Alphonsi, *Dialogus contra Iudaeos* 10 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 157, col. 646.

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* 3.475 ad. 1 in Ulrich Horst, *Thomas von Aquin: Predigerbruder und Professor* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2017), 143n8.

According to Thomas's argument the Jews wanted to remain in their ignorance so that they would not be prevented from sinning. This rather abstruse argument is based on the idea that Jews remained ignorant on purpose, and that this sort of "knowing ignorance" increased their sin and their responsibility. Jews were no longer blind and ignorant, they were hard-hearted, obstinate, and fully aware that they were killing God. They had recognized Jesus and killed him for precisely this reason.¹⁷⁶ Thomas Aquinas's opinion was followed in particular by Franciscans and Dominicans, such as Pablo Christiani (d. 1274; a convert from Judaism), Ramon Martí (1220–85), John Duns Scotus (c. 1265–1308) and Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270–1349). The tone they used when writing about Jews was even harsher than Thomas's and Jews came to be described as monsters in the service of evil. This theological development from Paul to the Late Middle Ages forms the background to the texts studied below, where the allegation of deicide against the Jews in ODa. works is considered.

Sermons: Alle Epistler oc Euangelia and GKS 1390 4^o

In Christiern Pedersen's *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515), the overarching aim of the sermon for Good Friday is to awaken the listeners' compassion and encourage them to feel empathy for the suffering of Jesus as well as gratitude for his self-sacrifice. The sermon begins with the reading from John 18–19 (pericope) and is followed by an exposition ("Vdtydning" or *expositio*) that supplements the reading with descriptions, motives, actions, and names that are not found in the Gospel. An example of this is in the description of Jesus being dragged through the Kidron river on the way to Jerusalem after being arrested at Gethsemane (cited above). In the sermon, Pilate finds Jesus innocent several times, e. g., "Ieg kand ingen sag finde met denne mand som i haffue antuordet mig" [I cannot find any grounds for a charge against this man whom you have handed over to me].¹⁷⁷ However, he feels threatened by the Jews to prosecute Jesus:

Her effter vilde pilatus gerne hafft aarsage oc lempe til at giffue hænem løss fra iøderne thi han fornam hanss wskyldighed oc besindede at han icke kwnde dømme hannem till døde for vden stor synd Da iøderne det fornumme Da robede de alle oc sagde Lader dw hannem løss Da est dw icke keyserenss veen eller tro tienere Du vist vell at hwo sig kalder konge her i blant oss iøder Han siger mod keyseren i rom Der pilatus hørte disse ord Da ledde han

176 We will come across this concept of "knowing ignorance" again in the following chapter where Jews "prove" Christian doctrine in a series of miracle tales in which they act both out of disbelief and in ways that only make sense if they knew Christian doctrines to be true.

177 *AlleEpoEu*, f. 116v [cx]; *ChrPed Skr I 344*. Pilate also finds Jesus innocent three other times in the sermon (once in *ChrPed Skr I 344* and twice in *ChrPed Skr I 345*).

ihesum aff raadhuset oc sette sig for en domstoll [...] Bisperne suarede harnem oc sagde Uii haffue ingen konge vden keyseren Thi fryctede pilatus at de skulde kert harnem for keyseren om han icke ville dømme harnem Han vilde oc haffue venskaff met iøderne oc mente at de skulde giffue hannem store penninge¹⁷⁸

[After this, Pilate would have liked to have had a reason and opportunity to free him from the Jews because he recognized his innocence and realized that he was not able to condemn him to death without (committing) a great sin. When the Jews noticed this, they all shouted and said, “If you free him, then you are not a friend or true servant of the emperor. You know well that whoever calls himself king amongst us Jews is contradicting the emperor in Rome!” When Pilate heard these words, he led Jesus from the city hall and placed him before a court. (...) The bishops (Jewish religious leaders) answered him and said, “We have no other king than the emperor.” For this reason, Pilate was afraid that they would complain about him to the emperor if he did not judge him. He also wanted the friendship of the Jews and thought that they would give a lot of money.]

Although Pedersen’s Jews torment Christ, the question remains whether they actually kill him. Pilate is repeatedly shown to be manipulated by the Jewish “høffdinge” [chiefs] and “bisper” [bishops], i. e., Jewish secular and religious leaders, who wish to give Jesus a “slem vdød faar løgn oc skalkhed” [bad, violent death for his lies and villainy].¹⁷⁹ That it was primarily the Jewish leadership (chiefs and judges) who bore the responsibility for the death of Jesus is inferred by the fact that several Jewish women seek out Mary after the crucifixion of her son:

Siden komme der mange piger iomfruer och gode erlige quinder til hende paa strederne i staden oc græde oc suckede for hendiss store sorg oc drøulise mange andre gode memniske som ginge om kring henne græde oc sagde O huilken stor wret oc wlog er hende skeet i dag aff høffdingerne och dommerne her i staden thii de lode henniss søn pine i hiel for vden all sag och brøde¹⁸⁰

[Then many girls, maidens, and good, honourable women came to her on the streets of the city and wept and sighed on account of her great sorrow and grief. Many other people who were walking around her wept and said, “O what a great violation and injustice has happened to her today at the hands of the chiefs and judges here in the city because they had her son tortured to death for no reason or crime!”]

Whether or not the leaders or the people knew that Jesus was God is not mentioned, i. e., the Jews were ignorant, and in this sermon Roman soldiers are the ones who perform the crucifixion. Nonetheless, the Jews acknowledged their responsibility when they shouted “Hanss blod skal komme offuer oss oc vaare

¹⁷⁸ *AlleEposEu*, ff. 117r [cxi] and 120r [cxiii]; *ChrPed Skr* I 345 and 355.

¹⁷⁹ *AlleEposEu*, f. 119r [cxiii]; *ChrPed Skr* I 352.

¹⁸⁰ *AlleEposEu*, ff. 124v–125r [cxviii–cxix]; *ChrPed Skr* I 369.

børn” [his blood shall be upon us and our children].¹⁸¹ The use of the modal verb *skulle* in the quotation from Matthew 27:25 makes this statement sound more like a prophecy to be fulfilled than a recognition of responsibility.¹⁸² According to Pedersen, it is because of this appeal for Christ’s blood, the “blood curse,” that all Jews – here meaning all Jewish men – have suffered from a “blodsot” [bloody flux] ever since:

Det skede oc saa aff gudz heffn Thii de finge oc haffue alle blodsot saa lenge de leffue men verden stonder Men de hagde icke trod at der skulde kommet saadan heffn der effter Saa gaff Pilatus blodig dom offuer hannem oc antworde iøderne hannem at de hannem korsse feste skwle¹⁸³

[God’s revenge also happened as they (the Jews) all caught and suffer the bloody flux for as long as they live while the world exists. But they had not believed that such revenge would come from this. Then Pilate gave his bloody verdict over him (Jesus), and the Jews answered him that they would crucify him (Jesus).]

An important element in the sermon is when Jesus prays “till gud fader” [to God the Father], while hanging on the Cross: “O gud forlad dem som mig pine thii ath de icke vide hwad de gøre” [O God, forgive those that torment me for they know not what they do].¹⁸⁴ Although Pedersen wants the Jews to be forgiven for their crime, this short prayer is somewhat lost in the long descriptions of violence against Jesus.

The exposition follows Augustine’s teachings regarding the role of the Jews in the death of Jesus. They executed Jesus because of his blasphemy without knowing that he was God. That said, Pedersen still feels compelled to present Jews as “skadelige i deriss forbannede had och awind” [harmful in their cursed hatred and jealousy].¹⁸⁵ They are constantly portrayed as violent people and Pedersen does not limit himself to the Bible in his use of anti-Jewish material as he also uses Christian legends and stories to fill out his narrative. Descriptions of the diabolical behaviour of the Jews are used to create a sharp contrast to the patience that Jesus showed by tolerating their beatings and curses. The central message of the sermon is the good example set by Jesus, and listeners are exhorted to con-

181 *AlleEpocEu*, f. 120r [cxiii]; *ChrPed Skr I* 355.

182 Cf. the Latin and Greek original: “Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros” [lit. blood his over us and over children our] and “Το αίμα αυτού εφ’ημάς και επί τα τέκνα ημών” [lit. the blood his over us and over the children our] with the sense “may his blood...”

183 *AlleEpocEu*, f. 120r–v [cxiii]; *ChrPed Skr I* 355–56. For more on this bloody flux, see under “Male menstruation” in Chapter 5: *The Jewish Body*, pp. 190–92.

184 *AlleEpocEu*, f. 122r [cxvi]; *ChrPed Skr I* 361.

185 *AlleEpocEu*, f. 119v [cxiii]; *ChrPed Skr I* 353.

template his suffering (“O menniske betenck denne hanss sware pine” [O human! Contemplate his severe suffering!])¹⁸⁶ and to be grateful that he suffered so much to save them from their sin. By shedding Jesus’ blood, the Jews are showing in a very concrete and visible fashion that God’s son was indeed born and died a man. He was of the same flesh and blood as the listeners, and they should identify with him and his body as if they themselves were wounded because of their sins. The listeners are encouraged towards confession, penance, and humility and they will be able to cope with all kinds of adversity, sorrow, and pain by contemplating Jesus’ wounds and suffering. By meditating on the sufferings that the Jews inflicted upon Jesus, people will improve their behaviour and avoid further sin:

O huilke fortwilede oc offuergiffne skalke vaare samme iøder som da gleddiss till at bespotte hannem der han saa ynckelige hustrugen oc kroned vaar at han beuede oc skalff aff van-smectilse oc kwld at han neppelige stonde kwnde Her skal huert menniske i hukomme denne vbarmhertelige oc suare hustrugelse oc kronelse oc alder største forsmedelse oc bespottelse som ihesus vor gud oc skabere led for vor salighedz skyld oc tacke hannem ydmygelige der faare Oc bede at han intrycke vill samme sin pine i vaare hierte at wii hende idelige betencke mwe oss till hielp oc beskermelse mod alle synder oc dieffuelenss fristelser¹⁸⁷

[O what ruthless and unrestrained villains were these very Jews who were happy to mock him when he was so pitilessly scourged and crowned so that he shook and shuddered from weakness and cold so that he could hardly stand. Here every person should remember this merciless and severe scourging and crowning and the exceedingly great contempt and mockery that Jesus, our God and creator, suffered for the sake of our bliss and thank him humbly for this. And pray that he will impress his very pain into our hearts, so that we can continually contemplate it in order to help and shield us from all sins and the temptations of the devil.]

The sermon’s aim is to fight sin and awaken love of God and the desire to follow in his footsteps. The role of the Jews in this sermon is to inflict Jesus with appalling injuries that he voluntarily and patiently receives in order to be able to sacrifice himself and thus save humanity. The greater the Jews’ brutality, the greater an example Jesus can be in the eyes of the listeners. But even these executioners can, just like the listeners, be forgiven by God.

The ODa. Good Friday sermon in GKS 1390 4^o (1400–50) has Mark 19 as its pericope and the consumption of alcohol as its subject (*thema*). The intended listeners are mentioned in the introduction to the sermon as “ærlige gildebrødre” [honourable guild members], and it is their drinking habits that the sermon is

¹⁸⁶ *AlleEpocEu*, f. 119v [cxiii]; ChrPed *Skr* I 354.

¹⁸⁷ *AlleEpocEu*, f. 120r [cxiii]; ChrPed *Skr* I 355.

trying to change. The sermon is structured around the twelve bitter vessels that Jesus drank from during his final hours. The vessels are like stations that should be understood metaphorically and symbolize the suffering that he experienced and was subjected to at the hands of the Jews. For example, the first vessel reminds us that the man who drank from it was none other than the Son of God. The second vessel symbolizes the rejection that Jesus experienced on earth, while the third vessel symbolizes his suffering on the Cross, and so on. Each vessel is divided into three smaller cups that add further details about the suffering of Jesus. There are remarkably few biblical quotations in the sermons, but there are many quotations from the revelations St Birgitta (1301–73) and the contemplative works of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153).¹⁸⁸ In particular, Birgitta’s quotations comprise a sort of eye-witness account as the people who speak to her are none other than Jesus himself and his mother Mary – they are the ultimate authorities on what happened and what the Jews’ role in events was. For example, Jesus explains:

som han siælfwer^(a) sagdhe sancta birghitte / jødhænæ giordhe mech threggæ handæ pinæ køn ij mynæ pinæ Fførst træet meth hwilket jak war korsfæster ok flængder ok kronadher Annæn tidh jærnet meth hwilke the ginom stungo mynæ hænder ok føter Thridiæ tidh gallæns dryk hwilken the gaffuæ mech at drykke¹⁸⁹

Notes: a. siælfwer] |siæ\|/fwer| MS.

[As he himself said to St Birgitta, “The Jews committed three kinds of affliction on me: First, the wood with which I was crucified and flayed and crowned. Second, the iron with which they pierced my hands and feet. Third, the drink of gall which they gave me to drink.”]

Mary adds a lively eye-witness account of her son’s suffering:

Som jomfru maria sagdhe til sancte birghitte / myn søns vwener the flængde hans ligheme som ren war aff hwæriæ synd ok smittæ / swa grymmelighe at jak sa hans ligheme slaghen ok flængder alt til reffuen / swa at hans reeff syntes bar / ok æn thet som beskeræ war at /

188 The extant ODa. translations of Birgitta’s revelations are few and survive as manuscript fragments. They have been translated in ODa. from Lat. The ODa. translations of Birgitta’s revelations in these sermons are made from OSw. and are therefore particularly significant and deserve greater scholarly attention. On the ODa. Birgittine fragments, see Jonathan Adams, “An Introduction to the Danish Translations of St Birgitta’s Revelations,” in *The Vernacular Translations of St Birgitta of Sweden*, ed. Bridget Morris and Veronica O’Mara, The Medieval Translator, vol. 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 87–105.

189 GKS 1390 4^o, f. 146r; SMP VIII 181. Cf. *Revelations* 1.30: “Først træit medh hulko iak war korsfestir. ok flængdir ok kronadhir Annantidh iærnit medh hulko the ginom stungo mina hænder ok føtir Thridhiatidh gallans dryk hulkin som the gafwo mik drykka” [First, the wood with which I was crucified and flayed and crowned. Second, the iron with which they pierced my hands and feet. Third, the drink of gall which they gave me to drink], BU I 91–92.

see nar giislærnae jgendroghes tha ristædhes hans kōt ok slitnædhe aff them swasom jordh for ardh¹⁹⁰

[Like the Virgin Mary said to St Birgitta, “My son’s enemies scourged his body that was pure from any sin and defilement so brutally that I saw his body beaten and scourged right down to his ribs, so that his rib bones were clearly visible. And moreover, that which was more bitter to see: when the whips were pulled back, his flesh was torn and ripped apart like the earth from a plough.”]

At the beginning of the sermon, many of the humiliations and torments that Jesus is subjected to are written in the passive voice: he was flogged, beaten, and spat upon without the agents carrying the actions being named. But halfway through the sermon the Jews are identified as those responsible for these crimes. Apart from a short reference to Pilate, there are no Romans mentioned. It is the Jews who condemned Jesus to death and did so “æy aff barndoms brædzsko thy at the waræ aldærnae mæn ij jōdhæ allmughen / hwilke dōdz radh samanlagdhæ mot hannem aff forthænkte ok fulkommen ondzskæ” [not out of a childish temper because it was fully grown men among the Jewish people who made the call of death against him out of well thought out and complete evil].¹⁹¹ We read further that Jesus

[...] tholde smælighestæ pinæ ok^(a) dōdh ij mangæ mænniskæ asyn tha som megen almughe war saman kommen om hōghtidhes dagh / widær læ / draghen om gatunar fran een domaræ ok til amæn openbarlighe hædder sputtædher ok gabbadher ok wtdraghen aff stadhen ok bar sit kors som rōuære ælle thiuff¹⁹²

Notes: a. ok |ok| MS.

[...] suffered the most contemptible torment and death in view of many people as many common folk had gathered for the holy day. (He was) dragged further along the streets from one judge to another, publicly mocked, spat upon, and humiliated, and dragged out of the city. And (he) carried his cross like a robber or a thief.]

The Jews’ celebration of Passover and the liberation from slavery in Egypt is contrasted with Jesus’ imprisonment and killing: “ij sammæ timen som han frælstæ jōdhænae aff thrældom / ok wtledde them ginom rōdhæ haffuet ok inledde them

190 GKS 1390 4^o, f. 140r; SMP VIII 174–75. Cf. *Revelations* 1.10: “Ok tha iak kom atir til sinna saa iak hans likame slaghnar ok flængdan alt until rifwianna swa at hans riif syntos Ok æn thet som beskare war at see at nar flengionar atir droghos slitnadhe ok rimnadhe hans kōt for flengiomen ok gislomen swa som iordh fore ardhre” [And when I returned to him, I saw his body beaten and scourged right down to the ribs so that his rib bones were visible. And what was even more bitter to see was when the whips were pulled back, they tore and ripped apart his flesh from the whips and scourges like earth from a plough], BU I 29.

191 GKS 1390 4^o, f. 143r; SMP VIII 178.

192 GKS 1390 4^o, f. 144r; SMP VIII 178–79.

ij bæstæ land / tha korsfæstæ the hannem” [at the same moment that he saved the Jews from slavery and led them out through the Red Sea and led them into the best land, they crucified him].¹⁹³ As the author describes a calculating, manipulative people, it might seem that his position is very different to Augustine’s, but in Jesus’ explanation to Birgitta (quoted in the sermon), Jesus says “at jak war flater for myn dōdh / hwilken jak tholdæ gernæ ok kallædhæ mech liwghæræ for myn kærnedom” [that I myself was fatuous (i. e., to blame) for my death which I willingly suffered and (they) called me a liar on account of my teaching].¹⁹⁴ As in Augustine’s writings, the Jews here believed that Jesus was lying – they did not know that he was the Son of God.

The brutal language used in the sermon is similar to that found in Christiern Pedersen’s sermon for Good Friday. Here, too, Jews are cruel, violent, and savage. They humiliate Jesus in numerous ways; for example, they spit on him more than ten times. However, unlike in Pedersen’s sermon, the inimical image of Jews in GKS 1390 4^o is used as a sort of parallel description of contemporary Christians, of the audience themselves, who similarly torment, mock, and crucify their god every day with their wickedness, sin, and failure to live up to Christian ideals.¹⁹⁵ The negative portrayal of Jews in these sermons was reinforced through other media such as visual art. The many wall paintings with caricatured figures that are unmistakably stereotypically Jewish: crooked nose, reddish complexion, long hair, beard (often gathered in two tips), depicted in profile with a gaping mouth and wearing a Jewish hat. Churchgoers could easily identify these figures as Jews, and they provided illustrative material for the sermons being held in the church space. When “executioners,” “usurers,” or “devil’s offspring” were mentioned during a sermon, even though the word “Jew” was not pronounced, the audience stood in a space where Christ’s murderers and Satan’s companions were depicted on the walls around them as Jews. They would have made the connection instantly. This connection between Jews and anti-Christians was so clear and all-encompassing that it must have been deeply ingrained in the Danes’ view of the world and history. The consciousness of the people was saturated with images and depictions of Jews with grotesque features, who mocked Jesus, flogged him, and nailed him to the cross. They would even have seen Jews in the role of Long-

¹⁹³ GKS 1390 4^o, f. 147v; *SMP* VIII 182–83.

¹⁹⁴ GKS 1390 4^o, f. 146r; *SMP* VIII 181. Cf. *Revelations* 1.30.2: “Sidhan skælkto the mik ok gabbadho ok sagdho mik wara flatan dara fore min dōdh. hulkin iak tolde gerna. Ok kalladho mik liughara fore min kærnedom” [Then they mocked me and jeered and said I was a fatuous fool because of my death that I willingly suffered, and (they) called me a liar because of my teachings], *BU* I 92.

¹⁹⁵ GKS 1390 4^o, f. 142r; *SMP* VIII 176–77. The passage has been quoted earlier in this chapter.

inus stabbing Jesus in the side with a spear.¹⁹⁶ Faced with so much anti-Jewish propaganda, it is hard to imagine that the audience would have paid particular attention to the finer details of the preacher's argument about the Jews' guilt, responsibility, and forgiveness.

Treatises on the Passion: Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder

According to the ODa. *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder*, it was “the w mildhe iøder” [the cruel Jews] who captured Jesus in Gethsemane and led him into the city “meth alsom største daare oc spot” [with the greatest scorn and mockery].¹⁹⁷ He is repeatedly beaten, kicked, flogged, scourged, and mocked by the Jews who also press the crown of thorns so hard onto his head, that “kronen ind gick oc iessen han opsprack oc hiernen han vdfløth saa ath the thorne ther ind gick at hans welsignede anlede the møthes wedh tynnijnghen” [the crown penetrated the top of his head and it burst open and his brain flowed out, so that the thorns that penetrated his blessed face met one another at his temples].¹⁹⁸ They spit and poke out their tongues and behave like wild animals: “Wor herre ihesus cristus stodh saa toligh blandh them som eth faar ther stonder i blant alsom grommeste wlfue” [Our Lord Jesus Christ stood so patiently among them like a sheep that stands among the most cruel wolves].¹⁹⁹ They prevent Mary from comforting her son by shoving her out of the way. She turns to John and accuses the Jews of torturing her son to death, lamenting:

tha kom wor herre ihesu cristhi moder iomfrw maria och wille husswale sijn kære søn och bære korsset met hannum Hun motthe icke komme til hanum for iøderne Alle iøderne støtte henne och skode henne bort Vden sanctus iohannes ewangelista han tog i mod henne oc husswalede henne hun taledede til hannum oc sagde Iohannes iohannes Aldri wiste ieg at engelin kurne siæ wsand han taledede til meg oc sagde Heel maria thu æst met naade herre ær met teg Sennelige siær ieg teg iohannes At iegh ær opfult meth alsom mesth anger och drøwelse och herren ær lucht fraa megh han ær i dagh i the wmiilde iøderne hender och the pyne oc plawe hannum tijl døde²⁰⁰

196 Longinus is represented as a Jew in at least four (probably many more) medieval wall paintings in Denmark: Keldby Church (c. 1325) on Møn; Skibby (c. 1359) and Reerslev Church (c. 1450) on Sjælland, and Jetsmark Church (1474) in Jutland. See <http://www.kalkmalerier.dk> (last accessed 5 April 2022).

197 *JesuPassV*, f. a4r. Note that the original has a typographic error (“iødet” for “iøder”) that I have emended in this quotation.

198 *JesuPassV*, f. c2v. Note that the original has a typographic error (“vdløth” for “vdfløth”) that I have emended in this quotation.

199 *JesuPassV*, f. b2v.

200 *JesuPassV*, ff. c4v–d1r.

[Then Our Lord Jesus Christ's mother, the Virgin Mary, came and wanted to comfort her dear son and carry the cross with him. She was unable to get near him on account of the Jews. All the Jews pushed her and shoved her away. But St John the Evangelist received her and comforted her. She spoke to him and said, "John! John! I never knew that the angel could say an untruth when he spoke to me and said, 'Hail Mary, you are (full) of grace, the Lord is with you!' Truly I tell you, John, that I am full of regret and grief and the Lord is shut off from me. Today he is in the hands of the cruel Jews, and they are tormenting and torturing him to death!"]

Jews are also described as humiliating Jesus further when they forced him to dance naked:²⁰¹

Ther iøderne soo ath han war saa ynkelijge och saa ledher giort aff sith eghet blod the mente ath han kunne icke løbe Tha togher hannum nøghen i theris hender oc dantze met hannum oc sprunge meth hannum aff spot och spee²⁰²
 [When the Jews saw that he was so pitiful and made so hideous with his own blood, they thought that he would be unable to run. So, they took him naked into their hands and danced with him and jumped about with him out of mockery and contempt.]

After the crucifixion they continue their derision by throwing the human bones at him:

icke wore the vmilde iødher øffreth treth aff hans pyne the løbe om kringh korsset oc samen sanckede the døde mens been som til foren wor wndliuedhe paa then stadh och kaste oppa korsset tijl wor herre iesum²⁰³
 [The cruel Jews were not sufficiently tired of his suffering. They ran around the cross and gathered up the bones of dead men who had been executed previously at that place and threw them up at the cross at Our Lord Jesus.]

Scenes of Jews' rejoicing and of mockery at the foot of the cross also form the climax of a number of European medieval mystery plays and were not unusual in representations of the Crucifixion.²⁰⁴ This fanatical abuse of the dead physical

201 Christ being stripped naked is a motif that is returned to repeatedly in the stories of the Passion. His nudity is not only an expression of his humiliation at the hands of his persecutors, but it allows the viewer to see (or the reader or listener to visualize) his wounds and bruises.

202 *JesuPassV*, ff. d3v–d4r.

203 *JesuPassV*, ff. e2v–e3r.

204 See David Strumpf, *Die Juden in der mittelalterlichen Mysterien-, Mirakel- und Moralitäten-Dichtung Frankreichs* (Ladenburg: Nerlinger, 1920), 9; Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*, intro. Marc Saperstein, rev. edn (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1983), 22–23. Interestingly, in the Jewish anti-Christian polemical work *Sefer Toledot Yešu* (ספר תולדות ישו) [*The Book of the*

body of Christ alludes to the Jews' alleged mistreatment of the metaphysical body of Christ, viz. the desecration of the host, that is described in several East Norse miracle tales.²⁰⁵ It also serves to demonstrate how the Jews are no longer God's chosen people but have become Gentiles, since in the prophecies that the Crucifixion is believed to fulfil, it is the Gentiles who "hiss and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem."²⁰⁶

It is repeated many times that it was all the Jews who were involved in these attacks and in the Crucifixion: "Alle iøderne støtte henne oc skode henne bort" [All the Jews pushed her and shoved her away], "alt thet folck ther wor i staden the kaste at hannum drek oc dyn som man pleyer at steene wdedes menniske met" [all the people who were in the city threw dirt and muck at him just like a criminal is usually stoned with], "Tha ropte och iøderne alth sammen" [Then the Jews also shouted all together], and "tha ropte alle iøderne meth een hyw røsth" [then all the Jews shouted with one loud voice].²⁰⁷ It is also all the Jews who demand Jesus be crucified:

tha rophte alle iøderne oc sagde seer oc skuder thetme loynere och swijgere som segh kaller at wære iødes konijng gijffwer dom offuer hannum tha rophte the annen syn alle samen oc sagde Crucifige Crucifige thet ær sa meget Korsfester Korsfester hannum oc døder hannum tijl døde²⁰⁸

[Then all the Jews shouted and said, "Look and see this this liar and deceiver who calls himself the king of the Jews. Pronounce judgement over him!" Then they all shouted together for a second time and said, "Crucifige! Crucifige!" which means "Crucify! Crucify him and kill him to death!"]

Their shared responsibility and blame for the execution are emphasized when Pilate hands Jesus over to them:

Life of Jesus)), the Jews bind cords to the feet of Jesus' corpse (or in another version, bind him to the tail of a donkey), and drag him round the streets of Jerusalem; Hugh Joseph Schonfield, ed., *According to the Hebrews: A New Translation of the Jewish Life of Jesus* (London: Duckworth, 1937), 53. There is no connection between these two texts, but they graphically demonstrate the universality of the potent and emphatic symbol of the absolute death and the utter demise of one's enemy: the defiling of his corpse. For example, in some medieval Christian anti-Muslim polemical texts, Muḥammad's corpse is devoured by dogs and pigs; see Allan Cutler, "The Ninth-Century Spanish Martyrs Movement and the Origins of Western Christian Missions to the Muslims," *Muslim World* 55 (1965): 321–39.

205 See the following chapter.

206 Lamentations 2:15; cf. Jeremiah 48:27.

207 *JesuPassV*, ff. c4v, d1v, a4v, and b4v respectively.

208 *JesuPassV*, f. d4r.

Tha togh pilatus hannum nøgen i syne hender oc fuldhe hannum wdth tijl al folketh oc sadde Jeg kan ingen sag finnje *met* thenne mand ther hanum bør vndliffues fore men tage i hannum oc hudstruger hannum oc gører aff hannum huad i wille tha tog pilatus watn i en mwlwe oc todhe syne hender oc sagde saa Vskyldigh wil ieg være i therne mantz dõt och blodh som thette watn rensser mijne hender tha ropte alle iøderne meth een hyw røsth oc sagde hans blod *thet* scal gaa offuer oss oc ofuer wore børn Amen²⁰⁹

[Then Pilate took him naked into his hands and led him out to the people and said, “I can find no crime in this man for which he should be executed. But take him and scourge him and do with him as you wish!” Then Pilate took some water in a basin and washed his hands and said, “I shall be innocent in this man’s death and blood just as this water washes my hands!” Then all the Jews shouted with one loud voice and said, “His blood shall be upon us and upon our children!” Amen.]

Acts of contempt that the Gospels describe as being carried out by Romans are here all ascribed to Jews. It is only Jews who spit at him, and it is Jews who “doblede om hans kleder hwelke som them sculle beholde” [gambled (by casting lots or playing dice) for his clothes, who was going to keep them].²¹⁰ It is a Jew who gives Jesus vinegar and gall to drink,²¹¹ and it is Jews who lead “en blijnder man som hedh longinus” [a blind man who was called Longinus] – presumably also a Jew – to stab Jesus in his side with a spear.²¹² Most noteworthy, however, is that Jews are the ones who laid him on the cross and fastened him to it with iron nails that they had blunted specially to increase his suffering:

tha igenem slo iøderne wor herre ihesu høgge hand *met* een stompt iern naule saa ynkelige och saa hordelige at naufflen indgick oc blodet wdspranck [...] ther^(a) the haffde korssfest then alsom megtigste gudh tha opreysde the korset op i een sten²¹³

Notes: a. ther] the MS.

[Then the Jews pierced Our Lord Jesus’ right hand with a blunt iron nail so pitilessly and so harshly that the nail went in, and the blood spurted out (...) when they had crucified the almighty God, they raised the cross up onto a stone.]

209 *JesuPassV*, ff. b4v–b5r.

210 *JesuPassV*, f. d4v. Cf. John 19:23–25.

211 *JesuPassV*, f. e3v. Cf. Matthew 27:34; Psalm 68:22 DRB (69:21 KJV).

212 *JesuPassV*, f. f3v. Cf. John 19:34. The popular tradition of Longinus’s blindness and miraculous cure was first added to the legend by Peter Comestor in his *Historia scholastica (In evangelio)*: “Sed unus militum lancea latus ejus dextrum perforavit, et continuo exivit sanguis, et aqua, et qui lanceavit eum, ut tradunt quidam, cum fere caligassent oculi ejus, et casu tetigisset oculos sanguine ejus, clare vidit.” [But one of the soldiers pierced his (i. e., Jesus’) right-hand side with a spear, and blood and water flowed forthwith, and some report that the man who speared him suffered from dim eyes, when his blood touched his eyes, he saw clearly], *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 198, cols 1633–34.

213 *JesuPassV*, f. e2r–v. Cf. Matthew 27:30.

By using Mary's point of view in *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder*, the story becomes more immediate and livelier, and as discussed earlier, it is difficult not to be moved by the tragic death of a young man seen through his mother's eyes. Although Christ is the man of sorrows (*vir dolorum*), Mary is the mother of sorrows (*mater dolorosa*). The mother–son dynamic awakens two very human emotions in the reader, namely pity and compassion, but this emotional reaction is not extended to Jews who are portrayed in stark contrast to Mary. The Jews show no sign of regret or concern, and they are thus not only responsible for killing Jesus, but they also choose to remain outside of any emotional fellowship. While the reader reacts to the text with compassion, the Jews in the story are revelling in a macabre world of blood-spilling and torture. They are at best “flawed humans without a heart.”²¹⁴ In this way *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder* creates a clear dichotomy: Maria is the symbol of purity, comfort, and motherhood, while the Jews are filthy tormentors and murderers. A similar contrast is created between Jesus' beauty and purity and the Jews' filth and defilement:

O thu alsom benediede antlede thu wast klare en noget sool och alle the engle i hemmerige ære the attraade ath see tegh Nw esthv giort dome[r] aff thin egen hierne oc blodh oc thet lede iødhe spoth som ær spyt paa teg²¹⁵

[O you most blessed face! You were brighter than the sun! And all the angels that are in heaven desired to see you. Now you have been made blind by your own brain-matter and blood and the vile Jew-spit that has been spat on you.]

Of the three investigated ODa. Passion texts, Gotfred af Ghemen's *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder* is without doubt the most extreme in its language and demonization and blaming of Jews. They alone are responsible for the killing of Christ. Jesus asks “sijn hellige fader” [his holy father] to forgive those who crucified him, “forti the vide icke hwad the gøre” [for they know not what they do] (Luke 23:34),²¹⁶ but the petition all but disappears in the text's hateful, anti-Jewish narrative. The Jews do not belong to humanity and do not possess human emotions. The reader's sins can in no way measure up to theirs. Even though they did not know who they were crucifying, all the Jews acted with determination and without the encouragement of their leaders. The cruel sadism of the Jews in Christiern Pedersen's Good Friday sermon is used to create a contrast to Jesus and particularly his mother. The

214 Miri Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures*, Natalie Zemon Davies Annual Lecture Series (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009), 104.

215 *JesuPassV*, f. g1r.

216 *JesuPassV*, f. e3r.

bloody descriptions are used to evoke vivid imagery in the mind of the reader who can then use them for spiritual meditation or devotion. The Jews are held to blame for everything that is impure and forbidden, such as spittle and blood, mockery and humiliation, and violence and torture, and this brutal portrayal creates a connection with the reader on several levels. By focusing on the suffering of Jesus and the Jews' violence, Christians could identify with a very human Jesus, a man of flesh and blood; they could internalize the experience of his passion and thus achieve catharsis and the hope of salvation.

Prayers

On the issue of guilt and responsibility for the Crucifixion, some OSw. prayers condemn the Jews, while others do not. The very nature of written prayers, as comparatively short texts, makes it more difficult to analyse their arguments and reasoning. However, certain themes recur in the prayers. In one of the first prayers in DAS AM 422 12^o (“En Vadstena-nunnas bönbok” [A Vadstena Nun’s Prayer Book]) from 1450–1500, the events from when Jesus prayed in the Garden of Gethsemane to Longinus piercing his side with a spear are recounted.²¹⁷ Jesus’ accusers and crucifiers are identified as “the omildasta iudhana” [the cruellest Jews]. Those who arrest him, “iudhanna tiænara” [servants of the Jews], behave “som galne hwnda” [like rabid dogs]. The Jews accuse him with many false witnesses (“the røgdo hanom mædh mangom falsom witnom”) and as a traitor of the people (“som folksins forradhare”). Jews repeatedly engage in acts of violence against Jesus:

Hwilkins fæghersta ænlite / the besputtado oc medh kinpustom / twnglika slogho
[Whose most fair face they spat upon and beat harshly with punches to his cheek.]

Hwilkin the omildasta iudhane næktan bwndo til studhena / oc medh hwassom riisom /
twnglikast flængdo
[Whom the exceedingly cruel Jews bound naked to the pillar and flogged harshly with sharp
scourges.]

Hwilkin the kronado / medh hardasta tørne / oc slogho hoffuodhit medh rønne
[Whom they crowned with the sharpest thorns and beat his head with reeds]

And, as in the Gospel narratives, they ridicule him

Æn han atirsænde hanom fforsmadhan / oc j hwito klæde gabbadhan
[But he (Herod) sent him back, mocked and humiliated in a white robe.]

²¹⁷ DAS AM 422 12^o, ff. 6v–11r; *VadstNunB* 4–6.

ffiøllø the a knæ *medh* gab / sighiande / heel iudha konunger
 [(They) fell to their knees with gaping mouths, saying, “Hail, King of the Jews!”]

It is the Jews who call for Jesus to be killed:

Hwilkin the stadelika ropadho skula korsfæstas / **oc** menløsan dømdo til skæmmelikasta død
 [Who they continually shouted should be crucified and sentenced without reason to the most shameful death.]

However, Jews are not just accused of being behind the case that led to the execution of Jesus, they are accused of being the ones who actually crucified him:

Hwilkins hægasta hændher / **oc** føther iudhane / gynom stwngo / *medh* groffwom spikom / **oc** tilfæsto them korseno
 [Whose most holy hands and feet the Jews pierced with rough nails and fastened them to the cross.]

In this enumeration of Jewish crimes, Jesus’ appeal for them to be forgiven – one of the climaxes of the Crucifixion – is somewhat lost as it also was in *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder* and *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*:

Hwilkin som badh for sinom korsfæstarom sighiande ffadher forlat them *thet* / **thy** at the wita ey / huat the gøra
 [Who prayed for his crucifiers, saying, “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.”]

In other prayers in the same book, the theme of Jews spitting into Jesus’ face can also be found. In a prayer to Christ’s merciful eyes (“*miskunsamlika øghon*”) we hear that his eyes were considered worthy for our sins’ sake to be spat into by unworthy and evil Jews (“*sik læto wærdogh wara ffor wara synder skuld / at sputtas aff owærdogom oc ondom iudhom*”).²¹⁸ In a prayer to Christ on the Cross, we read:

Miskunna mik *hærra ihesu christe* før thæn beska galla drykken som thu drak **oc** smakade a korseno **oc** før thæn blodhen som nidher fløth i thin mwn aff tørne krononne / **oc** før iudhanna orena spot / som **oc** nidher fløt i thin mwn thy at thu kunne ey aat komma thæt borth stryka²¹⁹

218 DAS AM 422 12^o, f. 15v; *VadstNunB* 9.

219 DAS AM 422 12^o, f. 67r–v; *SvBM* 44 (no.23); *VadstNunB* 24.

[Have mercy on me, Lord Jesus Christ, for the bitter drink of gall that you drank and tasted on the cross, and for the blood that flowed down into your mouth from the crown of thorns, and for the Jews' filthy mockery (i. e., spittle) that also flowed down into your mouth as you could not reach it to wipe away.]

The cruelty of the Jews is mentioned several times in the prayer book and their various torments provide focus points for the reader to meditate on:²²⁰

Miskunna mik hærre ihesv christe før tith hælgha twlumodh som thu hafðhe naar iudha hœffdinghane *samman* kommo *om* morghonen / oc løsto tik fran studinne / ok drogho tik wth aff huseno *mædh* mæsta grymlighet / oc bwndo thina hændher a thin bak som a enom tiwff ælla rœffwara oc drogho tik om allan stadhen *mædh* roop ok skrian oc mæste gældh / och før alt *thæt* gab oc smælech thu ledh i erodes huse // amen //

Miskunna mik hærre ihesv christe før thina blygelika nækt / som thu tolde oc før the bandh thu wast *mædh* bwndhin widh studena swa hardelika at hændrena blanado oc næglena losnadh oc før the riis oc gislo slaghin thu war *mædh* flængdher / swa at blodit fløt oc stank omkring hwsit **Oc** enkamelika bidher iak tik før the tarana som thu fælte oc *thæt* blodit / som aff tik droppadhe tha thu gik at ather hænta thin klædhe som kastat waro kringh om husit

Miskunna mik hærre ihesu christe før *thæt* rødha purpwra klædhit / som thu wast i førdher / før torne kronona som a tith huffwdh tryktis før røna som thu wash *mædh* slaghin oc støther oc pustadher i ænlitet / oc hæddher *mædh* knæfallom och helsadher *mædh* smælike til talan²²¹

[Have mercy on me, Lord Jesus Christ, for your holy patience that you had when the Jewish leaders gathered in the morning and freed you from the pillar and dragged you out of the house with the utmost cruelty and tied your hands behind your back like on a thief or robber and dragged you throughout the city with yelling and screaming and furious rage, and for all the jeering and mockery that you suffered in Herod's house. Amen.

Have mercy on me, Lord Jesus Christ, for your modest nakedness that you also tolerated before they bound you fast with rope to the pillar so harshly that your hands were bruised and your nails came loose, and for the strokes of the whips and scourges that you were flogged so that your blood flowed and splattered around the house, and in particular I pray to you for the tears that you shed and the blood that dripped from you when you went to gather up your clothes again that had been thrown about the house.

Have mercy on me, Lord Jesus Christ, for the scarlet purple robe that you were dressed in, for the crown of thorns that was pushed onto your head, for the reed with which you were beaten, and pushed and punched in your face, and mocked with kneeling and greeted by being addressed mockingly.]

²²⁰ Generally, the word “Jews” (*iubar*) is not usually qualified by an adjective in the extant OSw. prayers, but when it is, the adjective used almost every time is *omilder* [cruel; impious], sometimes in the superlative form *omildaster* [cruellest, i. e., extremely cruel]. For example, “christus war gripen aff omillom iwdhom” [Christ was seized by cruel Jews], UBG 881 8^o, p. 371; SvMB 278; “the omildasta iudhana” [the extremely cruel Jews], DAS AM 422 12^o, pp. 12–13; SvMB 246; DAS AM 422 12^o, p. 14; SvMB 247.

²²¹ DAS AM 422 12^o, ff. 63v–65v; SvBM 42–43 (nos 17–19); VadstNunB 23–24.

As we have already seen in other descriptions of the Passion, Christ's torments are described without naming those inflicting them in every sentence:

*Miskunna mik hærra ihesv christe fôr the stubbotta spikana thær gønom gingho thina hændher / ok fôther / oc fôr the ynkelika hambra slaghen thær gønom gingho thina hændher oc fôther oc iomfrw maria siæl oc hiæarta*²²²

[Have mercy on me, Lord Jesus Christ, for the blunted nails that pierced your hands and feet, and for the pitiless strikes of the hammer that pierced your hands and feet and the Virgin Mary's soul and heart.]

Jews are portrayed as constantly hounding Jesus – the Crucifixion is merely the climax of a long history of trying to catch Jesus out in order to have him arrested and punished:

*Miskunna mik hærræ ihesv christe fôr tith gudelika wal mædh huilko thw wthkôrdhe them thær kôpto oc saldo i mōnstreno Ok fôr qwimona thu frælstæ aff dødhenom som gripin war i hordomenom / oc fôr the idhkelika førsator som iudana altidh tik giordho / nar the tik altidh æpther gingo / oc willo tik altidh gripa i thinom ordhom oc gærninggom ok fôr thina gudelika snille oc wisdom mædh hwilkom thu wnkōm tera onsko oc klokskap*²²³

[Have mercy on me, Lord Jesus Christ, for your divine staff with which you drove out those who were buying and selling in the temple, and for the woman you saved from death who was caught in adultery, and for the traps that the Jews always made for you when they were always following you and wanting to catch you out with your words and actions, and for your divine sagacity and wisdom with which you pity their wickedness and cunning.]

Several of the extant prayers in OSw. explicitly name Jews as crucifying Jesus.²²⁴ For example, in a prayer for the Virgin Mary's rosary, also in DAS AM 422 12^o, we read:

Hwilkin iudhana tiænara gripu / som galne hwnda Oc som smælikan tiwff / bwndnan leddho fôr domarana Amen Aue

Hwilkin the omildasta iudhana framleddo ffor annam iudha præsta hœffdingan / huar the røgdo hanom mædh mangom falsom witnom Amen Aue maria

Hwilkins fægghersta ænlite the besputtado Oc mædh kinpustom twnglika slogho Aue maria Hwilkin bwndin wt leddis til domaran pylatum / Oc stadholika kærdis / som folkxsins forradhare Amen Aue maria

Hwilkin pylatus sænde til herodem / konung Æn han atirsænde hanom fforsmadhan / oc j hwito klæde gabbadhan Amen Aue

²²² DAS AM 422 12^o, ff. 66v–67r; SvBM 43 (no. 22); VadstNunB 24.

²²³ DAS AM 422 12^o, ff. 60v–61r; SvBM 40 (no. 11); VadstNunB 21.

²²⁴ See also the section on Marine Jespersdatter's prayer book (DAS AM 421 12^o) in Chapter 3: *Writing about Jews*, pp. 86–93.

Hwilkin the omildasta iudhane næktan bwndo til studhena / Oc mædh hwassom riisom / twnglikast flængdo Amen Aue

Hwilkin the kronado mædh hardasta tørne / oc slogho hoffuodhit mædh rønne / fiøllø the a knæ mædh gab / sighiande / heel iudha konunger Amen Aue maria

Hwilkin the stadelika ropadho skula korsfæstas / Oc menlōsan dōmdo til skæmmelikasta dōdh Amen Aue maria

Hwilkin som bar twngasta korsins træ / wppa sinom wælsignada hærdom til pinnona stad Amen Pater noster Aue maria

[...]

Hwilkins hælgesta hændher / oc fōther iudhane gynom stwngo mædh groffwom spikom / Oc tilfæsto them korseno Amen Aue maria²²⁵

[Whom the Jews' servants seized, like crazed dogs, and as if he were a reviled thief, led him bound before the Judges. Amen. Ave Maria.

Whom the cruellest Jews led out before Annas, head priest of the Jews, where they accused him with many false testimonies. Amen. Ave Maria.

Whose most fair face they spat into and beat harshly with blows to his cheeks. Ave Maria.

Who was led out bound to the judge Pilate and constantly accused of being the traitor of the people. Amen. Ave Maria.

Whom Pilate sent to King Herod, but he sent him back, mocked and humiliated in a white robe. Amen. Ave Maria.

Whom the cruellest Jews bound naked to the pillar and with sharp scourges whipped him harshly. Amen. Ave Maria.

Whom they crowned with the hardest thorns and hit his head with reeds, they fell to their knees with gaping mouths, saying, "Hail, King of the Jews!" Amen. Ave Maria.

Whom they constantly called for to be crucified and sentenced him without cause to the most shameful death. Amen. Ave Maria.

Who carried the heaviest wooden cross upon his blessed shoulders to the place of suffering. Amen. Pater Noster. Ave Maria.

(...)

Whose most holy hands and feet the Jews pierced with rough nails and fastened them to the cross. Amen. Ave Maria.]

In a prayer to Jesus in SBB-PK Mscr. Theol. Lat. 71 8^o (end of fifteenth century), the Jews torment and kill Christ:

Jac takkar tik / lofuar ok ærar / for thæt thu war gripin / oc fangadhír aff iudomen / ok hardhelica bundhin / oc aff iudomen / oc aff thinom kænneswenom owirgifwin Oc mædh skrii oc rop ohøwelica leddhír for annam / oc thær kinpustadhír oc gabbadhír / oc mædhír win wndhír thin øgon slaghín Ok war ledhír fran annam oc til caypham / mædh myklom smælek oc obrygdilsom / oc thær mædh grymme oc hwasse tiltalan spordír / ok hōrdhe thær lyng / falsk witne oc kæremaal / oc dōdzsins rop oc skrij owir tik Ok stodh thær læstir oc bundhin

225 DAS AM 422 12^o, pp. 12–17; SvBM 246–47 (nos 24–34).

alla nattena / i haad oc gabbilsom / ok bundho klædhe for thin øghon / oc slogho tik a hals oc kindhir / oc drogho tik i haar oc skæg / ok badho til spaa^(a) hwar tik sloo²²⁶

Notes: a. spaa] paa MS.

[I thank, praise, and honour you because you were seized and captured by the Jews and harshly bound, also by the Jews, and handed over by your disciples, and with screams and shouts rudely led before Annas and there punched on the cheeks and mocked, and had wine thrown into your eyes, and were led from Annas to Caiaphas, with much disdain and insults, and there questioned and addressed cruelly and sharply, and there heard lies, false testimony, and accusations, and the shouts and screams calling for your death, and stood there dishonoured and bound for the whole night, in mockery and jeering, and they bound a cloth over your eyes and beat you on the neck and cheeks and pulled your hair and beard, and they asked you predict who was hitting you.]

In Märita Thuresdotter's prayer book (SKB A 37) from before 1506, the Jews visit Christ on the cross:

Glædz maria æwinnelikin sötme / jak takkar tik / loffwar oc hedhrar / for the drøwilse / thu fik / thæn tidh iwdhana kommo oc willo thins kærsta sons been søndher slaa / oc stwngo gønom hans høgro sidho / aff hwilko wtfløt watn oc blodh / min søtha jomfru / bidh thin kærsta son for mik At han mædh^(a) sit dyra blodh / thær han wtgøth a korsseno før wara syndhe skul / aff twa j mins dødz thima alla mina syndher / oc wakte mina siæl før æwærdelikom drøwilsom amen Pater noster Aue maria²²⁷

Notes: a. han mædh] han MS.

[Be joyful Mary, eternal sweetness! I thank, praise, and honour you for the sorrow that you received when the Jews came and wanted to break your dearest son's legs and pierced his right side, from where water and blood flowed forth. My sweet virgin! Ask your dearest son on my behalf that he may with his dear blood that he shed on the cross for all our sins, wash away all my sins in my hour of death and protect my soul from eternal grief. Amen. Pater Noster. Ave Maria.]

The identification of his tormentors as Jews is made just once or twice at the beginning of a prayer and then inferred throughout the remainder. Once Jews have been identified as calling for Jesus' execution, spitting and jeering at him, as well as beating and kicking him, it is hard to imagine anyone else than "the Jews" swinging the hammer at the Crucifixion. Identifying the culprits as Jews and then enumerating their crimes against Jesus in the passive is also found in sermons and Passion treatises, and it is a means to shift the reader's focus onto the body of Christ. It is difficult to imagine that the reader having once identified the perpetrators would not have continued to consider Jews as those committing

²²⁶ SBB-PK Mscr. Theol. Lat. 71 8^o, p. 372; SvBM 54 (no. 24); VadstNunB 45.

²²⁷ SKB A 37, pp. 139–140; SvBM 284 (no. 14).

the following enumerated abuses against Jesus. Here, for example, from Christina Hansdotter's prayer book (SKB A 38), c. 1500:

Hec oratio est de passione Jhesu christi

O hærra gudh thær wærdoghadhis for wærlðinna aterløsn aff iudhomen wanwirdhas Aff iudasse forradhara *mædh* kws forradhas *Mædh* bandom bindas / som lamb / siæfft / til slath-erhws ledhas Oc for annam / chayphan / pilatum oc herodem ledhas Oc meenløs aff falsom witnom kæras *Mædh* obryghilsum / storom slaghom / oc hwassom gislom mødhas / pustas / oc sputtas *Mædh* hwassa naghlomen gynom hænder oc foter buras / a korsit hængias Ild gærningis manna kompan ræknas Aff ætikkio oc galla mættas Oc gynom hiærtat *mædh* spiwteno sarghas Thu hærra gudh om thessa thina hælgha pina / thær iak nw wsul / owærdoghasta synderska / wppa minnis / bidher iak thik / at thu frælsa mik af hælwitis pino / oc leedh mik thiit thu leede røwarin / som *mædh* thik korsfæstis Thu thær liffwer oc radher alzmæktelika / *mædh* gudh fadher och them hælgha anda nw oc æ for wtan ænda²²⁸

[*Haec oratio est de Passione Ihesu Christi* (This prayer is about the Passion of Jesus Christ)

O, dear God! Who was dignified for the redemption of the world, disparaged by the Jews, betrayed with a kiss by the traitor Judas, bound with fetters, led like a meek lamb to the slaughterhouse; and led before Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate, and Herod, and accused without cause by false witnesses, tormented, beaten, and spat at with insults, hard punches, and sharp whips, bored through your hands and feet with sharp nails, hung upon the cross, considered the friend of criminal men, (your thirst) satisfied with vinegar and gall, and lacerated through your heart with the spear. You, Lord God, for these your holy pains that I – a wretched, most worthless sinner! – bring to mind, I ask you that you save me from the torments of hell and lead me to where you led the robber who was crucified alongside you. You, who live and rule almightily together with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and always for eternity.]

Only rarely do we find another group than the Jews being named as the killers of Christ – and yet, even here, it is not always clear who is doing what. In the narrative in the following prayer from SKB A 37 (before 1506) that retells the events from Jesus' trial by Pilate to his burial, only soldiers (*riddarar*) have been named as the agents (alongside unidentified “others present”), yet several of the actions, not least the taking down from the cross and the burial and resurrection of Christ's body, obviously were not performed by the soldiers. The reader of the prayer knew who was doing what from knowledge gained elsewhere outside the prayer:

Aff pylato dømdher til dødhin / riddaromen antwardadher til at korssfæstas Aff them wast thu annantidh wt^(a) fòrdher Oc ather j fòrdher purpur klædhe / kronadher *mædh* torn krononne Oc tik til atløghe war sath en røø j thina hand / for konugx spirona Helsadher *mædh* knæfallom Thik til smælek kallader iudha konung / Annantidh pustadher widher thin kinben oc jæmwæl spottadher j thit ænlite / Slaghin *mædh* rønne j hoffwodith Fòrdher w

228 SKB A 38, pp. 216–218; SvBM 102 (no. 39).

purpur klædeno Thwingader mædh korseno / tilføgdher røwarom Tha thu leddis til stadhin thær thu skulle pinas · skænker mædh besko wine blandadho mædh galla Tridia sin aff klædomen fōrdher wttamndher oppa korsseno Gønom hænder oc fōther mædh spikomen næglder widh korssit / hæddher aff them om tik gingo / oc æmwæl aff androm flerom Tha tik tørste oppa korsseno / skænkis tik ætikia Mædh nidherbøgdho hoffdhe wpgaff thu thin anda Stwngin gønom sidhona mædh spiwteno / Nidher takin aff korsseno / jordadher j graffwinne / Tridia daghen wprester²²⁹

Notes: a. wt] w MS.

[Sentenced by Pilate to death, given to the soldiers to be crucified, by them you were led out a second time and dressed up again in a purple robe, crowned with a crown of thorns. And in order to mock you a reed was placed in your hand in place of a king's sceptre. Greeted with genuflections, called King of the Jews in order to disparage you. A second time punched on the cheek and similarly spat into your face. Beaten with a reed upon your head. Undressed from the purple robe. Forced to carry the cross. Joined the robbers. When you were led to the place where you were to be tortured, given bitter wine mixed with gall. For a third time, undressed and led up onto the cross. Nailed to the cross through your hands and feet, mocked by those who were walking around you and even by many others. When you thirsted upon the cross, you were poured vinegar. With a bowed head you gave up your spirit. Stabbed through the side with a spear. Taken down from the cross. Buried in a tomb. Risen on the third day.]

In St Birgitta's prayer to Christ in Margareta Matsdotter's prayer book (SRA E 9068) from the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is clear that Pilate's men abuse Jesus, but they are doing so in order to placate the Jews:

Loff wari thic min hærra ihesus christus / thær til studh dømdis / bindas oc hwdhstrykas / oc æpte pylati budhi blodhoghir synas / til at iudha grymma hærdzska skulde blidhkas²³⁰
[Praise be unto my Lord Jesus Christ, who was sentenced to the pillar, bound and scourged, and upon Pilate's orders made bloody in order to placate the Jews' cruel severity.]

These prayers operated within a considerably larger textual, cultural, and theological context, and much remains unsaid or is only hinted at within the prayer itself. The “gap” is filled from knowledge acquired outside of the prayer: from sermons, other devotional texts, Bible stories, and so on. The reader is drawing upon an acquired and internalized archive of information about Jews.²³¹ Sometimes information in the prayer contradicts some of the more orthodox external

²²⁹ SKB A 37, pp. 53–56; SvBM 99 (no. 37).

²³⁰ SRA E 9068, p. 126; SvBM 116 (no. 13).

²³¹ On “the archive of antisemitism,” see Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, “Volcanic Archives: Towards a Direct Comparison of Pre-Modern and Modern Forms of Antisemitism,” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge, 2018), 3–16 (especially 3–10).

knowledge. For example, in a prayer to the Virgin Mary in UUB C 68 (1450–1500), we read:

Jak bidher thic ffor then sörgheligha gaangh tha thw ffolde honom æpter medh otalikom taarom at skwdha hans haardha dødth oc pino oc medh hadh oc spot halslagh kæremaal gabbilse han tholde **ok**^(a) ffore sin klædhe som iudhana dubbladho om²³²

Notes: **a. ok** |ok| added by rubricator, MS.

[I pray to you for that sorrowful walk when you followed him with countless tears to watch his harsh death and torture and the hatred and mockery, accusations (and) jeering that he suffered and for his clothes that the Jews drew lots (or: threw dice, gambled) for.]

According to the Gospels (Matthew 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 21:24) it was the soldiers (of the governor) who cast lots for the clothes, not “the Jews” as in this prayer.

We have already mentioned St Birgitta of Sweden (1303–73) and the works attributed to her. Throughout late medieval Western Europe, she was an extremely significant religious figure whose revelations and monastic movement, The Order of St Saviour, had a profound influence on spirituality and religious writing, particularly in Scandinavia.²³³ As shown earlier in this chapter, Birgitta’s writing and spirituality influenced *The Fifteen Places*, not least by establishing fifteen as the number of years Mary spent visiting the sites where her son suffered. The OSw. versions (unlike the ODa. ones) also contain vivid depictions of the Crucifixion taken directly from her *Revelations*. Another major influence, seen particularly in extant OSw. prayers, is the widely circulated set of prayers called the *Quindecim Oraciones* [The Fifteen Prayers, better known as *The Fifteen Oes* in English, because each prayer begins with *O!*].²³⁴ Arranged around the seven sayings of Christ on the Cross, *The Fifteen Oes* are Passion prayers to Christ, and they retell the story of his Passion and expand the story of the Gospels while focusing on Jesus’ suffering body. Although these fifteen prayers were not in fact composed by Birgitta, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (and in some circles even today), Birgitta was viewed as the author. She was believed to have received the prayers from Christ in a revelation and they formed an important part of Birgittine spirituality and prayer. Originally composed in Latin, they were translated into OSw. and today there are several different preserved versions of *The Fifteen Oes* in both

²³² UUB C 68, f. 120r; SvBM 293 (no. 129).

²³³ Indeed, along with Caterina da Siena (1347–80) and the Jewish convert Edith Stein (1891–1942), Birgitta is one of the three female patron saints of Europe.

²³⁴ On the Latin and vernacular versions of *The Fifteen Oes*, see Claes Gejrot, “The *Fifteen Oes*: Latin and Vernacular Versions with an Edition of the Latin Text,” in *The Vernacular Translations of St Birgitta of Sweden*, ed. Bridget A. Morris and Veronica O’Mara (Turnhout: Brepols), 213–38.

Latin and OSw. As the prayers became more popular, the texts grew in length with extra, often pleonastic, phrases being added, and the extent to which Jews play an explicit role in the Passion and the Crucifixion also varies in the different versions. For example, the Latin version of Prayer 2 in the manuscript SRA E 9061 (sixteenth century; previously Skokloster 1) contains several additions (in italics below) which results in a text that is twice as long as the older Latin versions and includes new anti-Jewish elements:

O Domine Ihesu Christe, mundi fabricator et creator ac humani generis reparator, quem nulla dimensio vero termino metitur, qui celum et terram palmo concludis.

Recordare amarissimi doloris, quem sustinebas, dum *perfidissimi Iudei* sanctissimas manus *et delicatissimos pedes tuos* ad crucem obtusis clauibus afflixerunt *et*, cum non esses conueniens uoluntati eorum, *in longitudinem et latitudinem corporis tui ad foramina per ipsos in cruce perforata* ad perforandum delicatissimos pedes tuos dolorem super dolorem addiderunt *sanctissimis* vulneribus tuis et ita crudeliter *funibus et cordis te* distraxerunt et extenderunt in longum et latum crucis tue, vt dissoluerentur omnes compagine membrorum tuorum.

Deprecator te, *dulcissime Ihesu Christe*, per huius sanctissimi et amarissimi tui in cruce doloris memoriam, vt des michi timorem et amorem *tuum sanctum et proximi nostri dilectionem*.²³⁵

[O Lord, Jesus Christ! Maker of the world and creator and redeemer of the human race, who cannot be measured by dimension or limit, who holds heaven and earth in his palm!

Remember the very bitter pain that you suffered when *the most perfidious Jews* nailed your most sacred hands *and most delicate feet* to the cross with blunt nails, *and* not finding you in a state to satisfy their will, *they increased your most holy wounds the length and breadth of your body*, and perforated your most delicate feet, and added pain to pain, and *with ropes and cords* cruelly stretched *your body* on the Cross, pulled you out vertically and horizontally, thus dislocating all your limbs.

I pray to you, *sweetest Jesus Christ*, in memory of your most holy and bitter sufferings on the Cross, that you give me your fear and *your holy love and love of our neighbour*.]

Such additions and variations are also found in the OSw. versions of *The Fifteen Oes*. By investigating the three different versions of the prayer found in SKB A 49 (1420s), SBB-PK Mscr. Theol. Lat. 71 8^o (1475–1500), and SKB A 43 (1501–27), we discover that the extent to which Jews were held responsible for the crucifixion varies across different versions of the same prayers, although the substantial differences in content between Theol. Lat. 71 8^o on the one hand and A 49 and A 43 on the other preclude a direct comparison between the text of each prayer. Of the three, Theol. Lat. 71 8^o only uses the word “Jews” once (in prayer 9), and refers instead to “your enemies” and “false men”.²³⁶

²³⁵ Gejrot, “The Fifteen Oes,” 221–22.

²³⁶ SBB-PK Mscr. Theol. Lat. 71 8^o, pp. 230–233; SvBM 77–80 (no. 31).

- Prayer 1: Ok sidhan wardh thu^(a) fanghin ok røghder aff falskom mannom
Notes: a. wardh thu] wardh *MS*.
[And then you were captured and accused by false men.]
- Prayer 4: æra loff oc glædhi wari thik / for allan thæn ræddogha ok stiugh som thu tholde
tha thine owini stodho om kring^(a) tik Swa som starkkasta oc grymmasta leon [...] for al the anbudh mædh hwilkom thine owini plaghade tik
Notes: a. kring] krin *MS*.
[May honour, praise, and joy be yours, for all the fear and disgust that you suffered when your enemies surrounded you, like the mightiest and cruellest lion, (...) for the instruments with which your enemies tortured you.]
- Prayer 5: loff ok hedhir wari thik for thæt at tw fore viste [...] alla thina owini som skulu
fordømas for sina otrolikhet oc synde
[May honour and glory be yours as you foresaw (...) all your enemies who would be condemned for their infidelity and sin.]
- Prayer 6: alle thine owini stodho mote tik
[All your enemies stood against you.]
- Prayer 9: loff hedhir oc æra wari tik min søte gudh fore the sorgh ok ængxla Thu hafde aff
iudanna obrygdilsom oc dødzens wærkia besklikhet
[May honour and praise be yours, my sweet God, for the sorrows and distress that you received from the Jews' insults and the bitterness of death's pain.]

In SKB A 49 and SKB A 43, there are more direct references to Jews:

- Prayer 3: jach helsar oc hedhrar thin miskundhelik øgon [...] som sik lotho wærdugh wara
at [...] spottadhis aff iudhom²³⁷
[I greet and praise your merciful eyes (...) that were held worthy to be (...) mocked by Jews]
[...] Ok aff ondom jwdhom spottas²³⁸
[(...) and are mocked by evil Jews]
- Prayer 4: jac loffwar oc hedhrar [...] thin signadha thungha som kændhe judhom thiin
helga ordh · oc rættan kænnædhom²³⁹
[I honour and praise (...) your blessed tongue that taught Jews your holy words and correct teachings.]
[...] som jwdhom kænde helsamasta radh oc kænnedom²⁴⁰
[(...) that taught Jews the most salubrious counsel and teachings.]

²³⁷ SKB A 49, p. 421; *SvBM* 84 (no. 32a.3).

²³⁸ SKB A 43, p. 136; *SvBM* 89 (no. 32b.3).

²³⁹ SKB A 49, p. 421; *SvBM* 84 (no. 32a.5).

²⁴⁰ SKB A 43, p. 137; *SvBM* 89 (no. 32b.5).

Unlike *The Fifteen Oes*, another set of Birgittine prayers, the *Quattuor Oraciones* [*The Four Prayers*], was composed by Birgitta herself and forms part of the official Birgittine corpus. These prayers also contain descriptions of the Jews crucifying Jesus, but again there is variation between the different versions. We find direct references to Jews in the Latin “delta” version, but not in the OSw. For example:

Δ text, no. 51 Gloria immensa sit tibi, Domine mi Ihesu Christe, quia sustinuisti pro nobis humiliter, vt Iudei tuas venerabiles manus et pedes cum fune extenderent et ligno crucis crudeliter ferreis clauis affigerent, te quoque proditorem vocarent et super te scripto confusionis titulo suis verbis nefandis te multipliciter deriderent.²⁴¹

[Unmeasured glory be to you, O my Lord, Jesus Christ, because you humbly endured for us that the Jews stretched out your venerable hands and feet with rope, that they cruelly fixed them to the wood of the cross with iron nails, that they called you a traitor, that they derided you in many ways with unspeakable words while above you was inscribed that title of confusion.]²⁴²

OSw. Hedher hafue thu myn hærra jhesus *christus* thær loot thina hænder oc føter *medh* reepe wtdraghas Oc *medh* jærn naglom gynom stingas oc *medh* hambrom saman slaas oc hørðhe thik swikara oc forradhara kallas Oc fore spot titulum oc taflona ofuer thit hofwth skrifues.²⁴³

[May you have glory, my Lord Jesus Christ, who let your hands and feet be stretched out with rope and pierced with iron nails and fixed with hammers and heard yourself being called a fraud and traitor, and out of mockery had written above your head a title and plate.]

The point here is that as in other types of texts, such as sermons, Jews are not consistently identified as the those who killed Jesus. We are just as likely to find phrases such as “enemies” or “false men,” or formulations in the passive voice that require no agent to be named. Part of the explanation for this variation could simply be to do with text length. The point of the sermons and prayers was to get the Christian worshippers to think about their own sins, not those of others. In a larger work, it is easier to begin by listing the horrors committed by Jews against Christ and then turning the focus onto the worshippers and comparing their crimes to those of the Jews. In a shorter text, such as a prayer, it is more

²⁴¹ Sten Eklund, ed., *Sancta Birgitta. Opera Minora III: Quattuor Oraciones*, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 8, no. 3 (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1992), 77–78.

²⁴² The “title of confusion” refers to the inscription ‘(Jesus of Nazareth) King of the Jews’ on Jesus’ cross. See Matthew 27:37; Mark 15:26; Luke 23:38, and John 19:19–20.

²⁴³ Eklund, ed., *Sancta Birgitta. Opera Minora III: Quattuor Oraciones*, 95.

concise to simply call Christ's murderers "his enemies" and thus include in that group all those who sin against God, not just Jews. Furthermore, agentless passive constructions focus attention on the verb and the patient, thus helping the penitent meditate on Christ's suffering.

Killing Christ: guilt and identification

All these texts – sermons, Passion treatises, and prayers – have very much in common. Primarily, they frequently place the responsibility for the Crucifixion onto the Jews who are portrayed as Christ-killers. However, the texts do not concur on the question of whether the Jews should be condemned for this. According to Christiern Pedersen's sermon, the Jews should be forgiven, because they did not know what they were doing. Pedersen uses the Jews' violent acts to portray Jesus as an inspiring example of patience and humility. In Gotfred af Ghemen's Passion treatise, the reader is encouraged to identify with Jesus and particularly his mother. The description of violence and the Jews' wickedness is extreme, and Jews appear more like monstrous beasts than human beings. Clearly, the aim of the text is different to Christiern Pedersen's. The treatise is intended for private devotion, and it attempts to evoke a different feeling. In the sermon in GKS 1390 4^o, the image of the evil Jews who murder Jesus is turned onto the listeners. The listeners are being made to identify themselves not with Jesus, but with the Jews. They are being berated for acting like Christ-killers. This is a blow intended to shame them out of their immoral behaviour and push them towards a more pious life. The same vocabulary and imagery are used in all three texts to describe the appearance and actions of the Christ-killers. Jews appear as the inverted ideal of humanity and represent a dangerous upturned image of God's world.

The topos of Christ-killers is an example of how Jews in the Middle Ages were (mis)used by Danish and Swedish writers to achieve different effects. The topos was a flexible tool that could be used by the Church to demarcate the boundaries of *vita christiana* and to create a suitable spiritual feeling in the readers and listeners. To convey this feeling, the Passion tales needed murderous Jews because the murder of an innocent man required a villain who was wicked enough to perform such an act. Long before Denmark was christianized, the image of the Jew had been shaped elsewhere to create a useful contrast to Jesus. This inimical image could be used in several ways: to demonstrate God's forgiveness, to act as a gauge of the listeners' sins and piety, to construct a terrifying picture of an "anti-world" opposed to Christ, and to create a contrast to Jesus the perfect example of patience and humility. Ultimately, the image of the Jews could also function as the recipient of psychological projections of impropriety. This is a very heterogeneous mix of uses, but they had become an integrated part of the Christian, and therefore also

the Scandinavian, worldview. The story of the Passion is not just any old tale; it is the core narrative of Christianity and its foundational *mythos*. But the shaping of the tale as we have seen it in the three texts above was extremely harmful and encouraged the spread of anti-Judaism and antisemitism with appalling consequences.

Conclusion

The Gospel texts were expanded using legendary, historical, and exegetical material – and possibly also contemporary experiences of torture – to create a single uniform story of the arrest, trial, and crucifixion of Jesus. In this bloody version of events Jews played a central role in which their behaviour is monstrous and their emotional response to Christ's suffering is inhuman. This carefully crafted tale was used to encourage Christians to identify with Christ's physical and emotional pain (as well as that of his mother) and to learn an appropriate spectrum of emotions from his response to the torments to which he was subjected: humility, meekness, acquiescence, and silence. Similarly, Mary provides a model for compassion and empathy: she feels the same pain in her heart and soul as her son did during the Crucifixion. The Jews' arrogance, bloodthirsty joy, and murderous revelry are the very antithesis of Christian emotions and behaviours.

In these texts, Jews are also frequently held responsible for the Crucifixion: not just by calling for it, but also by executing it, e. g., torturing Christ, fastening him to the cross, piercing his side with a spear, and so on. Texts can be very explicit about this. Sometimes, those who crucify Jesus are not identified by name in the texts, e. g., they are referred to as his enemies, or the syntax, especially the use of the passive voice, requires no named agent. However, even in these cases readers and listeners would often have imagined the executioners as Jews because their inimical and barbaric behaviour had already been mentioned or their guilt had been established elsewhere beyond the text at hand and was part of the audience's pre-acquired knowledge about Jews and Jewish behaviours. It is somewhat disingenuous to claim that because a text does not directly name and point the finger of blame at Jews, they are not the intended guilty party.

The equation of disgust with Jews that is perpetuated in these descriptions of the Passion helped form "a crude semiology which reduced the Jew to the object of ridicule and repulsiveness."²⁴⁴ However, particularly in the North where there was no resident Jewish population, the reduction, denigration, and condemna-

²⁴⁴ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 110.

tion of Jews were not the sole or even most important objectives of representing Jews in this way. The primary aim was to provide readers and listeners with new emotional ways to engage affectively with their faith and to present them with an emotional and behavioural gauge against which they could measure their own “Christianness” and check that they were not continuing the Jews’ work of torturing God.

Except for Pedersen’s eschatological use of the Jews based on Augustine and Romans, contemporaneous Jews do not appear in the extant sermon material at all. Mention of Jews in Scandinavian sermons is clearly “triggered” by the reading of the day, e. g., John 8:48–59 on Passion Sunday and John 18:1–19:42 on Good Friday. Both of these days were traditional days in Western Europe for preaching against Jews, but we witness in Scandinavia a restricting of the term “Jew” to mean New Testament Jew. It probably made little sense to the preacher to dwell on contemporary Jews, people his audience would most likely never have encountered. It is also noteworthy that some days, e. g., the Tenth Sunday after Trinity, which were often used for anti-Jewish preaching elsewhere in Europe, were not always occasions for sermons mentioning Jews in Denmark or Sweden: preachers would sometimes choose other topics to preach on.

The negative portrayal of Jews in these sermons would have been reinforced through other media, such as religious drama and wall paintings with their caricatured, unmistakably “Jewish” figures (crooked noses, reddish complexion, long hair or baldness, bearded, depicted in profile with gaping mouths and wearing Jew hats.) These paintings functioned both separately from and in connection with sermons. Whenever “executioners,” “money-lenders,” or “children of the devil” were mentioned in church even if the word “Jews” were not uttered, the audience, standing in a space where Christ’s killers, usurers, and Satan’s companions were depicted on the walls around them as Jews, would have made the connection instantly. This association between Jews and “anti-Christians” would then have been carried beyond the church walls. It seems that anti-Jewish ideas were here as pervasive, graphic and (often) unacknowledged in Scandinavia as Anthony Bale claims was the case in England.²⁴⁵ The general consciousness of the populace had become saturated with images and depictions of Jews with grotesque features mocking Jesus at the Passion, hammering Jesus to the Cross, scourging Jesus, and even in the role of Longinus piercing the side of Jesus with a spear. With the exception of a few venerable figures from the Old Testament, the blind, obstinate, cruel denier of Christ was the only Jew there was for medieval

²⁴⁵ Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 21.

Danes and Swedes, and evil was the Jew's natural state. The sermons, prepared for a society with no Jewish presence, demonstrate how culture and literary production as opposed to economics, politics, or mob violence are fundamental to the generation of anti-Judaism, and textual, visual, and oral culture are the means by which this hatred is mediated.²⁴⁶ Several stereotypes that also occur in later "non-religious" antisemitism appear in these sermons with proofs taken from the Bible. For example, the Jews' inclination to secretiveness and murderous plans – standard fare in modern antisemitic fantasies – is described in the clandestine plot to kill Jesus:

Judhane sagho at the gato ey forwnnit ælla swikit ihesum opinbarlika ty lagdho the radh saman at swika han lönlica ·/ ok gripa han j nokro ordhe for hulkit the matte døma han til dødh²⁴⁷

[The Jews saw that they could not publicly envy or betray Jesus, so they held council together to betray him secretly and catch him out with some words for which they might sentence him to death.]

What strikes the modern-day reader of these sermons is the consistent use of the Jew as the embodiment of evil and how this image is suddenly turned onto the audience in an act of *Verfremdung* or alienation. The members of the audience are unexpectedly challenged with having the same failings and inclinations as the Jews in the sermons. They can no longer have the illusion of being unseen spectators but are forced into a critical, analytical frame of mind that serves to disabuse them from the notion that the sermon, and more specifically the Passion story contained therein, is merely an inviolable, self-contained narrative. They, too, are the crucifiers, the enemies of God, and the embodiment of evil. Christian folk could apparently agree on the fact that the Jews were immoral monsters, but what if these same folk were in fact behaving in ways comparable to these monsters? The preachers are using these sermons to hold a mirror up to their audiences, and the Jews have become their strawmen, referents for immorality, and shorthand for all that is ungodly. The Jews in these sermons offered the Christians an opportunity to prove their steadfastness to their own faith.

Listening to the sermons while looking around at the paintings, carvings and stained glass that adorned the church, the audience was being forced to accept the possibility that because of their own sin they too were the attackers, not the defenders, of Christ. As the writers of these sermons were primarily concerned with impiety and sin, they were not interested in the Jews of their contemporary

²⁴⁶ See Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book*, 16.

²⁴⁷ DAS AM 787 4^o, f. 106vb; *SermSac* 417; *SMP* I 340.

world, whom they did not meet, but only in the “imaginary” Jews of the New Testament whom they readily employed as a lesson from the past, a metaphorical stick with which to prod their audience towards moral obedience.



Demonstrating Christian Truth

7 Witnesses of Truth and Doctrine: Miracles, Saints' Lives, and Exempla

Introduction

Miracles and Jews

Tales of miracles – *miracula* or supernatural events brought about through divine agency – are particularly prevalent in legends, exempla, and devotional reading on the Christian life, and they include some of the earliest manuscript literature in East Norse. These stories have a divine phenomenon as their subject, such as the Virgin Birth, the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, the intervention of the saints, or the mediating role of Mary. These phenomena are usually points of doctrine, essential principles of faith that the Church was keen to promulgate and reinforce. Miracle stories are not scholastic investigations of religious teachings, but rather lively didactic tales that attempt to demonstrate Christian truth in a dramatic, plain-talking, and unambiguous way. Rather than using intellectual and theological arguments, miracle tales aim to persuade or reassure the audience through an event or demonstration, through narrative. Yet while appearing straightforward and simple, miracle tales encompass a vast complexity and richness of the beliefs, structures, and conceptions maintained within medieval Christianity.

These narratives could appear in contemplative literature for silent reading, but equally, and more often, in texts for reading aloud, such as legends or sermon exempla, that aimed at swaying their audience, strengthening their faith, nudging them towards a more pious life, and inspiring them to be Christians in a manner that is shown to meet divine approval. It is thus important to recognize that these tales, even when Jewish characters appear in them, are dealing with matters of Christian faith and are addressing the internal concerns of the Church: they prove, explain, or enforce doctrine rather than comprise a defence of the faith against Jewish criticism or present accurate descriptions of Jewish life. Jews in these miracles appear almost always as opponents of Christianity, but of course, they are not “real Jews” expressing real Jewish criticisms of Christianity; rather, they are stooges acting as mouthpieces for would-be Christian doubters, heretics, and *illiterati* who question or attack aspects of the Church's body of teaching: Was Mary still a virgin after she gave birth? Is the host the body of Christ? Are crucifixes more than just pieces of wood? Is prayer more effective than sorcery? Some of these criticisms may coincide with actual Jewish attitudes, but what was important was that they reflected Christian concerns that both contributed to and fed

off the body of ideas that Christians believed Jews believed.¹ Jews in miracle tales inhabited a mythical, narrative space in which the boundaries of faith could be relatively safely investigated, discussed, and strengthened within the framework of a story without compromising the unity of the faithful: they, the Jews, are the ones who doubt; we, the Christians, are the ones who believe and are shown to be right in our beliefs. Perhaps doubts and internal anxiety concerning some of the teachings of the Church were too difficult for Christians to deal with head-on, and Jews provided objects for projection whereby the truth of such doctrines could be investigated through the guise of Jewish attacks on the beliefs, rituals, and paraphernalia of Christianity. In this way, these miracles addressed the discrepancy between Christian ideals and Christian reality in a manner that was not harmful to Christians by presenting an undivided Church in opposition to Judaism. Furthermore, by lifting the practice of unbelief into a broader multireligious framework it could be shown how there was a divine plan slowly moving towards the conversion of all non-believers.²

So, although the audiences that heard these tales may well have accepted them as historical events, these “miracle Jews” are rhetorical inventions being used as plot devices in a didactic narrative to voice a doubt or disbelief that sets the train of events into motion. Indeed, it is usually a male Jew in the tale who triggers or facilitates the occurrence of the miracle through a hostile action (violence, desecration, or demonic magic) or a benign one (invocating Mary or making the sign of the Cross).

The disparity between real Jews and the plot-device Jews of the miracles meant that readers and audiences with no actual life experience of Jews were still able to understand why the Jews in the miracles behaved as they did – they were simply following the playbook penned and repeatedly copied over centuries by Christian writers whereby incorrect Christian beliefs and behaviours were projected onto these “Jewish” characters. It never seems to have struck the audience (or writers) that for these miracle tales to be plausible Jews had to be engaging in behaviours that made no sense outside of the Christian mind. Indeed, Jews are shown as being obsessively preoccupied with and fascinated by Christianity. For example: Why would Jews, who do not believe that images of the Christian messiah were potent, go to such lengths to torture them in order to cause Jesus pain and make

¹ As Anna Sapir Abulafia points out, many of the criticisms Jews had of Christianity were “uncomfortably similar to the growing number of questions which began to be asked by enquiring minds within the Church.” *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1995), 135.

² Jews are not the only opponents of Christianity in the East Norse miracle tales. For example, pagans, Muslims, sorcerers, and criminals also commit acts against the Christian faith.

him bleed? Clearly, there is a huge discrepancy between what “real Jews” believe and what “miracle Jews” were said to believe. Furthermore, there is another peculiar contradiction found in Christian miracles involving Jews: although Jews are usually presented in such works as “blind” carnal creatures unable to perceive the world spiritually and comprehend doctrinal truths – e. g., the Incarnation, transubstantiation, the Virgin Birth, and the power of icons and relics – the miracle tales that “prove” these doctrines employ physical evidence – e. g., spurting blood and water, withered hands, moving and speaking statues and images – and they thus exploit the physical worldview that they are also criticizing. Contrary to expectations, Christian doctrine expresses itself and can only be perceived in the sensual terms of Judaism. Moreover, in their scarcely credible naïveté, Jews immediately accept these miracles as proofs of the Christian faith – they do not seek some other explanation, such as sorcery or a more “rational” cause. No sooner does the miracle occur than the Jews in the tale embrace Christianity accepting its premise and veracity. Perhaps most extraordinary of all, there was a need – from the time these tales were first composed in antiquity to the Late Middle Ages and across a vast area stretching from Byzantium to the northern peripheries of Christian Europe – for Jews in the written culture to be both punished for deicide and invoked to authenticate the doctrines of Christianity: a dual role as the enemies of Christianity and the necessary validators and guarantors of its teachings.

As a constructed figure detached from its real relative of flesh and blood, the “miracle Jew” had just as much to teach a Dane or Swede as it did any Christian elsewhere in Europe who may have been familiar with actual living Jews. Christians everywhere needed to be taught and strengthened in their faith and this didactic, mythical Jew provided an ideal means of doing so. However, the consequences in the real world of hearing these miracle stories, for example through the medium of popular preaching, played out in vastly different ways in mainland Europe compared to Scandinavia. We know that Jews were attacked and killed, and Jewish communities destroyed on the basis of rumours about the sorts of “Jewish” activities described and promulgated in these miracle tales.³ However, in Scandinavia, there was no Jewish population and consequently no massacres, pogroms, or expulsions. Nonetheless, in the North (as elsewhere), it would seem that unchristian thinking and behaviour in real life – if not the extreme sorts of anti-Christian behaviours described in the miracles – came to be considered as “Jewish”: the Jew had been internalized. We find a hint of this in a letter composed by Laurits Lauritssøn, parish priest in Tunsberg, Norway, from shortly after the Reformation:

³ See Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. 104–31.

Then thid wy komme tilbage igen till for^{ne} Bentt Bille att sige hanum gensuar. da bød hand oss ind till bordz och tracterede oss erligen och møget wæll som wy da sad offuer borde, da wor ther en fremede karll och meg wbekientt, som hede Niels Olsøn, och giorde hand ett spørmaall till meg, som ingen christen, men som en jøde, och suarede iegh hanum same stundtt, att thet wor ett jøde spørmaall, och icke nogen christenmandz ordtt eller tale, och will iegh icke her optegne forneffnte spørmaall eller ordtt, paa thet maa ske att thette breff kand kome for nogen simpell och wlerd folck och the kunde støde thennum ille ther paa⁴ [When we returned to the aforementioned Bent Bille to give him his answer, he invited us to dine and honourably provided for us and we were sitting very well at table. There was then a strange man, unknown to me, who was called Niels Olsson, and he asked me a question unlike any Christian but like a Jew, and I immediately answered him that that was a “Jew question” and not the word or speech of any Christian man. And I do not wish to record here the aforementioned question or words as it may happen that this letter falls into the hands of some simple and unlearned people, and they could take offence.]

We can only guess what sort of a “jøde spørmaall” Niels Olsson asked and what made it “Jewish” and so offensive, but in Scandinavia the questioning, critical, inimical Jewish opponent had become a trope that provided a means of framing arguments and understanding people’s thoughts and intentions even beyond the church walls and the Middle Ages.

Legends and sources

Legends are the biographies of saints that were read aloud in church on the relevant saint’s day and in monasteries during mealtimes. As such, *legendae* – ‘those (things) that are to be read’ – were texts read and listened to for spiritual profit that commemorated the names and deeds of the saints and martyrs. In all, there are approximately eight thousand legends listed in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* comprising stories of martyrdom (*passiones*) and lives of saints (*vitae*).⁵ One such collection of these legends – Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*] from 1263–73 – was probably the most widely read book after the Bible during the Late Middle Ages.⁶

⁴ 17 July 1552, *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. 5, 844 (no. 1129).

⁵ Société des Bollandistes, ed., *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, vol. 6 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901); Société des Bollandistes, ed., *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis: Supplementi editio altera auctior*, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, vol. 12 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1911); Henryk Fros, ed., *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis: Novum Supplementum*, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, vol. 70 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986).

⁶ On Jews in the *Legenda Aurea*, see Karen A. Kay, “Jews and Miracles in Tales from the *Legenda Aurea*” (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2006).

In Danish, there are two main collections of legends, known as *Mariager Legende-Håndskrift* [*The Mariager Book of Legends*] and *De hellige Kvinder* [*The Book of Women Saints*].⁷ The *Mariager Legende-Håndskrift* (DKB GKS 1586 4^o) from 1488 comprises a compilation of hagiographic materials that focus on the life of St Jerome (c. 345–420) and is a translation from Latin undertaken by Brother Nicolaus Magni (Niels Mogenssøn) at the Birgittine monastery of Mariager.⁸ *De hellige Kvinder* (SKB K 4) from 1480–85 contains the life of the Virgin, lives of eight other female saints,⁹ the story of St Paul's journey to the realm of the dead, and a Marian miracle.¹⁰ Neither of these works contains miracle material pertaining to Jews; on the one hand, this precludes a discussion of them here, but on the other, it shows, importantly, that it was perfectly possible to write Marian legends without using (anti-)Jewish themes.

Unlike the ODa. legends, the extant material in OSw. is greater in quantity and contains several tales involving Jews. *Fornsvenska legendariet* consists of a chronologically ordered collection of legends about the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Jesus and the Apostles, the saints, as well as ecclesiastical and secular events that shaped the history of the Church from its beginnings to the thirteenth century.¹¹ Much of the content is based on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* which in turn contains sources that date back to the first centuries of Christianity.¹² The writer

7 On extant legends in ODa., see Tue Gad, *Legenden i dansk Middelalder* (Copenhagen: Dansk Videnskabs Forlag, 1961), 180–280. It is highly likely that a translation of the *Legenda aurea* once existed in ODa. The fragment DAS AM 79 I 6 8^o comprises parts of the legends of Cecilia and Clemens in the same version as the *Legenda aurea* and their two quire numbers suggest that they were originally part of a much larger, now lost, manuscript. See Paul Diderichsen, ed., *Fragmenter af Gammeldanske Haandskrifter*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vol. 292 (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1931–37), 48–59, 250–62.

8 The manuscript has been published in Gunnar Knudsen, ed., *Mariager Legende-Haandskrift*, *Gl. kgl. Saml. 1586 4to*, Skrifter udg. af Samfundet til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur, vol. 44 (Copenhagen: Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur, 1917–30).

9 The eight female saints appear in the order of the liturgical calendar: Margaret (20 July), Christina (24 July), Cecilia (22 November), Catherine (25 November), Lucy (13 December), Agnes (21 January), Sophia and her three daughter – Fides, Spe, and Caritas (1 July), and finally Marina, the penitent woman dressed as a munk (17 July).

10 The manuscript has been edited and published in *HellKv.*

11 Edited and published in *FsvLeg* I–III, *FsvLeg* PAW I–IV, and *FsvLeg* VJ.

12 For a discussion of Jacobus de Voragine's sources, see Alain Boureau, *La légende dorée: Le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1984), 75–108. The fact that most of the *Legenda aurea*'s material concerning Jews is so early may explain why it contains no stories of host desecration or ritual murder even though such stories were already circulating by the time the *Legenda* was compiled in the thirteenth century. This absence was subsequently translated, quite literally, into the OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet*, and explains why it, too, contains no

of *Fornsvenska legendariet* drew on other sources as well, including the *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* [*Chronicles of the Popes and Emperors*] by Martin of Opava (d. 1278). Valter Jansson has made the case that the author of the Swedish text was a Dominican and the text was composed at one of the monasteries in Götaland, most probably Skänninge or Skara, between 1276 and 1312.¹³ Although there are a few details about Sweden and Denmark, the author's interest is principally in the great and important men and women of the Church. Most of the stories take place in and around the Holy Land, the exotic cities along the Mediterranean coast and in France, Italy, Spain, and Germany, and their very foreignness evokes a mythical space of new narrative possibilities. *Fornsvenska legendariet* is known today from several manuscripts and fragments. The three most important are SKB A 34 (sometimes referred to as "Bureanus," from the fourteenth century), UUB C 528 ("Bildstenianus," from 1400–50), and SRA E 8900 ("Passionarius," formerly registered as Skokloster 3 4^o, from 1450–70).¹⁴ These three manuscripts include the majority of miracle stories for discussion here.¹⁵ A characteristic feature of *Fornsvenska legendariet* is that sometimes the stories are written in such a concise fashion that the reader almost needs to know the plot in advance in order for it to make sense.¹⁶ This sort of hinting at a fuller, more detailed story is often taken as evidence that points towards tales being very well known, as indeed we would expect of the sorts of legends in *Fornsvenska legendariet*.¹⁷

such libels. For a study of the sources of the OSw. legends, see Jonas Carlquist, *De fornsvenska helgonlegenderna: Källor, stil och skriftmiljö*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 81 (Stockholm: Graphic Systems, 1996). Note that the miracle collection in *Järteckensbok* (SKB A 110 from 1385) that comprises later exemplum material does include a story of host desecration and even mentions ritual murder of Christian children by Jews.

13 Valter Jansson, *Fornsvenska legendariet: Handskrifter och språk*, Nordiska texter och undersökningar, vol. 4 (Stockholm: Hugo Geber, 1934), 4–10.

14 The relationship between the manuscripts has been investigated by Jansson who has shown that the first half of the legendarium belongs to two manuscript traditions (A 34 and E 8900 on the one hand, and C 528 on the other), while the second half of the legendarium all belongs to the same tradition. He has demonstrated that C 528 is not copied from A 34, and that while A 34 is written in a southern *östgötsk* dialect, C 528 and E 8900 contain more northern characteristics. See Jansson, *Fornsvenska Legendariet: Handskrifter och språk*, 46–88 (on the relationship between the manuscripts) and 89–123 (on the language in the manuscripts). See also *FsvLeg* PAW I 14–35.

15 The other manuscripts containing legendarium texts in OSw. are listed and described in Carlquist, *De fornsvenska helgonlegenderna*, 25–36.

16 See, e. g., version 1 of Text 35: *The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold* from UUB C 528, which is so concise that it is very difficult to understand what is happening without already knowing the story. The OSw. legendary's tales contrast in this respect with their parallel versions in *Sjärens tröst*.

17 Compare, e. g., the brief reference to Mary of Bethzuba in Dante; see vol. 1, p. 466.

Exempla and sources

Another important genre for disseminating stories about saints and miracles and for reading aloud is the sermon.¹⁸ Of interest to us is that part of the sermon called the *exemplum*: a colourful, often entertaining, didactic tale that illustrates a moral or doctrinal point and that usually occurs towards the end of the delivery.¹⁹ On the whole, exempla address articles of faith, correct belief, and the dangers of heresy,²⁰ and the miracle stories in exempla – unlike those in the lives of saints – have been more consciously honed with a clear didactic purpose in mind: their interpretation and meaning are provided by the preacher, usually in an explicit manner (e. g., “From this miracle we can learn that...”). Exempla were the preacher’s main tool in making complex and profound theology accessible to listeners, and they had a clear, unequivocal meaning and a straightforward structure. Furthermore, the tales were often old, if not classical, and relied on established authorities that made them all the more “true.”

The increased importance of popular preaching, not least after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), meant that exempla became particularly widespread from the papacy of Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) until the mid to late fifteenth century. Famous preachers recorded these exempla into collections that circulated throughout Western Europe and were used as handbooks throughout the continent by sermon writers who included these tales as a means of grabbing and holding the attention of their audiences. Early collections, such as the *Vitae Patrum* were augmented in the thirteenth century with what came to be very influential collections: the anonymous *Gesta romanorum*; *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180–c. 1240), *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus* by Étienne

18 See the previous chapter for more general information and references about Jews and East Norse vernacular sermons.

19 See Gad, *Legenden i dansk Middelalder*, 143–45; Jacques le Goff, “Introduction,” in *Les Exempla médiévaux: Nouvelles perspectives*, ed. Jacques le Goff and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1998), 13; Phyllis B. Roberts, “The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon,” in *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig, A New History of the Sermon, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 42.

20 “L’efficacité de récit exemplaire prend place dans une volonté générale de persuasion: à la fin de XII^e l’Église doit s’adapter aux transformations de la société. Face au déferlement de l’hérésie, au développement des villes, à l’essor économique, à l’accroissement démographique, une solution: une nouvelle prédication.” [The effectiveness of exemplary narrative takes place in a general desire for persuasion: at the end of the twelfth century, the Church must adapt to the changes in society. Faced with a surge in heresy, the development of cities, economic expansion, (and) population growth, a new solution: a new preaching.] Jacques Berlioz, “Le récit efficace: l’«exemplum» au service de la prédication (XIII^e–XV^e siècles),” *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome: Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes* 92, no. 1 (1980): 116.

de Bourbon (c. 1190–1241), and *Speculum historiale*, part of *Speculum maius* by Vincent de Beauvais (c. 1190–c. 1264). The beginning of the fourteenth century saw *Alphabetum narrationum* by Arnoldus Leodiensis (c. 1276–1309), a collection of exempla organized, as the name suggests, alphabetically, while Johann Herolt's (d. 1468) *Sermones discipuli de tempore et de sanctis* (1416–32) was the most widely reprinted collection of sermons with exempla of the fifteenth century. Many exempla were lifted from *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–98). Material from these collections appears in Latin and vernacular sermons from medieval Denmark and Sweden.²¹ The effectiveness of the exemplum for communicating the teachings of the Church was noted by the preachers of the day. As one such preacher, Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160/70–1240), wrote:

Per experienciam noverunt quantus fructus proveniet ex hujusmodi fabulosis exemplis laicis et simplicibus personis non solum ad edificacionem sed ad recreacionem maxime quando fatigati et tedio affecti incipiunt dormire [...] experto credite, sum aliquando protraherem sermonem et viderem populi multitudinem affectam tedio et dormitantem, uno modico verbo, omnes invitati sunt et innovati ad audiendum, exempli gracia.²²

[From experience I know the fruit that results from such fabulous exempla for the lay and simple people, not only for their edification but also their refreshment, especially when, tired and bored, they begin to fall asleep (...). Believe my experience: One day I was delivering a sermon and I saw that many people were bored and dozing off; a single small word, and behold, they perked up and promptly listened to me – on account of the exemplum.]

Many of these exemplum collections contained the same tales, often with just minor changes, so by and large European Christians heard identical stories: medieval audiences in Denmark and Sweden listened to the same tales as audiences in England and France. Despite a paucity of sources and lack of research on East Norse exempla, it does appear that these tales in extant ODa. and OSw. sermons are neither exceptional nor especially dependent on local circumstances but are in fact representative of this broader European tradition.²³ Thus, the stereotypes

²¹ On the recent discovery of a fragment containing a miracle tale in ODa. from what appears to be a now lost vernacular translation of (part of?) Étienne de Bourbon's *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*, see Jonathan Adams, "The Bishop Murderer," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 63 (2019): 6–20.

²² Latin from Jean Thiébaud Welter, *L'“exemplum” dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge* (Paris/Toulouse: Occitania, E. H. Guitard, 1927), 69. The second part is also quoted (in French) in Berlioz, "Le récit efficace: l'“exemplum”," 122.

²³ Eva-Marie Letzer's doctoral thesis, "Med öga för publiken: Moralisk fostran genom heliga Birgittas och de svenska predikanternas exempelberättelser, cirka 1340–1500" (Stockholm University, 2018) concludes that Swedish preachers made greatest use of OSw. exempla associated with general Church life and the lower laity that employed international characters and settings.

and images cultivated and harboured by the Church and the clergy were universally passed on through these texts to the laity: from the south to the north. By reading these exempla, we can better understand the dissemination of the image of the Jew to medieval audiences beyond the scholarly elite.²⁴ Whereas the readings and expositions in sermons describe past, scriptural Jews (as we saw in the previous chapter), the exempla portray present, living, non-biblical Jews. These Jews are, of course, coarsely crafted stereotypes that are used to fulfil a specific role in these tales as the “other.”

Overall, contemporary Jews are not especially common in ODa. sermons, but nonetheless examples of the fantasies about them widespread elsewhere in Europe – manifestations of what Gavin Langmuir calls “chimerical antisemitism”²⁵ – do exist in the extant exemplum material. Two ODa. works contain proper exempla, viz. Christiern Pedersen’s early printed book *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*

Indeed, Jussi Hanska has argued more generally that the whole practice of preaching and the subjects chosen to preach on were foremost based on liturgy rather than local circumstances: “What was preached was not, generally speaking, dependent on the actual situation in which people were living, but on liturgical considerations. This is not to say that important local events did not have any impact on preaching, on the contrary, they very probably did. However, in normal circumstances the topics and subjects of preaching were more or less predestined by the Gospel and/or Epistle readings of that particular Sunday. This means that when the preacher opened his mouth after the reading of the Gospel or the Epistle, the congregation already more or less knew what he was going to preach about. The year was divided into parts by the liturgy and people were well aware of the topics connected to different Sundays.” Jussi Hanska, “Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching: A Method and its Limits: An Analysis of Sunday Sermons,” in *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig, *A New History of the Sermon*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 295–96. Even though the liturgical calendar and readings were largely stable across Western Christendom, precise liturgical and ritual uniformity in every detail was not achieved until the advent of printing at the end of the Middle Ages: Hilding Johansson, “Liturgy and Liturgical Texts,” in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano et al. (New York: Garland, 1993), 392–93.

24 On the role of Jews in exempla, see Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 128–70; Jacob Lackner, “Violent Men and Malleable Women: Gender and Jewish Conversion to Christianity in Medieval Sermon Exempla,” *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women’s Studies and Gender Issues* 30 (2016): 24–47; Sarah Lamm, “Muslims and Jews in Exempla Collections: A Case Study on Stephen of Bourbon’s *Tractatus de materiis praedicabilibus*,” *Al-Masāq* 21, no. 3 (2009): 301–34. For East Norse exempla, see 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 Europe: Identities and Interfaith Encounters*, ed. Linda G. Jones and Adrienne Dupont-Hamy, *Sermo*, vol. 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 93–119, esp. 107–12.

25 Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 328.

(1515) and the sermon collection in UUB C 56 (fifteenth century). However, there is only one exemplum about Jews that contains a miracle, viz. *Petronia and the Ring* in *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*.²⁶ Both *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* and UUB C 56 contain the story of *The Stoning of St Stephen* – not an exemplum but part of the exposition for the day’s reading for St Stephen’s Day (26 December). This story is included in the next chapter in the section on conversion and disputations. Other charges against the Jews that leap into the phantasmagorical, such as well poisoning, blood libel, or host desecration, do not occur, nor, for example, is Jewish moneylending mentioned. ODa. sermon manuscripts include short stories in their expositions taken from the Bible, the Church Fathers, St Birgitta’s collection of revelations, and so on, but apart from *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* and UUB C 56 they do not contain any exempla.²⁷

The situation for the Swedish material is similar, although the extant medieval sermon corpus is larger than that for ODa. and consequently, there are more exempla on a broader range of topics. Again, we find non-biblical Jews in stories taken from the great exemplum collections known from throughout Europe. They appear as central figures in two exempla from LSB T 180 (c. 1450) and LSB T 181 (fifteenth century): *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* and *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ*. In these stories, Jews commit acts of violence against Christianity and the ensuing miracles result in mass conversion.

There is also an OSw. collection of miracle exempla *Järteckensbok* [*The Book of Miracles*] that forms part of the so-called Oxenstierna manuscript SKB A 110, a collection of religious texts that in addition to the exempla includes the Lives of the Apostles, *Evangelium Nicodemi* [*The Gospel of Nicodemus*], some of St Birgitta’s *Revelations*, and OSw. translations of parts of the *Vitae Patrum*. The manuscript most probably comes from Vadstena and parts of it, including *Järteckensbok* (ff. 45v–122v), date from as early as c. 1385. The collection of exempla consists of 192 miracles about Christ, Mary, and the saints, of which eight are relevant to this study: *A Pregnant Jewish Woman’s Father Converts*; *The Flying Host and the Jew’s Son*; *The Host Desecration*; *The Jew and the Lightning Strike*; *The Jew, the Axe, and St Nicholas*; *The Jew, the Fish, and the Host*; *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an*

²⁶ *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* also includes the story of Mary of Bethzuba which it describes as a *jar tekn* [miracle, portent] – but is not. The text (no. 10) is dealt with in Chapter 9: *Jews in History*, pp. 465–70.

²⁷ For example, among the expositions in UUB C 56 (fifteenth century), there is the short story of a beguine who ate an unconsecrated wafer (f. 80r–v [pp. 159–160]), a woman possessed by the devil (ff. 86v–87v [pp. 172–174]), and Bishop Mamertus whose town was under attack by wolves and bears (ff. 108r–109r [pp. 215–217]). There are, however, no such digressory tales about Jews in the expositions.

Image of Christ, and *The Virgin Mary Releases and Converts a Jewish Prisoner*. Furthermore, *Järteckensbok* contains the only mention in an East Norse text of Jews' ritual murder of Christian children:

Judha j enom stadh plæghadho hwar langa fredagh at gøra nokro kristno barne vm the kunno thæt fa ælla wigdholm gudz likama vm the kunno han fa al the obrygdhilde ok pino som siælwum ihesu christo giordhis tha han korsfæstis²⁸

[Every Good Friday, the Jews of a certain city used to carry out all the abuse and torment that was done to Jesus Christ himself when he was being crucified on some Christian child if they could get hold of one or a consecrated host if they could get hold of one.]

Järteckensbok contains stories that are much younger than those found in the legends and therefore include more of the anti-Jewish themes found in late medieval (i. e., post-c.-1200) European, rather than classical Byzantine, literary culture. It is also evidence of how certain ideas about Jews from elsewhere in Europe that we might not have expected due to the lack of any Jewish population in Sweden to demonize had in fact become embedded in medieval Swedish religious culture. The themes spring from a truly catholic – universal – worldview rather than from the local parish.

Consolation of the Soul and sources

An important source of miracle stories is *Consolation of the Soul* (ODa. *Sjælens Trøst*; OSw. *Själens tröst*), a collection of moral tales that illustrate the Ten Commandments and that was one of the more widely read works in northern Europe during the Middle Ages. Each of the commandments is explained with numerous stories from the Bible, the martyrology, saints' legends, exempla, theological treatises, and chronicles, and the work as a whole is heavily influenced by the exemplum collections that had been circulating throughout Europe since the beginning of the thirteenth century. Originally composed in Middle Low German (*Der Selen Troyst*) sometime around the middle of the fourteenth century, the work was subsequently translated into OSw. (c. 1425), ODa. (c. 1425 via OSw.), High German (1478), and Dutch (1478).²⁹ The East Norse versions contain devotional

²⁸ SKB A 110, f. 62r; *Kläs* 30.

²⁹ *SjäTrö* K vi–vii; Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen, “Om Fragmenterne af den gammeldanske Siæla Trøst,” *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* 9 (1934): 188. On the first printing of the MLG *Der Selen Troyst*, see Franz Falk, “Die erste Ausgabe des ‘Seelentrost,’ Köln 1474,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 9 (1892): 508–09. There is, incidentally, also a work known as *Der cleyne Selen Troyst* (Cologne, 1483) that deals with the Seven Sacraments that was often appended to *Der (große) Selen Troyst*, but it is not relevant here; see *SelTro* 9.

tales written in a light, entertaining style and a relaxed idiomatic language with plenty of direct speech, which – in spite of their sometimes-heavy-handed didactic messages – are often rather charming.

The OSw. *Själens tröst* is preserved in just one manuscript – SKB A 108 (1400–50)³⁰ – that is most likely a Birgittine manuscript originating from Vadstena Monastery. *Själens tröst* is remarkably close to the MLG *Der Selen Troyst* from the middle of the fourteenth century, which makes possible a comparison between the versions in the two languages. The work contains several miracle tales that are relevant to this chapter: the story of *The Three Young Men in the Oven* (a translation of Daniel 3), as well as *The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon* and *The Jews Who Found and Stabbed an Image of Christ*, two stories about Jews desecrating Christian icons and crucifixes. There are today just two preserved parts of the ODa. *Sjælens Trøst*, remains of what was once a single impressive parchment manuscript dating from c. 1425: Uppsala, University Library, C 529 (12 folios), and Stockholm, Royal Library, A 109 (72 folios). Together they comprise about one third of the original ODa. manuscript, which was a translation of a now lost OSw. translation of the MLG *Der Selen Troyst*.³¹ The ODa. *Sjælens trøst* contains a single miracle tale that is of interest to us here, viz. *The Three Young Men in the Oven*.

The structure of chapters 7 and 8

Thus, the material under consideration here includes miracles, stories of conversion, and excerpts from the life of Mary and the saints taken from legends, exempla, and *Consolation of the Soul*. The selection encompasses much of the extant source material but is not comprehensive: scattered references are not

³⁰ It has been investigated by several scholars: *SjäTrö* K; *SjäTrö*; Ivar Thorén, *Studier över Själens tröst: Bidrag till kännedom om den litterära verksamheten i 1400-talets Vadstena*, Nordiska texter och undersökningar, vol. 14 (Uppsala: Hugo Geber, 1942); Samuel Henning, *Skrivarformer och vadstenaspråk i Siælinna thrøst: en textkritisk och filologisk undersökning*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 66 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960).

³¹ The surviving ODa. manuscripts contain parts of the First and Fifth to Tenth Commandments. See *SjæTrø* xxv–xvii for an overview of the contents. The ODa. *Sjælens Trøst* manuscripts are edited and published in *SjæTrø*, and they have been discussed in *SjäTrö* K vii; Brøndum-Nielsen, “Om Fragmenterne”; Thorén, *Studier över Själens tröst*, 9–14; *SjäTrö* 489–491; Jonathan Adams, “The Bishop Murderer.” In his edition of *Själens tröst*, Klemming writes that the ODa. version was made from this extant OSw. text (*SjäTrö* K vii). However, as Brøndum-Nielsen has shown, and both Thorén and Henning have later confirmed, the ODa. version is, in fact, translated from a lost older OSw. translation of the MLG *Der Selen Troyst*. It is from this older version that both the extant OSw. and the ODa. texts derive: the relationship between the extant East Norse versions is that of siblings rather than OSw. parent and ODa. child.

included. For example, in SKB A 34, Jesus is not infrequently specified as the one “som iuþa corsfæsto” [whom the Jews crucified] or “fangen af iopom · ok corsfestar af riddarum” [captured by Jews and crucified by soldiers] without further mention of Jews being made.³² There is also the sudden and unexpected mention of Jews converting upon the death of St Euphemia: “*Sancta eufem|i/a do meþ heþar ·i· cacedonia ¶ alle þe vm cring boþo iuþa ok heþne : wrþo cristne*” [St Euphemia died with honour in Chalcedon. All the Jews and pagans who lived nearby converted].³³ But the fact that these texts only make passing reference to Jews precludes them from the analysis below.

The discussion has been divided between chapters 7 and 8. Chapter 7: *Witnesses of Truth and Doctrine* deals with specific points of doctrine: the eucharist; crucifixes and icons; confession, and Mary and the Virgin Birth. Chapter 8: *Darkness and Light* investigates the following topics in the miracle tales: the devil; sorcery; moneylending, and conversion.

Chapter 7: *Witnesses of Truth and Doctrine*

The Eucharist

<i>The Three Young Men in the Oven</i> (Text 50)	SKB A 108; UUB C 529
<i>The Jewish Boy in the Oven</i> (Text 42)	LSB T 180, T 181; SKB A 34; UUB C 528
<i>The Host Desecration</i> (Text 33)	SKB A 110
<i>The Jew, the Fish, and the Host</i> (Text 38)	SKB A 110
<i>The Flying Host and the Jew's Son</i> (Text 30)	SKB A 110

Icons and Crucifixes

<i>The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ</i> (Text 43)	LSB T 180; SKB A 108, A 110
<i>The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon</i> (Text 41)	SKB A 108; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528

Confession

<i>A Pregnant Jewish Woman's Father Converts</i> (Text 3)	SKB A 110
<i>The Hermit and the Jewess</i> (Text 32)	LSB T 180

Mary and the Virgin Birth

<i>The Disputation and the Miracle</i> (Text 24)	UUB C 35
<i>The Converted Jew and the Devil</i> (Text 23)	LSB Saml. 1 a; SKB D 3
<i>The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier</i> (Text 40)	SKB A 34; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528

Chapter 8: *Darkness and Light*

The Devil

<i>Theophilus and the Devil</i> (Text 52)	SKB A 34; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
<i>The Jew at the Devils' Council</i> (Text 36)	SKB A 108; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528

³² SKB A 34, f. 40vb and f. 23vb respectively.

³³ SKB A 34, f. 54vb.

Sorcery

<i>St James the Great and the Sorcerer Hermogenes</i> (Text 15)	SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
<i>Petronia and the Ring</i> (Text 11)	<i>AlleEpoEu</i> ; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
<i>St Macarius and the Talking Skull</i> (Text 18)	SKB A 108; SRA E 8900; UUB C 35, C 528

Moneylending

<i>The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold</i> (Text 35)	SKB A 108; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
<i>The Merchant's Surety</i> (Text 46)	LSB T 180

Conversion

<i>The Stoning of St Stephen</i> (Text 49)	<i>AlleEpoEu</i> ; UUB C 56
<i>St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew</i> (Text 16)	SKB A 34; SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
<i>St Sylvester and the Disputation with the Twelve Jewish Scholars</i> (Text 19)	SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
<i>A Jew Predicts St Basil's Death</i> (Text 2)	SRA E 8900; UUB C 528
<i>A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven</i> (Text 1)	LSB T 181
<i>The Virgin Mary Releases and Converts a Jewish Prisoner</i> (Text 51)	SKB A 110
<i>The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery</i> (Text 45)	LSB B 70 a

There is much overlap between the themes: for example, most of the miracles result in the conversion of Jews and could therefore all be grouped under “conversion.” The structure offered here is thus not a typology: the texts have been grouped thematically in this way in order to illicit certain elements for our study rather than to reflect how the miracles were necessarily intended to be understood by their writers, readers, and listeners. Nevertheless, highlighting certain themes in this way helps us to draw out some of the many ways in which the figure of the Jew was used in these tales to teach Christians something about themselves and their faith as well as about Jews.

The eucharist

The eucharist (from Gk. εὐχαριστία, *eucharistía* [thanksgiving]) has its origins in a shared meal with prayers of thanksgiving, but already during the early years of Christianity it moved from the dining table into Christian services: a prayer was said over bread and wine and both were distributed to the congregants.³⁴

³⁴ The East Norse word for the eucharist, *natvarth/natvarþer*, also means ‘evening meal’ (from *nat* [night, evening] and *varth/natvarþer* [meal]).

Over time, two particular aspects of the eucharist came into focus: its role as one of the sacraments of the Church and the presence of Christ in the eucharist. As a sacrament, most Christians in the Middle Ages would have taken communion once or twice a year and the eucharist itself became an object of great devotion: *Corpus Christi*, established in the 1260s and celebrated on the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday, was one of the great festivals of the medieval Church. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 confirmed that the saying of the eucharistic prayer transformed the bread into the Body of Christ and the wine into his blood through an act of transubstantiation: the substance of the eucharist is altered but the outward appearance and characteristics of the bread and wine (their “species”) remain unchanged.

The eucharist became the fundamental, central act of Christian piety with particular attention being paid to the host, the consecrated bread. It became such an important object of devotion that it was displayed in monstrances even outside of the mass and believed to have great power.³⁵ Religious practice in the later Middle Ages focused on bodily experience with the laity in particular trying to engage physically with their whole person in their faith (rather than just with heart and mind) and to seek God in the human experience. It is not surprising then that during communion, the body of Christ was believed to be very literally present in the host and stories of the image of Christ – usually as a child – appearing in the host began to circulate.³⁶ One such episode can be found in the story about Text 33: *The Host Desecration*, in which an elderly Jewish woman converts to Christianity after seeing the beaten and bloody body of an infant boy in a desecrated host. However, wonder turns to horror when she is to consume the host after her baptism. She cries, “huru scal iak tugga min gudh” [How am I to chew my God?]. Another episode forms the beginning of the story of Text 42: *The Jewish Boy in the Oven*, found in no fewer than five OSw. manuscripts: two sermon manuscripts and three legendary manuscripts. In this story, a “pure” child, a young Jewish boy, is able to see the likeness of the Christ Child in the host:

³⁵ For example, in the OSw. legend of St Clare, she rises from her sick bed, goes to her cell window, and holds up a silver ciborium with ivory inlay (“eet litit silf skriin innelokt i filsbéen i hulko ther aldra gudhelicast gømdis gudz hælghaste licamme”). By so doing, she successfully thwarts an attack on her convent by Saracens. Upon seeing the host and hearing her prayer, the “grymma hundanna” [vile dogs] fall from their ladders as if repelled and take flight; *Klās* 338–39.

³⁶ Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 24. Further on popular piety and the eucharist, see Miri Rubin, “Popular Attitudes to the Eucharist,” in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, vol. 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 447–68.

tha saa han ij hwart sin prestin lypthe vp gudz likama af altareno / oc vilde gifua folkeno at han holt eit karst litit swein barn ij sinne hand oc tha mænniskian gapade oc han loot thet til henne mwn / tha vendis thet ather ij eit litit oflæte³⁷

[Then he saw that as the priest lifted the body of God from the altar and was to give it to the people, he was holding a healthy small baby child in his hand, and when the people opened their mouths and he passed it to their mouths, it reverted back to a small host wafer.]

In another OSw. sermon, the short story, Text 39: *The Jew, the Host, the Devil, and the Sieve*, addresses the question of the how the body of God could be present in all the hosts on every altar throughout the world at the same time. The question, posed by a Jew, is answered by none other than the devil who holds a sieve up to the sun to demonstrate that just as one sun can have many beams, so too can God's one body be present throughout the world. Medieval sermons by their very nature as didactic tools of mass communication addressed subjects that the Church felt it needed to make clearer to its flock: ideas that needed explaining, beliefs that needed consolidating, and practices that needed encouraging – or discouraging. The eucharist and the real presence are subjects that recur frequently in medieval sermons, so perhaps the doctrine of transubstantiation was not readily understood or accepted by all. Indeed, it was a point of controversy and scepticism throughout the Middle Ages.³⁸ In her *Revelations* (4.61), St Birgitta of Sweden describes how the devil appeared to her during the elevation of the eucharist and tried to persuade her that it was not the body of Christ – and he uses “wise Jews” to support his case:

EN aldra suartaste syntis *christi* brudh tha gudz licamme lyptis oc sagdhe / **H**wat ey tro thw osniælla^(a) at the brødhskian ær gudh visselica han vare lango opædin æn thot han vare størsta biærgh **Ok** ængin aff sniællø judhomen hulkom gudh gaff snille tro thet / **O**c ey skal nakar tro at gudh værdhogas at hannas oc ælskas aff orenastom præst hulkin som hawir hunda hiærta **Ok** at thw skuli prøfua thet vara vist som jak sighir tha ær thænne prestin min hulkin jag skal nu bort taka aff værdinna nar jak vil oc nu ær han i ytarsta punctenom³⁹

Notes: **a.** osniælla] osni\æ/lla MS.

³⁷ LSB T 180, p. 42 (c. 1450). This quotation is taken from an OSw. sermon for the First Sunday after Epiphany that deals with the subject of the eucharist and transubstantiation. See Text 42.1: *The Jewish Boy in the Oven*.

³⁸ See Gary Macy, “Theology of the Eucharist in the High Middle Ages,” and Stephen E. Lahey, “Late Medieval Eucharistic Theology,” in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, 365–98 and 499–540 respectively. In one Italian miracle tale (BAV Barb. lat. 4032, ff. 34r–35r), it is none other than the priest himself who doubts the transubstantiation. Mary Vincentine Gripkey, “Mary Legends in Italian Manuscripts in the Major Libraries of Italy: Part II,” *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953): 22 (no. 54).

³⁹ SKB A 5 a, f. 103vb = col. 412 (1400–20); BU IV 112.

[A blacker than black (creature) appeared to the bride of Christ when the body of God was being elevated and said, “What? Do you really believe,⁴⁰ stupid (woman), that that wafer of bread is really God? He would have been eaten up long ago even if he were the greatest mountain! And none of the wise Jews to whom God gave wisdom believes in this (i. e., the eucharist). And no-one shall believe that God is honoured by being handled and loved by the most impure priest who has the heart of a dog. And if you are to test whether what I say is certain, well, this priest is mine whom I can take off the world whenever I want and he is now at that extreme point (i. e., is about to die).”]

An angel then appears to Birgitta and tells her not to listen to the devil. However, Birgitta has more to say about the devil’s “wise Jews.” Her revelation continues and Christ tells her:

Æn at diafwllin sagdhe at ængin aff sniæлло judhomen vilia thet tro suara jak thik / judhane æru suasom the som haua mist høghro øronin⁴¹ oc halta medh baadhom fotomen andelica for hulkit the æru osniælle oc skulu vara til ændalyktena / Thy ær ey vndir at dyæfwllin gør blind oc hærdhe thera hiærta Ok æggia thom oc radhir oblygh thing hulkin som æru mot tromme / thy huru opta nakor tholkir thanke løpir mot thik aff christi licamma tha sigh thet thinom andelicom vinom oc stat stadhugh j tronne / Oc vit vtan jæff at thæn licammin som jak tok aff jomfrune oc thæn som korsfæstir var oc styre j himerike thæn sami ær a altareno oc han taka badhe godhe oc onde⁴²

[And that the devil said that none of the wise Jews is willing to believe this, I answer you: the Jews are as if they have lost their right ears and limp spiritually along on their feet which is why they are unwise and will remain so until the end. Thus, it is no wonder that the devil makes them blind and hardens their hearts and spurs them on and advises them towards shameless things which are against the faith. Therefore, whenever such a thought about the body of Christ comes to you, then tell your spiritual friends and stand firm in the faith and know without any doubt that the body that I assumed from the Virgin and that was crucified and reigns in heaven, that same (body) is on the altar and both good and bad (people) receive it.]

Birgitta was certainly not the only Swede to have expressed some Christians’ misgivings about the doctrine of the real presence. We have evidence from Sweden that people did, indeed, doubt the truth of the real presence of Christ in the host, although, unlike in Birgitta’s case, no angel appeared to persuade them otherwise. A letter dated 4 August 1311 describes the case of Botolf of Östby, Gottröra parish, who “in dampnatam heresim incidisset · dicendo sacramentum corporis

⁴⁰ Lit. ‘Don’t you believe,’ which sounds peculiar in English.

⁴¹ The Latin version of the revelation has “dexteris oculos” [right eyes]. Sancta Birgitta, *Revelaciones: Book IV*, ed. Hans Aili, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 7, no. 4 (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1992), 191.

⁴² SKB A 5 a, f. 104rb = col. 414 (1400–20); BU IV 115.

et sanguinis christi nullum esse” [stumbled into a hateful heresy by saying that the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ was not a sacrament].⁴³ Refusing to accept that the doctrine of the real presence, Botolf was investigated by a commission that discovered that he had uttered heretical opinions about the sacrament on several different occasions:

Per que sufficienter probatum extitit / antedictum botulphum / menbrum quidem dyaboli / supradicta omnia / in ipsorum testium / et fere omnium parochianorum de gutturrør presenciam / licet diuersis temporibus dixisse publice ore nephario et blasphemio
[By this it has been sufficiently proven that the aforementioned Botolf – that limb of the devil! – publicly said with his wicked and blasphemous mouth everything written above in the presence of these witnesses and nearly all the parishioners of Gottröra although at different times.]

Botolf was imprisoned and sentenced to death by burning. Threatened with the bonfire and given a final opportunity to convert, he sardonically replied: “*paruo tempore transiret ignis ille*” [that fire will pass quickly]. And so, he ended his days in the flames.

Although Botolf’s case may – or may not – have been typical in Sweden, it is just one of hundreds of known cases from Europe after transubstantiation was made part of the profession of faith at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.⁴⁴ The

⁴³ *Diplomatarium suecanum*, 8 April 1311, DS no. 1789, SDHK no. 2413. The following quotations about the case are from the same document. On the case of Botolf, see Olle Ferm and Claes Gejrot, “Bondförstånd mot teologi,” in *Röster från svensk medeltid: Latinska texter i original och översättning*, ed. Hans Aili, Olle Ferm, and Helmer Gustavsson (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1990), 110–17; Alexander Andrée, “Herr Anders dilemma: kätteri eller bara sunt bondförnuft?” in *Förbistringar och förklaringar: festskrift till Anders Piltz*, ed. Per Beskow, Stephan Borgehammar, and Arne Jönsson (Lund: Skåneförlaget, 2008), 34–45.

⁴⁴ To my knowledge, there is no similar record of a legal case based upon disbelief in the eucharist from medieval Denmark. However, in a letter of 1409, comprising a litany of complaints against the people of Holstein, there is recorded an episode of horse theft at the moment of the Elevation of the Corpus Christi during a mass. This is far from an act of desecration or disbelief, but it does bear witness to a lack of respect and reverence for the eucharist, Church rituals, and not least the priest: “Witlik schal wesen dat her Erik des bisscoppes official in dem Sunderherde in Fune also he stund des sondages in siner kerken unde sang missen in der tid also he godes lichnam upheelt unde neen volk was uppe dem kerkhoue do quam en deaf unde stal em sin perd also gutt also x *lubesche* mark. Na dem perde sochte he unde vant id an Laurencius Heesten houe tøm dem Nyenhus unde em kunde nicht wedderuaren men lose word unde slege unde kunde sin perd nicht wedder krygen unde men lede em dat tøm dat he en vorspeyer were doch hadde des bisscoppes breff van Fune mit sik.” [It shall be known that Erik, the official of the bishop in the Southern Hundred on Fyn, was standing in his church on Sunday and singing mass. At the moment when he elevated the Corpus Christi and there was no-one in the churchyard, a thief stole his horse worth ten Lübeck marks. He looked for the horse and found in on Lars Heest’s

reoccurrence of the topic in medieval sermon material suggests that preachers had to work hard to make the doctrine familiar to and acceptable among their audiences. It is here that Jews become useful “mouthpieces” when teaching doctrine: they could be used in the exempla and other tales to put forbidden thoughts and illicit scepticism into words that could subsequently be addressed and countered.

The Jewish Boy in the Oven

The first miracle for consideration brings Christian anti-Jewish polemic right into the heart of the Jewish home.⁴⁵ *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* (Texts 42.1–3), also known as *The Jew of Bourges*, tells of a Jewish boy who goes to mass during Easter together with his Christian school-friends and takes communion: he consumes the body of Christ. The boy returns home where his father, upon discovering what he has done, throws him into a lit oven. The boy is miraculously shielded from the flames by the Virgin Mary and is rescued. The father is then punished by being cast into the oven and all those present convert to Christianity. The tale has clear parallels to the story of *The Three Young Men in the Oven* (Daniel 3; see Text 50), where three young Jewish men – Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego – refuse to bow to Nebuchadnezzar’s golden image and are consequently bound and thrown into a blazing furnace where they are sheltered from the flames by a fourth mysterious figure who “is like the Son of God” (“skipadher swa som gudz son”; “et

farm in Nyhus. And he got nothing but “loose words” (i. e., curses) and punches, and he could not retrieve his horse and he was accused of being a spy even though he had the letter from the bishop of Fyn on his person], *Diplomatarium Danicum* (1408), no. 14099999036, <https://diplomatarium.dk/dokument/14099999036> (last accessed 5 April 2022).

⁴⁵ The literature on *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* is extensive: Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 64–68; Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Middle English* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2015), 33–35; Dwayne E. Carpenter, “Social Perception and Literary Portrayal: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spanish Literature,” in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerilynn D. Dodds (New York: George Braziller, 1992), 66; Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 281–82; Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 90–96; Kati Ihnat, *Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews: Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Norman England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 148–52; John D. Martin, *Representations of Jews in Late Medieval and Early Modern German Literature*, *Studies in German Jewish History*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2004), 137–53; Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 7–39; Eugen Wolter, ed., *Der Judenknabe: 5 Griechische, 14 Lateinische und 8 Französische Texte* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1879).

species quarti similis filio Dei,” Daniel 3:25 [3:92 *Vulg.*].⁴⁶ *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* is a Christian twist of the tale from Daniel: the young boy does, indeed, “bow down,” but to the image of the true god – in contrast to the false god of King Nebuchadnezzar – and is unjustly punished by the false believer, his Jewish father, and protected from the flames by the Virgin Mary and the Son of God, prefigured by the figure in the likeness of the Son of God in Daniel.

The Jewish Boy in the Oven is of uncertain Greek origin and is preserved in the *Historia ecclesiastica* (4.36) composed by Evagrius Scholasticus of Antioch (c. 536–600).⁴⁷ It spread to Western Europe and became a popular tale of the Virgin Mary’s mercy and is found in important collections such as *De gloria beatorum martyrum* by Gregory of Tours (538–95),⁴⁸ the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–98),⁴⁹ and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* by Alfonso X (1252–84).⁵⁰ The scenes from the legend are also found in church art throughout Western Europe.⁵¹ It was originally a tale of witness and conversion demonstrating the truth of Christianity through a miracle involving a Jew that subsequently brings about the conversion of the onlookers. However, as the tale spread, particularly through its use in exempla, it brought specific aspects into relief, such as the eucharist, Christol-

46 For the OSw. version of the story of *The Three Young Men in the Oven*, see Text 50 (with the ODa. in the apparatus). In the *Fornsvenska legendariet*, we find the story of St Thomas the Apostle who is also thrown into a furnace during his mission in India and emerges uninjured: “hær læt kunugen bal gøra ·i· lim oghne // ok casta tomam ·i· brænnanda balet / ok þær liggia tel a mæle ¶ Sua vart oghnen sual / at tomas gik ut menløs af hanom” [The king had a furnace built here in a limekiln and Thomas thrown into the burning furnace and to lie there as a deterrent. And then the oven became cool so that Thomas walked out of it unharmed], SKB A 34, f. 36ra; *FsvLeg* I 188; *FsvLeg* PAW II 256–57; cf. *LegAur* 61.

47 *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 86, no. 2, cols 2769, 2770. For an English translation, see *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, ed. and trans. Michael Whitby, *Translated Texts for Historians*, vol. 33 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 241–42.

48 *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 71, col. 715a–b (“De puero Judaeo valde memorandum”). For an English translation, see *The Glory of the Martyrs*, ed. and trans. Raymond Van Dam, *Translated Texts for Historians*, vol. 3 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 29–32 (no. 9).

49 *LegAur* 796. For an English translation, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 2, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 87–88.

50 Afonso X, o Sábio [Alfonso X], *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, vol. 1, ed. Walter Mettmann, *Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis* (Coimbra: Por ordem da Universidade, 1959–72), 11–14 (no. 4).

51 For example, in the parish church of Chalfont St Giles in England (c. 1330), the rose window of Lincoln Cathedral (c. 1225), and two thirteenth-century altar frontals from Arnfjord and Årdal in Norway. See Margrethe C. Stang, “Enemies of Christ in the Far North: Tales of Saracens, Jews and the Saami in Norwegian Medieval Painting,” in *Tracing the Jerusalem Code*, vol. 1: *The Holy City Christian Cultures in Medieval Scandinavia (ca. 1100–1536)*, ed. Kristin B. Aavitsland and Line M. Bonde (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2021), 491.

ogy, or Marian devotion, and thus took on new meanings that created different emotions and responses.⁵² There are two slightly different versions preserved in OSw. (none in ODa.). One is extant as an exemplum in two sermons for the First Sunday after Epiphany (LSB T 180 and 181) and the other appears in *Fornsvenska legendariet* (SKB A 34; UUB C 528; SRA E 8900).

The two exempla (Texts 42.1–2 from LSB T 180 and 181 respectively) are found in sermons for the First Sunday after Epiphany that both have the story of the boy Jesus in the Temple as their reading, although each has a slightly different pericope as its point of departure (Text 42.1 has Luke 2:46 and Text 42.2 has Luke 2:42–52). The exempla come at the end of the sermons and are preceded by sections explaining the doctrine of transubstantiation, that is, the actual transformation of the wafer and wine into the body and blood of Christ during the celebration of Mass. The unnamed Jewish boy – apparently unlike his school-friends – is momentarily able to see through the outer appearance or form of the host (bread) and recognize the eucharist's true substance (the Christ Child).⁵³ In the spirit of eucharistic devotion, the image of the Divine Infant rather than Christ as a man within the wafer moves the listeners to pity and the description of the scene in the church is detailed compared to that in *Fornsvenska legendariet* (Text 42.3). The sermons go on to state explicitly that doubting the doctrine of transubstantiation is a crime against God and the Holy Faith: “han ær brodzligin amote gudi oc helga troo” (Text 42.1), “hwar ther nokot twækær vti / han ær brutlikin a mothe gudhi / ok the helgha thro” (Text 42.2) [whoever doubts this is committing a crime against God and the Holy Faith].

The boy, saved from the oven, not only recognizes Mary as a beautiful, well-dressed virgin, but also identifies the fair, small child in her lap as the same healthy baby boy (“karsth litit sweinbarn”) that he had seen earlier that day in the host.⁵⁴ The image of the Christ Child sitting safely in Mary's lap mirrors the Jewish

⁵² On the spread of the tale, see Richard William Southern, “The English Origins of the ‘Miracles of the Virgin,’” *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958): 176–216; J. C. Jennings, “The Origins of the ‘Elements Series’ of the Miracles of the Virgin,” *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968): 84–93, and Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 8–11. In one Italian version of the tale in Florence, Bib. Ricc. MS 1675, f. 120, the father's anger is aroused when the boy tells him that he has seen a beautiful picture of Mary in a church – no mention is made of him having received communion. The father's reaction is, nevertheless, the same and the boy is cast into the oven. See Gripkey, “Mary Legends in Italian Manuscripts: Part II,” 44 (no. 135).

⁵³ Curiously, Jews are often granted the ability to see the unseeable in the East Norse miracle tales: “good Jews” see the substance of the eucharist or have divine visions or dreams of Mary, while “bad Jews” are also able to see the supernatural and commune with demons and devils.

⁵⁴ Many exempla describe how viewers are moved by the power of religious images' beauty. On beauty in this exemplum, see Kathleen Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350–1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 59.

boy in the oven sheltered from the flames by the Virgin's mantle. Although it is Mary and her cloak that protect the boy from the flames, the Marian element in the miracle is in fact not pronounced in the sermon exempla compared to *Fornsvenska legendariet* and it is the revelation of the truth of the eucharistic doctrine rather than the miracle of Mary's protection that provides the catalyst for the conversion of the Jews. The sermons deal with the doctrine of the real presence whereas the legend is concerned with promoting Mary as a loving, caring mother-figure.

Jews in the exempla are referred to as being both Jewish and pagan: "heidne pilita" (Text 42.1) and "hedne judha" (Text 42.2). This blurring of the distinction between Jews and pagans is also found elsewhere in East Norse material (see, for example: Text 1: *A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven* and Text 46: *The Merchant's Surety* where Jewish moneylenders are described as "a [...] rich pagan Jew" and "a pagan Jew" respectively; Text 32: *The Hermit and the Jewess* where a Jewish woman is described as a "Saracen pagan Jewess," and Text 45: *The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery* where a young girl is described as being a "pagan" who converted from Judaism to Christianity). Although this blurring is not common, it is hardly surprising that it does occur occasionally in an environment when the "Mother Church" was seen in opposition to a group of unbelievers who were not "her children". For example, in the OSw. *Järteckensbok* (SKB A 110) from c. 1385, the Church is placed in opposition to unbelievers, idol worshippers, Jews, Eastern Orthodox Christians, and "other pagans":

[...] **ff**or thy ath monga handa wantro ær j wærdlinne badhe afgudha dyrkan judha ryzsa och andre hedhninga enkthe kænnis the hælgha kyrkia widh them thy ath the æro ykke hæнна barn och enkthe wilia the ok wita aff hæenne fore sina fula wantro skuld och diæfwslika willo och blinde som the haffwa vtan cristin man thær gudhi ær a hand gangin mædh tronne j døpilsen han ær kyrkionna enge son som hon haffwir j store gømo | och wakth mædh sinom siw hælghilsom a mothe wadha ok skadha fore diæfflenom Swa som likamlikin modher ær idhkelikin til ath wakta sit barn fore alle wadhelike tilkommo och skadha⁵⁵

[...] because there are many types of unbelief in the world, both idol worship, Jews, Russians and other pagans, the Holy Church does not recognize them because they are not her children, and they wish to know nothing of her because of their vile unbelief and devilish desire and the blindness that they have. But a Christian, who has undergone baptism holding God's hand with faith, he is the only son of the Church whom she keeps under her great care and protection with her seven sacraments⁵⁶ against harm and damage by the devil; just as a mother is keen to protect her child from all occurrences of harm and damage.]

55 SKB A 111, f. 65va–b (fifteenth century); *SvJPost* 76–77

56 Although the sacraments were considered an important means of receiving God's grace, there was little agreement about their precise number for the first millennium CE. Peter Lombard (c. 1096–1160) argued in his *Sententiae* that seven sacraments had been instituted by Jesus and entrusted to the Church: baptism, confirmation, and the eucharist (sacraments of initiation);

In all the versions of *The Jewish Boy in the Oven*, the city is described as having a mixed Jewish-Christian population and the Jewish boy has Christian friends. Although this mixture provided an environment in which the boy could visit a church, learn about Christ and the Virgin, and ultimately be converted, it was also a perilous constellation fraught with danger for Christians: a polluted environment, in which Jews had access to the host and Christian holy places.⁵⁷ Not all Jews' intentions were as innocent as the Jewish boy's as we shall see in some of the following exempla where the motif of the "mixed city" and the threatening presence of Jews in Christian communities recurs.⁵⁸

The father's evil nature comes to the fore when he throws his son into the flames of the oven – an act that resembles a demon casting a soul into the fires of hell. In the exempla, the father, who is described as "then vsle mannen iudin" [that wretched man, that Jew] and "then [...] gambla iudan" [that (...) old Jew] (Text 42.1), ties up the boy before casting him into the oven. This binding draws heavily on Old Testament imagery: it both parodies the 'Akedah or Binding of Isaac and Abraham's attempted sacrifice of his own son (Genesis 22) and mirrors the tying up of the Three Young Men before being thrown into the furnace (Daniel 3:20). The boy's terrified mother appears in both exempla which adds drama as well as a Jew's human emotional response to the father's act: she shows that not all Jews condone heinous acts of infanticide. Indeed, the juxtaposition of the brutal Jewish father and the loving, inherently good, and ultimately Christian mother only reinforces the image of the male Jew as the violent, destructive enemy of Christendom, cementing in the listeners' minds one of the mainstays of medieval Jew-hatred. It is one of the very few occurrences of a female Jew in an East Norse text.⁵⁹ The punishment of her husband has two outcomes: the definitive proof of the doctrine of the eucharist (he does not acknowledge God's presence and is therefore not saved from the flames) and freedom from his violence and cruelty for the newly converted mother and child. With this burning of the father, the Marian life-giving oven-womb, from which the boy appeared reborn a Christian,

penance and anointing the sick (sacrament of healing); ordination and marriage (sacraments of service). Gradually this came to be the accepted view and was confirmed by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

⁵⁷ Despite canonical restrictions, Jews sometimes did attend mass; see Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430–1096* (Paris: Mouton, 1960), 84–88.

⁵⁸ It is noteworthy that in all the extant East Norse sources, Jews are strongly associated with urban environments. The principal exception is the story of the Red Jews (see Text 27: *The Enclosed Jews*).

⁵⁹ On the mother in this miracle, see Carlee A. Bradbury, "Picturing Maternal Anxiety in the Miracle of the Jew of Bourges," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 47, no. 2 (2011): 34–56.

has become an infernal death-bringing furnace from which the father, a Jew, is sent to hell. The outcome of the miracle is the conversion of the town's Jewry to Christianity.⁶⁰

In *Fornsvenska legendariet* version (Text 42.3), the Jewish boy is also able to see and recognize the true substance of the eucharist – “þera guþ ii sit liif sua sötan” [their God so sweet in his body], which is proved very literally as an effective means of salvation, although it is in fact the role of the Virgin that is central in this version of the tale.⁶¹ Indeed, the *Legenda aurea*, from which this version is taken, places the miracle under the Feast of the Virgin's Assumption and thus locates Mary at the very centre of the tale. She is identified by the boy as “en heþers fru som standar ivir cristno altare” [a lady of honour who stands above the Christian altar] and as his protector in the oven. By sheltering the boy under her cloak, the oven has become a Marian womb from which he is reborn purified and Christian.⁶² When the boy appears unharmed by the flames, Mary is praised by the assembled crowd, including both Jews and Christians. The story concludes not with the conversion of the town's Jews, but with the punishment of the father, who symbolizes all those (Jews) who deny the Christian faith. He is the enemy of both the eucharist and Mary and receives a just fate: without further ado he is thrown alive into the oven and burnt to a cinder (“bran æmskyt ii asko”). The oven is the realm both of spiritual death and rebirth, and of permanent physical annihilation. Thus, the righteous Jew (the boy) is saved by Mary, and the evil Jew (the father) is destroyed. At the same time the boy has received a new, worthy father: Christ. The testimonial power of the boy's miraculous survival to convert the town's Jews is lost in this version (as is also the case in the *Legenda aurea*). Also, unlike most other European versions, including the *Legenda aurea* from which it is adapted, and the OSw. exempla above, *Fornsvenska legendariet* version does not mention the child's mother, so this element of family tension is missing, and our attention is focused on the boy and his father, and on Mary who acts as the boy's loving, protective mother.

60 In Text 42.1 many Jews convert (“vordo mange iuda crisne”), but in Text 42.2 all the town's Jews convert to Christianity (“wordho crisne swa manghe judha som ther j stadhanom waro”).

61 On the relationship between the eucharist and Mary, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 39, 142–47.

62 On the role of the oven in this tale, see Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 25.

The Host Desecration

During the later Middle Ages, Jews were subjected to a new kind of accusation, that they desecrated hosts – the holy wafers consecrated during Mass, Christ's very body.⁶³ The narrative was usually as follows: Jews stole the host, or paid or bribed a Christian to procure one, and then they profaned it by treading it underfoot, by stabbing it with knives, needles, or thorns, or by burning it. However, the host could not be destroyed, but instead bled or was transformed into Jesus (sometimes as the Christ Child). The miracle was then uncovered by Christians and the Jews caught and punished. A church, chapel, or shrine of some sort was built over the site and a cult grew up around the miracle. The first accusations began to appear after Innocent III confirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. From the mid-thirteenth century, accusations of host desecration by Jews began to appear especially in France and the German lands. The first documented host desecration from discovery to punishment took place in Paris in 1290.⁶⁴ It was claimed that a Jew persuaded a Christian woman to steal a host, which he then stabbed with a knife to see whether the Christian doctrine of the real presence was true or not. The host bled and was disposed of in a boiling cauldron, from which it rose in the form of a crucifix. The Jew's wife and children converted, while he remained blind in his faith. In 1298, rumours circulated throughout the towns and countryside of Bavaria about Jewish abuse of the host that led to a summer of killing by Christian townspeople and peasants under the leadership of a butcher called "King" Rintfleisch. Thousands of Jews were murdered. In 1336–38, a similar large-scale regional massacre took place across Franconia, Alsace, Austria, Styria, and Swabia under "King" Armleder.⁶⁵ For the next six centuries, accusations of host desecration at the hands of Jews and subsequent punishment of the alleged culprits continued throughout Europe.

63 On medieval host desecration, see Miri Rubin, "Desecration of the Host: The Birth of an Accusation," in *Christianity and Judaism*, ed. Diana Wood, Studies in Church History, vol. 29 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 169–85; Gavin Langmuir, "The Tortures of the Body of Christ," in *Christendom and its Discontents*, ed. Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 28–307; Robert Stacey, "From Ritual Crucifixion to Host Desecration: Jews and the Body of Christ," *Jewish History* 12, no. 1 (1998): 1–28; Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales*; Jeremy Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 103–09.

64 Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 40–47; Cohen, *Christ Killers*, 103; Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christian-Jewish Relations 1000–1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom*, The Medieval World (London: Pearson, 2011), 188–89.

65 Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 48–57.

Although there were no Jews in Scandinavia during the Middle Ages, the concept of the real presence in the host being tortured by the enemies of God was so entrenched in understandings about the eucharist that it appears in literary texts even there – indeed, just as it does elsewhere in Europe despite an absence of Jews. For example, the Jews were expelled from England in 1290, yet devotional books, drama, and art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries still included tales about Jewish host desecration.⁶⁶ In the extant material from Denmark and Sweden, a tale of host desecration appears only once: Text 33: *The Host Desecration* in *Järteckensbok* in SKB A 110 (1385). Like all the miracles in *Järteckensbok* it is a translation from an as yet unidentified original, most likely in Latin.⁶⁷ *The Host Desecration* is an extraordinary text in an East Norse context as it is not only the sole vernacular description of a host desecration, but it also mentions the ritual murder of children. The story takes place in some unnamed city where on Good Friday the Jews were in the habit of (“plæghadho”) performing the very torments suffered by Christ on the Cross upon kidnapped Christian children or a consecrated host – whichever they could get hold of. One year, they stabbed and spat upon a host until it bled into a basin. One of those present was so moved by what was happening that he was swayed towards adopting the Christian faith (“nokat rørdhir til at taka kristna tro”) and told a priest about what had been taking place. The second time the Jews of the city gathered to continue their attack upon the host, the wafer transformed into the bloody and beaten body of a baby boy lying patiently (“thulomodholikast”) in the basin. The priest arrived with a group of Christians and took the infant in the basin to the church. Many of the Jews were subsequently killed but some managed to flee. One of those who got away, a widow, was either taken to the church or arrived there voluntarily (the OSw. is ambiguous)⁶⁸ and took the Christian faith. However, when she was to receive the host, she did not see a wafer but a bloody and beaten infant child. She cried, “How am I to chew my God?” (“huru scal iak tugga min gudh”) expressing her own (or doubting Christians’) repulsion to what “simple folk” might see as cannibalism. But upon approaching her mouth, the baby reverted to the form of a wafer.

⁶⁶ Cohen, *Christ Killers*, 103. For an examination of the use and abuse of the Jewish image in late medieval English literature and culture, see Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁶⁷ I have been unable to find any of the miracles in *Järteckensbok* among the major collections of exempla mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. See also Carlquist, *De fornsvenska helgonlegenderna*, 29.

⁶⁸ The manuscript reads: “somlike fludho aff hulkum en ænkia kom til kyrkio mædh kristnom mannom” [some fled, of whom a widow came to the church with Christian men]. It is unclear whether the widow was accompanied by Christians or whether she was led there by them.

The location of this Jewish attack against Christianity is once again the dangerous “mixed city” where both Jews and Christians reside, and where Jews have access – directly or indirectly – to sacred Christian places and objects. The timing of the event, Good Friday, is also a trope found in most of these types of tales, when it was believed Jews mocked the ceremonies of Holy Week. Furthermore, the Easter period often coincides with the Jewish holiday of Passover, and it was believed that Jews needed blood, usually extracted from a Christian child (but possibly also from a host) to bake unleavened bread, matzah, which is eaten during the eight-day festival. The action of Jews stabbing a sacred object is also found in a couple of other texts: 14: *The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon* and 43: *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ*. Another means of vandalizing and defiling holy objects was to drench them with sputum, and here in this tale of host desecration, we also read about this very “Jewish action” of spitting.⁶⁹ The intended use of the blood in the OSw. tale is not mentioned, but it is being collected in a basin (“mulløgh”) rather than just being left to soak into the floor. Perhaps like the blood from the crucifix (cf. Text 43: *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ*), it was believed to have healing properties. Perhaps, it was to be used by Jewish men to replenish the blood they lost during their menstruation, or it was intended for baking Passover matzah.⁷⁰ The city’s Jews also gathered at least twice to carry out the stabbing, so perhaps they were believed to bleed hosts and children until they were dry. Clearly, just one day of torturing the host was not enough.

The transformation of the host into the bleeding wounded baby child is the dramatic climax of the Jews’ torture that is intended to arouse the compassion (and anger) of the audience just like the one Jew in the tale who was so moved by the sight of the bleeding host that he chose to become Christian and informed the priest of what had taken place. Again, some Jews are shown to be pliant and open to conversion. However, the vast majority of those present remained stubborn and unmoved, even at the appearance of the bleeding infant, and could only be converted through violence. As in the sermons and Passion treatises discussed in Chapter 6: *Modelling Feelings and Behaviours*, Jews are represented as lacking human empathy.

The killing of “mange aff iudhomæn” [many of the Jews] refers laconically to a pogrom or massacre of the city’s Jews. In texts, executions, burnings, and expulsions usually followed on the heels of host desecrations. In reality, however, the situation was more complex: sometimes violence did follow an alleged des-

⁶⁹ See the discussion of Jew-spittle in chapters 3 (p. 80) and 5 (pp. 176–79).

⁷⁰ On male menstruation among Jews, see Chapter 5: *The Jewish Body*, pp. 190–92.

ecration; at least just as often, however, the violence came first and an alleged desecration was subsequently used to explain it.⁷¹ As is becoming a pattern in these tales, the Jewish convert is a woman, a widow who is no longer under the control of a misguided, and potentially violent, Jewish husband.

The final miracle – the transformation of the bloody infant back into the host-bread – returns “normality” back into the world that itself has been transformed into a better place: the city has been cleansed and its Jews are either dead, gone, or converted, while the usually hidden real presence within the host has been revealed to all, and so their Christian faith has been strengthened. The tale aims to demonstrate the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation, but in so doing elevates Jewish brutality and exculpates Christian violence: Jews’ stabbing, spitting, and tapping of blood are not only directed against sacred objects but the audience’s very own children are at risk of a gruesome death at the hands of Jews. Furthermore, Jewish hatred of Christ and his followers – and their responsibility for his crucifixion – is shown yet again to extend beyond the time of the Gospels into the present.

Two Miracles of the Host

There are two other miracles of the host in *Järteckensbok* (SKB A 110; 1385) for discussion here: Texts 38: *The Jew, the Fish, and the Host* and 30: *The Flying Host and the Jew’s Son*. The story of *The Jew and the Fish* is a peculiar variant of a host-profane narrative. It takes place in a named city, “Vrbeeth,” possibly Orvieto (cf. Lat. *Urbs Vetus*) in Italy.⁷² Upon encountering a Christian man fishing alongside a river, a Jew tells him that if he believes him (“Vilt thu mik tro”), then he can tell the Christian how to ensure a well-stocked river with plenty of fish. Eagerly, the Christian promises to believe him, and the Jew tells him to go to mass and while taking communion, hide the entire host in his mouth and then throw it into the river, and by so doing, he will never lack fish (“Thæn tidh thu skalt taka gudz likama tha gøm hostiam hela j thinom munne ok gak hiit ok kasta hana hær nidhir j thæssa flodhena · ok sidhan skulu thek aldrih brista fiska”). The Christian does all these things on the following Easter Day, but the next time he goes fishing and casts his hook, he is in for a surprise. He catches a large fish, a “parbar,” which is holding the host in the front of its mouth (“fræmmærst j sinom munne”), presum-

71 Sapir Abulafia, *Christian-Jewish Relations 1000–1300*, 188–89.

72 The tale locates a river in the city, and although there is no river in Orvieto, the Paglia flows close by.

ably between its lips or teeth.⁷³ The Christian is terrified, runs to the church as fast as possible, and summons all the people and the priest. He confesses all and the priest and the townspeople go to the river and find the fish still holding the host in its mouth. As soon as the priest approaches it with a ciborium, the fish drops the host into the container and then goes on its way.

The Jew in this peculiar tale gains access to the host through the help of a Christian. This demonstrates one of the ways that Jews were believed to be able to remove hosts from churches: upon receiving communion, willing Christians hid the consecrated host, removed it from the church, and sold it in return for material reward. The Jew in this tale appears to be tricking the Christian. He tells him a lie to secure that a consecrated host is profaned by having it thrown into a river. In the next section on icons and crucifixes, it will be seen that profaned Christian sacred objects are often disposed of in water. Once the Jew has convinced the Christian to throw a host into the river, his devilish goal has been achieved (or so he thinks), and he disappears from the story.

By confessing his crime, the Christian fisherman saves his own soul and enables the host – miraculously saved by the *parbar* – to be retrieved. The fish has, of course, been a symbol for Christianity from earliest times, and the deliverance of the host from the mouth of the fish echoes Jonah's deliverance from the leviathan (Jonah 2:10), and consequently, through typological interpretation, Christ's resurrection (cf. Matthew 12:38–45). In Jewish tradition fish are considered symbolic of God's all-seeing eye, and also of wealth, abundance, and prosperity: a symbol that could be used to enhance fertility and ward off the evil eye. However, the meaning of *parbar*, the name given in the story to this type of fish, is unclear. It may be a version of OSw. *barbare* [barbarian; non-Greek] < Lat. *barbarus*, and the fish's recognition of the host is somehow a symbolic transformation from *barbare* ("parbar") to a "Christian" fish. Gk. ἰχθύς, *ichthús*, means 'fish.' Its use as a symbol for Christianity derives from the acronym ΙΧΘΥΣ < Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ, *Iēsús Christòs Theoû Huiòs Sõtér* [Jesus Christ, (the) Son of God, (the) Saviour].⁷⁴ A more down-to-earth point here is that an animal, a mere fish, understands that a consecrated host should be treated with great honour ("mæðh storum hedhir") whereas a Jew (or a bad Christian) does not have this understanding: their understanding of God's mysteries and the truth of the doctrines of the church are below that of an aquatic animal.

⁷³ There may be an implied reference here to the story of the fish with a coin in its mouth in Matthew 17:24–27.

⁷⁴ Cf. Augustine of Hippo, *Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 23.

The final miracle tale about the host for our consideration (Text 30: *The Flying Host and the Jew's Son*) is even stranger than that about the fish. Here, a converted Jew who has joined the Dominicans arranges for a mass to be said in honour of the Holy Spirit on behalf of his son who has remained a Jew. That same night, a flying host appears to the Jewish son and chases him into the corner of his house. He is trapped there, unable to move, and so accepts Christianity, thus receiving liberty in this world and salvation in the next. It is a simple tale of the power of prayer, the Holy Spirit, and the host. The miracle seems somewhat ludicrous, and the tale's aim may be nothing more than to ridicule the reluctant Jewish convert, but who is to know what the Jew's son saw in that host as it flew through the air? Was it a mere wafer or did the Divine Child or Christ on the Cross appear to the Jew, chastising him? Whatever the young man saw that night, it was brought to pass through the mass, and it shows that with divine help it is, indeed, possible to convert Jews. Where the arguments of the father must have failed in the past, a miracle of the host succeeds.

Summary

These four miracles of the eucharist in all their versions show distinct levels of sophistication and complexity. The miracle of the Jewish boy in the oven shows itself to be an elaborate tale that can be moulded to fit different didactic purposes, focusing either on the eucharist or on Mary. It is particularly interesting as it presents a Jewish family: the innocent, pure child; the brutal, violent father; and the weak, hapless mother. The juxtaposition between child and adult and between male and female is found in other miracle tales as also is the conversion of the Jews who witness the miracle. The tale of the host desecration does not dwell on the torments of the host at the hands of the Jews but focuses on the eucharist and its power: the miracle of its transformation into the Christ Child and the conversion of the widow (another pliant female who is open to conversion). The tale merely mentions several important key elements of this kind of miracle: the occasion of Good Friday, the Jews repeating the tortures that Jesus was subjected to, and the kidnapping and bleeding of Christian children. For the story to have fulfilled its potential these elements would have needed to be expounded upon by the preacher or they were already understood by the audience (which would suggest that the concept of host desecration and ritual murder was more widely and better understood in medieval Sweden than we might have assumed from the number of examples in OSw. literature). The miracle of the fish and the host also tells of Jews removing consecrated hosts from churches, and it may include linguistic references (“parbar”) to the transformative power of the host (which

presumably were no longer comprehensible to the reader or listener). The tale of the flying – and threatening – host shows how Jews can be saved through miracles brought about through prayer. Interestingly, the usual matrix of the Jewish family has been inverted: it is the elder male Jew who has become Christian, usually it is the male adult Jew who is stubborn, but here it is the younger Jew who remains in his “blindness.”⁷⁵ Both tales demonstrate the power of the host and the reverence it is due, but they do not directly prove the real presence. Thus, various aspects of the eucharist are demonstrated in these tales, from rather complex ideas about Marian devotion to coercing Jews into conversion.

Icons and crucifixes

Legends and exempla contain many tales involving holy images that perform miracles: they speak, move, or bleed when physically or verbally attacked. The motif of the Jew as attacker, as iconoclast, who seeks to destroy Christian holy images, is common in medieval European literature, and two such tales are found in OSw. (none in ODa.): *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ* and *The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon* (Texts 43.1–3 and 41.1–2 respectively). In these tales, the desecration of holy images at the hands of Jewish men is followed by a miraculous outpouring of blood that ultimately results in healing and conversion. The allure of such tales was not sophisticated:

These grotesque stories of bleeding images reframe medieval image worship. Rather than defending images by asserting their pedagogic value in replacing books or their mnemonic value in bringing God to mind more readily than do written texts, these tales reverberate with images' emotional, sensual, even primordial appeal.⁷⁶

The didactic purpose of these miracle tales about bleeding sacred objects was to demonstrate the doctrine of divine presence in such holy images: they thwart their own destruction through the power of the archetype within. Through their attacks, Jews also show that these icons and crucifixes are capable of making present Christ and the saints of the past: these holy figures continued to work miracles after death through these images and thus showed that they were still alive and engaged in the affairs of the world.⁷⁷ However, even if audiences did

⁷⁵ Cf. also Text 1: *A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven*.

⁷⁶ Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages*, 56.

⁷⁷ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), 4–6.

not believe the stories of bleeding icons literally, they would have recognized that only a vile group of outcasts was inclined to attack such images. The relationship between Jews and images had always been full of error and ungodliness: from worshipping the Golden Calf during the Exodus (a popular image in church wall paintings), Jews were now destroying the holy images of Christianity.

The tenor of these tales of iconoclasm is more dangerous than that of *The Jewish Boy in the Oven*. They express an anxiety about Jewish presence in cities and their access to Christian places of worship (or even Christian homes) where they can commit violent acts against the faith and directly against God. The continued life of Christ in objects of veneration is thus both a miracle and blessing on the one hand and an open opportunity for Jews to engage in their seemingly never-ending bloodlust and desire to torment the body of Jesus on the other: a ferocious malevolence passed down through the generations from the time of Christ. By violating a sacred image such as an icon, the (male) Jews are not only re-enacting the deicide of their ancestors, but they are demonstrating the true nature of the object: the act of desecration provides visible proof of the ethereal doctrine of the real presence and of the anti-Christian nature of those who defile such holy objects. Christians venerate holy images, whereas Jews attack them in order to destroy them.

However, the bleeding icon shows that these images were not always just understood as a means to venerate the person depicted, but that the image – just like the eucharist in *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* – was considered to contain the substance of the person depicted. In popular religious practice, there seems to have been an unauthorized parallel drawn between holy images and the eucharist. As Joshua Trachtenberg noted:

Just as Christ resided physically in the host, so he was present in the crucifixes and other representations of him that adorned Christian homes and churches, and so were the other holy personages of Christianity believed to be literally and physically present in their images and paintings. This was not officially sanctioned doctrine, it is true, but it was nonetheless part and parcel of the average Christian's belief. Nothing illustrates this so vividly as the countless legends of Jewish maltreatment of such images and pictures, which parallel the myth of the host desecration.⁷⁸

Contrary to orthodox theological doctrine, the icon in this tale is not merely an object that inspires the memory, veneration, and worship of Christ, but it is a channel through which Christ can actively participate in the world and thus

⁷⁸ Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1993), 118.

becomes the locus where miracles are generated. An icon of Christ on the Cross is Christ on the Cross, and by extension the Jew attacking the icon is a Jew attacking Christ – he is not just re-enacting the Passion and the Crucifixion in the sense of re-creating or imitating, but he is actually torturing Christ and carrying out deicide again. It is not difficult to see why legends like *The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon* and *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ* together with *The Host Desecration* laid the foundations for later accusations of ritual murder and blood libel.⁷⁹

The violent emotional response and enmity that these anti-Jewish tales of iconoclasm could arouse in real life is exemplified by an episode in Florence in 1493. A Jew was convicted of smearing filth on an image of the Virgin Mary located on a street corner, of stabbing a marble statue of the Virgin in the face and Jesus in the eye, and of destroying a painted *pietà*. As punishment, he had his hands cut off and his eyes stabbed out. He was then turned over to an enraged mob of two thousand youths who mutilated and killed him.⁸⁰

The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ

Another tale in which an act of violence perpetrated by a Jew culminates in a miracle and an act of conversion is *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ* that is found in no fewer than three versions in OSw. (none in ODa.): a sermon exemplum (LSB T 180; c. 1450), *Själens tröst* (SKB A 108; 1400–50), and *Järteckensbok* (SKB A 110; 1385). They all follow the same plot about a Jew who moves into a house previously occupied by a Christian.⁸¹ The Christian has left behind a painted icon (“en malad tafla” in the exemplum and “et bilæte” in *Järteckensbok*) or a cru-

⁷⁹ Miri Rubin, “Desecration of the Host: The Birth of an Accusation,” in *Medieval Religion: New Approaches*, ed. Constance Hoffman Berman (New York: Routledge, 2005), 363–76 (ch. 14).

⁸⁰ Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, Studies in Social Discontinuity (New York: Academic, 1980), 69; Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages*, 58.

⁸¹ On this tale, see “Sermo sanctæ memoriæ patris nostri Athanasii de imagine domini nostri Iesu Christi veri Dei nostri, facto miraculo in civitate Beryto,” in *Sacrosancta Concilia ad regiam editionem exacta: quæ nunc quarta parte prodit auctior*, vol. 7, ed. Philippe Labbé and Gabriel Cossart (Paris: Societas Typographica Librorum Ecclesiasticorum, 1671), cols 218–23; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 297–310; David Biale, *Blood and Belief: The Circulation of a Symbol between Jews and Christians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 111–17; Kathleen Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350–1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 43–68; Herbert L. Kessler, “Shaded with Dust: Jewish Eyes on Christian Art,” in *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 97–100; Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 69–70, 118–28.

cifix (“eeth kors” in *Själens tröst*) on the wall inside the house. Before the Jew has spotted it, he is visited by a Jewish acquaintance who, upon looking around the house, discovers the image of Christ and becomes angry. He tells the other Jews in the city about what he has seen. They descend upon the house, beat its occupant, and stab the image that subsequently bleeds. Here, the events in the three versions follow different routes.

The LSB T 180 exemplum is found in a sermon for the Fourth Sunday in Quadregesima that has the reading “Post haec abiit Jesus trans mare Galilaeae” [After these things Jesus went over the Sea of Galilee] from John 6:1 as its pericope. In the exemplum, the icon’s abuse is described succinctly: it is stabbed and then bleeds. The Jews are terrified and run out onto the street where a group of Christian men, seeing the Jews covered in blood, grab them and accuse them of having murdered a Christian. The Jews confess what they have done, show the Christian men the bloodied icon, and, along with many other Jews in the city, convert. The exemplum is followed by a call for Christians to keep icons in their homes and pray before them in return for an indulgence. The sermon audience is being encouraged to treat icons as holy images that fuse the spirit of heaven with the material of earth, as the meeting places between the divine and the worldly, as bridges across the centuries, and as the loci of miraculous works. All this has been shown to be true by the actions of the Jews and the bleeding icon, which, like the historical Jesus, had its side opened by a blade.

In the version of the tale in *Själens tröst*, included under the Fourth Commandment (“thú skalt æra fadhír oc modhír” [You shall honour (your) father and (your) mother], Exodus 20:12), the crucifix is stabbed with a spear and a mixture of water and blood flows out (cf. John 19:34). This fluid is collected by the Jews who, in an act reminiscent of baptism, take it out into the city in order to sprinkle it onto ailing and sick Jews who instantly become cured, in much the same way as Longinus was cured of his blindness at the Crucifixion. The Jews, realizing that a great miracle has occurred, then go to the bishop, tell him what has happened, and receive baptism. The bishop, wishing to find out more, locates the Christian who had lived in the house before the Jew and discovers that the crucifix was originally made by Nicodemus. The bishop also pours some of the blood-water mixture that spouted from the crucifix into a phial creating a relic for which a church is built and consecrated in Rome.

The version in *Järteckensbok* is close to that in *Själens tröst*, but there are notable differences, for example: the original Christian inhabitant of the house is described as sinful (“syndoghír”), and Nicodemus is identified as the creator of the icon at the very beginning of the tale. The most remarkable difference, however, is that no Jews convert in the tale. The blood and water mixture pours from the icon, and it is collected and used (instinctively) to cure the (Jewish) sick,

but no Jews convert in the face of this miraculous event. How the phial of collected fluid ends up in Christian hands is not explained, but its miracle is named as the reason behind, what the manuscript calls, “høghtidh aff wars hærra pino” [the Feast Day of Our Lord’s Suffering] held in church on 10 December.

This miracle has its origins in the early Church where discussion about the power of sacred images was prevalent. The oldest known version of this tale of the bleeding crucifix is from Berytus (Beirut) and is mentioned as early as the Second Council of Nicaea (787), where the use and veneration of icons were restored.⁸² According to this earliest legend, a Jew stabbed the icon of the crucifixion left in a house by a Christian. A mixture of water and blood flowed out of the wound and was used to cure the sick.⁸³ The city’s Jewish community subsequently repented and converted to Christianity;⁸⁴ the story in *Själens tröst* is closest to this original version. The miraculous icon was moved to Constantinople in 975.⁸⁵

The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ contains themes found in several of these tales of iconoclasm: an assault on an image of Christ, a re-enactment of the deicide, a reminder that Jews continue to kill Christ who still lives in his images, and the danger to Christians of living in cities alongside Jews.⁸⁶ The description of the desecration of the crucifix is very detailed in *Själens tröst* and closely follows the biblical version: the beating, the blind-fold, the crown of thorns, the spear, and the blood-water mixture. It is, in fact, stated explicitly that they martyred the crucifix in the same way as Christ was martyred and tormented: “The toko belæt ic martladhot swa som *christus* war martladhir oc pintir.” This attack on the crucifix implies an assumption that these (all?) Jews recognize the real presence: they are not just acting out scenes from Christ’s Passion, they are once again committing deicide and this time at least doing so knowingly. They stabbed the crucifix, not because it represents Christ on the Cross, but because it

⁸² Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 305; Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages*, 56–57.

⁸³ Jews using the blood from an icon of the Crucifix to cure the sick is also found in a similar miracle from the *Alphabetum narrationum*. See Mary Macleod Banks, ed., *An Alphabet of Tales: An English 15th Century Translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum of Etienne de Besançon from Additional MS 25,719 of the British Museum*, Early English Text Society, vol. 126 (London: Early English Text Society, 1906), 158–59 (no 227: *Crux Cristi vel crucifixum Crucifixi ymago a Iudeis in despectu vulneratur*).

⁸⁴ The first version of the story was related during the fourth session of the Second Council of Nicaea and has been published in Latin and Greek in Labbé and Cossart, eds, *Sacrosancta Concilia ad regiam editionem exacta*, vol. 7, cols 218–23.

⁸⁵ It is indeed in this city, Constantinople, that the events in the following example, *The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon* (*Fornsvenska legendariet* version), take place. See below.

⁸⁶ On the desecration of icons by Jews, see Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 118–23.

is Christ on the Cross. Tellingly, they are not horrified by the liquid spurting from Christ's side: indeed, it is collected and used to cure their fellow Jews of their ailments. The same reaction is described in *Järteckensbok*. They *know* that the liquid has miraculous healing powers, just as they *know* precisely how to torture the crucifix. Jews *know* that Christianity is the truth, and they *know* how their ancestors tormented and murdered Jesus. Their continued "knowing disbelief" is recalcitrance, although they are quick to put this stubbornness behind them if they can gain from the fruits of Christianity. To the readers of *Själens tröst* and *Järteckensbok*, the fact that the power of the crucifix is so great that it can even heal and convert the unbelieving would have left them with a simple question: how can any Christian remain unconvinced?

Furthermore, the collection and use of the blood is not without significance for the development of beliefs about Jews and "Christian blood." It has an eerily close parallel in the tales of host desecration and ritual murder. The episode with the mixture of blood and water in *Själens tröst* and *Järteckensbok* is to my knowledge the only example in OSw. (and ODa.) of Jews using blood collected from Christian objects for their own uses (here, medical). It is not a great leap from this practice to kidnapping and draining the blood from a Christian child for medical purposes or baking matzah: the blood libel.⁸⁷ It is also an example of Jews triggering a miracle that produces a relic, and not just any relic, but the blood of Christ, that is then carefully preserved by the bishop in a phial. Although so great an authority as Thomas Aquinas argued that Christ left no relics as he had risen corporeally into heaven, his blood could be produced from icons through miraculous action.⁸⁸ In this way, Christ's body continued to yield relics after his death.

87 See Text 33: *The Host Desecration* which both mentions the ritual murder of Christian children and describes Jews collecting blood from a consecrated host. For a description of the constituent elements of blood libels through the ages, see Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, "A Rational Model for Blood Libel: The *Aftonbladet* Affair," in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge, 2018), 265–84.

88 For example, Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* III q54 a3 ad3: "Ad tertium dicendum quod totus sanguis qui de corpore Christi fluxit, cum ad veritatem humanae naturae pertineat, in Christi corpore resurrexit. Et eadem ratio est de omnibus particulis ad veritatem et integritatem humanae naturae pertinentibus. Sanguis autem ille qui in quibusdam Ecclesiis pro reliquiis observatur, non fluxit de latere Christi, sed miraculose dicitur effluxisse de quadam imagine Christi percussa." [Replying to the third (objection): All the blood which flowed from the body of Christ, belonging to the truth of human nature, was resurrected with his body. And it is the same reason for all the particles which belong to the truth and integrity of human nature. But the blood observed as relics in some churches did not flow from the side of Christ, but it is said to have miraculously flowed from some beaten image of Christ], *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Summa Theologica Pars Tertia* [con-

The provenance of the crucifix and its creation by Nicodemus (also found in many other European versions of the tale) is a means to link the present directly to the past,⁸⁹ even though the list of owners of the crucifix in *Själens tröst* does not make much chronological sense: Nicodemus, Gamaliel, Zacchaeus, James, and Simon are all largely contemporary.⁹⁰ However, these owners have symbolic importance as they were all early witnesses or supporters of Christ, his teachings, and followers. Just as the Jews' torture of the religious object is a re-enactment of the Crucifixion, or rather a "re-Crucifixion," that conflates time across the centuries, the linking of the crucifix to Nicodemus and its subsequent owners also collapses time: the biblical past becomes the present. Just as Nicodemus's crucifix is from the time of Christ, so the medieval Jews in the tale become merged with the Jews in the New Testament. It should be remembered that by not accepting Christ, Jews were considered to have stepped out of history: they remained living fossils, examples of pre-Christian religionists and witnesses to the life, death, and resurrection of Christ. There was little difference between the Jews of the New Testament and those of the Middle Ages, and in these miracle tales, symbology trumps chronology and Jews are imbued with a particular transhistorical collective identity.

The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon

Another tale in which a Jew's act of violence against a crucifix culminates in a miracle and an act of conversion is that of *The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon* found in two versions in OSw. In *Fornsvenska legendariet*, a Jew in Constantinople steals

tinuatio]. *Doctoris Angelici divi Thomae Aquinatis Sacri Ordinis F. F. Praedicatorum Opera Omnia*, vol. 5, ed. Stanislas-Édouard Fretté and Paul Maré (Paris: Vivès, 1872), 279, col. 1. Nonetheless, there was, of course, a great traffic in relics believed to derive from the body of Christ before the Ascension. For example, during the Middle Ages, the Holy Prepuce was said to be kept in the Papal Archbasilica of St John Lateran. In a vision, the Virgin Mary assures St Birgitta of Sweden that she had preserved Christ's foreskin and that it was now to be found in Rome – most probably referring to the Lateran Basilica (*Liber Caelestis* 4.112). See Birger Bergh, ed., *Sancta Birgitta. Revelaciones. Book VI*, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 7, no. 6 (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1991), 272; Denis Searby and Bridget Morris, trans. and ed., *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 3: *Liber Caelestis, Books VI–VII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 175.

⁸⁹ Nicodemus, a Pharisee, is mentioned several times in the Gospel of John (3:1–21; 7:50–51; 19:39–42). Together with Joseph of Arimathea he prepared the body of Christ for burial bringing myrrh and aloes to embalm the body. He was one of the last to touch Christ after the Crucifixion and before the Resurrection. He also assists in the burial of St Stephen, the first martyr of Christianity; see Text 49: *The Stoning of St Stephen*.

⁹⁰ Kay, "Jews and Miracles in the *Legenda Aurea*," 94.

an icon of a crucifix from the Church of St Sophia and stabs it. The icon bleeds and the Jew's head and clothes are covered in blood. In terror, he casts the icon into a well. A Christian passer-by, upon seeing the Jew's bloodied appearance, accuses him of murder. The Jew denies this, confesses his actual crime, reveals where he threw the icon, and converts to Christianity. This version closely follows that in the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine.⁹¹ The other rendition of the tale is found in *Själens tröst* and therefore has a different source: the MLG *Der Selen Troyst*. It follows the same plot as the *Fornsvenska legendariet* story, but the church and city are not specified – making the tale more universal – and the Jew stabs the icon through the throat before, not after, removing it from the wall of the church.⁹² The altercation between the Jew and the Christian in the *Själens tröst* version is written in direct speech which creates a much more dramatic scene than in the legendary: “A Christian approached him and said, ‘Oi! You, Jew! You’re a murderer! You’ve killed someone!’ He answered, ‘You’re lying! I haven’t done that!’”

In both OSw. versions of this miracle tale, the Jew is not a passive unbeliever in the holiness of the icon, but he actively challenges it through an act of violence. The throwing of the crucifix into the well is a grand finale to the desecration, a symbolic casting into the depths of hell. The bloodied evidence of icon, crucifix, and host desecrations (as well as the bodies of ritual murder victims) are usually disposed of in watery pits of different kinds, such as wells, latrines, and riverbeds, from which it merges transformed in a mystical way reminiscent of baptism or Christ's burial and resurrection. The image of Jews throwing their sins into bodies of water in these tales may have come about through a misunderstanding (or intended distortion of) the tashlikh ceremony during the High Holy Days, when Jews symbolically throw their sins into a natural body of water and recite Micah 7:19: “and thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea.”⁹³

⁹¹ *LegAur* 934. For an English translation, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 170–71.

⁹² In the version of the legend in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, the Jew stabs the icon in the church and only tears it off the wall once it starts to bleed – just like in *Själens tröst*, but unlike in *Fornsvenska legendariet* where he takes the icon off the wall before stabbing it.

⁹³ On an early modern description of the tashlikh ceremony in Danish, see Jonathan Adams, *Lessons in Contempt: Poul Ræff's Translation and Publication in 1516 of Johannes Pfefferkorn's The Confession of the Jews*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vol. 581 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 222 and 277 (n11:1–4).

Summary

The tales of iconoclasm found in East Norse texts are very much reflections of mainstream European traditions. As in *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* and *The Host Desecration*, the Jewish male is shown to be violent and destructive. However, whereas the young, innocent boy was drawn to partake in communion in the church out of curiosity, the Jewish adults in these tales stab the host or crucifix out of “knowing”: they know that Christ is within the object and that is precisely why they become so enraged and attack it. For the Jews in these tales, it is not a test of whether these Christian objects are holy or not, but rather an exploitation of them. In some texts, the spurting of the blood does not even alarm the men; indeed, they set about collecting it to make use of its miraculous powers. Furthermore, whereas the blood of Christ at the Crucifixion did not convert the Jews, the blood from the icon does. Tales of iconoclast Jews were exceedingly popular in medieval Europe. An almost identical story to *The Jew Who Stabbed an Icon* can be found in Gregory of Tours, although here after stealing and stabbing an icon, the Jew does not convert, but instead is crushed beneath stones (“furem lapidibus obruerunt”) by the townspeople.⁹⁴

Confession

Ever since the fall of man, humans were considered in the Christian tradition to be incapable of living perfect lives without committing sin. The sacrament of confession (also known as penance or reconciliation) was ordained to make it possible to obtain forgiveness for these sins. One of the seven sacraments, confession has its roots in the New Testament where Christians were encouraged to “confess [εξομολογείσθε] therefore your sins one to another: and pray for one another, that you may be saved” (James 5:16; cf. John 20:22–23). In the Middle Ages, the sacrament evolved and resulted in a system where penitents could confess their sins to a priest and receive absolution, which reunited them with the Church and thus allowed them to be readmitted to the eucharist. Medieval theologians distinguished between two types of sin: venial (trivial and not deliberate) and mortal (serious offences committed with intent). While venial sins could be confessed to a priest and did not debar a person from holy communion, mortal sins could only be absolved in the sacrament of penance by a priest; people who had com-

⁹⁴ *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 71, col. 724 (ch. 22: “De Judaeo qui iconicam Christi furavit, et transfodit”). For an English translation, see Van Dam, *The Glory of the Martyrs*, 40 (no. 21).

mitted mortal sins and not confessed them were not allowed to take communion. However, in practice this tended to mean that people, possibly deterred by the idea of having to perform penances, did not go to confession and as a consequence just did not take communion. Indeed, the French theologian Alain of Lille (c. 1128–1202/03) wrote, “hardly anyone, cleric or lay, nowadays makes his annual confession.”⁹⁵ At the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) it was decreed that all men over the age of fifteen and women over the age of twelve had to go to confession and communion at Easter every year. The penitent had to feel genuine contrition, her sins had to be confessed to a priest, and she had to perform the penance given her by the priest. Penance included such acts as prayers, alms, fasts, and pilgrimages.

Nonetheless, the rather harsh system of confession and penance meant that many people still did not confess until they were on their deathbeds, when they were no longer able to perform penances (in this life at least). This was something of a gamble as the Church taught that not confessing before death required a term spent in Purgatory to be cleansed. The OSw. *Vision of Tungulus*, the sinful knight who went into the Underworld for three days and nights (SKB A 58, c. 1487–91; SKB D 4 a, c. 1448–63; SKB D 3, c. 1488), includes a description of the punishment in purgatory for those who died without confession:

siælen foor j thet mørka hws medh mykyn grath och toldhe ther mykyn pino hon saa ther henghæ vsla siælae owan a glødh iij saman sommæ hengdo medh halsen somma medh hender och sommæ medh føter och sommæ medh tunghone [...] Ængelin swaradhe the som thu saa ther hengiæ medh halsenom thet ære the som dødhe wtan scriptamall⁹⁶

[The soul, weeping greatly, went into the dark house and suffered much torment there. It saw wretched souls, three together, hanging there over embers: some were hanging by the neck, some by the hands, and some by the feet, and some by the tongue (...). The angel replied, “Those you saw there hanging by the neck are those who died without confession.”]

The Church introduced a system of indulgences to try and solve this problem. Initially, it meant that a penitent could substitute one act (e. g., making a monetary donation) for another (e. g., going on a pilgrimage). However, it also developed into a means of reducing the penances that the sinner would have to perform after death in purgatory before going to heaven: by being given an indulgence, the recipient’s time in purgatory was effectively reduced. It later became possible to purchase indulgences from the Church. By introducing “pious payments” as a means of reducing one’s punishment in the afterlife, the entire system of penance became open to the corrupting influence of money: alongside selling

⁹⁵ Alanus de Insulis, *De Arte Praedicatoria*, ch. 31; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 210, col. 173: “Sed hodie invaluit, ut vix laicus vel clericus semel confiteatur.”

⁹⁶ SKB D 4 a, ff. 479, 480; *Tung.* 31, 33.

church offices, roles, and sacred objects, the men of the Church could also make money selling indulgencies. Indeed, some priests even began to expect payment in return for hearing confession, a forbidden practice that did not go unnoticed and without criticism. For example, in her *Revelations* (4.33), St Birgitta writes:

Huru kirkionna stadhge ær sørghelica vmskiptir til værra xxxiiij^(a) [...] Ok stadhgadhe the hælgha kirkia at ængin skulle taka pæninga for thet at han hørðhe scriptamaal · Æn ther amot ær banzattir osidhir komin i thæsse matto / at rika mænniskior giua sua mykit som thom thækkis nær the haua scriptat sik oc fatike nødhgas at gøra samsæt medh scriptafadhrenom førra æn the høras Ok visselica nar scriptafædherne afløsa medh munnenom blyghas the ey at stinga pæningin j pungin medh handomen Ok var stadhgat j kirkione at huar mæniskia aff lekfolkeno skulle vidhrgaa oc scripta sina synde / oc taka gudz licamma at minzsto een tima vm arit ok klærka oc klostirfolk gøra thet optarmer j areno⁹⁷

Notes: **a. xxxiiij** |xxxiiij| MS.

[How the Church's statutes have woefully changed for the worse (Chapter) 33. (...) And the Holy Church ruled that no-one was to take money for having heard confession.⁹⁸ Yet contrary to this an outlawed abuse has come about this way by which rich people give as much as they like when they have made their confession, and poor people are forced to come to an agreement with the confessor before they are heard. And indeed, when the confessors give absolution with their mouths, they are not ashamed to stuff money into their purses with their hands. And it was established in the Church that every layperson should go and confess their sins and receive the Body of God at least once a year and clerics and monastic people do this more often through the year.]

Birgitta is, of course, not criticizing the sacrament of penance, but rather the way that some priests undertook their duties. Confession's central role as one of the seven sacraments meant that it was an important aspect of religious life that had to be shown to be effective and worthwhile for the sinner. While handbooks for priests provided some theological explanations as well as practical directions about confessing, sermons provided a means of teaching the masses about the

⁹⁷ SKB A 5 a, f. 95ra [col. 377] and f. 95vb [col. 380] (1400–20); *BU IV* 67, 71 (ch. 33).

⁹⁸ Cf. *Decretales Gregorii IX*, 5.3.8: “Simoniacum est pretium recipere pro ingressu religionis, pro prioratibus vel capellis concedendis, et pro praelatis instituendis, pro concedenda sepultura, pro chrismate, pro oleo sancto, pro benedictionibus nubentium, vel aliis sacramentis; nec valet consuetudo in contrarium” [Simony is receiving payment for religious entry, for the granting of priors or chapels, and for the appointment of prelates, for granting burial, for anointing, for holy oil, for blessing marriage, or other sacraments; custom does not prevail to the contrary], Emil Ludwig Richter and Emil Friedberg, eds, *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Tauschnitz, 1881), 750. And *Decretales Gregorii IX*, 5.3.42: “Sacramenta sunt libere conferenda; cogit tamen ordinarius laicos observare laudabiles consuetudines” [The sacraments are to be conferred freely; the ordinary, however, compels the laity to observe praiseworthy customs], Richter and Friedberg, eds, *Corpus iuris canonici*, vol. 2, 766.

importance of confession and penance (OSw. *skriptamal*). As always, the exemplum proved to be a particularly useful tool with which to inform and entertain the laity, and it is here that we find Jews being drawn into a narrative that aims to prove the powerful and miraculous effects of confession through a univocal illustrative example.

A Pregnant Jewish Woman's Father Converts

In the OSw. collection of exempla *Järteckensbok* (SKB A 110; 1385), we find a strange tale in which a Christian servant makes his Jewish master's daughter pregnant. When the father confronts his daughter, she denies being pregnant, but he then consults the devil, who tells him that she is indeed with child. Upon further questioning by her father, the young woman again denies everything. In the meantime, the Christian servant has gone to confession. Upon his return, he tells the daughter to convert to Christianity and he will take her as his wife. She refuses. The father summons the devil a second time and asks him who the father of the child is. The devil replies that he no longer knows who the father is because the man has gone to confession. The servant's soul has been cleansed of sin through the act of confession and the devil can no longer recognize him. The Jewish father asks the devil if the power of confession really is so great. When the devil replies that it is, the Jew, along with all his family, converts to Christianity. There is no mention of the fate of the daughter, who presumably went on to marry the Christian servant.

The tale takes place in a dangerous, "polluted" environment – a household in which Jews and Christians mix – and is an expression of Christian fears about impurity through sexual mingling between Christians and Jews. Concerns about interreligious sexual relationships led, among other things, to the prohibition against Christians working in Jewish households. Having Christian servants working for Jewish masters was also seen as an ungodly inversion of the relationship intended by God for Jews in relation to Christians.⁹⁹ So, to the reader, this

⁹⁹ Punishments for sexual relations between Christians and Jews were severe. The Council of Arles of 1337 included cohabitation with Jews (as well as Muslims and beasts) as sins that could not be absolved during confession without the permission of a bishop. In late thirteenth-century England those cohabiting with Jewish women (or engaged in bestiality or sodomy) should be punished by being buried alive. A Christian man was burnt alive in thirteenth-century France for cohabiting with a Jewish woman. Examples taken from Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, University of Pennsylvania Press Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 98.

aspect of the story would have been both shocking and predictable. The miracle demonstrates the effectiveness of confession and how it cleanses the soul and removes the penitent from the attention of the devil, and just as in the other tales in this chapter, the miracle proves a point of Christian faith by demonstrating its power, effectiveness, and truth. However, it also includes a warning about Jews and Christians mixing and the danger of forbidden relationships. Restrictions on contact between members of the two religions held a prominent place in medieval canonical law; for example, the *Decretales Gregorii IX* (c. 1140) contain over twenty canons concerning sexual and marital relations between Jews and Christians,¹⁰⁰ and after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 Jews were required to wear distinguishing clothing to help maintain boundaries and prevent sexual intercourse between the two groups.¹⁰¹ Both Christian and Jewish law banned mixed relationships, and by the Middle Ages secular law imposed the death penalty for intermarriage and sexual relations.¹⁰² In his article on Jews and Christians in medieval Spain, David Nirenberg includes an example of the divine justice that awaits those who indulge in sexual relations across religious boundaries. On a late fourteenth-century altar painting from Santa María de Sixena in Villanueva de Sixena, Aragón, a woman is depicted kneeling at communion: her throat has been slit open by the swallowed eucharist and blood is gushing forth. In a neighbouring panel we can see that she has just taken leave of her Muslim lover.¹⁰³ Unlike the Christian servant in our tale, this woman had not been to confession and sought absolution for her sin before attempting to consume the host.

The Jewish daughter is one of the few Jewish women found in East Norse texts. There is little information about her but presumably she is to be considered sexually alluring and possibly licentious: her loose ways compounded by the manner in which she disobeys her father by refusing to tell him the truth in spite of his repeated questioning. Indeed, it is her ability to stubbornly say “no” to her father that is her principal characteristic in the tale. We have a little more information about the father who is clearly a man of some means if he can hire a Christian servant. The relationship between the father and his daughter seems strict and loveless. The father also easily summons and communes with the devil, to whom

100 James A. Brundage, “Intermarriage between Christians and Jews in Medieval Canon Law,” *Jewish History* 3, no. 1 (1988): 26.

101 Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (New York: Heron, 1966), 308; David Nirenberg, “Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain,” *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 4 (2002): 1072.

102 On the development of canonical laws on Jewish-Christian relationships and growing concerns about impurity, see Brundage, “Intermarriage between Christians and Jews,” 25–40.

103 Nirenberg, “Conversion, Sex, and Segregation,” 1069.

he turns in order to find out the truth about his daughter's sinful situation. The two appear on friendly terms and the devil is keen to answer the Jewish father's questions: indeed, it is the devil, who explains Christian doctrine to the Jew.¹⁰⁴ Finally, however, the Jew is won over to Christianity, but only when he discovers a power that is greater than the devil's. The servant in the tale demonstrates the possible dangers that a Christian man places his soul in if he mixes with Jews: the lure of forbidden sexual relations that damn the soul and draw him to the attention of the devil and demonic powers. Despite his poor behaviour, his way back to divine forgiveness is through confession which, as the story shows, has dramatic and positive repercussions: the penitent young man is hidden from the sight of the devil and his act of confession ultimately brings about the conversion of Jews.

The Hermit and the Jewess

Text 32: *The Hermit and the Jewess* is a miracle tale in the form of an exemplum in two OSw. manuscripts.¹⁰⁵ In LSB T 181 (fifteenth century), the exemplum is found in a sermon for the First Sunday after Epiphany with the reading: “*Cvm factus esset ihesus annorum duodecim*” [When Jesus was twelve years old], Luke 2:42. The exemplum, the second in this sermon, is introduced by a concise explanation of Psalm 30:13–14 *DRB* (31:12–13 *KJV*):¹⁰⁶

hær jnnan ma wel forstandas ath æ mædhan mænniskian ær ensamyn vidh sik / tha kan hon wel tækkias warum herra jj synne tyænisth / ok honum halla qwarran medh gudelicom reddugha ok kærlek / || j syno hyærta Æn swa brath hon vil haffua vmgangho medh almoghanom / tha kombir henne jo nokot til hyndhirs Swa ath hon mystir the nadh hon førra haffuir haffth¹⁰⁷

[Within this (Psalm) can be understood that as long as a person is alone by himself, then he can please Our Lord with his service and keep him in his heart with fear and love of God. But as soon as he wants to socialize with common folk, then something sets him back, so that he loses the grace that he had before.]

104 The devil also expounds the Christian faith to a Jew in Text 22: *The Converted Jew and the Devil* and Text 42: *The Jew, the Host, the Devil, and the Sieve*.

105 On this exemplum, see also Adams, “On Preaching Passions and Precepts,” 109–10.

106 Psalm 30:13–14: “I am forgotten as one dead from the heart. I am become as a vessel that is destroyed. For I have heard the blame of many that dwell round about. While they assembled together against me, they consulted to take away my life.” There are three exempla in the sermon: 1) The man who lost his donkey during mass for it to be returned to him after he regrets his sins and prays to God for forgiveness; 2) *The Hermit and the Jewess*; 3) *The Jewish Boy in the Oven*.

107 LSB T 181, pp. 135–136; *SMP* V 105–06.

The sermon in LSB T 180 has the same occasion, reading, and explanation of Psalm 30:13–14 *DRB* (31:12–13 *KJV*) as an introduction to the exemplum.

her innan skulom vita at ein retuis mæmiskia ær vtan almogas vmgango ofmykla tha ma hon troliga tiæna varom herra oc honom andeliga finna ij sinne nad oc stadeliga behalda æn swa brat hon lather lysta til werldinne vmgango tha varder hon hindrat ij gudz tiænist¹⁰⁸ [Within this (Psalm) we are to see that a righteous person is without too much socializing with common folk. Then he can truly serve Our Lord and find him spiritually and constantly keep within his mercy. But as soon as he lets himself have fun by socializing with the world, then he is hindered in the service of God.]

The miracle tells the story of a hermit who had become afraid of living alone in the forest, so he went to the nearest town to enjoy the company of other people (“lusta til ath vmga *medh* folkeno,” T 181). The devil spurred on (“skyndhade,” T 181) a Jewish woman to seduce him using her false tongue and counsel and to make him have intercourse with her (“j fulo ok skøro liffuørne,” T 181). After having had sex, a white dove flew out of the hermit’s mouth. He was filled with remorse and sought out a priest to confess. After the hermit received absolution for his sins, the white dove returned and flew back into his mouth. He then returned to the forest and continued his life away from worldly people and pleasures. The Jewish woman converted and served God for the rest of her life.

The acts of confession and absolution, which lie at the centre of this tale, required a priest and penitent with a heart full of “*angir ok ydrogha*” [regret and contrition]. The effectiveness of this spiritual act is proved by a very physical one: the miracle of the white dove, symbolizing the Holy Spirit, that returns to the hermit.¹⁰⁹ Again, we have an example of negative Christian ideas about Jews as carnal beings attached to the world and positive Christian miracles that employ the same carnal, somatic terms that they are criticizing as proofs of doctrine and the truth of Christianity.

The Jewish woman in this tale embodies the (Jewish) traits of worldliness and sexual immorality, of Eve-like temptation to sin, and, ultimately, of the possibility of conversion. She is the essence of what drives out the Holy Spirit and displeases God. In both versions of the tale, her ethnicity is blurred: LSB T 181 introduces her “*ena saracenam / ena judiska hedna quinnno*” [a Saracen, a Jewish pagan woman] and T 180 calls her “*eina heidna iudzska quinna*” [a pagan Jewish woman]. Later in LSB T 181 she is referred to as “the judhinnan” [the Jewess] and “the hedniska quinnan” [the pagan woman], and in LSB T 180 as “the sama iudzska quinnan”

¹⁰⁸ LSB T 180, p. 39b; *SMP* VI 59.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Matthew 3:16; Luke 3:22.

[the same Jewish woman] and “the heidniska quinnan” [the pagan woman]. The woman is initially put into the category of non-Christian “other” (Jewish, pagan, and Muslim) and her precise identity remains fuzzy throughout. A more sharpened Jewish identity would have been necessary if the tale were about a hate-fuelled attack on Christian objects or doctrines, but that is not the case here. Instead, the devil is using the body of a non-Christian woman to corrupt a holy Christian man: she is not being driven to act through a hatred of Christianity but rather through sexual desire. A sexual being, the woman is receptive to the devil’s urging, and she is clearly an object of desire to the hermit. Her practice of sexuality is, so to say, her performance of otherness. Much like the daughter in Text 3: *A Pregnant Jewish Woman’s Father Converts*, we must assume that the sexual plot is effective because of its use of stock stereotypes including the alluring attractiveness and uninhibitedness of Jewish women.¹¹⁰ In the *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. 1240), he includes two exempla about young Jewish women and Christians having sexual relations.¹¹¹ Just like with *A Pregnant Jewish Woman’s Father Converts* and *The Hermit and the Jewess*, both of Caesarius’s miracle tales aim to illustrate the power of contrition. From the beginning, they make observations about Jewish women’s attractiveness: “In civitate quadam Angliae puella quaedam habitavit, Judaei cuiusdam filia, et secundum genus suum satis speciosa” [In a city of England there lived the daughter of a Jew who, like many of her race, was a very beautiful girl]¹¹² and “In civitate, ut opinor, Wormacia, Judaeus quidam manebat, filiam habens formosam” [In the city, I think, of Worms, there

110 On exempla that emphasize the seductive power of Jewish women, see Beatrice D. Brown, “Medieval Prototypes of Lorenzo and Jessica,” *Modern Language Notes* 44 (1929): 227–32; Ivan G. Marcus, “Images of the Jews in the *Exempla* of Caesarius of Heisterbach,” in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, vol. 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 247–56.

111 For an edition, see *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi Ordinis cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange, 2 vols (Cologne: H. Lempertz & Co., 1851). For an English translation, see *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. Henry von Essen Scott and Charles Cooke Swinton Bland, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1929).

112 Book II ch. 23; Strange, ed., *Dialogus miraculorum*, vol. 1, 92–94; Scott and Bland, trans., *The Dialogue on Miracles*, vol. 1, 102–04. In this exemplum, a young clerk, a relative of the bishop, debauches a young Jewish woman. Upon discovery, the girl’s father and a group of Jewish men go to the cathedral just as the bishop is about to celebrate mass. The young clerk hastily prays to God and begs for forgiveness. With that the Jews are all struck dumb. As they are just standing with open, gaping mouths, the bishop thinks that they are there to mock him and has them driven out. After mass, the clerk confesses to the bishop who advises him to arrange for the girl to be baptized and to marry her. This he does, and years later he enters the religious orders and commands his wife do the same.

lived a Jew, who had a beautiful daughter].¹¹³ The narrative in both exempla begins with a young man who, obsessed by the beauty of a young Jewish woman, succeeds in having sex with her. In the first tale, he is filled with regret after being discovered and prays to God to forgive him his sin. A miracle ensues that saves him from the violence of the Jewish crowd, so that in turn he can both “save” the Jewish woman (make her convert and marry him) and later join the religious orders to serve God. In the second story, there is no regret on the part of the cleric. Instead, he just enjoys confounding the Jews, but his and the girl’s souls remain lost. The liaison has resulted in nothing but damnation and death.

The motifs of the beautiful Jewess, of exotic eroticism, and of the dangerous sexual liaisons between Jewish women and Christian men have their roots in antiquity.¹¹⁴ In his *Katὰ Ιουδαίων/Adversus Judaeos* [*Against the Jews*], John Chrysostom (c. 347–407) described the synagogue as being like a “brothel.”¹¹⁵ Later writers followed the same themes of Jewish sensuality and sexual imagery with the Church imagined as the bride of God and the synagogue as a harlot. Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306–73) accused the synagogue of being “wanton between the legs” and claimed that Israel was divorced from God because “as an adulteress and harlot he drove her out and sent her forth from the chamber.” In his *Demonstrations* (ܕܡܘܨܬܐ, *tahwītā*), the fourth-century Persian Christian writer Aphrahat called Jerusalem a city of vice, and, referencing the Book of Hosea about Gomer, he wrote that Israel had played the whore and Judah had committed

113 Book II ch. 24; Strange, ed., *Dialogus miraculorum*, vol. 1, 94–95; Scott and Bland, trans., *The Dialogue on Miracles*, vol. 1, 104–06. In this exemplum, a clerk seduces a young Jewish woman who conceives. The clerk devises a plan and tells the woman to deny being pregnant no matter what. That night he speaks through a reed into the woman’s parents’ bedroom. He tells them that their virginal daughter is expecting the Messiah. The parents believe they have heard an angel and when the daughter denies everything, they believe even more and tell all the other Jews in the city. At the moment of birth, many Jews gathered at the house, but the baby was a girl, not the Messiah. In fury, one of the Jews grabs the child and dashes her against the wall.

114 The following examples are taken from Rosemary Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism*, intro. Gregory Baum (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 1997), esp. 128–36. See also Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews*, 186.

115 John Chrysostom, *Katὰ Ιουδαίων/Adversus Judaeos*, 3.1: “Ἐνθα δὲ πόρνη ἔστηκεν, πορνεῖον ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐχὶ πορνεῖον καὶ θέατρον μόνον ἐστὶν ἢ συναγωγὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπηλαῖον ληστῶν, καὶ καταγωγίον θηρίων”/“Ubi vero scortum prostituatur, is locus est prostibulum. Imo non prostibulum dumtaxat theatrumque est Synagoga, verum etiam spelunca latronum, et latiu-lum ferarum” [Where a harlot has set herself up, that place is a brothel. But the synagogue is not only a brothel and a theatre, it also is a den of robbers and a lodging for wild beasts], *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 48, col. 847.

adultery.¹¹⁶ John of Damascus (675/76–749) wrote that the Jews had been given the Sabbath because of their “grossness and sensuality.” In Pseudo-Augustine’s *Dialogus de altercatione Ecclesiae et Synagogae* [*Dialogue about the Dispute between the Church and the Synagogue*] from the fifth century, the synagogue is described as “a wicked conniving woman who has been ‘caught in adultery more than once,’ and has still not given up all her stolen ornaments and false claims.”¹¹⁷ This use of fleshy, sexual imagery of Jewish women to express the supersessionist negation of the Jews and their covenant with God continued into the Middle Ages in both art and literature. For example, in Denmark, the portrayal of *Synagoga* with her breast exposed in the Romanesque golden altar (c. 1200) from Sahl Church, Jutland, is at once abject and erotic (see Figure 5.3). As seen here in these two exempla, the Jewish woman also became a seductive figure in medieval Swedish literature. However, just as *Synagoga* was defeated by *Ecclesia*, so these Jewish women who lure Christian men to sin are repudiated and rejected through the potency of confession.

Summary

In the East Norse miracle texts that include Jewish characters, Christian feelings of guilt and sin that require confession originate from illicit sexual intercourse with Jewish women and are first brought forth when the act is shown disapproval by God or is discovered by a third party. The women play the diabolical role of the tempting and corrupting non-Christians. Indeed, in one of the tales it is the devil himself who urges the Jewish women to seduce the Christian man. This link between Jews and the devil is further underlined by the only Jewish man in the tales, the father of the pregnant daughter who can summon and commune with the devil. Thus, alongside the cleansing qualities of confession for the Christian soul, the two stock motifs of the beautiful Jewish female and the satanic Jewish male are clearly portrayed in these tales.

116 Aphrahat, *Demonstrations*, 16.3: *De gentibus quae loco populi sufferctae sunt* [On the Peoples Who Have Replaced the People (i. e., Jews)]: “Adversus eos iterum clamavit Osee, vocans eos mulierem fornicariam et adulteram [...] Duae sunt igitur ecclesiae, Israelis una, Iudae altera; Israelis fornicaria, Iudae autem adultera” [Hosea cried out against them again, calling them a whore and an adulteress (...) There are therefore two churches: The one of Israel, the other of Judah; the whore of Israel, and the adulteress of Judah], in *Patrologia Syriaca*, vol. 1, ed. Jean Parisot (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894), col. 770 (Syriac original in col. 769).

117 Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide*, 136.

Mary and the Virgin Birth

The three texts in this section address the subject of the virginal status of Mary before and after the birth of Jesus and in each one Jews are involved in proving her virginity in a different way: through a miracle triggered by a Jew's goading in which a statue of Mary swells around the waist as if pregnant; by the punishment of the unbelieving Jews at Mary's funeral with disabilities, and through the devil himself confirming Mary's virginal status to a sceptical convert from Judaism.¹¹⁸

In *The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier*, Jews represent a rejection of the claims surrounding Mary's status as virgin and mother of God as well as revulsion at the idea of creating relics from human remains. In *The Disputation and the Miracle* and *The Converted Jew and the Devil*, Jews directly question the idea of a divine messiah, the Son of God, being born to a mortal woman and how this woman was able to remain a virgin. This straightforward question draws into focus the doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity, a complicated point of Christian theology that is not easily explained in a rational or logical manner. Mary's virginal status – she was intact at the time of conception and remained so during and after the birth of Jesus – is what proves her to be the mother of the Son of God, but her unblemished status did not go unchallenged.

In exegesis, the question of Mary's virginity traditionally centred upon the translation of the Hebrew word עלמה (*'almah* [young woman]) in the Hebrew Bible (Isaiah 7:14) with the Greek word παρθένος (*parthénos* [virgin]) in the Septuagint

118 On Mary and the Jews, see Marina Warner, *Alone of All her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Quartet, 1976), 83–86; William Chester Jordan, “Marian Devotion and the Talmud Trial of 1240,” in *Religionsgeschichte im Mittelalter*, ed. Bernard Lewis and Friedrich Niewöhner, *Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien*, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 61–76; Klaus Scheiner, *Maria: Jungfrau, Mutter, Herrscherin* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1994), 77–85; Denise Despres, “Immaculate Flesh and the Social Body: Mary and the Jews,” *Jewish History* (1998): 47–70; Carole Stone, “Anti-Semitism in the Miracle Tales of the Virgin,” *Medieval Encounters* 5, no. 3 (1999): 364–74; Matthias Theodor Kloft, “‘Die heilige Jungfrau ist gleichsam die Vollendung der Synagoge.’ Maria und die Juden in der Theologie des Hochmittelalters,” Annette Weber, “‘...Maria ist juden veind’: Antijüdische Mariendarstellungen in der Kunst des 13.–15. Jahrhunderts,” and Hans-Martin Kirn, “Maria – Mutter der (Un-)Barmherzigkeit? Zum marianisch-mariologischen Antijudaismus in der spätmittelalterlichen Predigtliteratur,” in *Maria: Tochter Zion? Mariologie, Marienfrömmigkeit und Judenfeindschaft*, ed. Johannes Heil and Rainer Kampling (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2001), 59–68, 69–116, and 117–38 respectively; Rubin, *Mother of God*, 228–36; Kati Ihnat, “‘Our Sister Is Little and Has No Breasts’: Mary and the Jews in the Sermons of Honorius Augustodunensis,” in *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska, *Routledge Research in Medieval Studies*, vol. 6 (New York: Routledge, 2015), 119–38; Kati Ihnat, *Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews: Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Norman England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

וזה איך הוא אלוה כשנכנס בתוך אשה מלא זבל בבטנה וכמה ימים השיבתו אמו כל ט' חדשים בבית הכסא, ובעת לידתו יצא מצותן ומטונף כרוך בשלייא ומתועב בדמי לידה וזיבות, מה שמזהיר התורה על הנדה ועל הזבה ועל היולדת, שנאמר שלושים יום ושלושת ימים תשב בדמי טהרה בכל קודש לא תיגע וכו' עד מלאת ימי טהרה (ויק' י"ב/ד). הרי שלא ראוי לקדושה.

[Consequently, how could this man be God, for he entered a woman with a stomach full of faeces who frequently sat him down in the privy during the nine months, and when he was born, he came out dirty and filthy, wrapped in a placenta and defiled by the blood of childbirth and impure issue. The Torah, on the other hand, warns against approaching a menstruant woman, a woman who has had an impure issue, and one who has just given birth, as it is written, "And she shall continue in the blood of purification three and thirty days; she shall touch no hallowed thing (...) until the day of her purification be fulfilled" (Leviticus 12:4). Hence, he was not worthy of association with anything sacred.]¹²¹

In *The Converted Jew and the Devil*, it is the Jewish convert's knowledge of the laws of purity (Leviticus 12) that cause him doubts about Mary's status as a virgin: for if Mary was a virgin, why did she need to undergo purification when she was still a virgin and had not been made impure? Ideas of Mary's impurity are also found in another Jewish anti-Christian polemical text, viz. the *Sefer Toledot Yešu* (ספר תולדות ישו [*The Book of the Life of Jesus*]). According to this counter-history that aimed to destroy the reputation and history of Jesus, Mary (here called Miriam) was raped by her evil neighbour, Joseph Pandera, during her menstrual period.¹²² Mary was thus *nidah* (גידיה [impure]),¹²³ and the child, whom she named Yeshu'a,

¹²¹ David Berger, ed., *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the Nizṣaḥon Vetus with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, [5739] 1979), 5 (Hebrew section), 44 (English section), no. 6. See also *ibid.*, Appendix 2, 350–54: "God in the Womb and the Problem of the Incarnation."

¹²² Samuel Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen* (Berlin: Calvary, 1902), 28n1 (the rape of Mary). Further on the *Sefer Toledot Yešu*, see Riccardo Di Segni, "La tradizione testuale delle Toledôth Jêshu: Manoscritti, edizioni a stampa, classificazione," *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, 3. ser., vol. 50, no. 1 (1984): 83–100 (for the textual tradition and classification into two main groups); David Biale, "Counter-History and Jewish Polemics against Christianity: The *Sefer toldot yeshu* and the *Sefer zerubavel*," *Jewish Social Studies* 6 (1999): 130–45; Peter Schäfer, Michael Meerson, and Yaacov Deutsch, eds, *Toledot Yeshu (The Life-Story of Jesus) Revisited*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, vol. 143 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), esp. 46–47, 81–82, and 285 on Mary and Pandera; Daniel Barbu and Yaacov Deutsch, eds, *Toledot Yeshu in Context: The Jewish "Life of Jesus" in Ancient, Medieval and Modern History*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, vol. 182 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), esp. William Horbury's article (13–42) on Mary and Pandera. In some versions of the *Toledot*, Mary's impure state is not mentioned, and she is deceived under the cover of darkness into having sexual intercourse with an evil man with whom her pious husband had quarrelled. See also Rubin, *Mother of God*, 57–59.

¹²³ Jews sometimes referred to Jesus as *ben hanidah* (בו הגידיה [son of the impure woman]). See Evyatar Marienberg, "Jews, Jesus, and Menstrual Blood," *Transversal: Journal for Jewish Studies* 14 (2016): 1–10.

was a *mamzer* (ממזר) [born from a forbidden relationship]) and hardly the Messiah he claimed to be. These Jewish stories, or, at the very least, the contempt they expressed, were known to medieval Christian writers who consequently marshalled Jews as suitable opponents to Marian theology and as mouthpieces for the doubts or feelings of disapproval or guilt experienced by themselves or other Christians. In other words, these tales could be read, and even written, in areas without a Jewish population such as Scandinavia because they were not intended to counter real Jewish criticisms of Mary and engage either in interreligious debate or in the fight against Judaism, but they were rather expressions of Christian doubts about the perpetual virginity of Mary, before, during, and after the birth of Christ (*ante partum, in partu, et post partum*). Jews were known to have rejected the belief that Mary was a virgin (even if Christians' knowledge and understanding of Jews' criticisms may have been hazy), and they could therefore be used to express this repudiation convincingly and without harming the faith from within. However, the miracle tales are articulations of an internal Christian debate that began among theologians in Early Christianity and continued into the Middle Ages. The common occurrence of medieval miracle tales proving Mary's virginity suggests that some of the laity too, were sceptical and the doctrine needed to be repeated often and shown to be true.

The Disputation and the Miracle

Text 24: *The Disputation and the Miracle* is an exemplum taken from an OSw. sermon for the First Sunday after Easter and found in the late fifteenth-century sermon collection UUB C 35.¹²⁴ Amongst other things, the sermon deals with the Virgin and its purpose is clearly set out: “vppa thæt ath jngen menniskia skal twæka vm the stora nadhena som jumfru maria j swa mattho fik aff gudi Tha haffuer war hærra thæt openbarat mædh somlika sinom nadelikom jærteknom” [so that no-one shall doubt what great mercy the Virgin Mary received in that way from God, Our Lord has revealed it with some of his merciful miracles]. In this miracle tale, a Jew is arguing with a Christian scholar in a church in Rome about whether or not Jesus was born of a virgin.¹²⁵ When he realizes that he has been

¹²⁴ Roger Andersson, *Postillor och predikan: En medeltida texttradition i filologisk och funktionell belysning*, Scripta minora, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 1993), 35–37.

¹²⁵ The disputation is taking place in Rome, the centre of Western Christendom. This parallels the Gospel episodes when Jesus disputes with Jewish scholars in the Temple in Jerusalem, the centre of Judaism (e. g., as a child in Luke 2:43–47; as an adult in Matthew 21:23–22:46).

beaten by the scholar's rational arguments, the Jew points in desperation to an alabaster statue of Mary and exclaims that it is as likely that a woman was made pregnant without a man as it is that the stone image has a child inside it. With that, the statue grows fat around the waist, breaking a silver belt that had been placed around it as an offering of devotion by a good woman ("en godh qwinna" – there is also a lesson for the audience about suitable offerings here!). Upon seeing this, the Jew immediately accepts baptism and keeps true to his new faith for the rest of his life. I have been unable to find the source of this miracle story. Images of the Virgin Mary as pregnant originated in Italy in the fourteenth century and are sometimes shown as wearing a belt. Relics of this sacred belt, the Girdle of Thomas, that was dropped from the sky by the Virgin during the Assumption, can be found at several sites in Europe and the Middle East; although not as numerous as, for example, wood from the True Cross, relics of the Virgin's belt are numerous enough "to suggest that the Virgin could boast a large wardrobe of accessories."¹²⁶ The silver belt around the statue's waist in the miracle story may be an echo of this tradition, not least as it was "Doubting" Thomas who, as the only witness to Mary's Assumption, gathered up the belt after it fell to earth. Furthermore, there are miracle tales from all over Europe where Mary assists women in labour often by means of a mystical belt.¹²⁷

As we have seen with the bleeding icons and crucifixes, religious objects – a statue in this story – are awoken: the church interior houses the physical presence of the divine and is a living space where sacred images come to life, here, through the goading of a Jew. Rather than just being representations, decorations, or devotional aids, these objects – crucifixes, icons, paintings, and statues – reverberate with an "emotional, sensual, even primordial appeal."¹²⁸ They become a vehicle through which the divine, Mary in this case, can communicate and interact with the world in the most immediate and graphic way possible. Thus, both Mary's intercessory powers as well as her virginity are proved by the miracle. The Jew, although beaten by the rational arguments of the Christian, is only converted by the miracle. Indeed, what is noteworthy in this exemplum is the inefficacy of disputing with Jews as they refuse to accept scholarly arguments even when

¹²⁶ Brendan Cassidy, "A Relic, Some Pictures and the Mothers of Florence in the Late Fourteenth Century," *Gesta* 30, no. 2 (1991): 93. Even belts that had only been in contact with these relics were seen as holy objects that were particularly helpful during pregnancy and childbirth. For example, Elizabeth of York, queen of Henry VII of England, purchased a "girdle of Our Lady" from a friar to assist her in childbirth (*ibid.*, 97).

¹²⁷ Hilary Powell, "The 'Miracle of Childbirth': The Portrayal of Parturient Women in Medieval Miracle Narratives," *Social History of Medicine* 25, no. 4 (2012): 795–811.

¹²⁸ Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages*, 56.

they know they are beaten: only divine intercession can convert them. Whereas in miracles about icons and hosts, blood issues in grim scenes reminiscent of the Passion, miracles involving Mary are usually of a gentler nature. They do not horrify, but amaze, protect, heal, or gently urge the Jew in the right direction like a mother lovingly persuading her children.¹²⁹

The Converted Jew and the Devil

Text 23: *The Converted Jew and the Devil* is an extraordinary and rich tale of Jewish fascination with and doubts about the Virgin Mary, of conversion to Christianity, and of satanic impulses and meetings with the devil. It presents Jews as aware of the power of Mary and that the evidence for her status can be found in both their own scriptures and their own experiences. In the tale, a Jewish man becomes increasingly interested in Christians' praise of Mary and upon investigation discovers that the Virgin Birth is prophesied in Isaiah. One evening, he talks to his wife about Mary, and she tells him that Jewish (and pagan) women call upon Mary for assistance during childbirth, only to renounce her again after she has ensured a safe delivery. The husband airs the idea of converting to Christianity in order to serve Mary, and they both decide to convert and join religious orders: she the Cistercians, and he the Carmelites. Sometime later during the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Candlemas), this new Carmelite is prompted by the devil to have doubts about the virginal status of Mary: for if she truly were a virgin, why did she need to purify herself forty days after the birth of Jesus?¹³⁰ One of the greatest scholars ("then øppirste dochter") explains why and he is satisfied. However, shortly afterwards, he goes for a stroll and again remembers why he had doubts about Mary. The devil appears to him, and they begin conversing. The Carmelite asks the devil whether he knows Mary. "Who doesn't?!" is the devil's reply. The man then commands the devil in the name of God to tell him whether Mary is a virgin. The devil, unable to withstand the power of God's name, confirms that she is. Upon further questioning, the devil tells the man that the

129 Another miracle tale in which a Jew goads and challenges divine power is found in the OSw. Text 34: *The Jew and the Lightning Strike* (SKB A 110, c. 1385). In this text, there is a violent thunderstorm, and a Jew mocks his Christian neighbours who are making the sign of the Cross. Lightning has never killed a Jew, he claims. No sooner than said, a bolt of lightning strikes him and burns him to a crisp. Although this tale does not draw on biblical stories about thunder and lightning, it does allude to the tradition of divine retribution, such as fire and brimstone, being awarded from the heavens.

130 In accordance with Leviticus 12.

best way to serve Mary is to contemplate her virginity and, while kneeling, say, “O clemens Maria!” [O merciful Mary!]. The devil explains that the word *clemens* contains a miracle because when said backwards (*snemelc*), it comprises the words *sne* [snow] and *melc* [milk]: Mary is pure as snow and white as milk.¹³¹ The man falls to his knees and prays to Mary with a rhyming prayer of his own composition:

Maria virgo mater clemens,
 Succurre mihi rogo gemens.
 Ne stem confusus tristis tremens,
 Enim me vexat hostis demens
 [The Virgin Mary, merciful mother, | I pray, sighing, come to my aid! | I do not stand ashamed
 of this, woeful, trembling, | for I am tormented by a mad enemy].

The devil realizes that in revealing these things, he has made a rod for his own back (“eth ryss tiill myn eyghin rygh”). Indeed, he admits that the word *clemens* is enough to banish him and all the devils in hell. He flees the scene, and the man falls to his knees and prays to Mary using his own composition (“Maria virgo mater clemens...”). The Virgin subsequently comes to the aid of the man. He spends the rest of his life serving her and when he dies, he obtains eternal joy in heaven.

The story of *The Converted Jew and the Devil* appears as an independent chapter (i. e., not incorporated into a longer story) in two OSw. manuscripts: SKB D 3, known as *Fru Elins bok*, from 1476 and containing romances and chronicles, and LSB Saml. 1 a, known as *Codex Grensholmensis* from c. 1500 and containing medical and religious texts. The evidence of spellings, abbreviations, and scribal errors point to the tale in LSB Saml. 1 a having been copied from SKB D 3.¹³² I have been unable to find the source for this text, but ultimately, the OSw. version

131 The connection between Mary and snow is also found in another miracle tale in several Italian manuscripts in which the Virgin tells Pope Liberius to build a church where he finds snow. The following day, 5 August, snow is found on the Esquiline Hill and so there he builds the Basilica of St Mary Major. See Mary Vincentine Gripkey, “Mary Legends in Italian Manuscripts in the Major Libraries of Italy: Groups I–III,” *Mediaeval Studies* 14 (1952): 25.

132 Concerning the relationship between the two manuscript versions, Jonas Carlquist argues that the miracle in LSB Saml. 1 a (c. 1500) has been copied from SKB D 3 (1476): Carlquist, *De fornsvenska helgonlegenderna*, 114. However, Agnieszka Backman holds that this is not the case which she bases on a sole case of omitted text in Saml. 1 a that, in her opinion, is inexplicable if D 3 was the original source (and it is a case of *saut du même au même*): Agnieszka Backman, “Handskriftens materialitet: Studier i den fornsvenska samlingshandskriften Fru Elins bok (Codex Holmiensis D 3)” (PhD thesis, University of Uppsala, 2017), 56. In my opinion, Carlquist is most probably right: either Saml. 1 a has been copied from D 3 or both manuscripts are copied from the same version. For example, several unusual spellings (“kløster,” “syie”) and a scribal error (χ “*thet maria hwit och ren war” > D 3 “thet maria hwit och er war” and Saml. 1 a “thet maria hwit ok er war”) are shared by both manuscripts.

probably has a Low German origin and may have been copied from ODa. (there are numerous Danicisms in the text of both versions). My reasoning here is based on the mystery of the word *clemens* when read backwards, a wordplay that only works in MLG (*sne, melk: klem-ens*) or ODa. (*sne, m[i]ælk: klæm-ens*), but not OSw. (*sniö, miölk: *klöim-öins*). The occurrence of the word “wol” in SKB D 3 (“som han thet wol forstodh” [as he understood it well]) also points to a MLG origin for the text: the word in MLG is *wol*, but OSw. is *væl* (LSB Saml. 1 a: “well”). At the end of LSB Saml. 1 a, the scribe has written a short concluding ditty not found in SKB D 3:

then jødhe fiik i hýmerik boo
 siælin haffuer ther nw roo
 ok glædhes ther for wtan gaman
 thet^(a) wne oss gud allom saman

Notes: a. thet] th MS.

[That Jew got to live in heaven | His soul now has peace there | and in truth is happy there. |
 May God grant this to us all.]¹³³

There is much to unpack in this tale regarding the portrayal of the Jewish characters. Both husband and wife are fascinated by the Virgin Mary. The husband is persuaded of her status through reading the prophecies in the Old Testament: the truth about Mary can be found in Jewish scripture. The scriptural proof referred to here is probably meant to be Isaiah 7:14 (which, as explained earlier in this chapter, according to the Hebrew text does not, in fact, prove Mary’s virginal status). At this point, however, the husband has been convinced of Mary’s status, not through a miracle, but by studying his own scriptures. The truth is right there before him, he had merely not understood it before: he had been blind. The wife, meanwhile, knows about Mary’s miraculous powers of intervention from the assistance that the Virgin provides to all women who call upon her during labour. The claim that Mary assists Jewish women during childbirth is particularly interesting. Mary, it will be remembered from *The Disputation and the Miracle*, appears in many miracles in which women are in labour, but that she should be called upon by Jewish (and pagan) women is perhaps surprising.

Jews were, of course, familiar with the figure of Mary whose statues adorned public spaces in cities, towns, and villages. Jewish women may have become aware of the belief in Mary’s protective role during childbirth through their daily contacts with Christian women, especially around pregnancy and labour.¹³⁴ Chris-

¹³³ Note that the lead character is still referred to as “that Jew” despite his conversion.

¹³⁴ Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 114.

tians certainly seemed to have believed that Jewish women had faith in Mary's powers and this claim turns up in late medieval and early modern sources.¹³⁵ In his account of the miracles of the Virgin, Johann Herolt (c. 1380–1468) popularized one of the tales in Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* (1264), in which a Jewish woman, in huge pain and dying during childbirth, hears a voice telling her to call upon Mary. She does so and then, with the curse of Eve having been removed, gives birth painlessly, after which she converts.¹³⁶ Other stories tell of Jewish women calling upon Mary for help during childbirth and then, rather than converting after a successful delivery, they chase Mary away. For example, in *Il Trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente*, the Franciscan friar, Francesco Suriano (b. 1445) wrote about the Jews of Venice:

Concludemo adunque che tuti li Machometani referriscono laude et immense gratie ad Maria e quella honorano e reveriscono. Li Anzingani fano questo medesimo; li quali più presto se la lassariano amazar che deshonorare la Vergene Maria, benchè non siano veri christiani. Li Iudei *similiter* sono constrecti de reverirla; e secundo che ho udito da obstetricie digne de fede, ne l'alma città de Venetia, e christiane che se sono ritrovate alquante volte arcogliere loro fioli nel parto de più Hebreo, le qual testificano e dicono che non possono parturire senza la sua invocazione e recommendatione; et vede che loro mariti spargevano per la camara alquante monede d'argento furlane, le qual hano la sua ymagine. Recevuta la gratia, e liberata dal parto, scopano e bugliano fori de la finestra quelle monede, e diceano: fora Maria, fora Maria!¹³⁷

[We conclude therefore that all the Muslims give praise and immense grace to Mary and honour and revere her. The Paulites (*Antingani*) do the same thing: they immediately have killed those who dishonour the Virgin Mary, even though they are not true Christians. Similarly, the Jews are compelled to revere her; and according to what I have heard from dignified, Christian midwives in the mother-city of Venice who have sometimes gone to assist Jewish women in labour, they testify and say that they (i. e., Jewish women) are unable to give birth without the invocation and recommendation (of Mary); and their husbands scatter around the room some Friulian silver coins that have her (i. e., Mary's) image on

135 Charles Caspers, "Leviticus 12, Mary and Wax: Purification and Churching in Late Medieval Christianity," in *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus*, ed. Marcel J. H. M. Poorthuis and Joshua J. Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 307.

136 Johannes Herolt, *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, trans. Charles Cooke Swinton Bland (London: Routledge, 1928), 35–36; Michel Tarayre, *La vierge et le miracle: Le Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais*, Essais sur le Moyen Âge, vol. 22 (Paris: Champion, 1999), 91–94; Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Folklore Fellows Communications, no. 206, vol. 86 (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1969), 221 (no. 2806); Despres, "Immaculate Flesh and the Social Body," 58; Ora Limor, "Mary and the Jews: Story, Controversy, and Testimony," *Historiein* 6 (2006): 66–67.

137 Francesco Suriano, *Il Trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente*, ed. Girolamo Golubovich (Milan: Artigianelli, 1900), 94–95. I am grateful to Miri Rubin for drawing Suriano's work to my attention.

them. Having received her mercy and delivered from childbirth, they sweep up these coins and cast them out of the window and say: “Get out Mary! Get out Mary!”¹³⁸

Having served their purpose, these discrete everyday coins that act as small Marian amulets are thrown away. Lobbing them out of the window might have been an act of charity (provided they did not end up in the canal).¹³⁹ In the fifteenth-century Valencian epic *Tirant lo Blanch*, a Christian exclaims that, unlike Jewish women, she really does believe in the Virgin:

[...] nom bandegeu de vostra majestat, car no volria queus ne prengues axi com fan les juhies, que com volen parir que tenen les dolors del part reclamen a la verge Maria, e com han parit e son delliures de tot mal, prenen vna touallola ben blanca e van per tots los cantons de la casa dient: Fora, fora Maria, de la casa de la juhia.¹⁴⁰

[...] Do not banish me from your presence (Psalm 50:13 *DRB*; 51:11 *KJV*), for I am not like those Jewesses who invoke the Virgin’s aid in giving birth and then go through their house with white napkins crying: “Begone, Oh Mary, from this Jewish home.”¹⁴¹

138 This same Venetian-Jewish custom of invoking Mary during childbirth is also mentioned two centuries later. In his *אמורה 777: Via della fede mostrata agli ebrei* ([Rome: Propaganda Fide, 1683], 1050–51), the former Jew, Giulio Morosini, describes the same custom in Venice, but says that after giving birth safely, the coins are thrown onto the ground with great fury and the words: “Tò piglia che ti pago” [So take what I pay you]. Morosini also describes having seen the same custom of invoking Mary during childbirth among Jews in Turkey and elsewhere. At the beginning of the twentieth century an old custom among Sephardim in Palestine was described: an empty chair was placed in the middle of a room where a Jewish woman was giving birth. “Sitt Miriam” [the lady Mary] was invited to use the chair and to assist with the delivery, but as soon as the child had arrived, she was asked to leave. This “Sitt Miriam” may have been Miriam the sister of Moses or, more likely perhaps, Mary the mother of Jesus. See E. W. G. Masterman, “Jewish Customs of Birth, Marriage, and Death,” *The Biblical World* 22, no. 4 (1903): 248.

139 If, indeed, the coins were intended to land on the bottom of a canal, then we can see a parallel in the tales of iconoclasm, where desecrated icons and crucifixes – evidence of the Jews’ crimes but also their “knowing” sin – are cast into the deep.

140 Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, *Libre del valeros e strenu caualler Tirant lo Blanch scrites les tres parts per lo magnifich e virtuos caualler Mossen Johanot Martorell e a la mort sua acabada la quarta, a pregaries de la senyora Dona Isabel de Loriç, per Mossen Marti Johan de Galba*, vol. 2, ed. Marià Aguiló i Fuster, Biblioteca catalana de les mes principals y eletes obres en nostra llengua materna escrites axi en est principat com en los antichs realms de Mallorca y Valencia (Barcelona: Llibreria d’Alvar Verdager, 1876), 85.

141 Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc*, trans. David H. Rosenthal (New York: Schocken, 1984), 237; cited in Caspers, “Leviticus 12, Mary and Wax,” 307n58 and Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children*, 114. See also Cornelis G. N. de Vooyo, *Middelnerlandse Marialegenden vanwege de Maatschappij der Nederlandse letterkunde uitgegeven*, vol. 1: *Onser liever vrouwen miraculen (naar het Katwijkse handschrift)* (Leiden: Brill, 1903), 357–59 (no. 161: “Van eenre iodinne die niet baren en mochte sonder mariën hulp”). In this Middle Dutch miracle tale, a Jewish woman, who is having difficulty in conceiving, is helped by the Virgin to become pregnant.

This assertion that Jewish women called upon Mary as a safeguard during labour and then banished her from their homes with shouts of “get out!” is exactly what the Jewish wife in *The Converted Jew and the Devil* is claiming. Although we are not able to ascertain the veracity of these Christian claims about Jewish women invoking Mary and then chasing her away, it is apparent that the notion spread across Europe all the way to Sweden by the end of the fourteenth century. And fanciful or true, medieval Swedish readers would certainly have had no reason to doubt the claim that appears to originate around the Mediterranean.

The Jewish wife, like her husband, is convinced of Mary's special status, but unlike her spouse who came to this realization through scripture, her belief stems from direct experience and she has been aware of Mary's grace much longer than her husband. The wife in this tale is one of the few Jewish women to appear in East Norse texts, but although her role in the tale is crucial – it is her decision whether or not the couple follow Mary and join holy orders – she disappears as soon as she enters the Cistercian order. She says that both Jews and pagans call upon Mary, thus conflating the behaviours of these two groups, and furthermore that this knowledge of Mary is something women keep secret among themselves: Jewish women know about Christian devotion to Mary and engage in such practices themselves in secret without the knowledge of even their husbands.

Another expression of this Jewish knowledge about the Virgin's mercy and willingness to help is found in an OSw. text from 1385, in which a despairing Jew, tortured and starving in prison, thinks about Mary who he knows to be so popular among Christians in trouble. Even though he merely thinks about her (he does not pray to her), she appears and releases him from his imprisonment. In this short tale from *Järteckensbok* (Text 51: *The Virgin Mary Releases and Converts a Jewish Prisoner*), Mary is not content with having just saved the Jew's body but also has his soul in her sights. She sets about persuading the Jew to convert by properly explaining the Scriptures to him and by showing him the torments of hell that await Jews after death. Although the Jew in this tale does not have the same knowledge and experience of Mary as help for those in distress as does the Jewish wife in *The Converted Jew and the Devil*, he is aware of her supportive role from what Christians say about her. He need not invoke her as she readily appears to save him from his threefold distress: prison chains, religious error in this world, and the torments that await in the next. Mary is shown to know the minds and thoughts of those in need – even Jews – and to be able to provide both physical and spiritual succour. The Jew is shown to be persuadable and, once converted, as a positive force for Christianity through his work converting other Jews.

Having joined the Carmelites, the husband in *The Converted Jew and the Devil* begins to doubt the virginal status of Mary. His scepticism is the work of the devil: “diæffwlen skøth honum i hogh” [the devil shot into his mind]. He is

unable to understand why the Virgin needs to be purified after giving birth to Jesus and turns to a learned scholar who using the Old Testament (the convert's former scriptures) explains everything to him. The reader, however, is not party to the scholar's explanation. The question of why Mary, who had not conceived in sin, needed to undergo purification was addressed by Thomas Aquinas whose commentary became the most widespread teaching on the subject in the Middle Ages. He explained that just as her son placed himself among sinners and fulfilled the Law of Moses by which they were bound, so too did Mary, and she submitted to the Law out of decorum and as an example of humility:

Respondeo dicendum quod, sicut plenitudo gratiae a Christo derivatur in matrem, ita decuit ut mater humilitati filii conformaretur, humilibus enim Deus dat gratiam, ut dicitur Iac. IV. Et ideo, sicut Christus, licet legi non esset obnoxius, voluit tamen circumcisionem et alia legis onera subire, ad demonstrandum humilitatis et obedientiae exemplum, et ut approbaret legem, et ut calumniae occasionem Iudaeis tolleret; propter easdem rationes voluit et matrem suam implere legis observantias, quibus tamen non erat obnoxia.¹⁴²

[I answer saying that, As the fullness of grace flowed from Christ into his Mother, so it was appropriate that the mother should be like her son in humility: but God giveth grace unto the humble, as is written James 4:(6). And therefore, like Christ, though not subject to the Law, wanted, nevertheless, to submit to circumcision and the other burdens of the Law, in order to give an example of humility and obedience, and in order to approve of the Law, and, again, in order to take away from the Jews an excuse for calumniating him; for the same reasons he wished his mother also to comply with the practices of the Law, to which, nevertheless, she was not subject.]

Even after the convert has everything explained to him by the scholar, the devil again triggers his doubts and reignites his Jewish thinking: the friar simply cannot get his head around the Feast of the Purification. In the following conversation with the devil – the second conversation in direct speech that mirrors his earlier conversation with his wife – he has another Marian “secret” revealed to him, viz. the miracle of the word *clemens*, the adjective that is used to describe Mary. The miracle of *clemens* is revealed through reading the word backwards – a nod to Hebrew, perhaps? – and the key is the vernacular, not Latin: knowledge of Mary's purity and “whiteness” is available to all and does not require Latin learning. Using the mother tongue as the key to unlock the mysteries of Latin reflects the popularization of religious culture, mysticism, and devotion in the later Middle Ages. Moreover, contemplating Mary in the vernacular created a more intimate experience that rested on the Virgin's familiarity and accessibility.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* III, q. 37 r. 4.

¹⁴³ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Penguin, 2010), 197–216.

The man subsequently demonstrates his own high level of learning by composing and reciting a Latin rhyming prayer to Mary. He has indeed become a member of the Roman Church and now the devil is unable to be in his presence: the words of the prayer expel the devil, much to the creature's dismay. Ultimately, the man is rewarded with eternal joy in death when he is accepted into heaven.

For the Swedish reader, the image of the Jews in this text was rather positive. The episode in the bedroom in all its domesticity would have been a familiar scene of everyday life with no exotic and foreign elements. Unlike the house with its burning furnace in *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* or that with the frenzied Jews stabbing an icon in *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ*, this Jewish home is a place of harmony, conjugal trust, confidence, and openness, where the loving couple can speak frankly together and reveal their innermost secrets and thoughts. The "innate Christianity" of the couple meant that they were unthreatening when, for example, compared to the iconoclastic and violent Jews of other tales. Their entry into and life within religious orders would have been seen as praiseworthy and even the man's later doubts were not due to his own impulses but were the devil's work. Indeed, he was keen to have any doubts removed, to have his Jewish mind excised, and it was his ardent faith and learning that drove out the devil. The readers are all but invited to identify with this couple, especially the husband. They may well have shared some of his doubts concerning Mary's virginity or had similar questions about the need for Mary's purification. The readers are never told the reason for her purification, so such questions remained unanswered. Instead, contemplation and prayer are offered as remedies for expelling such devilish thoughts and as a means to clear the path to eternal life in heaven. The Jews are here presented in very human terms: they are not monsters; they are a couple seeking truth and salvation through Mary. They terminate their carnal relationship with one another to enter into a spiritual one with the Mother of God. The reader is even provided with a prayer written by the former Jew, and not just any prayer, but one that is shown to drive away the devil and the other creatures of hell. This is an astonishing idea – a recommendation to use a prayer composed by a Jewish convert.¹⁴⁴ In many ways, this is an extraordinary tale with a vastly different portrayal of Jews than is usually found in East Norse miracle texts.

¹⁴⁴ The ambiguity of the convert's status is more explicitly stated in the text in Saml. 1 a. On the one hand, he is a true believer, on the other he remains "then jødhe" [that Jew].

The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier

Jews often appear in the legendary material about Mary's life and death, where tender descriptions of the Virgin's life and works during and after Jesus' death are contrasted with virulent depictions of Jews' animosity towards her. As stubborn, recalcitrant enemies of the Virgin and her followers, Jews were used to help construct an image of Mary as an ideal and holy figure who nurtured her son's memory and continued his good works on earth through healing and miracles.¹⁴⁵ This is seen not least in the legend that grew up describing the end of Mary's time on earth and her physical assumption into heaven – the Dormition – according to which Jews attempted to disrupt Mary's funeral procession.¹⁴⁶ This tale had two aims: to praise Mary and her miraculous end in the form of the Dormition and the subsequent Assumption into heaven, and to disparage Jews as the enemies of the Mother of God.¹⁴⁷ The tale, *The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier*, is found in the OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet* (SKB A 34, c. 1350; UUB C 528, 1400–50; SRA E 8900, 1450–70), according to which Jews in Jerusalem heard the sweet singing of the Apostles as they carried Mary to her place of rest in the Valley of Josaphat.¹⁴⁸ They immediately armed themselves and set off to confront the followers of Mary and her son. The chief priest (“Iuþa biscopar,” SKB A 34), unnamed here but called Jephonias or Zephaniah in some traditions, grabbed the bier in order to overturn it as the Jews intended to abscond with her body and burn the bones. However, his hands became paralyzed and stuck to the side of the bier.¹⁴⁹ Only

145 Rubin, *Mother of God*, 55–57.

146 The earliest stories of Jews plotting to disrupt Mary's funeral are from the fourth century and Syriac in origin. See Warner, *Alone of All her Sex*, 82–84. See also Martin Jugie, *La mort l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge: Étude historico-doctrinale* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), 103–71; Simon Claude Mimoni, *Les traditions sur la Dormition et l'Assomption de Marie: Études littéraires historiques et doctrinales*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, vol. 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Rubin, *Mother of God*, 228–36; Andrew P. Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 270–75; Stephen J. Shoemaker, “‘Let Us Go and Burn Her Body’: The Image of the Jews in the Early Dormition Traditions,” *Church History* 68, no. 4 (1999): 775–823.

147 Rubin, *Mother of God*, 55.

148 The barbarity of the Jews of Jerusalem is underlined by the fact that they are at first angered by “sweet singing.” “Sweet singing” as a trigger for Jewish violence is best known from “The Prioress's Tale” in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, where a young Christian boy's singing of the Marian hymn “Alma Redemptoris Mater” [Nurturing Mother of the Redeemer] through the Jews' streets on his way to school causes Satan to incite the Jews to murder him.

149 In some versions of the story of Mary's funeral, the attackers' hands are torn off and reattached in the subsequent miracle. This version is illustrated in wall paintings in Lagga Church (c. 1500) and Täby Church (1480s; see Figure 7.1), both in Uppland, where two Jews are shown

when, upon the advice of Peter, he declared that he believed in Jesus Christ and the virginity of his mother, did his hands become unstuck and then, only after kissing the bier, did the pain stop. Once healed, the high priest became a Christian. The other Jews present turned blind and were only cured if they touched one of the processional palms and declared their belief in Jesus and his mother's virginity. Any Jews refusing to do so, remained blind the rest of their lives. The OSw. version appears to be built upon the story as told in the popular *Legenda aurea*, in turn derived from Pseudo-Melito's *Liber de transitu* [*Assumption of the Virgin*], although is very much shortened.¹⁵⁰ The legend was apparently well known in Scandinavia. In the ODa. *De hellige Kvinder*, a book of hagiographic materials translated from Latin at the Birgittine monastery in Mariager, Jutland, in 1488, we read Mary's words to St John: "Jæch skal a tridie dagh skillies vith værilden · Vy vidhe thet Juthær haue thet sagt a then dagh ther hun dør / ther swiger¹⁵¹ fødde / tha brænnæ vi henne bien" [On the third day, I shall be separated from this world. We know that the Jews have said "On the day that she who bore the deceiver dies, we will burn her bones"].¹⁵² Furthermore, the place where the Jews disrupted the funeral became a site of pilgrimage for Christians visiting the Holy Land. In the ODa. *Pilgrims' Guide to the Holy Land* recorded in DAS AM 792 4^o (late fifteenth century), we read: "Jtem fremdeles til wester somighet ense tw arborstæ scud foræ stadhen ær then stædh som iødher wilde haue taghet war fruæs ligheme / then thidh han bars til grauæ" [Moreover, further west – about two crossbow

with their hands torn off at the elbows and stuck to the bier. For the Täby painting, see also Christina Sandquist Öberg, "Inspiration til explikation: en pedagogisk funktion hos Albertus Pictors språkband," in *Den mångsidige målaren: Vidgade perspektiv på Albertus Pictors bild- och textvärld. Föredrag från ett symposium vid Stockholms universitet, oktober 2005*, ed. Jan Öberg, Erika Kihlman, and Pia Melin, *Scripta maiora*, vol. 4 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 2007), 178 (fig. 9). A wall painting depicting the version of the tale where the hands of the Jew (his face painted in profile) stick to the bier is found in Kongsted Church, Sjælland (c. 1425; see Figure 7.2) and in the altarpiece from Vadstena, Östergötland (1450–75). On the miracle of the hand and the bier, see Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), 90–117 ("The Jew's Hand and the Virgin's Bier: Tangible Interruption").

150 For the version in Pseudo-Melito's *Liber de transitu* that is closest to the OSw. text, see Monika Haibach-Reinisch, *Ein neuer "Transitus Mariae" des Pseudo-Melito: Textkritische Ausgabe und Darlegung der Bedeutung dieser ursprünglicheren Fassung für Apokryphenforschung und lateinische und deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, *Bibliotheca Assumptionis B. Virginis Mariae*, vol. 5 (Vatican: Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1962), 102–05.

151 Matthew 27:63: "seductor."

152 SKB K 4, f. 37v–38r (1480–85); *HellKv* 21.



Figure 7.1: Two Jews' hands stick to Mary's Bier and are torn off. Wall painting (1480s) in Täby Church, Uppland. Author's own photo.

shots in front of the city – is that place where Jews wanted to take Our Lady's body when she was being taken to the grave].¹⁵³

The tale deals with two Jewish objections to the Christian faith – Mary's virginity and the creation of relics – and it is Mary's immaculate body that becomes the battleground between Jews and Christians. The Jewish opposition to the crea-

¹⁵³ DAS AM 792 4^o, f. 190vb; *VejlPilgr* 214–15. However, and rather curiously, the ODa. legend of Mary's assumption into heaven ("Huore vorfrue vor optagen"), found in SKB K 4 (1488), does not include the miracle of the stuck hands. The tale is otherwise close to the Lat. Pseudo-Melito version, but whereas the Jews' attack on the funeral parade occupies about a fifth of the Lat. version, it is entirely absent in the ODa. text. This has the curious effect of leaving some motifs hanging in the narrative, not least the protective palm leaf and Mary's fear that the Jews will burn her body. See Gad, *Legenden i dansk Middelalder*, 193.



Figure 7.2: A Jew's hands stick to Mary's Bier. Wall painting (c. 1430) in Kongsted Church, Sjælland. Author's own photo.

tion of relics and the early Christian obsession with the shrines, relics, and graves of the dead was another key point of difference between the two religions. The tale of *The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier* is a Christian expression of this opposition and has been framed in terms of frenzied male violence and desecration: Mary's earthly remains were to be turned into ashes. It has clear parallels to the destruction and hate-driven stabbings of hosts, icons, and crucifixes described above.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Similarly, the legend of *St Barnabas and the Jews* (Text 13) is also an expression of Jewish opposition to creating relics from human remains. Here, Jews seize Barnabas after he causes a pagan temple to collapse and kill a crowd of naked idol-worshippers. They burn him to death on a pyre. His ashes are placed in a leaden case and are to be sunk to the bottom of the sea. However, during the night two of Barnabas's companions manage to get hold of the ashes and bury them deep in a crypt where they lie the next five centuries before Barnabas himself miraculously reveals their location. Barnabas, a hellenized Cypriot Jew, joined the Jerusalem Church shortly after the Crucifixion (Acts 4:36–37). There are two separate legends about the saint. One tradition established by St Eustorgius who was bishop in Milan c. 344–50 is that Barnabas was the first bishop of Milan. Eustorgius had a church built on the site where Barnabas was said to have baptized the city's first Christians. The other tradition finds Barnabas preaching in Alexandria and Rome and he was stoned to death 488 in Salamis, Cyprus. To this day, Barnabas is the patron saint of Cyprus. The OSw. tale, a translation from *Legenda aurea*, follows the Milanese tradition. Just like in *The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier*, the Jews in this tale want to erase the

The high priest's attempt to defile Mary's body is unsuccessful; instead, it is his own sinful body that is damaged: his hands stick to the bier causing agonizing pain. The miraculous healing is what brings about the conversion of the Jewish priest. The Apostles are unable to perform a miracle – they don't have time! – but a sincere declaration of faith “that his mother died as an immaculate virgin” along with kissing the Virgin's bier can bring about a cure. The “choice” of paralyzing the Jewish priest's hands was a particularly deserving punishment. The prototypical withered hand as retribution for not accepting the Virgin Birth is found in *Protoevangelium Iacobi* [*The Protogospel of James*]. Here, Mary's midwife tells Salome that she has just assisted a virgin in giving birth.¹⁵⁵ Salome is doubtful and says that unless she receives a particular proof of this matter, then she will not believe that a virgin has given birth. Upon examining Mary, Salome's hand withers. She is only cured after calling upon God and being instructed by an angel to visit Mary and hold the child. A slightly different tale about Salome and her withered hand is found in Gotfred af Ghemen's *Jesu Barndoms Bog*, an ODa. collection of tales about Mary and Jesus from c. 1508 based on *Protoevangelium Iacobi* and other texts:

tha ginge the ij quinner ind til iomfrw maria bøde them til at hielpe. tha wisthe hon them barnet och the soghe at hon behøffde icke hielp som andre quiner oc vndrede ther mōgheth po thi hon haffde myelk i bryst oc haffde barn thi greeb then eene quinne meth sin hond oc vilde taghe po iomfru^(a) maria oc strax forwessnede hennes hand tha græd hon saare oc forbad iomfru maria oc bad henne miskunde sig tha bad iomfru maria henne bede til barnet at theth vilde forlade henne sin skyld oc hon bat barnet^(b) forgiwe sine onde geminger. strax fek hon sin hand igien. then samme hon heet salome oc then annen nache. tha ginge the in i byen och kallet alt folketh sammen oc sade wi haue seet eth stort vnder. en iomfru hawer fød een søn hon ær som hwn aldrig haffde fød barn wthen alth enestæ at hon haffuer myelk i syn bryst. hon ær alsomskøneste oc reneste iomfru vthen al smittæ.¹⁵⁶

Notes: a. iomfru] iomfeu *JesuBarndB*. b. barnet] barner *JesuBarndB*.

saint's remains entirely and prevent the creation of relics. It is surprising perhaps that the Jews' anger has been provoked by Barnabas's killing of the idol worshippers. Idolatry is forbidden in the first commandment (“Thou shalt have no other gods before me,” Exodus 20:2, Deuteronomy 5:6). The suggestion may therefore be that the Jews' anger towards Barnabas only proves that they no longer follow even the most central tenets of their religion. See Text 13: *St Barnabas and the Jews*: UUB C 528, f. 61v2–13 (1400–50); SRA E 8900, p. 158:6–20 (1450–70); SKB A 3, f. 156va4–28 (1502); *FsvLeg* I 296; *FsvLeg* PAW II 419–21. On St Barnabas, see also Abel Mordechai Bibliowicz, *Jews and Gentiles in the Early Jesus Movement: An Unintended Journey* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 139–50.

155 *Protoevangelium Iacobi* 19:3–20:4.

156 *JesuBarndB* ff. b7r–b8r.

[Then the two women went inside to the Virgin Mary (and) offered their help. Then Mary showed them the child and they saw that she did not need any help like other women and were very amazed as she had milk in her breast and had a child. So, one of the women reached out with her hand and was going to touch the Virgin Mary, and immediately her hand withered. She cried out loud and begged the Virgin Mary for forgiveness and asked her to have mercy. Then the Virgin Mary asked her to pray to the child that he might forgive her guilt. And she asked the child to forgive her evil acts. Immediately she got her hand back again. This (woman) was called Salome and the other Nache. Then they walked into town and called everyone together and said that they had seen a great miracle: "A virgin has given birth to a son. She is as if she had never born a child and yet she has milk in her breast. She is the most beautiful and pure virgin without any blemish."]

Withered hands also appear in Jesus' mission and works. His healing of the man with the withered hand is related in three of the Gospels (Matthew 12:9–13, Mark 3:1–6, and Luke 6:6–11). According to Mark, this act of healing ("forbidden" on the Sabbath) led to the Pharisees taking counsel with the Herodians against him on how they might destroy him. The withering of the priest's hands may thus be seen as just deserves from the Virgin for the plotting against her son.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, the hand and sense of touch are symbols of Jewish carnality and lack of spirituality: Jews only discern the physical form and feel of the world, and they remain unable to grasp its spiritual content and mysteries. The healing of the priest's hands demonstrates the power of both Mary and her relics. As Anthony Bale has pointed out, the Jews' destructive and violent touching of the relics of Mary's body is in direct opposition to the medieval culture of relics with its veneration and respectful touching.¹⁵⁸

The blinding of the Jews is a particularly apt choice of affliction for blindness is both the Jews' crime and their punishment. In other words, their spiritual blindness (cf. 2 Corinthians 4:4) has become a physical one. Their cure by touching the palm branch and declaring their faith in Christ and the virginity of his mother once again proves the efficacy of relics (here, the palm branch).

What is different with this punitive miracle to many of the other miracles under discussion in this chapter is that the Jews here convert under duress: force – in the form of withered hands and blindness – is used against them. Elsewhere, we have seen that Jews convert upon witnessing a miracle that reveals a truth (e. g., a bleeding icon or a moving statue) or induces healing (e. g., the curative liquid that flows from the icon) with very little, if any, force or persuasion. Indeed,

¹⁵⁷ For other incidents of touching or hands and punishment, cf. Exodus 4:6–7 where Moses' hand is turned leprous and then healed by God, and 2 Samuel 6:6–8 where Uzzah reaches out to touch the Ark of the Covenant for which "God smote him there for his error."

¹⁵⁸ Bale, *Feeling Persecuted*, 95.

it is always the miracle that triggers the conversion. However, in *The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier*, the Jewish priest and townspeople are physically disabled and only healed once they have converted.¹⁵⁹

Summary

These tales do not portray a single “Jewish” view of Mary. Although they all show Jews as doubting the Virgin Birth and Mary’s status as the Mother of God (*Theotokos*, a woman who bore God), they express this in different ways: through debate, through questioning (and learning), and through violence and attempted annihilation. The Jews in these tales only change their minds after the occurrence of a miracle: the miracle of the pregnant statue; the punitive miracles of (and subsequent salvation from) withered hands and blindness; the Virgin’s unconditional assistance to women in labour, and the miracle of her purity expressed in the word *clemens*. In the extraordinary tale of *The Converted Jew and the Devil*, the couple are presented in very sympathetic, human terms as curious and seeking truth and salvation. Once converted, the husband’s Jewish thinking, although re-ignited by Satan, can be overcome through prayer and faith – even when learned explanations fail. The reasons behind the Jews’ doubts vary in these tales: the Jew at the disputation sees the Virgin Birth as absurd and against the laws of nature – impregnation requires a man; the husband, spurred on by the devil, cannot understand why Mary was bound by Jewish laws of purity if she was a Virgin – the Feast of the Purification makes no sense; the Jewish priest and his fellow Jerusalemites hate the Virgin for the claims around her as the mother of God and are afraid that her corpse will be used as a religious relic – it must be destroyed. The tales thus present the Danish and Swedish readers and listeners with a gamut of arguments against Mary levelled by her greatest enemies, the Jews, but that are all proven to be false through miracles.

¹⁵⁹ It will be remembered that punishment is also a core element in *The Jewish Boy in the Oven*, where the oven is used both to punish the boy and the father. However, neither of the two characters converts in order to be relieved from the punishment here: the oven’s role – as giver of Christian life and destroyer of Jewish error – is different to the punishment meted out in *The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier*. In Text 30: *The Flying Host and the Jew's Son*, we also see the use of terror to coerce a Jew into becoming Christian.

Conclusion

The requirement to promulgate, teach, and consolidate the Christian faith and its doctrines was a universal one that involved the whole of Christendom and resulted in a varied didactic and devotional literature. The Church's teachings were disseminated in Scandinavia as elsewhere using miracle tales involving Jews, as Jews made ideal opponents to Christianity and could be used to express the doubts and scepticism that some of the Christian audience may have harboured. The conversion or destruction of the Jews in these stories proves the truth and power of Christianity, its god and messiah, and its saints and sacred objects.

Several themes become apparent in the East Norse material. In most cases, Jewish men are shown to be aggressive perpetrators of violence: host and icon desecrators, infanticides, and mutilators of holy corpses. Furthermore, they are argumentative and stubborn, and, more worryingly, friends of the devil. However, Jewish women are somewhat passive and under the control of their fathers and husbands. However, they are also seen as sexually desirable. Exceptionally, in *The Converted Jew and the Devil*, the wife is portrayed as an equal to her husband. Jewish children are still "pure" whereas adults are sullied. These are themes that will appear again in the miracle tales in the following chapter. Four of the tales (*The Jewish Boy in the Oven*, *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ*, *The Jew Who Stabbed an Icon*, and *The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier*) are translations of stories that flourished across Europe with their roots in the early Christianity of the eastern Mediterranean. However, the remaining stories are younger, although it has not been possible to identify their sources. Two of the tales (*The Disputation and the Miracle* and *The Converted Jew and the Devil*) contain many Danicisms and are most likely translations from ODa. texts. *The Converted Jew and the Devil* stands out among the tales here. The presentation of the Jewish characters is entirely different: they are "good Jews," and the reader is to identify with them in their quest to serve Mary.

The dearth of ODa. miracle texts that concern doctrine and include Jews is not entirely surprising given the poor preservation of this sort of material generally: there are, e. g., no extant legends involving non-biblical Jews and only part of *Sjælens trøst* remains today. The ODa. corpus of miracle tales is much smaller than the OSw. one. We should therefore not jump to any conclusions about Danish attitudes towards Jews based on a paucity of evidence.

In the tales presented here, there is no evidence of adapting the translations to suit a Swedish audience: many of the locations remain exotic and the anti-Judaism is neither toned down nor is it ramped up. Most tellingly, it is not explained either. The concept of Jews as opponents to the teachings of the Church was clearly embedded in Christian culture in Scandinavia and required no further comment or explanation.

8 Darkness and Light: Miracles, Saints' Lives, and Exempla

Introduction

In the previous chapter, we saw how Jews were used in narratives to exemplify and prove certain doctrines, such as the real presence of Christ's body in the consecrated host, Mary's perpetual virginity, and the intervention of saints. In addition to proving doctrinal points of faith, these tales provide us with descriptions of Jewish behaviour that reflect Christian beliefs that Jews had a close association with devil, used sorcery, were involved in moneylending, and were willing to convert to Christianity. Although these elements are not the main didactic point of the miracle, they are essential to its taking place, and accepting them as fundamental Jewish qualities and behaviours is a prerequisite for the tale's teaching to be effective. This chapter discusses the imagined Jewish lives portrayed in miracle tales. It shows that although there were a great many negative qualities associated with Jews, there were also good things to say about these non-Christians. Indeed, the image of the Jew in these tales is less one-dimensional than we might imagine.

The devil

In Judaism, a religion that does not dwell on the diabolical, the devil or Satan (Heb. שָׂטָן, *śaṭan* [adversary, opponent]) is regarded not so much as a being but rather as the evil impulse (יֵצֶר הָרַע, *yezer hara'*) that prevents people from submitting to God's will and repairing the world (תִּיקּוּן עוֹלָם, *tiḱun 'olam*). Only twice does Satan appear in the Hebrew Bible: in the Book of Zechariah (3:1–2) where he stands accusing the high priest Joshua, and in the Book of Job (from 1:6) where he urges God to test the upright man Job. Although Satan does appear in the Talmud and kabbalistic sources, he plays a far more prominent role in Christianity. Here, he is the enemy of God and his son Jesus (Matthew 13:39), who tempts and tries believers (Matthew 4:1; Luke 4:2), and is personified as the physical Satan, the rebellious angel that fell from the sky (Luke 10:8). Satan fell because "He was a murderer from the beginning, and he stood not in the truth; because no truth is not in him" (John 8:44). He represented all the forces of rebellion and heresy, and it is this figure of Satan that we come across in connection with Jews and miracle texts.¹

1 On Jews and the (Christian) devil, see Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, intro. Marc Saperstein (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1993); Robert Bonfil, "The Devil and

The Torah forbids Jews from associating with the devil and practising sorcery. In accordance with Deuteronomy 18:9–13, Jews are forbidden to engage in any form of occult practices. As we read in the Old Danish Bible translation:

Nær thw jngangær landith hwilkith som herræn thin gwth skal gifue thik wakte ath thw ey skalt æftærfylghe the hednyngens forbannælsæ / **Ok** han skal ey fynnæs j thik ællær blant thik hwilkin som skal rensæ sin sôn ællær dottær ladændhe jgônæm eldin ællær hwilkin som ath spør thæn thær øwær trøldom hoos afgwdenes alteræ / **Ok** then thær gømær drøme ok far meth spodom af fwgle snak / **Han** skal ey wæræ wndgiærnynges man ok ey trolman pakallændæ diæflen ok han skal ey wpwækæ dødhe / **Ok** ey spomæn hwilke som sighe tilkommænde thingh / **Ok** han skal ey spøre sarnyngen af dødhe forthy herræn forbannær allæ thæsse ok for sadan syndhe skal han af flættæ^(a) them j thin jngangh / Thw skalt wordhe fwlkommæn ok wthen smittæ meth herræn thin gwth²

Notes: a. af flættæ] Possibly af slættæ [wipe out], MS.

[9] When you enter the land which the Lord your God shall give you, take care not to copy the pagans' abomination. (10) And there shall not be found in you or among you anyone who shall cleanse his son or daughter by passing them through the fire or anyone who consults anyone practising sorcery at the altar of idols, and anyone who divines dreams or uses divination of bird-speech. (11) He shall not be a man of evil deeds and not a wizard summoning the devil and he shall not raise the dead and not (be) a sorcerer who tells of things to come and he shall not ask the truth of the dead, (12) because the Lord curses all of these and for such a sin he shall turn them away upon your entry. (13) You shall be complete and without blemish with the Lord your God.] (Deuteronomy 18:9–13)

Jewish disdain for sorcery and the devil is also recorded – or, rather, exploited – in the Gospels where Jews levelled charges of magic and devilry against Jesus. In a mid-fifteenth-century ODa. sermon for the Fifth Sunday in Quadragesima, John 8:51–53 is referenced, and we read:

Sidhen sagdhe jhesus hwilken som myn kænnedom gømer han skal æy see æller kænnæ æwerdhelik dødth Tha swarædhæ jødhænæ nw vnderstandom wj at thu haffwer diæffu-elskap forthy abraham ær dødher ok prophetenæ ære dødhe **Ok** thu sigher hwilken myn kænnedom gømer han skal æy smakæ dødhen æwerdhelighe / met hwat dyrffuæ gør thu thech theligen at thu reknæ thech meræ æn war forfadher abraham ok prophetænæ som dødhe ære³

[51] Then Jesus said, "Whoever keeps my teaching, he shall not see or know eternal death."

[52] Then the Jews answered, "Now we understand that you have a devil because Abraham is

the Jews in the Christian Consciousness of the Middle Ages," in *Antisemitism through the Ages*, ed. Shmuel Almog and trans. Nathan H. Reisner, Studies in Antisemitism (Oxford: Pergamon Press · Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, University of Jerusalem, 1988), 91–98.

² DKB Thott 8 2^o, f. 152va–b; *GldBib* M 423.

³ DKB GKS 1390 4^o, f. 126r; *SMP* VIII 158.

dead and the prophets are dead, and you say that whoever keeps my teaching will not taste eternal death. (53) With what presumption do you do so, that you consider yourself greater than our forefather Abraham and the prophets who are dead?”] (John 8:51–53)

The same argument against Jesus is found in another ODa. sermon for Passion Sunday (the Fifth Sunday in Lent) in Christiern Pedersen’s *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515):

Uor herre ihesus taledede obenbarlige till iøderne i Iherusalem oc til de ypperste prester som vor i iøde kircken oc sagde Er der nogen aff eder som haffuer aarsage til at straffe mig for nogen || synd da sige sig det nw her obenbarlighe Men iegh siger eder sandingen hwi ville i icke tro mig Hwo som er gwd fryctendiss och effter følger hannem han hører gerne gudz ord oc lerdøm Men i ære icke aff gwd der faare høre i icke gerne hanss ord Iøderne swarede hannem igen oc sagde Uii sige dog sandingen at du est en samaritanus oc at du haffuer dieffuelskaff met dig Ihesus swarede ieg haffuer inthet dieffuelskaff met mig men ieg hedrer oc ærer min hiemmeliske fader oc kundgører hanss mact oc i vanhedre oc forsmaa mig Ieg begærer icke loff eller priss aff eder paa mine vegne Men den er till som der spør effter oc dømme skal offuer dem som mig forsmaar Sandelige sandelige siger ieg ether at hwo som gemer mine ord han skal icke fonge den ewindelige død Iøderne swarede nw wide wi til visse at du haffuer dieffuelskaff hoss dig Abraham ær død oc propheterne och dw siger hwo der gemer mine ord hand skall icke dø ewindelighe Icke est dw yppermere en wor fader abraham vor han er død oc propheterne ære oc døde⁴

⁴ *AlleEpocEu*, f. 108r–v [cii.r–v]; ChrPed *Skr* I 318. See also ChrPed *Skr* I 244 and 320. Cf. John 8:6–53. Among other examples of this accusation, we find DAS AM 787 4^o, f. 39rb (OSw., fifteenth century): “Framledhis visar læstin os ath ihesus hafde fæm god ting moth iudhana vredhis gialdh Førsth var at han gømde sant tolamodh them som obrygdelica taladhe thil hans sighiande han wara diæwls man oc annat tolikit” [Furthermore, the reading shows us that Jesus had five good things (remedies) against the Jews’ gall of anger. The first thing was that he preserved true patience toward those who spoke abusively to him saying that he was a man of the devil and other such things], *SermSac* 189 and *SMP* I 106; DKB GKS 1390 4^o, f. 128v (ODa., c. 1450): “Fframledhes wisær læsten os at ihesus haffdhe fæm godh thyng mot jødhænæ wredhes gæld Fførst war at han gømde sant tholæmodh mot the hønlighe ordhen the talædhe til hannem ok sagdhe at han war een diæffuels man / ok annat thelighe lige” [Furthermore, the reading shows us that Jesus had five good things (remedies) against the Jews’ gall of anger. The first thing was that he preserved true patience toward the mocking words that they spoke against him and said that he was a man of the devil and other such things], *SMP* VIII 161; and SKB A 29, f. 218v (ODa., 1500–50): “Oc ther kærðhe the ofuer hannom falskeligh som ofuer een thiyf Oc ther kallethe the hannom forrædhere Oc sagdhe ath han foor meth diæfwlskap Oc monge andre smæligh oordh Oc ath han hafde vænt alt folketh fran Galylee land Oc til Jherusalem til sigh meth diæfwlskap Oc troldom” [And they made false accusations about him as if about a thief. And there they called him a swindler and said that he used devilry and many other disparaging words, and that he had converted (i. e., won over, turned) to him the people from Galilee to Jerusalem by devilry and sorcery]. Other examples can be found in a fifteenth-century sermon collection from Bäckaskog in Skåne: *Post* 108, 134, and 136. The word *djavelsskap/diæwulsskap* [lit. devilry] means ‘sorcery,’ ‘diabolical machinations’

[Our Lord spoke publicly to the Jews in Jerusalem and to the high priests who were in the Temple and said, "If any one of you has a reason to punish me for any sin, then say so now here in public! But I am telling you the truth. Why will you not believe me? Whoever fears God and follows him, he willingly listens to God's words and teaching. But you are not of God. That's why you do not willingly listen to his words." The Jews answered him back and said, "But we're telling the truth, that you are a Samaritan, and you have devilry within you!" Jesus replied, "I have no devilry within me, but I praise and honour my heavenly father and make his power known. And you deride and mock me. I do not seek your praise and glory for my own behalf, rather it is for the one who will investigate and judge those who deride me. Verily, verily I say to you, that whoever keeps my words will not know eternal death." The Jews replied, "Now we know for sure that you have devilry within you. Abraham is dead and the prophets too and you say, whoever keeps my words will not die for eternity. You are not greater than our father Abraham was. He is dead and the prophets are also dead."]

In the Middle Ages, Christians considered Jews to be close allies of the devil. The association and concept of collaboration between Jews and the devil in the Christian mind also has its roots in the New Testament: "You are of your father the devil," says Jesus to his Jewish opponents in the Temple in Jerusalem during the festival of Sukkot (John 8:44).⁵ Thus, the connection between Jews and the devil and the concepts of Jews as the devil's spawn and of the Temple/Synagogue as a house of demons were made by none other than the Son of God and cemented for all time in Christian Scripture and consequently in the Christian imagination. This relationship between Jews and the devil became a strong thread that ran through the works of the Church Fathers and later theologians. In the late fourth century, the highly influential John Chrysostom wrote in his *Katà Ioudaíwv/Adversus Judaeos* [*Against the Jews*]: "For it [the synagogue] is not in fact the dwelling place of thieves nor simply petty tradesmen, but of demons; nay indeed, not only the synagogue, but the very souls of Jews are the dwelling places of demons."⁶ Other writers of *adversus Judaeos* literature reiterated Chrysostom's allegations. For example, Hilary of Poitiers (c. 310–67) wrote, "Before the Law was given the Jews were possessed of an unclean devil, which the Law for a time drove out, but which returned immediately upon their rejection of Christ," while in the sermons of Eusebius of Alexandria (fifth century?) the devil refers to "his old friends, the

(Lat. *diabolicae machinationes*), and 'dealings with the devil,' in other words magic that is made possible through the workings of the devil, or simply a 'devil' or 'evil spirit.'

⁵ Similarly, Apocalypse (Revelation) 2:9 and 3:9 calls Jews "synagoga Satanae" [the synagogue of Satan], that is a Church of Satan as opposed to the true Church.

⁶ John Chrysostom, *Katà Ioudaíwv/Adversus Judaeos*, 1.4: "Οὐ γὰρ ληστῶν οὐδὲ καπήλων ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων ἐστὶ καταγωγίον, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐχ αἱ συναγωγαὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων" / "Non enim latronum, neque cauponum simpliciter, sed daemouum est habitatio. Imo non Synagogæ solum, sed ipsæ etiam Judæorum animæ," *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 48, col. 849.

Jews.”⁷ By the Middle Ages, the union between the two arch-opponents of Christ had become an indelible truth in the Christian mind, and they were believed to be engaged in a campaign of destruction against all Christendom and its material and spiritual goods.⁸ A good example of this is found in the fourteenth-century OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet*. In the legend about St Justina, she is pursued by Cyprian who invokes a devil to help him win over the virgin. During their conversation, the devil tells him about how he used Jews as his tools to kill Christ:

Wm thæn tima war en diæfwls man fulkomin j diæfla willo ok diæfla giordho allan hans wilia han het ciprianus^(a) Han bran allir innan at synda · meþ iustina ok bødth enom diæfle værdha hærna^(b) hugh til^(c) sik en han gathe ¶ Diæfwlin swara · Jak gat wt kastat mannin aff paradis iak kom cayn til at dræpa sin brodher Jak styrkte iudha · at korsfæsta christum ok skall iak ey gita ena mō modh wænt tha ware thet mik mæsta skam / ok ther nest fik han hanum ennehanda smørisle at smøria hærna hws wæggia vtan / han sagdhe sik^(d) wilia tænda henna hiæarta innan meþ oloflikom lusta⁹

Notes: a. han het ciprianus] |han het ciprianus| MS. b. hærna] |hærna| MS. c. til] til [sik] MS. d. sik] \sik/ MS.

[At that time, there was a sorcerer (lit.: ‘devil’s man’; Lat.: *magus*), completely in the devil’s delusion, and devils carried out his every desire. He was called Cyprian.¹⁰ He was burning within to sin with Justina and commanded a devil to turn her mind towards him if he could. The devil answered, “I was able to throw man out of Paradise! I made Cain kill his brother! I empowered the Jews to crucify Christ! And if I cannot change a maiden’s mind, then it will be a great shame for me!” And then he gave him a kind of ointment to smear outside on the walls of her house. He said that this would ignite her heart with forbidden lust.]

This relationship between the enemies of God plays out in several ways in the East Norse material but the texts all reveal intimacy between the devil and Jews. In Text 52: *Theophilus and the Devil*, the fallen archdeacon turns directly to a Jew to introduce him to the devil. The Jew and the devil are in close union in this legend. A similar case of a Jew summoning the devil at will is found in Text 3: *A Pregnant Jewish Woman’s Father Converts*. Here, a Jew consults the devil to find out the truth about his daughter’s pregnancy. The Jewish woman in Text 32: *The Hermit and the Jewess* is driven by the devil to seduce the holy man and cause the holy spirit to desert him. In Text 23: *The Converted Jew and the Devil* (discussed in Chapter 7: *Witnesses of Truth and Doctrine*) and Text 36: *The Jew at the Devil’s Council*, the association between the devil and the stories’ protagonists is differ-

7 On this, see Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 21.

8 Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 1–31.

9 UUB C 528, f. 84v–85r; *FsvLeg* I 445–46; *FsvLeg* PAW III 22.

10 The name Cyprianus came to be used in Scandinavia to refer to any book of spells, medical tips, methods of divination, and so on. Cf. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, s. v. “Cyprianus.”

ent. In these tales, the Jewish characters are haunted by their connection with the devil. They are unwillingly confronted by the devil but with the assistance of the Christian faith and its trappings are able to deflect him. Rather peculiarly, in Text 39: *The Jew, the Host, the Devil, and the Sieve*, the devil confronts a disbelieving Jew and explains the truth of the real presence in the eucharist. The devil explaining “truth” – and especially Christian truths – to a Jew is thus a theme found in several miracle stories (*The Converted Jew and the Devil*; *A Pregnant Jewish Woman's Father Converts*). The devil as advocate for Christianity strikes us as odd today, but it demonstrates how Jews are even further from Christ in their delusion than the devil is, and it also confirms the close relationship between the devil and Jews, who trust his words more than anyone else's. Ultimately, the Jewish characters in these tales all willingly convert to Christianity, but their Jewishness enables them nonetheless to perceive and converse with demons as equals.

The close link between Jews and the devil was, of course, not expressed textually alone, but also through visual means.¹¹ For example, a fifteenth-century predella painting from the altarpiece in Randlev Church (Jutland; now in the National Museum, Copenhagen), depicts Christ with the wise virgins on his right hand and the foolish ones on his left (Matthew 25:1–13).¹² Closest to Christ are *Ecclesia* (the Church, on his right) and *Synagoga* (Judaism, on his left). *Synagoga*, her crown tumbling, is identifiable by the goat's head she carries in her right hand and the broken rod in her left. The goat's head is in place of the empty oil lamp found in the parable and refers both to ritual sacrifice (קורבן, *korban*) in the Temple and to the parable later in the same chapter of the Sheep and the Goats (Matthew 25:31–46), in which the goats represent those who have rejected Christ and to whom he says: “Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels” (Matthew 25:41).¹³ Atop the virgin's broken rod is a flag or ensign bearing the image of a black devil armed with an axe and a shield: he is a warrior ready to do battle with Christendom. This virgin, *Synagoga*, is in league with Satan himself, carries his banner, and presumably is to be interpreted as one of his soldiers. A similar image from the altarpiece in Boeslunde Church (Sjælland), that dates to c. 1430 and possibly originates from the Carmelite Church in Skælskør (Sjælland), shows a blindfolded *Synagoga*, again as the closest foolish virgin to Christ, clutching something indistinguishable

¹¹ On the meaning of Jews' reddish hue and of Moses' horns, see Chapter 5: *The Jewish Body*, pp. 131–218.

¹² Kjeld de Fine Licht, *Danmarks Kirker*, vol. 16: *Aarhus Amt*, no. 5 (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseets Forlag, 1983–87), 2476–77.

¹³ Furthermore, it may be a reminder of the goaty smell associated with Jews, the *foetor judaicus*. See Chapter 5: *The Jewish Body*, pp. 193–96.

ble in her left hand (a goat's head?) and holding a broken rod in her right with an ensign depicting a black devil (or possibly a dragon).¹⁴

Theophilus and the Devil

One of the most popular miracle stories in Europe, *Theophilus and the Devil*, is found in three of the OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet* manuscripts: SKB A 34 (c. 1350), UUB C 528 (1400–50), and SRA E 8900 (1450–70).¹⁵ In this tale, The-

14 Francis Beckett, *Altartavler i Danmark fra den senere Middelalder* (Copenhagen: J. Jørgensen, 1895), plate 5. The dragon is, of course, a symbol of the devil. Apocalypse (Revelation) 12:9: “And that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, who seduceth the whole world; and he was cast unto the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him.”

15 The story of Theophilus is included in the *Legenda aurea* under the Feast of the Virgin's Nativity, and this is the source of the Swedish version. See *LegAur* 912–13. For an English translation, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 157. On this tale, see Sven Bjerstedt, “Theophilus – medeltidens Faust,” *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap* 22, no. 1 (1993): 23–33; Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 42–103; Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Middle English* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2015), 17–32; Dwayne E. Carpenter, “Social Perception and Literary Portrayal: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spanish Literature,” in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerilynn D. Dodds (New York: George Braziller, 1992), 64–65; Paul Carus, *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Chicago: Open Court, 1900), 415–17; Caroline Heidi Ebertshäuser et al., *Mary: Art, Culture and Religion through the Ages*, trans. Peter Heinegg (New York: Crossroad, 1998), 74–78; Ernest Faligan, *Histoire de la légende de Faust* (Paris: Hachette, 1888), vi–xv; Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, vol. 1 (London: Sheed and Ward, 1965), 170–71, 204–05; Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 216; Ihnat, *Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews*, 143–48; Moshe Lazar, “Theophilus: Servant of Two Masters. The Pre-Faustian Theme of Despair and Revolt,” *Modern Language Notes* 87, no. 6 (1972): 31–50; Iona McCleery, “The Virgin and the Devil: The Role of the Virgin Mary in the Theophilus Legend and its Spanish and Portuguese Variants,” in *The Church and Mary*, ed. Robert N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History*, vol. 39 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), 147–56; Michael O'Carroll, *Theotokos: A Theological Encyclopedia of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, rev. edn (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983), 341–42; Philip M. Palmer and Robert Pattison More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition from Simon Magus to Lessing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936), 58–77; Karl Plenzat, *Die Theophiluslegende in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters*, *Germanische Studien*, vol. 43 (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1926); Ludwig Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage*, *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*, vol. 206, no. 4 (Vienna: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1927), 41–54; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Prince-

ophilus,¹⁶ an archdeacon in Sicily (“Cicilia”),¹⁷ is unanimously elected bishop but through humility turns the position down. Another man is then chosen instead, who, on becoming bishop, removes Theophilus from his position. Deposed of his office, the defrocked archdeacon seeks out a Jew to help him contact the devil in order to take revenge upon the bishop and regain his former position. Theophilus renounces Christ and the Virgin Mary and signs a bond with the devil to regain his position. The following day, however, he is reinstated by the new bishop and immediately regrets his diabolical pact. He calls upon the Virgin who forces the devil to revoke the pact and saves Theophilus’s soul. In an act of contrition, Theophilus reads the letter he signed with the devil aloud to the bishop and many others, and then he dies peacefully three days later.

The tale is one of the oldest Marian miracles in Christian literature and, like many others, it has its origins in Byzantium. The original version was a now lost sixth-century Greek text attributed to Eutychianus of Adana. He claimed to have witnessed the events described in the tale himself.¹⁸ Translated into Latin around the ninth century by Paul the Deacon of Naples, the story of Theophilus [loved by or lover of God] spread throughout Europe.¹⁹ Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim (c. 935–c. 1002) composed a poem about the legend and Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028) included a version of the tale in a sermon that became standard reading on the

ton University Press, 2003), 122–26; George Webbe Dasent, *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low German and Other Tongues from M.S.S in the Royal Library Stockholm* (London: William Pickering, 1845).

16 Theophilus (Gk. Θεόφιλος) means ‘friend of God’ or ‘loved by God’; cf. Luke 1:3 and Acts 1:1.

17 Cicilia, i. e., Sicily, is used in the OSw. versions instead of the original placename, Cilicia, now in modern-day south-easternmost Turkey (Kilikya). This change of place may simply be due to a scribal error at some point during the transmission of the text, but it may also be an attempt to make the location of the events more familiar to the reader by moving it from the south coastal region of Asia Minor to Catholic Europe (but also a multicultural country). However, it is noteworthy that “Cicilia” (Sicily) is far from unique to the OSw. versions of the story; it is in fact widely attested. For example, this placename is also found in some Italian manuscripts of the legend: Mary Vincentine Gripkey, “Mary Legends in Italian Manuscripts in the Major Libraries of Italy: Groups I–III,” *Mediaeval Studies* 14, no. 1 (1952): 19 (no. 79). Demonstrating an even more widespread confusion between the placenames *Cilicia* (Kilikya) and *Cicilia* (Sicily), the Latin “Cilicium” [Kilikya] is translated with “Sikiley” [Sicily] in *Páls saga postula* in Codex Scardensis (Skarðsbók postulasagna), Reykjavík, SÁM 1 fol., f. 29vb: “Ok for þa pall *postuli vm syrland ok sikiley*” [and then Paul the Apostle travelled around Syria and Sicily(!)] for “*Perambulabat autem Syriam et Cilicium*” [And he went through Syria and Cilicia], Acts 15:41.

18 For a more detailed summary of the origins and dissemination of the legend, see Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England*, 42–44.

19 Note that this Paul is not to be confused with his eighth-century Lombard namesake from Cividale del Friuli. The Theophilus legend is found in at least 111 medieval manuscripts from Europe; Weber, “*Maria die is juden veind*”, 74.

Feast of the Virgin's Nativity (8 September).²⁰ Evolving into an element of Marian devotion, Theophilus's pleadings to the Virgin became the basis for independently circulated prayers.²¹ The story is also found in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* by Alfonso X (1252–84) and the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* by Gonzalo de Berceo (d. c. 1264).²² In c. 1261, the *trouvère*, Rutebeuf, turned it into a miracle play, *Le miracle de Théophile*, one of the earliest extant pieces of French drama, although Rutebeuf's magician, Salatin, is a Muslim, rather than a Jew.²³ Indeed, not all versions of the Theophilus tale invoke a Jew as intermediary, but this anti-Judaic element is commonplace in English, French, German, and Icelandic manuscripts, and representations in art from churches and cathedrals across Europe.²⁴

Theophilus and the Devil is a proto-Faustian legend and the first such tale of a pact with the devil. Moreover, with its emphasis on the power of Marian prayer, it played a significant role in the development of Marian legends involving the intercession of the Virgin: her advocacy for sinners and ability to save them from hell as well as her legal influence.²⁵ As the theological importance of Mary increased,

20 Hrotsvitha's "Lapsus et conversio Theophili vicedomini," in *Hrotsvithae opera*, ed. Paul de Winterfeld, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum (Berlin: Weidmann, 1902), 63–75, and Fulbert's *Sermo IV* ("De nativitate beatissime Mariae Virginis") of his *Sermones ad populum*; see *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 141, col. 324.

21 Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 533 n. 39.

22 Afonso X, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, vol. 1, 9–10 (no. 3); Gonzalo Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Antonio García Solalinde (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1958), 162–92 (no. 24).

23 Rutebeuf, *Le miracle de Théophile: Miracle du XIII^e siècle*, ed. Grace Frank, *Les classiques français du Moyen Âge*, vol. 49, 2nd rev. edn (Paris: Champion, 1967).

24 Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews*, 216. On the Theophilus legend in art, see Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews*, 122–26; Nigel Morgan, *The Medieval Painted Glass of Lincoln Cathedral* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 10 (1a, 3a) and plates 2b, 7c, 7d, and 8a; Weber, "'Maria die is juden veind'", 74–77, plates 2, 4, 7–8, and 10. Illustrations of the legend of Theophilus that include representations of the Jew, can, for example, be found in L-BL Royal 10.E.IV, f. 164v (*Decretals*); and L-LPL MS 434 (*Lambeth Apocalypse*), and P-BNF MS nouvelle acquisition fr. 24541, f. 8v (the *Miracles de Notre Dame*). On the West Norse story of Theophilus, see Dasent, *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low German and Other Tongues*, 1–28 (extracts only); Peter A. Jorgensen, "Four Literary Styles in Three Centuries: The Old Icelandic Theophilus Legend," *Samtíðarsögur* 1 (1994): 395–402.

25 There has been a tendency to consider the text from a Faustian perspective rather than as a Marian miracle; see McCleery, "The Virgin and the Devil," 147. Cf. also Radermacher, *Griechische Quellen zur Faustusage*, 41–54; Faligan, *Histoire de la légende de Faust*, vi–xv; Palmer and More, *The Sources of the Faust Tradition*, 58–77; Charles Dédéyan, *Le thème de Faust dans la littérature européenne*, 6 vols (Paris: Lettres modernes, 1954–67); John W. Smeed, *Faust in Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 7; André Dabiez, *Le Mythe de Faust* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1972), 307–11.

so did the tale's popularity as it contributed to the establishment of Mary as *mater misericordiae*, the mother of mercy, and as the devil's nemesis. In Christian art, she is sometimes depicted eschatologically as crushing the devil's head under her heel (in typological fulfilment of Genesis 3:15) or punching him.²⁶ Indeed, this tale has Mary achieving many successes: she defeats the devil, wins back a condemned soul, and undoes a bad contract.

In the OSw. version, the Jew is described as an intermediary, a tool of the devil ("diæwls anbuþ"), who arranges and attends the meeting between Theophilus and the devil. The Jew's sorcery is thus implied, and he is not explicitly referred to as a wizard, *trolkarl*, or *magus* (in his version, Jacobus de Voragine calls the Jew a *iudeus maleficus* [Jewish sorcerer]).²⁷ After Theophilus signs the pact with the devil "mæþ sino bloþe" [with his blood], the Jew disappears from the story and his fate is unknown.²⁸ Mary also acts as an intermediary between Theophilus and Christ, which mirrors the Jew's role as a middleman between the protagonist and the devil. The aim of the legend is to demonstrate the power of repentance and the superiority of Mary over the devil as well as to corroborate arguments for the Virgin's intercessory power. Whereas the Christian requires the services of a Jewish sorcerer in order to summon and meet the devil, Mary appears immediately as soon as Theophilus calls upon her. As Kati Ihnat has pointed out, the legend provides a good counterexample: Christians have allegiance to Christ and Mary and they receive rewards through prayer, whereas Jews are allies of the devil and achieve their ends through necromancy.²⁹ In contrast to *The Jewish Boy in the Oven*, the Jew's punishment for being Mary's antagonist is not the focus here, although in some other European versions, he does receive divine and/or secular retribution.³⁰

²⁶ For example, the well-known illustration in the de Brailes Book of Hours (c. 1240), L-BL Add. MS 49999, f. 40v.

²⁷ *LegAur* 912.

²⁸ There are incidentally two handwritten pacts with the devil among the manuscript holdings of Uppsala University Library (X 240 Salthenius). They were both written in 1718 by the student Daniel Lorenz Salthenius (b. 1701), who upon their discovery was sentenced to death for being in league with the devil. However, thanks to the intervention of his professors, he received a pardon, and after serving a prison sentence, moved to Germany where he died in 1750 as professor of theology in Königsberg (Kaliningrad, Prussia).

²⁹ Ihnat, *Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews*, 148.

³⁰ For example, he is beheaded in William of Malmesbury's *De laudibus et miraculis Sanctae Mariae* (c. 1125–40); see *El libro "De laudibus et miraculis Sanctae Mariae" de Guillermo de Malmesbury, OSB (c. 1143): Estudio y texto*, ed. José María Canal, 2nd edn (Rome: Alma Roma Libreria Editrice, 1968), 66.

Theophilus and the Devil is thus another miracle tale that presents Mary as protector and mother of mercy, but also as the conqueror of the devil.³¹ Jews, predictably enough, are cast in a far less flattering light. They are magicians with a close connection to the devil who can harness the forces of evil. Indeed, Jews have direct access to the devil that is not available to Christians, and they can ask (or even command) the devil to intercede in the world – a reversal of the usual roles where the devil prods Jews to commit evil acts. The dangers of Jewish knowledge to Christian society and the Church are clearly portrayed as too are the failings of ambitious clerics and the sin of pride. The existence of vernacular versions of the tale in OIce. and OSw. demonstrates its popularity with its universal message and its easily decoded participants in the narrative.³² The Jews' association with the devil and their ability to conjure him up, communicate with him, and facilitate the signing of pacts with him were not alien ideas to audiences in the North.

The Jew at the Devils' Council

The Jew at the Devils' Council (Texts 36.1–2) can be found in two OSw. works: *Fornsvenska legendarier* (UUB C 528 and SRA E 8900) and *Själens tröst* (SKB A 108).³³ The story tells how a Jew arrives in Rome at night and takes shelter in the ruins of a pagan temple. Afraid of evil spirits, he makes the sign of the Cross over himself. Around midnight he is awoken by the arrival of a crowned devil, Lucifer, and a horde of other demons who hold a council. In turn, Lucifer's minions step forward

31 In the ODa. *Expositio pulcherrima super rosario beate Marie Virginis* from 1515, the author Michael describes Mary's qualities in combatting the devil thus: "Swo lægggher maria dieffuelen ødhæ: | the, syndhen haffuer dræpt, resær hwn aff dødhæ, | han maa alt for hennæ wighæ. | Hwn er allæ mennisckes hielp og hop, | som twinges effther wærlødzens lov, | en drodning aff himmerighæ" [Thus, Mary defeats the devil: | those, (whom) sin has killed, she raises from the dead, | he [the devil or death] must give way to her. | She is the help and hope of all people, | who are afflicted by the law of the world, | a queen of heaven], *HrMich* 13.

32 In the two OIce. versions of the tale from SKB (Perg. 4^o no. 1 and no. 11), which are both longer than the OSw. version, the role played by the Jew is also narrated in more detail: "hinn gudræki gydingr" [the impious Jew] who describes the devil as "minn herra" [my lord] convinces Theophilus to enter the pact and leads him by the hand to meet the devil. See the edition in Dasent, *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low German and Other Tongues*.

33 On this tale, see Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews*, 172, 206–11; Joseph Harris and Thomas D. Hill, "Gestrs's 'Prime Sign': Source and Signification in *Norna-Gests Þátr*," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 104 (1989): 113–17; Alwine Slenczka, *Mittelhochdeutsche Verserzählungen mit Gästen aus Himmel und Hölle*, Studien und Texte zum Mittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit, vol. 5 (Münster: Waxmann, 2004), 90–111.

to tell him about the evil events they have caused to occur. If Lucifer thinks that they have achieved too little in the time it has taken, then he has them scourged with a whip. He is, however, pleased by reports of holy men being tempted into sin with women. Upon noticing the Jew sheltering in the temple, the crowned devil sends his followers to find out who it is. Recognizing that he is “sealed” with the sign of the cross, all the demons flee.³⁴ The Jew converts and relates the events to a bishop. The version in *Själens tröst* with its use of direct speech is the more elaborate and, it must be said, the more entertaining take on the story. There are minor differences in the detail, e. g., the Jew in *Själens tröst* only converts after having spoken to the bishop.

The tale of *The Jew at the Devils' Council* was included in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (c. 540–604).³⁵ With regard to the Jews, Gregory was more moderate than many of his contemporaries, and in this tale a Jew converts after personally experiencing being saved from demons by the power of the sign of the Cross. In contrast to so many other miracle tales, there is no violence or coercion here. The Jew is merely an empty vessel and his making the sign of the cross marks him and creates an impenetrable defence against the demons: “Thetta fatit æ tomtpt Oc ær tho mærkt medh thes hælgha kors tekn” [This vessel is empty and yet it is marked with the sign of the Cross].³⁶ The Jew in this tale is being employed to provide evidence for protection under the Cross and, in a very concrete fashion, to prove salvation through Christianity. The fact that he is a Jew – and as such incapable of being saved – demonstrates clearly that it is solely thanks to the apotropaic qualities of the sign of the Cross that he was spared by the evil spirits.³⁷ And having thus been saved from these demonic forces of evil, he converts. The

³⁴ There are several possible ideas behind the word “insiglat” [sealed] here: 1) the Jew is marked and thus protected by the sign of the Cross; 2) the Jew is sealed like a document with God’s *insighel* [seal]; 3) protected by a divine mark on his skin (cf. Apocalypse [Revelation] 7:3). On the meaning of “sealed” here, see Karen A. Kay, “Jews and Miracles in Tales from the *Legenda Aurea*” (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2006), 147–50.

³⁵ *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 77, cols 229b–131c (“De Andrea Fundanae civitatus episcopo”), and Grégoire le Grand [Gregory the Great], *Dialogues*, vol. 2, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, trans. Paul Antin, Sources chrétiennes, vol. 260 (Paris: Cerf, 1979), 276–79 (Latin and French translation). For an English translation, see St Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. Odo John Zimmerman (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1959), 121–22. In Gregory’s version, the Jew is travelling along the Appian Way and spends the night in a temple of Apollo (OSw. “eth afgudha mønster”; cf. *LegAur*: “templo Apollinis”).

³⁶ SKB A 108, p. 191.

³⁷ Similarly, the pagan temple itself becomes a meeting-place for the malign spirits and is unable to offer protection against them. The scenario evokes the triumph of Christianity over the pagans and Jews.

tale was included in the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230–98) and can be found in various other exemplum collections.³⁸

It is intriguing that the Jew made the sign of the Cross. It suggests that he knew, or at least suspected, that Christianity was more effective than Judaism in combatting evil and protecting the soul, and it furthermore reveals the Jew's lack of loyalty to his own religion. When filled with fear, he turns as a reflex to the Christian truth as if Church doctrine was the natural, innate, and human order of the world. Indeed, in several of these miracle tales, Jews are shown as knowing Christianity to be true, even if they refuse to accept it: praying to Mary during childbirth and belief in the Virgin Birth (the wife in *The Converted Jew and the Devil*) and extracting blood from crucifixes (*The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ*), hosts (*The Host Desecration*), and icons (*The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon*).³⁹ Sometimes, a Jew can just begin thinking about the Virgin as a means of escaping distress and Mary appears (*The Virgin Mary Releases and Converts a Jewish Prisoner*). The strange spiritual status of the Jew as an empty vessel and yet sealed (“eth thomt kaar ok tho insiglat”)⁴⁰ is commented upon by the demons before they are forced to flee. His ambiguous state allows him to witness the devils' council, but it also enables him to escape them. It will be remembered from both the Theophilus legend and the stories of the Jew who became a Carmelite and the Jew whose daughter was pregnant (Texts 52, 23, and 3 respectively), that Jews, just like King Solomon, can see and communicate with demons; sometimes, they can even summon the devil at will – a mocking simulacrum of Christians summoning the Virgin and the saints. Through the sign of the Cross and being sealed, the Jew dies in the presence of demons and is reborn a Christian in their absence, just as Christ died on the Cross (in the presence of evil Jews?) and was resurrected (in their absence). It will have been noted by now that this Jewish death–Christian rebirth is a recurring theme in these miracle tales about conversion. At the end of the tale in *Själens tröst*, the Jew warns the bishop about his sinful contact with a woman, and he does so before he converts.⁴¹ This demonstrates that even Jews (or

38 *LegAur* 936–38. For an English translation, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 172–73. See also Jacques de Vitry's version in *The Exempla, or Illustrative Stories from the Sermons Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas Frederick Crane, Burt Franklin Research and Source Works Series, no. 742 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1971 [repr. of 1890 edn]), 59, 189–90.

39 An exception to this can be found in OSw. Text 34: *The Jew and the Lightning Strike* (SKB A 110, c. 1385), where a Jew mocks his Christian neighbours for making the sign of the Cross to protect themselves during a thunderstorm and is instantaneously struck and burnt to death by a lightning strike.

40 UUB C 528, f. 132r.

41 The bishop brought into temptation is named Andreas [Andrew] in Gregory's version.

at least those saved by the sign of the Cross) are capable of moral behaviour and can advise Christians – even bishops – on matters of morality.

Summary

These two tales as well as *The Converted Jew and the Devil* and *A Pregnant Jewish Woman's Father Converts* demonstrate Jews' ability to communicate with the devil. Their spiritual status as empty vessels causes them to live in a shady borderland: at once on earth but also among diabolical beings. Curiously, some miracle stories have the devil explain the Christian faith to the Jew and both prove its truth and convince the Jew to become Christian as in *The Jew, the Host, the Devil, and the Sieve*, or to remain a convert to Christianity as in *The Converted Jew and the Devil*. The devil can thus prompt the Jew to both good and evil. However, the Jew, too, can summon the devil and persuade him to carry out his will as in the Theophilus tale and the story of the pregnant daughter. Ultimately, of course, the devil – and the Jew – must submit to the divine will.

Sorcery

Ideas about Jewish sorcery have their origins in the legendary material about King Solomon as a magician who had dominion over demons, and the association between Jews and demons remained a strong belief among Christians during the Middle Ages:⁴² we have already seen how the Jews in the Theophilus legend

⁴² The tradition of Solomon's role as a *magus* and great exorcist stems from 3 Kings 4:29–34. The literature on his magic and role as antiquity's greatest sorcerer in the Christian tradition is vast; see, e. g., C. C. McCown, "The Christian Tradition as to the Magical Wisdom of Solomon," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 2 (1922): 1–8; Dennis C. Duling, "Solomon, Exorcism, and the Son of David," *The Harvard Theological Review* 68 (1975): 235–52; Dennis C. Duling, "The Legend of Solomon the Magician in Antiquity: Problems and Perspectives," *Proceedings: Eastern Great Lakes Biblical Society*, vol. 4 (Westerville: Eastern Great Lakes Biblical Society, 1984), 1–23; Dennis C. Duling, "The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8.42–49," *The Harvard Theological Review* 78 (1985): 1–25; Pablo A. Torijano, *Solomon, The Esoteric King: From King to Magus, Development of a Tradition*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, vol. 73 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages*, Magic in History (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2006), 75–124 (especially 113–14). On Jewish magic and how it was viewed by Christian contemporaries, see the seminal Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939). On the

and the tale of the pregnant daughter are able to conjure up the devil. Guibert of Nogent (d. 1124) was one of the first medieval authors to accuse the Jews of witchcraft. In book 1 chapter 26 of his memoirs, he tells the story of a monk tempted by the devil who was conjured up by a Jew.⁴³ Indeed, worshipping the devil and anti-Christian activity were the principal occupations of sorcerers.⁴⁴ Innocent Jewish practices (such as hand-washing at certain times, kashering of ovens, and slaughtering meat) and Jewish objects (such as *mezuzot*) were strange to the Christian majority who viewed them with suspicion and imbued them with sinister meaning and purpose.⁴⁵ Consequently, Christians would assume that all Jews, *en masse*, were engaging in diabolical acts of sorcery against them.⁴⁶

Language had magical properties and could be used to summon demons, to ensure protection, and to reveal divine truths. The Hebrew language with its unfamiliar letters and its venerated status as the language of Creation (see Chapter 4: *The Language of the Jews*) also had a role to play in Scandinavian magic and spells. In Chapter 2: *Jews in Medieval Denmark and Sweden*, the formula AGLA (a *noṭriḱon* derived from אתה גיבור לעולם אדני, *atah gibor le-'olam adonai* [You are mighty forever Lord]) was discussed.⁴⁷ Its occurrence in no fewer than thirty runic inscriptions points to a tradition that connected supernatural protection and the Hebrew language. It is a small step from this to a link between magic and Jews generally. The power of language to uncover divine truths was revealed to a Jew by the devil in Text 23: *The Converted Jew and the Devil*. Here, the Jew learns that the word *clemens* [merciful] is used to describe the pure, “white” Virgin Mary because when read backwards, it contains the words *sne* [snow] and *melc* [milk].

Disease and illness were often attributed to the work of the devil, so various cures often took the form of charms and potions and treating illness was the realm of sorcery. “Doctors” would have relied on various concoctions and prayers, and successful treatment was often as much down to sheer luck as to medicine. Jewish (and Muslim) doctors were possibly better at curing their patients than their Chris-

role of magic in Jewish–Christian relations specifically, see Edward Kessler and Neil Wenborn, *A Dictionary of Jewish–Christian Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 282–83, s.v. “Magic.”

⁴³ See John F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching, vol. 15 (Toronto: Medieval Academy of America, 1984), 115.

⁴⁴ Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 9.

⁴⁵ Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *Antisemitism: A World History of Prejudice*, 3rd edn (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2022), 110.

⁴⁶ Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 2–4.

⁴⁷ See, vol. 1, pp. 37–38.

tian counterparts were.⁴⁸ Their very success both contributed to the popularity of Jewish doctors but simultaneously enhanced Jews' notoriety for sorcery. Despite various dicta of the Church prohibiting the use of Jewish doctors, Christian patients – in those lands with Jewish populations – continued to consult them. Nonetheless, the connection between sorcery and doing harm, between Jewish physicians and exotic drugs, between medicines and poisons led to accusations against Jewish doctors of poisoning their Christian patients, and ultimately, against all Jews – in a great international conspiracy – of poisoning Christians. In spite of this, Jewish doctors, no doubt because of their greater success in healing the sick, remained popular, not least among the ruling classes throughout Europe.

Jewish magic in two of the tales below (demon-taming in Text 15: *St James the Great and the Sorcerer Hermogenes* and medicinal charms in Text 11: *Petronia and the Ring*) is shown to be ineffectual when confronted with the divine power of a saint. The third tale (Text 18: *St Macarius and the Talking Skull*) is not about Jewish magic: the sorcery that causes a skull to speak is not explained here; indeed, by consulting the dead, the Christian hermit Macarius can be said to be breaking the commandment in Deuteronomy 18:11.

St James the Great and the Sorcerer Hermogenes

James the Great, son of Zebedee, was one of the first disciples to follow Jesus.⁴⁹ The Gospels offer little detail about the man but according to the Acts of the Apostles, Herod the King (traditionally identified as Herod Agrippa) had him executed by sword (d. 44 CE).⁵⁰ In spite of the paucity of information about James – or more likely because of it – a number of legends and traditions grew up around the saint, including the translation of his relics to Spain where they were buried in Compostela.⁵¹

48 For example, Joshua Trachtenberg wrote: “Jewish physicians, although by no means free from the general superstitious attitude, were among the foremost representatives of a scientific medicine in the Germanic lands. Their wide knowledge of languages, the availability of Arabic-Greek medical works in Hebrew translation, their propensity for travel and study abroad, their freedom from the Church-fostered superstition of miraculous cures, relics, and the like, these often conspired to make them even more effective practitioners than their non-Jewish competitors.” Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 4.

49 Matthew 4:21–22; Mark 1:19–20.

50 Acts 12:1–2. Death by beheading is also the outcome in the OSw. tale: “ok fingo baþe ens lifs ænda vndi suærþe” [and they both met the end of their lives under the sword].

51 See, for example, *LegAur* 650–62; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 3–10 (English translation).

The miracle tale of St James and the sorcerer Hermogenes is found in the *Legenda aurea*, from which it was translated into OSw. for the *Fornsvenska legendariet* (UUB C 528 and SRA E 8900) and describes an episode in the life of the saint.⁵² Having returned to Judea from Spain, James is confronted by the sorcerer Hermogenes' acolyte Philetus.⁵³ In front of a crowd of Jews, Philetus tries to debate with James and convince him that Christian teaching is false. However, James manages to prove the truth of Christianity to Philetus who returns to his master Hermogenes and advises him to accept Christianity. This infuriates Hermogenes and using magic he binds Philetus making him immobile. When James receives word of Philetus's plight, he sends him a kerchief and instructs him to recite a prayer. Upon receiving the gift and praying, Philetus's shackles are loosened, and he is free. He rebukes Hermogenes and leaves him to join James. The sorcerer then summons his demons and orders them to capture both Philetus and James and bring them to him. However, Hermogenes is betrayed. Howling like wolves ("thutu som vlua"), his demons beg James for help: "We are burning before our time has come!" James asks God's angel to free the demons and sends them to capture Hermogenes and bring their former master to him, which they do. James tells the demons and Philetus to free Hermogenes and repay evil with good ("væl løna illum," cf. Romans 12:17–21). Although free, Hermogenes is afraid that the demons will avenge themselves on him, so James gives him his staff as protection. On James's instructions, the sorcerer sinks his books to the bottom of the sea; he is not to burn them as the smoke will pollute the air ("gøra vædhrít siukt af therá røk"). Hermogenes subsequently becomes a good and holy follower of James and goes on to perform divine miracles ("gudhlik jærtækne"), rather than devilish magic.

52 In places, the OSw. version seems to paint Jews in a worse light than the Lat. original, for example: "cum phariseis" > "medh judhum" [with *Pharisees* (specific) > with *Jews* (general)]; "magica" > "diæfwlskap" [magic > devilry]; "ululare" > "thutu som vlua" [howl > howl *like wolves*]. The tale of St James the Great and Hermogenes is beautifully recreated in one of the stained-glass windows in Chartres Cathedral; see Yves Delaporte and Étienne Houvet, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres: Houvet, 1926), 307–13 (no. 37: *Histoire de saint Jacques le Majeur*).

53 The name Hermogenes ("born of Hermes") appears in 2 Timothy 1:15 as a Christian from Asia Minor who, along with Phigellus, turned away from Paul during his second imprisonment in Rome. The name Philetus ("beloved") is that of an early Christian: in 2 Timothy 2:17–18, Paul warns Timothy of Philetus's and his associate Hymenaeus's error (their preaching is like canker as they do not believe that there will be a bodily resurrection). The names of the sorcerer and his apprentice may thus have been chosen because of their connotations with being outside of and opposed to true Christianity; Paul and James were, of course, contemporaries.

In this miracle tale, the *magus* Hermogenes acts as a cruel parody of King Solomon: he summons demons to do his evil work, but they rebel and seek salvation in Christianity.⁵⁴ Unlike Solomon, Hermogenes does not excel in wisdom and even his acolyte Philetus deserts him. The diabolical punishments Hermogenes inflicts upon his helpers can easily be undone through divine power and both St James and the angels are shown to be far more powerful than the sorcerer. Indeed, Jewish magic – just like all Jewish threats – is contained and neutralized by Christianity. Hermogenes is never explicitly called a Jew, but this can be assumed as the text locates him in Judea or ‘the land of the Jews’ (“j judha lande”) and he has a keen interest in making sure that the Jews of Judea do not become Christians. In some versions of the tale, Hermogenes has been hired by Jews (or Pharisees, “cum phariseis” as it says in the *Legenda aurea*) to derail James’s mission. After his own conversion, the former mighty sorcerer is shown to be a coward, afraid of vengeful punishment at the hands of his former minions. The saint gives him his staff as protection thereby demonstrating, again, the power of the saint and objects (relics) associated with him in vanquishing evil.⁵⁵

Hermogenes has a library of books about the black arts. The magical potency of books – words and language – is a danger and they must be destroyed. Burning them would create a miasma and pollute the air, so they are to be sunk to the bottom of the sea – once again, the evidence of a Jew’s crime is disposed of in the depths.⁵⁶ That Hermogenes’ “wisdom” resided in written texts is of itself little surprise, but a reader of the story in the Middle Ages might have seen a parallel to the dangerous and mysterious Jewish books, the *juthebøker/iuþa bøker*, such as the Talmud. From the thirteenth century on, Christians were becoming aware of Jewish post-biblical literature and the fact that many customs, beliefs, and practices were prescribed or more clearly set out in these works rather than in the Tanakh. Jewish books were considered dangerous to Christians and were supposedly the depositories of anti-Christian passages and lies about Jesus. However, unlike in this tale, where Hermogenes’ books were sunk into the sea, medieval (and modern-era) Christians were happy to commit Jewish books to the flames beginning in 1242 with the burning of tens of volumes of the Talmud in Paris.

The Swedes reading this text or hearing it read aloud already had the necessary knowledge of a link between magic and Judaism to decode the sorcerer

54 Cf. the use of the term *magus* [sorcerer] in Acts 13:6.

55 The conversion of Hermogenes is the first of a series of events that culminate in the arrest of James. See Text 16: *St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew*: “Sidhan judha sagho at hermogenes war cristin · Tha komo the til jacobum · ok disputeradhe medh hanum” [After the Jews saw that Hermogenes was a Christian, they came to James and disputed with him].

56 Compare, e. g., the disposal of the icon in a well in Text 41: *The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon*.

Hermogenes as a Jew skilled at dabbling in the diabolical arts. Nevertheless, they would have been comforted in the knowledge that Christianity can neutralize the dangers of Jewish magic and, given the absence of any Jews in Sweden, were safe: until, that is, they became the victims of an international plots of mass murder in 1350 through poisons and potions created by Jews in the German Lands to the south – but more on that later in Chapter 10: *The Jewish Plot to Destroy All Christendom*.

Petronia and the Ring

In Text 11: *Petronia and the Ring*, found in both ODa. (*Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*) and OSw. (*Fornsvenska legendariet*: UUB C 528 and SRA E 8900), an ailing woman, Petronia, who is suffering from an unnamed illness, offers to pay a Jew for help to regain her health. He tells her to place a stone in a ring and tie it around her waist against her skin with a cord. She does so and then goes to the Church of St Stephen where she prays for help and immediately the ring falls to her feet – the cord and knot are still intact. With that, Petronia feels well again.

The miracle is taken from St Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (22.8),⁵⁷ and it is also found in the *Legenda aurea*.⁵⁸ It demonstrates Augustine's interest in St Stephen's association with Jewish "blindness."⁵⁹ Stephen, the first martyr of Christianity, was found guilty of blasphemy by the Jewish authorities and sentenced to death by stoning.⁶⁰ The Jew in the story believes he can cure Petronia – the name is a play on Lat. *petrus* [stone], hinting both at the stone in her belt and those used to kill St Stephen – through a "carnal" remedy, but the real cure is to be found through prayer and the intercession of St Stephen. As such, the tale is a metaphor for the carnality/spirituality disputation in which Jews were accused of blindness, literalism, and as being essentially different to Christians. It also illustrates the efficacy of sincere prayer and how merciful God is to all who turn to him for help. Furthermore, the tale mirrors the Virgin birth of Christ: Jesus was born from Mary's virginal womb just like the ring fell at Petronia's feet without

57 For an English translation, see Saint Augustine, *City of God*, trans. Marcus Dodds (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2009), 747.

58 *LegAur* 84; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1, 48–49.

59 Kara Ann Morrow, "Disputation in Stone: Jews Imagined on the St. Stephen Portal of Paris Cathedral," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Merback, Brill's Series in Jewish Studies, vol. 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 74.

60 Acts 6:8–7:60. See also Text 49: *The Stoning of St Stephen*.

breaking her knotted cord. We are not told what stone was used, but Scandinavian interest in the power of stones is documented in one of the earliest extant works in ODa., viz. Henrik Harpestræng's *Lapidarium* [*Book of Stones*] in DKB NKS 66 8^o (c. 1300) and SKB K 4 (c. 1450). It is noteworthy that according to the preface in NKS 66 8^o, this book describing the medicinal use of various stones originated in the East, viz. in Arabia at the court of a certain King Evax.⁶¹

About the Jew we learn little. He appears to be a physician of sorts who uses magic or sorcery, but apparently not to cure Petronia.⁶² Is his medicine merely ineffectual or did it have another purpose? Could he be using dark arts to cast a spell on Petronia, and for what carnal purposes? Why is the stone to be worn against her naked body (ODa. "nest sin bare krop"; OSw. "widh hænnā bara licama")? Is he just interested in her money or was he trying to gain control of her body or soul?⁶³ The power afforded to the Jewish physician in the medieval world was more often than not believed to come from the devil. For the first time, at the Council of Béziers in 1246, Christians were forbidden on pain of excommunication from seeking medical help from Jews. This prohibition was reiterated by the Councils of Albi (1254) and Vienne (1267), by a decree of the University of Paris (1301), and at further councils in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶⁴ Refusing to be cared for by a non-Christian was not only a pious act of piety but a prudent one, for it was believed that Jewish physicians did not aim to heal their Christian patients but rather to make them even more ill, most usually through the use of poisons.⁶⁵ Indeed, the two professions most associated with Jews in the Middle

61 "Byriær formal af en book thær hetær stebok gøρθ af en kunugh af arabia til nero keysær Evax konugh af arabeland skref til nero keyser hwilkkæ ærlikæ stenæ æræ · oc af therræ dugh hwær særlæst · oc af therræ lyt oc therræ nafn · oc horæ the mughæ hittæs oc hware" [Here begins the preface to a book called *Lapidarium* composed by a King in Arabia for Emperor Nero. Evax, king of Arabia, wrote to the emperor Nero (saying) which stones are precious and of each one's special power and their colour and their names, and how and where they can be found], DKB NKS 66 8^o, ff. 114v, 116r; Henrik Harpestræng, *Harpestræng*, ed. Marius Kristensen (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 1908–20), 174.

62 The Jewish doctor does not even appear in C, the SRA E 8900 version of the tale.

63 The use of a belt in Jewish magic is also found related in the surviving documents concerning the Gotland well-poisoning episode (see Text 53: *Well Poisoning*), where those conspiring with Jews wore a silver belt inscribed with a Greek or Hebrew letter to shield them from the plague. A belt that unlike Petronia's does break is found in Text 24: *The Disputation and the Miracle*.

64 Léon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. 1: *From the Time of Christ to the Court Jews*, trans. Richard Howard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 149.

65 In 1610, the Vienna Faculty of Medicine confirmed that Jewish physicians were obliged by their own law to kill one in ten Christian patients by poisoning. See Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, 97; Cohn-Sherbok, *Antisemitism*, 116. Cf. the sermon in vol. 2, p. 627.

Ages – physicians and usurers – were thought to be attacking Christendom on two fronts: health and wealth. In Scandinavia, there were of course no Jewish physicians (although as we saw in Chapter 2: *Jews in Medieval Denmark and Sweden*, the first recorded Jew in Sweden – “den juden” [that Jew] – was none other than one of King Gustav Vasa’s doctors),⁶⁶ but the topos of the Jewish physician doing the work of the devil was so embedded in the discourse of the Church and the universities as well as secular law and beliefs, that even in the periphery of Christendom it could ring true and be an effective didactic tool.

St Macarius and the Talking Skull

Macarius the Egyptian (c. 300–90) was born in Jijber in the Nile Delta, and through the influence of St Anthony (251–356) became an ascetic at the age of thirty.⁶⁷ He later became ordained as a priest and founded Scetis, one of the main monastic settlements in Lower Egypt.⁶⁸ He spent much of his life living in the desert and made frequent visits to Anthony. There are numerous sayings and stories connected to him,⁶⁹ and the tale of Macarius and the talking skull can be found in several collections, such as the *Vitae Patrum* and the *Legenda aurea*.⁷⁰

66 See, vol. 1, p. 38.

67 The name Macarius (Μακάριος) means “blessed” in Greek. On this legend, see Edward Cuthbert Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius: A Critical Discussion Together with Notes on Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Port Chester, NY: Elibron, 2004 [repr. of 1898 edn]), 142n1; Tim Vivian, *St Macarius the Spirit Bearer: Coptic Texts Relating to Saint Macarius the Great* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary, 2004), 72–74; Clara Erskine Clement Waters, *A Handbook of Legendary and Mythological Art* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1871), 184.

68 Scetis (Wadi Natrun) is now the site of the Monastery of St Macarius the Great. For an account of Macarius’ life as described in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, see William Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 194–96.

69 See, for example, Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews*, 46–49, 142.

70 See *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 73, col. 1013 for the tale in Book VI, part II, chapter 16 of the *Vitae Patrum* text. The *Golden Legend* version is in *LegAur* 150–51. For an English translation, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1, 90. In Islamic tradition, it developed into a legend involving Jesus. In his *Stories of the Prophets*, al-Kisa’i (c. 1100) relates the tale about the prophet ʿĪsā (Jesus) who interrogates and resurrects a skull, that subsequently tells him about hell and the different kinds of sinners who are punished there. See David Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1933), 148; Gustav Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner: Aus arabischen Quellen zusammengetragen und mit jüdischen Sagen verglichen* (Frankfurt am Main: Literarische Anstalt, 1845), 286–91; Jan Knappert, *Islamic Legends; Histories of the Heroes, Saints and Prophets of Islam*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 174–76.

The tale of *St Macarius and the Talking Skull* is found in no fewer than three versions in OSw.: a legend in *Fornsvenska legendariet* (UUB C 528, 1400–50; SRA E 8900, 1450–70); part of a sermon for the Sixth Sunday after Trinity (UUB C 35, late fifteenth century), and a miracle under the second commandment in *Själens tröst* (SKB A 108, 1400–50). In the tale, the hermit Macarius comes across the skull of a dead man lying on the ground.⁷¹ In the sermon – the longest version – we learn that the skull is lying on a former battleground where Christians and pagans fought. In all versions, the skull tells Macarius that he was a pagan and is now being punished in hell. In the legend and *Själens tröst*, we learn that in the depths below him are the Jews, and below them false and bad Christians. The sermon does not mention Jews in hell, but it claims that false Christians – those who leave the world without contrition, confession, and penance – are being punished so strictly because God has chosen Christians above pagans and Jews, and he loves and punishes them as a husband would his children. The text does not conflate pagans and Jews into one category. Indeed, the miracle in UUB C 35 is followed by an explanation why in God's eyes bad Christians are worse than pagans and Jews.⁷² The magic in this story is not performed by a Jew – the skull appears just to start speaking – but magic enables Macarius to hear from an “eye-witness” what the fate of Jews is in the afterlife: they are made visible through necromancy.⁷³

71 In UUB C 528, the scribe has changed “a ødhe mark” [in a desert] to “a ene mark” [in a field], which is possibly an attempt to make the landscape of the text less exotic. The substitution has not been made in SRA E 8900.

72 We read, for example: “Ok fore thænna ærona ok nade som gudh haffuer oss giffuit ok vtvalt oss til sin ælskilikin barn ok bewiser oss daghelika sin hælga kærlek mædh the hælga scriffit ok mædh sinom nadafulla jærteknom fram fore judom ok androm hedningom Thy tilbør war rætwise mera wara ok skælīga j allom warom gærningom æn thera epter thy war hærra jhesus sagde ok manade oss til mædh första ordomen j thænna læstena æn thy wær manga æro the cristne som fulare ok anstyggjare æro j gudz asyn æn nagra hedninga fore thera fula synda sidwænna skul som the bliffua jlhærda vtj [...] Rædelikin ær the bidiande wæntha aff gudz dome ok tæs brænmande eldzins grather ok sorgh som vrnøta skal ok pina wars hærra jhesu christi owinj ok fiande” [And for this honour and grace that God has given us and chosen us, ahead of Jews and other pagans, as his beloved children, and every day (he) shows us his holy love through the Holy Scriptures and his merciful miracles. It is therefore appropriate to be more just and rational in all our deeds than they (are), as Our Lord Jesus said and exhorted us with the first words in this reading (Matthew 5:20), because many are those Christians who are uglier and more disgusting in God's view than some pagans on account of their sinful ways which they stubbornly pursue (...)] Terrified, they await God's judgement and the weeping and sorrow of its burning fire that will consume and torment the enemies and foes of Jesus Christ], UUB C 35 187–188; *SMP* IV 132–33.

73 Another story in which a Christian holy man communes with the dead to hear about the fate of Jews after death can be found in Text 1: *A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven*.

As it spread, the legend acquired different meanings and focuses. In the Eastern Church, the story came to be about praying for the deceased, and in these versions the skull tells Macarius that the prayers of the faithful bring respite to the suffering of the departed. The consolation provided by prayers for the dead is also mentioned in the *Vitae Patrum*.⁷⁴ In the *Legenda aurea* and OSw. versions, the story acts as a cautionary tale to Christians who – despite knowing about the redeeming sacrifice made by Jesus – behave as though it were of little consequence: they live their lives as though damnation were not real: “Profundiores omnibus sunt falsi christiani qui Christi sanguine redempti tantum pretium parvipendunt” [Deepest of all are false Christians who, having been redeemed by the blood of Christ, think little of such a reward].⁷⁵ They deserve and receive greater punishment in hell than both the heathens who have never known Christ and the Jews who crucified him. This theme and the use of Jews as stooges or a gauge for Christian sinfulness occur over and over again in medieval works, for example, in St Birgitta’s revelations.⁷⁶ The argument runs that heathens had no opportunity to become Christians, and Jews, when they crucified Christ, had acted out of ignorance and envy. Jews killed Christ’s body and humanity just that one time, whereas Christians, who should know better but choose to reject God, are much worse than Jews because they kill Christ’s spirit every single day.⁷⁷ This expostulation was intended to induce sincere soul-searching in the reader or listener. As baptism alone was not enough to cleanse their souls for eternity, the Christian audience should reassess their behaviour lest they too meet the same fate as the false Christians described by the skull.

The tale of Macarius is also an expression of the growing interest in the structure of hell. Although hell is mentioned in the Old and New Testaments and its existence was endorsed by the Church Fathers, the precise details of the place and nature of eternal punishment were somewhat hazy, leaving it to writers, sermonists, and other clergy to imagine or deduce the terrors awaiting the sinful and to relate them to questioning audiences. The OSw. *Tungulus*, the tale of an Irish knight who visits the underworld (purgatory and hell) for three days and nights

⁷⁴ *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 73, col. 1013

⁷⁵ *LegAur* 151

⁷⁶ See, for example, *Liber Caelestis* 1.37, 41, 53. OSw. text published in *BU I* 111–15, 122–30, and 181–86; Lat. in Carl-Gustaf Undhagen, ed., *Sancta Birgitta: Revelaciones Book I*, SSFS ser 2, vol. 7, no. 1 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1978), 347–52, 360–68, and 409–14; English translation in Denis Searby and Bridget Morris, trans. and ed., *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 1: *Liber Caelestis Books I–III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 114–16, 120–24, and 146–49.

⁷⁷ Cf. Augustinus, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 63.4 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 36, cols 762–63, and Anselm, *Cur Deus homo*, 1.9 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 158, cols 370–73.

exists in OSw. in three manuscripts.⁷⁸ In purgatory, various tortures for different sins are revealed to the knight and he also gets a peek into the pits of hell where he sees many of his acquaintances and friends – but no Jews. The trend of writing about visiting the realm of the dead reached its literary apex in the Middle Ages with Dante Alighieri's *Divina Commedia* (c. 1307–21), a work that also contains no pejorative or insulting references to Jews. According to the East Norse sources, not all Jews were bad, some were even good. For example, according to a sermon for Christmas Day (LSB T 181, fifteenth century), derived from the Latin *Evangelium Nicodemi*, all the righteous Jews who lived before the coming of Christ did not go to hell but spent their time after death in a darkness (limbo) awaiting the coming of Christ:

Thet andra folkit som gudhi til hørðhe ok j thenna thimanom glæddis / Thet waro helghe patriarcha ok propheta / Som war adham abraham moyses sanctus iohannes baptista / medh flerom vtalikom helghom syælom som j heluitis mörkir waro / ffor thy hymerikit war atlirykt j flerom tusandha aar / ffore adhams forsta syndh skuld Æn the ther gudhz viner waro / The haffdho ther ey andra pino en ena mörka wærlðh / ok stora længthan hwar dagh æptir synne atirlösin / som them war jættat aff gudhi / Thetta folkit j tessu mörko wærlðhime / the fingho stora glædhi daagh ok thera wærlðh⁽⁹⁾ wardh mykit lyusarin som prophetin ysaias haffde spaat sighiande populus gentium qui ambulabat in tenebris videt lucem magnam habitantibus in regione vmbra mortis lux orta est eis ffolkit som gingo j mörkreno sagho eth storth lyus / Ok the ther biggiande waro j rykeno dödzens skuggha / them ran vp eth lyus / Therne spadomyn fulkompnadhis j dagh / medh wars herra ihesu christi fozdlotyma⁷⁹

Notes: a. wærlðh] wær dh MS.

[The second people who belonged to God and who rejoiced at this moment are the holy patriarchs and prophets who were Adam, Abraham, Moses, St John the Baptist with many countless holy souls who were in the darkness of hell because heaven was closed again for several thousand years on account of Adam's first sin. But those who were God's friends received no other punishment than a dark world and every day a great yearning for their salvation that had been promised them by God. These people in this dark world received a great day of joy and their world became much lighter, as the prophet Isaiah (9:2) had prophesied, saying: "Populus (gentium) qui ambulabat in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam; habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis, lux orta est eis." The people who were walking in the darkness saw a great light, and a light dawned on those who were living in the kingdom of the shadow of death. This prophecy was fulfilled today with the birth of Our Lord, Jesus Christ.]

⁷⁸ SKB A 58, ff. 67r–85v (c. 1487–91); SKB D 3, pp. 542–572 (c. 1488); SKB D 4 a, pp. 474–490 (c. 1488–63).

⁷⁹ LSB T 181, pp. 64–65; *SMP* V 49–50; *SvJPost* 95.

Similarly, in the late fourteenth-century OSw. *Nichodemi Evangelium*, the patriarchs and prophets are in limbo awaiting deliverance and they rejoice when Jesus comes to raise their bodies and baptize them in the River Jordan:

Tha kombir owir iordhrike aldra kæraste gudz son *christus* · at opresa adams krop ok hælgha manna licamma ok han kombir døpascolandis i iordans vatne · ok sidhan han wtgaar af iordans vatne · tha skal han smøria medh sinne miskunna olio · alla the som a han tro · ok skal the miskuninna olia bliua i slækt som fødhascolande ær af vatn ok thøm hælgha anda til æuærdhelikit liiff · tha skal gudz son nidhír fara til hæluitis oc wtledha thædhan thin fadhír adam til miskuninna træ · Thæntidh patriarche ok prophete hørðho alt thætta gladdos the medh store frygdh⁸⁰

[Then shall the most beloved Son of God, Christ, come upon the earth to raise up the body of Adam and the bodies of the holy men, and he shall come being baptized in the waters of the Jordan. And then he walks out of the water of the Jordan, then he shall anoint with his oil of mercy all who believe in him, and that oil of mercy shall be unto the generations of those to be born of water and of the Holy Ghost for eternal life. Then the Son of God shall descend into hell and lead out from there your father Adam to the tree of mercy. When the patriarchs and prophets heard all this, they rejoiced with great joy.] (Cf. *Acta Pilati* 19 [“Descensus Christi ad Inferos,” 3])

Righteous Jews from before the time of Christ are saved, whereas those born during and after his time on earth and who still refuse to accept him as the Son of God will be sent to the fires of hell.⁸¹ However, this clear-cut division into “Old Testament good Jews” and “New Testament and post-New Testament bad Jews” appears to be blurred in some of the revelations of St Birgitta from the 1340s, where she refers to good Jews who are secretly Christian and the friends of Christ and who do good works, although it is unclear precisely whom she is writing about.⁸²

⁸⁰ See SKB A 110, f. 294r; *Kläs* 407.

⁸¹ In Text 1: *A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven*, we hear from the mouth of a Jewish convert how he avoided the flames of hell by becoming a Christian.

⁸² *Revelations* 1.41.7 (SKB A 33, f. 63ra [= col. 253]: “Æn af thik iude vndantakir iak alla iuda hulke som lønlika æru cristne ok thiæna mik lønlika medh renom kærlek ok rætte tro ok fulkompne gerning” [With regard to you, Jew, I make an exception for all the Jews who are secretly Christians and secretly serve me in pure love and correct faith and perfect works]) and *Revelations* 2.3.40–41 (SKB A 33, f. 103ra (= col. 413): “hærdzskofulle iudane” [obstinate Jews]); *Revelations* 2.3.47–54 (SKB A 33, f. 103va (= col. 415): “iuda [...] the som gerna warin cristne” [Jews (...) who would like to be Christians]). OSw. text published in BU I 123 and BU II 226–27; Lat. in Undhagen, *Sancta Birgitta: Revelaciones Book I*, 361 and Carl-Gustaf Undhagen and Birger Bergh, ed., *Sancta Birgitta: Revelaciones Book II*, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 7, no. 2 (Uppsala: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2001), 37; English translation in Searby and Morris, trans. and ed., *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 1, 120–24 and 180–84.

Summary

In miracle tales involving Jewish sorcery, Jews are initially presented as dangerous characters with evil intent who use their black arts to harm Christians. Hermodenes plots to destroy James and put a stop to his missionary work and the conversion of Jews to Christianity in *Iuba land*, whereas the Jew's ambitions in the story of Petronia are more indeterminate and modest: his magic is either ineffectual as a remedy or it was not intended to help Petronia at all, but rather to gain some sort of power of her body. In fact, in both stories, Jewish magic is shown to be inferior to the powers of the saints (James and Stephen). Although they may appear frightening at first glance, Christians need not therefore fear the menacing Jews if they just turn to the holy men (and women?) of the Church for protection. In this way, the Jewish menace is shown to be manageable and ultimately inconsequential. Christian "magic", or rather the sort of necromancy practised by the men of the Church (Macarius),⁸³ reveals the fate after death of those Jews who refuse to convert to Christianity: hell and damnation.

Moneylending

Usury, or the lending of money at interest, between "brothers" (*fratri*) was forbidden in the Bible although it was permissible to charge a "foreigner" interest.⁸⁴ As Jews and Christians were estranged from one another, and Jews and Christians were not "brothers," they were permitted to make them loans to one another. Although early rabbinical statements on the subject of lending money to non-Jews were rather restrictive, the potential for making money and the growing demand for borrowing money resulted in moneylending becoming widespread among Jews. Indeed, it became one of the occupations permitted to Jews by the authorities – but far from the only one.⁸⁵ While moneylending became a busi-

⁸³ See also Text 1: *A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven*.

⁸⁴ For the Biblical laws governing moneylending, see Exodus 22:25; Leviticus 25:35–37; Deuteronomy 23:20–21.

⁸⁵ On the growth of Jewish moneylending in Europe and its consequences for Jewish–Christian relations, see James Parkes, *The Jew in the Medieval Community: A Study of his Political and Economic Situation* (London: The Soncino Press, 1938); Ronnie P.-C. Hsia, "The Usurious Jew: Economic Structure and Religious Representations in an Anti-Semitic Discourse," in *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, ed. Ronnie P.-C. Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann, Publications of the German Historical Institute, Washington D. C. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161–76; Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes*

ness activity of Jews elsewhere in Europe, there were of course no Jews resident in Scandinavia. For this reason, texts that mention moneylending tend to involve Christians; indeed, the Christian campaign against usury was largely an internal matter for much of the Middle Ages in Western Europe and it did not come to be projected onto the Jews until a later stage. Usury was a sin that is mentioned in several Danish religious texts. Here, for example, under “avaricia” [greed] in the list of sins in the ODa. *Modus confitendi* [*The Way to Confess*] from 1475–1500:

Auaricia · ffemthæ synd See om tw haffuer syndhet i gyrighet eller Vidzskaff, Om tw haffuer meth meghen attraa sammenlagth verdens godz, Om tw haffuer giort aagær / [...] Om tw haffuer noghet køpth paa thet at tw skulle seliæ thet dyræræ⁸⁶
 [Greed: The fifth sin. See whether you have sinned through greed or on purpose, whether you have with much craving collected worldly goods, whether you have practised usury, (...) whether you have bought something with the intention of selling in on at a higher price

The punishment after death for the sin of usury is described in an ODa. text about Paul’s descent into hell found in the late fifteenth-century work *Visio Pauli* [*St Paul’s Vision*]:

Syden soa han en annen stath, ful bothe af karlæ oc quinne / oc atæ alle theræ eghn tungæ ·
 Tha sagdæ engellen til hannum : thet ær okærkarle oc alle met okær faræ ok engen miskund
 hafdhæ yuer hin fatuk, forti tha haue the teligh pinæ⁸⁷

and *Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), *passim*; Robert Chazan, “The Role of Medieval Northern Europe in Generating Virulent Anti-Jewish Imagery” and Giacomo Todeschini, “Jewish Usurers, Blood Libel, and the Second-Hand Economy: The Medieval Origins of a Stereotype (from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century),” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge, 2018), 97–106 and 341–51 respectively. Recent studies have shown that the Christian campaign against usury was largely an internal issue that only came to be projected onto Jews at a later stage. Indeed, Jews were employed within a whole range of occupations in the Middle Ages. On this, see Michael Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews: Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*, *Études sur le Judaïsme Médiéval*, vol. 56 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); 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 “Quarantatreesima 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, vol. 43 (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2012), 119–30; Julie L. Mell, *The Myth of the Medieval Jewish Moneylender*, 2 vols, Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
 86 DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 5v; *DePassDom* 6.

87 SKB K 4, f. 39v; *HellKv* 25. On *Visio Pauli*, see Dario Bullitta, “Sources, Context, and English Provenance of the Old Danish *Visio Pauli*,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 116, no. 1 (2017): 1–23.

[Then he saw another place, full of both men and women, and they were all eating their own tongues. Then the angel said to him, "These are usurers and those people who practised usury and had no mercy towards the poor, for this reason they are now being punished in this way."]

The OSw. work *Själens tröst* [*Consolation of the Soul*] from the first half of the fifteenth century contains many warnings about usury and the dire consequences of lending and borrowing at interest. Using the ninth commandment, the work makes it clear that such business practices are unchristian:

Thet nionda budhordhit ær Mænniskia thu skalt ekki astunda ellir gernas thins jæmcristins godz thet wari hws ellir akir ellir nokot annat aff allo thy honom til høre J thesso forbyudhir gudh alla handa giri / Roof / stýld / okir / oc alla orætta oc falska winning medh hwilke een mænniskia astundar nokot thet androm til hørir til orætta j hwat matto ellir hwat list thet kan wara⁸⁸

[The ninth commandment is: Human, you shall not covet or desire your fellow Christian's assets, be it a house or field or something else of all that belongs to him. With this God forbids all kinds of greed, theft, burglary, usury, and all unjust and false profit with which a person covets something that belongs to another person unjustly in whatever way or with whatever cunning it may be.]

Själens tröst contains several miracle tales that in an entertaining fashion demonstrate how those who make money from charging interest are rejected by God and cannot find salvation:

Thet war een okir karll han hafdhe eet sølfkors til pant aff enom / Han wardh syukir oc nalkadhis fast dødhonom / Tha toko hans wini eet kors j kyrkionne oc hiolo for honom oc badho at han skulde kænnas widh sin gudh oc skapara oc see oppa korsit / oc skodha hans hardha pyno oc dødh som waar herra ledh a thy hælgha korse for hans skuld / Han swaradhe thetta korsit kænnir ekki iak / Æn thet korsit kænnir iak wel som mik staar til pant oc iak hafwir j mine kisto oc medh them ordhum gaff vp sin anda⁸⁹

⁸⁸ SKB A 108, p. 296; *SjäTrö* K 479. Cf. "Thu skalt enga batan ellir okir taka aff thy godze thu androm borghar Thu skalt thinom iæmcristne thit godz borgha rætfærdhelika oc eenkannelika for gudz skuld || wilt thu ekki göra \thet/ tha borgha honom enkte" [You shall take no profit or interest on the assets that you lend to others. You shall lend your fellow Christian justly and simply for the sake of God. If you do not want to do so, then do not lend him it], SKB A 108, pp. 300–301; *SjäTrö* K 488; "Thik bør iæmwel atirgifwa alla the fruct oc nyt som thu hafwir ther aff fangit / hafdhe thu een pæning wunnit medh okir / Oc wunne thu sidhan thusanda mark medh them pæningenom / thik bordhe thet alt saman atirgifwa om thu wilde thina siel bewara" [You ought equally to return the fruits and income that you have received from it. If you made a penny through usury, and then you made a (further) thousand marks with this penny, then you ought to return all of it if you wish to keep your soul], SKB A 108, p. 303; *SjäTrö* K 493.

⁸⁹ SKB A 108, p. 297; *SjäTrö* K 482.

[There was a usurer. He had (received) a silver cross in pawn from someone. He became ill and was very close to death. So, his friends took a cross from the church⁹⁰ and held it before him and prayed that he would recognize his God and creator and look upon the cross and see the harsh torment and death that Our Lord suffered on the cross for his sake. He answered, “I don’t know that cross, but I know very well the cross that I have in pawn and am keeping in my chest!” And with those words, he died.]

Thet war een rikir man / han hafdhe latit ena kyrkio byggia aff sino godze / Thentidh biscopin kom oc skulde kyrkiona wighia / Tha stodh een diaewl bak widh altarit oc saghdhe / Herra biscop j skulin themna kyrkiona engaledh wighia / hon ær miin oc høre mik til medh rætto / Biscopin spordhe hwi høre hon thik til / Diæfwlin swaradhe hon ær bygd aff okir oc orætto godze thy ær hon miin Swa bleff kyrkian owigdh oc thet forstyrde diæfwlin⁹¹
 [There was a wealthy man. He had had a church built using his assets. When the bishop arrived and was to consecrate the church, a devil was standing behind the altar and said, “Lord bishop, you should absolutely not consecrate this church. It’s mine and belongs to me by rights!” The bishop asked, “Why does it belong to you?” The devil answered, “It’s built from usury and unjust assets! That’s why it’s mine!” So, the church remained unconsecrated and the devil prevented it.]

Thet war een rikir okirkarl / han laa j sinom ytirsta tyma oc skulde døø / tha læt han bæra infor sik all siin silffkar / gul oc pæninga oc rika hafwor / oc saghdhe til sinna siel / O min siel bliff medh mik / alt thetta godzsit wil iak thik gifwa / Oc æn mera wil iak thik ther til affla oc winna / Thæntidh dø||dhin gik ath honom saghdhe han O siel mædhan thu wilt engalund medh mik blifwa / tha antwardhar iak thik diæflenom j hælfwite / ther medh gaff han vp sin anda⁹²
 [There was a wealthy usurer. He was at the end of his life and was dying. He had all his silver dishes, gold and money, and expensive belongings brought before him, and he said to his soul, “O, my soul! Stay with me, I’ll give you all these treasures and in addition I’ll earn and make you even more!” When death approached him, he said, “O soul! As you don’t want to stay with me at all, I commend you to the devil in hell!” And with that he died.]

There is only one place in the work, where Jews are mentioned directly in connection with usury. Christians who lend money to Jews may not receive interest payments on these loans:

*Kære fadhír maa iak taka okir aff enom iudha^(a) ellir hedhninga /
 Min kære son thu skalt enkte okir taka aff engom man / hafwir thu takit okir aff iudha ellir hedhninga / oc west thu nokra cristna mænniskio / som the hafwa thet godzsit orættelika*

⁹⁰ The OSw. is ambiguous here: “toko [...] eet kors j kyrkionne” [took (...) a cross in the church]. However, the MLG parallel text is clearer: “brochten dat bilde des hilgen cruces vte der kerken” [brought the image (icon) of the Holy Cross out of the church], *SelTro* 240.

⁹¹ SKB A 108, p. 305; *SjäTrö* K 496.

⁹² SKB A 108, pp. 306–307; *SjäTrö* K 499.

aff swikit / hæne mat thu *thet* tilwænda / ellir gifwa them *thet* sielfwom j geen / thu mat *thet* ekki behalda⁹³

Notes: a. iudha] i[o>u]dha MS.

[(Question:) "Dear father, may I take interest from a Jew or pagan?"]

(Answer:) "My dear son, you may not take interest from anyone. If you have taken interest from a Jew or pagan, and you know of some Christian whose goods they have unjustly tricked from him, then you may transfer or give it [i. e., the interest] back to him. You may not keep it"]

The same text is found in the ODa. version of the work, *Sjælens Trøst*.⁹⁴ It is similar to the wording in a sermon by Christiern Pedersen in his *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*:

I Anden maade om han fonger noget gotz aff nogen som før haffuer fonget det vretferdige Det skeer naar nogen tager gaffuer aff iøder eller obenbare aager karle Saadanne gaffuer bør huer at giffue fattige folk Item de som anamme gaffuer aff tyffue røffuere eller doblere Eller aff nogre andre som de vide at saadant gotz fonget haffue vretferdige Det skwlle de fonge dem igen eller giffue det fattige folk⁹⁵

[Secondly, if he receives goods from someone who has in turn obtained them unfairly (this occurs when someone takes gifts from Jews or blatant usurers), then each person should give such gifts to the poor. Moreover, those who receive gifts from thieves, robbers, or gamblers or from some other person who they know has obtained the goods unfairly, they should return them or give them to the poor.]

It is difficult to imagine the circumstances under which a Dane would make a loan to a Jew, so this tale is most likely to have been reworked from the MLG original. Regardless, readers are here being advised that they may not charge interest on loans to anyone. In accordance with Deuteronomy 23:20–21, moneylending was technically permitted between Jews and Christians, so the idea that it was forbidden for Christians to practise moneylending at interest to everyone, not just Christians, would have strengthened the idea that usury, lending at interest, was a "Jewish activity" that was forbidden to the followers of Christ. Doubtlessly, this provoked hatred, as it was an activity described as a grave sin

⁹³ SKB A 108, p. 302; *SjäTrö* K 491.

⁹⁴ "**Ma iac taga ogir af en jødha. ælla hedhninga.** Min kiære son thw skal inkte ogir taga af nogrom man ·/ Hafvir thw tagit ogir af en jødha · oc vestu nogra cristna mærnisko som the hafva thæt gozit orætteliga af swigit · [hæn]ne ma thw thæt gifva · æn thæt ma thw ey sælfvir behalda" [(Question:) "May I take interest from a Jew or a pagan?" (Reply:) "My dear son, you may not take interest from anyone. If you have taken interest from a Jew, and you know of some Christian whose goods they (the Jews) have deceitfully tricked from him, then you may give it (i. e., the interest) to him, but you may not keep it yourself"], SKB A 109, f. 66v (= p. 132); *SjæTrø* 102.

⁹⁵ *AlleEpocEu*, f. 156r [cl]; *ChrPed Skr* II 110.

by the Church.⁹⁶ However, the need to be able to raise capital quickly as the basis of a society capable of expanding its economy, waging war, and developing its urban centres was sorely noted particularly by the secular authorities and ruling classes. An agreement allowing Jews to lend to Christians suited both these Christians, who were able to acquire credit, and Jews, who had to make a living in the few occupations allowed them (viz. currency dealing and loans). One of the consequences, however, was the Jews' growing dependency on the goodwill of the secular leaders whom they provided with capital.

The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold

In Text 35: *The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold*, a Jew asks a Christian man, who has borrowed a sum of money and gold from him and who insists that he has repaid the sum, to swear an oath on the altar of St Nicholas that he has paid off the loan. The man brings with him a hollow staff, which he has filled with the money and gold, and asks the Jew to hold it, while he swears upon oath that he has already given more money than he borrowed back to the Jewish moneylender. Thus, he has tricked the Jew who is indeed holding the staff that contains the money and, for the duration of the oath at least, has been returned more money than he originally lent.⁹⁷ Later, the debtor falls asleep on the roadside and is crushed to death under the wheels of a wagon. The staff breaks open, the money and gold spill out, and his deceit is revealed. However, the Jew declares that he will not accept the money unless St Nicholas raises the man from the dead. Miraculously, the man arises, and the Jew is baptized.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ See Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism*, 36–37; Chazan, “The Role of Medieval Northern Europe”; Todeschini, “Jewish Usurers, Blood Libel, and the Second-Hand Economy.”

⁹⁷ This scenario is reminiscent of Augustine's view of Jews as “guardians of the books”: they carry the Scriptures but do not understand what they contain. See under “Jews in medieval Christian thought” in Chapter 1: *Introduction*, pp. 5–9.

⁹⁸ The story is illustrated in three panels in a stained-glass window, one of three dedicated to St Nicholas, in Chartres Cathedral and dating from c. 1205–25. It also appears in a window in York (c. 1190), Beverley (c. 1230), and Auxerre (before 1250). See Meredith Parsons Lillich, *Rainbow Like an Emerald: Stained Glass in Lorraine in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, Monographs on the Fine Arts, vol. 47 (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 85–86; Anne F. Harris, “The Performative Terms of Jewish Iconoclasm and Conversion in Two Saint Nicholas Windows at Chartres Cathedral,” in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 119–41.

The tale of *The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold*, one of the oldest miracles connected to St Nicholas, is found in OSw. in two works: *Fornsvenska legendariet* (UUB C 528, 1400–50; SRA E 8900, 1450–70) and *Själens tröst* (SKB A 108, 1400–50). The *Fornsvenska legendariet* version, taken from the *Legenda aurea*,⁹⁹ is told in a very condensed fashion; in fact, as is sometimes the case in the *Fornsvenska legendariet*, the reader must almost know the story in advance to make sense of the text. The version in *Själens tröst*, however, is longer, more entertaining, and, as so often in the work's tales, contains direct speech.

The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold is the story of a saint's miracle. The immoral character is a greedy, treacherous Christian who attempts to cheat a Jewish moneylender out of a sum of money. However, when the crime is revealed through a very earthly and fatal "accident," the Jew feels pity for the man and refuses to collect his debt. Instead, in the manner of a bargain, he calls upon St Nicholas to raise the Christian from the dead, adding that if the saint does so, he will convert to Christianity. By refusing to accept the money unless the Christian is given life, the Jewish moneylender is acting in a manner contrary to the stereotype of the usurious Jew. So, in addition to demonstrating the efficacy of asking St Nicholas for help and revealing the urge to convert among Jews, the tale acts as a warning against those borrowing money from Jews – indeed, how can we be sure that the borrower's death was just an accident and not some divinely ordained rough justice? Nonetheless it is the death of the "bad Christian" that allows for his resurrection: he is reborn as a "good" Christian. It is similarly his death and resurrection that triggers the moneylender's own spiritual transformation from Jew to good Christian. The Jew in this tale, as in *The Jew at the Devils' Council*, is not attacking Christianity. He is, in fact, engaging with it in a benign manner by striking a deal with St Nicholas. In this way, he occupies an ambiguous grey zone: both resistant to the Christian message and yet open to its assistance; he is both ignorant and knowledgeable, and he is a Jew who behaves like a good Christian. This unsettled and unsettling status is resolved by the moneylender's conversion.

The Jew behaves here in a more Christian manner than the Christian himself. This use of another religion to criticize the behaviour of Christians is a recurrent element in miracle tales (e. g., *The Jew at the Devils' Council*; *St Macarius and the Talking Skull*), but it is also found in other sorts of texts (e. g., in some of St Birgitta's revelations mentioned above). In the ODa. *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (SKB M 307) from 1459, the sultan of Cairo receives the famous traveller and during

⁹⁹ *LegAur* 44–45. For an English translation, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1, 25.

their many meetings criticizes the behaviour of Christians in Europe:¹⁰⁰ priests live in an untoward manner, dress worldly, drink to excess, are not chaste, do not perform their duties, and are poor advisers to their rulers. Meanwhile, the laity trade, go to the inn, and eat and drink to excess instead of going to church. They engage in gossip, fight, live more filthily than dumb beasts, practise usury, steal, rob, cheat, and break oaths. Quite a list of “achievements”! What is astonishing about the text is not so much the sultan’s criticisms but the fact that Mandeville does nothing to refute his claims:

Ter iek Iohannes tessæ ordh meth manghæ fleræ aff hannum hørth hadhæ tha stodh iech oc vestæ ey megit at suaræ mod sennen Jech vndrædæ oppa at iech saa dannæ ord aff een vantro saracener høræ skuldæ toch sadhæ iek saa til hannum **H**eræ meth edher orloff huorlund kundæ j nu vidæ thettæ saa fullæligæ som j nu sagt hafuæ¹⁰¹

[When I, John, had heard these and many more words, I stood and just did not know how to respond to the truth. I was amazed that I should hear such words from an infidel Saracen; however, I said to him: “Lord, with your permission, how can you know so fully about what you have now said?”]

Thus, the non-Christian voice criticizing Christian behaviour or being used as a mirror in which Christendom can see itself is not just a Jewish one. Muslims, too, could behave more morally and piously than Christians, and they could legitimately comment on the discipline and morality of the Christian clergy and laity. Such a non-Christian voice is meant as a prick of conscience: it was certainly an uncomfortable experience to have one’s behaviour compared unfavourably to that of a Jew or Muslim.

Another tale about St Nicholas and a Jew can be found in the Text 37: *The Jew, the Axe, and St Nicholas* (SKB A 110, c. 1385). Here, a Jew lends an axe to a Christian neighbour who subsequently refuses to return it maintaining that it his axe and not the Jew’s. They end up in court where St Nicholas is prayed to and asked to reveal the truth. With that, the axe jumps up and says, “jak ær judhans · hulkin sannelika lænte mik thæssom sama kristna manninom” [I belong to the Jew who truly lent me to this very Christian!] Again, we have an honest Jew and a dishonest Christian, the truth about whom is revealed by St Nicholas. Although no spiritual transformation is mentioned, nor any punishment of the Christian man, we once

¹⁰⁰ SKB M 307, p. 58a–b; *Mandev* 72–76. On the use of Muslims in East Norse texts to reflect upon the behaviour of Christians, see Jonathan Adams, “The Life of the Prophet Muḥammad in East Norse,” in *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 203–37.

¹⁰¹ *Mandev* 74.

more have an example of “Christian” heaven supporting a Jew against a Christian. The divine will always support truth and honesty, no matter who is involved.

The Merchant's Surety

This well-known legend tells the story of a Christian merchant who, thanks to divine intervention, was able to return the money that he had borrowed from a Jew under the guarantee or surety of the image of the Virgin holding the Christ Child.¹⁰² It is found in the OSw. sermon manuscript LSB T 180 (c. 1450) as an exemplum for the sermon for Christmas Day (“Exiit edictum a sesare augusto etc.,” Luke 2:1). The tale probably originates from the political centre of Christianity – Constantinople – at the time of the Byzantine iconoclasm (eighth to first half of the ninth centuries) and became very popular in the Middle Ages.¹⁰³ It is found in numerous Latin and vernacular versions, including Arabic and Russian, and is incorporated in the collections of William of Malmesbury (c. 1095–c. 1143), Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180–c. 1240), Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1184/1194–c. 1264), and Johann Herolt (d. 1468) among others.¹⁰⁴

102 In some European versions, e.g., in William of Malmesbury's miracles of the Virgin, the merchant is called Theodorus [God-given], the Jewish moneylender is called Abraham; the events take place in Constantinople, and the merchant sails to Alexandria. On this miracle, see Hilding Kjellman, *La deuxième collection anglo-normande des Miracles de la Sainte Vierge et son original latin*, Arbeten utgifna med understöd af Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, Uppsala, vol. 27 (Uppsala: Akademiska bokhandeln, 1922), lxxiii–lxxv (no. xlvi); Erik Boman, ed., *Deux miracles de Gautier de Coinci, publiés d'après tous les manuscrits connus, avec introduction, notes et glossaire* (Paris: Droz, 1935), vii–lvii; Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England*, 29–32; Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Middle English*, 80–84; Kathleen Kameron, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350–1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 60.

103 Kjellman, *La deuxième collection anglo-normande*, lxxv; Boman, *Deux miracles de Gautier de Coinci*, vii–lvii.

104 Of the many western European versions of this tale, the earliest seems to be that found in William of Malmesbury's (d. 1143) *Liber de laudibus et miraculis Sanctae Mariae*, which has been published as *El Libro "de laudibus et miraculis sanctae mariae" de Guillermo de Malmesbury*, ed. Jose M. Canal (Rome: Alma Roma Libreria Editrice, 1968), pp. 132–36 (no. 32). A version of it can also be found in Hugo von Trimberg's thirteenth-century *Das Solsequium*, which has been published as *Das "Solsequium" des Hugo von Trimberg: Eine Kritische Edition*, ed. Angelika Strauss (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Publishing, 2002), 169–70 (no. 5). In Hugo's version, it is an icon of Jesus, rather than the Virgin, and the statue is pawned because a man has gone broke due to his sins and is in desperate need of money, but the core elements remain the same. Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. 1240) also includes a version of the story in his wildly popular *Dia-*

In the tale, a poor Christian asks to borrow a considerable sum of money from a Jew in order to start trading and make a living for himself. Being so poor, he has nothing he can offer as a guarantee for the loan, so the Jew takes him to a church and before an image of the Christ Child in his mother Mary's arms he makes the Christian swear that he will return the loan with interest upon a certain day agreed upon by them both.¹⁰⁵ With money in hand, the Christian subsequently sails abroad and becomes a wealthy man through trading. As the day approaches when he is to return the loan, the Christian finds himself a long way from home and stuck in port due to adverse weather conditions. Unable to return home, he fills a chest with the money he owes and upon the agreed day throws it into the sea while invoking God's help, so that the chest may be carried across the water to the Jewish moneylender and that he be spared God's punishment for breaking the oath. In accordance with God's will, the Jew, walking along the shoreline and waiting for the merchant to return, finds the chest of money floating in the water. He takes it home, hides it under his bed, and wonders where it came from.¹⁰⁶ When the Christian merchant returns, the Jew is quick to demand his money from him. The Christian replies that as far as he knows, the Jew has already received his money. The Jew denies this and so the two go to the church where the pledge was originally made, and the Christian asks the image of Christ for help. The image comes to life and tells the Jew that he has already receive his money in the chest that he found and his under his bed. The Jew then admits the truth and is baptized.

The Jewish moneylender is never referred to by his profession. Even though the Christian man ("crisne mannen") is also referred to as 'the merchant' ("køp-mannin"), the moneylender is always merely 'the Jew' ("iuden"). Moneylending is here so strongly associated with Jews, that it is not even necessary to describe the Jew as a moneylender: the two are synonymous. Similarly, the terms Jew and pagan also appear to be synonyms as the Jewish character is described as "einom

logus Miraculorum, published as *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange, vol. 2 (Brussels: H. Lempertz and Company, 1851), 70, 194–95. Its latest appearance is in the vernacular in the fourteenth-century French collection of exempla *Ci nous dit*, published as *Ci nous dit: Recueil d'exemples moraux*, vol. 2, ed. Gérard Blangez (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1979–88), 199 (no. 694).

105 In this version of the tale, it is Christ, not Mary, who both guarantees the contract and resolves the dispute. In most versions, it is Mary who intercedes.

106 In some versions of the tale, the merchant included a record of their transaction in the chest that included both his and the Jew's names. See Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England*, 31.

heidnom iuda."¹⁰⁷ This blurring of characteristics creates a much broader “other” than can encompass a larger number of non-Christian qualities. However, the Jew in this tale is not painted in a poor light: he demands no “worldly” pledge or surety from the Christian but trusts that the man’s faith in Christ will ensure repayment; his moneylending enables the Christian to succeed in trading and become rich; he only demands his money back as agreed with the Christian; he is not aware that the money in the chest is from the Christian until Christ tells him (upon which he immediately converts). Indeed, his only questionable behaviour is taking the chest of money that he finds and then hiding it at home: finding goods washed ashore (*strandvrak/stranda vrak*) was governed by laws that did not allow anyone – Christian and non-Christian alike – to simply take it home. Such goods usually belonged to the crown and the Jewish moneylender is motivated to break the law through greed. From a religious, rather than a juridical, view of taking shipwrecked goods, the OSw. *Själens tröst* has the following to say about *stranda vrak*:

Ma iak taka thet godz skipbrota wardhír j hafwino oc flytir til mit land /
Min kære son thet mat thu engalund göra / Allan thæn ræt wærlz herra hafwa ther oppa sat
ma thik enkte hielp / Hafwír thu nokot ther aff nutit / thet skalt thu gifwa j geen vtan thet
ware swa at ther waro røfwara ellir andre som landeno wildo skadha / hwilkin mænniskia
som j andre matto skipbruta goodz takir hittir ellir kōpir han skal fara ther medh som her
staar før scrifwit aff stolno godze¹⁰⁸

[(Question:) “May I take goods that have been shipwrecked in the sea and floated to my land?”
(Answer:) “My dear son, you may absolutely not do so! All the right, that the lords of the world have placed upon this, cannot help you (i. e., you cannot benefit from the rights that others have to shipwrecked goods). If you have profited from this, then you must return it, unless it is the case that there were pirates or others who wanted to damage the country. Whoever takes, finds, or buys shipwrecked goods¹⁰⁹ in other ways, his fate will be the same as written above about stolen goods.]

Although the Jew in *The Merchant’s Surety* is not as “good” (i. e., Christian-like) a Jew as in *The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold*, he is not a markedly malicious figure. The greatest character difference in the two tales is, in fact, the figure of the Christian. The author in *The Merchant’s Surety* has created a sympathetic characterization of both the Jewish moneylender and the Christian merchant.

¹⁰⁷ See also Text 42.1–2: *The Jewish Boy in the Oven*; Text 1: *A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven*; Text 32: *The Hermit and the Jewess*; Text 45: *The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery*.

¹⁰⁸ SKB A 108, p. 300; *SjäTrö* K 486.

¹⁰⁹ Although clear, the OSw. is a bit different to the MLG original: “de dat gud koft edder vindet edder gerouet gud koft” [whoever buys or finds the goods or buys stolen goods], *SelTro* 243.

Summary

In both tales, the Jewish moneylenders are not portrayed as dishonest or profiting excessively through usury. That is not the aim of these tales. Rather they are a necessary means for the Christian men to trade and profit themselves. Nor do the Jews demand a “concrete” guarantee for the loan. In both cases, the moneylender demands that the borrower swear an oath before a holy figure as surety for the loan. The only questionable act on the part of the Jews here is the moneylender in *The Merchant’s Surety* who takes and hides the chest of money. However, he did not know whose it was, or that it had been sent by his debtor. Nonetheless, the portrayal of the Jewish moneylenders in these two miracle tales is not isolated. In his book *Shylock Reconsidered*, Joseph Shatzmiller attempts to take a fresh look at the question of moneylending between Jews and Christians by moving beyond stereotypes and looking at the realities of everyday life, and he showed that, “people very much appreciated moneylenders who displayed qualities that made one an honest and righteous man.”¹¹⁰

The difference between the tales lies in how the Christians behave: with God-fearing honesty (*The Merchant’s Surety*) or with impious dishonesty (*The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold*). In both cases, however, it requires the intervention of the holy figure in front of whom the pledge was made in order for the truth to come out; and in both cases, the Jewish moneylender finally sees that the Christian holy figures and divine intervention and power are real, and he converts to Christianity.

The image of the usurious Jew exploiting Christians and living extravagantly is not what is being shown here and nor is it a prerequisite for decoding and understanding the miracle. This stands in stark contrast to the very few other references to Jewish moneylenders in East Norse. For example, Christiern Pedersen (c. 1480–1554) describes Jewish and Christian moneylending in *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* [*The Book of Miracle Sermons*] from 1515:

110 Joseph Shatzmiller, *Shylock Reconsidered: Jews, Moneylending, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 118. However, in his review of the book, William Chester Jordan expresses his concerns about Shatzmiller’s focus on amicable relations between Jews and Christians: “But the real problem is not in the book itself, it is in the impression which many readers will take away from it – of the pervasiveness and primacy of friendship in Christians’ relations with Jews, even when lending and borrowing money were involved.” William Chester Jordan, “[Review:] Shatzmiller’s *Shylock Reconsidered*,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 82, nos 1–2 (1991): 222.

Her met merckiss besynderlige iøderne som waare offuer maade gerige i det gamble testamente oc ære en nw saa paa denne tiid Thii brwge dhe obenbarlige oger De haffue och mange stalbrødre i blant cristne menniske nw diss vær som bruge oger. gøre de det icke saa obenbarlige som de da gøre De det alligeuel hiemmelige oc forkaste deriss sielæ der meth thi det er i stor dødelig synd¹¹¹

[This means in particular the Jews, who were extremely greedy in the Old Testament and who are still so now at the current time, since they blatantly practise usury. Unfortunately, they nowadays also have many companions among Christians who engage in usury. Even if they do not do so as blatantly as they (i. e., the Jews), they nevertheless do so secretly and thus condemn their souls as it is a great mortal sin.]

This short passage demonstrates that just because Jews did not live in Scandinavia, that did not mean that their purported greedy and deceitful characteristics should not be presented and described to parishioners. Although not part of this study, it is worth noting that there are also many accusations of usury against the Jews in Poul Ræff's *Nouiter in lucem data: iudeorum secreta*, a Danish translation of Johannes Pfefferkorn's *Libellus de Judaica Confessione*, that was published in Copenhagen just one year after Pedersen's sermon collection in 1516.¹¹²

Conversion

As we have seen, miracle tales verify certain aspects of Church dogma in real, everyday situations, they often also point to the future when all Jews will convert and usher in the time when world events will reach their climax. In stories of conversion, one or more Jews become Christians and by so doing prove Christian

¹¹¹ *AlleEpoce*, f. 78r [lxxii]; *ChrPed Skr I* 243.

¹¹² For example: “Tracteræ paa manghe atskillighe falscke fwnd / som er met aagher / met falsck køpmanscaff oc manghe andræ vsighelighe vbehørlighæ syndher oc falscke fwnd” [They engage in many deceitful activities such as usury, fraudulent commerce, and many other unmentionable shameful sins and deceitful activities], *Nouiter in lucem data: iudeorum secreta*, f. b3v [p. 18]; “the studeræ dag oc nat ther paa at the kunnæ gøre them sckadhe paa theris tymelighe godtz / met aagher oc al andhen falskhet i huat modhe the kunnæ met altsomstørsth subtilighet / hwilkit dieffuelen icke gør / endog at han er alsomstørst fighendæ” [they study day and night so that they can cause damage to their worldly goods by means of usury and all other kinds of trickery in whatever way they can with the greatest subtlety, which the devil does not do even though he is the greatest enemy of all], *Nouiter in lucem data: iudeorum secreta*, f. b6r [p. 23]; “the fwlæ oc slemme hwnhdæ faa oc afftwinghæ ethers egnæ fattughe vndherdaner cristnæ menniske / met aagher oc andræ manghæ at sckillighe falsckæ fwnd [These unclean and evil dogs obtain and extort this money from your own poor Christian subjects by means of usury and many other deceitful tricks], *Nouiter in lucem data: iudeorum secreta*, f. c1v [p. 26].

truth, fulfil their role in eschatology, and prepare the way for the Final Days and the Second Coming. The role assigned to Jews by Augustine provides them with a special place in the Christian history of redemption and hope, and those who recognize Christ as the Messiah and convert can be considered as paving the way for the Final Days and the Second Coming. Thus, these tales lift Jewish converts to eschatological heights. Their complex otherness is at first an attack on Christianity but ultimately becomes the source of its success.

Jews converting was not an uncommon phenomenon in the Middle Ages and there were both forced conversions in which individuals or entire groups were coerced into baptism and there were willing conversions in which individuals or families chose to convert for their own personal reasons such as religious conviction or the desire for greater mobility in the broader society.¹¹³ Sometimes conversion was a means of avoiding expulsion or it offered a way out of a punishment for a crime (either within the Jewish community itself or at the hands of the Christian authorities). Jews who converted for such tactical reasons were not always seen as “real” converts to Christianity by their new co-religionists who even suspected them of being motivated by monetary reward and travelling from city to city to “re-convert” in each place with the aim of receiving a new baptismal gift each time. There were also converts who later renounced their baptism and re-joined Jewish communities. Poul Ræff’s *Nouiter in lucem data: iudeorum secreta* from 1516 lays out these allegations:

Paa thet siisthæ skal man widhæ. At manghæ iødher æræ til som holdhæ sig for cristnæ menniskæ och æræ dog ickē godhæ cristnæ / thet kommer sigh swo til. Manghæ sculle findhes blant iødhernæ som offuergiffue theris slecht oc wenner / sameledis theris fædernæ land oc faræ langht hædhen oc ladhæ sig dobæ. Icke forti at the willæ bliffue godhæ cristnæ / men at the kunnæ dess beddræ forsamlæ penninghæ oc leffuæ dess kræseligheræ. Och at the kunnæ dess beddræ faa lempæ ther til at brwghæ theris kunsther om the kunnæ nogræ. Nar the æræ tha kedhæ aff en stæd suo faræ the ther aff oc til en anden stæd / ther ladhæ the sigh døbæ aff nyg / mod then hellighe cristnæ regel / oc sameledis atther ther forsamlæ penninghe oc brwghæ hwes the kunnæ. Sidhen paa thet siisthæ giffue the sig til iødhernæ igen / then enæ effther then andhen oc sighæ swo hwer wed sig. Ieg wil ickæ lengher waræ cristthen / theris tro er inthet vthen kettherij / met manghe andræ vbeqwemæ stycker huad the kunnæ paa findæ Er thet swo at the end bliffue hooss the cristnæ oc holdhæ sigh for cristnæ menniskæ / allighewel er theris hemmelighæ forhandling met iødhernæ. Fornemmæ the tha noghen som wil wendhe sig om til then hellighæ

113 On this subject, see Joseph Shatzmiller, “Jewish Converts to Christianity in Medieval Europe, 1200–1500,” in *Cross-Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, and Sylvia Schein (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 297–318.

cristnæ troo / tha staa the ther i modh aff al theris macht. Her foræ er thet nytttheligt at see sig wel foræ hwem man giffuer thet werdughæ sacramenthæ som er dob oc cristhendom.¹¹⁴ [Finally, you should know that there are many Jews who pretend to be Christians, but who are not good Christians. This happens in this way: There are many among the Jews who leave their family and friends and likewise their country of birth, and travel from here and have themselves baptized – not because they want to become good Christians, but because by doing so they will be better able to accumulate money and live in greater luxury. And so, they can have greater opportunity to use their skills, if they have any. When they tire of one place, then they leave and go to another town. There they have themselves baptized anew against holy Christian rules and likewise accumulate money again and use what they can. Then, in the end, they return to the Jews, one after the other, each saying to himself, “I don’t want to be Christian anymore. Their religion is nothing but heresy,” along with many other improper phrases, whatever they can come up with. If it happens that they stay with the Christians and pretend to be Christians, they still have secret dealings with the Jews. If they learn of someone who wishes to convert to the holy Christian faith, then they oppose this with all their might. Therefore, it is useful to be wary about whom one gives the worthy sacrament that baptism and Christianity are.]

These relapses tended to strengthen suspicions of a particular Jewish stubbornness and obstinacy and undermined the belief that Jews could be spiritually transformed.¹¹⁵ In order to convince Jews of the truth of Christianity, they were forced to listen to Christian sermons in churches and public squares and to attend disputations where Jewish scholars were (involuntarily) pitted against Christian theologians to debate points of faith in carefully staged spectacles.¹¹⁶

The preacher had to demonstrate the sincerity and authenticity of Jewish conversion. Therefore, conversions in exempla often came about through divine intervention, rather than solely through human agency. These Jewish converts who had experienced the supernatural and seen the hand of God (or, more frequently, Mary) with their own eyes could presumably be considered “model converts” who were beyond suspicion; indeed, perhaps having seen (or provoked) a miracle that verified Christian dogma, they could even be revered as witnesses of Christian truth, the ultimate authority for the authenticity of Christian doctrines, symbols, and relics.

114 Jonathan Adams, *Lessons in Contempt: Poul Ræff's Translation and Publication in 1516 of Johannes Pfefferkorn's The Confession of the Jews*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund 581 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 258–59, includes Latin original from Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Libellus de Iudaica confessione siue sabbato afflictionis* (Cologne: Johannes Landen, 1508), f. c5v.

115 See Elisheva Carlebach, *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 42–45.

116 On conversionary preaching aimed at Jews, see Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, 59–62.

The extant East Norse legendary and exemplum material as well as *Consolation of the Soul* all show clearly that Danes and Swedes knew that Jews were – or should be – potential converts. Even though they would not have witnessed this at home, the popular stories that were read privately or aloud and related in sermons contained many tales of Jewish conversion. In these works, conversion comes about through various means:

- **A miracle triggered by an act of violence against Christianity**
In these tales of Jewish violence, the perpetrator (a male Jew) tries to subvert Christianity and commit a crime against God, such as host desecration or iconoclasm, that unleashes a miracle that hinders or reverses the crime. The Jew is vanquished, and the threat is neutralized. The perpetrator is transformed and converts to Christianity (or occasionally the act is avenged, and he is killed). The concrete evidence of the crime and of the subsequent miracle (for example, blood from an icon) becomes a permanent physical reminder and proof that subsequently becomes an object of veneration. See, for example: Text 33: *The Host Desecration*; Text 41: *The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon*; Text 42: *The Jewish Boy in the Oven*; Text 43: *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ*.
- **A miracle triggered by Jewish disbelief**
Despite attempts at persuasion, Jews in these tales remain stubborn and resistant to rational arguments. Their disbelief can only be shaken off through an act of divine intervention, such as a statue, painting, or dead person coming to life. Heaven communicates through these objects to refute the Jew's statements. Upon witnessing the miracle, the Jew converts. See, for example: Text 1: *A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven*; Text 24: *The Disputation and the Miracle*; Text 46: *The Merchant's Surety*.
- **A miraculous act of healing**
According to the New Testament, Jesus persuaded many Jews to follow him by performing miracles, particularly healing the sick (the blind, lepers, paralytics, bleeding women, and so on), conducting exorcisms, and resurrecting the dead. In later Christian legends, the model of Christ healing the sick is replicated, and miraculous acts of healing and resurrection also convert the Jews who witness or benefit from them directly. See, for example: Text 2: *A Jew Predicts St Basil's Death*; Text 16: *St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew*; Text 35: *The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold*; Text 40: *The Jew Who Attacked Mary's Bier*.
- **A feeling of anguish or desperation**
Sometimes in these tales, Jews facing some terrifying event turn to Christianity for succour and salvation. In desperation they make the sign of the Cross or call upon the saints for assistance. Sometimes heaven itself torments a Jew to cajole him into converting or the repercussions of a divine event are so shocking that a Jew converts. These tales demonstrate that Jews have a natural, inner impulse or reflex to turn to the Christian god and find solace. See, for example: the Jewish women giving birth in Text 23: *The Converted Jew and the Devil*; Text 30: *The Flying Host*; Text 32: *The Hermit and the Jewess*; Text 36: *The Jew at the Devils' Council*; Text 51: *The Virgin Mary Releases and Converts a Jewish Prisoner*.

- Persuasion through argumentation or disputation
When the Christian faith is explained clearly to Jews, then there is the possibility that they will be willing to convert. It was important for the Church to show that argumentation, for example at forced sermons or disputations, was an effective tool. As the miracle stories show, sometimes the persuasion still required a helping hand from heaven. As the Jews' closest confidant, it is sometimes the devil himself who expounds Christian teachings and reluctantly draws (or nudges) the Jews towards Christianity. See, for example: Text 3: *A Pregnant Jewish Woman's Father Converts*; Text 16: *St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew*; Text 39: *The Jew, the Host, the Devil, and the Sieve*; Text 49: *The Stoning of St Stephen*.

- A gentle spiritual awakening
The impulse to convert did not always come from without. A curiosity about Mary could rapidly develop into a love for the Virgin and a burning desire to become Christian. These miracle tales are rare in East Norse, but nonetheless demonstrate that Jews could sometimes be considered as embryonic Christians who, under the right circumstances (typically exposure to Christianity), would seek baptism. See, for example, the husband in Text 23: *The Converted Jew and the Devil*; Text 45: *The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery*.

As the vast majority of miracle tales already discussed in this and the preceding chapter end with conversion, they will not be taken up again here. Instead, I shall focus upon three tales from sermon manuscripts and exemplum collections (Text 49: *The Stoning of St Stephen*; Text 1: *A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven*; Text 51: *The Virgin Mary Releases and Converts a Jewish Prisoner*) and four from legendaries (Text 16: *St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew*; Text 19: *St Sylvester and the Disputation with the Twelve Jewish Scholars*; Text 2: *A Jew Predicts St Basil's Death*; Text 45: *The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery*). It will be seen that tales of conversion vary a great deal in their complexity.

The Stoning of St Stephen

One of the ways in which the Church aimed to convert Jews was through disputation, a formalized method of debate that aimed to arrive at theological truths through the use of written authorities.¹¹⁷ The use of disputations to convert Jews

¹¹⁷ On Jewish-Christian disputations, see Oliver S. Rankin, ed., *Jewish Religious Polemic* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1956); Hans Joachim Schoeps, *The Jewish-Christian Argument: A History of Theologies in Conflict* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963); Martin A. Cohen, "Reflections on the Text and Context of the Disputation of Barcelona," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 35 (1964): 157–92; Wolfgang S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Literature and Art* (New York: Ungar, 1970), 35–38; Frank E. Talmage, ed., *Disputation and Dialogue: Readings in the Jewish-Christian Encounter* (New York: Ktav 1975); David Berger, ed., *The*

has its roots in the New Testament story of the twelve-year-old Christ “among the doctors” (Luke 2:41–50), where the young Jesus discusses faith with the learned men in the Temple and impresses them with his knowledge. From antiquity, the best-known (fictional) report we have of a disputation is Justin Martyr’s *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* (155–70 CE).¹¹⁸ There are detailed accounts of three disputations from the Middle Ages: the Paris Disputation (1240), the Barcelona Disputation (1263), and the Tortosa Disputation (1413–14).¹¹⁹ Of these, the Barcelona Disputation seems to have been quite fair and the Jewish participant, Rabbi Naḥmanides (1194–1270), was allowed to develop his arguments freely. The Paris Disputation was essentially a trial of the Talmud and a harsh interrogation of the Jewish representatives led by Rabbi Yeḥiel (d. c. 1268), while the Disputation of Tortosa, although allowing arguments to be more developed than in Paris, involved the intimidation of the Jewish participants who were kept in fear for their families.¹²⁰

The East Norse material does not abound with examples of disputations between Christians and Jews; indeed, a disputation is the crux of just two texts: Text 24: *The Disputation and the Miracle*, where it is not an effective means of conversion, and Text 19: *St Sylvester and the Disputation with the Twelve Jewish Scholars*, where the disputation ends with Sylvester performing a miracle and the subsequent mass conversion of Jews and Emperor Constantine’s mother Helena. Disputations are mentioned in passing several times, for example in Text 16: *St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew*, whereby using Scripture and arguments, James is able to prove the Incarnation, Resurrection, and Ascension and he converts many Jews with his words: “Mange iudha toko væl vidh hans ordhom.” However, to judge from other texts in the East Norse corpus, it often takes more than good arguments and reasoned debate to convert Jews: they remain obstinate until an act of divine revelation or a miracle changes their minds (e. g., Text 24:

Jewish–Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the Nizzāḥon Vetus with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary, *Judaica*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979); Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982); Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and the Jewish Response* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Anna Sapir Abulafia, “Jewish–Christian Disputations and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance,” *Journal of Medieval History* 15, no. 2 (1989): 105–25; Daniel J. Lasker, *Jewish Philosophical Polemics against Christianity in the Middle Ages*. 2nd edn (Portland, OR: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2007).

118 Justin Martyr, “Dialogue with Trypho,” in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. 2, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, trans. George Reith (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885).

119 For a full treatment of these three disputations, see Hyam Maccoby, ed., *Judaism on Trial: Jewish–Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages* (Portland, Oregon: Liverpool University Press, 1993).

120 Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial*, 11–12.

The Disputation and the Miracle and Text 19: *St Sylvester and the Disputation with the Twelve Jewish Scholars*).

A further example of the failure of arguments to convert Jews is found in the story of the stoning of St Stephen found in Christiern Pedersen's *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515) and in UUB C 56, a fifteenth-century sermon collection from the Premonstratensian monastery in Bäckaskog (Bækkeskov) near Kristianstad in Skåne that contains nearly a hundred sermons covering most of the liturgical calendar. Both texts retell the story from Acts 6–7 that describes the ministry and martyrdom of St Stephen, and of the two, Pedersen's account is by far the most detailed.¹²¹ The Hellenistic Jews felt that their widows were being slighted when food was distributed by the Hebraic Jews, so the Apostles chose seven deacons whose responsibility became the distribution of food. The first of these deacons to be elected was Stephen. Filled by the Holy Spirit, Stephen preached the word of God and ended up debating with the Jews of the synagogues of the Libertines (*λιβερτινον* [freed men]), of the Alexandrians, and of Cilicia and Asia. When they realized that they could not beat him fairly, they plotted his downfall and death and accused him of blasphemy. At his trial, Stephen's face miraculously shone like an angel's – reminiscent perhaps of Moses' radiant appearance upon his descent from Mount Sinai (Exodus 34:29–30)¹²² – but this miracle had no effect on the Jews who by this point were just hell-bent on killing him. When Stephen castigated them for going against God's will, they became even more furious and sentenced him to death by stoning. While they carried out the punishment, Stephen commended his soul to God and asked him to forgive the Jews because, he said, they did not know what they were doing (cf. the words of Christ recorded in Luke 23:34). According to the ODa, *Pilgrims' Guide to the Holy Land* (DAS AM 792 4^o), the site of the stoning of St Stephen is also where Matthew was chosen as a disciple, Judas was a traitor, and James the Just made Bishop of Jerusalem.¹²³

121 For an overview of the ancient material and modern research on the hagiography of St Stephen, see François Bovon, "The Dossier on Stephen, the First Martyr," *The Harvard Theological Review* 96, no. 3 (2003): 279–315.

122 Cf. also the portrayal of the glorified Christ in Apocalypse (Revelation) 1:16: "his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength." In these early Christian martyr stories, the saint emulates the life of Christ. On the parallels between St Stephen and Jesus, see Kenneth L. Woodward, *Making Saints: Inside the Vatican Who Become Saints, Who Do Not, and Why* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1991), 53.

123 DAS AM 792 4^o, f. 191ra–b; *VejlPilgr* 215: "Item fremdeles i then same wey til østern ense til xl fiæd ær then stedh som sanctus mathias war vd wold apostele i then stedh som iudas faredheræ før war ogh vij messe diegne af hwilkæ syw sancte staffn war steend i hæl ogh iacobus then mindræ war skikketh biscop ower ierusalem" [Moreover, about forty feet further along the same road to the east is the place where St Matthew was chosen as the apostle in the place where Judas

The burial of Stephen, the finding of his bones, and their translation sparked their own tradition.¹²⁴ In a series of visions recorded in the OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet*, the priest Lucian is visited by Gamaliel the Elder who tells him where St Stephen's bones lie buried.¹²⁵ The text (14: *St Gamaliel the Elder Speaks to Lucian the Priest*) repeats that Stephen was stoned to death by "iudhane" [the Jews],¹²⁶ but adds that they threw his body out to be devoured by birds and beasts. However, their plan was thwarted by God on account of Stephen's pure faith and Gamaliel buried the martyr's bones in his own tomb – as Joseph of Arimathea had done with Christ's body. Lucian later travels to Jerusalem and reveals the resting place of Stephen's bones. They are dug up and translated to the Church of Zion.



Figure 8.1: A rare extant image in Sweden of a Christian-Jewish debate. Wall painting (1200s) in St Mary's Church, Åhus. St Stephen debates with Jewish scholars. The only partially preserved face shows a gaping mouth and facial features in profile. The Jews, wearing pointed hats, clutch their Scriptures as the hand of God points to St Stephen. Photo: David Castor. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

the betrayer had been previously and seven deacons for mass (were chosen), of which seven St Stephen was stoned to death, and James the Less was made bishop of Jerusalem.]

124 See *FsvLeg* I 281–87; *FsvLeg* PAW II 399–411.

125 Gamaliel had once been the owner of the crucifix that is attacked by Jews in Text 43.2: *The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ*.

126 In the same text, Gamaliel reveals the resting place of Nicodemus who "iudha" [Jews] wanted to kill. In the original Latin text, the *Legenda aurea*, it is the chief priests (*principes sacerdotum*) rather than Jews *en masse* who want to kill Nicodemus.

The two sermons in Text 49.1: *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515) and text 49.2: *Den skånske Postil fra Bekkaskogh* (fifteenth century) include several descriptions of the appearance, behaviour, and thoughts of the Jewish opponents:

Treachery

- they are unfaithful: thee wtro jøde (Text 49.2:12)
[the unfaithful Jews]
- they harbour a great envy: stor awind (Text 49.1:24)
[great envy]
- they use tricky questions:¹²⁷ dybe spørssmaal (Text 49.1:62)
[profound questions]
mange sware artickle och puncte (Text 49.1:28–29)
[many difficult articles and points]
treske och ny fund mod den hellighe tro (Text 49.1:31)
[cunning and new fabrications against the Holy Faith]
- they bear false witness: falske vidende (Text 49.1:26, 34)
[false witness]
- they wish to torture and kill him: swar pine oc død (Text 49.1:26)
[harsh torture and death]
pine hannwm til døde (Text 49.1:52–53)
[torture him to death]
de ville stene hannum der i hiell (Text 49.1:73)
[they want to stone him to death]
- they follow “their law”:
effter iøde lowen (Text 49.1:74)
[according to the Jewish law (lit. Jew-law)]

Emotions (and their expression)

- clenching teeth (in mockery): bede deriss tender til hobe (Text 49.1:64–65)
[clenched their teeth together]
- gnashing teeth (in mockery): gnidslede med dem (Text 49.1:65)
[gnashed (their teeth)]
- hateful and angry: de bleffue mer hadskere och vrede paa hannum
(Text 49.1:64)
[they became more hateful and angry towards him]
tha worde iødhær wredhæ meer æn før (Text 49.2:21)
[then the Jews became angrier than before]

¹²⁷ Cf. also the use of the term “ett jøde spørssmaal” [a Jew-question] in a letter dated 17 July 1552, *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. 5, 844 (no. 1129) discussed in Chapter 7: *Witnesses of Truth and Doctrine*, pp. 303–04.

The appearance, behaviour, and intentions of these Jews are reminiscent of those we find in anti-Jewish descriptions and depictions of the Crucifixion of Christ. Stephen's opponents are shown to harbour a great hatred and fury towards Christianity expressed through animal-like grimacing and flashing of teeth. In trying to defeat Stephen they make use of intricate arguments (which ultimately fail): "Nw de formercthe at de icke kunde offuer vinde hannem" [Now they realized that they were not able to defeat him]. This use of slippery language and argumentation is also described in detail in Poul Ræff's 1516 *Nouiter in lucem data: iudeorum secreta* (ff. b5r–6r). He writes that Jews are brought up from a young age to argue with and trick Christians:

Huat scal ieg tha sighæ om them som altid haffuer omgengelsæ met them / huar møyghet ondt oc stor faræ mwnæ them vpaa henghæ. Effther thi at iødernes mesthæ studium er / at the kunne forstøræ then hellighæ cristnæ troo aff all theris macht met subtilighæ argument mod simplæ cristnæ menniskæ / eller i hues andræ modhæ the kwinnæ. Ieg troer fulkommelighen at hwar som iøder the boo vti nogræ cristnæ købstæder eller stæder / tha sculle the meræ faræ / skadæ / oc frestelser indføræ paa cristne menniske end dieffuelen sculle gøre / thi ath dieffuelsens festtelsæ hun kan aldrig varæ suo idelig som iødernes. Er hun end suo idelig / tha kan man snarligen bort elthæ hernæ met thet hellighe korsis teghen / met hwilkit man icke kan bort elthæ theris indbondhenæ scalkhet The ladæ sig varæ møyghet hellighe / oc met suodan løgnafftig hellighet haffue the huer dag theris omgengelsæ met the cristnæ oc eræ dog øgnæ scalkæ The haffue manghe samtalæ met them om troen oc om eth gudeligt leffnet Fornemme the tha noghen cristthen som wil bindæ sig til ordet met them oc er icke fornwfftig oc klog / eller oc then som icke vil oc the dog kunne drage ther til met subtilig snack / suo taghe the manghe stycker aff biblien i thet gamble testamentæ oc settæ fram for hannum / hwilke ther neest liwdæ paa theris log. Oc paa suodanæ manghe article eræ the møyghet ferdughæ / heltz forti at af førstæ begyndilsæ oc barndom tha læræ the theris børn i swo dane articlæ / at the sculle widhe at disputeræ met cristnæ. Thi skeer thet tijt oc ofte at manghe cristnæ som icke wel eræ lerdæ the offuerwindes lettelighen aff suodane iødernes argument oc faldæ i ketherij mod troen / suo at mangæ aff them tracteræ hemelighen met iødernæ / endog at the tordæ icke openbarlighen for liiffs faræ skyld Men er thet suo at the komme i disputatz met noghen cristthen som wel er lærdt oc wed biblien som thet sig bør / tha sighe iødernæ suo. Uij ville icke disputeræ / wij ville ladhe huer bliffue vti then troo som gud skiwdher hannum i hiarthe. O huar møyghet ketterij oc huar møyghel vildfarelse gøre the scalkæ i blant thet cristnæ folk. O huar manghæ sielæ forraadhæ the til helffuedis affgrwnd. The æræ verræ end dieffuelen / thi at han forstører icke menniscken met then hellighæ skriffit oc ickæ gør falsck forclaring paa hernæ / men thet gøre iødernæ. Dieffuelen han kommer icke mennischen i fald / frestelsæ / eller vildfarelsæ i thet han tagher sig noghen menniskes røst til vthen thet skeer sieldhen / thi troer ieg fwlkommelighen i blandt manghe andræ stycker som ieg troer / at dieffuelen kan icke fuldellighen faa macht offuer eth cristthen menniscke vthen han haffuer noghen iødes hielp ther til / besynderlighen i suodanæ modhæ. Thw kant wel tenkæ huar møyghet ondt oc huar møyghet got leffuendhæ røst oc daglig omgengelsæ the kwinnæ gøre. Item. Iødernæ them nøges icke ther met allenisthæ / at the kunnæ forkastæ cristnæ menniskis siæl / men the studeræ dag oc nat ther paa at the kunnæ gøre them sckadhæ paa theris tymelighe godtz / met aagher oc al andhen falskhet i huat

modhe the kunnæ met altsomstørsth subtilighet / hwilkit dieffuelen icke gør / endog at han er alsomstørst fighendæ. Han leggher sig alleniste effther at fortabæ sielen / men i huat modhe han yderst kan tha hielper han at formeræ oc forøghe penninghæ / rigdom / gwld oc godtz.¹²⁸ [What then shall I say about those (Christians) who always have dealings with them? So much evil and danger hangs over them, as Jews study for the most part so that they can confuse the holy Christian faith with all their might using fancy arguments against simple Christian people or in whatever other way they can. I am completely convinced that wherever Jews live in Christian cities or towns, they cause more danger, harm, and temptations for Christians than the devil does, because the devil's hold can never be as complete as the that of the Jews. If it is ever that strong, then it can quickly be driven away with the sign of the Holy Cross, with which one cannot drive away their sly malicious behaviour. They pretend to be very holy and using this deceitful holiness they associate every day with Christians, and yet they are blatant scoundrels. They have many discussions with them (i. e., the Christians) about faith and a godly life. If they sense that some Christian wants to engage in conversation with them and he is not sensible or clever, or even someone who does not want to but whom they can draw into conversation using fancy talk, then they take many passages from the Bible (in the Old Testament) and expound them in accordance with their law. And they are prepared in these many passages since they teach these passages to their children from earliest childhood, so that they will be able to dispute with Christians. So, it very often happens that many Christians who are not very learned are easily defeated by these Jews' arguments and fall into heresy against the faith; many of them secretly do deals with the Jews even though they would not dare do so publicly as they hold their lives dear. But should it happen that they start a dispute with a Christian who is very learned and is familiar with the Bible as is proper, then the Jews say, "We do not want to argue. We want each man to remain in the faith that God has shot into his heart." Oh, how much heresy and how much delusion do these villains cause among the Christians! Oh, how many souls do they betray to the abyss of hell! They are worse than the devil, because he does not corrupt people using the Holy Scriptures and does not expound them deceitfully, but this is what the Jews do. The devil does not lead people into committing sin, into temptation or error by using a human's voice – that happens but rarely. Therefore, along with many other articles which I believe, I am convinced of this: that the devil cannot acquire full power over a Christian unless he has the help of some Jew to do so, especially in these ways. You can well imagine how much evil and how much good a living voice and daily contact can do. Likewise, the Jews are not satisfied with just damning Christians' souls, but they study day and night so that they can cause damage to their worldly goods by means of usury and all other kinds of trickery in whatever way they can with the greatest subtlety, which the devil does not do even though he is the greatest enemy of all. He seeks only to damn souls, but in whatever way he can he helps to augment and increase money, wealth, gold, and goods.]

The allegation is clear: Jews – who are worse than the devil – study prooftexts from the Old Testament and they employ fancy language and cunning ingenuity

¹²⁸ Adams, *Lessons in Contempt*, 242–47, includes Latin original from Johannes Pfefferkorn, *Libellus de Iudaica confessione siue sabbato afflictionis* (Cologne: Johannes Landen, 1508), ff. c2v–3v.

(*subtilighet*) with the sole aim of disputing with Christians and drawing them into heretical thoughts and behaviour, thus destroying the Christian faith. Christians should avoid such conversations and debates at all costs.¹²⁹

Whereas the earliest tale of a disputation with learned Jews – that of Christ among the doctors in the Temple (Luke 2:41–50) – describes them as being amazed by their opponent’s words and learning, subsequent stories are more ambiguous. While James manages to convert some Jews using arguments (see below), Stephen is far less fortunate. In his legend, Jews are shown to be stiff-necked (cf. Acts 7:51) and unwilling to listen, so that even the words of a martyr-in-the-making cannot reach them. They are not just deaf to the truth, but also blind: not even the miracle of his face shining brightly seems to have touched them. These stories reflect a genuine concern in the Middle Ages that discussing Scripture with Jews could be a dangerous path to tread.

St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew

In Text 16: *St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew* from *Fornsvenska legendariet*, James is victorious in a disputation with Jews about the incarnation and death of God the Son.¹³⁰ This results in the conversion of many Jews, but also in his arrest and sentencing to death under Herod Agrippa, who, according to Church tradition, was the first political leader to persecute Christians. On his way to be beheaded he heals a paralyzed man (“i· samu stund varþ han væl før”). Upon witnessing this, Josiah, the official leading him to his death, begs James to baptize him, for which Josiah is beaten, arrested by the Jews, and sentenced to death alongside James.¹³¹ After James baptizes Josiah, the two are beheaded.

The story of James converting Josiah – the man leading him to his death – goes back to the mid-fourth century and is found in Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Eccle-*

129 In his *Judenbüchlein: Hyerinne wuert gelesen, wie Her Victor von Carben, welcher ein Rabi der Juden gewest ist, zu christlichem glauben kommen* (Cologne: s. n., 1508), Victor von Carben, another medieval convert from Judaism who wrote anti-Jewish polemical works, also asserted that it was unwise to enter into religious debate with Jews as they were taught from childhood how to defend their faith. See Isidore Singer and Cyrus Adler, et al., eds, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 3 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901–06), 570, s. v. “Carben, Victor of.”

130 On St James and Josiah the Jew, see Béla Zsolt Szakács, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, Central European Cultural Heritage, vol. 1 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2016), 77.

131 According to the *Legenda aurea*, Josiah was a *scriba* [scribe], a high-standing religious official.

siastical History (1.2.9; a retelling from Clement of Alexandria's *Hypotyposes*).¹³² There are several interesting points in this short tale that demonstrate the way that Jews were used to underline points of doctrine. The point of doctrinal contention in James's disputation revolved around the idea that there are three divine persons of the Trinity and that one of them, God the Son, was joined to humanity through Mary in an incarnated physical body and was killed. These concepts of the Incarnation and the Trinity, important points of Church doctrine, were at complete odds with Judaism's conception of monotheism and the indivisible nature of God. In the story, however, many Jews convert upon having this particular point of Christian faith proved to them at a public disputation, which reflects the belief that Jews can be converted *en masse* if only they are shown the irrefutable truth of Christianity. This became the idea behind the staging of public disputations and the forced attendance by Jews at Christian sermons. James's healing of a paralyzed man echoes one of Jesus' miracles in the Gospels, viz. the healing of the paralyzed man in Capernaum (Matthew 9:1–8; Mark 2:1–12, and Luke 5:17–26).¹³³ The fact that James performs this miracle on the road to his death may also be a nod to Jesus' "miracle," viz. the *sudarium* or veil of Veronica, performed on the *via dolorosa* to his crucifixion.¹³⁴

132 Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 1.2.9: “κατ’ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν, δῆλον δ’ ὅτι τὸν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, ἐπέβαλεν Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας κακῶσαι τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνεῦλεν δὲ Ἰακώβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρα· περὶ τούτου δ’ ὁ Κλήμης τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ ἱστορίαν μνήμης ἀξίαν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων ἐβδόμῃ παρατίθεται ὡς ἂν ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, φάσκων ὅτι διὰ τὸ εἰσαγαγῶν αὐτὸν εἰς δικαστήριον, μαρτυρήσαντα αὐτὸν ἰδῶν κινηθεὶς, ὠμολόγησεν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανόν. ‘συναπήχθησαν οὖν ἄμφω,’ φησί, ‘καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἤξιωσεν ἀφεθῆναι αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβου· ὁ δὲ ὀλίγον σκεψάμενος, ‘εἰρήνη σοι,’ εἶπεν καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν. καὶ οὕτως ἀμφοτέροι ὁμοῦ ἐκαρτομήθησαν.” [“Now at that time,” – obviously, that of Claudius, – “Herod the King put forth his hand to vex certain of the church and killed James the brother of John with the sword.” (Acts 12:1–2) Concerning this James, Clement adds in the seventh book of the *Hypotyposes* a story worth mentioning, apparently from the tradition of his predecessors, to the effect that he who brought him to the court was so moved at seeing him testify as to confess that he also was himself a Christian. “So they were both led away together,” he says, “and on the way he asked for forgiveness for himself from James. And James looked at him for a moment and said, ‘Peace be to you,’ and kissed him. So both were beheaded at the same time”], Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. Kirsopp Lake, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Library, 1965), 126–27.

133 The paralyzed man and Josiah are James's only recorded conversions in Judea.

134 Strictly speaking, Jesus' final miracle before the Resurrection was healing Malchus's ear (Luke 22:50–51; cf. Matthew 26:51; Mark 14:47; John 18:10–11). The veil of Veronica has no foundation in Scripture, but the story evolved in the Middle Ages and was popularized in Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes vitae Christi* from the fourteenth century.

St Sylvester and the Disputation with the Twelve Jewish Scholars

Text 19: *St Sylvester and the Disputation with the Twelve Jewish Scholars* from *Fornsvenska legendariet* is the most detailed narrative account of a disputation between Jews and Christians in East Norse.¹³⁵ The tale takes place in the fourth century CE after Helena (c. 246/248–c. 330), mother of the Roman emperor Constantine I (r. 306–37), has converted from paganism to Judaism. While near Jerusalem, she receives news that her son has become a Christian, and she writes to him applauding his conversion from paganism but expressing regret that he has chosen to follow the Christian God rather than the Jewish one. Constantine writes back to invite his mother and an entourage of Jews to Rome to debate with a Christian to determine who is the true God: the Jewish or the Christian one. Helena arrives in Rome with 140 Jews and the twelve most learned ones among them are chosen to dispute with Sylvester, the bishop of Rome (r. 314–35). Two pagans, Craton and Zenophilus, “rætuise mæn ok wisaste filosofi” [righteous men and exceedingly wise philosophers], are chosen to act as impartial judges, and each of the twelve Jewish scholars takes his turn to argue against Christianity.¹³⁶ However, one after another each of them is defeated by the arguments of Sylvester:¹³⁷

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| 1. Abiathar: | a) There is only one God, so why do Christians insist there are three? |
| | b) Why did Jesus claim he was God because he performed miracles, when many prophets have wrought wonders without claiming to be God? |
| Sylvester: | a) Jewish Scripture reveals the Father and the Son (Psalm 2:7) and the Holy Spirit (Psalm 32:6 <i>Vulg.</i> , <i>DRB</i> ; 33:6 <i>KJV</i>). Sylvester demonstrates the Trinity by laying out a single piece of cloth that is folded three times. |

135 Tessa Canella has treated the story of Sylvester’s disputation with the twelve Jews most thoroughly: Tessa Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri: Genesi di una leggenda su Costantino imperatore, Uomini e mondi medievali*, Collana del Centro italiano di studi sul basso medioevo – Accademia Tudertina, vol. 7 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 2006), 179–260; Tessa Canella, “Gli Actus Silvestri tra Oriente e Occidente: Storia e diffusione di una leggenda costantiniana,” in *Costantino I: Enciclopedia costantiniana sulla figura e l’immagine dell’imperatore del cosiddetto editto di Milano 313–2013*, vol. 2, ed. Alberto Melloni (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 2013), 241–58.

136 In the *Actus Silvestri*, the twelve Jews are drawn from six groups: Abiathar and Jonas are rabbis; Godolias and Annas are scribes; Doch and Chusi are teachers (*magistri*) at the synagogue; Benjamin and Aroel are interpreters of the Law; Jubal and Thara are Pharisees; Sileon and Zambri are elders (*presbyteri*). Sylvester is thus challenged by every type of learned Jew. See Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri*, 191.

137 For a thorough treatment of each of these arguments, see Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri*, 191–254.

b) No prophet claimed to be God because if he did, he would have been lying and God would have removed his power to perform miracles. Jesus was still able to raise the dead after saying he was God, so therefore he could not have been lying.

2. Jonas: God commanded Abraham to circumcise himself in order to be righteous. Christians are not circumcised and are therefore not righteous and their faith not true.
Sylvester: As it says in the Jewish Scriptures, Abraham was God's friend and therefore righteous before he was circumcised. Circumcision did not make Abraham righteous and is not needed to be God's friend.
3. Godolias: God is immutable and immortal, so how could he have been born, tempted, betrayed, tortured, and killed?
Sylvester: The answers are in the Jewish Scriptures where his birth is described (Isaiah 7:14), his temptation (Zechariah 3:1), his betrayal (Psalm 40:10 *Vulg., DRB*; 41:9 *KJV*), and his death (Hosea 13:14).
4. Annas: Without using any arguments, Annas claims that the Scripture that Sylvester is quoting is not about Jesus.
Sylvester: He asks Annas to name someone other than Jesus who fulfils the biblical prophecies, which Annas is unable to do.
5. Doch: If Christ was the Son of God and born holy, why did he need to cleanse himself of sin through baptism in the River Jordan?¹³⁸
Sylvester: Christ put an end to circumcision and instituted baptism. He was baptized in the Jordan to imbue the water with divine power that it might thereafter cleanse others of their sin.
6. Chusi: What was the reason for the Virgin Birth?
Sylvester: The earth from which Adam was formed was virginal, so it was fitting that the "new Adam" be born of a virgin.¹³⁹
7. Benjamin: Why did Jesus starve himself in the desert and not make loaves of bread out of the stones?

138 This question about purity is reminiscent of the one posed by the converted Jew in Text 23: *The Converted Jew and the Devil*: if Mary was a pure Virgin before, during, and after the birth of Jesus, why did she need to purify herself?

139 Here, the question of the Virgin Birth makes no mention of the usual debate about the translation of the Heb. עלמה, *'almah* [young woman] as Gk. παρθένος, *parthénos* [virgin] in Isaiah 7:14. See under "Mary and the Virgin Birth" in Chapter 7: *Witnesses of Truth and Doctrine*, pp. 349–52.

- Sylvester: Because Adam sinned through eating the forbidden fruit, so Christ wanted to be tempted through hunger – but it was only his human form as a man, not his divinity as God, that was tempted. (Thus, by resisting the temptation of eating, the “new Adam” defeated the devil that had won over the “old Adam”).
8. Aroel: If God is perfect and omnipotent, why did he need to be born again? Could he not have saved humanity in some other way?
Sylvester: He was not reborn for his own sake, but in order to save humans – for it must be a person that atones for what a person has broken.
9. Jubal: How did God suffer death? (That is, how can God suffer and die?)
Sylvester: He only suffered as a man, not as God. Sylvester demonstrates this by comparing cloth to Jesus: the thread that is twisted and spun is his human form while the dye’s colour that permeates the cloth but is not twisted is God.
10. Thara: He objects and says that the colour and the thread are twisted at the same time.
Sylvester: He demonstrates God’s suffering on the Cross with another simile and compares it to the sunlight in a tree: when the tree is chopped down, the sunlight does not suffer with each blow of the axe.
11. Sileon: Why did God need to suffer torments?
Sylvester: The answer can be found in Jewish Scriptures. Sylvester adds that Jesus acted as an example to us of patience and yearning for heaven.
12. Zambri: He accuses Sylvester of word games and challenges him to a contest of deeds instead. Zambri whispers the ineffable name of God in the ear of a bull and instantly it collapses and dies.
Sylvester: He does not believe that Zambri used the name of God (for how could he have learnt it without dying himself?) and accuses him of using a devil’s name, i. e., black magic, to kill the bull. Sylvester then raises the bull from the dead by calling upon it to rise in the name of Jesus Christ.¹⁴⁰

Upon the bull being revived, all the non-Christians present at the disputation fall to their knees and ask to become Christian.

The tale belongs to the group of texts known as *The Acts of Sylvester* (*Actus Silvestri*) that comprises a series of legends about Pope Sylvester I. These legends have a complicated and disputed transmission history, although all agree that there are three main versions – A, B, and C. The OSw. text (along with the *Legenda aurea*) is closest to B.¹⁴¹ However, even though the OSw. text was most likely trans-

¹⁴⁰ This is perhaps an echo of Jesus raising the dead in Sylvester’s reply in 1b.

¹⁴¹ See the table in Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri*, 241–42.

lated from the *Legenda aurea*, the Jews' questions and statements and Sylvester's counterarguments are often formulated differently and more concisely in the OSw. version than in the *Legenda aurea*. Indeed, sometimes Sylvester's explanations are so condensed in the OSw. version that it can be difficult to understand precisely what he means. For example, the meaning behind the image of the cloth, thread, and dye is not clear:

Jhesus tholde · dōdh a sinom mandom / vtan gudhdoms men ok thet ær mōghelik medh
exemplo ¶ Litat klædhe ær · wl · eller liin før æn thet litadis sidhan thet snodis ok spanz j
thradh tha tholde wl æller liin vmskipte ok litrin enkte¹⁴²

[Jesus suffered death in his human form without damage to his divinity, and it is possible (to provide) an example: dyed cloth is wool or linen before it is dyed then it was twisted and spun into thread. However, the wool and linen underwent the change, and the colour didn't.]

Compare:

[...] moritur ut mortis imperium subiugaret. Dei quoque filius unus in Christo est qui sicut est uere dei filius inuisibilis, ita uisibilis est Christus; est ergo inuisibile hoc quod deus est et est uisibile hoc quod homo est. Pati uero posse hominem assumptum sine passione eius qui assumpsit, exemplo doceri potest. Nam ut presentis purpure regis utamur exemplo, lana fuit et huic lane sanguis accedens colorem purpureum prebuit; cum ergo teneretur digitis et torqueretur in filo, quid torquebatur? Hoc quod regie dignitatis color est an hoc quod lana extiterat antequam purpura fieret? Lane ergo assimilatur homo, colori purpure deus qui simul in passione fuit dum pateretur in cruce, sed passioni in nullo subiucuit."¹⁴³

[...] he died to subjugate the kingdom of death. In Christ there is the one and only Son of God who is truly the invisible Son of God, as he is the visible Christ. Therefore, what is invisible in him is God and what is visible is man. We may show that by means of an example: the man assumed can suffer while the (God) assuming does not suffer. Let us use the king's purple cloak as an example: it was wool, and blood was added to this wool making the colour purple. When it was held in the finger and twisted into thread, what was twisted? The colour that signifies the dignity of royalty or the wool that was wool before it was dyed purple? So, the wool stands for the man, the colour purple for God who was present in the Passion when (Christ) suffered on the Cross but was not subjected to any suffering in any way.]¹⁴⁴

Similarly, the biblical passages that Sylvester quotes in the *Legenda aurea* and *Fornsvenska legendariet* are sometimes different or lacking altogether in the OSw. version. For example, in the third debate in the OSw. version, Sylvester quotes Hosea 13:14 when referring to the prophecy concerning Christ's death. In *Legenda aurea*, however, Sylvester makes no mention of the prophet Hosea, but instead

¹⁴² UUB C 528, f. 110r–v; *FsvLeg* I 84; *FsvLeg* PAW III 224.

¹⁴³ *LegAur* 116–17.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1, 69.

quotes Psalm 21:19 *Vulg., DRB* (22:18 *KJV*) on lots being cast for Jesus' clothes and Psalm 68:22 *Vulg., DRB* (69:21 *KJV*) on his being given gall and vinegar.

The disputation in the legend does not, of course, record an actual event.¹⁴⁵ It is a polemical text, but its principal aim is to exalt the Christian faith and prove the truth of the religion and the divinity of Christ in particular. Furthermore, by pitting Pope Sylvester against the twelve most learned Jews from the Holy Land, his holiness and wisdom are made even more remarkable. We might also consider the text to be a vanquishing or christianization of the Jewish homeland. The Jews who inhabit the land no longer follow and worship the true God; they have been superseded and replaced by the followers of Jesus and the true God. The arguments used against Jesus by the Jewish scholars do not carry much theological weight but rather act as set-up lines for Sylvester to confirm the truth of Christianity; in this way, the disputation is more reminiscent of the pupil–teacher dialogues found in works such as *Lucidarius* and *Sydrak*, than a sharp attack on the tenets of the Christian faith and Christology. However, even though their arguments are somewhat bland, they are of the type found in late classical written apologetic and polemical works, such as Pseudo-Evagrius's *Altercatio legis inter Simonem Judaeum et Theophilum Christianum* [*A Bitter Fight between Simon the Jew and Theophilus the Christian*; c. 440],¹⁴⁶ while the use of pagan judges, Zambri's magic trick, and Sylvester's miracle all have analogies in the work *De Gestis in Perside* [*The Religious Discussion at the Court of the Sassanids*; fifth–sixth centuries].¹⁴⁷

Sylvester frequently replies to the Jews' questions by telling them that the answers they seek can be found in their own Hebrew Bible. He is thus accusing them of not knowing their own scriptures properly: Jews may be the “bearers of the books,” as Augustine would have it, but they are unable to understand the meaning and truths found in what they are carrying. Their refusal to accept Jesus as God would, however, seem to be more down to stubbornness than misunderstanding Scripture. Even when Sylvester has countered their arguments by expounding Scripture correctly and quoting the prophets, and even though they are unable to answer his demand to name one other person who fulfils the biblical

145 See Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri*, 181–89.

146 *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 20, cols 1165–82; Canella, *Gli Actus Silvestri*, 183, following Wilhelm Levison, “Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvester-legende,” in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle: Scritti di storia e paleografia pubblicati sotto gli auspici di S. S. Pio XI in occasione dell'ottantesimo natalizio dell' e.mo cardinale Francesco Ehrle*, vol. 2: *Per la storia di Roma*, ed. Franz Ehrle, Studi e testi: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, vol. 38 (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1924), 159–247.

147 Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches Umfeld (1–11. Jh.)*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, ser. 23: Theologie, vol. 172 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982), 390.

prophecies better than Jesus, the Jews still refuse to agree that Christ is God and Christianity is the true faith. They remain defiant until the very end of the tale. It is, of course, the climactic miracle that converts the Jews to Christianity. As Sylvester remarks, there is no way that Zambri could have heard and learnt the ineffable name of God and survived, so his killing of the bull is a trick reliant on devilish magic. The pope is able to demonstrate that, like the real ineffable name of God, Jesus' name is all-powerful. The dramatic display of divine intervention in raising a creature from the dead brings all the non-Christians – pagans as well as Jews – to their knees. Without compulsion, they request to be baptized into the Christian faith. The miracle has succeeded where Sylvester's rational arguments failed.

A Jew Predicts St Basil's Death

St Basil the Great of Caesarea (330–79) was the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia and an active opponent of the heresies of the Early Church (e. g., Arianism). He was an influential theologian who established rules and guidelines for monastic life. He is also known for his work with the poor. The OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet* (Text 2) includes accounts of some events from his time as a bishop as well as two miracle stories. In the two manuscripts UUB C 528 (1400–50) and SRA E 8900 (1450–70), there is a wise doctor, Joseph the Jew (“Joseph iudhe viis læke”), whose medical know-how is nonetheless questionable.¹⁴⁸ In no uncertain terms he tells Basil, suffering from a terrible illness (possibly caused by excessive ascetic practices), that he will be dead by the end of the day. Basil asks him what he will do if he is still alive in time for morning mass (“vm mæsso thima,” presumably referring to the morning Lauds prayers). Joseph replies that he will become a Christian, so certain is he that Basil will die. But, of course, Basil does survive until the next morning (and only then dies), and upon witnessing this, the Jewish doctor accepts Christianity and is baptized.¹⁴⁹

The story originates from the early centuries of Christianity and expresses a milder attitude to Jews. Although it is short, it draws into focus several points about Jews and conversion. Jewish doctors – and Jewish medicine – cannot replace Christian faith. Even though Joseph predicts that Basil will die due to his terrible illness, Basil's faith enables him to survive through the night. When the Jew witnesses this miraculous event, he – like all Jews in these miracle stories –

¹⁴⁸ *FsvLeg* I 605; *FsvLeg* PAW III 276–77. See also Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews*, 203–04.

¹⁴⁹ In the Latin version, Basil himself baptizes the Jew: “et ecclesiam ingrediens eum suis propriis manibus baptizavit” [and entering the church, he baptized him with his own hands].

converts. He realizes that his disbelief, his Jewish faith, leads only to death, whereas Christianity is the religion of life.

How Basil came into contact with Joseph is unclear: did he consult him as a physician or was he approached by him unsolicited? The Jew appears self-assured and prepared to wager his soul on the medical assessment of Basil's illness. Whether he lost because his diagnosis was simply incorrect or because the saint's survival was miraculous is unclear as we cannot see from the text whether or not the final hours of Basil's life were considered a miracle. The episode appears just after a miracle tale about a sinful woman, next to which in the margin is penned "mira" – the remainder of the word has been excised. Should this be one "miraculum" or two "miracula"? Regardless, the Jew is suitably impressed by Basil's survival and true to his word, forsakes his own religion, and becomes a Christian. The way to his soul has gone through his professional pride, and the tale shows that Jews can be reached in different ways, each according to his or her disposition.

A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven

In LSB T 181 (fifteenth century), a sermon for the Fifth Sunday in Advent on the vanity of the world includes the miraculous tale of a Jewish man who had amassed great wealth through usury. He heard a sermon in a cathedral by a holy bishop who told the congregation that whoever gave up his wealth and possessions in this life would receive a hundred-fold reward in the next. The Jewish man asked the bishop, whom he considered to be "en stoor herre ok mærkelikin man" [a great lord and an outstanding man], whether this could really be true. Reassured by the bishop, the Jew returned what he had received through usury, donated the remainder to the monastery, the church, and the poor, and received baptism. Shortly afterwards he died. Subsequently, two of the Jewish man's sons arrived from another town to claim their inheritance. On discovering that their father had given away his wealth – and their inheritance – they sought out the bishop and castigated him for having advised him so poorly. The bishop led them to their father's grave where he summoned ("manadhe") the Jew from the dead. The father sat up in his grave and told his sons that the bishop had saved him from damnation and that he now enjoyed not just a hundred-fold, but a thousand-fold return on everything that he had given to God while he was alive. His sons, along with many other Jews, then converted and surrendered all their ill-gotten wealth and possessions ("alt *thet* the haffdho orættelika okrath ok fanghit").

All three Jews in this miracle tale are figures of worldliness, materiality, and greed. The concept of the materialistic Jew bound to the world and the flesh was first introduced by St Paul. He reinterpreted the Bible using the Platonic opposi-

tion of cosmological duality between the material, i. e., the flesh (σάρξ) and the ideal, i. e., the spirit (πνεῦμα) – an opposition between the outer and the inner.¹⁵⁰ While Jews saw were only of the flesh and saw only the material, Christians were of the spirit and understood the ideal. Although Paul never mentioned the economic activities of Jews, his allegorizing of Jews as ‘according to the flesh’ (κατὰ σάρκα) and as engaging in material practices laid the foundation for the stereotype of the materialistic Jew.¹⁵¹ Later Christian authors echoed Paul and associated Jews with the flesh, the letter, and the world, but it was not until the development of trade and the opening of moneylending in northern Europe in the twelfth century that Paul’s “difference” was used to make a potent new element in the already negative imagery of Jews.¹⁵² Jews came to be characterized as greedy and living off immorally acquired wealth taken from poor Christians. They were economic parasites taking advantage of the Christian faithful.¹⁵³

The “othering” of the Jewish father in this tale is explicit from the start when he is introduced: he is rich, he is pagan and Jewish (that coalescing of terms again), and he is a great usurer (“en staddir rikir hedhin jude / en stoor okirkar!” [a present rich, pagan Jew, a great usurer]); most worryingly of all (or perhaps

150 For a comprehensive study of Paul’s writings in relation to Judaism, see Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity*, *Contraversions: Critical Studies in Jewish Literature*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). Paul’s rather negative uses of “flesh” can be found in Romans 7:14, 8:5, 8:13 (“For if you live according to the flesh, you shall die: but if by the Spirit you mortify the deeds of the flesh, you shall live”); 1 Corinthians 1:26, 3:1, 3:3; 2 Corinthians 1:12, 10:2–4; 11:18; Galatians 4:23, 29. For further examples, see James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 65–66.

151 The supposed opposition between Christian and Jewish concepts of wealth can be traced further back to the Gospels and the time of Jesus. The claim was repeated in preaching, for example, in an OSw. sermon for the Fifth Sunday in Lent where the Pharisees of the Gospel have been replaced by the more general term “the Jews”: “Judhane som waro nidzke oc girughe hørdho huru ihesus predicadhe mot værildz giri oc gabbadho han” [The Jews (*DRB*: Pharisees) who were tight-fisted and greedy heard how Jesus preached against worldly greed and mocked him], *DAS AM 787 4^o*, f. 39ra; *SermSac* 188; cf. Luke 16:14.

152 Robert Chazan, “The Role of Medieval Northern Europe in Generating Virulent Anti-Jewish Imagery,” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Hefß (New York: Routledge, 2018), 97–106, esp. 103–06.

153 On this topic, see Giacomo Todeschini, “The Origin of a Medieval Jewish Stereotype: The Jews as Receivers of Stolen Goods (Twelfth to Thirteenth Centuries),” in *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska (New York: Routledge, 2015), 240–52; Giacomo Todeschini, “Jewish usurers, Blood Libel, and the Second-Hand Economy: The Medieval Origins of a Stereotype (from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century),” *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism*, 341–51.

reassuring?) for the audience, he is present in the cathedral. His motivation for conversion is being able to receive “*erme store baathan*” [a great profit] and “*stoorth okir*” [great rate of interest]. His understanding of heaven’s bounty is entirely in the pecuniary terms of finance and moneylending, and he seems more driven to conversion by greed than seeking spiritual nourishment. Indeed, his language is limited to terms of business, and not once does he mention his soul. His sons, too, enter the tale looking for money and they attack the bishop when they discover there is none left for them. It is only when the dead father speaks that a new “non-pecuniary” argument for following the bishop’s advice is articulated: he was saved “*fran dyæffwolenom ok heluiteno*” [from the devil and hell].

The bishop’s summoning of the dead man to speak to his sons is similar to the necromancy in the tale about Macarius and the talking skull. Conjuring the bones of the dead was forbidden (Deuteronomy 18:9–12), but this type of resurrection with the assistance of God seems to have been more than acceptable. Just as Jesus has raised the dead, so too did St Peter and St Paul.¹⁵⁴ Following their example, saints-in-the-making are often reported to have raised the dead and in these miracle tales the act is certainly intended as a marker of holiness.¹⁵⁵

The Virgin Mary Releases and Converts a Jewish Prisoner

This short Marian miracle in *Järteckensbok* (SKB A 110) from c. 1385 describes how the Virgin Mary appears to a tortured and starving Jewish prisoner and releases him from his chains. After revealing what tortures await him in hell, the Virgin explains Scripture to him and tells him about the promise of eternal life. Upon hearing Mary’s explanations and revelations, the Jew converts.

In this story, the prisoner has no “Jewish” qualities or characteristics beyond his unbelief. We hear nothing of his appearance, crime, or activities, just that he has heard of Mary. As in *The Converted Jew and the Devil* (Text 23), the text suggests that Jews have knowledge of Mary and the assistance that she provides to those in trouble. He begins to think about Mary, and, full of mercy, she appears – he does not even need to pray to her. When the Virgin explains Scripture to him so that he understands it properly and furthermore reveals the horrors of hell, it

154 Jesus raised the son of a widow in Nain (Luke 7:11–17); the daughter of Jairus (Mark 5:21–43; Matthew 9:18–26; Luke 8:40–56); Lazarus (John 11:1–44). Peter raised Dorcas/Tabitha (Acts 9:37–42) and Paul Eutychus (Acts 20:7–12).

155 See Albert J. Hebert, *Saints Who Raised the Dead: True Stories of 400 Resurrection Miracles* (Rockville: Tan Books, 2004).

is enough to persuade him to convert. On the one hand, we learn about Mary's mercy towards all, her intervention in the events of the world; on the other, we are shown that if even an unbelieving Jew can understand that a Christian life is the correct path, then so too should all believers accept the teachings of the Church. In this brief story, Mary, again, plays a central role in the conversion of Jews.

The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery

Jewish children do not occur frequently in the East Norse material. In Text 42: *The Jewish Boy in the Oven*, we saw a young Jewish child who had not been hardened (like his father) and who was open to receiving God's mercy and becoming Christian. He was a pure, as yet uncorrupted, soul whose faith was awakened by the Virgin and the Christ Child. Not only did they save him from the flames, but also from a life of error and sin as a Jew and from the tyranny of his violent father. This "saving" of children, innocent souls as yet unspoiled by the poison of their parents, became a motif in legends and exempla, that in turn were sometimes based on actual cases where Jewish children converted to Christianity. In some cases, it appears that the child in question had been kidnapped and forcibly converted (this version of events is, of course, not related in the legends and exempla), but sometimes it would appear that the conversion of the child is not so clear-cut.

One of the most celebrated cases is that of the young girl Rachel, a tale from the first quarter of the thirteenth century which is recounted at length in *Fornsvenska legendariet* (LSB B 70 a; c. 1525).¹⁵⁶ The OSw. work is translated from Thomas de Cantimpré's (1201–72) *Miraculorum et exemplorum memorabilium sui temporis*.¹⁵⁷ The story begins in Cologne with the nearly five-year-old Jewish girl Rachel

¹⁵⁶ The manuscript's dating places it just outside of the corpus. However, I have chosen to include it because the original story dates back to the thirteenth century, and the version in B 70 a is the most detailed description of a Jewish child in OSw.

¹⁵⁷ On this and similar cases, see Aviad M. Kleinberg, "Depriving Parents of the Consolation of Children: Two Legal *Consilia* on the Baptism of Jewish Children," in *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Yitzhak Hen, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, vol. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 129–44; Alfred Haverkamp, "Baptised Jews in German Lands during the Twelfth Century," in *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Michael A. Signer and John Van Engen, Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies, vol. 10 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 255–310; Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Conversion of Herman the Jew: Autobiography, History, and Fiction in the Twelfth Century*, trans. Alex J. Novikoff (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 151–52; Irvén M. Resnick, "Race, Anti-Jewish Polemic, Arnulf of Séz, and the Contested Papal Election of Anaclet II (A.D. 1130)," in *Jews in*

who, even at such a young age, has somewhat philosophical thoughts about religion and humanity: she becomes aware that although people are divided into Christians and Jews, they look the same and speak the same language – a surprisingly universalist view. She is drawn to Christianity and Christians, and secretly begins to give alms to the poor just so that she can hear them say the name “Mary” in their thanks and blessings: “haffuen maria lön” [Be rewarded by Mary!], “maria fergelle idher idhan kærlek” [May Mary repay you for your love!]. The family moves to Leuven and Rachel, along with other young children (both Christians and Jews), begins lessons in reading at the home of a priest, Reynerus. She is an avid pupil and when Reynerus draws her aside to ask why she does not want to become a Christian, she begs him to convert her. The priest teaches her the basics of Christianity and again, Rachel, now six and a half years old, proves to be a fast and inquisitive learner. Her parents, sensing that something is amiss with their daughter, become concerned and plan to send her across the Rhine to become engaged. Rachel discovers her parents’ plot and goes to the priest, saying “wtan iak i tæsse tilstwndandhe nat wardher cristnat tha bliffwer iak æwerdhe-lika førtappat [Unless I become a Christian this very night, then I shall be lost for all eternity!] Reynerus instructs her to return early the next morning and he will take her to safety. That night, however, Rachel oversleeps but is woken by a dream in which the Mother of God calls her by a new Christian name: Catherine. Rachel, now Catherine, rushes to the priest who takes her to the nearby Cistercian convent, Parc-des-Dames where she is baptized and inducted into the convent.

However, her family are none too impressed. They accuse Reynerus of converting a minor against her family’s will and bring the case to the Duke of Brabant (Henry I) and the bishop of Liège (Hugh de Pierrepont), whom according to the writer the Jews paid off: “giffuandes them mykyt gull / oppa thet at the matto faa sina dotter hem i sin hws til thæs hon wordhe lagha aara gammwl / thet ær xij aar æpther jwdha sidhwænio” [giving them much gold so that they might get their daughter home to their house until she was of legal age, that is twelve years according to Jewish custom]. Even the pope (Honorius III) intercedes and instructs the bishop to make a ruling. At the same time, the Virgin Mary tells Catherine by means of an ‘impulse’ (“iomffru maria jnskyutlism”) that Reynerus must appear and stand trial. This he does and is supported by Catherine who

Medieval Christendom: “Slay Them Not”, ed. Kristine T. Utterback and Merrall Llewelyn Price (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 46; Paola Tartakoff, *Conversion, Circumcision, and Ritual Murder in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 130–31. The tale also appears in the *Dialogus miraculorum* (ch. 25) by Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. 1240); *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi Ordinis cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum*, vol. 1: *Textus*, ed. Joseph Strange (Cologne: H. Lempertz & Co., 1851), 95–98.

speaks before the court, praising Christianity and repelling the Jews' arguments with Holy Scripture. Catherine wins the case, leaving the Jews crying and howling to the sky like a pack of wolves ("gratandhes oc tywtandhes i hymellen som en wargha hoper") – so loudly that they could be heard from miles away.

A couple of years later, Catherine's family try to remove her from the convent by deceit: they pay a young man to go to the convent, pretend to be a relative, and abduct her. However, Catherine refuses to see him, and he fails in his mission. The tale ends with Catherine praying to Mary and asking her to become her comforter and new family as she no longer has a family and because Mary, just like Rachel, was born of Jewish stock: "som skinandes roos / aff hwasso tørne / som wænasta lilia aff strangom tiistil" [like a shining rose among sharp thorns, an exceptionally beautiful lily among unyielding thistles].

This is an extraordinary tale of the baptism of a Jewish girl without her parents' permission and the child's subsequent absorption into Christian religious life. Whether or not this tale of Rachel who became Catherine is true, it is a powerful narrative that alludes to important legal aspects of Jewish-Christian relations and outlines the key traits in conversion tales of young Jews. The baptism of children without their parents' permission raised several legal problems.¹⁵⁸ As children were considered under the age of discretion, their choices were devoid of any legal power. Furthermore, any baptism would be seen as an infringement upon the rights of the parents, the *patria potestas*. However, the sacrament of baptism, especially when executed by a priest, was binding and it imprinted a *character indelibilis* [indelible character] upon the recipient – it was an irrevocable act. Where, then, does this leave those Jewish children like Rachel who were baptized without their parents' knowledge? Does baptism annul the rights of the parents? Medieval canonists largely agreed that their baptism remained valid, and the child could be returned to the parents upon the condition that they did not pressure her to become a Jew again. However, the prohibition against Jews and Christians cohabiting also led to further legal problems that needed to be resolved. In the case of Rachel, events took a quite different turn when she herself – spurred on by the Virgin Mary – convinced the court that her conversion was sincere and without coercion. The parents' rights were disregarded, and the child was returned to the convent.

The story of Rachel includes traits that are common to many stories of conversion of young Jews:¹⁵⁹ a spontaneous impulse or urge from within that pushes Rachel towards visiting the priest and mixing with Christian children; her parents'

158 See Kleinberg, "Depriving Parents of the Consolation of Children."

159 See Schmitt, *The Conversion of Herman the Jew*, 152.

opposition to her interest in Christianity and attempts to obstruct her plans (e. g., by sending her across the Rhine to get engaged); Rachel's solitude and loss of her "natural family," which is mitigated by a new spiritual family comprising her monastic community and the Virgin Mary. Furthermore, it illustrates the greater conflicting powers and interests in medieval society: secular, religious, and financial. Ultimately, spiritual truth transcends all in this tale, but just how events played out in the real lives of Jewish families whose children were baptized without the parents' permission is not known.¹⁶⁰

The Jews in the story are represented both as individuals and as a crowd. Rachel, the "good Jew," is described as a "barn" [child] or "persone" [person] who is "klen" [young, delicate]. After she becomes "Syster katerina," she is no longer a child, but "enne klene iomfru" [a young virgin (maiden)] and "hælga iomffruna" [the holy virgin (maiden)]. Her childhood has been erased and she has been elevated to being unblemished young woman. Throughout the tale Rachel/Catherine is praised for her intellect and the speed with which she can grasp complicated ideas. Towards the end, we hear Catherine describe herself unflatteringly and humbly, and her self-image is thus quite different to how she is depicted elsewhere by the author: "Iak fatik ær en owerdogh jwdhinna / oc kommen aff jwdha slækt / oc tho ey wtan syndh" [Poor me, I am an unworthy Jewess and come from a Jewish family and not even without sin]. This, of course, only further illustrates her devotion. Another feature of Rachel's behaviour is that she acts and feels in secret ("lønlika," "hemeleka"): the model child-conversion requires children to hide their pure actions and thoughts from their polluted parents.¹⁶¹

To her parents Rachel is an aberration who behaves "un-Jewishly," and her mother is worried by what she considers to be her daughter's "fræmmandha oc siælsyna tanka" [strange and unusual thoughts]. Rachel's parents only appear as individual figures before she leaves for the convent when they are portrayed as strict and lawbound. The father seeks the advice of their companions, other Jews ("radh medh sinom sambrødhrom androm jwdhom") and from this point on their actions are at first in conjunction with other Jews ("medh andhrom jwdhom") and then entirely subsumed by the Jewish crowd ("en storan mogha medh jwdhom," "jwdhane"). Jews are thus shown as acting *en masse* against Christianity, as a unified community or pack of wolves ("en wargha hoper"). Little attention is paid to the feelings of Rachel's parents. Instead, her conversion is framed as an affront

¹⁶⁰ Kleinberg, "Depriving Parents of the Consolation of Children," 138.

¹⁶¹ It will be remembered that in *The Converted Jew and the Devil*, the wife and many other Jewish as well as pagan women also prayed in secret to the Virgin Mary for assistance during difficult childbirths.

to all Jews in the city who are all then obliged to fight it. Although they are compared to wolves, the city's Jews do not use violence to try to bring the affair to a satisfactory conclusion: they use gold and deceit. However, they fail on both counts because of Catherine's sharp Christian intellect.

The Jewish parents are finally erased in the tale when Catherine asks Mary to become her new mother. A point of interest here is that in her poetic appeal to Mary, Catherine draws attention to Mary's Jewish background: "thū millasta modher oc iomffru maria æst oc afflat oc fōdh aff samma slæktet / som skinandes roos / aff hwasso tōrne / som wænasta lilia aff strangom tiistil / wtan alzskona syndelika smitto" [You, Mother most mild and Virgin Mary, are also bred and born of this same family, like a shining rose among sharp thorns, like a very beautiful lily among unyielding thistles, without any sort of sinful blemish]. As a Jewish woman and the mother of the Christian messiah, Mary was an important, foundational link between Judaism and Christianity. Mary's Jewishness is an important reason why Catherine turns to her for succour, but in other East Norse texts this aspect of Mary's ancestry is not usually developed; indeed, it is her difference from and opposition to Jews that tends to take centre stage. Although it is not explicit in the same way, the Jewish father is replaced by the "particularly good, righteous, and virtuous priest" Reynerus in the tale. He, unlike Rachel's biological father, acts in her interest, helps to develop her intellectually and spiritually, and ultimately provides her with a path to salvation to save her from the damnation awaiting all Jews.

Summary

Tales of conversion fulfilled two aims: the authentication of Christian belief and the demonstration of a progression in God's plan for humanity towards redemption and the End of Days. The Jews in these tales are varied and their reasons for conversion equally so. Whether violent hate-driven men or young "holy" girls, there is always a lingering sense that even before the occurrence of a miracle, these Jews knew the truth about Christianity – even if they did not like it. Their stubbornness could be removed in different ways – a dramatic miracle, a helping hand in a crisis, a debate, or just by supporting those showing a willingness to convert. Often Mary or one of the other saints (St Nicholas is particularly prominent in this role in the OSw. material) brought about the conversion. The goal of the miracle tale was not to convert even more Jews, but rather to demonstrate the truth of Christian doctrine and convert the Christian reader/listener from a "bad" to a "good" Christian.

Conclusion

Miracle tales generally centre upon a point of doctrine, using figures seen as living that doctrine and exemplifying the challenges it poses. By humanizing and dramatizing doctrinal points in this way, the various characters are assigned various prescribed attributes, characteristics, and behaviours that do not need expounding – they are predefined, universally understood stereotypes. Concerning Jews, we find, for example: the innocent child; the compliant and proto-Christian wife; the violent male; the intimate association with the devil; the use of sorcery and black magic, and working as (bad) doctors and moneylenders. For the narrative to have the desired effect, viz. strengthening the listeners' faith and quelling any doubts about Christian truth, the audience has both to accept this fictitious world of miracles as real and to understand and share the same interpretative system for decoding the stories' teaching correctly. The tales were thus always read and heard by audiences who had a shared set of preconceived expectations about the narratives' persons, places, actions, objects, and outcomes.

One of these stereotypes concerns the association between Jews and the devil. In the New Testament, Jews are cast as the children of the devil (John 8:44) and the Middle Ages provided them with the vile features and noxious odour to manifest their ancestry and with evil behaviour to substantiate their origin. In the East Norse miracle tales, Jews undertake the devil's work and act as his agents in attempting to destroy Christendom. This points to a subordinate position for Jews as the devil's minions. However, Jews are able to summon the devil at will, to command him to tell the truth about worldly events, and even to order him to explain Christian doctrine and confirm the invincibility of the Virgin Mary and his own inferior position. They can exert some control over him, and so Jews and the devil have a more complex and evenly matched relationship than we might have assumed.

Jews as sorcerers also appear as an accepted premise for the correct interpretation of some of the miracles. Hermogenes is introduced as a powerful magician in *Iupa land* who tries to destroy James and prevent more Jews from being proselytized. Why he hates James so much and why he has diabolical powers need not be explained: he is a Jew and that is explanation enough. He is by his very nature opposed to the work of God. Similarly, it would somehow have rung true for a Swede that Petronia visited a Jewish doctor to make use of his skills in magic. Even in medieval Sweden, both the attraction and the possible dangers of consulting a Jewish doctor were known. In the tale, there is no explanation whatsoever of what the Jewish doctor intended to do with her. Today we can only guess, but for the medieval audience the answer may have been more straightforward: like all Jewish doctors, he intended to kill the Christian woman. The audience could take

comfort in the knowledge that the saints were able to put a stop to fatal attacks by Jews using magic.

The miracle stories present many different ways in which Jews come to be baptized into the Christian faith: the young are converted by a love for Mother Mary or by her life-saving intervention; women by the sight of the Holy Infant; married couples by a yearning for and curiosity about the Virgin; the distressed turned to the Cross or to Mary for protection, and violent males by being washed, quite literally, in the blood of Christ. It is not always the occurrence of a miracle that triggers the conversion in these tales. Some conversions of Jews demonstrate that there is an innate urge to become Christian within everyone: Christianity is the natural state of affairs to which every living human feels drawn. Meanwhile, those Jews who fail to convert, who remain “stiff necked” and blind, such as the father in *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* or the Jewish city residents in *The Host Desecration*, are killed by local Christians. This is important: these exemplary moral tales have Christians killing Jews. Although divine power can save “good” characters in these stories, human agency is required to rid the world of the “bad” ones: God does not smite them, so it remains the work of good Christians to put them to the flames or the sword.¹⁶²

With regard to the construction and portrayal of Jews, the fictitious world of the miracle tales stood in stark contrast to conditions in the real world. Throughout the Middle Ages, Jews often faced persecution that was sanctioned by the Church and State; popular violence that was often instigated by local leaders or members of the clergy; social, political, and economic stigmatization and segregation, as well as expulsions, forced conversions, and murder. In the world of the miracle tales, however, it is Jews who strive to control or destroy all Christendom; it is Jews who perpetrate violence against the holy women, men, and objects; it is Jews who wish to harm every single Christian person; it is Jews who have the economic upper hand; it is Jews who kill innocent young Christian children in the most barbaric, torturous manner imaginable, and it is Jews who are sexually licentious. By allying the devil and Jews and uniting them in a cosmic struggle against Christianity, it was the Christian community that came to be presented and understood as under attack from Jews who were an omnipresent evil force in the world. In a twisted and monumental inversion of victimhood, Jews became the perpetrators and Christians the victims. If we bear in mind that many miracles address Christian doubts and sinful behaviours, we see that Christians were the

¹⁶² I have found just one miracle tale in which a Jew is smitten by God, viz. Text 34: *The Jew and the Lightning Strike*, where a Jew mocks Christians for taking precautions against being struck by lightning, only himself to be killed by a flash.

ones in the “real world” committing many of the false accusations that they were claiming to be victims of in the realm of these fictitious stories. This construction of the omnipotent, Christian-hating, menacing Jew was of course not restricted to miracle tales but lay at the core of Christianity’s view and understanding of itself and its relation to Judaism. The East Norse material is important as it shows how the powerful trope of Christian victim–Jewish perpetrator inversion had become established as an effective tool of instruction in an area with no past or present resident Jews. Thinking with Jews had truly reached every corner of Christian Europe.



The Jewish Peril: Past, Present, and Future

9 Jews in History: Exemplary Figures, Keepers of Relics, Tormentors of the Christ Child, and Absent Jerusalemmites

Introduction

The Jews of the past held a special place in Christian thought and teaching. They were the first to be chosen by God to proclaim him and his truth throughout the world, and for generations, they maintained this key role in God's plan for humanity but were superseded when they did not accept Jesus' claims of divinity. By studying the history of the Jews and their relationship with God, Christian theologians uncovered parallels to and foreshadowings of the events and people in the New Testament. The Old Testament was seen to contain types that prefigure antitypes in the New Testament and that proved that Jesus and his works were the fulfilment of God's promises, and that Christians and the Church were the New Israel chosen by God. For example, the story of Jonah and the leviathan in which Jonah is thrown into the sea to calm the storm, is swallowed by a giant fish, and is delivered onto dry land after three days and nights is interpreted as a typological allegory that prefigures the burial of Christ and his resurrection on the third day. In this way, the Old and New Testaments are synthesized into a single story in which the events and people in the Old prefigure those in the New: Joseph (Genesis 37–50) prefigures Christ; the binding of Isaac (Genesis 22) prefigures the Crucifixion; the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel prefigure the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and so on. To some extent it was due to this approach that Old Testament was never ejected from the Christian canon in spite of early attempts to do so, e. g., by Marcion of Sinope (c. 85–c. 160). Events such as the destruction of Jerusalem also “proved” that Jews were no longer God's chosen people: whereas they had previously been assisted by God in defeating their enemies, they were now being punished by him for disobedience. Ultimately, this resulted in Jews being differentiated: *judaei antiqui* of the Old Testament and *judaei nostri temporis* of the present time, or to put it bluntly “good Jews” and “bad Jews.”

Not only were stories from the Old Testament full of proofs and types, but they were also sources of inspiration in their own right. For example, the Books of Maccabees were read in medieval Europe as a positive model of fighting and resistance. Judah Maccabee was a much revered and exemplary warrior and hero of chivalry, so identifying oneself with him and his four brothers was both desira-

ble and honourable.¹ For example, the Teutonic Order was named the “New Maccabees” by the pope, and when they moved from the Holy Land to the Baltic area in the late thirteenth century, they brought with them the metaphor of themselves as holy warriors rising up against and defeating paganism.² Similarly, the story of the three young Jewish men – Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego – refusing to bow to Nebuchadnezzar’s golden image and being punished in an oven was read as an illustrative example of suffering for God.³

In medieval Denmark and Sweden, knowledge of Jewish history was largely accrued through readings of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, such as Judith and Maccabees, and texts referencing (often erroneously) the Romano-Jewish historian Josephus (37–c. 100). Substantial parts of the Old Testament, particularly the Pentateuch and history books (e. g., Joshua, Judges, Esther, Maccabees), had been translated into East Norse by the end of the Middle Ages, either as rather literal Bible translations (e. g., ODa. DKB Thott 8 2^o), paraphrases (e. g., OSw. DKB Thott 4 4^o and SKB A 1), or as summaries in sermons and retellings in other didactical works (e. g., OSw. *Själens tröst*). These works trace history from the creation of the world, the beginnings of the people of Israel, the descent into Egypt, the conquest of Canaan, and events up to and including the Babylonian exile. The Apocryphal Books of Maccabees (OSw. translations of Books 1–2 are found in SKB A 1) recount the history of the leaders of the Maccabean rebellion against the Seleucid dynasty and struggle between Judaism and Hellenism. Providing an account of how “Jews” (Israelites, Hebrews, Judeans, and so on) are portrayed in these East Norse translations of the Bible and Apocrypha is a complex and massive undertaking requiring close comparison with source and parallel texts. Such an investigation is way beyond the remit of this book and requires a separate study. In the following, I will only discuss the biblical stories of Esther, Judith, and Yael that were taken from the Old Testament and repackaged in *Själens tröst* as exemplary tales for Christian readers.

1 Madis Maasing, “Infidel Turks and Schismatic Russians in Late Medieval Livonia,” in *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 370–71; Vinicius Dreger, “Judas Macabeu: de herói do Antigo Testamento a herói da cavalaria medieval,” *Mirabilia* 8 (2008): 108–29.

2 Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, “Encounters and Fantasies: Muslims, Jews, and Christians in the North,” in *Fear and Loathing in the North*, ed. Adams and Heß, 15; Yvonne Friedman, “Christian Hatred of the Other: Theological Rhetoric vs. Political Reality,” in *Fear and Loathing in the North*, ed. Adams and Heß, 196; Shlomo Lotan, “The Teutonic Knights and their Attitude about Muslims: Saracens in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and in the Baltic Region,” in *Fear and Loathing in the North*, ed. Adams and Heß, 316.

3 Adams and Heß, “Encounters and Fantasies,” 15. See also Text 50: *The Three Young Men in the Oven*.

The other works that are discussed below are taken from non-biblical sources (although they might deal with biblical characters). I have consulted the legendary material found in *Fornsvenska legendariet* and sermons on the subjects of Judas Iscariot, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the finding of the True Cross, as well as the printed work *Hær begynnes aff Joachiam oc aff sancta Anna*, also known as *Jesu Barndoms Bog* [*The Book of Jesus' Childhood*] from c. 1508 that ultimately is based on the New Testament apocryphal works *Protoevangelium Iacobi* [*The Protogospel of James*] and *Evangelium Thomae de infantia Salvatoris* [*The Infancy Gospel of Thomas*]. These works typically fill in the “gaps” in the Bible and answer questions such as what was Jesus like as a child? What was his family life like? What about Judas – what sort of an upbringing did he have? How was Jerusalem destroyed and how were the Jewish people scattered throughout the world? Finally, I discuss the ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse* [*The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*] and *Vejleder for Pilgrimme* [*A Pilgrims' Guide to the Holy Land*] to investigate how Jewish history is incorporated (or not) into medieval East Norse descriptions of Jerusalem.

Three exemplary heroines: Esther, Judith, and Yael

Although Jewish women are rarely the focus of stories about Jews (the little girl Rachel being the principal exception), three women from the Old Testament – Esther, Judith, and Yael – can be found as exemplary figures in the OSw. *Sjælens tröst* (1400–50).⁴ Esther and Judith were Jewish, whereas Yael – although it is not clear in the OSw. story – was a non-Jew who defended the Jewish people from their enemy. In addition to shedding light on how Jewish heroines were viewed, the three stories about these characters tell us how Christians understood the relationship between God and Israel as well as the prefigurative role of people in the Old Testament with regard to the New.

Taken directly from the MLG *Der Selen Troyst*, the story of Esther in OSw. *Sjælens tröst* appears under the third commandment (“Remember that thou keep the sabbath day holy,” Exodus 20:8–11) and comprises a condensed version of the Book of Esther.⁵ It describes how a mighty and powerful king called Ahasu-

⁴ The stories about Esther, Judith, and Yael cannot be found in the extant parts of the ODa. *Sjælens tröst*. Another heroine of the Old Testament, Ruth, can be found in the OSw. translation of the Book of Ruth in SKB A 1, ff. 207va–209vb, *SMB* II 205–14, while Susanna (from the Book of Daniel), is found in ODa. *Sjælens Trøst* in A 109, f. 33r–v, *SjæTrø* 63–64, and OSw. *Sjælens tröst* in A 108, pp. 271–273; *SjæTrø* 321–23; *SjæTrø* K 436–39.

⁵ See Text 6: *Esther*; SKB A 108, pp. 136:13–143:24 (1400–50); *SjæTrø* 166–74; *SjæTrø* K 220–31. An OSw. translation of the Book of Esther can be found in SKB A 1, ff. 199va–207va; *SMB* II 177–204.

erus (“asswerus,” Xerxes) holds a splendid banquet to which he invites the lords of the 127 countries under his rule. After six months of feasting, the king moves the banquet into the vineyard and invites all the residents of his city Shushan to attend. On the seventh day, he requests his queen, Vashti (“wasti”), come to his banquet wearing her golden crown to show off her beauty. Vashti refuses and is cast out for her disobedience, or, as the Christian writer of *Själens tröst* explains: “hon wrdh for sina høgfærdh / vthkastat aff allom them hedher oc æro hon hafdhe” [On account of her arrogance, she was banished from all the honour and praise that she had]. A Jew called Mordechai (“mardocheus”) lives in Shushan with his niece Esther (“hæster”) and has a dream about a small spring that spouts forth and grows into a large river. Esther, not disclosing the fact that she is Jewish, is chosen by Ahasuerus to be his new queen, upon which Mordechai realizes that his dream has been realized: his humble niece has become a mighty queen. The typological interpretation of the two queens, Esther and Vashti, is emphatic:

Medh these drotningenne hæster vnderstas the wælsighnadha iomfrvn iomfrv maria / **Hon** hafwer sina ødhmyukt oc lydhno swa myktyt nutit / **at** gudh hafwer hona giorth til hymerikis drotning / *Medh* the andre drotningenne wasti / som fordrifwin oc vthkastat wardh fran hedher oc wald / for sina høghfærdh / vnderstas ewa / **Hon** war vthdrifwin for sina høghfærdh oc olydhno aff *paradiis* / fran allom them hedher oc æro / ther gudh hafdhe hona drotning ofwer giorth⁶

[With this queen, Esther, we are to understand the blessed virgin, the Virgin Mary. She benefitted so much from her humility and obedience that God has made her the queen of heaven. With the other queen, Vashti, who was banished and thrown from honour and power on account of her arrogance, we are to understand Eve. On account of her arrogance and disobedience, she was banished from Paradise, from all the honour and praise over which God had made her queen.]

Of course, other typological interpretations are possible, e. g., Esther symbolizes the New Israel replacing the Old (i. e., Vashti), and such understandings might well have been held by medieval readers.

Mordechai frequently goes to the palace in the hope of seeing his niece. On one trip he learns of a plot to kill the king. Through Esther he is able to warn Ahasuerus, and the conspirators are hanged. However, not long afterwards, Mordechai insults the king’s chief advisor Haman (“aman”) by not kneeling before him. Being descended from the Amalekites, the people whom the Jews destroyed (Exodus 17:8–16 [and in other books]; cf. Deuteronomy 25:19), Haman’s anger is intensified when he discovers that Mordechai is a Jew. He seeks the king’s permission to kill all the Jews in the empire, even offering to make up any losses in

⁶ SKB A 108, p. 138; *SjäTrö* 167–68; *SjäTrö* K 223.

tax income to the treasury. Ahasuerus gives his permission and letters are issued declaring that all Jews are to be killed upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month (13 Adar according to the Hebrew calendar). Mordechai asks Esther to petition the king on behalf of her people, so Esther invites Ahasuerus and Haman to a banquet. Haman is so pleased that he builds a scaffold in his house upon which he plans to hang Mordechai. At the same time, Ahasuerus remembers that Mordechai saved his life but has never been honoured for doing so. He makes Haman lead Mordechai dressed in regal attire around the city on a horse. Later, at her banquet, Esther reveals that she is Jewish and Haman plans to kill her and her people. The king is furious and orders Haman to be hanged, his house to be given to Esther (who gifts it to Mordechai), and new letters to be issued prohibiting anyone from hurting the Jews and ordering leaders throughout the empire to help the Jews kill their enemies. The story of Esther ends with some startling statistics: Jews kill 70,000 people throughout the whole kingdom and 800 in Shushan.

What then follows in the text is a Christian interpretation of the tale that praises the Virgin Mary. Haman symbolizes the devil: he made gallows for Mordechai just like the devil through his false counsel made gallows for all humankind. But Esther, just like the Queen of Heaven, changed this and brought it to pass that the gallows the devil had built for us all ended up being for his own lot because he and his company are going to be damned forever. Mary's influence and power are also foreshadowed by Solomon's mother, Bathsheba ("bersabe"), who was seated on the right-hand side of her son and could not be denied anything by her son.

Swa hafwer alzwalogher gudh giort medh sinne kærasta modher / Han hafwer hona sat a sina høghro hand j sino rike / Han vnfik hona medh store æro / tha han hænte hona medh ængla skara / af werldinne medh liiff oc siel til æwinnelika frøgðh oc glædhy / Oc hafwer hona giort til hymerikis drotning / Oc wil herne enkte neka thet hon bedhis Oc hon ær mæktogh medh sinom kærasta son / æ hwat hon wil Oc hon bidher altidh for oss⁷

[So has God Almighty done with his mother most dear. He has seated her on his right-hand in his kingdom. He received her with great honour when he fetched her from the world with the host of angels with her life and soul for eternal joy and happiness, and (he) has made her the queen of heaven and will deny her nothing that she asks for. And she has authority regarding her son most dear, whatever she wants. And she always prays for us.]

The text ends with a prayer in which the Virgin is again likened to "the clever Esther" and also to King David's "clever Abigail."⁸ Thus according to this text, the Virgin is prefigured by no fewer than three Jewish women in the Old Testament: Esther, Bathsheba, and Abigail.

⁷ SKB A 108, p. 143; *SjãTrö* 167–68; *SjãTrö* K 223.

⁸ Cf. 1 Samuel 25:3.

We learn that Esther is beautiful, humble, and intelligent. God makes her desirable in the eyes of the king and in this way ensures that she becomes queen. Nevertheless, by not initially revealing her religious identity to Ahasuerus, she can also be described as deceitful: only when her people are in danger does she reveal she is a Jew, and even then, she is reluctant to go to the king: “Huru skal iak thora gaa til konungen” [How will I dare go to the king?] Indeed, before intervening on behalf of her people, Esther seems to be self-serving: for example, she breaks Jewish law by marrying an uncircumcised alien (Exodus 34:16; Deuteronomy 7:3); and unlike Judith (see below), she does not seem concerned about dietary laws, freely partaking in the Persian feasts and banquets. But these aspects are not addressed by the author who instead extolls her “Christian” qualities of humility and (when she does pray and fast) piety. Rather than consider Esther on her own terms, he sees her as a symbol. The presentation and interpretation of Esther in *Själens tröst* is characteristic for how the Old Testament was (and to some extent still is) read in Christian milieux: as a sign of people and events to come. God’s interactions with his former chosen people (Jews or the Old Israel) are repeated and perfected with his new chosen people (Christians or the New Israel). As such, Esther is little more than a shadow: an honourable type that is superseded by a far superior Christian antitype in the form of the Virgin. She remains a rather flat character whose principal attribute in *Själens tröst* is her ability to intercede on behalf of her people in the same way as the Virgin can intercede on behalf of penitents.

The transformation of the tale from its originally Jewish context to a Christian exemplary one also involves changing or adding new elements to the story. For example:

Esther (<i>JPS</i>)		<i>Själens tröst</i> (Text)
Esther 2:7	The maiden was shapely and beautiful	ena fatika iomfru [a poor maiden]
~	~	H an sagh een drøm / H onom thykte som han saa vpspringa ena litla kældo / O c aff the kældonne waxte een stoor flodh / H an wiste ey hwat drømin hafdhe thydha [He (Mordechai) saw a dream. It appeared to him as if he saw a small spring spouted forth and from that spring grew a large river. He did not know what the dream meant.] ⁹

⁹ Mordechai’s dream is one of the additions found in *LXX* and *Vulg.* (but not the Hebrew Bible). Jerome placed the addition in chapter 10:4–6 at the end of the Book of Esther: “Dixitque Mordochaeus: A Deo facta sunt ista. Recordatus sum somnii quod videram, haec eadem significantis:

Esther 2:8	When the king's order and edict was proclaimed, and when many girls were assembled in the fortress Shushan under the supervision of Hegai, Esther too was taken into the king's palace under the supervision of Hegai, guardian of the women.	En gudh inskøth j hans hiærta at han førdhe iomfruna til konugxsins gardh / Oc forbøðh hænne at sighia <i>thet</i> at hon war føðh af iudha slækt / [But God put it into his (i. e., Mordechai's) heart that he take the maiden to the king's court and forbid her from saying that she was born of the Jewish people.]
Esther 2:9	The girl pleased him and won his favour, and he hastened to furnish her with her cosmetics and her rations, as well as with the seven maids who were her due from the king's palace; and he treated her and her maids with special kindness in the harem.	Tha war æster j bland andra iomfrvr swa ødhmyuk / at hon alz enkte wilde kræfia ælla bedhas / Vtan saghdhe til kæm-menærin / At hwat han henne wilde gifwa / ther ath skulde hænne wæl nøghia / Thy nøth hon sinna ødhmyukt / Oc kæm-menærin skipadhe henne syu iomfrur som hænne skuldo thiæna / Oc gaff hænne alt <i>thet</i> hon widherthorfte / [Compared to the other maidens, Esther was so humble that she did not want to demand or ask for anything at all but said to the chamberlain that whatever he wanted to give her would satisfy her needs. And so, she benefitted from her humility. And the courtier arranged seven maidens who were to serve her and gave her everything that she needed.]
Ester 2:17	The king loved Esther more than any other women, and she won his grace and favour more than all the virgins.	Tha skipadhe gudh <i>thet</i> swa at hon war for alla the andra thek j konungxsins asyn [Then God made it so that she above all the others was desirable in the eyes of the king.]
~	~	Nu thentidh drotningen hester war weldugh wordhin [Now, when Queen Esther had become powerful]

nec eorum quidquam irritum fuit. Parvus fons, qui crevit in fluvium, et in lucem solemque conversus est, et in aquas plurimas redundavit: Esther est quam rex accepit uxorem, et voluit esse reginam.” [(4) Then Mardochai said: “God hath done these things. (5) I remember a dream that I saw, which signified these same things: and nothing thereof hath failed. (6) The little fountain which grew into a river, and was turned into a light, and into the sun, and abounded into many waters, is Esther, whom the king married, and made queen.”] (Esther 10:4–6)

Esther 4:4	When Esther's maidens and eunuchs came and informed her, the queen was greatly agitated.	Tha drottningen hester fik <i>thetta</i> wita / vndradhe hon storlika [When Queen Esther got to know about this, she was greatly surprised.]
Esther 5:1	On the third day, Esther put on royal apparel	Thridhia daghin satte hon sik fagherlika til [On the third day she made herself pretty.]

So, whereas Esther is introduced as “יִפְתֹּתָאֵר וְטוֹבַת מְרֵאָה” [shapely and beautiful] in the Hebrew Bible and “pulchra nimis, et decora facie” [very beautiful and fair of face] in the *Vulg.*, the OSw. text describes her as “fatika” [poor], a much more “virtuous” Christian quality. The OSw. also describes her as humble – something that is not mentioned in the original. Whereas the word God does not appear even once in the Book of Esther, *Själens tröst* has God making things happen at least twice: once, to make Mordechai take Esther to the palace, and second, to make Ahasuerus fall in love with Esther. Although God’s work can be inferred in the biblical text (e. g., it could be God’s doing that Ahasuerus is unable to sleep, reads his chronicle, and remembers Mordechai), it is only explicitly mentioned in the OSw. Likewise, Mordechai’s dream (or divine vision?) is entirely absent in the Hebrew Book of Esther (but can be found in the deuterocanonical additions of *LXX* and *Vulg.*, the actual source of the story.) In the version of the story in *Själens tröst*, Esther becomes a more identifiably virtuous Christian type and God’s hand in worldly affairs is seen much more clearly. It is also noteworthy that “exoticizing” terms, such as harem (“בֵּית הַנְּשִׂיִם” *JPS*; “triclinio feminarum” *Vulg.*) and eunuch (“סְרִיס” *JPS*; “eunucho” *Vulg.*), are not found in *Själens tröst*, whereas the gold and precious stones that adorned the palace are described at length. This goes to making Ahasuerus’s palace in Shushan a less sexually charged environment that is perhaps meant to resemble a magnificent court in Western Europe more closely.

The story of Judith and the beheading of Holofernes is related in the Book of Judith and found in the OSw. *Själens tröst* under the Fifth Commandment (“Thou shalt not kill” according to the Augustinian division).¹⁰ According to the OSw. text, the general Holofernes is ordered by King Nebuchadnezzar to subjugate all the kingdoms and countries that he can reach and make them pay tribute. At first, his expedition proves successful, so when “iudhane” [the Jews] hear that he is approaching, they prepare for war. Holofernes is warned by Achior, “een herra” [a lord], of the power of the God of Israel. The general does not accept Achior’s

¹⁰ See Text 9: *Judith*; SKB A 108, pp. 213:26–217:1 (1400–50); *SjäTrö* 252–56; *SjäTrö* K 340–45. An OSw. translation of the Book of Judith can be found in SKB A 1, ff. 190va–199va; *SMB* II 143–75.

words of caution and becomes infuriated, claiming “*Thu skalt befinna at engin annar gudh ær til æn konung nabogodonsor*” [You’ll find that there is no other God than King Nebuchadnezzar]. Achior is expelled to the besieged city of Bethulia, where he is taken into the city and tells the Jews of Holofernes’s plans. The widow Judith, “*skøn oc dæghelekin oc fæghirsta qwinna ther wara matte*” [beautiful and handsome and the fairest woman there was], dresses in her best clothes and together with her maid who is laden with food she enters the enemy camp. The two are taken to Holofernes and are placed in a tent close to the general’s. Unable to eat the food of the Babylonian enemy due to Jewish dietary laws, they live off the supplies that the maid brought with her. On the fourth day, Holofernes orders Judith to be fetched. When she arrives, the commander is overcome with joy and drinks himself into a stupor. After he collapses asleep onto his bed, Judith prays to God “*at han skulde hæne hielpa oc styrkia / oc gifwa henne eet manlikit hiærta*” [that he should help and strengthen her and give her a manly heart]. She then decapitates Holofernes with his own sword and takes the mosquito net that he is lying under. Judith and her maid return to Bethulia and the whole city rejoices and praises God. Achior renounces his pagan faith and has himself circumcised. The next morning, the Jews head out of the city towards “*hedhnugomen*” [the pagans]. At first, the Jews of Bethulia are seen as no threat whatsoever: “*Nu krypa myssena vth aff thera skrubbum*” [Now the mice are creeping out of their holes!] However, upon discovering Holofernes’s headless corpse, the enemy forces try to flee but are killed in huge numbers.

Although the MLG and OSw. versions are on the whole remarkably close, there are a few differences in turns of phrase, e. g., in OSw. the drunk Holofernes sleeps “*som eet swiin*” [like a pig] and in MLG “*aldore vaste*” [very soundly]. Parts of the OSw. translation have been shortened so much that it can be difficult to understand the sense without recourse to the original MLG. For example:

OSw.: *Them wardh til radha at the wildo æn bidha j fæm dagha før æn the wildo stadhin gifwa Om gudh wilde sik ofwer thera nødh forbarma*¹¹
[They were advised to wait five more days before surrendering the city. If God wanted to have mercy on their distress.]

MLG: *Do spreken de prestere: “Wij willen noch wachten viff daghe, ofte sijk god bij wane icht yrbarmet ouer vns vnde kumpt vns to hulpe.”*¹²
[Then the priests spoke, “We want to wait five more days as God will probably have mercy on us and come to our aid.”]

¹¹ SKB A 108, p. 214; *SjäTrö* 253–54; *SjäTrö* K 341.

¹² *SelTro* 172.

Another point of interest in the OSw. translation is the word ‘mosquito net.’ After beheading Holofernes, Judith makes off with his “myggo thield” [mosquito net]; cf. MLG “muggen telt” [mosquito net] for Lat. *conopeum* [canopy]. The *conopeum* is mentioned four times in the Book of Judith (10:19; 13:10, 9; 16:23) and is a sign of Holofernes’s power and wealth. In taking it, Judith demonstrates her (and God’s) triumph over him. The interpretation of the *conopeum* as a ‘mosquito net’ in the MLG and OSw. *Consolation of the Soul* appears to be unique, although it is similar to *fleohnet* [fly net] found in the Old English *Judith* and the works of earlier Christian exegetes.¹³

At its most fundamental level, the story of Judith and Holofernes with its propagandistic tone is about the underdog vanquishing the oppressor and it is reminiscent of several other biblical stories, such as David and Goliath, in which Israel against the odds defeats its enemy.¹⁴ However, with its female protagonist, the story is somewhat more complex in its portrayal of heroic qualities. Judith is described as a beautiful and pious woman who often prays (i. e., womanly virtues); yet at the same time she demonstrates great physical strength in killing Holofernes (i. e., a manly virtue). She is both a *femme fatale* and a *femme forte*. As *femme fatale*, she adorns her body to appear desirable when she leaves the city and again when she goes to Holofernes’s tent: she is purposefully attempting to seduce the enemy in order to overthrow Holofernes. Although Judith’s natural beauty might have been interpreted as her physiognomy reflecting her beautiful heart and soul, this tactic of using deceit and enticement to lust flies in the face of Christian teaching about female modesty. Indeed, it is a tale with a problematic morale, viz. that the end justifies the means.¹⁵ Judith herself does not succumb to Holofernes’s sexual lust. Her beauty fills the general with such joy that he drinks more than ever before and collapses unconscious onto his bed. Judith’s chaste status remains unchanged: later, upon her triumphant return to Bethulia, she announces: “J skulle alle wælsighna oc lofwa gudh / Ther [...] min renlek hafwer bewarat” [You should all bless and praise God, who (...) has preserved my

¹³ On the Old English translation, see Carl T. Berkhout and James F. Doubleday, “The Net in *Judith* 46b–54a,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 74, no. 4 (1973): 630–34. It was Rhabanus Maurus (c. 780–856) who first interpreted Holofernes’s *conopeum* as a *rete muscarum* [fly net]; Rhabanus Maurus, *Expositio in librum Judith*, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 109, col. 573. According to Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), flies represented carnal desire, and for Eucherius of Lyon (c. 380–449), they represented the devil and the filth of idolatry: Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* (18:68) in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 76, col. 78; Eucherius, *Liber formularum spiritalis intelligence* in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 50, col. 751.

¹⁴ Cf. 1 Samuel 17:51 and Judith 13:6, 8.

¹⁵ Peter J. Lucas, “‘Judith’ and the Woman Hero,” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 22: *Medieval Narrative Special Number* (1992): 17–18.

purity]. It is his lustfulness and drunken abandon that led to Holofernes's demise. He thus represents not only an oppressor, but also moral degradation: he is the embodiment of the vices of avarice (covetousness), gluttony (overindulgence in wine), and lust (excessive sexual desire). By remaining chaste and overcoming Holofernes's moral corruption, Judith symbolizes the Church's victory over evil and moral degradation. Finally, like Esther, Judith can be considered a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary, not least her purity and victory over the devil.¹⁶

However, Judith is not "just" a *femme fatale*: in an act of bravery and at great risk to her own life, she takes Holofernes's own sword and uses it to cut off his head. Indeed, although she appears feminine and soft on the outside, she is in fact manly and tough in her thoughts and actions. Whereas Holofernes's emotions are put into words in the text (ranging from anger to joyful rapture), those of Judith remain hidden and her actions are described from an external perspective.¹⁷ The only emotional expression is her praying to God, for example when she asks him to give her strength: "Hon ful sielff oppa siin knæ oc badh gudh innelika at han skulde hænne hielpa oc styrkia / oc gifwa henne eet manlikit hiærta" [She herself fell upon her knees and prayed fervently to God that he should help her and give her strength and a manly heart. Then she went to his bed and drew his sword. She took him by the hair and then cut off his head.] Although Judith's characterization in *Själens tröst* may appear at first to be rather thin and one-dimensional with little information about her thoughts and emotions, she is in fact a complex heroine: a chaste, pious, and virtuous widow who behaves like a seductress to achieve her aim; a beautiful, fair woman who has the heart of a man; a lone actor who saves an entire people. Whereas in the story of Esther, the Jewish nation is portrayed as somewhat passive, in Judith it is brave and more clearly distinguished from its pagan enemies.

¹⁶ The story of Judith is also a "reversed foreshadowing" of the episode in the New Testament where Salome asks for the head of John the Baptist to be delivered to her on a silver platter. Matthew 14:6–12; Mark 6:17–29.

¹⁷ Barbara Schmitz, "Judith and Holofernes: An Analysis of the Emotions in the Killing Scene (Jdt 12:10–13:9)," in *Ancient Jewish Prayers and Emotions: Emotions Associated with Jewish Prayer in and around the Second Temple Period*, ed. Stefan C. Reif and Renate Egger-Wenzel (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 177–92. We read, for example, that "Tha hon til honom kom wardh han aff allo hiærta fulkomit gladher" [When she came to him, he (Holofernes) was made completely happy in all his heart]; this is a clear parallel to Judith 12:16: "καὶ ἐξέστη ἡ καρδία Ὀλοφέρνηου ἐπ' αὐτήν" [and Holofernes's heart was beside itself for her]. People are beside themselves no fewer than four times in the Book of Judith: this one time in sexual rapture, and three other times in horror (Judith 11:16; 13:17; 15:1). The phrase "the heart is beside itself" is usually used in the context of fear (Genesis 42:28; Joshua 2:11; 1 Samuel 4:13; 28:5; Jeremiah 4:9). Only in Isaiah 60:5 is it used for feelings of elation (here, towards Jerusalem). See Schmitz, "Judith and Holofernes," 183.

The story of Yael (or Jael) is related in Judges 4:15–22.¹⁸ She was, of course, not Jewish: she was a member of the nomadic Kenite tribe. But much like Pharaoh's daughter who rescued and adopted the slave-child Moses, she is celebrated in Judaism as one of the great non-Jewish women for her courage and support. Indeed, her bravery is memorized in one of the oldest parts of the Bible, the Song of Deborah (Judges 5:24–30). Her story is related in the OSw. *Själens tröst* under the Fifth Commandment.

After many bloody victories, Sisera, a commander of the Canaanite army, loses a battle against “iudhana” [the Jews] and is forced to flee on foot. Exhausted, he arrives at Yael's house and asks her for something to drink. After satisfying his thirst, Sisera falls asleep. Yael takes the opportunity to hammer a tent peg (“een langan iærnspiik” [a long iron spike]) through his temple and nail his head to the ground. Shortly afterwards he is found lying dead by his enemies: “Swa tok han aff ene qwinno sin ænda ther manga froma men hafdhe latit dræpa” [Thus, he who had many pious men killed met his end at the hands of a woman].

In *Själens tröst*, the story of Yael directly follows the tale of Judith and the beheading of Holofernes.¹⁹ In addition to its similarities to the Judith story, there are parallels to the tale of Delilah and Samson, e. g., the men in all three stories are asleep when their heads are attacked by women.²⁰ In *Själens tröst*, there is no suggestion that Yael is acting as a *femme fatale*, luring Sisera with seductive charms into a deadly trap. However, in the account of Yael and Sisera in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5:27), Sisera falls dead between Yael's knees (or feet: בֵּין רַגְלֶיהָ; פָּרַע נָפֶל שָׁכָב) in a macabre parody of sexual conquest (as is also suggested in the accounts of Judith and Holofernes, and Delilah and Samson).

In the OSw. text, we learn very little about Yael and her origins, and unlike Esther and Judith nothing is said about her virtues. In the story in Judges, we get a hint about Yael's feelings towards Sisera when he asks her for water, but he gives her milk, but *Själens tröst* does not include this element. Likewise, the conclusion to the tale “Swa tok han aff ene qwinno sin ænda ther manga froma men hafdhe latit dræpa” [Thus, he who had many pious men killed met his end at the hands of a woman] seems a rather bland point to make.

¹⁸ An OSw. translation of the story of Yael in Judges can be found in SKB A 1, ff. 171r–v, 172v (*Song of Deborah*); SMB II 79–80 and 82–83 (*Song of Deborah*). See P. Scott Brown, *The Riddle of Jael: The History of a Poxied Heroine in Medieval and Renaissance Art and Culture*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, vol. 278 (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

¹⁹ See Text 54: Yael; SKB A 108, p. 217:2–15 (1400–50); *SjäTrö* 256; *SjäTrö* K 345.

²⁰ Judith cuts off Holofernes' head in Judith 13:8; Yael nails Sisera's head to the ground in Judges 4:21; Delilah has Samson's hair cut in Judges 16:19.

Within the context of *Själens tröst*, all three women are portrayed as protectors of Israel who prefigure the Virgin Mary and the triumph of the Church over evil. This is most explicitly done in the story of Esther that concludes with a clear “Nu skulum wi nokot her aff vththydha / iomfrv mario til hedher oc æro /” [Now we should interpret something from this to the honour and praise of the Virgin Mary] and where Haman is also described as symbolizing the devil. By comparing the Hebrew Bible and *Vulg.* version with that in *Själens tröst* it is also clear to see how both Esther and the story have been Christianized. It is as examples of pious heroism and as prefigurations that the three women are of interest to the Christian readers of the OSw. text. They foreshadow and provide an indication of the Church to come and more generally contribute to an understanding of continuity in God’s plan through all historical periods and the supersession of Old Testament figures by New Testament ones.

Judas Iscariot

The legend of Judas Iscariot found its final shape in the *Legenda aurea*, but dates from much earlier.²¹ Preserved in a much simpler form, the oldest written source is from c. 1150 and originates from southern France.²² Although there are no earlier

21 On the Judas legend, see Wilhelm Michael Anton Creizenach, “Judas Ischarioth in Legende und Sage des Mittelalters,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 2 (1876): 177–207; Edward Kennard Rand, “Mediæval Lives of Judas Iscariot,” *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1913), 305–16; Paull Franklin Baum, “The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 31, no. 3 (1916): 481–632; Jacob Peter Jacobsen and Richard Jacob Paulli, *Danske Folkebøger fra 16. til 17. Aarhundrede*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1915), pp. xli–xlvi; Ernst von Steinmeyer, “Die Historia apocrypha der Legenda aurea,” *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, vol. 3, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm (Munich: Callwey, 1918), 155–66; Paul Lehmann, “Judas Ischarioth in der lateinischen Legendenüberlieferung des Mittelalters,” *Studi Medievali*, n.s. 2 (1929): 289–346; Peter Dinzelbacher, *Judastraditionen*, Raabser Märchen-Reihe, vol. 2 (Vienna: Selbstverlag des Österreichischen Museums für Volkskunde, 1977); Kirsten Wolf, “The Judas Legend in Scandinavia,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 88, no. 4 (1989): 463–76; Walter Puchner, “Zur Herkunft der mittelalterlichen Judaslegende,” *Fabula* 35 (1994): 304–09; 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*, ed. Peter Stotz and Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, *Millennio medievale*, vol. 93 (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2012), 401–22; Brandon W. Hawk, “The Literary Contexts and Early Transmission of the Latin Life of Judas,” *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 44, no. 1 (2018): 60–76.

22 Puchner, “Zur Herkunft der mittelalterlichen Judaslegende,” 305. Walter Puchner discusses the complicated history and origins of the Judas legend in both western and Byzantine traditions.

extant versions in Greek, the legend almost certainly came to Western Europe from a Byzantine tradition where the classical story of Oedipus was christianized with its distinctive combination of motifs: prophecy, abandonment, patricide, and marriage to one's mother.²³ The legend was very popular and was translated into many different languages, including Swedish. Interestingly, it remained a "possession of the folk" that no men of the Church (with the exception of Jacobus de Voragine) ever referred to.²⁴ Nor are there any sculptures, carvings, or paintings that illustrate scenes from the legend, even though the Judas Iscariot of the Gospels was a very common motif.

The Judas legend can be found in the OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet* in UUB C 528 (1400–50),²⁵ and under the Second Commandment ("Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain") in the OSw. *Själens tröst* in SKB A 108 (1400–50).²⁶ There is no medieval Judas legend in Danish.²⁷ The stories in both of the OSw. works are similar, although *Själens tröst* is more detailed and contains a couple of additions. According to the Judas legend, Reuben and his wife Cyborea live in Jerusalem. One night, Cyborea conceives and has a nightmare ("rædhelikan drøm," *FsvLeg*; "een wadhelikin drøm," *SjäTrö*): she will bear a son who will bring about the downfall ("nidherfal," *FsvLeg*, *SjäTrö*) of the Jewish people. When she later gives birth to a son, Reuben and Cyborea place him in a box and set it afloat on the sea. The child is washed up on the island of Iscariot where the childless queen catches sight of it floating in the water. She rescues the child and together with the king she brings it up as if he were her own. When she later gives birth to a son of her own, the two boys grow up together playing together constantly. One day, Judas hits the other boy so hard that he runs to the queen and tells her what has happened. The queen becomes angry and tells Judas that he is a foundling. When this becomes common knowledge, Judas secretly murders the other boy out of shame and embarrassment ("blyghis han oc skemdis," *SjäTrö*).

23 On the Oedipus story in the Judas legend, see Baum, "The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot," 586–621.

24 Baum, "The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot," 481.

25 UUB C 528, ff. 50v12–51r7; *FsvLeg* I 243–45; *FsvLeg* PAW II 334–37; Text 44: *The Life of Judas Iscariot* (Version 1). The legend cannot be found in in SKB A 34 (c. 1350) as Paull Franklin Baum writes: "The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot," 550n47.

26 SKB A 108, pp. 52:10–55:7; *SjäTrö* 64–67; Text 44: *The Life of Judas Iscariot* (Version 2). The Second Commandment in *Själens tröst* does not concern graven images as Kirsten Wolf writes: "The Judas Legend in Scandinavia," 470.

27 The earliest extant versions of the Judas legend in Danish date from the Renaissance: Baum, "The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot," 581–84; Wolf, "The Judas Legend in Scandinavia," 472–73.

He escapes to Jerusalem where he starts working within Pilate's household. Pilate recognizes many of his own characteristics in the boy and promotes him to be his attendant. One day, Pilate sees some beautiful apples growing in an orchard and Judas decides to fetch him some of them. The orchard belongs to Reuben, Judas's biological father, and when he tries to defend his apples from Judas, the young man picks up a rock and hits him with it. Reuben falls down dead. Pilate rewards Judas by giving him Reuben's property and forcing his wife, Cyborea, to marry Judas. One day, Judas asks Cyborea why she is so unhappy ("sørgdhe," *FsvLeg*; "war drøffdh," *SjäTrö*), and she replies that she is full of grief: she threw her own child into the sea, found her husband dead, and was forced to take Judas as her husband against her will. Upon this revelation, Judas asks how many years have passed since she cast the child into the ocean. Before long, they realize that the child was Judas and that he has killed his own father and married his mother. On Cyborea's advice, Judas approaches Jesus and asks for mercy ("nadher," *FsvLeg*; "nadhe," *SjäTrö*). Jesus forgives Judas his sins and takes him on as a disciple.

Själens tröst has a short addition that explains why Judas later betrayed Jesus for money. One day, Mary Magdalene came to Jesus with some expensive ointment worth three hundred pennies. She pours the ointment over Jesus' hands and feet, which Judas thinks is a great waste: he would have sold the ointment and taken every tenth penny for himself: thirty pennies in all. He decides to make good his loss by selling Jesus for thirty pennies, an act that he regrets after the Crucifixion. In despair, he throws the money at those who plotted against Jesus ("iudhomen" [the Jews]) and hangs himself. The legend concludes in *Själens tröst* with a moral:

Thy mit kæra barn / hafwer thu cristit namn / tha stath oc ther æpter / at thu hafwer cristelika gerninga / Man finder manga onda mænniskior / som wær gøra æn iudas giordhe / Judas begig synd oppa sina forældra owiterlika / Mange onde cristne bega synd oppa sina forældra badhe medh with oc wilia / Judas salde wan herra for xxx pæninga / Mang ond cristin mænniskia / sæl han wel for eeth skerff eller for eena snødha synd / Oc thera mænniskia pynor wardha stōra j hælfwite æn iudase²⁸

[My dear child, if you have a Christian name, aspire accordingly to do Christian works. There are many bad people who are doing worse things than Judas did. Judas sinned against his parents unwittingly. Many bad Christians sin against their parents both wittingly and willingly! Judas sold Our Lord for thirty pennies. Many bad Christians sell him for a farthing or for an evil sin, and these people's torments will be greater in hell than Judas's.]

It is remarkable that according to this moral, some of Judas's actions are explicitly described as unpremeditated in OSw. *Själens tröst*, a sentiment not found in the MLG *Der Selen Troyst*:

Here [i. e., in OSw. *Själens tröst*] it is of interest to observe that the unpremeditated nature of Judas's sins is expressly pointed out. This is, I believe, the only place in a mediaeval document where such a perception is recorded; for the other versions, both Latin and vernacular, rest practically their whole point on the inherent wickedness of Judas. "Judas was a monster, for lo! he committed these horrible sins," they argue; and so they judge him, without inquiring into the nature of his horrible sins.²⁹

Själens tröst makes the point that Judas sinned unwittingly *against his parents*, i. e., he did not know he was sleeping with his mother, and presumably the author is suggesting that by killing his father not knowing who he was, the sin was somehow less serious. However, it is not suggesting that Judas did not commit all his sins unintentionally. He wittingly committed terrible sins, e. g., he did kill a man just to steal apples from his orchard and he did kill his foster parents' child out of jealousy.

The Judas legend has two principal aims: the first is to blacken the name of Judas; the second is to show that repentance brings forgiveness no matter how great the sin. The Oedipal motifs in the story are obvious, but the story has been thoroughly christianized and does not express the concepts of destiny or fate as understood in the Greek tale. The Judas legend is about being wicked to the core and having an inherent sinfulness or an original sin that marks one for damnation – even if this is partially qualified in the OSw. *Själens tröst*.³⁰ The christianization of the story has also created many allegorical and typological parallels and references to the Old Testament:³¹

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| Cyborea: | The name of Judas's mother is likely to come from Zipporah (צִפּוֹרָה, <i>Zipporah</i>), the wife of Moses who was also set adrift as a baby. Exodus 2:21. Thus, a connection is made between Judas who condemned his people and the prophet who saved them. |
| Reuben: | The name of Judas's father is likely to come from Jacob's son, Reuben (רְאוּבֵן, <i>Reuven</i>). Genesis 49:3–4. Reuben defiled his father's bed by sleeping with his concubine. |
| Set adrift: | Just as Moses was set adrift by his mother, so Judas's parents set him adrift. Exodus 2:3. |

²⁹ Baum, "The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot," 551.

³⁰ Baum, "The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot," 483n2.

³¹ Wolf, "The Judas Legend in Scandinavia," 466.

- The queen: Just as Moses was found by Pharaoh's daughter and raised as her own, so was Judas found by the queen of Iscariot and raised as her own. Exodus 2:5–6.
- The king's son: The motif of fratricide, Judas's killing the king's son, has clear parallels to the story of Cain killing Abel. Genesis 4:1–8. Here, too, the one brother kills the other out of shame ("And Cain was exceedingly angry, and his countenance fell").

These allusions to the Old Testament frame the Judas legend in such a way that underlines how far Judas (and Jews in generally?) has fallen from the honourable model of Moses and how he (they?) still bears a Cainite urge to murder. The legend also provides an explanation of Judas's epithet "Iscariot," a name that distinguishes him from other Judases in the New Testament: it is the name of the island where he was brought up.³² The name Judas is, of course, derived from Judah (יהודה, *Yehudah*) and as such is a fitting name for a man who came to symbolize the iniquity of all Jews.

The thoughts, emotions, and actions of Judas are evil. He is also described as sharing many of the personality traits of Pilate: "Thentidh pylatus saa hans sidhy oc athæfwe prøffte han wel / han wara sin gadhing / Ffor thy then ene war swa argher skalk som then andre / oc thy komo the wel badhe til saman" [When Pilate saw his habits and behaviour, he recognized that he was suitable because the one was just as wretched a rogue as the other and that is why they got on well together.] This affinity serves to tarnish both men's characters, but it is strange that the author has chosen to link Judas to Pilate rather than the religious authorities that plotted against Jesus. Violence is a key component to Judas's personality: he kills the king's son out of jealousy, and he murders his father to get what he wants, viz. a few paltry apples and Pilate's recognition. When he uncovers the truth about who he is, Judas does, however, seek repentance, and the reader is lured into thinking that he is a reformed character. However, as both *Fornsvenska legendariet* and *Själens tröst* make clear, his repentance is insincere, and he soon returns to his old ways. The framing of Judas's sins in *Själens tröst* demonstrates the didactical nature of the text: rather typically for the work, at the end of the story the reader is confronted with the possibility that her or his own sins are even greater than Judas's and that damnation awaits.

³² However, it is most likely that the epithet "Iscariot" is a Gk. version (Ἰσκαριώτης, *iskariôtēs*) of the Heb. איש־קריות, *iš-Ḳriyot* [the man from Kerioth]. Another explanation is that it is related to the Lat. *sicarius* [dagger man], a member of the Jewish rebel group, the Sicarii. There are other possibilities too, that link the name to various phrases in Aramaic. See Susan Gubar, *Judas: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009), 31.

Jesus and the Jews during the “silent years”

The work *Hær begynnes aff Joachiam oc aff sancta Anna oc aff hwat slæct the ære fødth oc aff theris leffnet Oc saa aff Jomfrw marie leffneth oc aff wors herre ihesu barndom* [Here begins a book about Joachim and St Anne and from what family they were born and about their lives and also about the Virgin Mary’s life and Our Lord Jesus’ childhood], known more commonly in Danish academic literature today as *Jesu Barndoms Bog* [*The Book of Jesus’ Childhood*], was printed in Copenhagen in c. 1508 by the Dutch printer Gotfred af Ghemen.³³ As the work’s original title – as opposed to the modern given name – suggests, the book deals with the life of the Virgin Mary, her parents Anne and Joachim, and the childhood of her son Jesus. The section on Mary’s parents and the Virgin’s early years are based on *Pseudo-Matthæi evangelium* [*The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*]. The second section from the birth of Jesus until the Adoration of the Magi is based on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke; a Middle Low German version of the Middle High German life of Mary (*Marienleben*) by the Carthusian brother Phillipp of Seitz in Steiermark,³⁴ and Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica*. The third section on the Flight to Egypt and Jesus’ early years in Nazareth closely follows the *Marienleben*.³⁵ This third part of the work sheds light onto how the life of Jesus during the “silent years,” that is the period between his childhood and the beginning of his ministry, was imagined. Other than two short statements in the Gospels (Luke 2:42: “And when he was twelve years old, they going up into Jerusalem, according to the custom of the feast”; Luke 2:52: “And Jesus advanced in wisdom, and age, and grace with God and men”), the New Testament has no details regarding this part of the life of Jesus. *Hær begynnes aff Joachiam...* is a pious attempt to “fill in the gaps” and it draws a sharp, contrastive distinction between “the Jews” and the Holy Family.

³³ On *Hær begynnes aff Joachiam...*, see Tue Gad, *Legenden i dansk middelalder* (Copenhagen: Dansk Videnskabs Forlag, 1961), 248–52; Helge Toldberg, “[Review:] Tue Gad: Legenden i dansk middelalder,” *Danske Studier* (1962): 129–32; Elise Kleivane and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, “The Infant Jesus and his Mother in Late Mediaeval and Early Modern Scandinavian Book Culture,” in *Languages in the Lutheran Reformation: Textual Networks and the Spread of Ideas*, ed. Mikko Kauko et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 151–72; Simon Skovgaard Boeck, “Nyt lys på Jesu Barndoms Bog,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 135 (2020): 51–55.

³⁴ For an edition of *Marienleben*, see Heinrich Rückert, ed., *Bruder Philipps des Carthäusers Marienleben*, Bibliothek der deutschen National-Literatur, vol. 34 (Leipzig: Quedlinburg, 1853). For a discussion, see Christina Ostermann, *Bruder Philipps “Marienleben” im Norden: Eine Fallstudie zur Überlieferung mittelniederdeutscher Literatur*, Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte, vol. 157 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2020).

³⁵ For the most recent account of the sources for *Hær begynnes aff Joachiam...*, see Boeck, “Nyt lys på Jesu Barndoms Bog.”

The work contains two episodes that reveal how Jews at the time of Jesus' childhood were imagined. In particular, they show the violent, destructive nature of Jews and their interpretation of the law on the one hand and the innocent, holy, playful, and creative Jesus on the other.

The miracle of *The Clay Birds* (cf. *Evangelium Thomae de infantia Salvatoris* 4) relates the story of Jesus as a young boy playing in a field with his friends. To the delight of the other children, he moulds small birds out of the clay, but when a passing 'old Jew' ("een gammel iødhe") sees what they are up to, he becomes infuriated. It is the Sabbath, and such activities of creation are forbidden by Jewish law. He confronts Jesus and accuses the group of being the devil's children ("dieffuelssens børn"), saying further that Jesus is leading the other children astray ("fortabede"). But Jesus does not take the telling off lightly and answers the old man back saying that only God knows whether or not the old Jew keeps the Sabbath as holy as he does. When the enraged Jew lifts his foot to stamp on the birds, Jesus claps his hands and says a word ("sagde eth ord") that brings the birds to life.³⁶ They fly off towards the sun and the Jew can only watch.

In *Jesus Raises a Jew from the Dead*, Jesus is again found playing outside with his friends on the Sabbath. They are at the Sea of Galilee and have made small pools on the edge of the lake to catch fish in.³⁷ An 'old Jew' ("een gammel iøde") finds them and reprimands them for breaking Moses' commandments and accuses Jesus of setting a bad example for the other children. When Jesus verbally defends himself and the other children, the Jew becomes enraged, and just as he is about to stamp on their fishponds, he drops dead. When the townspeople of Nazareth hear what has happened, they complain about Jesus and the dead man. They believe that if Jesus stays amongst them, he will lead the other children astray and get them into trouble. They also accuse him of being a sorcerer and having learnt the black arts ("troidom") during his time in Egypt.³⁸ Afraid that

³⁶ Jesus' act mimics God's act of Creation and breathing life into the world. The use of "a word" mirrors the belief that uttering the Ineffable Name can bring inanimate objects to life.

³⁷ The catching of fish is possibly a portentous reference to the miraculous catches of fish in Luke 5:1–11 and John 21:1–14.

³⁸ The accusation that Jesus had learnt sorcery during his stay in Egypt echoes that made by the pagan philosopher Celsus (fl. 175–77) and countered by Origen (c. 184–c. 253) in his *Contra Celsum* 1.28: "Ἐπει δὲ καὶ προσωποποιεῖ, τρόπον τινὰ μμησάμενος ἐν ῥήτορος εἰσαγόμενον παιδίον, καὶ εἰσάγει Ἰουδαῖον πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντά τινα μειρακιωδῶς καὶ οὐδὲν φιλοσόφου πολιᾶς ἄξιον· φέρε κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ ταῦτα ἐξετάσαντες ἐξελέγξωμεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ ἀρμόζον πάντῃ τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ πρόσωπον ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις τετήρηκε. Μετὰ ταῦτα προσωποποιεῖ Ἰουδαῖον αὐτῷ διαλεγόμενον τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐλέγχοντα αὐτὸν περὶ πολλῶν μὲν, ὡς οἶεται, πρῶτον δὲ, ὡς πλασαμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γένεσιν· ὀνειδίζει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκ κώμης αὐτὸν γεγονέναι ἰουδαϊκῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἐγχωρίου καὶ πενιχρᾶς καὶ χερνήτιδος. Φησὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήμαντος,

their son will be hurt, Mary and Joseph head off to find him. They meet Jesus in the same field where the incident took place and ask him what has happened. Jesus is upset: the old Jew wanted to hurt him and drive away the fish that he was hoping to bring home to his mother. Mary suggests that Jesus took his revenge a bit too far this time and asks him to bring the man back to life. Jesus, willing to do whatever Mary asks of him, leads his parents and “many Jews” (“mange iøder”) to the corpse. He prods it with his foot and says, “Stand up and be alive and make no more judgements and pronouncements over the innocent as you did over these children!” With that the man, completely healed, stands up and declares, “This moral child has descended from heaven!”

These two stories include elements that foresee Jesus’ future deeds and were to form important themes in Christian devotion and belief. Both episodes have Jesus bring inanimate objects and the dead back to life. In addition to his own resurrection, Jesus went on to raise a further three people from the dead according to the New Testament: the daughter of Jairus (Mark 5:21–43), the young man from Nain (Luke 7:11–17), and Lazarus (John 11:1–44). Furthermore, the second tale highlights the role of Mary both in rescuing her son and in advising him and interceding through compassion for those who need his assistance. This is also reflected in later episodes in the Gospels. When Jesus comes into conflict with his neighbours, it is Mary (and Jesus’ brothers) who rescue him (Mark 3:31–35). As is

τέκτονος τὴν τέχνην ὄντος, ἐξεῶσθαι, ἐλεγχθεῖσαν ὡς μεμοιχευμένην. Εἶτα λέγει, ὡς ἐκβληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ πλανωμένη ἀτίμως σκότιον ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰησοῦν· καὶ ὅτι οὗτος διὰ πενίαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μισθαρήσας κάκει δυνάμεων τινων πειραθεῖς, ἐφ’ αἷς Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνύνονται, ἐπανήλθεν, ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσι μέγα φρονῶν, καὶ δι’ αὐτὰς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τῷ μηδὲν δυναμένῳ ἀβασάνιστον ἔαν τῶν λεγομένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπιστούντων, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξετάζοντι δοκεῖ μοι συμπνεῖν τῷ ἄξιον γεγονέναι τῆς προρρήσεως περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν.” [And because, imitating a pupil whom a rhetorician is training, he (Celsus) allows a person to appear and introduces a Jew who speaks against Jesus in a very childish manner and completely unworthy of a grey-haired philosopher, I shall try to do my best to examine and prove that he did not even ascribe him words appropriate to the character of a Jew. For he presents a Jew conversing with Jesus and refuting him, as he thinks, on many charges. First of all, he accuses him of having made up that he was born of a virgin, and he reproaches him further with being born in some Jewish village and from a poor country-woman, who was a spinner. He then asserts that she was banished by her husband who was skilled in carpentry for committing adultery. And then he says, being rejected by her husband and having wandered about, she shamefully and secretly gave birth to Jesus, who, on account of his poverty, hired himself out as a day labourer in Egypt and there acquired some magical powers of which the Egyptians were very proud. He then returned to his own country and by their means declared himself to be God because of them. Now, as I cannot leave unexamined anything said by unbelievers, but want to investigate everything thoroughly, it seems to me that these things worthily harmonize with the prophecy that Jesus is the Son of God], *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 11, col. 713.

the case in *Jesus Raises a Jew from the Dead*, his first miracle in the New Testament at the wedding in Cana also came about through his mother's intercession (John 2:1–11). However, most importantly for our purposes, the two miracle tales mirror three later accusations by Jews against Jesus:

- 1) He breaks the rules of the Sabbath. In Mark 3:1–5, Jesus heals a man's withered hand on the Sabbath causing the Pharisees to conspire with the Herodians how to destroy him. The consequences for breaking the Sabbath in *Hær begynnes aff Joachiam...* are not as dire. In *The Clay Birds*, the old Jew who criticized Jesus for breaking the Law is left helpless as the birds fly away, but in *Jesus Raises a Dead Jew*, the resurrected old Jew actually changes his mind completely and declares that Jesus has been sent from heaven.
- 2) Jesus is a child of the devil. The distinction between the children of God and the children of the devil is made in 1 John 3:10, and Jews are also called the children of the devil in John 8:44. However, the accusation in John is directed by Jesus against Jews, not by Jews against him as in *Hær begynnes aff Joachiam...*
- 3) Jesus is a magician using the power of the devil. This accusation occurs later in Jesus' life. For example, in Matthew 12:24: "But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, 'It is only by Beelzebub, the ruler of the demons, that this fellow casts out the demons'"; cf. Mark 3:20–30.³⁹

With the exception of the Holy Family, of course, the Jews in these miracles are cast in an entirely bad light. Although Jesus is portrayed as being precocious, naughty even, Jews are evil, malign, and threatening. The "old Jew" in each of the tales is a symbol of the "old Law" as Christians understood Jews to be following it: slavishly, to the letter, and destructively – not in the spirit of God's word. The boy Jesus says that the Jew is incorrectly interpreting Moses' commandments and that he is not an authority: indeed, only God can know if he is following the Sabbath laws properly. The "old Jews" in both stories react with anger upon seeing Jesus' work and behave aggressively. In spite of their years, they turn to violence and threaten the young, innocent Jesus. Just like later Jews want to destroy the Church and all Christendom, they want to destroy what Jesus has created: the Jews in these tales are intent on the destruction of God's creation, or, rather, the new world that the Son of God is creating. The Jews of Nazareth are also portrayed as a mob in opposition to Jesus and his adoring family. They see Jesus as a threat to order and control. They fear for their children and plot against him. These are

³⁹ This episode is related in an OSw. sermon for the Third Sunday in Lent: "Jhesus vtkastadhe diæfwlin af enom man som var malløs hulkit almoghin vndradhe mykit Æn fæslæ iudhane sag-dho / han vtkasta diæflana · j diæfla høfðinganna makt som kalladhis belzebub" [Jesus cast the devil out of a man who was mute which amazed the people greatly; but the false Jews (DRB: scribes) said, "He casts out devils through the power of the chief (DRB: prince) of devils!" who was called Beelzebub], DAS AM 787 4^o, f. 34ra; *SermSac* 177.

all motifs that occur repeatedly in portrayals of Jews and their attitudes towards Christ and his followers. The writer has overcome the difficulties inherent in representing a Jewish family living in Galilee as the founding family of Christianity by drawing a sharp distinction between them and their Jewish neighbours. The Jews here, with the exception of the Jewish children, are seen in entirely negative terms.⁴⁰ Jesus appears repelled by the body of the dead Jew and there is no laying on of hands here. He merely taps it with his foot – surely a sign of disgust or insouciance.⁴¹ Although the old man raised from the dead sees the light and recognizes Jesus' divinity, none of the other townspeople is said to have believed him or Jesus. They remain obstinately blind and bound to their old ways.

Jerusalem

For Christians, Jerusalem is the place where the Word of God became flesh in the person of Jesus Christ. It is the site of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, and where the Church was established through the descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost. Belief in the Incarnation bestowed huge significance on the sites connected with the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus in Jerusalem and throughout the Holy Land. As part of the effort to distance Christianity from Judaism, Christian writings in the first centuries often "spiritualized" Jerusalem and transformed it into a heavenly entity rather than a terrestrial city. The Temple became Christ, and the city of Jerusalem became wherever the Christian community gathered. Nonetheless, the earthly city continued to attract the attention of Christians. The first major attempt at providing substantial Christian "content" in the city was by Constantine (c. 285–337), who sponsored building programmes that transformed Jerusalem into a major centre of Christian culture. With this, Christendom became a geographical category, holy sites were built, and religious objects and places were discovered. Pilgrims streamed to the city to see the places where Jesus, the Apostles, and saints had walked, eaten, prayed, and suffered. They stayed in hospitals or hospices such as that built in 603 CE at the behest of Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540–604). When they left for home again, they took relics with them,

⁴⁰ Indeed, the innocent Jewish children in the story raise the issue of whether Jews' wickedness was considered innate or learnt. The contrast made between the good young Jews and the bad old ones would suggest that according to this tale Jewish evil and obstinance are learnt behaviours, which, therefore, can be unlearned. It provides hope for the conversion of Jews by showing that their core is good. Other representations of "good" Jewish children are found in the miracle texts 42: *The Jewish Boy in the Oven* and 45: *The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery*.

⁴¹ Cf. Numbers 19:11–13.

thus creating and sustaining links between Jerusalem and the rest of the Christian world. Processional routes were established between shrines in churches to imitate the stations of the Cross along Christ's walk to Calvary, which gave churchgoers an opportunity to "experience" Jerusalem without having to leave their local parish.

However, Jerusalem's centrality for both Jews and Christians as the locus of the divine-human encounter also led to its being a point of contention in Jewish-Christian relations. Medieval maps placed Christian Jerusalem at the centre of the world and located Jews in the peripheries (e. g., the Red Jews enclosed behind the mountains in the distant north-east). In relation to the Holy Land, texts referred solely to biblical (or mythical) Jews of the past, whereas contemporary Jews were represented as a landless people who had been thrown out of and barred from returning to Jerusalem by God. The destruction of Jewish Jerusalem at the hands of the Romans in 70 CE paved the way for its gradual resurrection as a Christian city. In essence, the Jewish people were erased from Jerusalem.⁴² Indeed, under Byzantine control, Jews had been banned from living in the city and Jewish religious sites had fallen into ruins at the same time as the first magnificent Christian buildings were springing up in the city. When Muslims took over the city in 637/38, Jews were allowed to return to Jerusalem where they continued living for over four centuries. During the reconquest of Jerusalem in 1099 by Christian crusaders, the entire Jewish population was slaughtered and burnt, and Jews were again banned from entering Jerusalem.⁴³ Within a century, however, the Muslims had regained control and with them, a Jewish population in the city was re-established.

⁴² On the place of the Jews in Jerusalem, Suzanne Conklin Akbari writes: "One might expect to find Jerusalem identified as the rightful place of the Jews, since it appears prominently in chronicles of Jewish history as well as the Bible. Such a recognition of the centrality of Jerusalem within the history of the Jews would be in keeping with more general ideas about Jerusalem, which [...] was thought by medieval European Christians to be the symbolic centre of the world the site of mankind's spiritual rebirth at the time of the Crucifixion and the place where the Last Judgement would begin. Paradoxically, however, Jerusalem is precisely *not* the place of the Jews in the medieval imagination: they are thought to be displaced from Jerusalem by the will of God, their right to the holy city revoked by their own rejection and persecution of Jesus. Discussions of a Jewish Jerusalem, therefore, whether in historical chronicles or literary texts, reveal a profound ambiguity. Jerusalem is identified as having been the place of the Jews only in the past, not in the present or the future. Consequently, medieval depictions of a Jewish Jerusalem invariably focus not on the Jews' habitation of the city, but on their expulsion." Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1199–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 115–16.

⁴³ Yehoshua Frenkel, "Jews and Muslims in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations: From the Origins to the Present Day*, ed. Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora, trans. Jane Marie Todd and Michael B. Smith (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 158–61.

In this section, texts from *Fornsvenska legendariet*, *Själens tröst*, and *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* are investigated to see how the destruction of Jerusalem and the expulsion of the Jews was portrayed in East Norse vernacular texts. Early encounters between Jews and Christians and the acquisition of Christian relics from Jews are explored in *Fornsvenska legendariet* and *Själens tröst*, while ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse* and a pilgrims' guide to Jerusalem are examined to see how the city and its Jewish residents were portrayed in texts representing a more "contemporary" view of the Holy City.

The punishment of the Jews of Jerusalem: Vespasian and Titus

The first conclusive event of the First Jewish–Roman War was the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 CE which resulted in the destruction of the city and the Second Temple, the subjugation of Judean forces, and the further expansion of Roman Empire in the Eastern Mediterranean. It was also a decisive moment in the development of Christianity and came to be seen as proof that God had abandoned the Jews. The Gospels contain several episodes where Jesus is portrayed as being in opposition to the Temple,⁴⁴ so its destruction at the hands of the Romans quickly came to be considered affirmation of Jesus' teachings and a sign of God's punishment for rejecting Jesus.

For writers in Western Europe in the Middle Ages, the principal source on the destruction of Jerusalem were early Latin translations from the Greek of Josephus's highly influential *Bellum Judaicum* [*The Jewish War*], composed c. 77 CE, that begins with the period of the Maccabees and ends with the fall of the city. Alongside the Bible and apocryphal works such as the Books of Maccabees, it was the most important source of information about ancient Palestine. In OSw. the story of Titus's capture of Jerusalem is found in *Fornsvenska Legendariet* and *Själens tröst* while in ODa. the episode of Mary of Bethzuba eating her own child during the siege is related in an exemplum in Christiern Pedersen's *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia*.⁴⁵

The story in *Fornsvenska legendariet* begins with the election of Vespasian as Roman Emperor (which it dates to 72 CE)⁴⁶ before the narrative moves on to

⁴⁴ E. g., Matthew 21:12–13; Mark 12:40; Luke 20:47; John 2:13–16.

⁴⁵ See Text 26: *The Emperor Vespasian and Titus*: UUB C 528, ff. 63v18–65v10–29 (1400–50); SRA E 8900, pp. 188:32–193:13 (1450–70); *FsvLeg* I 310–18; *FsvLeg* PAW II 438–55. Text 48: *The Punishment of the Jews*: SKB A 108, p. 228:1–232:9 (1400–50); *SjäTrö* 268–72; *SjäTrö* K 362–68. On Mary of Bethzuba, see the following section.

⁴⁶ Vespasian reigned as Roman emperor from 69 to 79 CE.

events in Palestine. Upon his death, Jesus (“**U**ar herra”) gave the Jews forty years to confess their sin and repent, and his apostles preached throughout the land. God, too, sent many portents to terrify the Jews: a burning star hung over Jerusalem like a flaming sword, the altar in the Temple shone with a great light, a heifer calved a lamb (a symbol for Christ) in front of the altar, armed soldiers appeared in the sky and did battle in the clouds, and mysterious voices were heard in the Temple. The Jews reacted by sending a prophet-like man to Pilate to be beaten and scourged. As they failed to understand these signs, Vespasian arrived forty years after the Crucifixion and razed Jerusalem. From this point on both *Fornsvenska legendariet* and *Själens tröst* follow the same plot.

It is Pilate who sets into motion the events leading to the destruction of Jerusalem. He is concerned that the emperor will blame him for the Crucifixion and sends an envoy, Alban, off to Rome to plead his innocence. However, before he is able to speak to the emperor, Alban is shipwrecked off the coast off Galatia (Cappadocia). Here, he is introduced to the ruler Vespasian who suffers from a terrible affliction: he has wasps (Lat. *vespa*, hence his name) living in his nose. Upon hearing that Alban is from Jerusalem in Judea (“*ierusalem stadh iudha rikis*”), a place that Vespasian says is famous for its teachers and doctors, he orders Alban to cure him. The envoy replies that the only man capable of such healing was killed by the Jews out of envy (“*iudha hafua dræpit han for awndh*”) and that Vespasian will only be cured by professing faith in Jesus Christ. This, of course, Vespasian does and is immediately restored to good health. Angered that the Jews could kill such a powerful healer (“*lækira*”), he vows to take revenge and goes to Rome to seek permission to annihilate the Jews. After several years of preparation, he leads a force to Jerusalem and starts the siege of the city. In the meantime, the Holy Spirit had descended and warned all the Christian residents of the impending attack, so they were able to flee to safety across the Jordan and leave the city’s Jews to their fate. It is noteworthy that the Jews of Jerusalem are not told: God has already abandoned them to their “just” fate.

Leaving a sizeable force in place, Vespasian then heads to Yodfat (“*iotapata*”) and lays siege to the city. At this juncture, there is a curious tale of mass suicide, treachery, and Jewish prophecy. Realizing that defeat is inevitable, a leader of the city, Joseph (in other words, Flavius Josephus),⁴⁷ takes nine men into a cellar below ground where they agree that they would rather die from starvation than fall into the hands of pagans. However, starvation proves too excruciating and

⁴⁷ On Josephus at Yodfat and his prophecy, see Rebecca Gray, *Prophetic Figures in the Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine: The Evidence from Josephus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 35–52.

after several days they decide to draw lots and kill each other in turn with a sword. Joseph and another man are the only two who remain, but they decide that they would rather live than die, and so they surrender. Joseph comes before Vespasian and prophesies that the Roman emperor is dead, and that Vespasian has been elected emperor. Vespasian is apprehensive and wants to know why, if Joseph is such a prophet, he did not warn his city of the impending defeat. Joseph assures him that he had and that he had recommended they join the Roman Empire, but they would not listen. At the same time, messengers arrive from Rome to tell Vespasian that he has been elected emperor. Vespasian is delighted, extends his friendship to Joseph, and, leaving his son Titus in charge of the army, returns to Rome for his coronation. Titus is so delighted that his father has become emperor that he becomes ill from too much joy (“aff ofwerwættis glædhy”). Joseph is able to cure him by making him promise to be kind towards everyone and then seating him opposite his hated enemy at the dinner table. The anguish caused by sitting opposite his enemy while having to be kind cures him of his illness.

Then follow details of the siege of Jerusalem, the appalling conditions in the city, and the fight for food: “*Uædher belte oc sko sulur thet war iudha fōdha*” [leather belts and the soles of shoes – that was “Jew-food”]. It is here that the episode of the mother, Mary, who ate her baby appears (see next section). After three years, the city falls and the Jews are captured and killed or sold: in an inversion of Christ being sold for thirty pieces of silver, here thirty Jews cost just one penny.

During the destruction of the city, Titus discovers Joseph of Arimathea imprisoned behind a wall. Joseph explains that the Jews had walled him in as punishment for washing and burying Christ after the Crucifixion. The author of *Själens tröst* then informs us that this is, according to Nicodemus, the second time that Joseph was walled in. After the Jews walled him in as punishment for taking care of Christ’s body, Christ released him when he rose from the dead. Joseph then preached Christianity which led to the Jews capturing him a second time and walling him in once more. The tale is drawing a parallel between Titus and Christ as saviours – the Romans follow in Christ’s footsteps – while Jews are framed as murderous, vengeful, and ungodly. Indeed, Titus is so transformed by his time in Jerusalem, that upon returning to Rome, he becomes a champion of the poor. This is no doubt an attempt to present Titus as a proto-Christian and thus alleviate the incongruence inherent in pagan Romans establishing a Christian Jerusalem. Some of the Jews of Jerusalem try to re-build their city but are thwarted by three miracles: on the first day, the ground is covered in dew shaped like crosses; on the second day, their clothes become splattered in blood shaped like crosses, and finally, on the third day, flames leap from the ground burning the Jews intent upon rebuilding Jerusalem to death. Jewish Jerusalem along with its residents

has been wiped off the map, and the city has well and truly become a stronghold for Christianity. God himself has ensured the impossibility of any re-judaization of his Holy City.

The Jews in this story are portrayed as stuck in their ways, unwilling to listen to Jesus and his apostles, and unable to understand the terrifying miracles sent by God: they are both deaf and blind to the truth. They are therefore responsible for their own destruction and the Roman forces that crush them are God's tool on earth carrying out his plan for humankind. The description of the city under siege is horrific and the residents abandon any pretence of humanity and turn on each other in order to survive (more on this in the next section). The tale illustrates the doctrine of supersessionism by using history. The events that took place in Jerusalem show how even though Jesus first came to the Jews (Matthew 15:21–28; Mark 7:23–30; Romans 1:16, 2:9–10), his covenant was fulfilled by the Gentiles. It is a dramatic justification of how and why Jews were replaced and a verification that the Mosaic Covenant is now void. The “Old Israel” is impotent and without a future.

Cannibalism at the Siege of Jerusalem: Mary of Bethzuba

During the Roman siege of Jerusalem in c. 70 CE, the inhabitants were trapped within the city walls and starvation was rife. During the five-month long siege, Mary, a woman living alone in the city with her baby boy, was the victim of thieves who would enter her house and steal all her food. Driven to desperation by hunger, she killed her child and cooked some of his flesh for sustenance. The smell of the cooked meat emanated from her house and revealed her odious actions. Drawn by the smoke, the thieves turned up in her house once again and demanded she hand over the food. However, when she presented them with the child's corpse, they were repulsed.

The tale has its roots in antiquity and first appears in Book 6 of Josephus's *The Jewish War*; indeed, it is likely that it was Josephus who first invented Mary, the daughter of Eleazar from the village of Bethzuba.⁴⁸ Written in Aramaic (now lost) in c. 77 CE, *The Jewish War* was translated into and preserved in Greek before being transmitted into the Western European tradition, most notably as a Latin

⁴⁸ Josephus, *The Jewish War*, vol. 3: *Books IV–VII*, ed. and trans. Henry St. John Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 210 (London: William Heinemann, 1928), 434–37. For an account of the tale's history and interpretation, see Merrall Llewelyn Price, *Consuming Passions: The Uses of Cannibalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 68–86.

text under the title of *De excidio urbis Hierosolymitana* [*On the Ruin of the City of Jerusalem*] by a so-called Hegesippus (most likely a corrupt form of Iosippus, i. e., Josephus), usually referred to as Pseudo-Hegesippus. This work can be considered an original composition or very free translation of Josephus' *Jewish War*. It borrows heavily from Josephus' work, but it is thoroughly Christianized, anti-Judaic, and sensationalist in tone.⁴⁹ From this Latin work, the story of Mary then spread into the vernacular literatures of Western Europe, including English, French, Italian, and Scandinavian works, as well as being taken up in the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine. It was transmitted independently of other Josephan material, and although it appears occasionally during antiquity, the tale's popularity surged between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. That there is just a passing reference to Mary of Bethzuba in canto 23 of *Purgatorio* in the *Divina Commedia* [*Divine Comedy*] by Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) suggests that the tale of the mother who ate her own child was well known and did not need to be retold for the reader.⁵⁰

The story of Mary of Bethzuba is found as a *jartekn* [miracle, portent] in a sermon for the Tenth Sunday after Trinity in Christiern Pedersen's ODa. *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515), in two manuscripts of the OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet* in sections about the Roman emperor Titus (UUB C 528 [1400–50] and SRA E 8900 [1450–70]), and in the OSw. *Själens tröst* (SKB A 108 [1400–50]).⁵¹ In all East Norse versions of the story, the author is keen to stress that Mary's son was a baby, although nursing is only explicitly mentioned in Christiern Pedersen's version ("Der hwn icke hagde mere dii at opfostre det met" [When she had no breastmilk left to nurse him with]). The starving, breastfeeding baby is possibly a nod to the children in Lamentations 4:4: "The tongue of the sucking child cleaveth to the roof of his mouth for thirst." There is another possible Old Testament influence in Pedersen's version as well. With its mention of pigeon dung and of the boiling, rather than roasting, of the son's body, some of the imagery in Pedersen's version shares similarities to the story about famine in besieged Samaria in 4 Kings (2 Kings *KJV*) 6:24–30:

⁴⁹ For example, the destruction of Jerusalem is presented as the fulfilment of Jesus' prophecy in Luke 19:43–44.

⁵⁰ "[...] Ecco | la gente che perdé Ierusalemme, | quando Maria nel figlio diè di becco!" [(...) Here are the people who lost Jerusalem, when Mary plunged her beak into her son], *Purgatorio* 23.28–30; Petrocchi edition: <https://digitaldante.columbia.edu/dante/divine-comedy/purgatorio/purgatorio-23/> (last accessed 5 April 2022).

⁵¹ For the tale in the ODa. sermon, see Text 10: *Mary of Bethzuba*; for the OSw. version in *Fornsvenska legendariet*, see Text 26: *The Emperor Vespasian and Titus*, ll. 109–32, and for the OSw. version in *Själens tröst*, see Text 48: *The Punishment of the Jews*, ll. 84–101.

And it came to pass after these things, that Benadad king of Syria gathered together all his army, and went up, and besieged Samaria. And there was a great famine in Samaria: and so long did the siege continue, till the head of an ass was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cake of pigeon's dung, for five pieces of silver. And as the king of Israel was passing by the wall, a certain woman cried out to him, saying: Save me, my lord O king. And he said: If the Lord doth not save thee, how can I save thee? out of the barnfloor, or out of the winepress? And the king said to her: What aileth thee? And she answered: This woman said to me: Give thy son, that we may eat him today, and we will eat my son tomorrow. So we boiled my son, and ate him. And I said to her on the next day: Give thy son that we may eat him. And she hath hid her son. When the king heard this, he rent his garments, and passed by upon the wall. And all the people saw the haircloth which he wore within next to his flesh.⁵²

The association between Jews and cannibalism, and particularly the killing and consumption of human blood, is one of the more tenacious antisemitic stereotypes that took root in the Middle Ages.⁵³ Israel Jacob Yuval has argued, somewhat controversially, that the growth and rapid spread of the ritual murder libel was connected to the acts of Jewish martyrdom (*kiddush hashem*) during the massacres of the First Crusade when many Jews in the Rhineland killed themselves and their children rather than be forcibly converted.⁵⁴ Christians witnessed these acts of mass martyrdom and the knowledge that “Jews were killing children” spread throughout Europe and provided weight to rumours about Jews murdering Christian children: for if Jews can murder their own children, how much more easily can they murder others’.⁵⁵ One can speculate whether the story of Mary of Beth-

52 There are several other biblical verses that refer to parents eating their offspring (as a result of a godless Israel): Leviticus 27:29; Deuteronomy 28:53; Jeremiah 19:9; Lamentations 2:20, and Ezekiel 5:10.

53 See Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, “A Rational Model for Blood Libel: The *Aftonbladet* Affair,” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge, 2018), 265–84.

54 Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 135–204. On the controversy surrounding Yuval’s book, see Lucia Raspe, *Jüdische Hagiographie im mittelalterlichen Aschkenas*, Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism, vol. 19 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 181–86. Echoes of *kiddush hashem* are also found in the story of Joseph and his fellows in Yodfat discussed above (Text 48: *The Punishment of the Jews*).

55 Yuval discusses Naomi Cohen’s interpretation of the story of Mary of Bethzuba (daughter of Eliezer) in *Two Nations in Your Womb*, 53–55. Cohen considers a Talmudic legend about Martha, a wealthy Jerusalem woman who is starving and dies of disgust, to be an attempt to soften the harsh impression made by Josephus’s Mary. See Naomi Cohen, “The Theological Stratum of the Martha b. Boethus Tradition: An Explication of the Text in *Gittin* 56a,” *Harvard Theological Review* 69 (1976): 187–95.

zuba's growth in popularity around the same time is similarly linked to the events in the Rhineland and tales of Jews killing children. Furthermore, Mary's cannibalistic infanticide provided "evidence" for a long tradition of child murder and cannibalism among Jews that stretched back into antiquity. It illustrated the extent to which Jews had become depraved in Jerusalem and desecrated God's name in his holy city before they quite rightly lost sovereignty over their land. The motif of cannibalism, which we shall meet again later in the section on the Red Jews in Chapter 11: *The Jewish Threat to Destroy All Christendom*,⁵⁶ is of a particular kind in the story of Mary of Bethzuba. It is a form of autosarcophagy, or self-cannibalism, probably best known in literature from Greek mythology where Erysichthon of Thessaly was eaten by his own hunger. In *Mary of Bethzuba*, the child had grown inside her and suckled at her breast, and by consuming it Mary returned the child to her body. It is what Merrall Llewelyn Price calls a "closed circle of consumption."⁵⁷ This blurring of her own and the child's body is also a merging of the sexes: the boundary between the male child and the female body is deleted and transgressed through the act of autosarcophagy. The question of gender is very pertinent to this tale. The chaotic atmosphere that reigns in Mary's home, her violent, unnatural act, her monstrous immorality, and her implicit madness result from the household being without a male as its head. With no male protector, Mary is robbed of all her food, which in turn triggers a grim chain of events. Just as Eve committed a great sin by eating "forbidden fruit" (Genesis 3:6), so too does Mary. She is a perversion of Eve and the antithesis of the true *Nova Eva*, the Virgin Mary.⁵⁸ It could be argued that the Mary of our tale has more in common with the first wife of Adam, the primordial she-demon Lilith who killed her own children, than she does with Eve.⁵⁹ Much as Eve was elevated and transformed

56 In *Konung Alexander*, we read: "the plægha enkte thera jordha | the æta them op a thera bordhe | hwath man kan hælzt lifwande næmpna | the lata sik thet til fōdho æmpna | hwath thet fōddis qwikt æller dōt | them thykte thet wara alt fult sōt" [They are not in the habit of burying anyone: | they gobble them up at their tables. | Whatever can be called living, | they use as suitable food, | whether it is born alive or dead, | they consider it to be so very sweet!], SKB D 4, f. 145r; *KonAl* 131.

57 Price, *Consuming Passions*, 73.

58 See Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 130–31.

59 In Christian legend, the tale of Mary of Bethzuba is nestled within the broader context of Titus's siege of Jerusalem and the subsequent sacking of the city. Here again, we can see a parallel to Lilith: just as she was punished by God for disobedience, so Jerusalem was destroyed because of Jews' disobedience and as punishment for killing Christ. On Lilith, see Wojciech Kosior, "A Tale of Two Sisters: The Image of Eve in Early Rabbinic Literature and its Influence on the Portrayal of Lilith in the Alphabet of Ben Sira," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues* 32 (2018): 112–30. It will be remembered that Lilith appears in UUB C 447 in a discussion of the

into the Virgin Mary, so Lilith became the proto-typical Jewish woman: unnatural, dangerous, and – although not reflected in our tale – a seductive femme fatale.⁶⁰

Breastfeeding–cannibalism, male baby–female parent, and the Virgin Mary–Mary of Bethzuba are three examples of the types of juxtapositions that permeate this tale, where what should be a safe, domestic sanctuary is in fact a dangerous, hellish slaughterhouse, and the nurturing, loving relationship between mother and child becomes the ultimate betrayal of trust and a negation of humanity. Mary’s destruction of her child foreshadows the Romans’ destruction of the Temple and the city. Through the lens of Mary’s home everything that is holy becomes inverted and turns into its diametrical opposite. So, while the body of the Virgin Mary’s child is consumed in the eucharist through the miracle of the Real Presence as both the source and the summit of Christian life, Mary of Bethzuba’s child is cooked and consumed as meat: a fleshy, worldly, and depraved violation by a Jew against God and nature. The juxtaposition between the two Marys mimics the contrast between Christian virtue and Jewish perversion and once again illustrates the Pauline–Platonic opposition between the ideal, i. e., the spirit (πνεῦμα, *pneûma*), and the material, i. e., the flesh (σάρξ, *sârks*).⁶¹ In this way, the monstrous Mary of Bethzuba stands at the very intersection between unnatural mother and Jew:

Representing both Jew and unnatural mother, Maria is demonized for blurring hierarchical boundaries in the most egregious manner, merging mother and son, male and female, human and animal, eater and eaten. She is the ultimate Other – the Other that threatens to assimilate the self. And yet she is also the flip side of the idealized medieval maternal figure, and her demonization absorbs anxieties, allowing the other Mary to remain firmly on the side of the Christian, the civilized, the cooked.⁶²

When considering the portrayal of Jews in this story, a final point to note that is unique to the OSw. *Fornsvenska legendariet* version is how in the *Legenda aurea*, “predones” [robbers, thieves, spoilers] break into Mary’s house, whereas in the OSw. version the culprits are identified as “Judha” [Jews]. Although this substitu-

Gk. word λάμια, *lámia* [child-devouring, blood-drinking witch], i. e., the “screech owl” in Isaiah 34:14 *KJV*. See under “Greek in Uppsala Library, C 447 and C 450” in the excursus in Chapter 4: *The Language of the Jews*, p. 122n94.

60 For an example of a seductive Jewish woman, see Text 32: *The Hermit and the Jewess* (and also Text 9: *Judith*). The dangers of Christian–Jewish mixing resulting in improper sexual conduct can also be seen in Text 3: *A Pregnant Jewish Woman’s Father Converts*.

61 See under “A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven” in Chapter 8: *Darkness and Light*, pp. 426–28.

62 Price, *Consuming Passions*, 86.

tion seems gratuitous, it is not. The author is framing these sins of theft and cannibalism explicitly as Jewish crimes committed in Jewish Jerusalem. The destruction of the city – and the Temple, in particular – at the hands of the Imperial army was understood by Christians to be God’s fitting punishment of the Jews for killing Christ. The horrors and depravity of Jewish Jerusalem are distilled into the figures of the cannibal Mary and the thieving Jews, who in turn function as a vindication of God’s judgement in replacing the Old Israel with the New.

The Jews of Jerusalem, St Peter, and St James

Among its many legends, *Fornsvenska legendariet* includes stories about Jews and the two saints Peter and James the Just.⁶³ The tales are short, but they describe different sorts of interactions with Jews and include the themes of punishment of Jews by God and the devil, the killing of Christians by Jews, and the acquisition of relics in the Holy Land with the help of Jews.

In Text 21: *The Chains of St Peter*, we read about Licinia Eudoxia (c. 422–93), daughter of Theodosius II (401–50) who goes on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and among the many relics given to her, she receives from a Jew the chains with which St Peter was shackled by King Herod. Back in Rome, she shows the chains to Pope Pelagius who himself has some of the chains used to shackle Peter and whose authenticity has already been proved by their use in healing Balbina. When the two chains are placed alongside each other, they miraculously join themselves together. In praise of this miracle, Eudoxia and Pelagius make the Romans give up their pagan feast day on 1 August in order to celebrate St Peter instead. Five centuries later, during a visit by Emperor Otto to Rome, the chains are used to drive out the devil from a possessed count. Bishop Dietrich of Mainz is so impressed by the miracle that he grabs the chains and refuses to give them up. A compromise is reached when the pope promises a single link from the chain to Dietrich who returns the remainder to the pope. The loss of a pagan feast, the exorcism, and other miracles brought about through the chains cause the devil much distress. He decides to take revenge upon the Jews for their having handed over the “missing” chains to Eudoxia:

⁶³ Text 21: *The Chains of St Peter*: UUB C 528, f. 21r27–v28 (1400–50); SRA E 8900, pp. 94:16–95:27 (1450–70); *FsvLeg* I 114–15; *FsvLeg* PAW II 132–36. Text 17: *St James the Just and the Jews of Jerusalem*: SKB A 34, ff. 37rb11–38va24 (c. 1350); UUB C 528, ff. 40v29–42r14 (1400–50); SRA E 8900, pp. 155:4–157:9 (1450–70); *FsvLeg* I 194–98; *FsvLeg* PAW II 263–70.

Diæfwlin læt sik hafwa fangit mikla badhe skam ok skadha : badhe tha han war wt ælter aff sit hærbeghe ok swa for thy mæst at han miste sin hedher ok høgðidh : **Ok** hemde *thet* a otalika iudha som een iudhe giordhe **Tha** han gaff *keysarens* dother boionar som wolte allan thæn skadha ok skam ther diefwlin fik : han tedhis judhum j moysi ham : **Ok** sagdhe sik vilia ledha them thørrum fotum ifwir jorsala haff som han lede flesta thera forfædher : **Ok** sammadhus til hans vtallike iudha widha aff værlidne : **Ok** drenkte thøm til grunda : **Ok** the vordho alle cristne vndan komo

[The devil felt he had received much shame and injury, both when he was chased out of his dwelling and mostly because he had lost his honour and feast day. And he took revenge on countless Jews for what a Jew did when he gave the chains to the emperor's daughter which caused all the injury and shame that the devil received. He (the devil) appeared to the Jews in the likeness of Moses and said that he would lead them dry-footed across the Jorsala Sea (Eastern Mediterranean Sea) as he had led most of their ancestors. And he gathered countless Jews from all across the world and drowned them at the bottom (of the sea) and all who escaped became Christians.]

Much like in the tale of the finding of the True Cross (see below), this legend frames the Jews of Jerusalem as the keepers of relics from the early years of Christianity. Just as they acted as keepers of the Old Testament before handing it over to Christianity, they preserved some of the most precious relics from the time of Jesus and the apostles until they were given over to royal Christian pilgrims. The chains are also just one among the many relics that she was given (“j bland manga hælgðodoma henne varo ther gifne”). However, unlike in the story of the finding of the True Cross, it is not clear whether Eudoxia uses force to acquire the relics: we are merely told that she is given the chains by a Jew (“**Gaff** henne en judhe : **The** boior”). By handing over the Christian relics instead of hiding them, the Jews have caused harm to the devil, who subsequently punishes them by drowning them in the sea in a parody of Moses' crossing of the Red Sea (Exodus 13:17–14:29). This is one of several instances where Christian legends position Jews within “upside down” versions of Old Testament stories (e. g., the Judas legend is an inverted imitation of the story of Moses being set adrift and found by Pharaoh's daughter). In this way, Jews are kept within the framework of the biblical texts and events and actions acquire more than a hint of being preordained. The Jews who survive seek protection from the devil in the only way they can: by converting to Christianity.

Another legend where Jews are punished for their actions is Text 17: *St James the Just and the Jews of Jerusalem*. It describes an event nine years into James's reign as bishop of Jerusalem. Traditionally, James is considered the brother of Jesus, and together with Peter he led the Christian community in Jerusalem. In the legend, the apostles have come to Jerusalem and tell James and the people there about the miracles that they have seen in each of the countries where they have been preaching. James then preaches to the people of Jerusalem, including the ‘Jewish bishop’ [“iūþa biscope”] Caiaphas, and just when the people are

ready to be baptized, they are interrupted by a crazed Jew, full of demons (“en galin iuþe diæfla fuldar”), who shouts: “Noble men of the tribe of Israel, don’t let wrongdoers and sly sorcerers turn you from God!” He then throws James to the ground and breaks his leg giving him a limp for the rest of his life. This one mad Jew creates such a calamity that most of the other Jews present become infected by his madness and want to stone James and the apostles to death.

In the thirtieth year of St James’s episcopate, the Jews start plotting more seriously to bring about his downfall. They lead him to the Temple and ask him to preach the truth about Jesus. To the Christians’ delight, James replies, “What else shall I answer you about God’s son other than he is seated high in heaven on the right-hand side of the highest power?” The Jews are furious, throw James to the ground, and stone him, but they are unable to kill him. James repays their violence by appealing to God in the same words as used by Jesus (Luke 23:34): “My Lord, forgive them for they know not what they do!” A “good” Jewish priest calls upon the Jews to stop attacking James, but before anyone can react, another Jew, runs up to James with a fuller’s pole (“klæþa stang”) ⁶⁴ and kills him by smashing open his head. The Jews manage to escape the wrath of the people for killing James, but they are unable to avoid God’s punishment: the destruction of Jerusalem.

The legend builds on a growing separation and animosity between Christians and Jews in Jerusalem during the first few decades after Jesus’ death. Jews are portrayed as violent, resorting to blows and stones rather than argument to reverse the growth in the number of Christians. As in the story of Christ’s death, the high priests plot against James who, using the same words as Christ on the Cross, calls only for their forgiveness: Christianity is the religion of pious suffering, whereas Judaism is sadistic and savage, meting out the barbarity that Christians passively endure. Jewish violence is not human or rational: Jews are crazed, turn mad, are full of demons, scream as if with one voice, and so on. The image created is of a bestial, depraved mob of insane enemies of Christianity. These murderous Jews do not escape punishment, however. Their retribution by God’s hand is greater than anything that the Christians could come up with: the holy city of Jerusalem is destroyed. In this way, the legend ends by framing the martyrdom of James the Just as a step towards the supersession of Judaism and the replacement of the Jewish people in God’s plan for humanity.

⁶⁴ The Lat. version in *Legenda aurea* has “perticam fullonis” [a pole (or staff) belonging to a fuller]. The OSw. “klæþa stang” suggests a pole used in fulling, i. e., the process of cleaning, shrinking, and felting cloth by heat, pressure, and moisture. Perhaps a club used for beating cloth is meant.

The encounter between Christians and Jews in these two stories clearly fits the mould of early legendary literature: on the one hand, Jews are portrayed as suppliers of relics from Christianity's earliest holy men and women (e. g., Text 29: *The Finding of the Holy Cross*); and on the other, Jews act incredibly violently, intent on annihilating the evidence of the existence of Christian holy men and women (e. g., Text 40: *The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier* and the following section on the finding of the True Cross).

St Helena and the Finding of the Holy Cross

The tale of how the Holy Cross, the cross upon which Jesus was crucified, was found in the fourth century has a long and complicated history that can only be touched upon here.⁶⁵ From earliest times, the mother of Constantine I, Helena, was often credited with its discovery.⁶⁶ The oldest extant account of Helena finding the Cross is in Ambrose's funeral oration *De obitu Theodosii* [*On the Death of Theodosius*] from 395.⁶⁷ According to this account, Helena was visiting Christian sites in the Holy Land and was filled with the Holy Spirit to search for the Cross ("infudit ei Spiritus ut lignum crucis requireret"). She dug the earth and moved the dust to discover three crosses that the rubble had covered and the enemy hidden ("quæ ruina contexerat, inimicus absconderat"). Uncertain which was the true cross, she re-read the Gospel and was reminded that Jesus had been crucified alongside

65 For important studies on the development of the legend, see Johann Straubinger, *Die Kreuzauffindungslegende: Untersuchungen über ihre altchristlichen Fassungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der syrischen Texte*, Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte, vol. 11, no. 3 (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1912); Amnon Linder, "Ecclesia and Synagoga in the Medieval Myth of Constantine the Great," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 54 (1976): 1019–60; Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: waarheid en legende* (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1989) – published in English as *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, vol. 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Jan Willem Drijvers, "Helena Augusta: Cross and Myth. Some New Reflections," *Millenium* 8 (2011): 125–74; Stefan Heid, "Der Ursprung der Helenalegende im Pilgerbetrieb Jerusalems," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 32 (1989): 41–71; Stephan Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross Was Found: From Event to Medieval Legend*, Bibliotheca theologiae practicae – Kyrkovetenskapliga studier, vol. 47 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1991).

66 In some accounts, Constantine or the empress Protonica finds the Cross, but it is the story with Helena that became the most widespread in Latin Europe.

67 *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 16, cols 1385–1406 (here: 1400–02 [§§ 43–48]). Gelasius of Caesarea (d. 395) also wrote about Helena finding the Cross in his *Historia ecclesiastica*. Although none of his works survive today, his version of the tale was used by Rufinus of Aquileia (344/345–411) in his additions to Eusebius's history.

two robbers which was why there were three crosses. Then she discovered the title-board with the inscription “Jesus Nazarenus, Rex Judæorum” (John 19:19) on one of the crosses and was certain that she had found the True Cross.⁶⁸ Ambrose informs us that Helena subsequently went on to dig up the nails with which Christ had been affixed to the cross: “De uno clavo frenos fieri præcepit, de altero diadema intexit; unum ad decorem, alterum ad devotionem vertit” [From one nail she orders a bridle to be made, from another a crown is wrought; one is used for ornamentation, and another turns to devotion]. Although several elements that are to be found in the later medieval legend are already present in Ambrose’s version (such as, the role of Helena, the discovery of three crosses and four nails, the use of the nails in making an “imperial” bridle and ornamentation), much

68 In Homily 85 on the Gospel of John (c. 390), John Chrysostom (c. 347–407) comments on the Crucifixion in John 19:17–19 in such a way as to show that the story of the finding of the Cross and its identification from its title-plate were known: “sic descripta verba posuit, ut in tropæo: quæ verba claram vocem emitterent, ac victoriam regnumque ejus prædicarent, etiamsi regnum totum. Hoc autem non una lingua sed triplici declaravit. Quia enim credibile erat multos Judæis commixtos fuisse propter solemnitatem, ut nemo ejus apologiam ignoraret, omnibus linguis Judæorum furorem denotavit. Nam vel crucifixo invidabant. [...] Hinc autem non parva quæspiam res, sed totum dispensatur. Cum enim crucis lignum defossam fuisset, nec illud quispiam eruere auferet, instante metu, et fideles, aliis rebus urgentibus, incumbere; et tamen futurum erat, ut insequenti tempore crux perquireretur, et tres cruces una jacerent: ne ignoraretur quænam Domini fuisset, primo quod in medio esset, deinde ex titulo agnita fuit; latronum quippe cruces titulos non habebant.” *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 59, cols 460, 461; [Pilate thus placed, as on a trophy, those letters, which utter a clear voice, and show forth His victory, and proclaim His Kingdom, though not in its completeness. And this he made manifest not in a single tongue, but in three languages; for since it was likely that there would be a mixed multitude among the Jews on account of the Feast, in order that none might be ignorant of the defence, he publicly recorded the madness of the Jews, in all the languages. For they bore malice against Him even when crucified. (...) And it is no little thing that is dispensed even from this circumstance, but the whole matter. For since the wood of the cross was buried, because no-one was careful to take it up, inasmuch as fear was pressing, and the believers were hurrying to other urgent matters; and since it was in after times to be sought for, and it was likely that the three crosses would lie together, in order that the Lord’s might not be unknown, it was made manifest to all, first by its lying in the middle, and then by the title. For those of the thieves had no titles.] Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vol. 14: *Saint Chrysostom: Homilies on the Gospel of St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1889), 317. Curiously, John Chrysostom also declared that: “Ὁὐκ ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν εἶνα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ’ ἀνέσπασεν αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγε. Πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον; Ἐπειδὴ μετ’ αὐτοῦ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ.” / “Non reliquit eum in terra, sed attraxit eum et in caelum deduxit. Unde hoc palam est? Quia venturus est cum illo in secundo et glorioso ejus adventu.” [he (Jesus) did not leave it (his cross) on earth but took it with him into heaven. Where is this obvious? Because he will appear with it in the second and glorious coming], *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 49, col. 403.

is lacking, not least the role played by the Jews of Jerusalem, and particularly by Judas, in the discovery of the Cross. However, these missing elements would be supplied in the following few decades. In 403, Rufinus of Aquileia wrote an account of the finding of the Cross that included its location under a pagan temple to Venus and the bishop Macarius proposing the Cross be held over a seriously ill woman who was then cured. In the following century, Gregory of Tours (c. 538–94) in his *Historia Francorum* [*History of the Franks*] brought many of the elements that had been circulating in Byzantium to Western Christendom. These included the role of a Jew called Judas, who converted and became bishop of Jerusalem (and was later martyred under Julian the Apostate). Similarly, in Gregory's tale, the Cross not only cures a sick person, but brings a dead one back to life. Although Jacobus de Voragine generally seems to rely on the fifth-century apocryphal text *The Acts of Judas Cyriacus*, the *Legenda aurea* also introduced new elements into the tale, such as the wood of the cross coming from the Tree of Knowledge.

Venerating the Cross as the sign of salvation became an important part of the Christian liturgical calendar. The Invention of the True Cross (celebrating Helena's finding [*inventio*] of the Cross in 326) was placed on 3 May, and a separate celebration, The Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (marking the day in 628 when a piece of the Cross taken by Khosrow [Chosroes] II during the Persian conquest of Jerusalem was recovered by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius) was placed on 14 September. Another consequence of Helena's discovery of the Cross was the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Work began as early as 326 and the religious complex in its current form covers the sites of the Crucifixion (Golgotha) and Christ's burial. It was consecrated in 335 and comprised part of the architectural transformation of Jerusalem and its landscape into a Christian city, and it was an element in the creation of a sacred Christian geography of the Holy Land that had begun with Jerome.⁶⁹ The ODa. *Pilgrims' Guide to the Holy Land* (DAS AM 792 4^o) from 1475–1500 includes a description of the church and its various chapels related to the death and burial of Jesus.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Penguin, 2010), 59. Indeed, *The Finding of the Holy Cross* is a story that not only describes a polemical confrontation concerning matters of doctrine about the Crucifixion and Resurrection, but that involves the very land in which these events took place. Christianity is rapidly transforming and re-scripting the sacred geography of the Holy Land.

⁷⁰ See DAS AM 787 4^o, ff. 192rb–193vb; *VejlPilgr* 217–20; Text 47: *The Pilgrims' Guide to the Holy Land*. Very little has been written on this text. See Simon Skovgaard Boeck, "U eller n?," in *From Text to Artefact: Studies in Honour of Anne Mette Hansen*, ed. Katarzyna Anna Kapitan, Beeke Stegmann, and Seán D. Vrieland (Leeds: Kismet Press, 2019), 171–73.

The Finding of the Holy Cross (Text 29) is found in two versions in East Norse, both in OSw. The first is in the *Fornsvenska legendariet* and is extant in two manuscripts: UUB C 528 (1400–50) and SRA E 8900 (1450–70). This is a considerably shorter reworking and translation of the tale in the *Legenda aurea*. The second version is in *Sjärens tröst* in SKB A 108 (1400–50) and translated from the MLG *Der Selen Troyst*. The OSw. version is remarkably close to its MLG original.

The *Fornsvenska legendariet* version begins with Helena returning to Jerusalem after converting to Christianity.⁷¹ Upon arrival she questions the Jews about the whereabouts of the Cross. They request a day's grace before answering and take counsel. One of those present, Judas, tells the other Jews that his family knows the location of the Cross but has sworn never to reveal it. Judas's father, Simon, told Judas that the Jews had killed Jesus for no other reason than he had accused them of vices (“han awitte them for osidhi”) and that the Jews had also killed Judas's brother, Stephen, for preaching Christianity. From what Simon says, we can assume that in addition to his brother being a Christian preacher, Judas's father was a crypto-Christian. Indeed, the author draws a distinct dividing line between Judas's family and “the Jews”: from the beginning, Judas is contrasted with the other Jews of Jerusalem; he alone knows the location of the Cross and the truth about the Crucifixion; and by the end of the story, he is unequivocally portrayed as “the right sort of Jew” as opposed to the other Jews of Jerusalem. The following day, the Jews come to Helena but tell her that they do not know where the Cross is. Helena threatens to burn them all on a bonfire if they do not help her.⁷² In response to her threats, they hand over Judas and tell her that he is the wise son of a holy prophet.⁷³ Helena has Judas thrown into a deep well and gives him the choice between helping her locate the Cross and starving to death.⁷⁴ After six days, Judas, half-starved, agrees to tell the queen where the Cross is buried. He takes her to the spot and immediately the earth trembles.⁷⁵ They are enveloped by

71 See Text 19: *St Sylvester and the Disputation with the Twelve Jewish Scholars*.

72 This threat is possibly an echo of Constantine's edict of 319 to burn to death those Jews who stone a convert to Christianity and references the Jews' stoning of Stephen, the first Christian martyr: Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross Was Found*, 170. See also Text 49: *The Stoning of St Stephen*.

73 The phrase is reminiscent of Matthew 13:17.

74 There are parallels to be drawn between Judas and Jesus: both are delivered by their people to the secular authorities; both choose starvation (Matthew 4:1–4); and both, if we consider Joseph as a prefiguration of the Passion of Christ, were placed in a well. The linking between Judas and biblical stories and Christian legends (such as his “brother” Stephen) gives the legend a prophetic flavour. See Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross Was Found*, 170.

75 Cf. the earth quaking and the rocks rending in Matthew 27:51.

a sweet fragrance from the ground and begin to dig.⁷⁶ They find three crosses and are able to distinguish the True Cross by placing each one in turn on a dangerously ill woman and a dead man: when the True Cross is used, the woman is cured and the man comes back to life.⁷⁷ Thus, both salvation and life proceed from the Cross.

Suddenly, the devil cries out and compares Judas to the Judas of the Gospels: whereas Judas Iscariot augmented the devil's power by betraying Jesus, Judas, son of Simon, weakens him by taking the Cross from him. The devil's comparison between the two reveals how Judas Iscariot ("the betrayer") represents the entire Jewish people's rejection of Jesus, whereas Judas ("the confessor") symbolizes this same people's ultimate conversion.⁷⁸ The devil warns Judas that he will create another emperor who will drive Judas from Christ (the implication being that Emperor Constantine has driven Judas to Christ.)⁷⁹ Upon hearing the voice, Judas converts to Christianity and takes the name Quiriacus (Cyriacus), and later, after Macarius, he becomes Bishop of Jerusalem. The development of Judas's character reflects the Christian view of Jews as witnesses as well as the hope that Jews can be reformed: at first, he says nothing; then, using the words of his father, he discloses what he knows; and finally, he converts. It is Judas's development that drives the narrative forward.⁸⁰

In what feels like an appendage, the tale goes on to describe Judas's discovery of the nails used to crucify Christ which he finds shining like gold ("skin and the som gul") in sharp contrast to the description of the blunted iron nails found in Passion texts.⁸¹ Helena takes the nails to Rome: two are attached to her son Constantine's helmet and one to his horse's bridle to ensure victory in battle. The fourth nail – and here, the author refers explicitly to the authority of Gregory of Tours – is dropped overboard *en route* to Rome into a particularly treacherous part of the Mediterranean Sea in order to calm the swell: ever since, no pilgrim has been lost at sea there. This section is more an expedient explanation of the relics, but it does not continue with any themes from the preceding section on the

76 The sweet fragrance of the tree (i. e., the wooden cross) may be taken from Enoch's visionary journey in heaven, where he says that he saw a great tree by the throne, "whose fragrance was beyond all fragrance" (1 Enoch 24:4).

77 There are many variants of this miracle that distinguished the True Cross from those of the thieves. This version is first encountered in Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica (Historia Sacra)*, 2.34–88; see John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977), 99n25.

78 Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross Was Found*, 172.

79 The devil's prophecy came true when Julian the Apostate persecuted and martyred Judas.

80 Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross Was Found*, 169–73.

81 See the Passion texts discussed in Chapter 6: *Modelling Feelings and Behaviours*.

Cross. The tale concludes with Pope Sylvester's edict to celebrate the Finding of the Cross every year on 3 May.

The version in *Själens tröst* is slightly different. We are told more about the background to the wood used for the Cross. Shortly before Jesus was to be crucified, the tree from the Garden of Eden uprooted itself and floated in the water of a pool or fishpond ("piscina") from where it was taken by the Jews who fashioned it into the Cross ("Hwilkit iudhane toko / oc giordho ther aff wars herra kors").⁸² After the Crucifixion, the Jews took the three crosses – Jesus' and the two robbers' – and threw them into a ditch where they lay for more than a century. Then follows the *In hoc signo vinces* legend known from Lactantius (c. 250–325) and Eusebius (260/265–339/340). Constantine (in *Själens tröst* erroneously identified as the father of Constantine I) sees the sign of the Cross in the sky before going into battle. He makes a banner with the symbol of the Cross upon it and uses it to lead his forces into the fray, where they win a massive victory. Later, when some Christians explain the meaning of the Cross to Constantine, he converts.

After his death, his son (also called Constantine) sends his mother, Helena, to Jerusalem to find the Cross. As in the *Fornsvenska legendariet*, the Jews do not want to tell her about the Cross, but when they are threatened with being burnt to death, they hand over Judas who has told them that he knows where the Cross is but whose father has forbidden to tell anyone. Helena has Judas thrown into a pit, where, tormented by hunger, he eventually agrees to reveal the location of the Cross. A sweet-smelling fragrance leads him to the spot right under a pagan temple. Why only Judas can smell the scent is not explained in the text. Helena has the building razed to make room for the dig. They discover three crosses, test them on a dead man (no ill woman here), and identify the True Cross when the man comes to life. Judas has himself baptized, takes the name Quirinus (certainly a scribal error for Quiriacus [Cyriacus]), becomes Bishop of Jerusalem, and is later martyred. The reader is finally exhorted to honour the Cross in order to receive praise from God.

In these OSw. texts, some elements from the earliest versions of the tale have been lost (e. g., the pagan temple is only mentioned in *Själens tröst* and is missing in the *Fornsvenska legendariet*), but the greatest difference is no doubt the transformation of the tale from a miraculous tale about the finding of the Cross into an account of a confrontation between Christians and Jews, with the story focusing on Judas. Indeed, the "missing" pagan temple in *Fornsvenska legendariet* re-directs the story entirely away from paganism being an obstacle to Christianity to

⁸² The full story, involving Adam, Seth, Solomon, and the queen of Sheba among others, can be found in the preceding tale: SKB A 108, pp. 186–187; *SjäTrö* 297–300.

Jews being the impediment. With the example of Judas, the legend shows that (some) Jews know secrets about the truth and origin of Christianity. As witnesses to the life and death of Jesus, the events from the first decades of the Common Era have been related and passed on from generation to generation. For Christians, however, accessing this “Jewish” knowledge about their own faith is no easy matter, and to judge from Helena’s approach, it is best achieved through threats and torture rather than through gentle persuasion. Indeed, Helena’s behaviour stands for robust and uncompromising secular (i. e., state, royal, or imperial) intervention in the treatment of Jews.⁸³ Her threatening approach is all the more astonishing given that she herself had once converted to Judaism. The recovered Cross is not only a symbol of salvation and evidence that the Jews crucified Christ, but it also symbolizes the victory of Christianity over Judaism.

The conversion of Judas is particularly interesting. At no point does Helena explain why he should become Christian. Judas has, as it were, been primed by his father and grandfather – witnesses to the truth of Christianity and the iniquity of the Jews – but his conversion does not come about through arguments or debate. In *Själens tröst*, Judas converts when the dead man is brought back to life, while in the *Fornsvenska legendariet*, it is in fact unclear whether it is the miracle of the Cross or the voice of the devil that prompts Judas to become Christian. Regardless, the conversion here – like so many – is not brought about through human endeavour, but through divine revelation.⁸⁴ Nothing is said about the other Jews of Jerusalem, and the reader is left in the dark as to whether or not they converted. This seems a bit odd as conversion stories often insist that all those present who witness the miracle convert *en masse*. It is not clear why such an object, the True Cross upon which Jesus was crucified, does not prove more effectual. Nonetheless, the conversion of the Jew with the name Judas is especially meaningful: Judas Iscariot’s betrayal of Christ to the Jews has been compensated for by Judas Cyriacus’s betrayal of the Jews to the Christians.⁸⁵

Before ending this section on the Finding of the Holy Cross, we should mention an alternative version of Helena’s finding of the Cross that is found in the Jewish anti-Christian polemical text called *Sefer Toledot Yesu* (ספר תולדות ישו) [*The Book of the Life of Jesus*].⁸⁶ It is a good example of Jewish writers subverting well-known Christian legends and traditions. In this version, Helena (אילינה, *Elinah*), here the wife of Emperor Constantine, set out to find the Cross as a cure

⁸³ Linder, “Ecclesia and Synagoga,” 1036–39; Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross Was Found*, 162.

⁸⁴ See under “Conversion” in Chapter 8: *Darkness and Light*.

⁸⁵ Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: waarheid en legende*, 231.

⁸⁶ For an edition, see Samuel Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen* (Berlin: Calvary, 1902), 141–43.

for her husband: half of whose body was leprous. First, she ordered the Jews in Rome and other places to reveal the location of the Cross, but they told her that they did not know as the Crucifixion had not happened in their country and that she should go to Jerusalem and ask the Jews there. This she did and threatened the Jerusalemite Jews with death if they refused to reveal the whereabouts of the Cross (“וואס לא תמצאוהו אהרוג אתכם”). To avoid being killed, Yehudah the rabbi made a secret plan: the Jews were to collect lots of old pieces of wood (“עצים זקנים” “הרבה מאד”) and bury them in a certain place where, together with the queen, they would then discover them. They carried out the plan, and after waiting for three days during which he said he had fasted and prayed, Yehudah was able to show the queen where to dig. Immediately, she discovered three pieces of wood which matched the number of crosses at Golgotha during the Crucifixion. But how could they know which piece of wood was the one that Jesus had been crucified on? They heard that there was a certain dead man whose children (the Heb. in some versions has “בני בני” [his grandchildren]) were weeping over him, and Yehudah called for him to be brought to him. Swaying and crying, he placed each piece of wood one at a time upon the dead man and was able to distinguish the True Cross from the robbers’ by bringing the man back to life with the third piece of wood. Everyone cried out and Yehudah said that this piece of wood belonged to the cross on which Jesus (“ישׁע”) had been crucified: and from then on, the Christians made a custom of placing a cross over the dead (“ומהעת ההיו שמו למנהג להניח” “שתי וערב על המתים”). However, unbeknown to the queen, this was not a Christian miracle: Yehudah had in fact tricked her and raised the man from the dead, not with an old bit of wood but by secretly saying the ineffable name of God over him (“ויקם המת חי על רגליו בכח שם המפורש”). The story concludes with the Christians afflicting the Jews even more and using the miracle of the finding of the Cross as proof of the Jews’ guilt in crucifying Jesus. To appease them, Yehuda and the man he had raised from the dead (now named “איליקומס”, *Eliqums*) converted to Christianity in the hope of ending the persecution.

The story in *Sefer Toledot Yešu* is obviously a satire of the Helena legend, which, if nothing else, shows how widespread the story of the finding of the True Cross had become. However, it is also a subversive text that shows that the Jewish “secrets” that Helena was trying to uncover have nothing to offer Christians. Indeed, the Jews are just as ignorant as the Christians as to where the relics of the Passion are to be found. Furthermore, while Jews know the ineffable name and can even make use of its power, Christians have nothing but useless bits of wood.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ See John Freeland, “Medieval Jewish Legends on Matters Connected with Christianity,” *American Ecclesiastical Review* 38 (1908): 639–42.

Travels to the Holy Land

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville was nothing less than a European “bestseller” during the Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period. The work first appeared in northern France and England in the second half of the fourteenth century before spreading throughout Europe. Today it survives in over 250 manuscripts and 130 printed editions in at least ten languages, including English, French, German, Czech, Danish, Irish, Italian, Spanish, and Latin.⁸⁸ In all, five independent Latin versions have been recorded and they are somewhat more concise than most of the vernacular versions. It is the principal Latin version, extant in 41 manuscripts and known as the Latin vulgate, from which the ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse* [*The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*] has been translated. For this reason, the ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse*, when compared to many other vernacular versions, contains numerous abridgements and lacunae, most of which are found in the Latin vulgate but not, say, in the English and French versions.

The medieval *Mandevilles Rejse* is today preserved in a single copy from 1459.⁸⁹ According to the first page of the manuscript the knight Mandeville originally wrote *The Travels* in French, from which they were translated into Latin; then, in 1434, an otherwise unknown cleric Peder Hare (Pædhær Haræ) of Roskilde

⁸⁸ See Benjamin Braude, “Mandeville’s Jews among Others,” in *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land*, ed. Bryan LeBeau and Menachem Mor, *Studies in Jewish Civilization*, vol. 7 (Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 1996), 136.

⁸⁹ The dating is taken from Helge Toldberg, “Mandevilles rejse,” in *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder fra vikingetid til reformationstid*, vol. 11, ed. Alan Karker et al. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1966), cols 309–311. For more on this translation and its relationship to later Danish manuscripts, see Sid A. J. Bradley, “The Translator of *Mandevilles Rejse*: A New Name in Fifteenth-Century Danish Prose?” in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. Derek A. Pearsall and Ronald A. Waldron (London: The Athlone Press, 1969), 146–54; Sid A. J. Bradley, “Mandevilles Rejse: Some Aspects of its Changing Rôle in the Later Danish Middle Ages,” *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 9 (1976): 146–63; Sid A. J. Bradley, “Mandevilles Rejse,” in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano et al. (New York: Garland, 1993), 404; Sid A. J. Bradley, ed., *The Danish Version of “Mandeville’s Travels” in Sixteenth-Century Epitome* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1999); Britta Orlrik Frederiksen, “Mandevilles Rejse,” in *Levende ord & lysende billeder: Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark*, vol. 1: *Katalog*, ed. Erik Petersen (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek / Moesgård Museum, 1999), 49 (no. 62). On *Mandevilles Rejse* and its representation of the Other, see Jonathan Adams, “The Life of the Prophet Muḥammad in East Norse,” in *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 203–37.

translated the work into Danish.⁹⁰ The final page of SKB M 307 tells us that the manuscript was written by brother Ole Jakobsøn (Olavus Jacobi) of the Franciscan monastery in Næstved upon the request of the head of the monastery brother Jens Mikkelsøn (Johannes Michaelis) and completed 14 August 1459.⁹¹

The most remarkable thing about Mandeville's description of Jerusalem is how rarely he makes any reference to Jews and the connection between the city and the Jewish people is never mentioned. We do read that, "Judea has been under many rulers at many and different times," and the following list includes Jews, but apart from this all reference is to Christian sites and pilgrims. Other Christian groups than Catholics are mentioned (e. g., Greek Orthodox and Ethiopian Christians). The Muslims who control the city are only referred to in as far as they have had an impact on the Christian sites of worship and visits by pilgrims. For example, an incidence of "heritage conservation" is described in an account of the Holy Sepulchre:

oc muæ j vyddæ at til nw nyligæ mottæ pelægrimæ kommæ ponnæ grafuen oc tagæ ponnæ hennæ men forty at mangæ te brudæ aff grafuen oc villæ brydæ ter af forty lod soldanen melechmandebron giøræ ter iern om kring at mand kan nw huerken kommæ ter tel at kissæ eller tagæ ter ponnæ men allenestæ at te muæ se ten helly graf⁹²

[And you should know that until recently, pilgrims could walk upon the sepulchre and touch it, but because many of them broke (pieces) off the sepulchre (or) intended to break (pieces) off, the sultan *Melechmandebron* (Al-Malik Al-Ashraf Khalil, eighth Mamluk sultan, r. 1290–93)⁹³ had an iron fence built around it, so that now you cannot either reach it to kiss or touch it, but only see the holy sepulchre.]

Most descriptions of places in Jerusalem refer to Christian history from the time of the New Testament, but occasionally people and events from the Old Testament

90 Unfortunately, the scribe has written the year of translation as 1534: "nw ar effther gutz byrdh thusenne ok fæm hundredæ ok trætywe ok paa thet fierdæ wor hun seth aff lathyne ok paa danskæ aff een hedherlik clærk som hedher hær pædhær haræ j roskylle bescopess dømæ" [Now AD 1534 it was translated from Latin and into Danish by an honourable cleric, Peder Hare of Roskilde bishopric], SKB M 307, p. 1a; *Mandev* 1. The dating is probably a mistake for 1434, but the precise year of the translation from Latin into Danish must remain uncertain.

91 "Explicit libellus scriptus per fratrem olauum iacobi ordinis sancti francisci quem fecit scribi ffrater johannes michaelis gardianus nestuedensis · anno domini Mcdl nono in profesto assuæm·pcionis virginis gloriose" [Here ends the booklet written by Brother Ole Jakobsøn of the Order of St Francis whom Brother Jens Mikkelsøn, guardian in Næstved, made write. AD 1459 on the Eve of the Assumption of the Glorious Virgin (i. e., 14 August)], SKB M 307, p. 186b; *Mandev* 204.

92 SKB M 307, p. 29a–b; *Mandev* 40.

93 Identified in Charles William Reuben Dutton Moseley, trans., *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 2005), 60.

are mentioned. For example, in describing the Temple Mount, Mandeville writes: “oc vessæligæ b̄or ten stet at holless j stor verdiched forty at ten tid salomon koning først hadæ bigd templet vdy ten sammæ sted som gud hannum b̄odh” [And this place should certainly be held in great dignity because when King Solomon built the temple for the first time in the same place where God commanded him] and that “hoo som badæ gud om noget retferdich sagh j ten stæd at han skullæ vordæ hørt ta sennæ gud hannum eet tegn af hemmæлинд meth en sky at hans b̄on vor hørt som istoria veritatis vdhuyser j ten tredia koningæ bogh” [whoever asked God about some just cause in this place would be heard. Then God sent him a sign from heaven in a cloud that his prayer was heard as the History of Truth relates in the Third Book of Kings.]⁹⁴

This focus on sites of religious importance for Christians is hardly surprising. In this it is similar to the only extant medieval vernacular pilgrims’ guide from Denmark and Sweden: DAS AM 792 4^o (c. 1450–1500). Here, too, Jews are only mentioned in the past where they are of relevance to the Christian geography of the city:⁹⁵

Myt i mellen templet ogh the firæ capelle ensæ til lighe rum ensæ xxx foder Tyl sinnæn ær then stædh som iudei toghæ korssæt aff ihesu for innæn Caluarie biargh

[At about the same distance between the Temple and the four chapels, about thirty feet to the south, is the place where the Jews took the Cross from Jesus at Mount Calvary.]

Jtem inwortes ær sancte staffens poort hwilkyn sa kallæs forthi at Judhæ m̄odæ hanum therræ ogh wd wortes ensa til eet steens kast ther beydhæ han synæ knæ ogh baad for thee hanum steendæ ogh anuordhet gwd syn syæl

[Moreover, inside is St Stephen’s Gate which is so called because the Jews came across him there, and outside about a stone’s throw away he bent his knees and prayed for those who were stoning him, and God received his soul.]

⁹⁴ SKB M 307, p. 33b; *Mandev* 45.

⁹⁵ Erasing Jews from accounts of visits to Jerusalem is not a *donnée*. In some other descriptions of pilgrimages and guides for pilgrims, contemporary Jews do appear in accounts of Jerusalem. For example, in Konrad Grünemberg’s description of his pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in 1486, we read that a Jew helped him and his companions to find more suitable accommodation: “Darnach giengent wier Jnn den spittal / Vnd warent dar Jnn fier stund / Da tetten vns die haiden so vil laid / das wier durch hillff ains Juden / Ander herberg vber komen / bij ainen Cristen Centure” [After this we entered the (Muristan) hospital and were inside for four hours. The pagans tormented us there so much that through the help of a Jew we were given accommodation at the home of a “*cinctura* Christian” (i. e., a Syriac Christian who wore a black belt or girdle to distinguish himself from a Muslim)], Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. St. Peter pap. 32, f. 36v; Konrad Grünemberg, *Von Konstanz nach Jerusalem: Eine Pilgrimsfahrt zum Heiligen Grab im Jahre 1486. Die Karlsruher Handschrift*, ed. and trans. Folker Reichert and Andrea Denke (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2015), 107, 210.

Fremdeles somiget som en steens kast a then same hand er natatoria syloe thet heder ogh so for thi at iodhe thoe them ogh summæ ther i

[Moreover, as far as a stone's throw away on the same side there is the Pool of Siloam; it is also called this because the Jews and some (others) washed themselves in it.]

Jtem fremdeles til wester somighet ense tw armborstæ scud foræ stadhen ær then stædh som iødher wilde haue taghet war fruæs ligheme then thidh han bars til grauæ

[Moreover, about two crossbow shots further to the west before the city is the place where the Jews wanted to have Our Lady's corpse seized when she was being carried to her tomb.]

Jtem fremdeles at then same wey ær Cayphas hws eet buæ scud lanct J hwilket iodhæ sæthæ ihesum til om morwenen then thidh the waræ mødhe

[Moreover, further along the same road is Caiaphas's house, one bow shot long, in which the Jews, having become tired, bound Jesus until morning.]

nedher j omgongen ær een Capelle i then stedh som ihesus kom in til discipele ogh dørrene bleue luctæ ther the sade samen for iødhe resle⁹⁶

[Down in the circular corridor there is a chapel in the place where Jesus came in to the disciples and the doors were closed, where they sat together for fear of the Jews.]

The absence of Jews in descriptions of Jerusalem showed that the city no longer belonged to them or to Judaism, and in this way fitted neatly into the supersessionist narrative. Indeed, the punishment of the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem for the geography and demography of the city were shown to be permanent with consequences up to the present day. The political reality regarding Muslim control of Jerusalem was nonetheless harder to ignore.

Conclusion

The texts studied in this chapter show that historical Jews were an important element in how medieval Danes and Swedes understood the development of their own religion. All the texts point to Judaism and the Jews as being superseded by Christianity and the Christians. Old Testament figures are interpreted allegorically as prefiguring New Testament ones with the aim of demonstrating the continuity of the Old Testament into the New. The proof of this supersession and God's abandonment of the Jews as the Chosen People is seen not least in the destruction of Jerusalem. From the Roman victory onwards, mentions of Jews in Jerusalem are

⁹⁶ DAS AM 792 4^o, ff. 189rb, 190rb–va, 191va, 191vb, 192ra, 192va–b; *VejlPilgr* 210, 212, 214, 214–15, 215, 216.

non-existent. The acts of “good Jews” in the Old Testament are held up as examples of defenders of the faith. By carefully dressing them in the vestments of Christianity, they appear as “proto-Christians” who prefigure persons found in the New Testament (not least the Virgin Mary as far as our texts are concerned). Jews alive at the time of Christ are painted very negatively: they are violent, destructive, and murderously opposed to Christ and his followers. They seem like crazed zealots or wild beasts who often act and shout together as a mob. In our texts, the chronological cut-off point between *judaei antiqui* (“good Jews”) and *judaei nostri temporis* (“bad Jews”) appears in the Judas legend. Here, Judas is an evil, murderous, scheming creature who seeks wealth and the recognition of those in power. His parents – both biological and foster – are portrayed much more sympathetically.

The role of Jews as preservers and suppliers of Christian relics is particularly interesting. The peculiar telescopic chronology often associated with Jews (discussed earlier in connection with iconicide) conflates time, so Jews are able to produce objects or re-enact events from the time of Christ. In the texts discussed in this chapter, this ability leaves them in a Catch-22 situation: should they refuse to help Christians locate and acquire relics, they face being killed by them; should they help them, they face the wrath of the devil. Jewish history and Jews of the past have become imbued with Christian meaning and serve as props in the telling of Christian history that is trajected back to the time of Adam and Eve.

10 The Jewish Plot to Destroy All Christendom: The Black Death and Well-Poisoning

Introduction

The alleged crimes against Christian objects and people described in Chapters 7 and 8, such as host desecration, iconoclasm, blood libel, sexual seduction, magic, usury, and so on, were not just the crimes of individuals: although they might have been performed by a single Jew or a small group of Jews, these crimes took place because all Jews were evil, and they all bore a great hatred towards Christianity and its adherents. They plotted secretly against Christians and as allies of the devil worked towards the destruction of Christendom: no Jew or Jewish community was free of suspicion. The idea of a collective Jewish conspiracy against Christendom had its origins in the claim that Jews were responsible for killing Christ and that they as an ὄχλος (*óchlos*) or *turba* [a crowd, mob] had demanded his execution.¹ However, the claim of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy as an imminent threat to Christianity in the Middle Ages first appeared in writing in England in Thomas of Monmouth's *Vita et passio Willelmi Nowicensis* (1150–73):

We also interpose as an argument of faith and truth what we have heard from Theobald, a person who was once a Jew and later one of our monks. He told us that in the ancient writings of their ancestors it was written that Jews could not achieve their freedom or ever return to the lands of their fathers without the shedding of human blood. Hence it was decided by them a long time ago that every year, to the shame and affront of Christ, a Christian somewhere on earth be sacrificed to the highest God, and so they take revenge for the injuries of Him, whose death is the reason for their exclusion from their fatherland and their exile as slaves in foreign lands.

Therefore, the leaders and rabbis of the Jews who dwell in Spain, at Narbonne, where the seed of kings and their glory flourishes greatly, meet together, and cast lots of all the regions where Jews lived. Whichever reason was chosen by lots, its capital city had to apply that lot to the other cities and towns, and the one whose name comes up will carry out the business, as decreed.²

The concepts of an international Jewish conspiracy and an unseen, imminent Jewish threat were expressed in various guises in both writing and real-life actions across Europe. In this and the next chapter, medieval sources from Denmark and

¹ Matthew 27:15–26; Mark 15:6–15; Luke 23:13–25; John 18:38–19:16.

² Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich*, trans. and ed. Miri Rubin (London: Penguin, 2014), 62–63 (book II, ch. 12).

Sweden about an alleged plot to wipe out Christendom by means of poisoning and about an unseen apocalyptic threat to the very survival of Christian Europe are investigated. Due to the paucity of vernacular sources on the Black Death, the discussion includes as an exception a Latin source, viz. copies of two letters found in a fifteenth-century manuscript. These letters are not just the only medieval documents purporting to be from Scandinavia that link the plague directly to Jews, but they also do so in such a manner that illustrates the widespread dissemination and absorption of European ideas of a Jewish plot against all *Christianitas* – it would therefore be imprudent to ignore them here.

The Black Death: consequences, causes, and cures

Originating in the Asian steppes, the Black Death swept across Europe at the end of the 1340s killing between a third and a half of the continent's population within two to three years. The magnitude of the destruction wrought by the pandemic is difficult to conceive: empty landscapes, deserted villages, abandoned abbeys and centres of learning, cities filled with the dead and dying, social structures turned upside down, widespread looting and violence, as well as religious zealotry and mass public displays of piety. It is no wonder that contemporary European chroniclers believed that they were the final generation. In the *Annalium Hibernae Chronicon*, John Clyn (c. 1286–1349) of the Friars Minor in Kilkenny, Ireland, wrote:

Ego autem frater Johannes Clyn de Ordine Minorum et conventu Kilkennie hec notabilia facta, que tempore meo acciderunt, in hoc libro scripsi [...] videns hec multa mala et mundum totum quasi in maligno positum, inter mortuos mortem expectans donec veniat [...] dimitto pergamenam pro opere continuando, si forte in futuro homo superstes remaneat, an aliquis de genere Ade hanc pestilenciam possit evadere et opus continuare inceptum.³

[And I, Brother John Clyn, of the Friars Minor of Kilkenny, have written in this book the notable events which befell in my time (...) that the whole world is encompassed by evil, waiting among the dead for death to come (...) I leave parchment for continuing the work in case anyone should still be alive in the future and any son of Adam can escape this pestilence and continue the work thus begun.]⁴

The plague spread from Central Asia along the trade routes to Italy, and from there northwards arriving in Scandinavia in 1348: first in Norway (Oslo in late

³ Richard Butler, ed., *The Annals of Ireland, together with the Annals of Ross* (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1849), 37.

⁴ Translation from Rosemary Horrox, trans. and ed., *The Black Death*, Manchester Medieval Sources (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 84.

1348,⁵ Bergen in 1349), then in Denmark (1349) and Sweden (1350). Iceland was largely spared, initially at least, as infected sailors usually died on their ships before making land on the North Atlantic island.⁶

The Black Death is mentioned in several vernacular and Latin sources from Denmark and Sweden. For example, a runic text (G 293 M) contemporary with the first outbreak in 1350 inscribed on a limestone tombstone in the floor of the chancel in Lärbro Church, Gotland, reads:⁷

[gub : nabi : hehuars : sial : sum : h--... ..u : gera fem þusend :] ar : ok : ainu : a... mina : en : tu : hundra... -r : uaru : af : adami : ok : ti- : -uz : byrþ : et þusend : ar : ok : þry : hundr-þ ar : ok fimtihi : ar : uar : af : guz : byrþ : ok til : tihra : dauþa-... ¶ ----r-- : -- : - : r--aff-- : -... : ...-...⁸
[May God be gracious to Hegvarð's soul, which do five thousand years and one year less than two hundred years were from Adam to God's birth, one thousand years and three hundred years and fifty years were from God's birth and to the Great Death.]

The *Chronica Sialandie* from Denmark includes the following entries for the years 1348–49: “[1349:] epidemia regnat per regnum” [an epidemic prevailed in the kingdom] and “[1350:] mortalitas magna in Dacia” [a great mortality in Denmark].⁹ And *Chronica archiepiscoporum Lundensium* has “[1350:] fuit vniuersalis ypidumia per totum mundum” [there was a universal epidemic throughout the entire world].¹⁰

As elsewhere in Europe, it is impossible to give a precise account of the destruction wrought by the Black Death in Scandinavia. In Denmark, a sharp

⁵ This year is taken from Ole Jørgen Benedictow's *Plague in Late Medieval Nordic Countries: Epidemiological Studies* (Oslo: Middelalderforlaget, 1992), 73–102. On problems connected to this dating, see Dick Harrison, *Stora döden: Den värsta katastrof som drabbat Europa* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 2000), 353–58.

⁶ Nonetheless, *svartidaði* arrived in 1402 and wiped out an estimated two thirds of the population. Vilhelm Møller-Christensen, “Pest,” in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, vol. 13, ed. Allan Karker and others (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1968), col. 240.

⁷ For an image of this stone slab with runic inscription, see Hans Aili, Olle Ferm, and Göran Tegnér, “En giftmördares bekännelser: dokument från omkring 1350 om pesten i Visby,” in *Röster från svensk medeltid: Latinska texter i original och översättning*, ed. Hans Aili, Olle Ferm, and Helmer Gustavsson (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1990), 15.

⁸ Thorgunn [Þórgunnur] Snædal, *Medan världen vakar: Studier i de gotländska runinskrifternas språk och kronologi*, Runrön, vol. 16 (Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk – Uppsala universitet, 2002), 154.

⁹ Ellen Jørgensen, ed., *Annales Danici medii aevi* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1920), 174–75.

¹⁰ Martin Clarentius Gertz, ed., *Scriptores minores historiae Danicae medii aevi*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1918–20), 117.

increase in the number of masses held in memory of the recently departed in 1349 and 1350, especially in West Denmark, points to a four-fold increase in mortality.¹¹ In Sweden, a note in some annals from the beginning of the fifteenth century claims – almost certainly with a dose of exaggeration – that five sixths of the population of Uppland were killed.¹²

For a long time, the arrival of the Black Death came to be used as a milestone by which time could be measured and other events dated. So, in an ODa. charter from 1426 we read that Lars Ågesen (Laurens Akassøn), a canon in Lund, proved that his mother's father, Mogens Råbok (Magnus Raboc), had bought a farm in Näsådal, Brönnestad parish, "laankt fore then folka døthin" [long before the pestilence].¹³ The profound long-lasting consequences of the plague are also described in Peder Månsson's (c. 1460–1534) *Bondakunst* [*The Art of Agriculture*]:

Nw liggia j swærike mang gotz ødhe
 som fordom waro vptakin mædh storo mødhe
 Stor stenrøør bewisa thet nogh
 affwer hwilken ær væxin willande skogh
 Somme sæya the gotzen lagdos ødhe
 aff myklo ørløgh oc swarthom dødhe
 Fattas nw folk thet maa væl føresees
 mædh almoghanom^(a) tærffwa høffwe mees¹⁴

Notes: a. almoghanom] almoghanom [sægher] MS.

[In Sweden many estates, that in the past were raised with great effort, now lie in ruins. Large piles of stones over which wild forest has grown seem to prove it. Some say the estates were destroyed by great wars and the Black Death. There is now a lack of people which must be made up by the common people. *Terve, hyvä mies!* (Finnish: Welcome, good fellow!)]¹⁵

11 Further on mortality in Denmark during the Black Death, see Erik Ulsig, "Pest og befolkningsnedgang i Danmark i det 14. århundrede," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 91, no. 2 (1991): 21–43. On the plague more generally in Denmark, see Harrison, *Stora döden*, 373–80.

12 Lars-Arne Norberg, "Pest," in *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*, vol. 13, ed. Allan Karker and others (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1968), col. 246. On Sweden, see also Alf Åberg, *Digerdöden* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1963); Harrison, *Stora döden*, 381–412; Janken Myrdal, *Digerdöden, pestvägor och ödeläggelse: Ett perspektiv på senmedeltidens Sverige* (Stockholm: Runica et Mediævalia, 2003); Per Lagerås, ed., *Environment, Society and the Black Death: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Late-Medieval Crisis in Sweden* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016). On Scandinavia, see Francis Aidan Gasquet, *The Black Death of 1348 and 1349*, 2nd edn (London: George Bell and Sons, 1908), 76–79; Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), 113–15.

13 DRA NKR c–2975 (28 October 1426).

14 SKB X 502, f. 53v; *Bonda* 20.

15 On the Finnish phrase in Peder Månsson's *Bondakunst*, see Birger Bjerre, "tærffwa høffwe mees, PM 192, 21," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 50 (1934): 265–68.

In *Karlskrönikan* [*The Chronicle of Karl*] from 1452, we also read of the terrible consequences and social disruption caused by the Black Death in Sweden:

Sidan then penning stadga war sath
 tha wordo mang gozen ødhalagt
 Riket plagadis medh stora dødha
 ther medh lagdis gozen ødha
 the fatiga bønder som ater liffwa
 jæmstor stadga sculle the giffwa
 ther forre hundrada bønder boodhe
 ther finnas nw naplika tiwgu godhe
 Jæmstor skat wille konungin haua
 som thet war lagt a första daga
 gudh kunne aldrigh kona swa schapa
 at fogden wille henne for gilt vptaka
 bonden sculle jo økia til
 æ mædan fogden haua wil
 the giorde the bøndere meer oro
 the matte them fra badhe vxa och koo
 klædher kætza gryta
 liten ræth the mattæ niwta
 the mata for ena mark thet wert war thre
 thet giorde the fatige bøndere wee
 fogdana loto the bøndere taga
 och stockade och klufde them mot laga
 the grepo them j thera garda
 A kirchio vegh eller ting them ey sparde
 the skattade aff them æ huat te vilde
 och foro medh thøm swa jamerlige jlle¹⁶

[After the tax¹⁷ was imposed, many estates were destroyed. The kingdom was plagued by a great fatality. The poor peasants who survived still had to pay the same high tax. Where there had previously lived a hundred peasants, now there remain just twenty good ones. The king wanted just as high a tax as was levied in the first days. God could never create such a cow that would satisfy the bailiff as full payment! The peasants just had to produce up to whatever the bailiff wanted which created more unrest among the peasants. They had to part with both axe and cow, clothes, pots, pans. They could enjoy but little help. They measured as one mark what was worth three. That caused the peasants woe. The bailiffs had the peasants taken and placed in stocks and handcuffs quite illegally. They grabbed them on their farms. They were not spared on their way to church or the assembly (*þing*). They taxed them whatever they wanted and treated them so miserably badly.]

¹⁶ SKB D 6, f. 9r–v (1452); *Karlskr* 23–24, ll. 650–75.

¹⁷ According to Söderwall's *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket*, the OSw. *pæningstadhge* means “påbud om afgift i penningar, pålaga i penningar” [the imposition of a tax paid in money, a monetary charge].

The plague was caused by *Yersinia pestis*, a bacteria found in fleas that were carried by rodents (and possibly by birds).¹⁸ The disease was transmitted to humans either by an infected flea biting its human host or by the faeces of an infected flea, for example in clothing or bedding, entering the blood of the host through a cut or graze. Either way, the bacilli would rapidly multiply and cause blistering, the formation of swellings (buboes), and internal haemorrhaging. Should the lungs be infected, pneumonia quickly developed making it difficult to breathe. Having spread the illness to others through coughing and spluttering, the victim would then die from lack of oxygen and cardiac arrest. Once infected, death usually ensued within a matter of days.

Of course, none of those affected by the Black Death had any idea about bacteria, modes of transmission, or effective treatments, and explanations had to be sought elsewhere. It was largely agreed that the plague was a scourge sent by God to cleanse an immoral people of their sin: a universal punishment for all humanity. The most reasonable defence in the face of the disease was thus to pray to God or for the intercession of the saints: Anne, Christopher, Erasmus, and especially Roch and Sebastian were considered particularly helpful in this connection.¹⁹ The clergy called upon the public to participate in masses, processions, and acts of contrition, while groups such as the flagellants performed acts of extreme mortification of the flesh to ward off the disease. For many, the Black Death was one of the apocalyptic horrors believed to take place at the End of Days, an event preceding the coming of Antichrist. Indeed, it was nothing less than the end of the world, and eschatological radicalism, millenarianism, and belief in the coming of Antichrist were all rife.²⁰

Magnus Eriksson, king of Sweden, Norway, and Skåne, wrote a letter to the people of Linköping diocese in 1349, in which he called for acts of piety to ward off God's punishment:²¹ church attendance, fasting, alms, and confession. Furthermore, he decreed that every man and woman in Sweden should donate one penny for the honour of God and the Virgin Mary. These measures, called for in response

18 Horrox, *The Black Death*, 8.

19 See Møller-Christensen, "Pest," cols 240–41. In Stubbekøbing Church on Falster, there is a large wall painting from c. 1480 of St Roch ("sanctus · roccus : confessor : dei") pointing to an exposed plague bubo on his leg. Another wall-painting of a plague-ridden Roch, this time kneeling to reveal his bubo, is found in the Church of Our Lady (known locally as "the White Church") in Skive, Jutland, and is dated to 1522.

20 See Robert E. Lerner, "The Black Death and Western European Eschatological Mentalities," *The American Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (1981): 533–52.

21 The letter is undated but was most likely composed in October 1349 and issued in Lödöse. See Åberg, *Digerdöden*, 76–77.

to the encroaching devastation from the west, demonstrate how in Scandinavia, too, the Black Death was conceived as a punishment from God that should best be dealt with through spiritual cleansing and turning to God:

Magnus med gudz nade konunger Sweriges Norges oc Skane sende allom clerkom oc lekmannom serdelis^(a) huariom i Lincþopungs biscopssdøme helso med gudj Vi kwnnungwm ethre allmennelighet elskelike at vj haffuom forstandit før visso rædelig tidende / huilken huar *cristhen* menniskio maa serlika rædas ty at gud før menniskiona synda skwll haffuer eno stoora plago almenneliga kastat aa verldena med braadøda swa at mestha lothrin aff ty folk som var j them landom, som vesthan vor land liggjande ærw^(b) vtaff the plaagana døød oc staar nw om kring alt norge oc halland oc naakas nu hiit [...] huad tienista eller ødmywkt thet skulde ælla motta vara som gud motta blidkass aff oc sina miskwnd til vor nadelika senda [...] at alt folk ower swerikes riike klærkia oc leekmen gammalt oc vngt kwinkønss oc mankønss kommen til theres soknakyrkio fregedagen i huario vikw ølne oc barfötte oc kennes vedher sin gud hans rettviso oc hanss vold med retto ødmykt / gongin tha om kyrkio med heliedomom / hørin messo med gudelica aakallan aa them dagenom offren sitt offer aa altaren then peninga som thet førmaa then andra almosa thet førmaa Thetta offer skola kyrkiaværendana skipta mellom fatiga mamma till prestens nytto skal thet samma offer ingomlundom vendes ella kommo Fregedagen huarn^(c) biwdom vj oc radom huariom cristno manne fasta veder || vatn oc brød / hwar thet ey vill at minsta aff hollda aff allom fisk oc fasta ved øøll oc brød Tessen messo skal vara aff varo frw at hon verdoges bedia sin signada son før oss at sino vrede fraan tesso salugo lande vanda før vora ødhmywkt skwld Till tesso messana haffuer huar biscooper i sino biscopsdøme xla daga afflat giffuit allom them som nær æro stadde oc retteligo scriptada ærw [...] Staddom vj oc ther at aff huario cristno menniskio vnga oc gambla mankønns oc quinkønns, skal giffua en swensker peninger gudj til heeders oc hanss signada moder Marie Then pening skal presten aff huario kyrkio med skælikom mannom haffua samman takit aa sancta andersa dag Tesso peninga skola in antwardass i domkirkiona med fullom rekenscap / tha thetta gæld ær samman kommit tha skolom vj med biscopom oc varo raade ther om sitia oc hogxsa huar vj skulom gudi oc hans signada moder nokon heder göra then som oss allom samman til tarffwa moga komma boda leffuandes och dødom · Ty bediom vj eder oc radom aff allom kerleek at huaredra i sinom stad lyde ødmywkelike med kerlek tesso vora skepan oc gongo til screpthen oc betra sik vider gud før syna synder med fullo ydrilse retto vidergongo oc tesso tieniste som eder ær nw kwnnogat til at gud tesso plago at minska i tesso riiken med sinom nadom [...] ²²

Notes: **a.** serdelis] sedelis MS. **b.** ærw] æ[->r]w MS. **c.** huarn] huar[->n] MS.

[Magnus, by the mercy of God king of Sweden, Norway, and Skåne, sends a greeting with God to all clergy and laity, especially to everyone in the diocese of Linköping. We lovingly inform all of you in common that we have received truly terrible news which every Christian man in particular should fear: because God for the sins of man has cast onto the world a great plague of sudden death,²³ by which most people in the lands to the west of our

²² The letter is preserved in a later copy book from 1522–27: SRA, Hans Brasks registratur, A 7, ff. 107v–108r (1525). See *Diplomatarium suecanum*, DS no. 4515, SDHK no. 5702.

²³ The use of the OSw. term *bradhødhe* [lit. fast-death] for ‘plague’ clearly evokes the speed with which death ensued.

country are dead of the plague, and it is now ravaging in Norway and Halland and is now approaching us here (... We have decided) what service or humility it can be with which God can be made gentle and graciously send his mercy to us (...) that all people in the kingdom of Sweden, clergy and laity, old and young, female and male, go to the parish churches every week on Friday dressed in wool and barefoot and with true humility confess to their God's justice and power. Then process around the church with the holy relics, listen to mass with divine invocations on those days, make offerings to him on his altar, whatever money one can afford or whatever charity another can afford. The churchwardens should distribute this offering among the poor; in no way should it be given over to the priest. We command and advise every Christian to abstain from all food but water and bread every Friday, whoever does not want to should at least abstain from all fish and fast with ale and bread. This mass should be for Our Lady that she will deign on our behalf to ask her blessed son to turn his anger from this blessed country for our humble sake. For this mass, every bishop in their bishoprics is to give a forty-day indulgence to all those who are present and have correctly confessed (...) We (have) decided that every Christian person, young and old, male and female, shall give one Swedish penny to the glory of God and his blessed mother Mary. That penny shall be collected on St Andrew's Day (30 November) in every church by the priest together with good men. This money with complete accounts shall be handed over to the cathedrals. When the payment has been made, then we will sit with our bishops and advisers and think about how we can award God and his blessed mother the honour that will benefit all of us, both the quick and the dead. So, we ask you and counsel you out of love that each of you in your place humbly obey our order with love and go to confession and better yourself before God for your sins with complete repentance, true confession, and this service that has now been explained to you in order that God in his mercy diminish this plague in this kingdom. (...)]

The *Diarium Vadstenense* states that in 1350: “Eo tempore viguit in regno Swecie magna mortalitas, qua nemo meminit maiorem exstitisse nec ante nec post; quam diu ante predixerat futuram beata Birgitta” [In his (Pope Clement's) time, a great mortality flourished in the kingdom of Sweden, a greater one no-one remembers either before or since; that had long been foretold by blessed Birgitta].²⁴ Indeed, St Birgitta of Sweden had several revelations about the Black Death. One of her shortest revelations (*Revelationes Extragantes* 77) simply reads: “Filius Dei loquitur: ‘Arabo terram istam in iudicio et tribulacione, donec inhabitantes addiscant petere misericordiam Dei.’” [The Son of God speaks: “I shall harrow this land in judgement and affliction until its inhabitants learn to ask for the mercy of God.”]²⁵

²⁴ See Claes Gejrot, *Diarium Vadstenense: The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988), 116.

²⁵ See Lennart Hollman, *Den heliga Birgittas Reuelaciones Extrauagantes*, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 5 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), 198 (Lat.); Denis Searby and Bridget Morris, trans. and ed., *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 292 (English translation). Cf. Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelser*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 14,

In her *Revelations* (8.57), the Virgin Mary explains to Birgitta that the plague (OSw. *plaghan*, Lat. *plaga*) has come to the kingdom of Sweden for three sins: pride (*høghfærþ*, *superbia*), intemperance (*oatirhald*, *incontinencia*), and greed (*giri*, *cupiditas*).²⁶ She further tells her that God can thus be appeased in three ways: 1) everyone – especially women – should adopt true humility in their dress;²⁷ 2) they should give alms with a joyful mind (*medh huxsins glædhelikhet*, *cum hilaritate mentis*), and 3) they should attend monthly masses for the Holy Trinity, confess, fast, and attend processions.

Medieval medicinal cures were, of course, as ineffective against the disease as were the fasting, processions, and acts of contrition of the faithful. Several remedies – though all dating from after the initial fourteenth-century outbreak – are found in ODa. manuscripts. They involve drinking various concoctions and using poultices to draw the excess heat out of the body and restore the balance of the humours.

Thenne legedom sendhe pawen keyserin ath huilken som faar rørbuldh eller vndher arme eller andhenstedh Tha skal han taghe triagelsse oc sennoesfrø oc hyllebladh oc stampe sammen oc gør ther eth plaster aff oc legghe på buldhen oc dricke køle|watn alth medh om thet skal hielppe hannum Item kan han ey faa tesse yrther tha tage rwdhe oc ædicke oc legghe ther paa fructher man for swodan buldh tha taghe saluie rwdhe bladh hyllebladh oc jngefær lighemegheth oc stødthet sammen oc dricketh medh hwith win viij daghe fastendhe tha faar han ey then buldh²⁸

[The pope sent this remedy to the emperor that whoever gets a bubo in their groin or under their arm or elsewhere, then he should take theriac²⁹ and mustard seeds and elderflower leaves and pound them together and make a poultice from it and place it on the swelling and drink cold water, altogether if it is to help him. Furthermore, if he is unable to get these herbs, then he is to take rue leaves and vinegar and place it (on the swelling). If you are afraid of getting such a swelling, then take sage, rue leaves, elderflower leaves and ginger in

no. 4 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1862), 81: “Oc jak skal æria iordhena j dom oc drøffuil-som swa længe at henna inbyggjara læra at bedhas miskund” [And I shall harrow the earth in judgement and affliction until its inhabitants learn to ask for mercy].

²⁶ See Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelser*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 14, no. 3 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1860), 475–76; Hans Aili, ed., *Sancta Birgitta: Revelaciones. Book VIII*, SSFS ser. 2, vol. 7, no. 8 (Uppsala: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2002), 223–24 (Lat.); Searby and Morris, trans. and ed., *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 4, 102–02 (English translation).

²⁷ It will be remembered from Chapter 5 that Jews were often depicted wearing extravagant – read: sinful – dress.

²⁸ DKB Thott 249 8^v, ff. 50v–51r (mid-fifteenth century); *MidDaL* 52.

²⁹ Theriac (ODa. *triakelse*) is a medical concoction or ointment used as an antidote against poison.

equal quantities and pound it together and drink it with white wine while fasting for eight days. Then he will not get a swelling.]³⁰

Sometimes medicinal cures were to be used in conjunction with certain prayers:

Item pestilencie puluer som hedher mederi datum^(a) paa latin etc: Item tag en lodh safar i lodh beffuergel oc i lodh rødth mirriam och i lodh rødth ynsian oc i lodh longh holørt kan tw ichi fong long holørth tha tag rwndh holørth thette forskrevne skal tw støde i en morther oc menge thet tiill samelss Oc saa skall man tage iomfru honing oc ladhe thet siwdhe saa lenge saam man kan lesse iii magnificat oc saa skal man ladhe ther i ii eller iii skedher vin edich och lidet salth som man kan holle i mellom ii fingher oc ladh ther i och saa skal tw oc thet siwdh saa lengi som man kan lesse i magnificat³¹

Notes: a. mederi datum] *Possibly a scribal error for medicamentum.*

[Furthermore, a plague powder known as “gift of a cure” in Latin, etc.: Furthermore, take one measure of saffron, one measure of beaver gall and one measure of red myrrh and one measure of red gentian and one measure of long birthwort (if you cannot get long birthwort, then take round birthwort). You must pound the aforementioned in a mortar and mix it together. And then you must take some virgin honey and let it boil together as long as it takes to recite the *Magnificat* three times, and then add one, two, or three spoonfuls of wine vinegar and a little salt (as much as you can hold between two fingers) and add it, and then you must boil it for as long as it takes to recite the *Magnificat* once.]

30 Cf. also: “Item for pestilense byøldh tagh sønnop hylle blath och støth them samen och legh po tha draffwer thet yldhen wth Item er bøldhen i røren tha tagh lawerber och hwlørth och thiackel meth edyck och dryck Item saluæ edyss hwn meth salth om morgennen tha voxer ickæ then dagh pestilenss byld i menniskan” [Furthermore, for a pestilence bubo: take mustard (and) elderflower leaf and pound them together and lay (the poultice) on top (of the bubo). It will then draw out the heat. Furthermore, if the swelling is in the groin, then take bay leaf and birthwort and theriac with vinegar and drink. Furthermore, eat sage with salt in the morning, then the pestilence bubo will not grow further that day on the person], DKB GKS 3487 4^o, f. 104r (1475–1500). And: “Item tage en faffn fwlth aff mollørth the som frøø ber oc læge thenum i en bacchen oc brinde thenum tiill aske, giør lwth aff then aske vdi en secke, nar som asken er vdlæth tha skall ther lædes mere paa ighen oc tag saa then lwth oc ladhe hinde i en lergridh, Oc tecche then vel om kreng medh leer / Oc sette thet saa paa ildhen Oc lade thet siwde saa lengi thet bliffwer aske ighen Oc skall thet inghen lwth haffue Oc saa skall man tage en skedhe fwlth aff thet puluer medh edich oc rør thet tiill samelss saa thet skwmess oc saa skall man tage thet tiill seg nær som skwmen er nedher fallen etcetera” [Furthermore, fill your arms with artemisia – the one that has berries – and place it on a tray and burn it to ash. Make a lye from the ash in a sack, when the ash has leached out, then more should be added to it again. And then take the lye and place it in a clay pot and cover it carefully over with clay. And then place it on the fire and let it boil until it is ash again and it must not have any lye. And then you must take a spoonful of that powder with vinegar and mix it together so that it froths, and then you should drink it once there is no froth etc.], DAS AM 819 4^o, f. 7v (1500–25).

31 DAS AM 819 4^o, f. 7r (1500–25).

In a Swedish law manuscript (DAS AM 45 4^o, ff. 96r–98v) from 1425–1500, there are a few folios containing Swedish translations of the thirteenth-century Henrik Harpestræng’s medical texts. At the end of these a cure for the plague has been added.³² It includes bloodletting by cutting veins thought to be connected to the locations of the buboes (in the armpits, under the temples, and in the groin). Furthermore, it includes a way of sweetening the air by blocking the window and roasting bayleaves and juniper berries in a pan. Food should be prepared with vinegar and recommendations include eating a poppy or two. And it is imperative to keep something sweet smelling in your hand such as fresh apple, spices, or, if you have nothing else available, beaver gall.³³

Astrologers could provide an explanation of how God had created the plague through an inauspicious alignment of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn in 1345 that had drawn out noxious fumes from the Earth affecting the atmosphere and filling in with contagion.³⁴ According to medical doctors this corrupted air, or miasma, poisoned the body during breathing and resulted in disease and death. For this reason, some tried to flee the plague and left the cities with their corrupted air. (Probably the best-known example of this are the ten storytellers who fled Florence for the fresh air of the Fiesole countryside in Giovanni Boccaccio’s *Decameron*.) Of course, trying to escape God’s judgement in this way was not always considered a fitting response by a true Christian and so could itself be seen as a further sin deserving punishment.

The persecution of outgroups

The difficulty for those facing the plague in the mid-fourteenth century is that religious, scientific, and medical explanations and cures were entirely ineffective and left them with a sense of hopelessness and little agency: their fasting and prayers did not work, they could not realign the planets, nor could they live without air! Indeed, they must have felt overwhelmed by a sense of inevitable doom. As Philip Ziegler writes, “The Black Death descended on a people who were drilled by their theological and their scientific training into a reaction of

³² For an edition of this text, see Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Läke- och örteböcker från Sveriges medeltid*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 26 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1883–86), 8–9.

³³ Alf Åberg describes the medicines registered in a preserved inventory stored at the palace of King Magnus Eriksson and his wife Blanka. They include medicines against the plague and the principal ingredient is theriac. Åberg, *Digerdöden*, 79.

³⁴ Horrox, *The Black Death*, 104–05.

apathy and fatalistic resignation.”³⁵ Nevertheless, resigning oneself to death was not everyone’s response and a means of agency was sought as part solution, part revenge. Some Christians began to question whether the plague was indeed caused by divine intervention and astrological interference, or whether it had a much more terrestrial cause. Perhaps God’s instruments were on earth, not in the heavens. Suspicion fell on outsiders and strangers: foreigners, the poor, mendicants, lepers, beggars, travellers, and Jews. They were charged with spreading the illness through poisoning water sources, such as wells, fountains, lakes, and springs, in an attempt to wipe out Christendom. Of these groups, Jews suffered the greatest. A long tradition of hatred and suspicion spanning centuries together with the heightened apocalyptic atmosphere of the 1340s and 50s led to massacres throughout Europe. Jews were believed to have manufactured the poison themselves (or bought it abroad) and then hired or bribed helpers (both other Jews and non-Jews) to hide the poison under rocks or at the bottom of wells from where it would leach and poison the drinking water.³⁶ Sometimes the poisoners were believed to travel vast distances through many countries carrying these poisons wrapped in rags or kept in leather pouches. Admissions of guilt were obtained under torture, but even just a suspicion of intent was often enough to trigger a pogrom. Beginning in the South of France in the spring of 1348, massacres spread across the continent with Jews being burnt alive or drowned. Authorities and rulers who sought to protect the Jews were often unable to do anything about the attacks. Throughout Europe, Jews were murdered in their thousands and entire communities annihilated.³⁷

A case from Gotland

In the extant East Norse vernacular material, the mass mortality event sweeping across Europe in 1350 is believed to have been sent by God to punish his diso-

³⁵ Ziegler, *The Black Death*, 39.

³⁶ Horrox, *The Black Death*, 207–22.

³⁷ On the persecution of Jews during the Black Death, see Ziegler, *The Black Death*, 96–109; Anna Foa, *The Jews of Europe after the Black Death* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), esp. 13–16. Baptized Jews were also accused of (and punished for) spreading poison during the Black Death. 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/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 109–25.

bedient children.³⁸ Accusations of well poisoning by Jews are not recorded and this might prompt us to draw the conclusion that such libels were unheard of in Denmark or Sweden. Perhaps the association between Jews and poison was not made in the North and any possible culprits had to be found among other groups.³⁹ There is, however, an extant Latin record of well poisoning that is so remarkable that it deserves mention here.⁴⁰ It would appear to show that suspicion of Jews in Scandinavia was so vehement in the mid-fourteenth century and the accusations against them apparently so credible that it could lead to torture and execution, albeit not of Jews but of their associates. However, things are perhaps not as they seem at first sight.

SLUB Dresd. A 59: manuscript context

In 1350, as the Black Death ravaged across Europe, nine Christians were arrested in the Hanseatic city of Visby and accused of mass poisoning in Sweden and Gotland under the direction of Jews living in German lands.⁴¹ The episode is preserved in

38 This is most clearly expressed in King Magnus Eriksson's letter quoted above: "[...] huar cristen menniskio maa serlika rædas ty at gud før menniskiona synda skwll haffuer eno stoora plago almenneliga kastat aa verldena med braadøda" [(...) every Christian man in particular should fear: because God for the sins of man has cast onto the world a great plague of sudden death.]

39 See also the section in the next chapter on *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* about the tree that excretes a poison supposedly be used by Jews to murder Christians throughout the world.

40 This event described in a copy of an official letter in Latin points towards popular hysteria about Jews in Scandinavia. Although there is, indeed, a need for a more thorough investigation of attitudes towards Jews as expressed in Scandinavian Latin sources, I can say as much that this is the only charter (in any language) concerning Denmark or Sweden to mention Jews in connection with the Black Death.

41 On this event, see Carl Adolf Herschel (Archivar in Dresden), "Ueber den schwarzen Tod und die Judenverfolgungen," *Serapeum: Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswissenschaft, Handschriftenkunde und ältere Litteratur* 14, no. 1 (1853): 218–20; Carl Adolf Herschel (Archivar in Dresden), "Zur Geschichte des schwarzen Todes und der Judenverfolgungen," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, Neue Folge, 7. Jahrgang, nos 9–10 (1860): cols 313–16 and 356–57; Åberg, *Digerdöden*, 77–78; Harrison, *Stora döden*, 405; Myrdal, *Digerdöden, pestvägor och ödeläggelse*, 87–88; Vilhelm Jacobowsky, *Judar på Gotland* (Visby: Godring, 1973); Aili, Ferm, and Tegnér, "En giftmördares bekännelser," 14–21; Jürgen Hartwig Ibs, "Judenverfolgungen in den Hansestädten des südwestlichen Osteerraums zur Zeit des Schwarzen Todes," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 113 (1995): 27–47; Michael H. Gelting, "De glemte pestspredere: Forfølgelserne af præster, tiggerbrødre og pilgrimme under den Sorte Død," in *De måske udstødte – Historiens marginale eksistenser*, ed. Lars Andersen, Poul Duedahl, and Louise N. Kallestrup (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2005), 81; Ulrich Simon, "'Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden, man bedarf erer ock nicht.' Lübeck und

a cited account of two Latin letters from 1350 – both from Visby, one to Lübeck and one to Rostock. The original letters do not survive, but their contents have been copied into other letters at the end of MS A 59, a codex from c. 1434, now housed in Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB).⁴² The leather-bound rubricated manuscript, measuring 29.5 × 22 cm and written on paper in two columns,⁴³ comprises a series of anti-Jewish texts, not least Pablo de Santa María’s lengthy *Scrutinium scripturarum*:

- 1) ff. 1r–198v Pablo de Santa María, *Scrutinium scripturarum*.
ff. 199r–202v Empty leaves.
- 2) ff. 203r–214v Samuel of Morocco, *Epistola Samuelis Maroccani*.
- 3) ff. 215r–230v *Discrepantie fidei nostrae et iudeorum*.
- 4a) f. 231r–v *Letter A*: “Ingenuo principi ac preexcellenti domino Ottonj duci in luneborch Consules ciuitatis lubek.”
- 4b) ff. 231v–232r *Letter B*: “Vniuersis presencia visuris seu audituris Consules in Rostok sincere dilectionis constanciam cum prompto famulatu.”

die Verfolgung der Juden in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts: eine Quelle aus der sächsischen Landesbibliothek in Dresden,” *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven* 11, no. 1 (2010): 107–46; Dick Harrison, “Tidig svensk antisemitism,” *Historie Blogg*, 27 January 2013: <http://blog.svd.se/historia/2013/01/27/tidig-svensk-antisemitism/> (last accessed 5 April 2022); Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen, “The Black Friars and the Black Death: Effects of the Plague on Friars Preachers in Fourteenth-Century Northern Europe,” in *Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages, c. 1000–1525: Essays in Honour of Professor Michael H. Gelting*, ed. Kerstin Hundahl, Lars Kjær, and Niels Lund (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 72–73; Heß, “Jews and the Black Death in Fourteenth-Century Prussia,” 117–19; Cordelia Heß, *The Absent Jews: Kurt Forstreuter and the Historiography of Medieval Prussia* (New York: Berghahn, 2017), 208–09; Richard Cole, *The Death of Tidericus the Organist: Plague and Conspiracy Theory in Hanseatic Visby* (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2020); on my serious reservations about this latter work, see my review at <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2021/05/35568.html> (last accessed 5 April 2022). Ulrich Simon’s *tour de force*, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden’,” is the most thorough historical investigation of the letters and it is largely his interpretation that I follow here.

42 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Mscr. Dresd. A 59, fols. 231r–232r. Edited in *Codex Diplomaticus Lubecensis. Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch. 1ste Abtheilung. Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*, vol. 3: *Urkunden bis 1350*, ed. Carl Friedrich Wehrmann (Lübeck: Ferdinand Grautoff, 1871), 103–06 (no. 110a–b). Both letters are reproduced with English translations in Text 53: *Well Poisoning*. See also Eduard Pabst, “Vergiftungen in Kurland zur Zeit des schwarzen Todes, um’s Jahr 1350,” *Beiträge zur Kunde Est-, Liv- und Kurlands* 1 (1873): 68–69; Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden’,” 103–39. For a manuscript description, see Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königl. Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, vol. 1: *Enthaltend die Abtheilungen A–D und F–H* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1882), 18–19.

43 Of the two watermarks – an ox head and a pair of keys – only the latter has been identified. It is Briquet no. 3867 from the first half of the fifteenth century, most likely originating in or around Halberstedt. See Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden’,” 141.

The two letters (A and B) are thus bound together with three other texts, viz. works that originate in Spain and reveal the evil deeds perpetrated by Jews against Christianity. Letters A and B are thus located firmly within the context of anti-Jewish polemics – not within a diplomatic collection of official documents, letters, or legal instruments, or of historical works, such as annals or chronicles.

The influential work *Scrutinium scripturarum* [Scrutiny of the Scriptures] (also known as *Dialogus Pauli et Sauli contra Judaeos* [The Dialogue between Paul and Saul against the Jews]) was written by the Spanish archbishop and lord chancellor Pablo de Santa María, also known as Paul of Burgos (c. 1351–1435).⁴⁴ Born as Solomon ha-Levi, he came from the influential and wealthy de la Cavallería family. He was an erudite Talmudic scholar and rabbi for the Jewish community in Burgos and also worked as a diplomatic adviser to the court of Castile. After studying Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* with its scholastic proof based on the permanence and power of the Christian Church, Solomon became convinced of the truth of Christianity, or so he claimed, and was baptized along with several other members of his family in 1391. In light of the anti-Jewish violence sweeping across Spain and the massacre of 1391, his conversion may initially have been for social and economic reasons, rather than religious ones. Regardless of his motives, he took the name Paul in memory of the apostle and the surname Santa María to further his bonds to the Church: as a Levite (“ha-Levi”), he claimed to be of the same lineage as the Virgin Mary. He went on to study at the University of Paris, receiving a doctorate, before returning to Castile, where, in 1405, he became bishop of Cartagena and in 1415, archbishop of Burgos. In 1416 he became

⁴⁴ The copy in the Dresden manuscript is from 1434 and thus dates from not long after the work's composition. *Scrutinium scripturarum* was first printed in Mantua in 1475. The incipit in SLUB Dresd. A 59 reads: “Incipit dialogus qui vocatur scrutinium scripturarum compositus per Paulum de sancta Maria magisterum in theologia Episcopum Burgensem Archchanellarium Serinissimi principis domini Johannis [-] Regis Castelle et legionis quem composuit Primo addiciones per eum compositas ad postillum nicolai perfecit autem illum Anno domini Millesimo cccc^o quarto etatis vero sue Octuagesimo Primo” [The dialogue begins that is called *Scrutinium scripturarum*, written by Pablo de Santa María, scholar in theology, bishop of Burgos, arch-chancellor of the most serene prince, Lord Juan, King of Castile and León, who first wrote *Additiones* that were composed to complete Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla*. AD 1404 when he was 81 years of age.] For an overview of Pablo's life and works, see Luciano Serrano, *Los conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena: Obispos de Burgos, gobernantes, diplomáticos y escritores* (Madrid: Bermejo, 1942), 101–17; Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de conversos: Historia de la judería de Burgos y de sus conversos más egregios* (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1952), 339–45; Yosi Yisraeli, “Between Jewish and Christian Scholarship in the Fifteenth Century: The Consolidation of a ‘*Converso* Doctrine’ in the Theological Writings of Pablo de Santa María,” Doctoral thesis (Tel Aviv University, 2015).

lord chancellor and was a member of the council that ruled Castile on behalf of the regent Catherine of Lancaster until his pupil, Juan II, came of age and took the throne. By now Paul had become a bitter enemy of Judaism and he relentlessly tried to promote the conversion of Spain's Jews, forced or otherwise. He was responsible for drafting legislation that humiliated Jews, suppressed their economic activity and trade, forced them to convert or relocate, and made the wearing of distinctive clothing compulsory. Among the various writings he left to posterity is his *Scrutinium scripturarum*. This, his chief work, is viciously anti-Jewish in its attacks on the foundations and beliefs of Judaism. The first part of the work is structured as a dialogue between Saul and Paul discussing the evils of the Jews, while the second section continues the discussion between a Christian disciple and his master. The dialogues are, of course, fictional and aim solely to discredit Judaism. The work served as an important source for later anti-Jewish polemicists such as Alfonso de Spina's (d. 1491) *Fortalitiū fidei*, Jerónimo de Santa Fé's (fl. 1400–30) *De judaicis erroribus ex Talmut*, and Martin Luther's (1485–1546) *Von den Jüden und iren Lügen*. It is noteworthy that Pablo's *Scrutinium* was particularly widespread in German-speaking areas: of the ninety-nine manuscripts of the *Scrutinium*, over a third are today held in German libraries and many were copied in German lands.⁴⁵

The following text in the manuscript, *Epistola Samuelis Maroccani* [Samuel of Morocco's Letter], is also an anti-Jewish polemical work.⁴⁶ It purports to be a Latin

45 Ryan W. Szpiech, "From Convert to Convert: Two Opposed Trends in Late Medieval and Early Modern Anti-Jewish Polemic," in *Revealing the Secrets of the Jews: Johannes Pfefferkorn and Christian Writing about Jewish Life and Literature in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 220.

46 The incipit in SLUB Dresd. A 59 reads: "Ego frater alphoriticius bonj hominis hispanus hunc libellum antiquissimum qui nuper casu deuenit · ad manus meas et fuerat ante tot tempor[ibus] occultatus noua translacione · de hebrayco in latinum per me interpretatum paruū exemplum vobis transmittō [...] Incipit epistola translata de arabico in latinum per fratrem alphoricium bonj iohannis hispanj ordinis predicatorum [...] samuel israhelita de phet ciuitate oriundus regis marochitanj · ad raby ysaac magistrē synagoge que in sub in linea in regno predicto etcetera" [I, Brother Alphonsus ("alphoriticius" MS) Bonihominis the Spaniard am distributing this booklet, that recently came into my hands by chance and had previously been hidden, in a new translation from Hebrew into Latin, interpreted by me as a small example to you (...) It begins: a letter translated from Arabic into Latin by Brother Alphonsus Bonihominis ("alphoricium bonj iohannis" MS) the Spaniard of the Order of Preachers (...) Samuel the Israelite originating from the city of Fez in the Kingdom of Morocco to Rabbi Isaac, the master of the synagogue in Subjulmeta ("sub in linea" MS) the aforementioned kingdom.] On this text, see Melodie Harris, "Alphonsus Bonihominis's Conversionary Letters from Rabbi Samuel to Rabbi Isaac," *Enarratio* 9 (2002): 15–39.

translation of a letter from Samuel of Morocco, an ex-rabbi from Fez, to Rabbi Isaac, the head of the rabbinical school and synagogue in Subjulfeta, Morocco. Samuel is writing to convince Rabbi Isaac of the errors of Judaism. The letter was supposedly written in 1000 and translated from the Arabic into Latin in 1339 by the Dominican Alphonsus Bonihominis at the Abbey of Saint Jacques in Paris in 1339. The letter addresses a simple question:

Igitur domine mi^(a) inquiram et non cessabo querere quod peccatum est illud propter quod sumus in captiuitate Jam scis mille annj nec habemus prophetam nec regem nec sacerdotes nec altare nec sacrificium nec ulcionem^(b) nec incensum nec purificationem nec^(c) abhominabiles facti sumus nobis sicut deo et contemptibiles⁴⁷

Notes: **a.** mi] m[->i] MS. **b.** ulcionem] Scribal error for unctionem **c.** nec] Scribal error for imo.

[Therefore, sir, I ask and will not stop seeking: what is the sin for which we are in captivity? For a thousand years already we have neither prophet, nor king, nor priests, nor an altar, nor sacrifice, nor anointing oil, nor incense, nor purification, on the contrary we have been made despicable and contemptible before God.]

He argues that Jews had atoned for earlier sins through the exile in Babylon, and that the current exile and landlessness was because they had sold Christ for silver. They are being punished for their ignorance and blindness for continuing not to recognize the truth of Christianity. He even quotes from the Qur’ān to back up his arguments. Although the author of the letter, Samuel of Fez, is said to be a convert from Judaism, his “Jewish” ideas about sin, exile, and salvation are described within an entirely Christian conceptual framework; in other words, these concepts are discussed by the author from a Christian, not a Jewish, understanding of what they mean. The letter is clearly a fake and this work of fiction was possibly authored by the “translator” Alphonsus Bonihominis himself.

The following text begins with the words “**N**e nomen domini nostri ihesu christi blasphemetur et fides catholica vilis et contemptibilis habeatur.” These are taken from the beginning of Canon 57 of the minutes of The Fourth Council of Toledo (633): “ne nomen domini blasphemetur, et fides quam susceperunt, vilis ac contemptibilis habeatur” [that the name of the Lord is blasphemed, and the faith they have received, is held as vile and contemptible].⁴⁸ The Canon outlines a ruling that “De Iudeis [...] nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre [...] Non enim tales inviti salvandi sunt, sed volentes ut integra sit forma iustitiae” [con-

⁴⁷ SLUB Dresd. A 59, f. 205r.

⁴⁸ *Concilium Toletanum Quartum* in *Collectio Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis* (BAV Vat. lat. 1341), http://www.benedictus.mgh.de/quellen/chga/chga_046t.htm (last accessed 5 April 2022).

cerning the Jews (...) no-one be forced to believe (...) They are not saved against their wills, but only willingly, so that the shape of justice be complete]. The background to Canon 57 is that King Sisebuth of the Visigoths (c. 565–621) had ordered the forced baptism of Jews in 615, and this canon from The Fourth Council of Toledo, written by Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636), addressed and criticized that decree. Isidore had already admitted that only very few Jews were willing to convert voluntarily, and he also believed that preaching to Jews was without use due to their stubbornness.⁴⁹ Instead, Isidore placed his faith in the mass conversion of Jews during eschatological times.⁵⁰ However, this text in Dresd. A 59 is in no way friendly towards Judaism and Jews.⁵¹ Rather, by using the Old Testament and Jerome as its primary authority and also by referring to the Talmud, the text develops into a robust defence of the Catholic faith vis-à-vis Judaism that aims to show that the “differences between our faith and that of the Jews” (“discrepantie fidei nostre et iudeorum”)⁵² prove that Christianity is the legitimate religion of God. The Jewish arguments against Christianity (especially against identifying Christ as the Messiah) are listed paragraph by paragraph and are subsequently addressed using Christian counterarguments in numbered sections (*secundo*, *tercio*, *quarto*, and so on). Just like the preceding two works in the manuscript, the text comprises a theological document that condemns Jews and Judaism and could be used in a religious or legal context to defend the Christian faith. It is thus noteworthy that the two letters alleging a Jewish conspiracy to poison all Christendom and citing evidence provided by the culprits are preserved alongside three (longer) works that provide evidence of Jews’ hatred of and ongoing attacks on Christianity by citing Jews and Jewish scripture.

49 Isidorus Hispalensis [Isidore of Seville], *Quaestiones in Vetum Testamentum (1 Reg. 2.7)* in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 83, col. 354.

50 Raúl González Salinero, “Preaching and Jews in Late Antique and Visigothic Iberia,” in *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska, Routledge Research in Medieval Studies, vol. 6 (New York: Routledge, 2015), 38.

51 The text includes a dating: “a nativitate eius iam fluxerunt 1379 annj” [from his (the Messiah’s) birth have passed 1379 years], SLUB Dresd. A 59, f. 227r.

52 SLUB Dresd. A 59, f. 230v.

Epistola contra Judeos

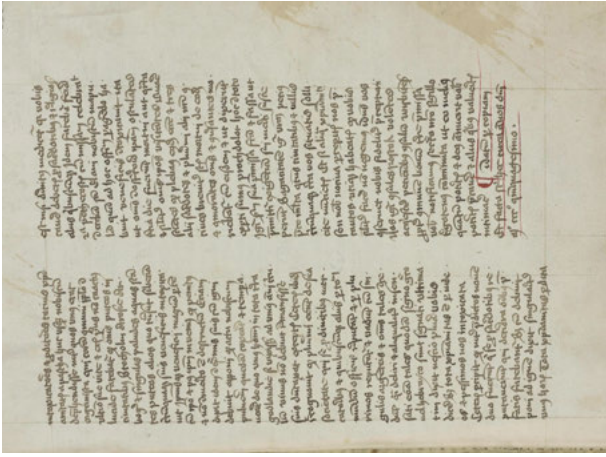
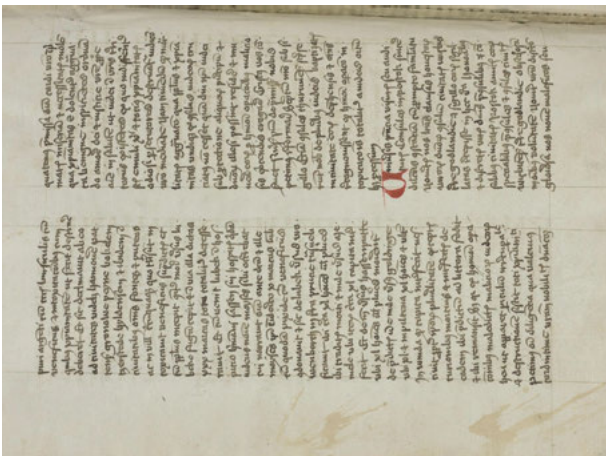
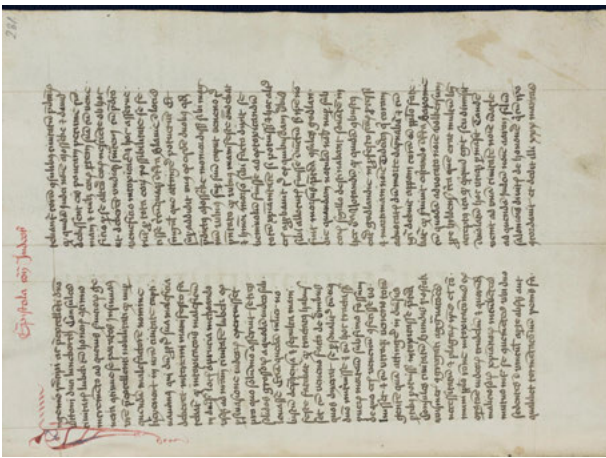


Figure 10.1: "Epistola contra Judeos"; Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden A 59, ff. 231r–232v. <https://digital.s.lub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/33874/1>. Public domain.

The first of the two letters (A: SLUB Dresd. A 59, f. 231r–v), which the scribe has entitled “*Epistola contra Judeos*” [A letter against Jews], is from the city councillors of Lübeck to Duke Otto III of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Braunschweig-Lüneburg, c. 1296–1352). It contains two main parts, each made up of three sections.

A1a: The Lübeck councillors inform Duke Otto III that they have arrested a certain Key-enort who has confessed to poisoning different places in Prussia as far as Lübeck in return for payment from Jews. He has been burnt to death as punishment for his crime. (Text 53, Letter A, ll. 1–17)

A1b: The Lübeck councillors inform Duke Otto III that they have also arrested an unnamed woman who knew how to make poison from the snakes that she reared with her husband and from the corpse of a dead boy buried under a dung heap. She intended to use it to poison everyone who she could reach. She has been buried alive as punishment for her crime. (Text 53, Letter A, ll. 17–27)

A1c: The Lübeck councillors inform Duke Otto III that two prisoners have testified before a commission of councillors from Wismar, Rostock, and Stralsund that they had received money and poison from two Jews, Mosseke and David, in order to poison the West Slavic regions: a task that they carried out. One of the two prisoners mentions that Mosseke bit him and made a large wound on his head while handing him the poison. (Text 53, Letter A, ll. 27–56)

A2a: The Lübeck councillors inform Duke Otto III that they have received a sealed letter from the councillors in Visby about another poisoner, a non-Jew called Tidericus (Theodoric, i. e., Diderik, Diederik, or Dietrich), who was burned to death as punishment for his crime on 1 July, the day before St Processus and Martinian’s Day (“in *profesto sanctorum processi et martiniani*”), in Visby.⁵³ He admitted to having served in the cavalry together with an *advocatus* (i. e., *voget*) called Volkersum near Hildesheim. Volkersum makes sure that Tidericus can carry on with his evil deeds without being touched. He told the councillors how Aaron, a Jew in Dassel, Lower Saxony, son of Salomon the Wealthy of Hanover [Hannover], had given him thirty marks of pure silver and three hundred small pouches of poisons and potions with which to destroy Christendom. Tidericus then set about poisoning the fountains and wells in several towns (Hanover, Pattensen, Gronau, Peine, Bockenem, Sarstedt, and Hildesheim). He fled to Lübeck where he was given accommodation by Hermann Sassen and more money and poison by the Jew Moyses before heading to Prussia (killing forty or more people in each of the towns Frauenburg [Frombork], Memel [Klaipėda], Hasenpoth [Aizpute], Goldingen [Kuldīga], and Pilten [Piltene]). He is unsure of how many he killed in Windau [Ventspils] but many Courlanders died there. (Text 53, Letter A, ll. 56–105)

A2b: The Lübeck councillors inform Duke Otto III of the threat of destruction facing Christendom. They request that the Jews, odious persecutors (“*odiosi persecutores*”), are destroyed by means of the law, because as long as Jews can live under the protection of princes and lords, they will continue to kill Christians. (Text 53, Letter A, ll. 105–30)

A2c: The Lübeck councillors inform Duke Otto III that the councillors of Thorn [Toruń] have written to them and told them that baptized Jews had confessed to crimes of poisoning there too. (Text 53, Letter A, ll. 130–35)

53 The name Tidericus is Germanic in origin and means ‘people-ruler.’

The second letter (B: SLUB Dresd. A 59, ff. 231v–232r) is from the city councillors of Rostock and as there is no named addressee (“*Uniuersis presencia visuris seu auditoris*” [To all those who see or hear this]), it has the character of being a circular. Letter B is divided into four parts with some shorter divisions:

- B1a: The Rostock councillors greet they readers and listeners, and they make it known that they have received a sealed letter from the Visby councillors. (Text 53, Letter B, ll. 1–7)
- B2a: A copy of that letter from the Visby councillors to the Rostock councillors. They write that they have arrested nine Christians for poisoning. Among the accused were the *organista* Tidericus. At his trial, Tidericus admitted to travelling through Sweden and poisoning pools, ponds (“*aquas stantes*”), and wells in Stockholm, Västerås, and Arboga. He spoke of a conspiracy, an evil society of rich merchants and men in high office who were orchestrating the mass murder. These men wore silver belts and were marked (“*signati*”) with a Greek or Hebrew sign. He also says that these men are mad or insane which paradoxically paints these men as mentally disordered yet capable of wiping out all Christendom.⁵⁴ As he was burnt to death, Tidericus’s final words were: “I don’t know what more to tell you than Christianity as a whole has been poisoned by the Jews and the worst of us!” (Text 53, Letter B, ll. 7–45)
- B2b: The Visby councillors write about two men disguised as priests (“*qui se pro sacerdotibus reputauerunt*”), one of whom confessed to infiltrating St Olav’s Church in Visby during the Pentecostal celebrations. Here, he dipped the maniple in poison, so that the members of the congregation who kissed it during Mass died within a few days as also did everyone who visited them including other priests. Bound to the stake with the flames about to consume him, he cried out: “All Christianity is doomed, unless healed by divine intervention, so beware priests and clergy of all kinds!” (Text 53, Letter B, ll. 46–69)
- B2c: The Visby councillors ask the Rostock councillors to pass on the news in the letter to those towns and villages in the area, and that a mutual warning system be set up whereby they will all warn one another if they see anything untoward. (Text 53, Letter B, ll. 69–77)
- B3a: The Rostock councillors agree to do as the Visby councillors have requested and are forwarding the letter with a seal on the back to the recipients and ask that they spread the word. (Text 53, Letter B, ll. 78–85)
- B4a: The words “*Datum per copiam Et facta sunt hec circa annos dominj M^o ccc^o quinquagesimo*” [Given as a copy and all these things happened around the year of Our Lord 1350] end the letter. (Text 53, Letter B, ll. 85–87)

The devastation wrought by the Black Death and the terror and disorientation it caused led several outcast groups across Europe to be blamed and persecuted, and the case of Tidericus on Gotland shows how Jews throughout the Baltic region as elsewhere were believed to be behind a conspiracy to wipe out all Christen-

⁵⁴ By giving these characters a frenzied state of mind, the author may be drawing upon the image of the flagellants. Herschel, “Ueber den schwarzen Tod und die Judenverfolgungen,” 219.

dom and how – presumably due to their alleged economic pre-eminence – they were able to pay corrupt Christian travellers to undertake the task for them. What may surprise us here is that blaming Jews in a part of Europe that had no resident Jewish population made sense to the townspeople of Visby. Indeed, it would appear that the libel made such good sense to them that they tried and executed nine people by burning.

Whilst the letters are unusual for their level of detail, the theme of Jews recruiting bad Christians to poison the population is not new and can be found elsewhere in the Wendish quarter of the Hanseatic territory at the time. For example, the *Chronicon Olivense* (1351) from the Cistercian abbey in Oliwa monastery, near Danzig (Gdańsk), blames secret Jews and bad Christians (“per [...] Iudeos occultos et per malos Christianos”) for infecting (“inficerent”) wells and rivers in Prussia, while the later *Detmar Chronicle* (1385) from Lübeck mentions baptized Jews pretending to be Christians (“ghedoften joden, de sik vor cristene lude helden”) who killed the population in many regions with poison (“vorghifnisse”).⁵⁵ As in the letters in Dresd. A 59, the chroniclers place the blame for the Black Death firmly on Jews, but in all three sources no Jews are actually punished for the killings.⁵⁶ The story of Tidericus was thus not isolated but existed in a climate of scapegoating foreign Jews who lived elsewhere for the many fatalities during the plague.⁵⁷

Although the Black Death is mentioned in contemporary records from Gotland,⁵⁸ we have absolutely no other evidence of the case detailed in these two letters or of the sentences to death by burning. This is somewhat odd. It seems to me to be unlikely that uncovering an international conspiracy to wipe out Christendom and burning the Jews’ associates, here Tidericus and his fellow murder-

55 Cordelia Heß, “Jews and the Black Death in Fourteenth-Century Prussia,” 112–17.

56 Although the letters contain recommendations (*Maximalforderungen* [maximum demands]) calling on Duke Otto III to destroy the Jews in his territories using the law, there is no evidence that he did so. See Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden’,” 130.

57 Cordelia Heß, *The Absent Jews*, 204–11.

58 For example: “Anno Domini m^occc^ol^o fuit maxima pestilencia per totum mundum, sicut vmquam fuit \ante annis/ lxxx” [AD 1350 there was the greatest pestilence throughout the whole world as had never been for the previous eighty years], SKB B 99, p. 42; *AnnalesFratMin* 34; “Aar 1350 / var en swer Pestilentze / kalledis den dyre død / der om er giort saadan it Verß: *Rystram triustrum Spidlongum tunc mala pestis*” [In the year 1350, there was a terrible plague called the great death, about which such a verse has been made: “Rystram trivustum spid longum,” at that time evil plague], *CronGuth*, 162. The dog-Latin ditty, *Rystram trivustum spid longum*, should be decoded like this: *rystram* (cf. Lat. *raster*; ODa. *rist*) is a rake with three teeth like the downward strokes in the letter *m* = M [1000]; *trivustum* (cf. MLG *dri worste*) are three sausages like the curved shape of three letters *c* = CCC [300]; and *spid longum* (cf. ODa. *spjud*) is a long spear like the shape of the letter *l* = L [50]. So together this gives MCCCL or 1350.

ers, in the marketplace in Visby was so commonplace that this and all other occurrences on Gotland – and, indeed, elsewhere in Sweden – were too unexceptional for the written (or pictorial) record. It would have been a hugely remarkable event that would surely have left traces elsewhere than just in a late fifteenth-century copy of a letter in a German manuscript: for example, in the original letters, copy books, protocols (*tänkeböcker*), annals, or even church art. And while it may be possible that the memory and records of this event were suppressed or erased for political reasons,⁵⁹ a case can be made that the story of the poisoners and the burnings recorded here is not quite what it seems. No other copies of the letters have been found in the archives of Hanseatic correspondence; nor are the events described in them referred to elsewhere; nor is there evidence that the addressees in the letters ever received them.⁶⁰ Furthermore, it is also most unusual to find Hanseatic (or Scandinavian) diplomas copied into theological manuscripts, and I know of no other example from the German Baltic area.

The text in Dresd. A 57 claims to be a *copia*, but, in the diplomatic sense of the word at least, it is not a copy or a *vidisse* as no date from the original letters has been inserted. The open letter B from Rostock ends with a seal notice and a greeting followed by the sentence: “Given as a copy and all these things happened around the year of Our Lord 1350.” This does not constitute a proper dating, and there is actually no way of knowing when the text was composed. In fact, the letters, especially B, have more of a character of being a draft for a circular that was to be disseminated. Looking at the sections that claim to be copies of letters from Visby (A2a, B2a–c), they do not include formal elements that we would expect to find in a diploma, such as the *invocatio*, *arenga*, *dispositio*, *sanctio*, *corrobatio*, *signum*, *recognitio*, or even the *datum*. Not one of the signatories is named. In A1c, an assembly of councillors from Wismar, Rostock, and Stralsund is referred to as having heard a confession, but no such gathering of leaders from these three cities is known from any other document.⁶¹ Although they attach much importance to Gotland, the most likely explanation is that the letters were in fact conceived and composed in Lübeck. They are propaganda pieces that use the Black Death as a pretext to call for the annihilation of the Jews and with them, the means by which the Hanseatic League’s competitors can borrow credit and

⁵⁹ On this type of suppression in the written record, see Stephen A. Mitchell, “The Mythologized Past: Memory and Politics in Medieval Gotland,” in *Minni and Muninn: Memory in Medieval Nordic Culture*, ed. Pernille Hermann, Stephen A. Mitchell, and Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, Acta Scandinavica, vol. 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 155–74.

⁶⁰ Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden’,” 139.

⁶¹ Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden’,” 131.

penetrate their trading system. Before following this line of thinking further, we need briefly to look more closely at the events described in the letters from Visby.

In B2a, Tidericus is identified as an *organista*. The word has several meanings, although none of them is particularly obvious in this context. It may be that the word is related to the musical instrument *organum* [organ] and means either a ‘player’ or ‘builder of organs.’ In his translation of the letter, Hans Aili interprets the term as “orgelbyggare” [organ builder] because Tidericus was not resident on Gotland or employed at the church as one would expect of an organ player. For him it is most likely that *organista* here means a “kringresande orgelbyggare” [itinerant organ builder].⁶² By viewing the events described in the letter as real, Aili sees Tidericus as a wandering organ builder, who would have been a stranger to the people of Visby and as such a likely suspect for the deaths being witnessed in the city. Ulrich Simon has suggested that the word *organista* is best understood as being related to the Medieval Latin verb *organizare* [to organize] here (rather than *organare* [to sing]) and can thus have an entirely different meaning: ‘organizer.’ In other words, Tidericus is the organizer or head of the band of criminal poisoners. In many ways, the meaning ‘organizer’ makes the most sense, but the use of *organista* in this way is very unusual and not entirely convincing.⁶³ Nonetheless, Tidericus is not referred to as an *organista* during his earlier solo travels through the Wendish towns in A2a; it is only when he is captured as part of a gang of poisoners that the term is used. Although two of them make themselves out to be priests, none of the professions of the other poisoners is mentioned in an explicit manner either, so why should that of Tidericus?

Two of the other poisoners condemned to burning in Visby had been making themselves out to be priests. In this way, one of them gained access to St Olav’s Church where he was able to administer the sacraments (and the poison). As he is being burnt to death, he warns the audience to beware of the clergy. Why does

⁶² Aili, Ferm, and Tegnér, “En giftmördares bekännelser,” 19r1. However, it should be noted that the more common word for an organ-builder is *organarius*.

⁶³ Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden,’” 122: “Die Person, die das Geständnis ablegte, wurde als *organista* bezeichnet. Obwohl die korrekte Übersetzung eine Person meint, die des Orgelspielens mächtig ist, muss man in vorliegendem Fall eine Ableitung von dem Verb *organizare* vermuten, so dass der *organista* einen “Organisator” und damit den Anführer der Bande der neun Verbrecher bezeichnen dürfen.” [The person who made the confession was called *organista*. Although the correct translation means a person who is able to play the organ, in the present case one must assume a derivation from the verb *organizare*, so that the *organista* may have meant an “organizer,” and thus the leader of the gang of nine criminals.] Indeed, the verb *organizare* meant both ‘to make music, sing’ and ‘to organize’ in Medieval Latin, but *organista* (and MLG *organist* and its variants) seems only to occur with the meaning ‘organ player’ or ‘organ maker.’

the letter contain this warning about the clergy? While it is understandable that foreigners and strangers raised suspicions, why were the clergy a target? Priests and clergy were probably the only members of society who had physical contact with large numbers of people from all parts of society.⁶⁴ Church services clearly gave a homicidal cleric an excellent opportunity to murder the assembled masses. In this story, the murderers are presumably posing as itinerant clerics, preachers, or mendicant friars and would not have been known to those in the local church.⁶⁵ However, there is also the possibility that the composer of the text did see some members of the clergy as being a threat of sorts, not because of their murderous intent but because of the protection they afforded Jews. There is the possibility that the letter is trying to draw the behaviour of some clerics and their dealings with Jews into question, and the author is using the Black Death and the concurrent persecution of wandering preachers and friars, to cast them in an even poorer light.

The man Volkersum in the text is described as an *advocatus*. This term is the Latin for MLG *voget*, an official delegated to perform some of the responsibilities of a (most likely religious) institution. Alfred Riemer has identified the man as Heinrich Volkersen who was an *advocatus* in Marienburg in the employ of Heinrich III of Brunswick-Lüneburg (c. 1296–1363) who was bishop of Hildesheim (1331–63).⁶⁶ After being elected bishop by the cathedral chapter, Heinrich was involved in a lengthy struggle for power with Erich of Schaumburg and Holstein who had been appointed bishop in Hildesheim by the pope. Between 1346 and 1349, Heinrich turned the castle in Marienburg into a stronghold against Hildesheim where his rival Erich held power. He eventually defeated Erich in 1346 and took control of Hildesheim. The purpose of putting the *advocatus* Heinrich Volkersen into the Tidericus story is both to smear him and Bishop Heinrich specifically and to show how officials working for religious institutions cover over evil deeds and prevent the culprits from being prosecuted more generally. The author intends to draw men with political and administrative functions under suspicion, and to accuse Volkersen and his employer the Bishop Heinrich of Hildesheim of benefitting from the Jews in the city. The connection to Hildesheim is of importance here. The towns Dassel, Gronau, Peine, Bockenem, and Sarstedt that are mentioned in the text were all founded by or under the protection of the city of Hildesheim. By

⁶⁴ Also note that in his letter quoted above, King Magnus Eriksson warns of handing money directly to the priest. This too is possibly an expression of suspicions about the honesty and character of some men of the cloth during the onslaught of the plague.

⁶⁵ See Jakobsen, “The Black Friars and the Black Death.”

⁶⁶ Alfred Riemer, “Die Juden in niedersächsischen Städten des Mittelalters,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Niedersachsen* (1908): 7; cited in Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden’,” 134.

1350 there were several Jews resident in Hildesheim operating as moneylenders and they were under the protection of Bishop Heinrich.

Hermann Sassen is identified by Simon as “Hermannus Saxo de Hannouere” who became a citizen or burgher (MLG *börgere*) of Lübeck in 1332.⁶⁷ It is not clear why he is being specifically targeted in the text. He is described as providing Tidericus with hospitality and it is possibly he who facilitates the meeting with Moyses. The figure of Moyses, is particularly noteworthy. The maritime cities of northern Germany were reluctant to allow Jews to settle and they were forbidden to reside in Lübeck, the “capital” of the developing Hanseatic League, at that time.⁶⁸ So who exactly was this Moyses? The name Moyses is often used as a stock-character name or placeholder to refer to some Jew or other in medieval works,⁶⁹ so perhaps this Jew in Lübeck is entirely fictitious and included in this story to warn of the dire consequences of allowing Jews to settle within the heart of the major Hanseatic cities by demonstrating their corruptive influence and the damage they can wreak throughout the League?⁷⁰

The term *societas* used in the text by Tidericus to refer to a group of rich merchants has a particular meaning in Hanseatic documents. Although it may be tempting to interpret this as some sort of clandestine society, a *societas* is simply a trading company, association or MLG (*handeles*)*gesellschaft*. The author is thus referring to a rival trading group that is operating in competition with the Hanseatic League. The members of this company wear silver belts (“singulis argenteis”). Such luxurious items as sumptuous belts made from precious

67 Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden,’” 138.

68 Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 9: *Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion, 1200–1650* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 339. On the history of Jews in Lübeck, see Peter Guttkuhn, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Moisling und Lübeck: Von den Anfängen 1656 bis zur Emanzipation 1852*, Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Reihe B, no. 30 (Lübeck: Schmidt: Römhild, 1999); Peter Guttkuhn, *Kleine deutsch-jüdische Geschichte in Lübeck (Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart)* (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 2004).

69 Indeed, the names of the other two Jews in this story – Aaron and Salomon – seem a little hackneyed as well, as do the stereotypical names Mosseke and David that appear in Letter A. Here, the poisoner’s name Keyenort could be understood to mean ‘No place,’ ‘Nowhere’ and is possibly an allegorical name in the style of “Everyman.”

70 In this connection, it should be noted that the small existing Jewish communities in the Hanseatic cities Wismar and Rostock were completely wiped out in the plague year 1350: either the victims of the disease or of their Christian neighbours. See Leopold Donath, *Geschichte der Juden in Mecklenburg von den ältesten Zeiten (1266) bis auf die Gegenwart (1874) auch ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Mecklenburgs. Nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen* (Leipzig: Oskar Leiner, 1874), 19–22, 26–28.

metals were the reserve of nobles and knights in the German lands.⁷¹ The point of mentioning silver belts is presumably to show that these influential men who posed a danger to humanity belonged to the higher classes of society. Furthermore, they are described as “signo greco uel hebrayco sunt signati” [marked by a Greek or Hebrew/Jewish symbol]. There are two possible ways of understanding this phrase. It may be referring to a distinctive mark such as a Greek or Hebrew letter, and thus be drawing upon the motif of the power of the biblical languages to suggest sorcery in the use of protective charms.⁷² However, exactly how these men are marked is unclear. Leviticus 9:28 clearly forbids the marking of bodies, so if these marks are meant to be drawn, cut, or placed on their skin, the writer is perhaps trying to show that these plotters are truly against God and his commandments. Alternatively, the writer could be drawing on the imagery in Apocalypse 7:2–4 where the angels mark the servants of God with a seal on their foreheads.⁷³ Then again, it was believed that the followers of Antichrist would bear his mark and without it, they would not be able to trade.⁷⁴ Another way of understanding these *signa*, that is less metaphorical and that I suspect would have been more obvious to the readers, is that they refer to actual symbols worn on clothing. The badge, usually a yellow circle, that Jews were required to wear by law could be meant by the *signum hebraicum*. The *signum graecum* could be referring to the Greek cross, a cross that has arms of equal length and that was the symbol of the Teutonic Order.⁷⁵ The histories of the mercantile Hanseatic League and the militaristic Teutonic Order were intertwined from their beginnings and, initially at least, the two cooperated. Several of the towns that were members of the Hanseatic League were in territories controlled by the Teutonic Order and they were under the direct authority of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, who himself was a member of the League. The Hanseatic League benefitted from the Order’s conquest of previously pagan lands along the Eastern Baltic and the expanded

71 Note also that according to some fifteenth-century sources a silver belt is mentioned as being worn by Jewish men in Poland. Bernard D. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland: A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1972), 84.

72 On the evil connotations of Hebrew lettering, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, vol. 1: *Text*, California Studies in the History of Art (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 104–08.

73 Cf. also the “signing” of the Jew in Text 36: *The Jew at the Devils’ Council*. As a strange parallel, one of the poisoners who confessed before the councillors of Stralsund, Rostock, and Wismar (A1c) claims he was bitten on the head by the Jew Mosseke leaving a visible mark.

74 See Text 20: *The Antichrist*, ll. 30–31.

75 Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden’,” 124.

trading possibilities this offered. However, the objectives of the League and the Order were not always the same, and by the fourteenth century, the Order was more and more frequently damaging some of the League's commercial interests and drawing it into unwanted conflicts with foreign powers.⁷⁶ By using the two markers – *signum hebraicum* and *signum graecum* – the author is identifying the members of the *societas* who are threatening the well-being and prosperity of the League: Jews and members of the Teutonic Order respectively.

There are several biblical allusions in the letters. The thirty silver marks Aaron paid to Tidericus mirrors the thirty pieces of silver the Jewish priest paid to Judas to hand over Jesus (Matthew 26:15).⁷⁷ Tidericus is being painted as a traitor of biblical proportions. The three hundred bags of poison he is given to destroy Christianity may be referencing the three hundred foxes used by Samson in an act of vengeance against the Philistines (Judges 15:4–5). Tidericus is said to have killed forty people in the Wendish cities that he passed through. Of course, the number forty occurs repeatedly throughout the Bible and is loaded with symbolism. There are other features in the letters that have a literary or fictional quality and that might cause an eyebrow to be raised. First, there is a very neat narrative parallel between Keyenort and the Jews (Mosseke and David) on the one hand and Tidericus and the Jews (Moyses and Aaron) on the other. There is the insistence on the “marking” of the perpetrators: Mosseke's bite and the conspirators' belts and Hebrew or Greek symbols. The method used to recruit accomplices in the different poisoning events, viz. Jewish money, is a stock motif in tales of Jewish–Christian collaboration. The boy's body under a dung heap used for evil is a predictable literary inversion of the sweet-smelling corpses of boy-martyrs and saints, such as William of Norwich.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, trans. and ed. D. S. Ault and Sigfrid Heinrich Steinberg (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), 91.

⁷⁷ It is not entirely clear what Tidericus buries on the beach in Courland. Is it the rest of the poison or what he had left of the ten marks paid to him by the Jew Moyses. If it is meant to refer to him “dumping” the money under the sands of the beach, it is probably intended to underscore Tidericus's role as a Judas-like traitor. Filled with remorse, Judas returned his blood money to the Temple (Matthew 27:3–5) before hanging himself. However, Tidericus does not kill himself but goes on to wreak havoc in Sweden and Gotland, so it is more likely to be the rest of the poison that he buried on the beach; perhaps in an attempt not to be captured with the evidence of his crime on his person.

⁷⁸ Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Passion of William of Norwich*, 27 (book I, ch. 12). The unnamed woman's ability to create poisonous potions from snakes and corpses is similar to the allegations used against alleged witches in the early modern era.

Anti-Jewish propaganda: credit and competition, not poison and plague

During the fourteenth century, Hanseatic interests were being increasingly threatened by competition funded through credit from Jewish moneylenders. At a time of conflict between Visby and the Swedish king, Mecklenburg was enjoying increased influence in Sweden and the Mecklenburg nobility was funding its activities with money borrowed from Jews in Rostock and Wismar.⁷⁹ By calling for the extermination of the Jews under the pretext of well poisoning, the Hanseatic League would have been able to wipe out the financial foundation upon which the Mecklenburgers were able to build their growth in the Baltic region. In the second half of the fourteenth century, Gotland experienced much upheaval, and its economic significance began to decline significantly. It was reconquered by the Danes under Valdemar IV Atterdag in 1361, but from 1398 to 1408 it was occupied by the Teutonic Order, in other words those wearing the *signum graecum*.

The people named in the letter must have been seen as a particular threat. It has not been possible to identify the main poisoner, Tidericus. He is a treacherous figure and a bad Christian who can be corrupted by Jewish money. As a travelling stranger in the cities he visits, he is unknown and suspicious. He is shown to be part of, or at least knowledgeable about, a broader network of merchants comprising Jews and members of the Teutonic Order. Letter B openly asks Duke Otto III of Brunswick-Lüneburg (c. 1296–1352; r. 1330–52) to destroy the Jews under his protection by using the law, presumably by removing their status as *Schutzjuden*. At the time, Otto III was protecting Jews and providing them with privileges in order to borrow money from them. Other rulers also protected Jews to have access to financial loans. Duke Magnus I of Brunswick-Lüneburg (c. 1304–69) issued the Jew Jordan von Helmstedt the right to live in the city of Brunswick in 1345. He issued a letter of protection in 1346 and Jews' rights were further extended in 1349.⁸⁰

By naming Heinrich Volkersen (Volkersum) in the letter, the author is attacking both him personally and the political and administrative power of *advocati* who hold a protective hand over Jews and hides their crimes, i. e., criticism of the *vogedie* more generally. Volkersen's employer, Bishop Heinrich of Hildesheim, also stands accused by association. Although it is not clear why Hermann Saxo from Hanover (Hermannus Sasse) is specifically mentioned, his crime is to provide Tidericus with hospitality. As a burgher of Lübeck he is also symbolizes

⁷⁹ Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden’,” 126–28.

⁸⁰ Simon, “‘Tho Lubeck syn kene Juden’,” 133–34.

any burgher in the Hanseatic cities who does not shun Jews and their representatives.

The outbreak of the Black Death and the charges against Jews of well poisoning led to the active persecution of Jews in those German cities and towns where they were resident. Moreover, it provided an opportunity for those wishing to remove Jews and their financial influence to get rid of them. As money lent by Jews was being used by groups that were in direct competition with the League, the Lübeck administration decided to write a circular accusing Jews and their helpers – who they name or identify clearly by using symbols – of mass murder and recommending that the sovereign Duke Otto III exterminate all the Jews currently under his protection.

If we view the well poisoning in the text as a strawman charge against the Jews and their accomplices and remove it from the letters, what is left? The claim is quite simply that Jews are funding the League's political and economic competitors and are under the protection of certain princes, bishops, and administrators. Even Hanseatic burghers need to open their eyes and see what the Jews and their accomplices are up to. Furthermore, the Teutonic Order, whose aim is to expand its territories and influence, is destroying Hanseatic interests from behind the scenes. The whole issue is told in the story of the treacherous Tidericus, a Judas figure, who received money from the Jews of Hanover and Hildesheim to commit mass murder and destruction. Lübeck has used the Baltic city Visby as the supposed source of these letters in an attempt to play on Gotland's status as the spiritual mother of the Hanseatic towns in the Wendish quarter. With its origins in the "Gotlandic Confraternity" (*Die Gotländische Genossenschaft*, c. 1150–1280), Visby was the forerunner to the Hanseatic cities in Wendland. Rather than coming from Lübeck, the writer has the councillors in Visby presenting the evidence that leads to a call for a stop between the collaboration between Jews and Christians. The source of finance needs to be plugged once and for all: Jews under Duke Otto III's protection must be killed. This is the reason the letters were composed. There were no well poisonings in Sweden, no killings in St Olav's, no confessions in Visby, no burnings at the stake, and no councillors on Gotland pleading for help. They are a piece of fiction, propaganda, thought up in Lübeck to gather support in suppressing the League's competitors and using the charge of well poisoning and subsequent persecution of Jews during the Black Death as a lure.⁸¹

81 A surprising approach to source criticism, viz. that Hanseatic documents must be factual and true, has recently been taken by Richard Cole in *The Death of Tidericus the Organist*, 12–13. In fact, there are numerous extant documents that reveal the Hanseatic League's political manipulation of the truth and that include lies that can easily be disproved. The administration was not

It is not possible to say why these letters were copied into Dresd. A 59 over seventy years after the Black Death first broke out in Northern Europe. Presumably, the reason is different to why they were composed in the first place. Although it would be unusual to find real diplomatic letters copied into a theological work, the piece of fiction posing as Letters A and B is not at all out of place in a manuscript that comprises three other vehemently anti-Jewish works: *Scrutinium scripturarum*, *Epistola Samuelis Maroccani*, and *Discrepantie fidei nostrae et iudeorum*. All these works have their origins in Spain and one of them, viz. *Epistola Samuelis Maroccani*, is also known to be a fake letter. The letters make these preceding works of greater relevance and urgency to their readers by presenting domestic “evidence” of the dangerous behaviour of Jews around the Baltic during a massively destabilizing pandemic and during a period when Gotland was changing hands, increasingly being used to stage piratical attacks, and also under the influence of the Teutonic Order. In this way, the three theological polemical works from the Mediterranean-Iberian world were made more apposite and less abstract and theoretical to the manuscript’s fifteenth-century readership in northern Europe.

immune to fabrication either in its diplomacy or documents. There are, for example, several such instances in the League’s dealings with King Erik. On 20 January 1428, the cities that were at war with Erik, viz. Lübeck, Wismar, Hamburg, Stralsund, and Rostock, agreed to continue fighting him. However, this did not stop them from informing the diplomat Nicolaus Stock, sent to Scandinavia to negotiate a peace on behalf of King Sigismund, that they were willing to join peace talks even though they were busy arming. See Karl Koppmann, ed., *Hanserecesse: Die Recesse und andere Akten der Hansetage von 1256–1430*, vol. 8 (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1897), 232–33 (no. 343) and 252–53 (no. 389). In the early autumn of 1429, Lübeck, Wismar, Hamburg, Stralsund, and Rostock declared that they went to war with King Erik because of his introduction of the Øresund tariff which they wanted to do away with. But this is not possible as war broke out in 1427 and the tariff was not introduced until 1429. This piece of Hanseatic propaganda curiously lives on in modern historiography where the Danish-Hanseatic War is sometimes still referred to as the *Sundzollkrieg* [Øresund Tariff War]. During negotiations on 29 June 1419 between Erik and the Hanseatic envoys, the king censured the Hanseatic men for having (allegedly) written that he had been the one who was guilty of breaking the ceasefire with the Holsteiners: “Dar de konigk to antworde under velen worden: Ik mane nummende umme de vredebrake, wen ju; under zundergen gy van Lubeke hebben uns screven enen bref, dar gy ane roren, weret dat wy nenen vrede helden unde nenen dach utstickededen [...] Dar zee to antworden, dat ze to zinen gnaden, alze hopeneden, alzo openbarliken nicht gescreven hadden, wente it temede en nicht, sinen gnaden alzo to scrivende; de scryver mochte zik lichte vorscreven hebben.” [The king answered this with many words: “I am not the one blaming people for breaking the peace, you are! In particular you Lübeckers have written us a letter, where you bring up why we did not keep the peace and did not arrange a cease fire.” (...)] They answered that they sincerely hoped that they had not written this, because it was not appropriate or their intention to write this; the scribe must have made a small scribal error], Karl Koppmann, ed., *Hanserecesse: Die Recesse und andere Akten der Hansetage von 1256–1430*, vol. 7 (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1893), 43 (no. 86.11–12).

Moreover, the manuscript shows that any contemporary challenges with regard to Jews in the Baltic region are part of a global concern with a long and proven history. The story about Tidericus and the other traitors provides the manuscript's readers with a very concrete example of the Jewish menace: a materialization of the hatred and resentment illustrated and explained in the manuscript's first 230 folios. Readers are also presented with an explanation of the dreadful mortality during the Black Death and a warning against Jews, who, it is important to note, were not themselves defeated by the burnings on Gotland. They remained unpunished shadowy figures who would be able to recruit and pay accomplices again and continue their fight against all Christianity unless they were stopped. The Black Death was possibly only the beginning.

With this we return to the question of whether we have any evidence in Denmark or Sweden for the belief that the plague was caused by Jews' poisoning wells, a libel that was widespread in mainland northern Europe. The answer is no. The only mention in the written sources is in a piece of propagandistic fiction dreamt up overseas in Lübeck. Beyond that canard, the archives are silent. The evidence for Denmark and Sweden points only to an understanding of the plague as God's punishment of his sinful children. Its remedy was increased piety and prayer, not trials and executions.

11 The Jewish Threat to Destroy All Christendom: The Red Jews, Antichrist, and the Apocalypse

Introduction

From antiquity through the Middle Ages and into the early modern period, tales flourished about a large tribe of Jews imprisoned behind high mountains somewhere in northern Asia.¹ The myth of the enclosed Jews had several different origins that developed into variants with diverging and overlapping details, but in common these stories shared a sense of foreboding, of a dark threat of things to come during the Final Days, and of the fragility of Western Christian civilization. These enclosed Jews are mentioned four times in the East Norse material and, as we shall see, they exemplify several partially converging strands of the myth:

1. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse* in SKB M 307 from 1434/44)
2. *The Romance of King Alexander* (OSw. *Konung Alexander* in SKB D 4 from 1400–50)
- 3–4. *Consolation of the Soul* (OSw. *Själens tröst* in SKB A 108 from 1400–50; and ODa. *Sjælens Trøst* in UUB C 529 and SKB A 109 from c. 1425)

The tale of these Jews imprisoned behind the mountains has its origins in the Bible. In 4 Kings 17, ten of the twelve tribes of Israel² are sent into exile when they are conquered by the king of Assyria, Shalmaneser V (d. 722 BCE).³ The Hebrew Bible views the removal of the people of Israel from their homeland as divine retribution for imitating the nations around them: worshipping idols in groves, serving Baal, causing their children to pass through fire, and using divination and enchantments.⁴ Because many of the biblical prophecies concern the return of the tribes of Israel to the Holy Land, the exile of the Ten Tribes and their apparent disappearance presents a difficulty for both Jewish and Christian exegetes trying to understand the Bible's literal sense: as the Ten tribes have apparently disappeared what do these

1 The seminal study of the origins and history of the myth of the Enclosed Nations is Andrew C. Gow, *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age 1200–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

2 The Ten Tribes are Asher, Dan, Ephraim, Gad, Issachar, Manasseh, Naphtali, Reuben, Simeon, and Zebulun.

3 “And he [the king of the Assyrians] went through all the land: and going up to Samaria, he besieged it three years. And in the ninth year of Osee, the king of the Assyrians took Samaria, and carried Israel away to Assyria: and he placed them in Hala and Habor by the river of Gozan, in the cities of the Medes.” 4 Kings (2 Kings *KJV*) 17:5–6. In 4 Kings (2 Kings *KJV*) 15:29, the same Assyrian king is called Theglathphalasar.

4 4 Kings (2 Kings *KJV*) 17:7–18.

prophecies mean? To answer this, the Lost Tribes had to be understood in one of two ways: either the tribes had indeed disappeared altogether and the prophecies would never be fulfilled, or the tribes in fact continued to exist but under a different name and the prophecies would one day be fulfilled. Leaving open the possibility that the biblical prophecies would one day come true, the early rabbis and writers of the apocrypha presumed that the Ten Tribes did continue to exist, and their current location therefore became a point of much conjecture. In the Talmud and Midrash, the Ten Tribes are placed beyond the wild river Sambaṭion, a mythical torrent that rages six days a week but stops flowing on Shabbat:⁵

לשלש גליות גלו ישראל אחד לפנים מנהר סנבטיון ואחד לדפני של אנטווכא ואחד שירד עליהם הענן וכיסה אותם⁶

[About three exiles that Israel experienced: one was to the east of the river Sanbaṭion, one was to Daphne of Antioch, and one was when the cloud descended upon them and concealed them.]

אמר רבי יהודה בן רבי סימון לא למקום שגלו עשרת השבטים גלה שבט יהודה ובנימין, עשרת השבטים גלו לפנים מן נהר סמבטיון⁷

[Rabbi Yehudah, son of Rabbi Simon said: “The tribes of Judah and Benjamin were not exiled to the same place as the Ten Tribes; the Ten Tribes were exiled beyond the River Sambaṭion.”]

נהר סמבטיון יוכיח שמושך אבנים כל ימות השבת, ובשבת הוא נח⁸

[The Sambaṭion River throws up stones every day of the week, and on Shabbat it rests.]

A river that dries up every Sabbath is also mentioned in Pliny the Elder’s *Natural History* 31.18 (“In Iudaea rivus sabbatis omnibus siccatur” [In Judea is a stream that dries up every Sabbath]), but it is not associated with lost Jewish tribes here.⁹ Captive Jews beyond the “Sabbatic River” are first found in the first century CE in

5 On attempts at identifying and locating the Tribes, see Israel Lévi, “La légende d’Alexandre dans le Talmud et le Midrasch,” *Revue d’Études Juives* 7 (1883): 78–93; Adolph Neubauer, “Where are the Ten Tribes?” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 1 (1889): 14–28, 95–114, 185–201, 408–23; Allen H. Godbey, *The Lost Tribes a Myth: Suggestions towards Rewriting Jewish History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1930); Pamela Barmash, “At the Nexus of History and Memory: The Ten Lost Tribes,” *AJS Review* 29, no. 2 (2005): 207–36; Shalva Weil, *Beyond the Sambatyon: The Myth of the Ten Lost Tribes* (Tel Aviv: The Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, 1991); Gow, *The Red Jews*; Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, *The Ten Lost Tribes: A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

6 Talmud Yerushalmi, Sanhedrin 10:5.

7 Midrash, Bereishit Rabbah 73.6.

8 Midrash, Bereishit Rabbah 11.5.

9 See Pliny, *Natural History with an English Translation in Ten Volumes*, vol. 8, ed. and trans. W. H. S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Library, 1963), 392.

the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, although here the mythical river flows on Shabbat and rests during the six other days of the week:

[96] Τίτος δὲ Καῖσαρ χρόνον μὲν τινα διέτριβεν ἐν Βηρυτῶ, καθὰ προειρήκαμεν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναζεύξας καὶ δι' ὧν ἦει πόλεων τῆς Συρίας ἐν πάσαις θεωρίας τεσυντελῶν πολυτελεῖς καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀποχρώμενος, θεᾶται κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ποταμοῦ φύσιν ἀξίαν ἱστορηθῆναι. [97] ῥεῖ μὲν γὰρ μέσος Ἀρκέας τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας καὶ Ραφανάας, ἔχει δὲ θαυμαστὴν ἰδιότητα: [98] πολὺς γὰρ ὧν, ὅτε ῥεῖ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν φορὰν οὐ σχολαῖος, ἔπειτα δὲ πᾶς ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν ἐπιλείπων ἕξ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ξηρὸν παραδίδωσιν ὄραν τὸν τόπον: [99] εἶθ' ὡσπερ οὐδεμιᾶς γενομένης μεταβολῆς ὁμοῖος κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἐκδίδωσι, καὶ ταύτην αἰεὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀκριβῶς τετήρηται διαφυλάττων: ὅθεν δὴ καὶ Σαββατικὸν αὐτὸν κεκλήκασι ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεράς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἑβδόμης οὕτως ὀνομάσαντες.¹⁰
 [Titus Caesar, as we have already mentioned, stayed for some time at Berytus. Departing thence, he exhibited costly spectacles in all the cities of Syria through which he passed, making his Jewish captives serve to display their own destruction. In the course of his march he saw a river, the nature of which deserves record. It runs between Arcea, a town within Agrippa's realm, and Raphanea, and has an astonishing peculiarity. For, when it flows, it is a copious stream with a current far from sluggish; then all at once its sources fail and for the space of six days it presents the spectacle of a dry bed; again, as though no change had occurred, it pours forth on the seventh day just as before. And it has always been observed to keep strictly to this order; whence they have called it the Sabbatical river, so naming it after the sacred seventh day of the Jews.]¹¹

In contrast to Josephus, the aggadic tradition of the Sambaṭion – the river that miraculously ceases to flow on Shabbat – both proves the sanctity of the day of rest and explains why the Ten Tribes have not yet returned to Israel. Unable to cross its raging waters during the week, they are unwilling to cross it on the seventh day so as not to break the commandments for the Sabbath. Only when the Messiah returns will the river completely stop running and the people be able to cross this insuperable barrier. The pseudepigrapha 4 Esdras (2 Esdras) prophesies how these Jews will return to Jerusalem upon the arrival of the Messiah as his servants:

And as for your seeing him gather to himself another multitude that was peaceable, these are the ten tribes which were led away from their own land into captivity in the days of King Hoshea, whom Shalmaneser the king of the Assyrians led captive; he took them across the river, and they were taken into another land. But they formed this plan for themselves,

¹⁰ [Flavius Josephus], *Josephus*, vol. 3: *The Jewish War, Books IV–VII*, ed. Henry St. John Thackeray, The Loeb Classical Library, vol. 210 (London: Heinemann, 1928), 534.

¹¹ Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, 7.96–99 in [Flavius Josephus], *Josephus*, vol. 3, 535. In his *Jewish Antiquities* (11.131–35), Josephus places the Ten Tribes – an immense multitude of Jews – beyond the Euphrates where they are captive.

that they would leave the multitude of the nations and go to a more distant region, where mankind had never lived, that there at least they might keep their statutes which they had not kept in their own land. And they went in by the narrow passages of the Euphrates river. For at that time the Most High performed signs for them, and stopped the channels of the river until they had passed over. Through that region there was a long way to go, a journey of a year and a half; and that country is called Arzareth.¹² “Then they dwelt there until the last times; and now, when they are about to come again, the Most High will stop the channels of the river again, so that they may be able to pass over. Therefore you saw the multitude gathered together in peace. But those who are left of your people, who are found within my holy borders, shall be saved. Therefore when he destroys the multitude of the nations that are gathered together, he will defend the people who remain. And then he will show them very many wonders.”¹³

The tale of the Ten Tribes imprisoned behind the impassable Sambaṭion spread from Jewish belief and messianic hopes to Christian traditions and apocalyptic concerns, where these Jews and their escape from captivity took on a quite different character. The Christian tale was an inverted or negative version of Jewish hopes for the future. The enclosed Jews would be freed not by the Messiah, but by Antichrist, and they would not return quietly to Jerusalem, but first storm across Europe enslaving the Christians and releasing their coreligionists from bondage. In this way, the Ten Tribes came to influence Christian apocalyptic thinking considerably.

Sir John Mandeville, Jews, and the Ten Lost Tribes

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville contains a short passage describing a land sandwiched between the Caspian mountains and Amazonia, the mythical homeland of a tribe of warrior women called the Amazons.¹⁴ The story relates how many Jews descending from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel live in this land, effectively imprisoned by the surrounding mountainous terrain and the queen of Amazonia to the west: should any Jews try to escape, they must get past her but “the queen prevents them from advancing.” Nothing else is said about these mysterious Jews:

¹² The name Arzareth is possibly taken from Deuteronomy 29:28: “and cast them into another land (ארץ אחרת, *erez aḥeret*).” Cf. also the preceding “another land” (*terram aliam*) in 4 Ezra 13:40 which is also likely a translation of Heb. ארץ אחרת in now lost original.

¹³ RSV, 2 Esdras (=4 Esdras in the Catholic tradition) 13:39–50.

¹⁴ For background information on this work, see “Travels to the Holy Land” in Chapter 9: *Jews in History*, pp. 481–84.

oc tæden synder ud noget dags ferd ta kommer mand jntil the^(a) førstæ steenbergæ aff caspan huilkæ steenbergæ strekcæs neter tel amasoinam vester ud aff huilkæt amasonia til foren er screfuit oc udi te bierghæ boo mangæ iødhær innæluctæ aff te thy slekter som thædhen ikcæ ud^(b) kømmæ kundæ uden siælden | at noget kommer thæthen oc hoo thædæn^(c) skal han skal frem at amasoniam oc drotningen stæder thøm jkcæ frem at kømmæ¹⁵

Notes: a. the th[a>e] MS. b. ud| ud [er] MS. c. thædæn th\[->æ]/dæn MS.

[And from there heading south a few days' journey, you arrive at the first mountains of Caspian. These mountains stretched down as far as Amazonia in the west – I have written about Amazonia previously – and in these mountains live many enclosed Jews of the Ten Tribes who are unable to leave there. And whoever is to leave there, has to head towards Amazonia and the queen stops them from getting further.]

Unlike other descriptions of these Jews in East Norse texts, there is no suggestion here that they are dangerous nor is there a connection to the Last Days and the arrival of Antichrist. Furthermore, there is no explanation of why the Jews of the Ten Tribes are enclosed here.

Almost all scholars who have worked with the *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* agree that it represents a remarkably tolerant universalist view in its descriptions of the “other.”¹⁶ It describes numerous ethnic and religious groups, who are all presented in positive or neutral terms, and whose humanity is drawn to the fore, whether they be Greek Orthodox, Nestorian Christians, Muslims, Hindus, or pagans. Indeed, in the description of the island of Gynosophe in the English version – the ODa. version does not include this section – Mandeville writes:

¹⁵ SKB M 307, p. 141a–b; *Mandev* 158.

¹⁶ Useful works on the world of John Mandeville with extensive bibliographies include: Josephine Waters Bennet, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*, The Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series, vol. 19 (New York: The Modern Languages Association, 1954); Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 122–62; Christiane Deluz, ed., *Livre de Jehan de Mandeville, une ‘géographie’ au XIV^e siècle*, Publications de l’Institut d’Études Médiévales: Textes, Études, Congrès, vol. 8 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1988); Klaus Ridder, *Jean de Mandevilles ‘Reisen’: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der deutschen Übersetzung des Otto von Diemerigen*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, vol. 99 (Munich: Artemis, 1991); Michael C. Seymour, *Sir John Mandeville*, Authors of the Middle Ages, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993); Braude, “Mandeville’s Jews among Others”; Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville’s Medieval Audiences: A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371–1550)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Asa Simon Mittman, “Mandeville’s Jews, Colonialism, Certainty, and Art History,” in *Postcolonising the Medieval Image*, ed. Eva Frojmovic and Catherine E. Karkov (New York: Routledge, 2017), 91–119. See also the introductions in Iain Macleod Higgins, trans., *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2011); Charles William Reuben Dutton Moseley, trans., *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 2005); Anthony Bale, trans., *Sir John Mandeville: The Book of Marvels and Travels*, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

And alle be it that theyse folk han not the articles of oure feyth as wee han, natheles for hire gode feyth naturelle and for hire gode entent I trowe [*believe*] fully that God loueth hem and that God take hire seruyse to gree [*favourable*], right as He did of Iob that was a paynem [*pagan*] and held him for His trewe seruant. And therefore alle be it that there ben many diuerse lawes in the world, yit I trowe that God loueth always hem that louen Him and seruen Him mekely in trouthe, and namely hem that dispysen the veyn glorie of this world, as this folk don and as Iob did also.

And therefore seyde oure lord be the mouth of Ozee [*Hosea*] the prophete, *Ponam eis multiplices leges meas* [I have written to him my many laws],¹⁷ and also in another place, *Qui totum orbem subdit suis legibus* [Who subjected the whole world to his laws].¹⁸ And also oure lord seyth in the gospelle, *Alias oues habeo que non sunt ex hoc ouili* [I have other sheep that are not of this fold],¹⁹ that is to seyne that He hadde othere seruauantes than tho that ben vnder Cristene lawe.

And to that accordeth the avisioun [*vision*] that Seynt Peter saugh at Iaff [*Jaffa*], how the aungel cam from Heuene and broughte before him dyuerse bestes as serpentes and other crepyng bestes of the erthe and of other also gret plentee, and bad him take and ete. And Seynt Peter anserde, “I ete neuer,” quod he, “of vnclene bestes.” And thanne seyde the aungelle, *Non dicas immunda que deus mundauit* [Do not call unclean what God has made clean].²⁰ And that was in tokene [*symbolically*] that no man scholde haue in despite non erthely man for here dyuerse lawes, for wee knowe not whom God loueth ne whom God hateth, And for that ensample whan men seyn *De profundis* [Out of the depths],²¹ thei seyn it in comoun and in generale with the Cristene, *Pro animabus omnium defunctorum pro quibus sit orandum* [For the souls of all the dead for whom prayers are to be offered].²² And therefore seye I of this folk that ben so trewe and so feythfulle that God loueth hem, for he hath amonges hem many of the prophetes and allewey hath had.²³

17 Cf. Hosea 8:12: “Scribam ei multiplices leges meas” [I shall write to him my manifold laws].

18 This may be a paraphrase of Esther 13:2; see Rainer Lengeler, “Reisender in Sachen Universalismus: Das Zeugnis von Mandevilles Bibelzitate,” in *Diesseits- und Jenseitsreisen im Mittelalter / Voyages dans l’ici-bas et l’au-delà au moyen âge*, ed. Wolf-Dieter Lange (Bonn: Bouvier, 1992), 95–96. However, as Higgins points out, the Latin phrase also appears verbatim in three other manuscripts, one the weekly Office of Mary and two of responsories of the *De Trinitate*. Higgins, trans., *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, 175n555.

19 John 10:16: “Et alias oues habeo, quae non sunt ex hoc ovili” [And other sheep I have, that are not of this fold].

20 Acts 10:15: “Quod Deus purificavit, tu commune ne dixeris” [That which God hath cleansed, do not thou call common].

21 Psalm 129:1 *Vulg.*, *DRB* (130:1 *KJV*): “De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine” [Out of the depths I have cried to thee, O Lord]. *De Profundis* is part of the Office of the Dead read during Lauds and Vespers.

22 No known source.

23 Michael C. Seymour, *Mandeville’s Travels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 214–15. Cf. Bale, trans., *Sir John Mandeville*, 117; Higgins, trans., *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, 175–76.

The meaning of the passage is unambiguous and clearly demonstrates Mandeville's tolerant and inclusive view of other faiths. He uses biblical quotations to argue that God created diversity through his own will and all humans regardless of religion are capable of serving God and being loved by him. Jews, however, comprise the one group who do not receive this favourable treatment.²⁴ They are described negatively throughout the book: whereas the other mentioned cultures and peoples seem to be in a state of passive, naive, even primitive otherness, Jews are portrayed as being deliberately different and cultivating otherness.

As the ODa. version is translated from an abridged Latin version, several references to Jews that can be found in other vernacular versions (that are independent of the Latin) either do not appear at all or occur in a shortened form.²⁵ We find, for example, the following description of a tree and its poisonous qualities in the ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse*:

Jtem hoo som vor for gifuen aff teth eder som vd aff teth fieræ træ fongis ta er hannum ikcæ annit til hielpp han skal blandæ sith eygit møk meth rent vatn oc sigæ^(a) teth i giømnen een ren cludh oc drikcæ teth ta fonger han bodh²⁶

Notes: a. sigæ] sig MS.

[Furthermore, whoever is poisoned by the poison which can be obtained from the fourth tree, cannot be helped by any other means: He must mix his own excrement with clean water and sieve it through a clean cloth and drink it; then he will be healed.]

In the Middle English versions, however, after mentioning the tree's poison and the remedy required to render it harmless, Mandeville claims first-hand knowledge of a conspiracy among Jews to murder all Christendom by using this very poison which they acquire with the help of their allies:

²⁴ See Braude, "Mandeville's Jews among Others"; Stephen Greenblatt, *Miraculous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 50–51; Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences*, 229–32.

²⁵ For more information on the ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse* and its background, see under "Travels to the Holy Land" in Chapter 9: *Jews in History*, pp. 481–83.

²⁶ SKB M 307, f. 81b; *Mandev* 100. As we might expect, the ODa. translation closely follows its original, the Latin vulgate version *Itinerarius domini Johannis de Mandeville militis* (Strasbourg: Heinrich Knoblochtzter, [c. 1484–86]) (DKB Inc. Haun. 2616 4^o), f. e7ra–b: "Contra venenum quoque de quarto genere arborum stillans. solum est intoxicato remedium vt de proprio fimo per puram aquam distemperato bibat." [The only thing to be done against the poison that drops from the fourth type of tree is to drink a concoction of one's own excrement mixed with clean water.] For the Latin vulgate, I quote from Knoblochtzter's printing (c. 1484–86). Of course, this is not the actual copy of the Latin text used by the translator of the Danish version; it is used only to illustrate one of an array of possible Latin vulgate versions that existed.

And other trees that beren venym ayenst the whiche there is no medycyne but <on> [one], and that is to taken here propre leves [*their own leaves*; text corrupt here] and stampe hem and tempere him with water and than drynke it; and elles he schalle dye, for triacle wil not avaylle ne non other medycyne. Of this venym the Iewes had let sechen [*search*] of on of here frendes [*one of their kind*] for to enpoysonne alle Cristiantee, as I haue herd hem seye in here confessioun before here dyenge. But, thanked be allemyghty God, thei fayleden of hire purpos, but alleweys thei maken gret mortalitee of poeple.²⁷

This passage and others in which Jews plan to harm Christendom bear a resemblance to the well-poisoning accusations during the Black Death, according to which the pandemic was believed to be the result of a great Jewish conspiracy to wipe out the Christian population.²⁸

Sometimes, however, the ODa. translation shortens the Latin vulgate text even further which results in the omission of entire sections including passages about Jews.

Item cristnæ oc allæ the som døptæ æræ oc iøder the troo oppa tet hemmelskæ paradiis oc allæ memniskæ effter tørris godgerningher skulæ ther hafuæ løn meth gudh oc nydæ oc see guts claræ enlydhæ oc neruærelssæ oc vbegrifuælich ændelssæ oc glædæ til euig tiidh²⁹
[Furthermore, Christians and all those who have been baptized, and Jews, believe in celestial Paradise, and that all people according to their good deeds shall receive their reward there with God and enjoy seeing God's bright face and presence and unimaginable ending and joy for all eternity.]

Jews are here mentioned in relation to their belief in a celestial paradise: factually incorrect, perhaps, but nothing hateful. Indeed, Christians and Jews are noted as sharing a belief in the importance of good works (מצוות, *mizvot*). The Latin vulgate original is the same as the ODa. but continues with the following clarification that because Jews do not believe in the Trinity and they abuse Christ, they are not heading to paradise, but instead are destined for damnation, a fate that could be avoided if only they followed their own scriptures:

Attamen iudei quia contra scripturas suas sanctissime *et* indiuidue trinitati contradicunt *et* christo obloquuntur qui est vera via nesciunt quo vadant³⁰

²⁷ Seymour, *Mandeville's Travels*, 139–40. Cf. Bale, trans., *Sir John Mandeville*, 83 (and 160n83); Higgins, trans., *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, 117–18.

²⁸ See Chapter 10: *The Jewish Plot to Destroy All Christendom*.

²⁹ SKB M 307, p. 48a; *Mandev* 63.

³⁰ *Itinerarius domini Johannis de Mandeville militis* (c. 1484–86), DKB Inc. Haun. 2616 4^o, f. d3ra.

[Nevertheless, the Jews, who contrary to the teachings of their scriptures oppose the most holy and indivisible Trinity and abuse Christ, who is the true path, know not where they are heading.]

So, descriptions of Jews in the already concise Latin vulgate are in fact still longer than in the ODa. version where they have been further abridged during the translation process. This shortening has, as we have seen in the example above, expunged some of the anti-Jewish material in the ODa. version. This brings us back to the Ten Tribes where a comparison between the ODa., Latin, and other vernacular versions (here, English again) will prove useful. The Latin vulgate has just the following about the enclosed Jews, a passage that is remarkably similar to the ODa. version:

Et inde in meridiem per aliquot dietas potest venire ad primas Caspie alpes. que descendendo distenduntur in occidentem vsque ad amazoniam de qua tractatum est insula mulierum. Intra quas alpes retinetur maxima multitudo iudeorum decem tribuum israel. per dei voluntatem ita inclusa vt in copiosa numerositate non possint a nostra parte exire quamquam aliqui pauci nonnunquam sint visi transisse. Haberent autem competentem exitum circa insulam Amazonie. sed illum regina diligenter obseruar.³¹

[And from that place in the south, it is a few days' journey to the first Caspian mountains, which stretch down westwards as far as Amazonia, an island of women, about which has been written. Held back in these mountains is a huge number of Jews belonging to the Ten Tribes of Israel, thus enclosed by the will of God, so that they cannot leave in abundant numbers for our part of the world. Should, however, a few at some time be seen crossing, they would nevertheless have to exit around the island of the Amazons, but their queen carefully keeps watch.]

The “full” story of the much longer English version includes many more details.³² Here, the Ten Tribes pay homage to the queen of Amazonia and are identified as Gog and Magog.³³ They were enclosed behind the mountains by Alexander the

³¹ *Itinerarius domini Johannis de Mandeville militis* (c. 1484–86), DKB Inc. Haun. 2616 4^o, f. g7vb.

³² For English versions, see Seymour, *Mandeville's Travels*, 192–94; Moseley, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 165–67; Higgins, trans., *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, 157–59; Bale, trans., *Sir John Mandeville: The Book of Marvels and Travels*, 104–06. On the story of Amazonia and the enclosed Jews, see Vincent DiMarco, “The Amazons and the End of the World,” in *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination*, ed. Scott D. Westrem (New York: Garland, 1991), 69–90; Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The “Travels” of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 181–85; Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1199–1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 136–40.

³³ Cf. Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius 8. Gog and Magog are biblical names (Ezekiel 39–39 and Apocalypse (Revelation) 20:7–8) that were imbued with allegorical and complex meaning;

Great with the assistance of God. The mountains hem them in on three sides, while on the fourth lies the Caspian Sea. They are unable to flee across the sea, as they are unable to speak any other language than Hebrew and would not know or be able to find out where to come ashore. Indeed, Jews around the world continue to learn Hebrew so that these Ten Tribes, when they are freed upon the arrival of Antichrist, will be able to recognize their own and liberate them from Christian bondage.³⁴ The enclosed Jews' means of escape will be a tunnel dug by a fox during the End of Days.³⁵ Then, marauding across Europe, they will treat Christians in the same way as the latter have treated Jews.

All these details are missing from the ODa. version, not least the tale of an international Jewish conspiracy against Christians which makes use of Hebrew as its secret vehicle – just like the aforementioned plot to poison all Christendom using a sap excreted by a certain tree cannot be found either. Indeed, all talk of an international Jewish conspiracy to poison, slay, or in some other way eliminate Christendom is entirely missing in *Mandevilles Rejse*, and, to a less extent, the Latin vulgate. Nonetheless, the short ODa. version does still manage to draw our attention to two significant characteristics about these enclosed Jews. Firstly, they are so unmanly and unwarlike, that a nation of women, albeit none other than the Amazons, are capable of containing them.³⁶ Although these Jews are not explicitly described as a threat, the idea of females protecting the world against them may have struck the reader either as unthinkable, an absurd upside-down state of affairs that only makes sense in apocalyptic thought, or as comic and ridiculous, a carnevalesque *mundus inversus*. Secondly, these Jews are a landless people, displaced from the centre to the margins and prevented from returning to their homeland, which spiritually, if, for the time being at least, not politically, now belonged to Christendom, the New Israel.³⁷

see Scott D. Westrem, "Against Gog and Magog," in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 54–75.

34 Nowhere else in *Mandevilles Rejse* does language pose a problem for communication. However, the fact that only other Jews understand the enclosed Jews' language allows for a global conspiracy to destroy Christendom.

35 Allegorical interpretations of the Song of Solomon 2:15 associated the fox with heretics; Higgins, trans., *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, 159n516.

36 The widespread belief about the unmanly Jewish male who menstruates is discussed in Chapter 5: *The Jewish Body*, pp. 190–92.

37 The continental and English versions of *The Travels* also contain another story that has been interpreted by Braude in "Mandeville's Jews among Others" as an attempt to obscure the Jews' connection to the Holy Land, namely that Noah's son Japheth, who, based on Genesis 10:5, is traditionally believed to be the father of the Europeans, is in fact the father of the people of Israel:

The reason why the original author of *Travels* castigates Jews so strongly while treating other peoples more fairly, was probably because these other peoples, distant from western Europe and little more than a traveller's tales or creations, required no real tolerance on the part of the author as they did not comprise any sort of real threat. Jews, however, were different as the author shared his physical and spiritual world with them:

[The] wide toleration of a writer who does not need to share his moral space with a different culture, because he is not a real traveller, and it is indeed very significant that it is precisely the Jews, who lived in parts of Europe and shared the same sacred space of Jerusalem, that he cannot tolerate in his writing.³⁸

As we have seen, the anti-Jewish passages that did find their way into the Latin vulgate were further diluted by the translator of the ODA version. This may be significant. Of course, the translator is not doing this out of consideration for Jews; indeed, whenever he does mention them in the text, he allows Jews no redeeming qualities whatsoever. However, it may be the case that the Danish translator, not having to share his physical space with Jews who for him would have been as distant as Orthodox Christians, or Muslims, was simply not that interested in them and therefore deleted a number of references to them.³⁹ Indeed, Jews in Scandinavia populated the metaphysical, textual space as hermeneutical Jews but were non-existent in the physical space as real Jews, and this is mirrored in and possibly explains their distribution in religious literature, where they are frequently mentioned, and in profane literature, where they are only occasionally mentioned.

“And of the generacoun of Iapheth is comen the peple of Israel and though that wee duellen in Europe” (Seymour, *Mandeville's Travels*, 161; cf. Bale, trans., *Sir John Mandeville*, 92; Higgins, trans., *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, 135). By contradicting the events of Genesis 10–11 and writing the Jews out of the history of the Holy Land, *Mandeville's Travels* presents the Christian worldview of the post-Crusades era. This “de-Judaizing” also provides a parallel to the appropriation of Jerusalem seen in the works discussed in the previous chapter. Christians were intent on lessening the strength of the Jews' historical and spiritual claims to the Holy Land and Jerusalem, which acted to strengthen their own claims to the land and provided additional justification for their creed. However, Tzanaki (*Mandeville's Medieval Audiences*, 186) argues that the author's intentions may not have been so far-reaching.

38 Jean-Paul Rubiés, “Travel Writing as a Genre: Facts, Fictions and the Invention of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe,” *Journeys* 1 (2000): 17.

39 It should be noted that it is not just passages about Jews that have been abridged in the ODA version of *Mandeville's Travels*.

Alexander the Great and the Unclean Peoples

The Romance of King Alexander is a fictional account of the life and exploits of Alexander the Great (356–23 BCE), the king of Macedonia who created an empire that stretched as far as the Indus in the east. The core of the romance is based on real, historical events, but it includes many fantastical elements and legends. Originally composed in the fourth century CE, *The Romance of King Alexander* was translated and adapted many times, both in prose and verse, creating a complex and varied text tradition. The work's mixture of history, myth, and fiction left a great deal of room for individual interpretation and episodes could be varied over time and place, depending on the wishes and needs of the historical situation. In this way, significant events with great narrative or religious potential could be highlighted while episodes that were less relevant could be removed as necessary. Similarly, new episodes could be introduced into the romance.

The OSw. *Konung Alexander* [*Romance of Alexander the Great*], a poem of over 10,500 lines in *knittelvers*,⁴⁰ survives in just one manuscript, SKB D 4 from 1400–30. Hans H. Ronge has shown that even though it is impossible to identify a single extant manuscript as the original for the Swedish translator-adaptor-author, it clearly derives from a revised version belonging to the so-called J² group of *Historia de preliis*, itself an expanded rendering of the translation from Greek undertaken by Archpriest Leo of Naples in the mid-tenth century.⁴¹ The surviving

⁴⁰ The verse meter *knittelvers* comprises of pairs of rhyming lines (AABB) and four stresses in each line.

⁴¹ Hans H. Ronge, *Konung Alexander: Filologiska studier i en fornsvensk handskrift*, Skrifter utg. av Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet, vol. 2 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1957), 87–17. On the story of King Alexander in OSw., see Anton Blanck, “Konung Alexander, Bo Jonsson Grip och Albrekt av Mecklenburg,” *Samlaren: Tidskrift för svensk litteraturhistorisk forskning*, new ser., 10 (1929 [1930]): 1–73; Klas Wennerberg and Anton Blanck, “Den svenska medeltidsdikten ‘Konung Alexander,’” *Samlaren: Tidskrift för svensk litteraturhistorisk forskning*, new ser., 29 (1948): 97–109; Ronge, *Konung Alexander*; Gösta Holm, “Några problem i Alexanderforskningen,” *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 73 (1958): 210–44; Hans H. Ronge, *Rimlista till Konung Alexander*, *Studia philologicae scandinavicae uppsaliensia*, vol. 4 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1964); Bengt R. Jonsson, “Brävalla och Lena: kring balladen SMB 56,” *Sumlen* (1990/91): 234–43; Jan Svanberg, “Alexanders högfärd: Antikens store kosmonaut i medeltida berättelser och bilder,” in *Medeltidens mångfald: Studier i samhällsliv, kultur och kommunikation tillägnade Olle Ferm*, ed. Göran Dahlbäck, *Scripta minora*, vol. 16 (Stockholm: Runica et Mediaevalia, 2008), 363–81; Sven-Bertil Jansson, “Konung Alexander i Orienten,” in *Medeltidens mångfald: Studier i samhällsliv, kultur och kommunikation tillägnade Olle Ferm*, ed. Göran Dahlbäck, *Scripta minora*, vol. 16 (Stockholm: Runica et Mediaevalia, 2008), 191–212; Peter Hv. Andersen, “Den profana litteraturen – Konung Alexander, en antikroman,” in *Den medeltida skriftkulturen i Sverige: generer och texter*, ed. Inger Larsson, *Scripta maiora*, vol. 5 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et mediaevalia,

manuscript, written in two hands on paper, is itself a copy of the fourteenth-century OSw. translation that was undertaken by a learned writer from (eastern?) Götaland or possibly a southern part of Svealand.⁴² According to the final lines of the work, Bo Jonsson Grip (c. 1330–86), “en ærlík drotzet innan swerik” [an honourable Lord High Justiciar in Sweden], commissioned the work to be translated from Latin to Swedish. Previously, it was suggested that *Konung Alexander* was a *roman à clef* in which Alexander and Darius represented Bo Jonsson and his opponent Albrecht of Mecklenburg (r. 1364–89) respectively.⁴³ More recent scholarship rejects this hypothesis and instead the translation of the *Romance of Alexander the Great* has been placed within the context of work’s widespread popularity in Europe. Of course, Alexander, as a powerful, influential leader, would have been an attractive figure for a man in Bo Jonsson Grip’s position.

The story of the Jews enclosed between the mountains in *Konung Alexander* begins on SKB D 4, f. 144v: Alexander, having become king of Persia, married Roxanne (“Roxonen”), and led a campaign against the Parthian Empire, conquered Scythia and from there travelled further east to a region that no-one knew existed. Here, he came across a country of people who had a vile appearance:

han fan ther folk wærre æn trull
 thet hafdhe tho ræt mænniskio hull
 rædhelikith ok mykith oreent
 them gat ængin opa seet
 the hafdho synn æ swa grym
 at ængin thordhe se a them⁴⁴

2010), 246–61; David Ashurst and Francesco Vitti, “Alexander Literature in Scandinavia,” in *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Zuwiyya, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, vol. 29 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 315–27; Massimiliano Bampi, “Medh snille ok skäl: Konung Alexander in Cod. Holm. D 4,” in *Texter och tecken från svensk medeltid*, ed. Per-Axel Wiktorsson, SSFS ser. 3, vol. 6 (Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, 2012), 43–57; Sven-Bertil Jansson, *Konung Alexander: En svensk roman från 1300-talet*, Scripta minora, vol. 23 (Stockholm: Runica et Mediaevalia, 2015). For an edition of the J² version of *Historia de preliis*, see Alfons Hilka, ed., *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman nach der Berliner Bilderhandschrift nebst dem lateinischen Original der Historia de Preliis (Rezension J²)* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1920); Hermann-Josef Bergmeister, ed., *Die Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni (Der lateinische Alexanderroman des Mittelalters): Synoptische Edition der Rezensionen des Leo Archipresbyter und der interpolierten Fassungen J¹, J², J³ (Buch I und II)*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, vol. 65 (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1975) – just Books 1 and 2.

⁴² Holm, “Några problem i Alexanderforskningen,” 226. See also Ronge, *Konung Alexander*, 118–25; Jansson, *Konung Alexander*, 228–37.

⁴³ Blanck, “Konung Alexander, Bo Jonsson Grip och Albrekt av Mecklenburg.”

⁴⁴ SKB D 4, f. 144v; *KonAl* 130.

[There he found a people worse than trolls, | even though they had the flesh of humans | terrifying and very dirty. | No-one could bear to look at them. | They had such a vile appearance, | that no-one dared to look at them.]

The word “troll” (*trol*) occurs many times in *Konung Alexander*; indeed, it is the source of the largest number of examples in Söderwall’s *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket*. Where a direct comparison is possible between *Konung Alexander* and *Historia de preliis*, it seems that *trol* is frequently used to translate Lat. *bestia* [beast, (wild) animal, creature]:⁴⁵

Lat. viditque [...] et beluas habentes imagines bestiarum terrenarum⁴⁶
[and he saw (...) (sea-)creatures that looked like terrestrial beasts]

OSw. han sa^(a) ther diwr wara som trol⁴⁷

Notes: a. han sa] han *MS*.

[he saw there (on the seabed) animals like trolls]

Lat. ab umbilico [...] similitudinem habebat diversarum bestiarum⁴⁸
[from the navel (...) he had the appearance of different beasts]

OSw. nidhan nafflan tha war han trwll⁴⁹

[from the navel down, he was a troll]

Lat. alia autem medietas que similitudinem habet bestiarum⁵⁰
[the other half of which is like that of some beasts]

OSw. thet barnith ær [...] nidhan til et trwll oc diwr⁵¹

[the child is (...) like a troll and animal]

In this section of *Konung Alexander*, the people are described as appearing like humans but being worse than trolls, that is worse than ‘wild beasts’ (*bestiae*). This suggests that their trollness (or “sub-trollness”) is apparent in their behaviour (see below) rather than their outer appearance. They are so “rædhelikith ok mykith oreent” [terrifying and very dirty] and have “syyn æ swa grym” [such a vile appearance] that no-one dares to – or is even able to – look at them. In *Historia de preliis*, they are described as “gentem immundam et aspectu horribilem” [a filthy people

⁴⁵ In other translated works in OSw., *troll* is used for Lat. *monstrum* [monster, unnatural thing], *idolum* [image of a pagan god, idol], and *daemon* [evil demon, devil]. See Söderwall, *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket* for examples.

⁴⁶ Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman*, 231, l. 17–232, l. 2.

⁴⁷ *KonAl* 298, l. 9218.

⁴⁸ Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman*, 244, l. 16–245, l. 1.

⁴⁹ *KonAl* 318, l. 9841.

⁵⁰ Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman*, 245, ll. 15–16.

⁵¹ *KonAl* 319, l. 9873.

and of horrible appearance]. The OSw. has translated Lat. *immundus* [dirty, filthy, foul] with *oren* [unclean, dirty] and *horribilis* [awful, horrible, terrible] with *ræþeliker* [terrifying, horrible]. Both *immundus* and *oren* also mean ‘impure,’ ‘(morally) filthy,’⁵² and so these adjectives may be describing sinful behaviour rather than appearance. Indeed, this language of defilement aims to evoke revulsion in the audience by combining the aesthetic and moral categories of “uncleanliness.”⁵³ There is no mention of trolls (e. g., *bestiae*, *monstra*, *idola*, *daemones*) in the Latin text and this is an elaboration on the part of the Swedish writer.

The inhabitants’ behaviour is described in detail: they are depraved cannibals, omnivores who eat animals and humans – dead or alive. The *Historia de preliis* reads:

[...] et contaminatam omnibus magice artis et pravis operibus, que comedebat omnia abhominabilia et omnium bestiarum et iumentorum et pecorum seu et omnium volatilium reptiliumque carnes, non solum autem hec, sed et abortiva omnia et deformitates conceptuum omnium que in alvo matris concepte necdum perfecte coagulate sunt. Homines autem mortuos non sepeliunt, sed magis comedunt illos.⁵⁴

[...] and steeped in all the magical arts and wicked works, that they devoured all abominable things and all beasts and draft animals and flock animals, that is, the flesh of all winged and creeping creatures, and not only this, but also (the flesh of) all miscarriages and deformities of all embryos conceived in their mothers’ bellies that are not yet perfectly coagulated. People do not bury the dead, but rather eat them.]⁵⁵

52 Cf. Leviticus 11 where *treyf* foods are called *immundus* [unclean]; Leviticus 15 where men who have had a discharge (“fluxum seminis”) are referred to as *immundus*; and Numbers 9 where *immundus* refers to those who are ritually unclean. In Isaiah 64:4 it refers to those who sin against God.

53 On the same use of “unclean” in German-language texts about Alexander and the Jews, see Gow, *The Red Jews*, 60.

54 Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman*, 140, l. 14–141, l. 8.

55 This is an inversion of the dietary rules of kashrut that may go back to the early Greek versions of the tale. The γ redaction of the Greek *Alexander Romance* contains a heavy admixture of Jewish and Christian material and is characterized by its inclusion of some notably tasteless passages. On the Enclosed Nations, we read: “So, Alexander shut in twenty-two kings with their subject nations behind the northern boundaries – behind the gates that he called the Caspian and the mountains known as the Breasts. These are the names of those nations: Goth, Magoth, Anougeis, Aigeis, Exenach, Diphar, Photinaioi, Pharizaioi, Zarmatianoii, Chachonioi, Agrimardoii, Anouphagoi, Tharbaioi, Alans, Physolonikaioi, Saltarioi, and the rest. These were the nations that dwelt behind the gates that King Alexander built so as to be indestructible. They used to eat worms and foul things that were not real food at all – dogs, flies, snakes, aborted foetuses, dead bodies, and unformed human embryos; and they ate not only animals but the corpses of humans as well. Alexander, seeing all this, was afraid that they would come out and pollute the inhabited world; so, he shut them in and went on his way.” Richard Stoneman, ed. and trans., *The Greek Alexander Romance* [London: Penguin, 1991], 29, 186–87.

The OSw. *Konung Alexander* says that these people lived according to the habits of trolls (“widh trulla sidh”) and that no-one was safe living among them. We read that they ate the flesh of other humans as well as every kind of creature (e. g., horses, wolves, and birds), whatever is born upon the earth or in the air. As in *Historia de preliis*, it is also written that they eat the dead rather than bury them. However, the Swedish writer twice refers to the improper deeds, the many filthy kinds of deeds, that Alexander saw, but that are “unlawful to write about”:

the stykke ther omøghelik æra
 olofflikt tala mon *thet* wæra⁵⁶
 [Those deeds⁵⁷ that are improper | must be unlawful to speak of.]

orena *gerninga* margha handa
 sa alexander aff them ganga
 ther ey lofflika æra skriffwa
thet ær alt ont *thet* the drifwa⁵⁸
 [Many filthy kinds of deeds | did Alexander see come from them, | that are not lawful to write about. | What they engage in is pure evil.]

This must be referring to the eating of foetuses described in the Latin text and the Swedish writer is unable or unwilling to tell his audience this part of the tale: it relates an act so vile, that it has been censored.⁵⁹

56 SKB D 4, f. 144v; *KonAl* 131.

57 The OSw. has *stykke*. The word could simply mean ‘piece’, ‘part’ and be referring to the lines or section of the Latin text that was being translated. However, the word occurs in OSw. also with the meaning ‘deed,’ (“gärning”) and ‘(act of) roguery’ (“skälmsstycke”) according to Söderwall’s *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket*.

58 SKB D 4, f. 145r; *KonAl* 131.

59 Another example of a scribe not wishing to write explicitly about foetuses is found in a note about abortion inserted at the end of the *herbarium* in the ODa. Harpestræng manuscript DKB NKS 66 8^o. On f. 115r, someone has written: “Marochus, pr454cit f42t5m” – “Marochus” is probably a scribal error here for the herb *barochus* [mead wort]. A simple key (a=1, e=2, i=3, o=4, u=5), is all that is required to decipher the text: ‘Mead wort *prouocit foetum*’ [calls forth the foetus],’ i. e., the herb mead wort provokes an abortion. The simplicity of the key calls into question whether this is a genuine attempt to disguise the words, or whether the scribe simply could not bring himself to mention abortion explicitly or it was “unlawful” to do so. For an edition of the text, see Marius Kristensen, ed., *Harpestræng: Gamle danske Urtebøger, Stenbøger og Kogebøger* (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 1908–20), LXXXIII–LXXXIV. This encoded phrase is also mentioned in Jonathan Adams, *The Revelations of St Birgitta: A Study and Edition of the Birgittine-Norwegian Texts, Swedish National Archives, E 8902*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, vol. 194, Texts and Sources, vol. 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 192.

Alexander the Great and the Red Jews

It is at this point that the writer of *Konung Alexander* tells us who these vile, unclean people are: “Rødhe iudha mon thet heta” [They are called Red Jews].⁶⁰ How these Red Jews ended up in this part of the world is not explained in *Konung Alexander*, but the OSw. devotional work *Själens tröst* from 1400–50, which also contains a version of the story of Alexander, has the following explanation:

Konugin aff israel læth gøra twa kalfwa aff gul hwilka han oc hans folk dyrkadho oc tilbadho for thera gudh / Ffor the sakena wredhghadhis gudh offwer them oc stadge theth at konungen aff niniue kom oc wan thera land oc dreff them alla vth aff landeno lankt bort j ødhknena ther mang stoor bergh waro / Ther læth han them byggia oc hafde them for syna thræla / Llangan tyma ther æptir thentidh konung alexander ffor om werldena medh sinom her / kom han oc thith som the bygdo⁶¹

[The king of Israel had two golden calves made which he and his people worshipped and prayed to as their god. Because of this, God became angry with them and made it happen that the king of Nineveh came and conquered their land and expelled them from the county far into the desert where there were many great mountains.⁶² He let them live there and kept them as his slaves. A long time after this, when Alexander was riding across the world with his army, he also came to that place where they were living.]

They thus belong to the ten of the twelve tribes of Israel that were expelled from the Kingdom of Israel after it was conquered by the Assyrians c. 722 BCE – their punishment by God for their idolatry.⁶³ While the explanation of their provenance has its roots in antiquity and is essentially a version of the Jewish legend of the Ten Tribes, their description as “red” is both medieval and German in origin.⁶⁴ As we find the term “Red Jews” used in OSw. literature, we can discount the claim that “only in German literature [...] were the Ten Tribes depicted with distinctive colouring.”⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Also, Text 27.2: *The Enclosed Jews* (from *The Romance of Alexander the Great*), l. 77: “The rødha iudha” [the Red Jews].

⁶¹ SKB A 108, p. 6; *SjäTrö* 9.

⁶² According to 3 Kings (1 Kings *KJV*) 12:25–33, Jeroboam I built two sanctuaries each with a golden calf to rival the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem: one in Dan in the north and one in Bethel in the south. These shrines provoked great censure (3 Kings 13:1–14:18) and the “sins of Jeroboam” resulted in the fall of the kingdom (3 Kings 14:16; 3 Kings 16:31; 4 Kings [2 Kings *KJV*] 3:3). The story of Jeroboam’s golden calves bears striking similarities to the building of Aaron’s golden calf in Exodus 32.

⁶³ Josephus, *The Antiquities of the Jews*, 11.1; 4 Esdras 13:39–45. For a thorough description of the tradition of the Red Jews, see Gow, *The Red Jews*.

⁶⁴ Gow, *The Red Jews*, esp. 65–92.

⁶⁵ Rebekka Voß, “Entangled Stories: The Red Jews in Premodern Yiddish and German Apocalyptic Literature,” *AJS Review* 36, no. 1 (2012): 1.

However, it is clear that the colour “red” to depict the Ten Tribes had its origins in Germany and that this idea and usage were transmitted to Sweden. An interesting point is that *Konung Alexander* is a reworking of *Historia de preliis*, but this Latin text makes no mention of the colour red in connection with the enclosed Jews.⁶⁶ The red colouring must have come from somewhere, so there was another – presumably German-language – tradition available to the Swedish writer that he could draw upon while writing *Konung Alexander*.⁶⁷ Of course, we have no way of knowing whether this was an oral or a now lost written tradition.

There are several possible explanations of why these enclosed Jews are referred to by the colour red. As discussed in Chapter 5: *The Jewish Body*, the colour red had negative connotations in Christian iconography symbolizing sin, guilt, and deceit (as well as having associations with the End of Days through the red dragon of Revelation 12:3).⁶⁸ Furthermore, it alluded to the story of Jacob and Esau where the younger brother gave his older sibling a bowl of red stew or pottage (הָאָדָם הָאָדָם, *ha’adam ha’adam* [the red red (stuff)]) in return for his right to be recognized as firstborn. Christianity saw itself as the younger brother who

⁶⁶ In ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse*, another text translated from Latin, the enclosed Jews are not referred to as “red.” To my knowledge, the only occurrence of the term “Red Jews” in Latin (beyond translations) is found on an annotated *mappa mundi* from 1448 created by the Benedictine monk Andreas Walsperger of Constance. Now housed in the Vatican Library (BAV Pal. lat. 1362 B), the map shows the figure in the north-east behind two mountains of a cannibal devouring a corpse. This part of the map has the following captions: “Andropofagi maꝝducant carnes hominum” [Anthropophagi eat human flesh], “gog et magog” [Gog and Magog], “terra rufforum iudeorum conclusorum inter moꝝtes caspios” [the land of the Red Jews enclosed between the Caspian Mountains], “cenophali habent capita canum” [cynocephali have the head of a dog], and “Item in terra caspium sunt multa et uaria et uaria monstra que tamen utu[n]tur humana ratione” [Moreover, in the Caspian land there are many and varied and varied (sic) monsters who have human reason]. This map, just like the East Norse manuscript evidence, draws together and mixes numerous traditions that present a land beyond the two mountains that is under Gog and Magog and contains a population of cannibalistic monsters and people with the heads of dogs, who nonetheless have a humanlike mind. This blending of different peoples, monsters, and stories makes for a heady cocktail that has similarities to the blurred, mixed presentation of Jews in East Norse texts and, indeed, in *Konung Alexander* where Red Jews are portrayed as *anthropophagi* (cannibalism) and *monstra* (eating vermin).

⁶⁷ For an explanation of the German influence in the manuscript, see Ronge, *Konung Alexander*, 289–90.

⁶⁸ See vol. 1, pp. 146–57. Indeed, the colour’s connotations of duplicitousness, wickedness, cunning, and moral flaws is also found in the MHG word *rotwalsch* that was coined about the same time as “Red Jews.” *Rotwalsch* is a secret language spoken by marginalized groups and criminals. Its name is a compound of *rot* [deceitful] and *walsch* [Romance language (cf. East Norse *valsk/valsker*)], Gow, *Red Jews*, 67. Cf. also Dutch *rot* [rotten, foul, putrid].

had been given the birthright, and Judaism as the gluttonous, superseded older brother left behind with a bowl of red stew.

The story of Alexander's treatment of these Red Jews is related no fewer than three times in OSw. and once in ODa.⁶⁹ In *Consolation of the Soul*, we read how having taken Jerusalem and paid respect to the "good Jews" of the city,⁷⁰ Alexander arrives in another country where he encounters a land of enslaved Jews who have forsaken their god. He is infuriated that they have abandoned their religion and decides to punish them by locking them away where they will never be found. He begins walling them in and then prays to the God of Israel for assistance. Here, the story takes on a more explicit religious tone and becomes imbued with Christian meaning. Not only is the reader informed that the Red Jews abandoned their faith, but Alexander is assisted by God through a miracle to imprison them: having deserted their God, they are punished by him. The fact that Alexander met two "types" of Jews – "good Jews" practising Temple Judaism in Jerusalem and "bad Jews" living without the Temple in the mountains – may also be an implicit criticism of contemporary, Rabbinic Judaism in the Diaspora. Biblical Judaism with its Temple in Jerusalem is acceptable to the writer of Alexander – it is the Judaism of the Bible – but other forms of Judaism are not: they are framed in terms of abandonment and renouncement, and of perversion and barbarity. Jewish life after the Temple is an abomination that should be censored and locked away from sight, here by the proto-Christian Alexander. This reflects the Church's supersessionist view of Judaism and the specific temporality ascribed to Jews. It also mirrors the reality of Christians trying to reconcile the Judaism of the Bible with the beliefs, traditions, and way of life of contemporary Jews, not least exemplified by the Christian discovery of post-biblical Jewish literature such as the Talmud.

Like the ODa. and OSw. *Consolation of the Soul*, OSw. *Konunger Alexander* also relates the miracle of the enclosing of the Red Jews by Alexander. Here, the king is concerned that the world will be infected ("smittas") by the Jews' evil deeds ("last") and people will adopt their ways. So, he gathers all the Jews together, male and female of all ages and sizes, and herds them to the far north. Once at a place where they will never be discovered or able to mix with other peoples, he prays to God who responds by closing two mountains ("Boreum" and "Pervincorium")⁷¹ around the Jews. To seal them behind the mountains he creates an

⁶⁹ Once in OSw. *Konung Alexander*: SKB D 4, ff. 144v–145v (F1v–2v), *KonAl* 130–33; twice in OSw. *Sjælens tröst*: SKB A 108, pp. 6–7, 316–17 (*SjæTrø* 9, 379), and once in ODa. *Sjælens Trøst*: UUB C 529, pp. 154–155 (*SjæTrø* 118–19).

⁷⁰ SKB A 108, p. 316; *SjæTrø* 379; cf. *SjæTrø* 118.

⁷¹ *Historia de preliis* has "Promuntorium" for "Pervincorium." See Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman*, 141, l. 25.

unbreakable gate – an allusion to the Gates of Alexander believed to have been built in the Caucasus to keep out the uncivilized peoples.⁷² According to *Konung Alexander*, the Red Jews will never be heard of or seen again. Alexander’s revulsion in *Konung Alexander* stems from the monstrous behaviour of the Red Jews, whereas in *Själen’s tröst* it stems from their abandonment of God and practice of idolatry. This parallels the works’ different profane/religious audiences and intentions.

This episode of Alexander locking the unclean nations up in the North ultimately originates from the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius (c. 691), a text that had a huge influence on Christian eschatological thinking:⁷³

Greek version	Latin version
<p>This man [Alexander] founded Alexandria the Great and ruled in it for nineteen years. He went down to the east and slew Darius the Mede and gained dominion over many countries and cities and he went round the earth and went down as far as the «dawn of the» sea, called the Country of the Sun [ἡλίου χώρας], where he saw unclean and ugly nations [ἔθνη ἀκάθαρτα καὶ δυσειδῆ].</p>	<p>This man [Alexander] founded Alexandria the Great and ruled in it for nineteen years. He went down to Eoa and slew Darius of the Medes and gained dominion over many countries and cities and he subdued the earth and went down to the sea, which [place] is called the Country of the Sun [Regio Solis], where he caught sight of unclean and ugly nations [gentes immundas et aspectu orribilis].</p>

⁷² On the Gates of Alexander, see Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander’s Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1932).

⁷³ Originally composed in Syriac by an unknown author – and wrongly attributed to St Methodius of Olympus (d. c. 311) – at the end of the seventh century, the Apocalypse was translated into Greek (Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μεθοδίου ἐπισκόπου Πατάρων τοῦ μάρτυρος λόγος ἡκριβωμένος περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους καιροὺς ἀκριβῆς ἀπόδειξις ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἕως συντελείας κόσμου [An accurate relation of our holy father Methodius, martyr bishop of Patara, concerning the kingdom of the heathen nations and an exact demonstration of the end times beginning with Adam and leading up to the end of the world]) and Latin (*Incipit sancti Methodii episcopi Paterensis sermo de regnum gentium et in novissimis temporibus certa demonstratio* [This begins the discourse of St Methodius, the bishop of Patara, concerning the kingdom of the nations and sure demonstration on the end times]) within a couple of centuries: the earliest Latin manuscript is from before 727. Translations were also made into Slavonic and Arabic. The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius has an immense influence on apocalyptic traditions and eschatological expectations throughout Christendom. On this work, see Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. Dorothy deF. Abrahamse (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Benjamin Garstad, ed. and trans., *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius: An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

These are the descendants of the sons of Japheth, whose uncleanness [ἀκαθαρσίαν] when he saw it disgusted him. For all of them eat in the manner of beetles what is loathsome and debased: dogs, mice, cats,⁷⁴ snakes, dead bodies, abortions, miscarriages, foetuses not completely formed or some preserving the marks of formation, and these of unclean animals. And they do not bury the dead, but eat them.

Alexander saw these things done by them as hateful and lawless, and fearing lest they should at some time pollute [μάνωσι] the whole earth he entreated God in prayer concerning them, and issuing commands he gathered all of them together, and their wives and their children and all of their camps. Alexander looked at all these things accursed and hatefully arisen of themselves, and he feared lest they should somehow reach the Holy Land and pollute [μάνωσιν] it with their abominable practices [ἐκ τῶν μαρῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων], and he earnestly supplicated God and issuing commands he gathered all of them together, and their wives and their children and all of their camps.

And driving them out of the land of the dawn he pursued close behind them, until they were brought into the lands beyond the north [ἐν τοῖς πέρασιν τοῦ Βορρᾶ], and there is neither way in nor way out from east to west, through which one could go over or come in to them. And he drove them out of the land of the dawn and pursued close behind them, until they were brought into the lands beyond the North, and there is neither a way in or way out for them from east to west, through which one might come in to them or might go out.

These are the descendants of the sons of Japheth, whose uncleanness [immunditiam] he saw and he shuddered at. For all of them eat in the semblance of the beetle every polluted and filthy thing: dogs, mice, snakes, carrion, abortions, miscarriages, and those which the womb because of softening had not yet formed a solid from a liquid or a structure made of any part of the limbs which might in form and figure produce an appearance or imitate a shape, and the miscarriages of animals, as well as every kind of unclean animal. They never bury their dead, but often eat them.

Alexander considered all of these things, that they were being done by them in an unclean and wicked manner, and he feared lest they ever leave and go to the Holy Land and pollute [contaminent] it with their defiled and unjust state of body and mind [a pollutis suis iniquissimis affectionibus], and so he earnestly supplicated God. And issuing commands he gathered all of them together, and their wives and their sons and, of course, all their camps.

And he led them out of the eastern land and hemmed them in and drove them on until they came to the furthest regions of the North [in finibus Aquilonis]. And there is neither a way in nor a way out from east to west, through which one might be able to cross over or go in to them.

74 Possibly a later addition. See Garstad, ed. and trans., *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, 338n18.

As soon, therefore, as Alexander called upon God, the Lord God heard his prayer and commanded two mountains, whose name is the Paps of the North [οἱ Μαζοὶ τοῦ Βορρᾶ], and they drew as close as twelve cubits to one another.

And he prepared brazen gates and covered them with asyncite [ἀσυγκίτη], so that if they should want to open them with iron they would not be able or to dissolve them with fire, they would not prevail, rather straightaway the fire when it made contact would be quenched. For the nature of asyncite is such that it does not submit to the destruction of iron or the dissolution of fire. For he made all of the thoughts and designs of the demons stale and empty.

So these accursed, false, and foul nations employed all kinds of magical intrigues [μαγικαῖς κακοτεχνίας], and in these things he rendered their sordid and inhuman, or to put it more strongly, godless sorcery ineffectual, so that they were not able by fire or iron or any other device to force open gates such as these and make their escape.

In the end times, according to what the prophecy of Ezekiel says, in the last day of the consummation of the world Gog and Magog, who are the nations and kings which Alexander shored up in the extremities of the north, will come into the land of Israel. Gog and Magog and Anug and Ageg and Ashkenaz and Dephar and the Photinaeans and Libians and Eunians and Pharizaeans and Declmans and Zarmats and Theblaeans and Zarmatians and Chachonians and Amazarthans and Garmiarans and the cannibals called Cynocephalans (Dog-heads) and Tharbiens and Alans and Phisolonicians and Arcnaeans and Asalterians.⁷⁵ These are

Therefore Alexander immediately called upon God, and the Lord God heard his prayer and commanded two mountains, whose name is the Paps of the North [Ubera Aquilonis], and they were joined together and drew as close as twelve cubits to one another.

And he constructed brazen gates and covered them with asincitum [asincitum], so that if they should want to open them with iron they would not be able or to dissolve them with fire they would not prevail either, rather straightaway all the fire would be quenched. For the nature of asincitum is such that neither is it broken by the striking blows of iron nor does it undergo dissolution by fire. For it is effective with all the inventions of the demons and deadly and useless contraptions.

These filthy and misshapen or vile nations employed in unclean fashion all of the evils of magical art [magicae artis malorum]. And in these things too their sordid and inhuman, or, to put it more strongly, hateful to God, sorcery was undone, so that they were not able by fire or iron or any other conceivable cunning to unlock or open these same gates and make their escape.

In the end times, according to what the prophecy of Ezekiel says, in the last day of the consummation of the world will come out into the land of Israel Gog and Magog, who are the nations and kings that Alexander hid in the ends of the North. Gog and Magog and Anog and Ageg and Achenaz and Dephar and the Putinaeans and Libians and Eunians and Pharizeans and Declmans and Zarmats and Thebleans and Zarmatians and Chachonians and Amazarthans and Agrimardians and Anuphagians, who are called Cynocephalians, and the Tharbeans and Alans and Phisolonicians and Arcneans and Asalturians. These twenty-two

⁷⁵ “Most of the peoples listed here cannot be identified with any real or imaginary people known to antiquity. Ashkenaz and the Alans, however, suffice to situate the enclosed nations in the north-east beyond the Caucasus.” Garstad, ed. and trans., *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, 339n20.

the twenty-two kings set under guard within
the gates which Alexander fixed.⁷⁶

kings reside shut up within the gates that
Alexander fixed.⁷⁷

The Red Jews and Antichrist

The OSw. *Själens tröst* develops the story of the Red Jews into a cataclysmic tale in which the Jews will remain behind the mountains until the arrival of Antichrist:⁷⁸

Antechristus skal fódhas j babilonia aff iwdhiske slækt aff eens^(a) patriarcha slekt som heeth dan / Han wardher onækta fóddir aff forbannadhe qwinno oc forbannadhum man / Han wardher oc vmskuren som een iwdhe æpter iudhanna lagh / [...] Han wardher mektogher oc faar mykyt wald Oc alle the rødho iudhane som mællan berghin æro æn inne læste koma tha vth oc skulu honom følghia⁷⁹

Notes: a. eens] ees MS.

[Antichrist will be born in Babylon from the Jewish tribe of the family of a patriarch called Dan.⁸⁰ He will be born illegitimately of a cursed woman and a cursed man. He will also be circumcised like a Jew in accordance with the law of the Jews. (...) He will become mighty and acquire great power. And all the Red Jews who are enclosed between the mountains will come out and follow him.]⁸¹

There are several different elements that have been woven into the OSw. story of the Red Jews and by introducing Antichrist into the narrative, the tale has acquired apocalyptic dimensions. This cross-fertilization of legends began in the early Christian era and continued into the Middle Ages:⁸²

- The enclosed people (first found in Josephus)
- Their identification as the Ten Tribes (first Jewish and then Christian writings)
- Their punishment for depraved living and abandoning God (Christianization of the Alexander romance)

⁷⁶ Garstad, ed. and trans., *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, 23, 25, 27 (Gk. 22, 24, 26).

⁷⁷ Garstad, ed. and trans., *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, 97, 99, 101 (Lat. 96, 98, 100).

⁷⁸ The ODa. manuscript (UUB C 529) has a lacuna comprising 2 folios here.

⁷⁹ SKB A 108, p. 81; *SjäTrö* 97–98.

⁸⁰ There were two main medieval views on the birth of Antichrist: one that he will be born Chorozaim and the other that he will be born in Babylon. Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 79–80.

⁸¹ Cf. SKB A 108, pp. 6, 317, *SjäTrö* 9, 379 respectively; UUB C 529, p. 155; *SjäTrö* 119.

⁸² Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 91.

- The Gates of Alexander (keeping out the uncivilized people of Gog and Magog, usually understood to be Goths or Huns)
- Naming them the Red Jews (German tradition from second half of the thirteenth century)
- The arrival of Antichrist, the release of the Red Jews, and their support of Antichrist

The tradition of the unclean peoples behind Alexander and his great gate escaping at the End of Days is also found in the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius:

Greek version	Latin version
<p>Then the gates of the North will be opened up and out will come the powers of the nations which were enclosed within, and the whole earth will reel from their face, and men will cry aloud [...] For the nations coming from the North eat the flesh of men and drink the blood of beasts like water [Psalm 78:3 <i>DRB</i>, 79:3 <i>KJV</i>] and eat unclean things: snakes and scorpions and all abominable and disgusting beasts and reptiles that creep upon the earth and brutal things and dead bodies and aborted foetuses of women. And they will slaughter infants, even producing them from their wombs, and they will boil the meat and eat it. And they will corrupt the earth and befoul it and deface it, and there will be no one able to stand before them.⁸³</p>	<p>Then the gates of the North will be unbarred and out will come the powers of the nations which Alexander enclosed within, and the whole earth will be struck by their appearance and men will become terrified and flee [...] For the nations which will come out from the North will eat the flesh of men and drink the blood of beasts like water [Psalm 78:3 <i>DRB</i>, 79:3 <i>KJV</i>] and eat unclean things: snakes, scorpions and every utterly filthy and detestable kind of beast and reptiles, which creep upon the earth, and the carcasses of animals and the aborted foetuses of women. They even slay young children and slaughter them at their mothers [<i>lacuna</i>] and eat them. And they will corrupt the earth and befoul it [<i>lacuna</i>], and there will be no one who will be able to stand before them.⁸⁴</p>

Here we find several of the elements – the gate, the imprisonment, the eating habits of the enclosed nations – that occur in *Konung Alexander*.

The involvement of the Jewish people in the time of Antichrist, is due to Christian readings of the Bible in which he was descended from the tribe of Dan and entered Jerusalem to rebuild the Temple with Jewish help.⁸⁵ In *Själens tröst*, it

⁸³ Garstad, ed. and trans., *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, 61, 63 (Gk. 60, 62).

⁸⁴ Garstad, ed. and trans., *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, 131, 133 (Lat. 130, 132).

⁸⁵ In *Apocalypse (Revelation)* 7:1–8, an angel announces the sealing of God's servants, the Twelve Tribes of Israel, to indicate God's protection and ownership (Ezekiel 9:4–6). Dan is not mentioned, possibly because of the tribes' pagan practices. For this reason, theologians such as

inverts and parodies the prophecy in 4 Esdras quoted earlier in this chapter, in which Jews will return to Jerusalem upon the arrival of the Messiah as his servants.⁸⁶ Indeed, in the chapter on Antichrist in *Själens tröst*, we read:

Oc alle the rødho iudhane som mællan berghin æro æn inne læste koma tha vth oc skulu honom følghia / Han later tha ater byggia mønstrit j iherusalem / Oc the halda han for een gudh oc bidhia til hans oc sæghia at han ær *christus* Oc sighia wan herra ihesum *christum* hafwa warit *antechristum*⁸⁷

[And all the Red Jews who are enclosed between the mountains will come out and follow him. Then he will have the Temple in Jerusalem rebuilt and they will consider him a god and pray to him and say that he is Christ and say that Our Lord was Antichrist.]

Furthermore, Antichrist will send his disciples out into the world to deceive and convert Christians to his cause. The precise role that Red Jews will play in the time of Antichrist is not entirely clear in this OSw. text. However, in the English *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, the author did not hold back and tells the story that he has heard from people living near to the Red Jews and that describes future events:

And yit natheles men [*people of the neighbouring region*] seyn thei schulle gon out in the tyme of Antecrist, and that thei schulle maken gret slaughter of Cristene men. And therefore alle the Iewes that dwellen in alle londes lernen alleweys to speken Ebrew in hope that whan the other Iewes schulle gon out, that thei may vnderstonden hire [*their*] speche and to leden hem into Cristendom for to [*in order to*] destroye the Cristene peple. For the Iewes seyn that thei knowen wel be hire [*through their*] prophecyes that thei of Caspye schulle gon out and spreden thorghout alle the world, and that the Cristene men schulle ben vnder hire subieccioun [*will be subject to them*] als longe as thei han [*have*] ben in subieccioun of hem. And yif that yee wil wyte [*know*] how that thei schulle fynden hire weye [*find their way out*], after that [*according to what*] I haue herd seye, I schalle telle you. In the tyme of Antecrist a fox schalle make there his trayne [*den*] and mynen [*burrow*] an hole where kyng Alisandre leet make the gates, and so longe he schalle mynen and percen the erthe til that he schalle passe thorgh towards that folk. And whan thei seen the fox, they schulle haue gret merueyлле [*be very astonished*] of him because that thei saugh neuer such a best. For of alle othere bestes thei han enclosed amonges hem, saf [*with the exception of*] only the fox. And thanne [*then*] thei schullen chacen him and pursuen him so streyte tille that he come to the same place that he cam fro. And thanne thei schullen dyggen and mynen so strongly tille that thei

Bishop Irenaeus (c. 130–202) and Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170–235) as well as later millenarians believed Antichrist would come from the tribe of Dan.

86 4 Esdras (2 Esdras RSV) 13:39–50. Beginning in the early centuries of Christianity, the belief arose that the Ten Tribes would return under the leadership of Christ the Messiah, vanquish Antichrist, and liberate Jerusalem. See Gow, *The Red Jews*, 37.

87 SKB A 108, p. 82; *SjäTrö* 98; *SjäTrö* K 132.

fynden the gates that kyng Alisandre leet make of grete stones and passynge [*exceedingly*] huge, wel symented and made stronge for the maystrie [*control, dominance*]. And tho gates thei schulle breken and so gon out be fyndynge of that issue [*by finding that exit*].⁸⁸

So here again we have an international conspiracy where the Hebrew language is used as a secret means of identification and communication in the process of subjecting the Christian population of Europe. The story is entirely absent from the ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse* and only alluded to in the ODa. and OSw. *Consolation of the Soul* where we read that the Red Jews will escape from the mountains and follow Antichrist. The extant East Norse texts state explicitly that the Red Jews have a role in the End of Days and will side with Antichrist and accompany him to Jerusalem, but how this will play out precisely is not entered into further.⁸⁹ One might perhaps assume that the story of the Red Jews ravaging Europe with Antichrist as their lord was known in Scandinavia, but as it does not form part of the story of the Enclosed Jews in any of the extant texts (nor, indeed, their sources: *Itinerarius domini Johannis de Mandeville militis, Historia de Preliis*, and

⁸⁸ Seymour, *Mandeville's Travels*, 193–94. Cf. Bale, trans., *Sir John Mandeville*, 105; Higgins, trans., *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, 159.

⁸⁹ Red Jews appear in the chapter on Antichrist in *Själens tröst* (see Text 20). However, they are not mentioned in apocalyptic literature in ODa. and OSw., although themes such as mountains falling down (thus enabling the Red Jews to escape) and language (here, the confusion of tongues may help the Red Jews using Hebrew to recognize one another) do occur and provide an appropriate backdrop and fertile bed for the story of the Red Jews and Antichrist. For example, the ODa. print *The fæmthen teghen før en wors herre strenghe dom scal kome* [*The Fifteen Sign before Doomsday*] from 1509 (f. 3v): “¶¶Thet tindæ tegeu | ¶¶Thet tindæ dag scal hōwæ falle | oc ryglæ neder met alle | Oc bierge iæffnes tha med dale | i sculle icke wantro mijn tale | Jorden worder tha saa iæffn | som signet wære wors herre naffn | ¶¶Thet elløffthe tegeu | ¶¶Elløffte dag scal folket vd h lōbe | aff theres bode giældre oc obe | The gielle alle i there skare | at ingen kan hinamen sware eller spare | Oc ingen kan seg for annen waræ | for senden hær ieg thet obenbare” [The tenth sign. | On the tenth day high mountains will fall, | And crumble along with everybody, | And mountains will be levelled to the valleys. | You must not disbelieve my speech, | The earth will be levelled so, | As Our Lord’s name be blessed! | The eleventh sign. | On the eleventh day people will run out | Of their dwellings, clamouring and shouting. | They all clamour in their groups, | so no-one can answer or spare one another, | And no-one can pay heed to another. | For I am revealing the truth here.] Similarly, fifteen signs are mentioned in an ODa. sermon “Sanctus Jeronimus fan ij ærlighe jōdhæ bōgher fæmtæn tekn hwilke som skulæ wardhæ fæmtæn daghæ for domædagh” [St Jerome found in honourable Jewish books fifteen signs that will appear fifteen days before Doomsday] in DKB GKS 1390 4^o, f. 152v (1450–1500): “Niændæ daghen skal jordhen jæmnes” [On the ninth day the earth shall be levelled]; “Tindæ daghen skulæ mænnskene wtga aff theræ skiwl æller hws swa som galnæ æy formughæ at tala een til annar” [On the tenth day people will leave their shelters and homes, like madmen they cannot speak to each other], *SMP* VIII 188.

Der Selen Troyst), we cannot know for certain what medieval Danes and Swedes believed the Red Jews would do upon their release. For their German neighbours to the south, Red Jews were terrifying figures who one day would subjugate all of Europe.⁹⁰ The fantastical image of this enemy “other” was particularly popular and long-lived in the German-speaking lands,⁹¹ and it would be surprising given the lively transmission of culture, particularly text-based traditions, from south to north if the concept of the Red Jews as marauding, apocalyptic, destroyers of Christendom did not also reach Scandinavian shores. However, for want of any textual evidence, this can only remain mere supposition.

90 It is possible that the Red Jews are an expression of Christian anxiety that one day their oppression of Jews will be inverted and turned against them, and they will receive the same treatment at the hands of those they once oppressed. On this interpretation, see Miriamne Ara Krummel, *Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England: Legally Absent, Virtually Present*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 80–87.

91 Gow, *The Red Jews*, 91.

Conclusion

12 Conclusion

Medieval representations of Jews in Denmark and Sweden

In this book, I have demonstrated various ways that language about Jews and Judaism was used in East Norse as well as different approaches for a modern-day reader to investigate the extant texts that mention Jews in order to uncover what they tell us about how medieval Danes and Swedes imagined the “other”: Jews’ physical appearance; occupations; intellectual and moral character; religious traits, and non-human, demonic characteristics. Moreover, I have aimed to show how the figure of the Jew was used in East Norse texts to educate Christian readers about their own religion, history, and place in the world. Due to the diverse nature of the material examined, it is difficult to draw any single overarching conclusion about the creation or the invention of “the Jew” in medieval Danish and Swedish vernacular literature. What is clear, is that the type of Jew portrayed was specific to the genre or text type. In some works, Jews may appear malleable and ripe for conversion, whereas in others they remain stubborn and hell-bent on destruction; in some works, they appear as learned, pious figures, whereas in others they are disbelieving, murderous beasts; in wall paintings of the Massacre of the Innocents such as that in Fanefjord Church, Møn, we see Jewish mothers desperately trying to defend their children from being killed,¹ whereas in some written texts we read of Jewish mothers eating their own offspring and Jewish fathers throwing them into furnaces. There was no single image of “the Jew,” and writers, readers, listeners, and viewers of these works must have been able to navigate between the various “Jews,” understanding the reasons behind and meaning of each type of representation.

Even though there was no resident Jewish community anywhere in Scandinavia, medieval Danish and Swedish creators and consumers of texts appear well versed in the imagery and language used elsewhere in Europe in writing about Jews. It is not possible to claim that Jews were a preoccupation for writers in Denmark and Sweden – indeed, the first work aimed solely at describing (and denigrating) Jews did not appear until after the period under discussion. Nevertheless, it is clear that Jews and Judaism were objects of interest in Scandinavia and ideas about Jews became embedded in its written, pictorial, and sculptural culture. There are even enticing traces from Vadstena that testify to an interest – albeit

¹ See Annett Scavenius, *Elmelundsmesteren i Fanefjord Kirke* (Copenhagen: Vandkunsten, 2010), 64–65.

rather rudimentary – in the study of Hebrew. The physical portrait of Jews and the Jewish body in all its aspects was likewise described in the same way as we find elsewhere in Europe: hooked nose, thick lips, dark or red hair and beards, ruddy complexion, and so on. The only notable exception is that in the North, the *foetor judaicus* is explained in the extant sources as being due to the food that Jews eat (onions, garlic and mushrooms) rather than being a goaty-stench associated with the devil. This, of course, is likely due to manuscript survival rather than a particularly Scandinavian understanding of the causes of the stench. In the East Norse material, encounters with Jewish women lead to dangerous and forbidden liaisons for some of the male Christian characters resulting in their being abandoned by the Holy Spirit or fathering illegitimate children. The principal occupation for Jews in the texts treated in this book is moneylending, and some lend money honestly, and some dishonestly. As in all late medieval Passion literature, the East Norse works abound with cruel Jews afflicting horrible wounds on the body of Christ and the heart of his mother. A similarly conventional use of “the Jew” is found in numerous stories taken from legends and sermons where Jews are employed as a means to prove a doctrine by triggering a miracle, usually through an act of violence or blasphemy. Jews of the past are neatly divided into “good Jews” (honourable figures from the Old Testament) and “bad Jews” (dishonourable figures from the Old Testament and just about every Jew from the time of the New Testament onwards except those associated positively with or belonging to the Holy Family). The future is a little less clear with regard to Jews: there is the hope that they will convert and thus herald the arrival of the Messiah, but also the fear that the Red Jews will escape, punish the Christians of Europe, and go to Jerusalem to follow Antichrist. None of these ideas about Jews is particular to Denmark or Sweden.

Thus, looking at the ODa. and OSw. corpora together, we can see that the array of stereotypes that were current in mainland Europe from the twelfth century onwards are also found in Scandinavia: Christ murderers, enemies of God, and opponents of all Christians past and present; iconicides, host desecrators, ritual murderers, and usurers; and poisoners, magicians, and deceitful physicians. Indeed, outside of German-language works, the so-called Red Jews are only found in East Norse texts. This shows not only how integrated medieval Scandinavian religious culture was with that found to the south (particularly Germany), but also how embedded the image of the Jew had become within this culture; for example, large parts of late medieval affective piety with its cultivation of the Passion and Marianism appear only possible through a demonization of Jews. Given the preponderance of religious texts in the vernacular sources available, we might expect that the picture that emerges of the “Jew” to be somewhat one-sided or a little flat. And, indeed, the ubiquitous descriptions of half-crazed, howling, blood-thirsty Christ-killers certainly do occupy a large space in the material, but

there are several unexpected elements in the East Norse corpus: the appearance of Red Jews otherwise only known from German-language works as mentioned above; the account of Jewish women invoking Mary during labour and subsequently driving her out after a successful birth is to my knowledge otherwise only known from Italian sources; and several miracle tales such as that about the flying host, the fish and the host, and the statue of the pregnant Virgin Mary appear to be exclusive to the OSw. corpus.

There is a small amount of evidence that some stories transmitted to Denmark and Sweden from the south were edited with regard to their portrayal of Jews, possibly to hone the text towards its Scandinavian audience. For example, if we consider the ODa. *Mandevilles Rejse*, we can see that sections about Jews have simply been deleted, possibly because contemporary Jews, those beyond a biblical context, would not have been of much interest to a Danish audience. However, the overall picture is quite different. Reading the East Norse material, we can see that little has been adjusted for a northern audience to make a text more accommodating. In fact, as far as some of the legends in *Fornsvenska legendariet* in particular are concerned, they are written in such an abrupt, staccato fashion, especially when compared to the same texts in the Latin *Legenda aurea* or in other OSw. works (e. g., *Själens tröst*), that it can be difficult to understand how medieval readers or listeners could possibly have understood the story unless they had a much broader background knowledge to draw upon than we might suppose. What I am suggesting is that in much the same way that it is assumed the story of Mary of Bethzuba was well known to Italians of the fourteenth century because Dante only needs to mention her briefly rather than tell her whole story in his *Divina Commedia*,² so can we assume that medieval Danes and Swedes were familiar with the stereotypes of and tales about Jews because they appear without any explanation or context within many of the texts studied here. With regard to whether a particular story about Jews was widespread or not, it is not just its presence or absence that is revealing, but how it is told.

Whereas it is possible to discern a chronological development in the portrayal of Jews in medieval Scandinavian art from the comparatively benign Romanesque period to the grotesque imagery of the Gothic period, the same is not possible for the written material. By the time vernacular works were appearing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the pejorative image of the Jew had been fully formed. The only change came with the Black Death, and there is indeed a “copy” of two letters written in Latin that purports to be from 1350 and describes acts of well poisoning in Scandinavia as being orchestrated by nefarious Jews from afar.

² On Mary of Bethzuba in Dante’s *Divina Commedia*, see vol. 1, p. #000.

However, these letters most likely have nothing to do with Scandinavia as such but are a product of fifteenth-century Hanseatic rivalry with competing groups on the southern Baltic coast. In general, it is not possible to link any of the East Norse texts with specific events or political or social developments. This is quite different from the situation in other parts of Europe and is most likely due to the fact that there was no Jewish minority to persecute or use as a means of placating local communities or raising funds.³

A particular contribution, that a study of the representation of Jews in medieval vernacular Danish and Swedish texts can make, is to a better understanding of the phenomenon of “absent presence”; in other words, the impulse to write about Jews in an environment where there are not – and never have been – any Jews. Even though there were no Jews in Denmark and Sweden during the Middle Ages, they were apparently everywhere. Their existence in the material is very much due to a “top–down” process whereby the Church (Jews are found for the most part in religious works) created and made use of the image of the Jew to communicate effectively with its members. How the image evolved depended on the aim of the “image creator,” but also in response to the expectations and needs of the audience. As devotional trends developed towards a more emotional, physically experienced religiosity, so did these textual Jews evolve to create the necessary reaction on the part of the “image consumer.” This is not to say that negative images of Jews are an inevitable part of western Christian culture. Again, as our material shows, even when the liturgical calendar gave them the opportunity to engage in anti-Jewish slander, some sermon writers chose other topics than Jews; not all crucifiers in wall paintings were depicted as bestial Jews; some Jews were described in very warm, human terms: for example, the little girl Rachel as well as the Jew and his wife who converted and joined holy orders.⁴ Nonetheless, western, especially religious, culture did provide the framework and method by which the devotional and emotional needs as well as intellectual and existential concerns of medieval Scandinavians could be addressed by talking disparagingly about Jews. These Jews were used to help Danes and Swedes understand their place in the world, in time, and in God’s plan for humanity.

³ For example, on England, see Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), and on Italian friars, see Filippo Sedda, “The Anti-Jewish Sermons of John of Capistrano: Matters and Context” and Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, “The Effects of Bernardino da Feltre’s Preaching on the Jews,” in *The Jewish–Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Jussi Hanska, Routledge Research in Medieval Studies, vol. 6 (New York: Routledge, 2014), 139–69 and 170–94 respectively.

⁴ Text 45: *The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery* and Text 23: *The Converted Jew and the Devil* respectively.

The sources upon which any study of medieval culture in Denmark and Sweden is based provide at best only a snapshot of what was a long, varied, and rich period of development. A study based upon written East Norse sources faces particular difficulties: the extant material, much of which is from the mid-fifteenth century on, is not a large corpus and is largely the result of the vagaries of time. War, fires, the Reformation, poor conservation, and the whims of collectors have all shaped the corpus of ODa. and OSw. manuscripts and early books in a way that ensures our knowledge of the written culture of the Middle Ages remains at best only partial. We know from printers' account books, that the most popular type of early printed work was the chapbook. These prints were read voraciously and passed from hand to hand causing wear and tear to already rather fragile works, while their very cheapness introduced a new practice into the world of reading: disposability. So today, these chapbooks, that were produced in vast numbers, are rarities in the collections of libraries and archives in Scandinavia.⁵ Early prints are better preserved from Low German-speaking areas, and here the evidence shows us that anti-Jewish topics were extremely popular among printers and readers: as Cordelia Heß puts it, "Jew-hatred sells."⁶ Might the same be true for the now lost chapbooks of Scandinavia? Of course, we will never know. The written record need not, of course stand in isolation, and for a study of an image of "the Jew," medieval art, not least the wealth of wall paintings, provides us with an opportunity to nuance and expand knowledge acquired from texts. Here, we find portrayals of Jewish physiognomies and clothing that may only be hinted at in written works (if mentioned at all), while texts can provide the key to unlocking the meaning of an artwork. Many of the images of Jews have clear parallels to those found in northern Germany where Jews were portrayed as grotesque, beast-like figures; indeed, Sweden has no fewer than three examples of the *Judensau* image. However, in spite of the opportunities offered by studying both East Norse texts and images alongside one another, we cannot escape the fact that we are only seeing part of a much larger picture. The question remains whether what we are able to see is representative of this larger picture, or not.⁷

⁵ See further Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *Fra støv til guld: Brugsbøger og skillingstryk fra Det Kongelige Bibliotek* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 2006).

⁶ Cordelia Heß, "Jew-Hatred Sells? Anti-Jewish Print Production in the German Dialects," 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/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 121–34.

⁷ There remains much work to be done on the image of the Jew in medieval Denmark and Sweden: particularly lacking are a systematic investigation of art and Passion treatises. Work has begun looking at how stereotypes from medieval works reappear in the modern era – e. g., Corde-

Some concluding reflections

The observant reader will have noticed that there are two questions that might be considered pertinent in this sort of study that I have avoided: What is antisemitism? And what is the significance of the representation of Jews in the past for the present? In fact, the first question is not of particular importance to this book in as far as *all* representations of Jews – negative, neutral, and positive – are of relevance, and not just antisemitic ones. Furthermore, the precise meaning of the term antisemitism is slippery. For some, it refers only to the modern-day hatred of Jews based on racial grounds, whereas for others it means all prejudice, hostility, and discrimination towards Jews on religious, cultural, or ethnic grounds.⁸ For some, anti-Jewish stereotypes that build on a “kernel of truth” are anti-Judaism, whereas fantastical, chimerical assertions about Jews are antisemitism.⁹ Some historians draw a distinction between what they see as the religion-based anti-Judaism of the pre-modern era and the race-based antisemitism of the post-Enlightenment period.¹⁰ Others, often trained in classical or medieval history, point to the expressions of Jew-hatred from before the modern era that were not based solely on religion and prefer to advance a *longue-durée* understanding of the phenomenon.¹¹ This takes us to the second question and whether we choose to focus on the differences between the medieval and the modern or whether we prefer to examine the strands of similarity. Rather predictably perhaps, as a medievalist I would point out the obvious: that what comes before greatly influences what comes after, and that there are clear strands of similarity that run between the past and the present.

lia Heß, *The Medieval Archive of Antisemitism in Nineteenth-Century Sweden*, Religious Minorities in the North, vol. 3 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2022) – but studies on the transference of stereotypes in Scandinavia from Catholic works to those of the Reformation are still a *desideratum*.

8 For discussion, see François Soyer, *Medieval Antisemitism? Past Imperfect* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), 5–21.

9 Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 301–10, 334–40.

10 See, e. g., Ulrich Wyrwa, “The Making of Antisemitism in Nineteenth-Century Europe as an Invention of Tradition,” in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism: Continuities and Discontinuities from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß (New York: Routledge, 2018), 30–41.

11 David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013); Cordelia Heß, *The Medieval Archive of Antisemitism in Nineteenth-Century Sweden*, Religious Minorities in the North, vol. 3 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), and various contributions in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism*, ed. Adams and Heß (especially David Nirenberg’s article, “Which Past for Which Present? A Reply to Carlo Ginzburg’s “Postface” on *Anti-Judaism*,” 438–55).

In Scandinavia, Jews first appeared in religious (Christian) texts, and these works have been the focus of this book. Images were created and transmitted by Christian thinkers, often looking to the Gospels for inspiration, and were disseminated by the Church throughout the Christian world before later being absorbed into secular cultural production. The relationship between Jews and the Church, Christians, and Christianity is a topic for another book, but it is important to understand the role that Christian thinking, whether it be Chrysostom, Augustine, or Luther, played in laying the foundations of modern antisemitism, and how even in present-day secular societies this foundation remains strong. Recent examples from Denmark and Sweden of antisemitic actions and portrayals of Jews demonstrate this. There are numerous examples that could be listed, but below are some of those that received most media coverage and will be easiest for the reader to follow up:¹²

- Blood libel: In 2009, the photojournalist Donald Boström published an article in the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet* in which, based on no evidence, he accused Israeli soldiers of killing young Palestinian men for the purpose of harvesting their organs and selling them on the illegal market through a secret international network headed by an American rabbi.
- Physiognomy, dress, and relation to money: At the University of Copenhagen, medical students in 2013 and anthropology students in 2015 arranged “Jewish-themed” parties. In their advertising, they ridiculed Jewish customs and practice (*brit milah*, *peyot*, and *kippot*) and referred to the bar’s “yderst favorable priser i bedste jødestil” [extremely favourable prices in best Jewish-style] and payment for drinks using “jødeguld” [Jew-gold].
- Distinguishing markers: In 2019, the neo-Nazi Nordic Resistance Movement placed yellow stickers (shaped like *meginei David*) on Jewish homes throughout Denmark.
- Infanticide and haematophagy: During Pessach 2021, the Nordic Resistance Movement stuck posters up in cities around Scandinavia calling Jews child-murderers and accusing them of drinking the blood of infants. Leaflets

¹² Although not as directly connected to the Middle Ages, it is worth mentioning that so-called anti-vaxxers in Scandinavia used imagery that drew parallels to the Holocaust (wearing yellow stars, displaying photographs of Auschwitz, and so on) online and at protests during the 2020–22 pandemic. In Denmark, images of the prime minister Mette Frederiksen photoshopped into an SS uniform, a brown shirt, or a mock advertisement for the 1978 television mini-series *Holocaust* were also used at demonstrations against the restrictions and preventative methods introduced by the government in order to slow the spread of Covid. From what these protesters said in the press about these images, they did not themselves consider them to be antisemitic or in any way belittling Jewish suffering during the Holocaust.

- and dolls splattered with imitation blood were placed against the wall of the Jewish cemetery in Aalborg and the synagogue in Norrköping.
- Physiognomy and relation to money: In 2009 and again in 2021, the Danish newspaper *Ekstra Bladet* published Morten Ingemann's cartoon strip depicting a man called "Krumnase" [hooked-nose], of stereotypical antisemitic appearance, visiting a fur-coat shop and wanting to buy something small, cheap, and preferably made from hide for his wife.
 - Physiognomy: In 2020, Det Ny Teater in Copenhagen advertised for its musical *Oliver!* with posters depicting (presumably) Fagin: head in profile, painted in red (that looks like blood) and yellow, with thick lips, a sneering mouth, a hooked nose, and a straggly beard. See Figure 12.1.
 - Jewish ritual: Lack of awareness of (and concern about) antisemitic tropes characterizes debates about ritual male circumcision, with the organization Intact Denmark referring to it as "kønslemlæstelse" [genital mutilation] and calling for the prosecution and imprisonment of those parents who "abuse" their children by performing the mitzvah.
 - Diet: In a move, probably aimed at harassing Muslim citizens rather than Jewish ones, Dansk Folkeparti [Danish People's Party] tried to push legislation through in 2018 that required all crèches, nurseries, and schools to serve pork to children at least one day per week. (Kosher slaughter has incidentally been banned in Denmark since 2014 and in Sweden since 1937/1989.)

All of these examples have their roots in the antisemitic cultural production of the Middle Ages. However, understanding this background may be easier said than done. In their self-perception, Denmark and Sweden consider themselves two "progressive" countries with little public space for religion or for cultural difference. Indeed, as many inhabitants in these countries consider their societies to be "post-Christian," there is a general lack of comprehension or acceptance of the significance of Christianity in shaping mentalities there.¹³ As the public debate about the examples above shows, all – with the exception of those by the Nordic Resistance Movement – are rarely recognized as being antisemitic, let alone seen as reduplicating stereotypes that have a history going back to the Middle Ages.¹⁴

¹³ See Lars Dencik, "Antisemitisms in the Twenty-First Century: Sweden and Denmark as Fore-runners?" in *Antisemitism in the North: History and State of Research*, ed. Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, *Religious Minorities in the North: History, Politics, and Culture*, vol. 1 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 233–68.

¹⁴ The examples are discussed more fully in Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, "A Rational Model for Blood Libel: The *Aftonbladet* Affair," in *The Medieval Roots of Antisemitism*, ed. Adams and Heß, 265–84; Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, "Rationaliserade ritualmord: religiösa

In fact, the phenomenon of “antisemitism without antisemites,” in other words antisemitic sentiments and antisemitic expression by people who do not consider themselves antisemites and who deplore (what they understand to be) antisemitism, is growing ever more common. Thus, by reflecting on the past, seeking comparisons and analogies, and identifying differences, the reader will be better placed to answer the question of the relevance of the representation of Jews in the past for today, to understand how certain images of Jews encountered nowadays were created by Christian thinkers in the Middle Ages, to see how these images have persisted, evolved, and been reinterpreted, and more generally, to appreciate how words and images written and painted in the Middle Ages created structures and ways of thinking that have persisted until today.



Figure 12.1: An advertisement for the musical *Oliver!* in Copenhagen (2020), depicting Fagin with facial features associated with historical antisemitic tropes. Detail from author’s own photo.

antisemitiska stereotyper och debatten omkring *Aftonbladet* 2009,” in *Studier om rasism: Tvärvetenskapliga perspektiv på ras, vithet och diskriminering*, ed. Tobias Hübinette and Andréaz Wasnio-wski (Malmö: Arx, 2018), 51–67; Jonathan Adams, “‘Untilled Field’ or ‘Barren Terrain’? Researching the Portrayal of Jews in Medieval Denmark and Sweden,” in *Antisemitism in the North*, ed. Adams and Heß, 37–39.

Texts

1 A Jew Converts and Speaks to his Sons from Heaven

Headnotes

Source: A LSB T 181, pp. 57:8–59:23 (late fifteenth century).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: ~

Edition: A SMP V 43–45.

Edition (A LSB T 181)

- The fyærdhe ok ytirsta wars herre tilquembd /
mænmiskionne til gagn ok hugnadh / Hic est in celo tet
3 ær j then tiidh han mœthir enne gode *crisne* syæl j *hymerike* /
som *thet* haffuir fortiaenth / ok *tet* ær the tilquembdh /
som wi daglika bidhiom ok yskiom / Pater noster Adueniat
6 regnum tuum tilkomit ware thit rike / haar *thetta*
rikit vil fortyæna *medh* gudhi / han skal ekki offmykit
ælzska *thetta* fafængelika rikit / som ær jorderike
9 Swa *swarade* war herra *sancte* pædare / Centuplum accipietis
et vitam eternam possidebitis ffore the litzla wærlzlika
æro ok rikedoma / som j offuigaffuin fore myna skuldh /
12 skulin j haffua hundradafaall løn j *hymerike* / ok ther
til eth æwærdelikit liff / *Thennyn* ordhin *predicade* en
helaghir biscopir j *synne* domkirkio / fore *almoghanum* J
15 blandh flere / war ther en staddir rikir hedhin *jude* /
en stoor okirkarl / tha han hørde biscopin swa sighthia /
ath hwar som sith gooz ællir pæningha giffuir fore gudhz
18 skuldh / ok sina rikedoma offuigaffue / fore gudhz
skuldh / han skulle faa hundradha faal løøn ok lyka
/ ther fore j *hymerike* / *Thenne* sami judhin tænkthe *medh* sik
21 *Thetta* ær en biscopir ok stoor herre ok mærkelikin man
som *thenna* ordhin *sighir* / jak troor ath han vil ekki
seghia oreth / ok *thet* ware mik til enne store baathan

5 som wi] som A.

- 24 ok stoorth okir / ath iak finghe swa mykit fore litit
/ ok swa stoorth okir oppa faa pæninga / **Ther medh** gik
han til biscopin ok sagde swa / **Herre** thu est swa man
- 27 / ath thu vilth inthe thet seghia som oskælikith oc
omøghelikit ær / ok inghom nokot loffua vtan
thu vilt thet halla ok fulkompna / gør mik wisso fore
- 30 thema ordhin som thu sagde / ath iak maa faa
hundradha faal j ghen j hymerike / **ffore** mith gooz
som iak offuirgiffuir hær j iorderike / **Tha** sagde
- 33 biscopin iaa visselika vil iak loffua tik / thet om
thu vilt gøra æptir myno radhe / lath tik døpa
ok tak vidh the helgho thro / ok giff jgen thet
- 36 thu medh okir haffuir fanghit / **ok** thet andra giff jj
gudhz hedhir klostre ok kirkio / ok fatigho folke
/ thet skalt thu alt fynna hundradha faalth fore
- 39 tik j hymerike / **Thenne** judhin giordhe alt æptir
biscopsins radhe / ok ey longh æptir bleff han dødhir
/ **Nw** ther æptir komo twe judhans synir aff enom andrum
- 42 kørpstaadh / ok villo ærfua sin fadhír / tha funno
the æptir honum hwaske gooz ællir pæningha / vthan han
thet alt æptir biscopsins radhe haffde thet alt giffuit / j
- 45 gudhz nampn ok sænth fram fore sik til hymerikis / **The**
twe judhans synir / gingho til biscopin ok taladho til
honum medh hardhom ordhom / ok sagdho ath han haffde
- 48 thera fadhír illa forradhith / ok them thera fædhirne
fortakith / tha gik biscopin til graffwinna medh
them ther nidhin thera fadhír war jordadir / ok mana
- 51 dhe han ok badh han opstaa ok seghia / j hwat stad
gha han ware / **Then** dødhe sattis op j graffuinne / ok
sagdhe Mini kære synir takkin gudhi / ath thenne
- 54 godhe biscopin mik kom fran dyæffwolenom /
ok heluitheno / **Annars** haffde iak fore myna vantro
warith æuærdelica fordømpdhir / **Jak** kennis mik ey ath
- 57 enasth haffua fanghit hundradhafaal løn / vthan
hellír thusandhafaal løn / fore alt thet iak offuir gaff /
fore gudhz skuldh / her j jorderike / **Thenne** hans

33 iaa] ia[->a] A; visselika] vsselika A. 46 gingho] Possibly gingha A. 49 til] til [them] A.

- 60 *sønir ok manghe flere iudha / toko vidh cristin dom*
ok døpilsē / tyæntho warum herra offuir gaffuo alt thet
the haffdho orættelika okrath ok fanghit / ok
- 63 *wordho gudhz vinir mædhan the liffdho / ok framdelis*
til syælinna j hymerike / Thet sama vnne oss allom gud
fadhīr ok son ok then helghe andhe Amen

Translation

The fourth and final thing concerning Our Lord's advent for the benefit and consolation of people: *Hic est in caelo*.¹ That is at the time when he meets a good Christian soul in heaven that has earned it. And that is the advent that we pray and wish for daily: *Pater noster. Adveniat regnum tuum*.² 'Thy kingdom come.' Whoever wants to serve with God, he must not love this vain world, that is the earth, too much. Then Our Lord answered St Peter, *Centuplum accipietis, et vitam eternam possidebitis*.³ [Matthew 19:29] 'For the little worldly honour and wealth, that you have given up for my sake, you will receive a hundredfold reward in heaven, and in addition an eternal life.'

A holy bishop preached these words in his cathedral to the common people. Standing among them was a rich, pagan Jew, a great usurer. When he heard the bishop say that whoever gives up his possessions or money and his wealth for the sake of God, he will receive a hundredfold reward for it in heaven, this same Jew thought to himself, "This is a bishop and a great lord and an outstanding man, who is saying these words. I think that he would not say anything incorrect, and it would be a great profit and a great rate of interest for me, were I to receive so much for so little, and such a great return on so little money." With that he went to the bishop and said thus, "Lord, you are such a man that you would not say anything that is unreasonable and impossible, and not promise anyone anything unless you will keep it and carry it through. Make me certain about the words that you said: that I can receive a hundredfold return in heaven for the possessions that I give up here on earth." Then the bishop said, "Yes, certainly I will promise you this, if you will follow my counsel. Have yourself baptized and accept the holy faith! And return what you have received through usury and give the rest to the

63 *framdelis*] *famdelis A*.

1 'This is in heaven.'

2 'Our Father. Thy kingdom come.'

3 '[You] shall receive an hundredfold, and shall possess life everlasting.'

monastery and the church and poor people in God's honour! This you must do to find a hundredfold [return] for yourself in heaven." This Jew did everything in accordance with the bishop's counsel, and not long afterwards he died.

Now after this, two of the Jew's sons arrived from another town and wanted to inherit from their father. Then they found neither possessions nor money left behind by him, but he had given everything away in accordance with the bishop's counsel in the name of God and sent it ahead of himself to heaven. The Jew's two sons went to the bishop and spoke to him with stern words and said that he had advised their father poorly and taken their father's inheritance from them. Then the bishop went with them to the grave where their father was buried below, and he ordered and commanded him to rise and say in what state he was. The dead man sat up in his grave and said, "My dear sons! Thanks to God that this good bishop took me from the devil and hell. Otherwise, I would have been damned for eternity for my unbelief. I swear that I have not just received a hundredfold reward but rather a thousandfold for everything that I gave up for God's sake here on earth." His sons and many more Jews accepted the Christian faith and baptism, served Our Lord, gave up all that they had unjustly received through usury, and became friends of God for as long as they lived and until their souls [were] in heaven. May God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit give this to us all. Amen.

2 A Jew Predicts St Basil's Death

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, f. 117r5–11 (1400–50).
Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, p. 333:17–26 (1450–70).
Original text: Cf. *LegAur* 186–87.
Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 605; *FsvLeg* PAW III 276–77.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

Joseph iudhe viis lækare sagh basilij siukdom oc sagdhe ¶ J dagh mon sool
sæthias
medh solinne oc mente ther medh · at han munde dø tha solin sættis ¶ Basilius
swa-
3 radhe hwat en iak lifuir morghon en vm messo thima ¶ Joseph swaradhe iak
mon tha dø en thu lifuir ther til ¶ Basilius swaradhe thu skalt dø j wantronne
ok lifua j cristne thro ¶ Joseph bant sik wndi at warda cristin en han lifdhe
6 ifwi the nath til mæssso · basilius dø om morghonen sama tima · Ok joseph
døptis til cristin
dom ¶ Hans dagher komber sancti pauli apton som heter conuersio :—

Translation

Joseph the Jew, a learned doctor, saw Basil's illness and said, "Today the sun will set with the sun," and meant by this, that [Basil] would die when the sun set. Basil answered, "What if I am still alive tomorrow at the time for mass?" Joseph answered, "Then I shall die, if you live until then." Basil answered, "You shall die in disbelief and live in the Christian faith." Joseph pledged to become a Christian if [Basil] lived through the night until mass. Basil died the next morning at the given

1 sagh ... sagdhe ¶] {sagh basilij siukdom oc \sagdhe/ ¶} B, sagde basilio siwkom C. 2 mente] [thydde > mente] B, thydde C. 3 hwat] hwath [han] C; morghon ... vm] æn om morghon \om/ C. 6 om morghonen] [til > om] \morghonen/ B, til C; til cristindom] \til/ cristindom C.

hour and Joseph was baptized into Christianity. His day is on the eve of St Paul's [feast] called *conversio* [The Feast of the Conversion of St Paul].¹

Latin version: *Legenda aurea* [The Golden Legend]

Source: *LegAur* 186–87.

Translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 1, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 112–13.

Ante autem quam uir dei migraret a corpore, positus in infirmitate qua et mortuus est, quendam Iudeum nomine Ioseph medicinali arte ualde peritum, quem uir dei plurimum diligebat eo quod se illum conuersurum ad fidem preuidebat, ad se quasi eius opera indigeret uocauit. Ille uero eius pulsum tangens et ex tactu mortem in ianuis esse cognoscens, dixit familie: “Que ad sepulturam sunt necessaria preparate quia continuo morietur.” Quod Basilius audiens dixit ei: “Nescis quid dicas.” Cui Ioseph: “Crede domine quia sol sum sole occidet hodie, id est tu cum sole occides hodie.” Cui dixit Basilius: “Quid dices si moriar hodie?” Cui Ioseph: “Non est possibile, domine.” Et Basilius: “Et si in crastinum usque ad horam sextam superuixerero, quid facies?” Et Ioseph: “Si usque ad illam superuixeris horam, utique ego moriar.” Et Basilius: “Etiam moriaris peccato, uiuas autem Christo.” Et ille: “Scio quid dicis et si usque ad illam superuixeris faciam quod hortaris.” Tunc beatus Basilius, licet secundum naturam illico moriturus esset, a domino tamen mortis inducias impetrauit et usque crastinum in horam nonam uixit. Quod Ioseph uidens et stupens in Christum credidit. Basilius autem uirtute animi imbecillitatem corporis superans de cubiculo suo surrexit et ecclesiam ingrediens eum suis propriis manibus baptizauit, postea uero ad lectulum suum rediit et statim spiritum deo feliciter reddidit. Floruit circa annos domini CCCLXX.

¹ Something is awry here: the Feast of the Conversion of St Paul is on 25 January and the Feast Day of St Basil is on 2 January.

3 A Pregnant Jewish Woman's Father Converts

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 110, f. 112r13–v5 (c. 1385).
Parallel texts: ~
Original text: ~
Edition: A Kläs 112–13 (no. 167).

Edition (A SKB A 110)

EN kristen leghoswen bleff *medh* enom judha
ok affladhe barn *medh* hans dottor Judhin
3 awitadhe hona at hon war *medh* barn · hon ne-
kadhe Judhin spurdhe diæfwlen hwat sant
war Diæfwlen sagdhe at hon war *medh* barn
6 ffadherin awitadhe hona meer ok hon neka-
dhe Swenin *scriptadhe* sik ok rædh hæmme ta-
ka døpils ok gøra samuledh oc sagdhe hona
9 wilia taka sik til hustru / Hon nekadhe al-
stingx Judhin kalladhe annantidh diæfwlen
ok spordhe hwa barnit atte *medh* hans dottor
12 Diæfwlen sagdhe jak wet *thet* ey Æn jgar
wiste iak *thet* wæl Judhin sagdhe / hwi ·
west thu ey *thet* nu · han swaradhe Thy at man-
15 nin *scriptadhe* sik judhin sagde hawer *scriptama-*
lin swa stora makt han swaradhe Swa hawa
the sannelika Judhin tok døpils *medh* allo sino
18 folke

Translation

There was a Christian hireling [working] in the home of a Jew and he sired a child with his [i. e., the Jew's] daughter. The Jew reproached her for being with child. She denied [it]. The Jew asked the devil what was true. The devil said that she was with child. The father reproached her, and she denied [it]. The servant went to confession and advised her [i. e., the daughter] to receive baptism and do the

same thing [i. e., confess], and said to her that he would take her as his wife. She refused everything. The Jew summoned the devil a second time and asked who was having a child with his daughter. The devil said, "I do not know. But yesterday I knew very well." The Jew said, "Why do you not know this now?" He answered, "Because the man has gone to confession." The Jew said, "Does confession have such great power?" He answered, "It truly does have." The Jew received baptism with all his people [i. e., presumably those in his service and home].

4 A Sermon for Good Friday

Headnotes

Source: A *AlleEpocEu*, ff. 115v1–125r17 [cix.v–cxix.r] (1515).
Parallel texts: B *AlleEpocEu* (1518), ff. xcix.r23–cvii.v18.
Original text: ~
Edition: A *ChrPed Skr I* 341–70.

Edition (*A Alle Epistler oc Euangelia... [1515]*)

Uor herriss pinelse paa longe fredag

Euangelium Iohannis xviii capitulum Egressus est Ihesus

3 **H**Er effter følger Uor herriss ihesu cristi hel-
lige pine Som den verdige apostel oc euan-
gelista Sanctus Iohannes screff oc ston-
6 der hwn i hanss xviii capittell Och lyder
saa paa danske

DEr vor herre Ihesus cristus hag-
9 de giort sin nadwere sker torssdag
at afften met sine apostle da gick
han aff Iherusalem offuer en aa som løber
12 mellem staden och oliueti biergh borth i en
vrte gaard *met* sine apostle Iudas den slem-
me forrædere som hannem forradde viste vell hwor samme vrtegaard laa Thii at
15 ihesus hagde tiit gonged did før *met* sine disciple Der denne fortwilede Iudas
anammed hagde pilati tienere til sig Oc siden en stor hob aff iøde Høffdinge-
ness bisperness oc phariseerness swene till meth Da gick han *met* dem till
samme
18 vrtegaard *met* løcther oc blwss vaaben oc verge Men Ihesus viste wel alt det
som hannem skwlde offuer gonge till hanss hellige død oc pine Thii gick han
fram mod dem oc sagde hwem lede i effter De swarede Uii lede effter ihesum
21 nazarenum Ihesus sagde det er ieg Iudas som hannem forraad hagde stod i
blant dem Der Ihesus sagde Det er ieg Da ginge de till bage oc fiølge bag-
lengiss till iorden Der de vaare opstondne Da taledede wor herre till dem igen
24 oc sagde Hwem lede i effter De suarede wii lede effter ihesum nazarenum Ihe-

sus swarede Ieg sagde eder at det er ieg Er det saa ati lede effter mig oc ville
 gribe mig Da lader mine disciple gonge deriss ferd vbehindrede (det skede at
 27 de ord fuldkommiss skulde som ihesus tilforn sagt hagde til gud fader Ieg for-
 tabede ingen aff dem som dw mig antworde) Sancte Pæder hagde en stor kniff
 hoss sig (som han pleyde at hwesse stage *met* naar han ophengde sine garn at
 30 tørre) Den drog han vd Och høg det høg्रे øre aff bispenss swend som hed
 malchus Ihesus sagde til Sancte Peder stik din kniff i balgen igen Vilt du
 icke at ieg lide skall den sware pine som min hiemmeliske fader haffuer skicked
 33 oc forsynet at ieg taale skall Denne store skare som vdsant vaar at gribe han-
 nem oc iøde høffdingerniss tienere de grebe ihesum vmildelige oc bwnde han-
 nem haardelige oc ledde hannem saa ind i staden først for en høffding som hed
 36 Annas oc vor Chaiphe hwstrwess fader oc biscop det samme aar denne Chai-
 phas han gaff iøderne det raad at de skulde i hiel sla ihesum Saa sigendiss
 Det er nytteligt at et menniske dør for almuenss gaffn oc salighed at al almuen
 39 ey forfariss skal Sancte Pæder fwldde effter ihesum blant almwen oc den an-
 den discipell (Det wor Sancte Hanss ewangelista han vilde icke neffne sit
 naffn i denne leest och pass thii han screff hende selff han siger framdeliss om
 42 sig selff Denne discipell vor kend met denne samme iøde høffding som hed An-
 nas for han bar hannem offte fiske som hanss fader som wor en fiskere sende
 hannem) thii kom hand ind met Ihesu cristo i samme bispess forstwe blant de
 an-
 45 dre Men Sancte Peder bleff til bage skwden oc wdelwcther Thi gick Sancte
 Hanss vdh igen oc taledede met pigen som tog vare paa dørren at hun lod Sancte
 Peder ind Da sagde samme pige til hannem est du icke en aff hanss disciple som
 48 nw leddiss her ind bwnden Sancte Peder swarede. ney er ieg icke Swenene
 oc tienerne stode hoss ilden oc vermede dem thii det vor stor frost oc kwld
 Sancte
 Peder stod i blant dem oc vermede sig Saa taledede Annas til ihesum oc spwr-
 51 de om hanss disciple oc hwad hand hagde predicked och lærd Ihesus swarede
 hannem Ieg taledede altiid obenbare i verden oc predickedede obenbare i iøde tem-
 plen der som alle plege at komme till hobe oc saffness Oc ieg haffuer inthet talet
 54 predicked eller lærd i lønlige eller hemmelige stæder Huad gørss det fordi behoff
 at du spørger mig der at Spør dem der ath som haffue hørt mine ord oc ler-
 dom De vide vell huad ieg sagt haffuer Der wor herre dette hagde sagt Da
 57 slog en aff bispenss swene hannem haardelige ved sit øge oc sagde Skalt dw
 saa hoffmodige sware bispem (Sanctus Bernardus siger at han slo hannem
 saa suarlige at helwede bewede ved den kindhest) Ihesus sagde till den han-
 60 nem slo Haffuer ieg talet løgn eller wsandingen da moth du vidne mod mig
 Haffuer ieg sagt sendingen hwi slar du mig Saa sende Annas ihesum bun-
 den till Chaipham som vor biscop det aar oc det vor aarle om morgenen strax

- 63 effter mid nath thi de reddiss for almwen Sancte Peder stod en da hoss ilden
oc vermede sig thii sagde swene til hannem Est dw icke en aff hanss disciple
Han swarede der till och sagde ney Da sagde en aff bispenss swene som wor
- 66 hanss frende der han høg før øred aff Saa ieg dig icke vdi vrtegaarden met
hannem Sancte Peder sagde da ney igen tredie gong oc saa gooll hanen strax
Siden ledde de ihesum fra Chaiphe hwss till palatzeth eller raadhwseth som
- 69 blodige domme oc sager pleydiss at handteriss Vdi huilked Pilatus vor Men
iøderne vilde icke gonge ind i samme hwss at de besmyttest skulde aff hanss
blodi
ge dom. fordi de vilde vere rene oc bequemme til at æde deriss paaske brød
effter
- 72 iøde lowen Thii gick Pilatus ned till dem aff samme palatz oc sagde Hwad
klage oc kere maall haffue i mod denne mand De swarede hannem oc sagde
Uaare han icke en vdedisk menniske da hagde wii icke leedet hannem till
- 75 dig Pilatus suarede Tager hannem selffue oc dømer hannem effter etherss egen
log iøderne suarede Det sømer oss icke nw at i hiel sla nogen eller at giffue no-
gen blodig dom offuer nogen (Dette skede at vor herriss ord fuldkommiss skul-
- 78 de som han sagde sine disciple tilforn der han vnderwisde dem hwad død han
taale skulde oc aff hwem) Thii gick Pilatus ind i raadhwset igen oc kalle-
de ihesum for sig oc sagde Est du iøde konge Ihesus swarede Siger du dette
- 81 aff dig selff eller haffue andre sagt dig det om mig Pilatus suarede icke er ieg
ingen iøde och ey helder fød aff deriss slect Dith eget folk och dine bisper och
høffdinge antworde dig i mine hender Hwat haffuer du giort Eller hwad er
- 84 din sag Ihesus swarede Mit rige det er icke aff denne verden vaare mit rige
aff denne verden da stridde mine tienere for mig at ieg ey komme i iøderness
wold
oc mact Nu er icke mit rige paa denne verdenss vegne Pilatus sagde til hannem
- 87 Da est du alligewel konge men du haffuer rige Ihesus suarede Du siger ath
ieg er konge Ieg er fød for den skyld oc der for kom ieg hiid til verden ath ieg
skal sige sandingen oc bere videndiss byrd om hende Hwert menniske som kom-
- 90 med er aff sandhed oc regerer sig der effter det hører gerne mine ord Thii sag-
de Pilatus til hannem Hwad er sandhed Der han hagde det sagt da gick han
vd til iøderne oc sagde til dem Ieg kand ingen sag finde met denne mand som
- 93 i haffue antuordet mig Det er ederss sedwane at ieg skall giffue eder en fange
løss hwert aar mod ederss paaske høgtiid Ville i nw da vil ieg giffue eder iø-
de konge løss Iøderne robede alle strax oc sagde Uii ville icke haffue hannem
- 96 løss men giff oss barrabam qwit Den samme barrabas vor en gammild røffuere

67 hanen] hanem A, hannem B.

oc en obenbare skalk Saa lod Pilatus binde vor herre haardelige til en støtte
 oc hwstrwge hannem suarlige oc swenene gjorde en krone aff hwasse torne oc
 99 satte oc trøcte hende vmildelige paa hanss bare hoffuiit Oc swøbte hannem i et
 gammilt purpur klede saa ginge de til hannem oc sagde met spot oc spe Hil vere
 du
 iøde konge oc der vdoffuer sloge de hannem store kindheste Siden gik pilatus
 102 vd igen till iøderne oc sagde Ieg vill lede eder den mand vdh igen ath i vide
 skulle at ieg kan ingen sag finde met hannem en dog ath ieg haffuer ladet pint
 hustruget oc kroned hannem oc randsaget hannem met mange spørss maall Da
 105 gick Ihesus vd faar iøderne gandske vbarmhertelige hwstrwgen och bar den
 huasse torne krone paa sit hoffuit oc et gammelt purpur klæde paa kroppen Da
 sagde Pilatus til iøderne Seer dette menniske Som han vilde sige Eder bør
 108 nw at øncke offuer hannem oc lade eder nøge met den pine han nw haffuer told
 oc icke mere begære hanss død for ingen sag Der iøde bisperne oc deriss vnder-
 saatte hannem saage Da robede de alle suarlige och sagde kaarss feste. Kaarss
 111 feste hannem pilatus suarede dem. tager hannem selffue oc korss fester hannem
 Ieg fin-
 der ingen sag paa hannem Iøderne suarede wii haffue screffuen low oc han skal
 dø efter lowen Thii han gjorde sig till gw dz søn aff hiemmelen Der pilatus
 114 hørde disse ord Da begynthe han storlige at rædiss. Her offuer sige doctores at
 han icke reddiss for iøderness low thii han vor inthet plectig vnder hende Men
 han begynthe at frøcte effter iøderniss ord at han skulle vere gw dz søn Oc at
 117 han hagde saa ladet hustruget oc kroned hannem Saa gick han ind i raad-
 huset igen met hannem oc sagde til ihesum hweden est du kommen Som han vil-
 de sige Hwad holder est du kommen aff guddommen eller du est et pwrt
 menniske
 120 al eniste Ihesus swarede hannem inthet her paa Thi sagde pilatus til hannem
 Hwi swarer du mig icke Vist du icke at ieg haffuer mact til at korss feste dig
 oc ieg haffuer oc mact at lade dig løss om ieg vil Ihesus suarede hannem Dw
 123 hagde ingen mact aff dig selff offuer mig vden hwn vaare dig giffuen aff dem
 som mectigere ere en dw est. Fordi haffue de diss mere synd som haffue
 antuordet
 mig dig i hender for awendz skyld Her effter vilde pilatus gerne hafft aarsa-
 126 ge oc lempe til at giffue hannem løss fra iøderne thi han fornham hanss wskyl-
 dighed oc besindede at han icke kwnde døme hannem till døde for vden stor
 synd Da iøderne det fornwmme Da robede de alle oc sagde Lader dw han-
 129 nem løss Da est dw icke keyserenss veen eller tro tienere Du vist vell at hwo
 sig kalder konge her i blant oss iøder Han siger mod keyseren i rom Der pila-
 tus hørde disse ord Da ledde han ihesum aff raadhuset oc sette sig for en dom-
 132 stoll som bygder vor aff sten oc kallediss paa gredske lycostratos oc paa hebrais-

ke gabatha Dette wor om longe fredag at morgen som wor iøderness paaske
 afften Da sagde Pilatus till iøderne Seer ederss konge De robede oc sagde
 135 Tag borten Tag borten Oc korss feste hannem Pilatus swared Skall ieg
 korss feste ederss konge Iøde bisperne suarede Uii kende oss ingen anden kon-
 ge at haffue en keyseren aff rom Saa gaff Pilatus dom offuer hannem at han
 138 skulde korss festiss Thii toge de ihesum oc lagde det suare korss paa hanss skul-
 drer som han skulde henge paa oc han bar det vd aff Iherusalem till caluarie
 bierg som han skulde korss festiss paa Samme bierg kallediss paa hebraiske
 141 Golgotha thii røffuere oc skalke pleydiss der at korss festiss oc affliwess Der
 korss feste de ihesum oc to røffuere met hannem en hoss hwer hanss side Pila-
 tus screff en titell oc sette offuer hanss hoffuit saa lydendiss Ihesus nazareus
 144 iøde konge Denne titel lessde mange aff iøderne Thi at det bierg som han vor
 korss
 fest paa det laa hart hoss staden. samme titel vor screffuen paa trende honde
 twnge-
 maal som vor hebraiske grekiske oc latine at huer man hannem forstonde skulde
 147 Da sagde iøde bisperne til pilatum Scriff icke at han er iøde konge. men scriff at
 han sagde Ieg er iøde konge pilatus suarede Det ieg haffuer screffuit Det skal
 bliffue screffuit Der vaare iiii serdeliss swene som korss feste ihesum der de det
 150 fulkommed hagde da toge de hanss klæder oc skiffte dem i iiii parter saa hwer
 swend fick syn part Men wor herre hagde en kiortell som wor knøtter eller
 bwnden oc wsyd han vor heell offuer alt saa der wor ingen søm paa hannem
 153 Thii sagde de til hwer anden Uii ville icke skære denne kiortel sønder Men
 wii ville doble om hannem hwo hannem haffue skall (dette skede at scrifften
 fuldkommiss skwlde Thii at Profeten hagde tilforn spaad her om saa sigen-
 156 diss De skiffte mine kleder blant dem Och swenene doblede om myn kiortell
 iomfru maria ihesu moder oc henniss søster maria cleophe oc sancta maria mag-
 delena stode hoss kaarsset Der vor herre saa sin moder oc den discipel som han
 159 meget elste (det vor sancte Hanss ewangeliste) Da sagde han til sin moder Quinde
 se din søn (som han vilde sige sancte hanss skal nw vere dig her effter i min sted
 til hielp oc trøst som ieg vor Siden sagde han till sancte Hanss see din moder
 (som
 162 han vilde sige ieg befaler dig hende at du skalt vere hende till hielp oc tieniste
 ehwad maade du kant) fra den tid tog Sancte Hanss hende i sin befallning
 oc tiente hende ydmygelige Der ihesus dette hagde sagt At all ting fuldkom-
 165 mess skwlde som screffuit wor om hanss pine som han lide skwlde Da stod
 der en føge ting igen som fuldkommiss skwlde før han døde som Profeterne

147 kongel] koge A, konge B.

screuit hagde Thii sagde han mig tøster Der vor et kar *met* ædike til stede thi
 168 toge de en swomp (som læge plæge at brwge) oc døppede hannem i edicken som
 blendet vor *met* isop Oc hwille hannem op paa stage till hanss mwnd Der
 han hagde drucked der aff Da sagde hand Al ting er nw fuldkommen (som han
 171 vilde sige nw haffuer ieg igen løssd menniskiens køn fra dieffuelen oc
 fuldkommet
 alt det *profeterne* hagde spaadt om mig) Saa bøyde han sit hoffuit ned oc vd-
 gaff sin siell (Pater noster) Effter di at der vor paa deriss paaske afften oc at
 174 deriss kroppe ey henge skulde paa korsene deriss paaske dag i deriss alder stør-
 ste høgtiid Thi baade Iøderne *pilatum* at deriss kroppe motte sønder huggiss
 at de strax dø skulde oc neder tagess aff korsene Thii komme deriss suene igen
 177 oc høgge først den ene røffueriss ben sønder oc siden den andenss Der de
 komme
 til ihesum oc saage at han vor død da høgge de icke hanss been sønder Men en
 aff suenene stack hanss side op oc der vdrand baade blod oc vand. oc den
 180 som dette saa han bar vidende byrd her om oc hanss vidende det er sant Oc han
 vid at han siger sandingen ati det alle tro skulle (Det vor *Sancte* Hanss ewan-
 geliste som sagde disse ord men hand vilde icke neffne sit naffn Thii han selff
 183 screff denne hellige pass oc *ewangelium*) Dette skede at scrifften fuldkommiss
 skul-
 de som stonder Exodi xii saa sigendiss i skwlle ingen been hwgge sønder paa
 hannem Der siger oc en anden scrifft om hannem De skulle see den de stwng i
 186 gennem (det er paa den yderste dom naar han samme iøder dømme skal for hanss
 wskyldige død oc pine) Der dette vor skeet da gik Iosep aff arimathia som
 vor ihesu lønlige discipell for den fare han hagde for iøderne. til *pilatum* oc bad
 189 hannem at han motte neder tage ihesu legeme aff korsset Da tillod pilatus at
 han det gøre maatte Thii kom han oc neder tog det Der kom oc nicodemus
 som tilforn kom til vor herre om naten for iøderness fare skyld Oc bar *met* sig
 192 hundrede pwnd dyrebar smørelse som giord vaar aff mirre oc aloess træ Saa
 suøbte de hannem i lyn kleder *met* kaastelige vrther. som det er seduan blant
 iøder
 ne at iorde nogen Der vor en vrtegaard hart hoss som vor herre korss festet vor
 195 i hwilken der vor en nyy graff som ingen tilforn wor iordet vdi der lagde de
 ihesum i for hun vor der hart hoss oc de kwnde icke lenger beræ hannem om aff-
 tenen thii det vor hart mod naten oc deriss paaske høgtiid om morgenen. saa
 198 lyder denne hellige lest oc pass effter texten som sancti Hanss euangeliste screff
 etc.

184 In left-hand margin: Exodi xii A, exodi .xij. B.

Glosen oc vdydningen her paa

SAnctus Bonauentura som vor aff grabrødre orden siger oc
 201 raader alle cristne menniske at de skwlle inderlige offuertencke
 vor herriss ihesu cristi suare død oc pine fra første begyndelse oc
 til hanss verdige oc erefulde opstondelse oc der vdoffuer op løffte
 204 deriss hierte oc sind til gud i hiemmerige oc bede hannem ydmyge-
 lige at de begræde oc betencke mwe samme hanss pine ligerwiis
 som de nw neruerendiss hoss vaare oc saage hworlediss de hannem saa
 vbarmher-
 207 telige plawede oc pinte paa hanss alderhelligste wskyldelige legeme Oc at han
 samme død oc pine velwillige taale vilde for waare synder skyld oc der meth
 igenløse oss fra dieffuelen Textus Egressus est ihesus. Ihesus cristus vor
 210 gud oc frelsere gick aff iherusalem sker torsdag afften vd i en vrtegaard offuer
 en aa som løb mellem staden oc oliueti bierg oc taledede kerlige och ydmygelige
 paa vegn til sine apostle oc raadde dem at de skulde bede till gud fader i hiem-
 213 merige Han gik eth stenkast langt fra dem i samme vrtegaard op fald ydmyge-
 lige paa knæ oc bad til gud fader saa sigendiss O alder mectiste gud fader er
 det dyn vilge eller mweligt Da haff mig denne pine fordrag som ieg nw lide
 216 skall Men worde din vilge her vdi som dw vilt oc icke ieg Saa bad han oc
 anden gong oc tredie gong før han fick nogen swar igen oc sagde ydermere O
 retwiseste gud fader leg ved at dw offuer lagde tilforn at ieg skwlde igenløse
 219 menniskenss køn fra dieffuelen paa korsenss galie Lad det fordi bliffue effter
 din egen vilge Men ieg befaler dig min alderkeriste moder och mine discipler
 som ieg her till bewaret haffuer at du vilt beskerme dem her effter fra alt onth
 222 Men han saa bad da suettiss han blodige thaare offuer alt hanss lifff saa suar-
 lige ath de rwnde ned paa iorden aff hanss verdige ansict oc legeme Da kom
 Sancte Michild offuer engild til hannem oc sagde Hill vere dw myn gwd
 225 herre Ihesu criste Ieg opførde din bøn oc blodige swed for gwd fader i alt
 hiemmerigiss hersskaffuiss nerwerelse Och wii fwldde alle paa knæ bøydiss
 waare hoffuit ned mod iorden oc baade hannem ydmygelige at han vilde ta-
 228 ge den suare pine fra dig som dw lide skulde Han suarede oss Min eniste søn
 vid det væll ath menniskenss køn kand icke tilbørlige och rettelige igenløssiss
 vden met hanss blodiss vdgydelse pine oc død Uill hand at menniskenss siele
 231 frelsiss skwlde Da skall hand endelige dø Hwad tyckiss dig her vdi Ihesus
 swarede engelen oc sagde Ieg vill endelige at menniskenss siele frelsiss skwlle
 som han skapte effter sit eget ansict thii vduelger ieg at thaale død oc pine for

206–07 vbarmher-[telige] vbarm-[telige] A, vbarmher-[telige] B. 209 *In right-hand margin:*
 Textus A, B.

234 dem oc der met fult gøre min faderss vilge Engelen swarede Strid mandeli-
 ge oc stærkelige En megtig mand bør ath gøre mechtige gerninger Denne pine
 forgonger dig snarlige siden skalt dw haffue ewindeligh ære oc loff der faare
 237 Gwd fader siger at han altiitd vill være hoss dig at styrcke dig Oc han vill
 beware dyn moder oc disciple karske oc swnde som dw begærede at dem skall
 inthet skade Ihesus anammede denne hwgswalelse erlige oc ydmygelen aff sit
 240 eget creatur engelen som han selff skapt hagde Ihseus hagde tilforn straffet si-
 ne apostle ath de soffue oc icke wilde vaage oc bede en time met hannem at de
 icke skwlde falde i fristelse Nw kom han till dem igen och sagde soffuer nw
 243 oc tager eder rolighed till Thii soffue de en føge stwnd Men Ihesus vogede
 offuer dem som en god hyrde voger offuer syn hiord O huilken stor kerlighed
 bewisde ihesus dem paa den tiid at han wilde at de skulde soffue oc huile dem
 246 Men han wor i saa swar sorg oc drøuelse och swettiss blodig swed mod den
 suare pine han lide skulde paa mandommenss vegne Ihesus saa sine fiender oc
 w venner komme langt borte met voben oc verge Dog vacthe han icke sine dis-
 249 ciple før iøderne komme hart hoss hannem da sagde han til dem I haffue nock
 soff-
 uit Seer her kommer den som mig forrade skall Men han sagde disse ordh da
 kom iudas den alder slemmiste forrædere oc køste hannem Thii at ihesus pley-
 252 de altiitd at køsse sine apostle naar de komme til hannem igen effter han hagde
 sent dem nogensted fra sig der iudas hagde køst hannem da gick han till bage
 igen Som han wilde sige icke er ieg met dem som digh gribe ville Han hagde
 255 dog sagt iøderne tilforn ath de gribe skwlde den som han køste Siden gick
 han till bage igen till ihesum oc sagde Textus Aue rabi Hil vere du mestere
 Her skal hwer mercke huor kerlige oc ydmygelige ihesus tog denne slemme for-
 258 redere i fagn och køste hannem hwilken han lidet tilforn om afftenen bespiset
 hagde met sit hellige sacramente oc toeth hanss føder oc han nw saa vtacknem-
 melige oc skammelige forradde hannem i det han køste hannem Da sagde ihe-
 261 sus til iøderne Textus Quem queritis Hwem lede i effter De suarede eff-
 ter ihesum nazarenum Ihesus sagde Det er ieg Saa ginge de til bage oc fulde
 ned mod iorden Siden spwrde han dem atther igen hwem de lette effther de
 264 sagde effter ihesum nazarenum Han swarede Ieg sagde eder at det er ieg Lede i
 at mig da lader mine disciple gonge deriss vey I det høg Sancte peder det hø-
 gre øre aff den der løcten bar som hed malchus Saa fulde de vmilde iøder paa
 267 ihesum som grumme løffuer falde paa eth wskyldigt lom oc sloge droge och
 støtte hannem oc bwnde hanss hender paa hanss bag Oc et reff om hanss halss

256 *In left-hand margin:* textus A, Textus. B. 257 mercke] mircke A, mercke B; ydmygelige|
 ydmygelege A, ydmygelige B. 261 *In left-hand margin:* textus A, Textus. B.

oc lifff oc løbe oc slebede hannem effter dem mod staden gandske hastelige liger-
 270 wiss som det hagde vered den argiste forredere eller slemmiste røffuere och
 skalk

som der kwnde nogen sted vere paa iorden Ihesus vor barhoffuit oc barfötter
 Her scriffue *somme* doctores ath den tiid de *komme* till den aa som løber mellem
 273 staden oc oliueti bierg offuer huilken der laa en spong oc bro som de pleyde at
 gonge offuer paa naar det vor høyt vande Der slebede de vor herre vden faare
 i vandet paa de hwasse stene meth rebene som de hagde om hanss halss oc lifff
 276 Oc røcthe hannem om kwld i vandet en dog det vor icke swarlige dybt Der
 slebede de *hannem* bort oc igen till han vor saa gaat som halff død Siden led-
 de de *hannem* faar løde høffdingerne som vaare till hobe samblede oc bidde ath
 279 de igen *komme* skulde *met* hannem Der de saage ihesum da bleffue de glade
 som

en wlf der fanger i lom De hagde strax falske vidende mod hannem som robte
 oc skrege paa hannem oc spøtte hannem i hanss hellige ansict De bwnde et klæ-
 282 de for hanss øgen oc sloge hannem mellem hanss herder oc paa hanss halss och
 sagde Geed til hwo dig slo *met* mange andre slemme bespottelige ord huilke han
 alle talmodige led Da ginge de ypperste iøder bort oc lode hannem sette i eth
 285 fengzell som vor i en keldere oc lode binde hannem der til en sten pillere oc
 befole

nogre obenbare bewebnede skalke at bliffue hoss hannem oc tage hannem vell
 va-

re ath han engelediss vndkomme skulde Hwilke skalke som gjorde hannem der
 288 hemmelig pine som han icke obenbare will før paa den strenge domme dag Dess
 offuer gick Sancte Hanss till iomfru marie *som* vor i sancte marie magdalene
 hwss Oc sagde hworlediss det hagde sig meth henniss keriste søn Thii græd
 291 hwn gandske beskelige oc de andre marier met henne thii de visselige trode at
 iøderne hagde strax slaget hannem i hiell Saa gick Iomfru marie offuer en
 side i hwsed oc bad ydmygelige till gud fader saa sigendiss O alder mildeste
 294 oc barmhertigste gwd fader i *hiemmerige* Ieg befaler dig din alder keriste eniste
 søn wer hannem mild oc icke formeget haard O euige gud fader lad icke min
 søn piness i hiell han haffuer inthet ont giort O retferdigste gud fader vilt du
 297 at *men*niskenss køn igenløsiss skal Da lad det ske formedelst et andet meddell
 Thii all ting er dig vel mwelig O alder helligste gwd fader er det mweligt
 oc dig behageligt da lad hannem icke dø Men frelst hannem aff de vmilde iø-
 300 derss hender oc lad mig fonge hannem igen Han er dig saa hørig oc lydig ath
 han ingelediss hielper sig self fra dem Men han lader sig sla oc drage aff dem

ligerwiss som han vaare plat vansmectig oc mact løss Hielp hannem fordi al-
 303 der keriste oc mectigste gud i denne hanss nød oc pine

AArlø om morgenen toge iøderne vor herre op aff kelderens igen
 oc ledde hannem fra en dommere och til en anden som der stonder
 306 clarlige i texten oc hworlediss Sancte Peder forswor hannem
 Siden bwnde de hanss hender saa haardelige paa hans ryg
 at der spranck blod aff hanss fingre oc negle De sagde till han-
 309 nem *met* alder største bespottelse kom nw dw slemme forrædere
 oc obenbare skalk Kom nw til domss i dag skalt du fonge en slem vdød faar
 dyn løgn oc skalkhed som dw far med Hwor er nw dyn visdom oc klogskaff
 312 som dw sagde dig at haffue Saa ledde oc droge de hannem til Pilatum han
 fulde vel villige met dem som et wskyldigt lom Der de *komme* paa vegn Daa
 møtte hanss moder Iomfru maria Sancte Hanss oc de andre marier hannem
 315 Da wor han saa ynckelige slagen oc bespøtten i hanss hellige ansict at hwn
 neppelige kiende hannem Her maa huer tencke huad sorg oc drøvelse der vor
 paa ferde Hwn oc de andre marier oc sancte hanss sørgede suarlige paa deriss
 318 side ihesus sørgede och swarlige paa sin side for dens store medynck han hag-
 de offuer sin moder Thii han viste at hwn saa suarlige sørgede at hwn wor
 moxen død Der de *komme* for Pilatum met hannem da gaffue de hannem man-
 321 ge sager en dog de kwnde icke offuer vinde hannem men ihesus swarede der
 inthet till Der pilatus kwnde ingen sag finde mod hannem som han kwnde
 døme hannem til døde faare Da sende han ihesum bwnden till Herodem der
 324 han hannem saa da bleff han glad thii han hagde meget hørt om hannem til-
 forn oc menthe at han skwlde giort nogre vnderlige iertegen for hannem Men
 ihesus vilde hwerken gøre iertegen oc ey helder tale et ord til hannem Thii
 327 holt herodes hannem for en geck oc en daare oc lod føre hannem i en hwid kior-
 tel till bespottelse oc spe oc sende hannem till bage igen til pilatum Her maa
 huer
 mercke at iøderne icke regnede hannem all eniste faar en røffuere oc skalk men
 330 oc faar en daare oc geck Ihesus led all denne forsmædelse och forhaanelse tol-
 modige oc lod sig lede oc drage bort oc igen oc sagde der inthet emod de skalke
 som hannem saa droge oc ledde de kaste sten oc vrenlighed aff rendestenen
 effter
 333 hanss verdige moder oc de andre marier oc Sancte hanss som ginge langt bag
 effter hannem ganske sorfulde at de ville seet oc videt huorlediss det skulde
 gon-

315 slagen] skagen A, B. 316 kiende] kwnde A, B.

ge hannem i hond Der de komme for pilatum igen met hannem Da begynte de
 336 fule iøder at kere oc klage paa hannem aff nyess Oc baade at han hannem dø-
 me skulde Thi hørde han hannem gandske strengelige offuer Oc de baare man-
 ge falske vidende mod hannem oc bleffue stadelige i deriss forbannede had och
 339 awind som de hagde till hannem oc vilde ingelediss lade hannem løss Der Pi-
 latus kunde ingen sag finde mod hannem da vilde han gerne giffuit hannem
 qwit oc frelst hannem aff iøderniss hender Thii sagde han til dem ieg kand in-
 342 gen sag finde paa hannem som ieg kand døme hannem faare thii vil ieg straffe
 oc reffse hannem om han haffuer noget forseet sig mod ether Oc lade hannem
 gonge sin vey Saa befull han sine tienere at de hannem hustruge skulde Thii
 345 at iøderne lode dem selffue vere for gode till at pine hannem mod deriss paaske
 høgtiid Fordi antworde de pilato hannem i hender at hand oc hanss tienere som
 hedninger skulle døme oc pine hannem till døde Pilati swene droge alle
 348 hanss kleder aff hannem oc bwnde hanss alder degligste oc puriste legeme sten
 stacked nøget till en støtte oc hustruge hannem met riss oc swøber som besatte
 vaare met bly klimpe fulde met iern pige saa greselige oc vbarmhertelige at der
 351 bleff inthet helt paa hanss hellige krop fra hanss top oc til hanss taa Hanss ver-
 dige blod strømede oc rand aff alle hanss lemmer ned paa iorden Der de slemme
 oc fwle bødele saa lenge hannem slaget hagde at de trette waare da spøtte de
 354 hannem i hanss deglige ansict oc sagde dw fwle forredere oc offuer giffne skalk
 skamme dig nw huer maa nw se din store mact som du sagde dig før at haffue
 Nu bleff den Prophecie fuldkommen som Esaias tilforn om hannem spaade si-
 357 gendiss Vii saage hannem oc hanss ansict kendiss icke wii regnede hannem for
 et spedalskt menniske som gud serdeliss plawed hagde Siden kom Pilatus oc
 bad dem løse hannem fra støtten Saa droge de hannem saa nøgen om hwset
 360 blant al almuen men de op lette hanss klæder igen som de hagde kast alle vegne
 om hwset hannem til forsmedelse Ihesus skalff oc bewede gandske suarlige thi
 det wor stor frost Alle hanss fodspor som han gick stodhe fwlde aff blod effter
 363 hannem Der han skulde føre sig i sine kleder da robte de fortwilede iøder igen
 oc sagde till Pilatum Herre han sagde sig at were konge lader føre hannem i
 kongelige kleder oc krone hannem som man pleger at gøre ved konger Saa
 369 toge de en gammell oc bruden rød silke kaabe oc kaste om hannem Oc sette han-
 nem paa en stoll oc trycte den hwasse torne krone paa hanss hellige hoffuit at
 tornene stwnge ind i hanss verdige hierne Siden finge de hannem et røer i sin
 372 hand for den kongelige spire hand haffue skulde Oc fwlde paa knæ mod han-
 nem till forsmedelse oc sagde Hil vere du iøde konge Ihesus leed all denne for-
 haanelse tolmodige oc suarede dem icke et ord men tagde aldeliss qwer som et

341 hannem] hanem A, hannem B. 356 In left-hand margin: Esaias A, Esaias. B.

- 375 wskyldigt lom O menniske betenck denne hanss sware pine han hagde der de
sloge *hannem* paa hanss torne krone (som stack ind i hanss hierne) met keppe
oc store valske røer aff huilke de *gøre sommestediss* blwss aff *met* oss hwert slag
378 de sloge paa hende det gald ind till hanss hierte Oc blodet rand saa swarlige
offuer hanss ansict oc øgen at ingen hannem kende kunde De bespottede han-
nem ligeruiss som han vilde vered konge offuer dem han led det taalige liger-
381 wiss som han hagde vered aldiss deriss dreng De *slemme* skalke lode dem icke
nøge at de hagde saa pinet oc bespottet hannem mellem dem indbyrdiss Men
de ledde hannem for pilatum at han skulde vise almwen *hannem* i saadan
maade
- 384 Saa lod han lede hannem vd for almwen oc sagde Seer dette menniske det
giorde han at de skulde yncked offuer hannem oc ladet *hannem* løss han sagde
oc til dem Ieg haffuer nw straffed *hannem* for det han brød eder emod oc ladet
387 *hannem* krone for han sagde at han vor konge lader *hannem* nw gonge sin vey
De robede alle mod *hannem* *met* høy røst sigendiss korss feste *hannem* korss
feste
- hannem* Oc loge spottelige mod ihesum aff ret awind Som de vilde sige Nu
390 mot du see oc vide at wii ere visere oc klogere en dw est nw haffue wii fonget
mact offuer dig du skalt icke nw vnd gonge O huilke *slemme* iøder de vilde
icke i *hukomme* de mange velgerninger som han hagde giort dem De vilde icke
393 helder acte eller betencke hanss store wskildighed De vilde icke helder lade dem
nøge met denne suare hustrwgelse oc kronelse som han hagde told for ingen sag
Men de fagede oc hastede effter hanss død at han endelige korss festiss skwlde
396 Pilatus lod lede ihesum igen i raadhuset oc tage den gamle røde silke oc pur-
pur kaabe aff *hannem* oc lod saa lede hannem nøgen vd igen for dem saa ync-
kelige saar oc blodig at de skulle ladet dem der met nøge Men de robede alle
399 *sammen* igen sigendiss Tag bort *hannem* Tag bort hannem oc korss feste han-
nem Siden saffnede ihesus sine egne kleder till hobe igen som spredde waare
om alt hwset oc stod der *met* stor blysel nøgen for dem oc førde sig i dem de pe-
402 gede alle fingre at *hannem* oc gjorde spaat oc spe aff hannem der han saa blo-
dig oc nøgen vor O huilke fortwilede oc offuergiffne skalke vaare *samme* iø-
der som da gleddiss till at bespotte *hannem* der han saa ynckelige hustrugen oc
405 kroned vaar at han beuede oc skalff aff vansmectilse oc kwld at han neppeli-
ge stonde kwnde Her skal huert menniske i *hukomme* denne vbarmhertelige oc
suare hustrugelse oc kronelse oc alder største forsmedelse oc bespottelse som
ihe-
- 408 sus vor gud oc skabere led for vor salighedz skyld oc tacke hannem ydmyge-
lige der faare Oc bede at han intrycke vill *samme* sin pine i vaare hierte at wii
hende idelige betencke mwe oss till hielp oc beskermelse mod alle synder oc
dieff-

411 uelenss fristelser Der pilatus engelediss frelse kwnde ihesum fra iøderne met
 forneffnde ord Da sagde han dem til haanhed Skal ieg korss feste ether kon-
 ge Textus Responderunt pontifices Bisperne suarede hannem oc sagde Uii
 414 haffue ingen konge vden keyseren Thi fryctede pilatus at de skulde kert han-
 nem for keyseren om han icke ville døme hannem Han vilde oc haffue venskaff
 met iøderne oc mente at de skulde giffue hannem store penninge fordi tode han
 417 sine hender oc sagde Ieg er wskyldig aff denne retuise mandz blod Iøderne ro-
 bede Hanss blod skal komme offuer oss oc vaare børn Det skede oc saa aff gudz
 heffn Thii de finge oc haffue alle blodsot saa lenge de leffue men verden ston-
 420 der Men de hagde icke trod at der skulde kommet saadan heffn der effter Saa
 gaff Pilatus blodig dom offuer hannem oc antworde iøderne hannem at de
 hannem korss feste skwlle

423 **OM** morgenen der klokken wor ved vi Da ledde de Ihesum
 aff raadhswet oc ii obenbare røffuere met hannem Saa hagde
 de giort et korss till hannem som wor xv føder langt som som-
 426 me Doctores scriffue Det lagde de paa hanss hellige axell at
 han selff det bære skulde til caluarie bierg som de pleyde at korss
 feste obenbare oc skalke røffuere paa at han bespottiss skulde aff
 429 huer mand paa vegn Oc at hanss legeme der met twingiss skwlde Dog fin-
 dess det ingenstedz i scrifften at røffuerne selffue baare deriss korss till samme
 bierg Men de regnede vor herre slemmere oc verre en obenbare røffuere Nu ful-
 432 kommediss den Prophecie som Esaias før om hannem screffuit hagde Non so-
 lum cum iniquis deputatus est sed vt iniquiorum iniquior etc. Ihesus wor icke
 al eniste regned blant skalke oc røffuere Men han vor regned slemmere oc verre
 435 en obenbare skalke ere Her skall huert menniske betencke oc stedze i hukomme
 denne vor herriss store tolmodighed at han selff velwillige bere vilde det suare
 korss en dog han vor saa vansmectig aff den suare hustrugelse oc kronelse for
 438 blodet vor hannem forløbet at han neppelige gonge kwnde thii gick han gans-
 ke kroget vnder det sware korss bøvendiss sit verdige hoffuit ned mod iorden
 De fule iøder lode oc henge to fiele neden paa hanss kiortel en mod hans skin-
 441 neben oc den anden bag om hanss legge Som vaare besatte met smaa huasse
 iern pige som en hegle At naar han tredde fram da stwnge oc sloge samme søm
 oc iern pige hannem i sine skinneben Naar han tredde till bage da stunge de
 444 andre iern pige hannem i hanss legge at alle hanss fodspor stode fulde aff blod
 effter hannem O huilken græselig pine gjorde de hannem der met de gjorde in-
 gen aff røffuerne saadan plawe Hanss benedide moder lomfru maria vilde

413 In right-hand margin: textus A, Textus. B. 432 In left-hand margin: Esaias A.

447 gerne talet met hannem men hwn kwnde icke komme till hannem for den store
 trong som vor i stredet som han skulde vd lediss thii alle saffnediss der at de han
 nem se vilde Thii gick hwn gandske hastelige met Sancte Hanss oc henniss
 450 søster vd aff en anden port at hwn hannem møde kwnde paa vegn Der hwn
 saa hannem bere det suare korss paa sine hellige skuldrer Oc at hanss hellige
 ansict vor saa blodigt oc bespøttet at hwn hannem neppelige kende kunde Da
 453 bleff hwn moxen død aff reth sorg Oc henniss hierte vor saa beklemd aff stor
 drøuelse at hwn icke kunde tale et ord till hannem Den hellige qwinde ve-
 ronica fick wor herre paa vegn et rent klede at han skwlle tørre blodet aff sit
 456 ansict oc øgen met han trycthe det till sit ansict Saa bleff hanss effterlignelse
 der paa oc holdiss en nw i rom i alder største ere oc verdighed Ihesus gik no-
 genstund fram ber Saa vende han sig om oc sagde til de quinder som fulde eff-
 459 ter hannem gredendiss aff Iherusalem for medynck skyld) Qwinder græder
 icke offuer mig Men græder offuer eder selffue Oc ederss børn Der han
 hagde gonget nogen stwnd fram beder Da styrte han wnder det hellige korss aff
 462 stor vansomtilse thii blodet forløb hannem gandske suarlige Der stonder nw en
 kircke paa samme sted och en anden der som han taledede till qwinderne Thii
 kand hwer mercke at det wor long vey fra staden vd till caluarie bierg Der
 465 Iøderne saage at han engelediss lenger kwnde bære korsset Da fryctede de at
 pilatus skwlde igenkalde sin dom thii de merckede vell tilforn ath han gerne
 ville frelst hanss lifff fra dem Thii nødde de en bonde till ath bere korsset meth
 468 hannem som hed Simon Sirineus De hagde reff och liner om Ihesu lifff och
 halss oc slebede hannem effter dem som en hwnd Somme støtte hannem i hanss
 side oc ryg met deriss voben och verge somme sloge hannem paa sit hoffuit som-
 471 me droge hannem i sit haar oc skeg och sagde Du slemme forredere gack frem
 Deth lacker fast paa dagen hwor lenge skulde wii her tøffue effter dig Saa
 gerige oc figende vaare de paa hanss død At de ingelediss ville vnde hannem
 474 at huile sig noget paa vegn Her skall huer offuer tencke huad pine de gjorde
 hannem i disse iii time oc tacke hannem ydmygelige for dem

DEr klocken vor ved ix kom vor herre op paa Caluarie bierg

477 met korsset Somme aff bødlene baare hamere oc tener Somme
 reff och liner ath vdstrecke Ihesum meth Somme naglene ath
 korss feste hannem met Somme naffre at bore korsset met Som-
 480 me styen och anden redskaff som der till skwlde Somme kaste
 klederne aff dem at de diss bedre kwnde røre dem Oc vere be-
 qwemme till ath bruge dem vmildelige mod Ihesum Somme groffue kwlen der
 483 korsset skulde stonde vdi Somme droge wor herre hastelige oc vbarmherteli-
 ge aff hanss kleder at alde hanss saar begynte at bløde paa nyess igen thii blo-
 deth wor størckned och tywrnt op till klederne De droge och den hwasse torne

486 krone aff hanss hoffuit i deth de droge klederne aff hannem Och sloge hende
 strax haardelige paa hanss hoffuit igen Ath hanss pine der met fornyess skul-
 de Der stod han nøgen och blodig hwer mand till spot och spe Och wor deth
 489 nw den tredie gong som de giorde hannem saa nøgen for al almwen Hanss
 hellige moder maria som swarlige bedrøffuit wor. saa hannem saa ynckelige
 nøgen och bloth ath han ey hagde eth neder klede Eller traadh paa alt hanss
 492 lifff da blwediss hende storlige der ved thii gick hwn till hannem och tog han-
 nem i sin fagn och bant sit hoffuit klede om hanss lender O hwor sorgfwd
 wor hanss benedide moder paa den tiid Doctores mene ath hwn icke kwnde
 495 tale eth ord till hannem for suar drøelse Hwn hagde gerne hwlped hannem
 mere om hwn hagde kundet Saa rwcthe bødlene hannem hastelige aff hen-
 niss hender Och kaste hannem swarlige ned paa korsset oc sloge saa en stom-
 498 ped iern nagle gennem hanss høgre hond op till korsset Siden bwnde de liner
 och reff om den venstre hanss hond och droge och streckede hende saa swarlige
 vd till det hwll de bored hagde till nafflen ath hanss adrer oc sener skildiss fra
 501 hwer andre i hanss arme oc bryst siden sloge de en stompet iern naffle gennem
 hende Saa bunde de reff oc liner om hanss føder oc streckede dem saa suarlige
 ned till det tredie hwl at senerne oc aarerne offuer alt hanss lifff skildiss at Oc
 504 feste saa baade føderne till korsset den ene offuer den anden *met* en stor
 stompet
 iern nagle Hwert det slag de sloge paa samme nagler det gald ind i Iomfrw
 mariess hierte Der de hagde saa fest hannem till korsset da opregdsde de deth
 507 *met* hanss verdige legeme Och lode det saa falde ned till iorden igen *met* reth
 foract at de der *met* hanss pine for øge skulde Siden reysdsde de korsset op igen
 oc skøde det saa haardelige ned i hwlen som det skulde stonde med hanss sua-
 510 re legeme At alle hanss *lemmer* skyldiss huer fra anden Saa kaste de stene been
 oc iord i hwlen om kaarsset at feste det *met* Han vor saa ynckelige vd rather
 paa korsset at huert menniske see oc telye motte alle hanss been oc ledemode
 det
 513 ene fra det andet Sanctus Bonauentura siger at de sette først korsset i iorden
 før de sloge vor herre der till Och de hagde iii styger den steckiste stige sette de
 mit op till korsset paa huilken Ihesus gick veluillige op saa høyt som benene
 516 festiss skulde fra iorden oc stod der stille Den anden stige sette de paa den hø-
 gre side til korsset Saa vdracthe Ihesus sin alder degligste høgre hond til bø-
 delen som hende vmildelige i gennem slo *met* en stor iern naffle Siden rachte
 519 han sin venstre hond til den anden bødel *som* stod paa den tredie stige han bant
 liner om hende oc streckede hende suarlige vd til han kunde sla naglen i
 gennem
 hanss hond ind i det hwl som der til boret waar der hun naade der till da slo
 522 han hende vbarhmertelige i gennem *met* en stor iern naffle Saa toge de stygen

fra hanss føder oc hanss sware legeme bleff hengendiss *met* henderne paa de ii
 naffle Saa bunde de liner oc reb om føderne oc streckede dem neder til det tre-
 525 die hwl och lagde den højre fod paa den venstre oc sloge saa en stor iern naffle
 gennem dem baade op til korsset Da saa Ihesus op i hiemmelen til gud fader oc
 sagde O hiemmeliske fader See at ieg nw haffuer ydmyget mig til døden effter
 528 din vilge for menniskenss salighedz skyld Ieg offer mig nw dig veluillige for
 dem bedendiss dig ydmygelige at du formedelst den kerlighet du haffuer til mig
 oc for denne min suare pine oc død at du vilt forbarme dig ofuer dem oc forlade
 531 dem deriss synder Effter thi at dw vilde ath de skulle alle vere mine brødre oc
 søster Anamme dette mit offer for dem tacknemmelige alder keriste fader Huad
 holder han bleff korsst festet men korsset laa paa iorden. eller siden det vor
 opreyssd
 534 det er alligemed doctores scriffue der *om* atskillelige thi at ewangelisterne scriffue
 icke hurlediss han vor korsst festet men sleet heen at han vor korsst festet. thi at
 det
 vor den slemmiste oc w erligste død som de paa den tid viste at sige aff De baare
 oc
 537 al den suariste pine oc plaue paa vor herre. *som* de alder mest oc slemmist
 optencke
 kunde Huilken han led tolmodige for vor salighedz skyld Han vor saa suarlige
 vdract oc fest *met* naglene at han ingen aff sine lemmer røre kwnde vden all
 540 eniste sit hoffuit Der hengde han alle for spot och spe paa iii store iern nagle
 mellem to obenbare røffuere Iøderne robede paa hannem *met* atskillige bespot-
 telser oc skendelige ord *Somme* sagde Skamme dig nw Oc twi vorde dig Du
 543 sagde ath dw vilde neder bryde templen oc op bygge hannem igen paa tredie
 dag *Somme* sagde han frelste andre Oc han kand icke nw frelse sig selff meth
 mange andre haanlige oc slemme ord. men Høffdingerne oc presterne de robe-
 546 de paa hannem saa sigendiss Est du gwdz søn da stig ned aff korsset igen da
 ville wii tro paa dig Det vor icke deriss alwere de sagde Ihesus viste vel de-
 riss hiertiss mening Iomfrw maria hørde disse skammelige bespottelser och saa
 549 den græselige pine som de hannem gjorde thii vilde hwn helder væred død en
 leffuende hwn stod mellem hanss korsst oc røffuerenss oc aldrig vende sine øgen
 fra hannem hun bad oc inderlige til gud fader saa sigendiss O ewige gud fa-
 552 der i hiemmerige det vor din vilge at min søn korsst festiss skulde Er *dhet* icke en
 nw dyn vilge ath dw vilt kalde hannem till dig igen See nw till myn store
 hiertenss sorg och drøelse som ieg lider for hannem Ieg beder dig ydmygelige
 555 at du vilt formindske hanss suare pine ieg befaler hannem aldeliss i dine hen-

der Ihesus bad oc sactelige ved sig selff for hende till gwd fader saa sigendiss
 O aldermectigtiste gud fader see hwor ynckelige min kere moder piness oc pla-
 558 wess for min skyld i sit hierte Aff stor sorg oc bedrøffuelse Ieg skulde ene korss
 festiss for menniskenss salighed oc icke hun Nu korss festiss hun i sit hierte met
 mig oc piness saa suarlige som ieg Min korss festelse och pine gør fyllest nock
 561 for menniskenss synder Thii befaler ieg dig hende bedendiss dig ydmygelige at
 du vild formindske henniss sorg oc drøuelse Sancte Hanss ewangelista oc vor
 fruess søster maria iacobi maria salome oc Sancta maria magdalena vaare
 564 oc hoss korsset oc græde oc sørgede gandske swarlige for den beske pine de saa-
 ge paa deriss gud oc skabere oc for den store medynck de hagde offuer iomfrw
 maria i henniss suare bedrøuelse Den stwnd der Ihesus hengde paa korsset
 567 leffuendiss da wor han icke orkeløss Han gjorde altid noged som komme kunde
 alle

menniske till salighed oc god lerdom Han talede vii ord samme tiid som och
 bescriffuiss i den hellige leest oc pass Det første vor at han bad till gud fader
 570 for dem som hannem korss feste saa sigendiss O gwd forlad dem som mig pi-
 ne thii ath de icke vide hwad de gøre Oc der met gaff han alle menniske got
 exempell ath de skwlle bede got for dem som gøre dem onth oc icke bande dem
 573 Andet ordh talede han till sin benedide moder saa sigendiss Qwinde se din
 søn som han vilde sige Sancte Hanss skall vere dig her effther i myn sted for
 din søn Siden sagde han til Sancte Hanss ewangeliste se din moder som han
 576 vilde sige dw skalt nw her effther stonde hende i myn sted for henniss søn och
 trøste hende som ieg gjorde Det Tredie ord talede han till røffueren oc sagde
 I dag skalt du vere met mig i paradiss Her maa huer mercke hanss store mil-
 579 hed oc barmhertighed mod dem som angre deriss synder Fierde ord talede han
 til gud fader sigendiss O myn gud O myn gud Hwi forlost du mig saa Som
 han vilde sige du elste menniskene saa meget at de syness at du plat haffuer off-
 582 uer giffuit mig Femte ord vor. mig tørster Somme legge det saa vdh at han
 tørste effter menniskenss salighed Dog tørste hannem oc ret legemelige som
 Sanctus

Bonauentura siger thii at blodet hagde suarlige forløbet hannem i hanss pinel-
 585 se oc han hagde suarlige arbeydet der han bar det store korss saa long vey førre
 Thii skencthe de hannem edicke och galle aff vanartighed ath de der meth
 hanss pine diss ydermere for øge skulde Siette ord vor Det er nw fulkommed
 588 Som han ville sige O gud fader ieg haffuer nw fulkommed all ting effter din
 vilge for menniskenss salighed som du mig befalet hagde Oc alt det som pro-
 feterne om mig spaad hagde Er det din vilge da kalle mig nw till digh igen

591 Gud fader suarede som Sanctus Bonauentura siger Kom min alder keriste
 søn Ieg skall tage dig i min fagn du skalt her effter haffue ewindelige loff oc
 ære met mig dw skalt aldrig mer lide nogen modgong eller pine Dw haffuer
 594 alting nw erlige oc vell fulkommed Siden begynte wor herre at blegne i hanss
 ansict oc offuer al hanss krop oc løcke sine øgen sammen oc bøye sit hoffuit ned
 til brystet thi all hanss styrcke oc mact vor da twingd aff hanss legeme Thii
 597 sagde han da det Siuende ord met høy røst oc graad Saa lydendiss O gud
 fader ieg befal min siell i dine hender Oc der met vdgaff han sin hellige siell.
 * Pater noster * Dette skede der klokken vor ved xii

600 **AF** dette høye rob som Ihesus gaff aff sigh der han døde bleff
 en mechtig riddere hed Centaurio omwent oc sagde strax Sande-
 delige vor dette gudz søn thii andre menniske kwnde icke ro-
 603 be naar de dø Oc han trode siden stadelige paa hannem Doc-
 tores scriffue at vor herre robede saa høyt at hanss røst hørde
 den tiid ned till heluede Hanss benedide moder maria vor oc
 606 moxen død aff suar sorg der hun saa hannem græde oc dø oc hørde hanss ync-
 kelige grædelige røst Hun styrthe neder till iorden aff ret bedrøelse oc kwnde
 huerken røre hender eller føder Sancte Hanss som ihesus elste offuer alle sine
 609 discipell oc befull sin moder at beware Han reyssde hende op igen met Sancte
 Marie magdalene hielp oc de andre to marierss De ville gerne alle hwgsua-
 led hende men de kunde neppelige tale eth ord for sorg och graad O hwilken
 612 stor ynckelighed vor her paa ferde Der de saage deriss gwd och skabere henge
 blodig oc død for dem paa det hellige kors. al ting hagde medynck offuer han-
 nem vden de vmilde fortuilede iøder och hedninger som hannem pinte Solen
 615 Maanen oc alle stierne bleffue formørkede oc miste deriss skyn Iorden hwn
 bewede oc skalff Stenene sloge dem til hobe den ene mod den anden De døde
 stode op aff graffuerne igen faste dugen i templen brast sønder met mange an-
 618 dre wtalige iertegen som da skede Siden gick almwen ind i staden igen Men
 hanss benedide moder sette sig vnder korsset met de iiii som met hender waare
 oc haabediss at fonge hielp oc raad aff gud fader till ath tage hannem ned aff
 621 korsset oc iorde hannem De saage idelige op till korsset till vor herre oc græde
 ret hiertenss graad for hannem at han saa blodig oc saar der henge skulde for-
 smaader oc forhaaned aff den menige almwe oc ingen vilde forbarme sig off-
 624 uer hannem oc tage hannem neder at han begraffuiss oc iordiss kunde.

591 *In left-hand margin:* Bonauentura. A, B. 598 befal] befal A, befaler B. 623 almwe] plmwe A, almwe B.

DEr klokken vor ved iii effter middagen Da kom der en stor hob veb-
nede mend aff staden igen som skwlde hwegge benene och lemmerne
627 sønder paa waar herre och røffuere oc taghe dem ned aff korsene ath
de ey der henge skwlde paa deriss alder største høgtiidh som wor paaske dag
som vor om morgenen iomfrw maria reysse sig op oc de andre iiii som hoss
hende
630 vaare deriss store sorg bleff da fornyet igen Hwn saa op till ihesum och sagde
O min alder keriste søn huor faare komme de nw igen. haffue de ey slaget digh
i hiel Ieg mente at de skulle der *met* ladet dem nøge Uille de en ydermere pla-
633 we dit døde legeme Ieg wilde gerne frelst dig fra døden oc din pine men Ieg
kwnde icke Nw vilde ieg och gerne frelse dig aff deriss hender om det waare
mig mweligt Ieg vill bede till gud fader i hiemmerige at han skall gøre dem
636 milde oc spagferdige emod dig Saa fald hun ned paa knæ for korsset och de
andre iiii *met* Siden komme de gandske grumelige oc hastelige oc saage at røff-
uerne leffuede en da Thii høgge de deriss been oc lemmer sønder oc toge dem
639 neder aff korsene oc kaste dem strax vdi en stor hwle der hoss Saa ginge de
till bage igen till ihesum Thii bleff iomfru maria suarlige bedrøffuit oc søg-
te till sine vaaben som wor ydmyghed Oc fald paa knæ for de skalke oc holt
642 sine hender sammen op mod dem oc sagde O kere venner Ieg beder eder forme-
delst den aldermectiste gudz naffn ati ey ydermere plaue min fattige søn. ieg er
hanss sorgfwlde moder oc ieg haffuer aldrig fortørned eder *met* eth ord Er det
645 saa at min søn nogen tid fortørnede eder Da haffue i der faare slaget hannem
i hiell Ieg vill forlade eder all den wret oc sorg som i mig der *met* gjorde Ieg
beder eder ydmygelige ati ville gøre mig den miskundhed ati ey hwgge hanss
648 been eller lemmer sønder at ieg hannem heler iorde maa Huad hielper det eder
at hwgge hanss lemmer sønder i se vell selffue ath han er død Sancte Hanss
Sancte Maria magdalena oc de andre to marier stode oc paa knæ *met* hen-
651 de for dem oc baade dem alle *met* grædende thaare De hoffmodige skalke bleff-
ue diss mere offuerdadige der de saage denne store ære och ydmyghed som dem
skede Da vor der en blant dem som hed longinus han vor meget offuerdadig
654 paa den tiid men han bleff siden ydmyg oc hellig Han stack vor herriss høre
side op *met* et spyud oc der vd rand blod oc vand Saa styrte Iomfru Maria
moxen død vdi Sancte Marie magdalene hender Da bleff Sancte Hanss
657 suarlige fortørned aff stor sorg oc sagde till dem O i alder slemmiste mennis-
ke som gøre denne store wmlhed mod dette døde legeme i haffue slaget han-
nem i hiell nw ville i myrde hanss wskyldige moder *met* Gonger eder vey wi
660 ville iorde hannem Saa ginge de bort effter gwdz vilge Siden fik Iomfrw
Maria till sig igen ligerwiss som hun hagde op vognet aff en søffn oc spwr-
de om de hagde ydermere plawed henniss søn De sagde ney oc at de skalke gin-
663 ghe till staden igen Her skulle alle offuer tencke hwor tiit drøffuelsenss swerd

i gennem stack Iomfru Mariess hierte i dag at hwn vor moxen død Oc der
 fore tacke oc hedre henniss siw sware drøuelser *met* Aue maria eller nogen an-
 666 den god bøn Nu bleff den spaadom fuldkommed som Simeon hende spaa-
 de kyndelmøsse dag At drøuelssens swerd skulle stinge hendiss hierte i gennem
 Iomfrw Maria Sancte Hanss oc de iii marier sette dem hoss korsset igen
 669 oc sørgede gandske suarlige at de icke kunde fonge ihesum ned aff korsset oc
 iorde
 hannem thii de vaare icke stercke nock til at tage hannem ned oc de hagde ey
 helder
 redskab der til huercken stiger hammere eller tenger til at røcke naglene aff kors-
 672 set *met* De torde icke helder gonge fra hannem Oc de kwnde ey helder lenge
 bliffue hoss hannem thi det vor hart mod naten Her maa huer mercke den sto-
 re sorg de vaare bestadde vdi de viste icke hwad de der till gøre skulde Som
 675 de saa bestadde vaare i denne drøuelse Da kom Iosep aff arimathia oc Ni-
 codemus oc hagde nogre andre *met* dem som baare stiger oc redskaff til at ta-
 ge ihesum aff korsset *met* oc hagde *met* dem hwdrede pund dyrebar smørelse
 som
 678 de vilde smørge hanss ligeme *met* før de iordede det Der iomfru maria saa dem
 komme fra staden da bleff hun oc de andre gandske bedrøuede oc menthe ath
 de
 vmilde skalke hagde igen kommed at hwgge hanss lemmer sønder Der de
 komme
 681 nermer Da sagde Sancte Hanss Benedidet vere gud i hiemmerige som oss nw
 sender hielp oc trøst Ieg kender dem som kommer Det er Iosep oc Nicodemus
 Da suarede iomfru maria Velsigned vere gud som oss nw her *met* hugswale
 684 vill oc i hwkomme sancte Hanss gick mod dem oc tog dem i fagn de grede paa
 begge sider at de icke tale kunde till huer anden for swar sorg Der de komme
 mod korsset da spurde Iosep hwo de vaare som vor hoss Iomfru maria Han
 687 sagde hannem det Da spurde han framdeliss huor de andre apostle vaare Han
 swarede at han det icke viste Thii at ingen aff dem wor hoss dem den dag i
 gennem Der de komme till korsset da fwlde de paa knæ oc baade till hannem
 690 Saa stode de op igen oc toge iomfru marie i fagn oc de andre marier oc bøyde
 deriss knæ ned mod iorden for dem De græde oc sørgede at de icke tale kunde
 till huer anden Om siger sagde Iomfru maria till dem Nw giorde i vell ati
 693 vilde i hwkomme ederss mestere thii han elste eder meget Her skal huer mercke
 hurlediss de neder toge vor herriss legeme aff det hellige korss

MOd afftenen sette de to stiger till korsset en paa huer side Io-
 696 sep gick op at den stige som stod hoss den høgre hond Oc by-
 gynte at arbeyde oc drage *met* en tang paa den nagle som stod

i gennem hanss hond Da kwnde han ingelediss fonge han-
 699 nem vd *met* minde en han oc skulle trycke honden thi naglen
 wor stor oc long oc slagen gandske hart i det stercke træ Der
 han fick *hannem* vd Da gaff Sancte hanss *hannem* et tegen at han skulle fon-
 702 ge *hannem* samme nagle hemmelige at iomfru maria det icke saage Siden tog
 Nicodemus den anden nagle aff den venstre hond met stort arbeyde oc fick oc
 Sancte Hanss den hemmelige Saa stide Nicodemus ned at tage nagelen aff
 705 føderne Men stod iosep oppe igen oc holt ihesu legeme i sin fagn Der føderne
 wor løse Da gick iosep sactelige neder at stigen strax Iomfrw marie kwnde
 naa ihesu høre hond Da kørte hwn hende met stor swck oc graad oc lagde hen-
 708 de til sit kind ben Siden toge de alle ihesu legeme oc lagde det sactelige neder
 paa iorden iomfru maria sette sig ned paa iorden oc lagde hanss verdige hoff-
 uit oc skuldre i sit skød oc saa der gandske inderlige paa oc kørte det met gre-
 711 dende thaare sancta maria magdalena tog føderne till sig oc kørte dem (hoss
 huilke hun fick førre sine synderss forladelse De andre stode der om kring paa
 alle sider oc græde och swckede for hannem som Daudid Propheta før hagde
 714 spaad sigendiss Plangunt eum quasi vnigenitum. De grede alle for hannem
 som en der græder for sin eniste søn.

DEr de hagde sidet saa nogen stwnd oc grædet offuer hannem
 717 oc det leed fast mod aftenen Da bad iosep Iomfrw Marie
 at hwn ville lade dem suøbe hanss legeme i lyn kleder oc ior-
 de det Hwn swarede Alder keriste brødre tager icke saa snar-
 720 lige min søn fra mig Eller i mwe begraffue mig met *hannem*
 thi ieg døer aff ret sorg Hwn græd beskelige oc kørte først eth
 saar oc saa eth andet oc skwdde hanss dybe vonder i hender oc side oc de andre
 723 saar offuer alt hanss legeme serdeliss dem *som* han hagde i sit hellige høffuit aff
 den huasse torne krone Hwn saa oc grangibelige till huorlediss de hagde dra-
 get hanss skeeg aff hanss hage oc kindben Oc haared aff hoffuedet Der *met* vor
 726 den *prophecie* fuldkommen som Esaias før sagde aff gudz mwnd Corpus meum
 dedi percucientibus et genas meas vellentibus Ieg gaff dem mit legeme i vold
 som det sloge oc hustruge Oc mine kindben som droge skegget aff mig Hanss
 729 verdige *ansict* vor saa bespøttet oc blodigt at neppelige nogen det kende kunde
 den-
 ne syn hun saa paa *hannem* hwn beklemdede *henniss* hierte saa suarlige at hun
 vor

703 den] de A, den B. 713 *In right-hand margin:* Daudid A, Daudid. B. 714 quasi] qnasi A, quasi B. 726 *In right-hand margin:* Esaias A, Esaias. B.

moxen død Om siger sagde *sancte* hanss til iomfru marie keriste frwe Lader oss
 732 tillade at iosep oc nicodemus swøbe oc begraffue ihesu legeme thii Det er hart
 mod naten oc de motte komme i stor skade oc vedermod om iøderne fornemme
 at
 de vaare her saa lenge Da betenckte hun at hwn hannem befallen vor thii sam-
 735 tyckede hwn strax hanss ord Oc giorde velsignelse offuer Ihesu legeme oc till
 stedde at de motte det handtere Saa toge iosep oc Nicodemus et hwit lagen oc
 suøbte det i Dog hagde iomfru maria stedsse hoffuedet i sit skød oc det besuøb
 738 te hwn Sancta Maria magdalena bleff stedsse hoss føderne oc bad ath hwn
 dem swøbe motte thii hwn fick før naade oc miskwnd hoss dem Hwn græd
 saa suarlige for de waare saa ynckelige saare at hwn ville strax haffue død i
 741 samme sorg Hwn køste oc swøbte dem det erligste hwn kunde Der Iomfru
 maria saa oc fornam at hun hanss iorde ferd ey lenger fordrage kunde Da sag-
 de hun O alderkeriste søn huor suart er det mig i mit hierte at wii nw ende-
 744 lige skulle skyliess ath Huor løstelig wor Uor omgengelse før till hobe wii aldrig
 fortørnede huer anden met et ord Dw tiende mig oc ieg dig Dw est nw saa
 wskyldelige i hiell pinter Ieg vilde gerne hwlpet digh i denne nød Men ieg
 747 kwnde icke Dw gaffst dig selff velwillige i døden ath dw igenløse ville alle
 menniske Dw elste dem mere en dit eget lifff oc frelste dem fra dieffuelen *met* din
 suare død aff huilked ieg glæder mig Dog sørger ieg alder mest for din suare
 750 pine oc den slemme wskyldige død dw haffuer told paa korsens galie for in-
 gen sag thii du syndede aldrig O keriste søn naar ieg haffuer nw iordet dig
 Hwad skall ieg da gøre ieg arme bedrøuede moder Huad skal ieg siden tenc-
 753 ke Huorlediss kan ieg leffue for vden dig Ieg vilde gerne iordiss *met* dig at ieg
 motte vere der som du est Men ieg icke kand iordiss met digh legemelige
 Da skall ieg iorde min siel hoss dig aandelige i graffuen Ieg befaler dig hen-
 756 de nw i vold Saa gred hwn alder suarist oc sagde O kere søn huor besk oc
 sorgelig er denne atskilielse Saa bant hun en deylig ren suede dwg (som
 mange kaller nese dwg) om hanss hoffuit Siden giorde hun velsignelse offuer
 759 hannem igen oc de fwlde alle paa knæ oc baade til hannem oc køste hanss føder
 Saa baare de hannem til graffuen som vor der hart hoss Iomfru maria bar
 hoffuedet Sancta maria magdalena føderne oc de andre baare kroppen Si-
 762 den lagde de hannem i graffuen *met* alder suariste suck oc graad Oc lagde en
 stor steen offuen paa hende oc fulde saa alle paa knæ och baade till hannem
 Der Iosep ville gonge i staden igen da sagde *han* til iomfru marie O keriste
 765 frwe ieg beder eder formedelst den kerlighed i haffue til eder gud oc søn ati vil-

732 nicodemus] icodemus A, Nicodemus B. 737 suøbte det] suøbtedet A, suøbte det B.
 744 omgengelse] omgelse A, B.

- le følge mig hiem i mit hwss thii alt det som mig hør till det skall were edert
 Oc ieg ved vell ati haffue huercken hwss eller hiem Saa sagde oc sammelediss
 768 Nicodemus till hende (O huilken armod oc ynckelighed wor det at hiemme-
 rigiss drotning icke hagde da selff saa meget at hun kunde bøye sit hoffuit til)
 Hun bøyede sit hoffuit ned oc tackede dem ydmygelige oc sagde at hun wor
 771 Sancte Hanss befallen Thii sagde Sancte hanss till dem Ieg vil lede hende
 til det hwss som ihesus od sin naduere i iafttiss met sine disciple oc der vil ieg
 bliffue hoss hende De bøde hende gode nat oc ginge til staden Der natten gik
 774 paa sagde Sancte Hanss til vor frue keriste moder det er icke got eller
 bequemme-
 ligt at wi her lenger tøffue thii det er icke sømeligt at wi skulle gonge i staden
 om natte tide Er det eder till vilge da ville wii gonge heden Saa stod Iom-
 777 fru maria op oc køste graffuen oc giorde velsignelse offuer hende sigendiss O
 alder ke-
 riste søn. ieg kand icke nw lenger bliffue hoss dig. ieg vil befale dig gud fader
 i hiemmerige Siden saa hun op i hiemmelen oc sagde O ewindelige gud fader
 780 i hiemmerige ieg befaler dig nw myn søn oc myn siell som ieg haffuer begraff-
 uit met hannem Oc der met gick hwn mod staden Der hwn kom till korsset
 paa vegn da fald hun oc dee andre paa knæ oc baade der till Hun sagde Her
 783 paa huiddiss myn keriste søn oc dette er hanss dyrebar blod Siden ginge de mod
 staden der de komme saa langt fra graffuen oc korsset at de icke lenger dem se
 kunde da fald hun oc de andre paa knæ oc baade till dem Der de komme till
 786 staden Da henglede oc swøbte iomfru mariess søster hende som det vor seduan
 der at klede viduer Saa ginge de faare hende ind i staden iomfru maria gik
 effter mellem Sancte hanss oc Sancte Maria magdalene Som de komme
 789 inden porten Da vilde Sancta maria magdalena gonged det strede som gick
 til hendiss hwss oc bad iomfru marie at hun hende følge vilge Hwn tagde oc
 Saa til Sancte Hanss Som hun ville sige huad han gør der er ieg til fredz
 792 met Saa bad hun Sancte Hanss at han det gøre vilde Han suarede det er
 bedre at wii gonge diid som ihesus od syn naduere i iafttiss der finde wi de
 andre apostle saa kunde wii sige dem huorlediss all ting sig forløben er Oc i
 795 følge oss diid Hun sagde ieg vill gerne følge iomfru marie ehuort hun gon-
 ger oc aldrig giffue hende offuer Siden komme der mange piger iomfruer och
 gode erlige quinder til hende paa strederne i staden oc græde oc suckede for
 hen-
 798 diss store sorg oc drøelse mange andre gode menniske som ginge om kring
 henne

767 haffue] hæffue A, haffue B. 770 oc sagde] at sagde A, ath sagde B. 777 maria] ~ A, maria B.

græde oc sagde O huilken stor wret oc wlog er hende skeet i dag aff høffdin-
 gerne och dommerne her i staden thii de lode henniss søn pine i hiell for vden all
 801 sag och brøde Oc gwd gjorde mange vnderlige iertegen i dag for hanss skyld
 De skulle vell vocthe dem at wor herre ey plawer dem der faare Der de kom-
 me til huset som de bliffue vilde da gik iomfru Maria ind met sine søster oc
 804 Sancta maria magdalena Men Sancte Hanss bleff ved dørren igen Oc bad
 de andre quinder oc piger som effter dem fulde at de ville gonge hiem til deriss
 egne hwss thi det vor stille paa afftenen Han tackede dem storlige for de ginge
 807 saa langt paa gaden met dem Oc der met lucte han dørren Saa sagde iom-
 fru maria til sancte Hanss Huor er nw min keriste søn alliss wor glæde hug-
 sualere oc trøst Som oss i iafftiss her bespisede Huor skammelige bleff han for-
 810 raader fangen oc bunden hustrugen oc kroned oc led siden den forsmelige
 død
 paa korssenss galie som twinger mit hierte alder mest O huor besk er vor at-
 skylyelse at ieg ey motte dø met hannem Sancte Hanss hugswalede hende det
 813 beste han kunde och badh ath hun skulle giffue sig till freedz.

Translation

Our Lord's Passion on Good Friday

Gospel [reading]: John 18: “[*Haec cum dixisset Jesus,*] *egressus est ...*” [(When Jesus had said these things,) he went forth...]

Here follows Our Lord Jesus Christ's holy passion that the worthy apostle and evangelist St John wrote, and it is found in his eighteenth chapter and sounds like this in Danish:

[John 18:1] When Our Lord Jesus Christ had had his supper with his apostles in the evening of Holy [Maundy] Thursday, he walked out of Jerusalem over a brook that runs between the city and the Mount of Olives to a garden with his apostles. [2] Judas, the evil traitor who betrayed him, knew very well where this garden was because Jesus had often gone there before with his disciples. [3] When this reckless Judas received Pilate's servants and then a great band of soldiers¹ from the Jews' chief priests,² high priests,³ and Pharisees, he went with them to that

¹ ODa. *sven* [servant, lad]. The translation as ‘soldiers’ is taken from John 18:3.

² ODa. *høvthinger* [chiefs]. The translation as ‘chief priests’ is taken from John 18:3. However, Pedersen might mean ‘chiefs’ or ‘leaders’ and be referring to secular authorities.

³ ODa. *bisper* [bishops]. The translation as ‘high priests’ is an attempt to de-christianize the terminology.

very garden with lanterns and torches, weapons and armour. [4] But Jesus was well aware of what was going to happen concerning his death and passion, so he walked towards them and said, “Who are you looking for?” [5] They answered, “We are looking for Jesus the Nazarene.” Jesus said, “I am he.” Judas who had betrayed him stood amongst them. [6] When Jesus said, “I am he,” they all stepped back and fell backwards onto the ground. [7] When they had stood up, Our Lord spoke to them again and said, “Who are you looking for?” They answered, “We are looking for Jesus the Nazarene.” [8] Jesus replied, “I told you that I am he. If you’re looking for me and want to seize me, let my disciples go on their way unhindered.” [9] (It came to pass that the words that Jesus had said to God the Father earlier – “I lost none of those you entrusted to me” [John 17:12] – were fulfilled.) [10] St Peter had a large knife (that he used to sharpen his stakes with when he hung his fishing nets up to dry). He pulled it out and cut off the right ear of the high priest’s servant who was called Malchus. [11] Jesus said to Peter, “Put your knife back in its sheath! Do you not want me to suffer the harsh torment that my heavenly father has arranged and provided that I am to suffer?” [12] The great crowd and the servants of the Jews’ chief priests grabbed Jesus cruelly and bound him harshly [13] and then led him into the city, first before a chief priest called Annas and he was the father of Caiaphas’s wife and [was also] high priest that year. [14] This Caiaphas gave counsel to the Jews to kill Jesus, saying, “It is expedient that one person dies for the common good and joy so that all the common people are not destroyed.” [15] St Peter followed Jesus among the crowds along with the other disciple (who was St John the Evangelist – he did not want to mention his name in this reading and passion because he wrote it himself. He says further about himself: this disciple knew the Jews’ chief priest called Annas because he often brought him fish that his father who was a fisherman sent him). So, among the others, he [St John] entered with Jesus Christ into this high priest’s hall. [16] But St Peter was pushed back and shut out. So, St John went out again and spoke to the girl who was watching the door [asking] that she let St Peter in. [17] Then this girl said to him, “Are you not a disciple of the one who is being led bound here?” St Peter replied, “No, I am not!” [18] The servants and officers were standing by the fire and warming themselves as there was a great frost and it was cold. St Peter stood among them and warmed himself. [19] Then Annas spoke to Jesus and asked about his disciples and what he had preached and taught. [20] Jesus answered him, “I always spoke openly to the world and preached publicly in the Jews’ Temple where everyone used to come together and assemble. And I have not spoken, preached, or taught anything in secret or hidden places. [21] Why do you need to ask me about this? Ask them who have heard my words and teaching! They know very well what I have said.” [22] Then one of the high priest’s officers hit him very hard close to his eye and said, “Are you going to answer the

high priest so arrogantly?” (St Bernard says that he struck him so hard that hell shook with that blow to his cheek.) [23] Jesus said to the man who had hit him, “If I have spoken a lie or an untruth, then you ought to testify against me. If I have spoken the truth, why do you hit me?” [24] Then Annas sent Jesus bound to Caiaphas who was high priest that year and it was early morning just after midnight. [25] As they were afraid of the crowd, St Peter stayed standing by the fire and warming himself. Then the officers said to him, “Are you not one of his disciples?” He answered this and said no. [26] Then one of the high priest’s officers who was related to the man whose ear he had cut off earlier said, “Did I not see you in the garden with him?” [27] St Peter said no again, a third time, and with that the cockerel crowed. [28] Then they led Jesus from Caiaphas’s house to the palace or city hall where bloody judgements and cases were usually dealt with [and] where Pilate was. But the Jews did not want to enter this building in case they were defiled by his bloody judgement because they wanted to be pure and in the appropriate state to eat their Easter [i. e., Passover] bread according to the Jews’ law. [29] Then Pilate walked down to them from his palace and said, “What accusation and charge do you have against this man?” [30] They answered him and said, “If he were not a malefactor, we would not have brought him to you.” [31] Pilate answered, “Take him yourselves and judge him according to your own law.” The Jews replied, “It is not lawful for us⁴ to kill someone or pass a bloody judgement on someone.” [32] (It came to pass that Our Lord’s words would be fulfilled that he had said to his disciples earlier when he instructed them about what death he would suffer and at whose hands.)⁵ [33] Then Pilate went back inside the city hall and called Jesus before him and said, “Are you the king of the Jews?” [34] Jesus answered, “Are you saying this of yourself, or have others said this about me to you?” [35] Pilate answered, “I am no Jew nor do I spring from your stock. Your own people and your high priests and chief priests placed you in my hands. What have you done? Or what is your case?” [36] Jesus answered, “My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then my servants would fight for me so that I would not fall into the Jews’ might and force. Now, my kingdom is not of this world.” [37] Pilate said to him, “Then you are still a king if you have a kingdom.” Jesus replied, “You say that I am king. I was born for this purpose and therefore came here to the world to tell the truth and bear witness to it. Everyone who is come of the truth and lives their life in accordance with it willingly hears my words.” [38] Then Pilate said to him, “What is truth?” When he had said this,

4 ODa. “Det sømer os icke” literally means ‘it is not appropriate for us.’

5 Jesus predicts his own death several times in John 12–17. Cf. also Matthew 16:21–28, 17:22–23, 20:17–19, 26:1–2; Mark 8:31–33, 9:30–32; Luke 9:22–27.

he went outside to the Jews and said to them, “I cannot find any fault in this man whom you have delivered to me. [39] It is your custom that I release unto you a prisoner every year on your Passover holiday. If you want, then I will release unto you the king of the Jews.” [40] Immediately, all the Jews shouted and said, “We do not want him to be released, but release Barabbas!” This Barabbas was an old robber and a blatant villain.

[John 19:1] Then Pilate had Our Lord bound tightly to a column and harshly scourged. [2] And the officers made a crown of sharp thorns and placed it upon his bare head and cruelly pressed it down, and [they] wrapped him in an old purple robe. [3] Then they walked up to him and said in mockery and disdain, “Hail, King of the Jews!” And furthermore, they hit him hard across the cheek. [4] Then Pilate went out to the Jews and said, “I will bring the man out to you again that you may know that I can find no fault in him, even though I have had him tortured, scourged, and crowned and interrogated him with many questions.” [5] Then Jesus went out to the Jews, quite pitilessly scourged and wore the crown of sharp thorns upon his head and an old purple robe upon his body. Then Pilate said to the Jews, “Behold the man!” as if to say, “You ought now to pity him and be satisfied with the torture that he has now suffered and no longer demand his death for no reason.” [6] When the Jewish high priests and their underlings saw him, they shouted loudly all together and said, “Crucify! Crucify him!” Pilate answered them, “Take him yourselves and crucify him! I find no fault in him.” [7] The Jews replied, “We have a written law, and according to that law he ought to die, because he made himself out to be the Son of God in heaven.”⁶ [8] When Pilate heard these words, he started to become very afraid. Scholars say about this that he was not afraid of the Jews’ law because he was not subject to it, but he began to fear the Jews’ words that he [i. e., Jesus] was the Son of God, and that he had had him scourged and crowned. [9] Then he went back into the city hall with him and said to Jesus, “Where have you come from?” as if to say, “Have you come from the divine or are you only a pure human being?” Jesus did not answer him. [10] Then Pilate said to him, “Why do you not answer me? Do you not know that I have the power to crucify you and that I also have the power to release you if I want?” [11] Jesus answered him, “You have no power from yourself over me, but it was given to you from those who are more powerful than you are. So those who have delivered me into your hands out of envy have the greater sin.” [12] From then on Pilate wanted to have an excuse and an opportunity to release him from the Jews because he sensed his innocence and realized that he could not sentence him to death without [committing] a great sin. When the Jews noticed this, they

6 ODa. *gøre sik til* [to behave arrogantly].

all shouted and said, “If you release him, then you are not Caesar’s friend⁷ and true servant. You know well that whoever calls himself a king among us Jews, speaks against Caesar in Rome!” [13] When Pilate heard these words, he led Jesus from the city hall and placed him before a court that was built of stone and is called *Lithostrotos* in Greek and *Gabbatha* in Hebrew. [14] This was on Good Friday in the morning which was the eve of the Jews’ Passover. Then Pilate said to the Jews, “Behold your king!” [15] They cried out and said, “Take him away! Take him away! And crucify him!” Pilate replied, “Shall I crucify your king?” The Jewish high priests answered, “We recognize no other king but Caesar in Rome.” [16] Then Pilate passed the judgement over him that he should be crucified. Then they took Jesus [17] and placed the heavy cross, that he was to hang upon, onto his shoulders, and he carried it out of Jerusalem to Mount Calvary upon which he was to be crucified. This mount is called Golgotha in Hebrew because robbers and villains used to be crucified and put to death there. [18] Then they crucified Jesus and two robbers with him, one on either side of him. [19] Pilate wrote a title and placed it over his head, saying, “Jesus the Nazarene, King of the Jews.” [20] Many of the Jews read this title because the mount where he was crucified was right next to the city. This title was written in three languages, these were Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, so that every man should understand it. [21] Then the Jewish high priests said to Pilate, “Do not write that he was King of the Jews, but write that he said, ‘I am the king of the Jews.’” [22] Pilate replied, “What I have written shall remain written.” [23] There were four particular soldiers⁸ who crucified Jesus. When they had finished, they took his clothes and divided them into four shares, so that each soldier received his share. But Our Lord had a garment that was knotted or tied and without a seam.⁹ It was complete throughout so that there were no stitches in it. [24] So they said to one another, “We do not want to cut up this garment. But we will cast lots for it [to decide] who is going to get it.” (This came to pass to fulfil the scripture that the prophet had foreseen previously, saying, “They divided my clothes among them. And the soldiers cast lots for my garment.”) [25] The Virgin Mary Jesus’ mother, and her sister Mary of Cleophas, and St Mary Magdalene stood by the cross. [26] When Our Lord saw his mother and the disciple whom he loved the most (that was St John the Evangelist), he said to his mother, “Woman, behold your son!” as if he wanted to say, “After my death, St John will now be in my stead for help and comfort like I was.” [27] Then he said to St John, “Behold, your mother!” as if he wanted to say, “I entrust her to you that

7 ODa. “keyserenss veen” literally means ‘the emperor’s friend.’

8 ODa. *sven* [servant, lad]. The translation as ‘soldiers’ is taken from John 19:23.

9 ODa. “wsyd” literally means ‘unsewn, unstitched’; cf. Lat. *inconsultis*.

you shall be a help and service to her however you can.” From that moment on, St John took her into his care and served her humbly. [28] When Jesus had said that everything would be fulfilled as was written about his passion that he was to suffer, there remained a small thing that was to be fulfilled before he died that the prophets had written. So, he said, “I thirst.” [29] There was a jar of vinegar available, so they took a sponge (like doctors usually use) and dipped it in the vinegar that was mixed with hyssop, and [they] held it up on a pole to his mouth. [30] When he had drunk of it, he said, “Everything is now complete!” as if he wanted to say, “Now I have released humankind from the devil and fulfilled everything that the prophets had foreseen about me.” Then he bowed his head and gave up his soul. *Pater noster*. [31] Because it was the eve of Passover and their bodies should not hang on the crosses on the day of Passover on their greatest holy day, the Jews asked Pilate to break their bodies so that they would die straightaway and be taken down from the crosses. [32] Then their soldiers came back and broke the one robber’s legs and then the other’s. [33] When they came to Jesus and saw that he was dead, they did not break his legs. [34] But one of the soldiers pierced his side, and blood and water flowed forth. [35] And whoever saw it bore witness to it and his testimony is true; and he knows that he is telling the truth that you all might believe. (It was St John the Evangelist who said these words, but he did not want to mention his name because he himself wrote this holy passion and gospel). [36] This happened that the scripture should be fulfilled as it says in Exodus 12[:46]: “You shall not break any of his bones.” [37] It also says about him in another piece of scripture [Zechariah 12:10]: “They shall look upon the one they have pierced.” (That is at the Last Judgement when he will judge these Jews for his innocent death and passion.) [38] When this had happened, Joseph of Arimathea, who was Jesus’ disciple in secret because of the fear he had of the Jews, went to Pilate and asked that he might take Jesus’ body down from the cross. Then Pilate allowed him to do this. Then he came and took it down. [39] Nicodemus, who had previously come to Our Lord in the night for fear of the Jews, also came and brought a hundred pounds of precious balm that was made of myrrh and aloes. [40] Then they wrapped him in linen with precious spices as is the custom among Jews when burying someone. [41] There was a garden close to where Our Lord was crucified in which there was a new tomb where no-one had been buried before. [42] They laid Jesus there because it was nearby, and they could no longer carry him in the evening because it was almost night and their Passover holiday in the morning. This is what the holy reading and passion sound like according to the text that St John the Evangelist wrote, and so on.

The gloss and interpretation of this

St Bonaventure, who belonged to the Grey Friars,¹⁰ says and counsels all Christian people to contemplate Christ's harsh death and passion carefully from its very beginning to his worthy and honourable resurrection and moreover to lift one's heart and mind to God in heaven and to pray humbly to him that they might mourn and think about his passion as if they were themselves present and saw how they so mercilessly tormented and tortured his very holy, innocent body; and that he willingly suffered this death and passion for the sake of our sins and thereby saved us from the devil. *Textus: Egressus est Jesus*. On the evening of Holy Thursday, Jesus Christ, Our God and Saviour, went from Jerusalem to a garden across a brook that ran between the city and the Mount of Olives, and along the way [he] spoke lovingly and humbly to his apostles and counselled them to pray to God the Father in heaven. In this garden, he walked a stone's throw away from them and fell humbly to his knees and prayed to God the Father, saying, "O almighty God the Father! If it be your will or possible, release me from this passion that I am now to suffer. But may it be your will as you wish, and not I." [Matthew 26:39] And then he prayed for a second time and a third time before he received an answer and said further, "O most righteous God the Father, I know that you previously thought that I should release humankind from the devil on the gallows of the cross; let it be according to your own will. [Cf. Matthew 26:42] But I entrust unto you my dear mother and my disciples, whom I have kept safe until now, that you will protect them henceforth from all evil." While he was praying like this, he sweated bloody droplets over all his body so copiously that they ran from his worthy face and body onto the ground. Then St Michael the archangel came to him and said, "Hail, you are my God, Lord Jesus Christ! I brought your prayer and bloody sweat before God in the presence of all the hosts of heaven, and we all fell onto our knees, bowing our heads to the ground, and asked him humbly to free you from the harsh passion that you are to suffer. He answered us, 'My only son knows well that humankind cannot be properly and completely saved without the outpouring of his blood, [his] torture, and death. If he wants people's souls to be saved, then he must die for this purpose.' What do you think about that?" Jesus answered the angel and said, "I want the purpose that the souls of people, whom he has created in his own image,¹¹ are saved, so I choose to suffer death and torture for their sakes and thereby fulfil the will of my father." The angel answered, "Fight like a man and with strength. A powerful man ought to be able to do great deeds. This passion will soon be over for you. Then you will receive

¹⁰ Franciscan Order of Friars Minor.

¹¹ ODa. "effter sit eget ansict" literally means 'according to his own face.'

eternal honour and praise for it. God the Father says that he will always be with you to keep you strong, and he will keep your mother and disciples fit and well as you desired that nothing shall hurt them.” Jesus received this consolation with honour and humility from his own creature, the angel that he himself had created.

Jesus had previously punished his disciples for sleeping and not wanting to wake up and pray for an hour with him that they might not fall into temptation. Now he came to them again and said, “Sleep now and be calm.” So, they slept for a short while, but Jesus kept watch over them like a good shepherd watches over his flock. O what great love Jesus showed them in that moment, that he wanted them to sleep and rest! But he was in such a state of grief and sorrow and sweated bloody sweat in the face of the hard torture that he was to suffer for the sake of humanity. In the distance Jesus saw his enemies and foes coming with weapons and armour. However, he did not wake his disciples up until the Jews came very near to him. Then he said to them, “You have slept enough. Behold, here comes the man who will betray me!” As he was saying these words, Judas, the vilest traitor of them all, came and kissed him, because Jesus was in the habit of kissing his apostles when they returned to him after he had sent them off somewhere. When Judas had kissed him, he stepped back again as if to say, “I am not with those who want to seize you.” However, he had told the Jews beforehand that they should seize the man whom he kissed. Then he went back to Jesus again and said, *Textus*: “*Ave rabi!*” “Hail, teacher!” Here we should notice¹² how lovingly and humbly Jesus received this vile traitor in his embrace and kissed the man with whom he a bit earlier in the evening had eaten his holy sacrament and whose feet he had washed, and who now betrayed him so ungratefully and shamefully by kissing him. Then Jesus said to the Jews, *Textus*: “*Quem queritis?*” “Whom do you seek?” They answered, “Jesus the Nazarene.” Jesus said, “I am he.” Then they stepped back and fell to the ground. Then he asked them again, “Whom do you seek?” Again, they said, “Jesus the Nazarene.” He replied, “I told you that I am he. If you are looking for me, then let my disciples go on their way.” With that St Peter cut of the right ear of the man called Malchus who was holding the lantern. Then the cruel Jews fell upon Jesus like savage lions fall upon an innocent lamb and [they] hit, pulled, and shoved him and bound his hands behind his back and a rope around his neck and waist, and [they] ran and dragged him behind them towards the city really quickly as if he had been the most terrible traitor or the worst robber and villain who could ever have existed on earth. Jesus was bare-headed and bare-footed. Some scholars write about this that when they came to the brook that runs between the city and the Mount of Olives, over which there

12 ODa. *mærke* [notice; feel, sense; understand].

was a gang plank and bridge that they used for crossing when there was high water, there they dragged Our Lord alongside in the water across the sharp stones using ropes that they had tied around his neck and waist. And they pushed him down into the water although it was not very deep. There they dragged him back and forth until he was almost half-dead. Then they led him before the rulers of the Jews who had assembled and were waiting for them to return with him. When they saw Jesus, they became happy like a wolf that catches a lamb. Straightaway they bore false testimonies against him; they shouted and yelled at him and spat into his holy face. They tied a cloth over his eyes and beat him between his shoulders and about his neck and said, "Guess who hit you!" with many other terrible mocking words, all of which he suffered patiently. Then the most distinguished Jews left and had him placed in a gaol that was in a cellar and had him tied to a stone column there and ordered some armed [men who were] blatantly scoundrels to stay with him and keep a careful watch over him so that he should not somehow escape. Who these scoundrels who tortured him in secret were, he will not openly reveal until the harsh Day of Judgement.

During this, St John went to the Virgin Mary who was in St Mary Magdalene's house and told [her] how things were with her dearest son. Then she wept very bitterly and the other Marys alongside her because they believed for sure that the Jews had killed him straightaway. Then the Virgin Mary went over to one side of the house and humbly prayed to God the Father, saying, "O most mild and merciful God the Father in heaven! I entrust unto you my dearest only son. Be kind to him and not harsh. O eternal God the Father! Do not let my son be tortured to death. He has done no evil! O most righteous God the Father! If you want humankind to be saved, let it happen by some other means, because all things are possible for you. O God the Father most holy! If it is possible and agreeable to you, do not let him die, but release him out of the hands of the cruel Jews and let me have him once more. He is so attentive and obedient that he in no way saves himself from them, rather he allows himself be beaten and dragged about by them as if he were simply powerless and impotent. Help him with this, dearest and almighty God, in his distress and pain!"

Early the next morning, the Jews brought Our Lord up out of the cellar and led him from one judge to another as it states clearly in the text and how St Peter denied him. Then they bound his hands so hard behind his back that blood spurted out of his fingers and nails. They said to him with the greatest disdain, "Come on, you terrible traitor and outright villain! Come now to your judgement! Today you will be given a horrible death in return for your lies and malice that you have been practising! Where is your wisdom and knowledge that you said that you had?" Then they led and dragged him before Pilate. He willingly followed them like an innocent lamb. Along the way his mother the Virgin Mary, St John, and the

other Marys met him. By then he was so pitifully beaten, and his face covered in spittle that she hardly recognized him. Everyone should here think about what sorrow and grief there was. For their part, she and the other Marys and St John lamented greatly; for his part, Jesus also lamented greatly on account of the great pity he felt towards his mother as he knew that she lamented so greatly that she was nearly dead. When they came before Pilate with him, they gave him many reasons [to sentence Jesus], but they could not convince him as long as Jesus did not answer anything. When Pilate could find in him no fault for which he could sentence him to death, he sent Jesus bound to Herod. When he saw him, he was pleased because he had previously heard much about him and thought that he would perform some marvellous miracles for him. But Jesus wanted neither to perform miracles nor to speak one word to him. Then Herod considered him a fool and a simpleton and had him dressed in a white robe out of mockery and derision and sent him back to Pilate. Here everyone should notice that the Jews did not consider him just a robber and villain, but a simpleton and a fool. Jesus patiently suffered this mockery and derision and allowed himself to be led and pulled away yet again and said nothing against the scoundrels who were pulling and leading him. They threw stones and filth from the gutter at his worthy mother and the other Marys and St John who were walking far behind him, very sorrowfully, as they wanted to see and know how things were going to turn out for him.

When they came back to Pilate with him, the vile Jews began to accuse and blame him again and requested that he be judged. Then he [i. e., Pilate] examined him [i. e., Jesus] with much rigour and they bore many false testimonies against him and stubbornly remained in the cursed hatred and envy that they felt towards him and in no way wanted him to be released. When Pilate could find no fault in him, he wanted to set him free and save him from the hands of the Jews. Then he said to them, “I can find in him no fault for which I can judge him. So, I will punish and reprimand him if he has done anything against you and let him go on his way.” Then he ordered his servants to scourge him because the Jews considered themselves to be too good to torture him on their Passover holiday. Then they handed him over to Pilate so that he and his servants as pagans would judge and torture him to death. Pilate’s soldiers pulled all his [i. e., Jesus’] clothes off and bound his body, so lovely and pure, completely naked to a column and scourged him so terrifyingly and mercilessly with whips and lashes that were set with lumps of lead filled with iron spikes so that nothing was left intact from top to toe on his holy body. His worthy blood streamed and ran from all his limbs down to the ground. When the evil and vile executioners had been beating him for so long that they were tired, they spat into his lovely face and said, “You vile traitor and reckless scoundrel! Be ashamed! Everyone can now see your great power that you claimed to have before!” Now the prophecy was fulfilled that Isaiah previ-

ously foresaw about him, saying, “We saw him and did not recognize his face. We thought he was a leper whom God had particularly punished.” [Cf. Isaiah 53] Then Pilate came and asked them to release him from the column. Then they dragged him naked through the building among the common people, while they picked up his clothes again that they had thrown all around the building out of contempt. Jesus shivered and trembled greatly because there was a great frost. All of his footprints where he walked were full of his blood. When he was to put on his clothes, the miserable Jews shouted again and said to Pilate, “Lord, he said that he was a king. Dress him in royal garments and crown him as is the custom for kings.” Then they took an old and torn red silk robe and draped it around him and seated him on a chair and pressed the crown of sharp thorns upon his holy head, so that the thorns pierced his worthy brain. Then they placed a reed in his hand as the royal sceptre that he should have. And [they] fell onto their knees in mockery before him and said, “Hail, King of the Jews!” Jesus suffered all this mockery patiently and did not answer them with a single word but was completely silent like an innocent lamb. O person! Contemplate the terrible pain that he had when they beat him on his crown of thorns (that pierced his brain) with sticks and big Italian reeds¹³ which are used in some places to make torches with sap. Each blow that they placed onto it rang into his heart. And the blood ran so terribly down his face and eyes that no-one could recognize Him. They mocked him as though he had wanted to be king over them. He suffered it patiently as though he had been entirely their manservant. The terrible scoundrels were not content with having tortured and mocked him among themselves, but they led him before Pilate so that he would show him to the common people in such a state. So he had him led out before the common people and said, “Behold this person!” He did this so that they would feel pity for him and let him be released. He also said to them, “I have now punished him for having transgressed against you and had him crowned because he said he was your king. Now let him go on his way!” They all shouted at him with a loud voice, saying, “Crucify him! Crucify him!” and laughed mockingly at Jesus out of pure envy, as if they wished to say, “Now you shall see and know that we are wiser and cleverer than you are. Now that we have power over you, you’re not going to get away!” O what evil Jews! They did not want to remember all the good deeds that he had done for them. Nor did they want rather to consider or contemplate his great innocence. Nor did they want rather to be satisfied by the harsh scourging and crowning that he had suffered for no reason. But they desired and strove for his death that he would finally be crucified. Pilate had Jesus led into the city hall and took the old red silk

¹³ It is not clear what kind of reeds are being referred to by “valske røer” [Italian reeds] here.

and scarlet robe off him and then had him led naked out once more to them, so pitifully wounded and bloodied that they would be satisfied with that. But they all shouted together, saying, “Take him away! Take him away and crucify him!” Then Jesus gathered up his own clothes that were spread all around the building and standing naked in front of them with great timidity he put them on. They all pointed their fingers at him and mocked and ridiculed him when he was so bloody and naked. O what doubting and terrible rogues these Jews were who were joyous, mocking him when he was so pitifully scourged and crowned that he trembled and shook from powerlessness and cold that he could hardly stand! Here every person shall remember the merciless and harsh scourging and crowning and the greatest contempt and mockery that Jesus, our God and creator, suffered for the sake of our salvation and humbly thank him for it; and pray that he will press the same pain as his into our hearts so that we can carefully contemplate it for our succour and protection against all sins and the devil’s temptations. When Pilate could not save Jesus from the Jews in any way with the aforementioned words, he said to them in mockery, “Shall I crucify your king?” *Textus: “Responderunt pontifices.”* The high priests answered him and said, “We have no king but Caesar!” Then Pilate became afraid that they would complain about him to the emperor if he did not judge him. He also wanted the friendship of the Jews and thought that they would give a lot of money, so he washed his hands and said, “I am innocent of this righteous man’s blood.” The Jews shouted, “His blood shall be upon us and our children!” And so, it also happened by God’s vengeance as they all caught and suffer the bloody flux for as long as they live while the world exists. But they had not believed that such revenge would come from this. Then Pilate gave his bloody verdict over him, and the Jews answered him that they would crucify him.

In the morning when it was six o’clock, they led Jesus together with two blatant robbers out of the city hall. They had made a cross for him that, as some scholars write, was fifteen feet long. They placed it onto his holy shoulder so that he should carry it himself to Mount Calvary where they usually crucified blatant and villainous robbers, so that he would be mocked by every man along his path and that his body would be tortured by it. However, nowhere in the Scriptures does it say that the robbers had to carry their own crosses to this mount, but they considered Our Lord to be more evil and worse than a blatant robber. Now the prophecy that Isaiah had previously written about him was fulfilled: “*Non solum cum iniquis deputatus est sed ut iniquum iniquior etc.*” [Cf. Isaiah 53:12] Jesus was not only reckoned among villains and robbers, but he was also considered more evil and worse than blatant villains are. Here every person shall consider and constantly remember Our Lord’s great patience that he himself willingly wanted to carry the heavy cross even though he was so weakened from the harsh scourging and

crowning because his blood had poured from him so that he could hardly walk. So, he walked bent over under the heavy cross with his head bowed down to the ground. The vile Jews also had two boards hung on his robe: one against his shins and the other behind his calves, that were set with small sharp iron spikes like a ripple.¹⁴ When he stepped forwards, these nails and iron spikes pierced and struck his shins [and] when he stepped backwards, the other iron spikes pierced his calves so that all his footprints where he walked were full of blood. O what terrifying torture they inflicted upon him with this! They did not inflict the same torment on either of the robbers. His blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, wanted to speak to him, but she was unable to reach him because of the huge crowd of people that was in the street where he was to be led, as everyone had assembled there so that they would see him. So, she walked rather quickly with St John and her sister out of another gate so that she could meet him along the way. When she saw him carrying the heavy cross on his holy shoulders and that his holy face was so bloody and covered in spittle, she could hardly recognize him. At that moment, she almost died from sheer sorrow and her heart was so burdened from this great grief that she could not say a single word to him. Along the route, the holy woman Veronica gave Our Lord a clean cloth with which he could wipe the blood off his face and eyes. He pressed it against his face. Then his impression was left upon it, and it is now kept in St Peter's Basilica in Rome with the greatest honour and dignity. Jesus walked a bit forwards, then he turned and said to the women of Jerusalem who were following him and weeping out of pity, "Women, weep not for me but weep for yourselves and your children!" [Luke 23:28] When he had walked a bit further, he stumbled under the holy cross due to his greatly weakened state as much of his blood was pouring out of him. There is now a church standing at this spot and another where he spoke to the women. So, everyone can see that it was a long way from the city to Mount Calvary. When the Jews saw that he was completely unable to carry the cross any further, they were afraid that Pilate would recall his judgement because they noticed earlier that he wanted to save his life from them. So, they forced a farmer who was called Simon of Cyrene to carry the cross with him. They had ropes and cords around Jesus' waist and neck and dragged him behind them like a dog. Some people shoved him against his side and back with their weapons and armour. Some hit him on his head. Some people pulled his hair and beard and said, "You evil traitor! Walk on! The day is passing fast! How long do we have to wait around for you?" They were so hungry and desirous for his death that they would not let him rest along the route. Here

¹⁴ ODa. *hegle* [ripple] is a toothed instrument used to separate the seeds in flax and hemp from the stems.

everyone should contemplate what pain they caused him for these three hours and humbly thank him for them.

When it was nine o'clock, Our Lord ascended Mount Calvary with the cross. Some of the executioners were carrying hammers and pincers; some, rope and cords to stretch Jesus with; some, nails to crucify him with; some, drills to bore [holes in] the cross with; some, the ladder and other tools that were to be used. Some [executioners] threw off their clothes so that they were better able to move and more easily be able to use them [i. e., the tools] cruelly against Jesus. Some dug the hole in which the cross was to stand. Some pulled Our Lord quickly and mercilessly out of his clothes so that all his wounds started to bleed once more because the blood had dried and coagulated in his clothes. They also pulled off the crown of sharp thorns from his head while they were pulling his clothes off, and [they] immediately beat it back down onto his head again so that his agony would be renewed. He stood there naked and bloody for everyone to mock and ridicule. And it was now the third time that they stripped him naked like this in front of the common people. His holy mother Mary who was terribly sad saw him so pitifully naked and exposed that he did not have a loincloth or a thread upon all his body. She was greatly ashamed by this, so she walked over to him and took him in her embrace and tied her headcloth about his loins. O how sorrowful his blessed mother was at this time! Scholars think that she was unable to speak a word to him due to her sorrowful state. She would have liked to help him more had she been able. Then the executioners shoved him quickly away from her hands and threw him hard against the cross and struck a blunt iron nail through his right hand into the cross. Then they tied cords and rope around his left hand and pulled and stretched it so harshly towards the hole that they had drilled for the nail that his arteries and tendons were pulled apart in his arms and chest. Then they struck a blunt iron nail through it. Then they tied rope and cords around his feet and stretched them so harshly downwards to the third hole, that his tendons and arteries throughout all of his body were pulled apart. And [they] then fastened both of his feet to the cross, the one on top of the other, with a large blunt iron nail. Each blow they struck these nails with rang in the Virgin Mary's heart. When they had fastened him to the cross, they raised it with his worthy body attached. And they let it fall to the ground again with great contempt so that they could increase his suffering. Then they raised the cross again and slammed it down as hard as possible into the hole in which it was to stand with his heavy body so that all his limbs were separated one from the other. Then they threw stones, bones, and earth into the hole around the cross to stabilize it. He was so pitifully stretched on the cross that every person could see and count all his bones and joints, the one from the other. St Bonaventure says that they first fixed the cross in the ground before they hammered Our

Lord to it, and they had three ladders. They placed the shortest ladder against the cross which Jesus willingly ascended as high up from the ground to where his legs were to be fastened and he stood there quietly. They placed the second ladder on the right-hand side of the cross. Then they stretched Jesus' most lovely right hand towards the executioner who cruelly pierced it with a large iron nail. Then they stretched his left hands towards the other executioner who was standing on the third ladder. He tied cords around it and stretched it out harshly towards the spot where he could hit a nail through his hand into the hole that had been drilled for it. When it reached it, he cruelly pierced it with a large iron nail. Then they took the ladder away from his feet and his heavy body was left hanging by his hands on the two nails. Then they tied cords and rope around his feet and stretched them down to the third hole and placed the right foot over the left one and pierced them both with a large iron nail into the cross. Then Jesus looked up into the sky to God the Father and said, "O heavenly Father! Behold, I have now humbled myself to death according to your will for the sake of the salvation of humanity. I am now willingly sacrificing myself for them asking you humbly that, on account of the love that you have for me and of my harsh passion and death, you will take pity on them and forgive them their sins because you wanted them to be my brothers and sisters. Accept this my sacrifice on their behalf, grateful father dearest."

As to whether he was crucified while the cross was lying on the ground or after it was raised, scholars write differently about it because the evangelists do not write how he was crucified, but just that he was crucified. As it was the most evil and dishonourable death that they knew of at that time, they also brought this harshest torture and torment upon Our Lord as it was also the most evil one that they could think of. He suffered it patiently for the sake of our salvation. He was so harshly stretched out and fastened with the nails that he was unable to move any of his limbs except for his head. There he hanged for everyone to mock and ridicule on three large iron nails between two blatant robbers. The Jews shouted at him using different insults and shameful words. Some said, "Shame on you! Away with you! You said that you would destroy the Temple and rebuild it on the third day." Some said, "He saved others and now he can't save himself!" with many other insulting and bad words. But the leaders and the priests shouted at him, saying, "If you are the Son of God, then climb down from the cross, then we will believe in you!" They did not mean what they said. Jesus knew well what their hearts were thinking. The Virgin Mary heard these shameful insults and saw the terrifying agony that they were putting him through, so she would rather have been dead than alive. She stood between his cross and the robbers' and never turned her eyes away from him. She also prayed fervently to God the Father, saying, "O eternal God, Father in heaven! It was your will that my son be crucified today. Is it not yet your will that you will call him to you again? Behold the great

sorrow and grief in my heart that I am suffering for him. I ask you humbly to lessen his harsh pain. I entrust him into your hands.” Jesus himself also prayed gently to God the Father for her sake, saying, “O almighty God the Father! Behold how pitifully my dear mother is being tortured and tormented in her heart by grief and sadness for my sake. I alone was to be crucified for the sake of humanity, and not she. Now she is being crucified in her heart alongside me and being tortured as harshly as I. My crucifixion and passion suffice for the sins of humanity. So I ask of you to lessen the grief and sorrow of [the woman] who is humbly praying to you. St John the Evangelist, and Our Lady’s sister Mary of James, Mary Salome,¹⁵ and St Mary Magdalene were also present at the cross and wept and mourned very much on account of the great agony they saw their God and creator was in and for the pity they felt towards the Virgin Mary in her heavy sadness. All the while Jesus was hanging on the cross, he was not idle. He always did something that could lead all people to salvation or good teaching. He spoke seven sayings¹⁶ at this time that are also described in the Holy Scripture and the Passion. The first was that he prayed to God the Father for those who crucified him, saying, “O God, forgive those who torture me, for they know not what they do!” [Luke 23:34] And with that he gave a good example to all people, that they should pray for good things for those who do them ill and [that they should] not curse them. The second saying he spoke to his blessed mother, saying, “Woman, behold your son!” [John 19:26] as if he wanted to say, “From now on St John will be your son in my stead.” Then he said to St John the Evangelist, “Behold your mother!” [John 19:27] as if he wanted to say, “From now on you are to be her son in my stead and comfort her as I did.” The third saying he spoke to the robber and said, “Today you shall be with me in paradise!” [Luke 23:43] Everyone should notice here his great kindness and mercy towards those who regret their sins. The fourth saying he spoke to God the Father, saying, “O my God, why have you forsaken me?” [Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34; cf. Psalm 21:2 *DRB* (22:1 *KJV*)] as if he wanted to say, “You loved the people so much that they think you have completely forsaken me.” The fifth saying was, “I thirst.” [John 19:28] Some interpret this as he thirsted for the salvation of humanity. However, he was also thirsty in a purely physical way, as St Bonaventure says, because he had lost so much blood during his passion and laboured hard when he carried the great cross such a long way before. So, they served him vinegar and gall out of depravity, so that by so doing they would increase his

¹⁵ Pedersen is referring to Mark 15:40 here. Mary of Cleophas and Salome were often conflated into one person in Passion narratives in order to uphold the tradition of the three Marys (in addition to the Virgin) at the Crucifixion.

¹⁶ ODa. *orth* [words].

agony even more. The sixth saying was, “It is now finished!” [John 19:30] as if he wanted to say, “O God the Father! I have now completed everything according to your will for the salvation of humanity as you had commanded me to do and everything that the prophets had prophesied about me. If it be your will, then call me back to you now.” God the Father answered, as St Bonaventure says, “Come, my dearest son! I shall take you in my embrace. From now on you will have eternal praise and honour with me. You will never again suffer any adversity or pain. You have now completed everything honourably and well.” Then Our Lord began to turn pale in his face and over all his body, and to close his eyes shut, [and] to bow his head onto his chest as all his strength and power had been tortured¹⁷ out of his body. Then he said the seventh saying in a loud voice and with tears which sounded like this, “O God the Father, into your hands I commend my soul!” [Luke 23:46; cf. Psalm 30:6 *DRB* (31:5 *KJV*)] And with that he gave up his holy soul. *Pater noster*. This happened when it was about twelve o’clock.

A powerful knight called Centurion was converted by this loud cry that Jesus gave out as he died,¹⁸ and [he] immediately said, “Truly this was the Son of God!” [Matthew 27:54; Mark 15:39; Luke 23:47] because other people would not be able to shout when they are dying. And henceforth, he firmly believed in him. Scholars write that Our Lord shouted so loudly that his voice was heard at that moment down into hell. His blessed mother Mary also almost died from great sorrow when she saw him weep and die and heard his pitiful, lamenting voice. She fell to the ground from sheer grief and could move neither her hands nor feet. St John, whom Jesus loved above all his disciples and commanded to look after his mother, lifted her up again with the help of St Mary Magdalene and the other two Marys. They all wanted to comfort her, but they could hardly speak a word due to grief and weeping. O what great pity was present here! When they saw their God and creator hanging bloodied and dead in front of them on the holy cross. Everything felt pity for him except for the cruel Jews and pagans who tortured him: the sun, the moon, and all the stars turned dark and stopped shining; the earth trembled and shook; the rocks crashed together one against the other; the dead rose from the graves; the curtain¹⁹ in the Temple was torn apart, along with many other countless miracles that happened at that time. Then the crowd²⁰ returned to the city. But his

¹⁷ ODa. *thvinge* [to force; torment, afflict].

¹⁸ According to Christian tradition, Cornelius the Centurion was the first Gentile to convert to Christianity. Cf. Acts 10.

¹⁹ ODa. *fastedug* [the cloth or *antependium* that is hung in front of the altar and images during Lent].

²⁰ ODa. *almughe* [common people].

blessed mother sat under the cross together with the four who were with her and hoped to receive God's help and counsel to remove him from the cross and bury him. They constantly looked up at the cross at Our Lord and wept tears of the heart for him, that he should hang there so bloody and covered in wounds, mocked and ridiculed by the common people and no-one wanted to show him any mercy and take him down so that he could be interred and buried.

When it was about three o'clock in the afternoon, a great crowd of armed men came back from the city and wanted to break the legs and limbs of Our Lord and the robbers and take them down from the crosses, so that they would not hang there on their greatest holy day which was Passover which was on the following day. The Virgin Mary stood up and the other four who were with her, their great grief was renewed once again. She looked up at Jesus and said, "O my dearest son, why are they coming back again now? Have they not killed you? I would have thought that they would be content with that. Do they want to torment your dead body even more? I would have saved you from death and your passion, but I could not. Now I would save you again from their hands if it were possible for me. I will pray to God the Father in heaven that he might make them be kind and gentle towards you." Then she fell to her knees in front of the cross and the other four with her. Then they arrived utterly cruelly and in great haste and saw that the robbers were still alive. Then they broke their legs and limbs and took them down from the crosses and immediately threw them into a large cave nearby. Then they walked back over to Jesus at which the Virgin Mary became completely grief-stricken and sought her weapon which was humility. And [she] fell to her knees in front of those scoundrels and held her hands up pressed together in front of them and said, "O dear friends! I ask you in the name of the almighty God not to torment my poor son any further. I am his sorrowful mother and I have never insulted you with a single word. Did my son ever insult you? You have killed him for this. I will forgive you all this wrongdoing and the grief that you have caused me with this. I humbly ask you to show me this mercy: that you do not break his legs and limbs that I may bury him whole. What does it help you to break his limbs? You can see yourselves that he is dead." St John, St Mary Magdalene, and the other two Marys were also kneeling alongside her in front of them and they begged them with weeping tears. The arrogant scoundrels became even more conceited when they saw the great honour and humility that was being shown them. There was then one amongst them who was called Longinus. He was then very conceited but later became humble and holy. He pierced Our Lord's right-hand side with a spear, and blood and water flowed out. Then the Virgin Mary fell down nearly dead into St Mary Magdalene's hands. Then St John became extremely indignant from great sorrow and said to them, "O you cruel people doing this great unkindness to this

dead body! You have killed him [and] now you want to kill his innocent mother too! Go away! We will bury him.” So, they went away according to God’s will. Then the Virgin Mary came to herself again as if she had woken up from sleep and asked whether they had tortured her son anymore. They said no and that the scoundrels had returned to the city. Everyone should here contemplate how often the sword of despair pierced the Virgin Mary’s heart today so that she was almost dead, and for this reason thank and honour her seven great sorrows with *Ave Maria* or some other good prayer. Now the prophecy was fulfilled that Simeon had foreseen for her on Candlemas [the Feast of the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple] that the sword of despair would pierce her heart. [Luke 2:35]

The Virgin Mary, St John, and the three Marys sat beside the cross again and were very saddened that they were unable to get Jesus down from the cross and bury him as they were not strong enough to take him down and nor did they have any tools to do so, neither ladders, hammers, or pincers with which to pull out the nails from the cross. Nor did they dare to leave him, and they could not stay with him any longer either as it was almost night. Here everyone should notice the great sorrow in which they found themselves. They did not know what they should do. While they found themselves in this despair, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus arrived, and they had some others with them who were carrying ladders and tools with which to take Jesus off the cross and brought a hundred pounds of precious balm with which they were to anoint his body before it was buried. When the Virgin Mary saw them coming from the city, she and the others became distraught and thought that the cruel scoundrels had returned to break his limbs. When they came closer, St John said, “May God in heaven be blessed who is now sending us help and comfort! I know those [men] who are coming. It is Joseph and Nicodemus.” Then the Virgin Mary replied, “May God be blessed who wants to comfort and remember us in this way.” St John walked towards them and embraced them. Both sides cried so that they could not speak to one another out of heavy grief. When they came to the cross, Joseph asked who those with the Virgin Mary were. He told him. Then he went on to ask where the other apostles were. He answered that he did not know as none of them was with them throughout that day. When they arrived at the cross, they fell to their knees and prayed to him. Then they stood up again and embraced Mary and the other Marys and genuflected down to the ground for them. They wept and grieved so that they could not speak to one another. Finally, the Virgin Mary said to them, “You did well to remember your teacher as he loved you very much.” Here everyone should notice how they took Our Lord’s body down from the cross.

Towards the evening they placed two ladders against the cross, one on each side. Joseph ascended the ladder that was by the right hand and started working and

pulling on the nail that went through his hand with some pincers. He was entirely unable to pull it out unless he also pressed against the hand because the nail was large and hammered hard into the strong wood. When he got it out, St John gave him a signal that he should take this nail secretly so that the Virgin Mary did not see. Then Nicodemus took the other nail out of the left hand with much labouring and also gave it secretly to St John. Then Nicodemus descended to take the nail out of the feet, while Joseph stood up again and held Jesus' body in his embrace. When the feet were freed, Joseph carefully climbed down the ladder. As soon as the Virgin Mary could reach Jesus' right hand, she kissed it with a great sigh and much weeping and laid it against her cheek. Then they all took Jesus' body and laid it gently onto the ground. The Virgin Mary sat down on the ground and lay his worthy head and shoulder in her lap and looked at him intensely and kissed him with lamenting tears. St Mary Magdalene took hold of his feet and kissed them (for which she earlier received forgiveness for her sins [Luke 7:36–50]). The others stood around on all sides and wept and sighed for him as the prophet David had previously foreseen, saying, "*Plangent eum quasi unigenitum*" [Zechariah 12:10] "They all wept for him as one weeps for an only son."

When they had been sitting there for some time and weeping over him, and evening was fast approaching, Joseph asked the Virgin Mary to let them wrap his body in linen cloth and bury him. She replied, "Dearest brothers! Do not take my son from me so soon or you will have to bury me with him as I will die from sheer grief!" She wept bitterly and kissed first one wound and then another and looked at the deep wounds in his hands and side and the other wounds all over his body, especially those he had on his holy head from the crown of sharp thorns. She also saw clearly how they had pulled his beard out of his chin and cheeks and the hair off his head. With this the prophecy that Isaiah had previously said from the mouth of God was fulfilled: "*Corpus meum dedi percutientibus et genas meas velentibus*" [Isaiah 50:6] "I gave them my body to those who beat and scourged it and my cheeks [to those] who pulled out my beard." His worthy face was so covered in spittle and blood that hardly anybody could recognize it. While she was looking at him, her heart was so burdened that she almost died. Finally, St John said to the Virgin Mary, "Dearest lady, let us allow Joseph and Nicodemus to wrap and bury Jesus' body as it is almost night, and they will come to great harm and adversity if the Jews learn that they were here for so long." Then she thought how she had been entrusted to him and immediately agreed to his words and made a blessing over Jesus' body and allowed them to handle it. Then Joseph and Nicodemus took a white sheet and wrapped it in it. However, Mary still had his head in her lap and so she wrapped that. St Mary Magdalene still remained by his feet and asked that she might wrap them because she had previously received mercy and

grace by them. She wept so heavily because they were so badly wounded that she would have died immediately in this grief. She kissed and wrapped them as honourably as she could. When the Virgin Mary saw and realized that she could no longer cope with his burial, she said, “O dearest son, how hard it is for me in my heart that we will now finally be parted! How joyful was our companionship together before. We never insulted one another with a single word. You served me, and I you. You have now been so innocently tortured to death. I would have liked to help you in this hour of need, but I could not. You gave yourself willingly into death so that you would save all people. You loved them more than your own life and saved them from the devil with your harsh death for which I am happy. However, I mourn most for your harsh agony and the terrible, innocent death that you suffered on the gallows of the cross for no reason as you never sinned. O dear son! When I have buried you now, what am I to do, your poor, wretched mother? What shall I then think? How can I live without you? I would like to be buried with you that I might be where you are, but I cannot be physically buried with you, so I shall bury my soul with you spiritually in the grave. I commend it to your care.” Then she wept very much and said, “O dear son! How bitter and grievous is this parting!” Then she tied a lovely, clean kerchief (what many call a handkerchief) around his head. Then she made a blessing over him again and they all fell to their knees and prayed to him and kissed his feet. Then they carried him to the tomb that was nearby. The Virgin Mary carried his head, St Mary Magdalene his feet, and the others carried his body. Then they lay him in the tomb with much sighing and weeping, and [they] placed a large stone on top of it and all fell to their knees and prayed to him. When Joseph wanted to return to the city, he said to the Virgin Mary, “O dear lady! I ask you on account of the love that you have for your God and son to accompany me home to my house because everything that belongs to me shall be yours. And I know well that you have neither house nor home.” Then Nicodemus also said the same thing to her. (O what poverty and wretchedness it was that the Queen of Heaven herself did not have anything that she could even nod her head at.) She lowered her head and thanked them humbly and said that she was entrusted to St John. Then St John said to them. “I shall lead her to that house where Jesus ate his supper last night with his disciples and I will remain there with her. They bid her goodnight and walked to the city. When night fell, St John said to Our Lady, “Dear mother, it is not good or appropriate that we tarry here any longer because it is not proper that we walk to the city at night. If it is your will, then we shall go from here.” Then the Virgin Mary stood up and kissed the tomb and made a blessing over it, saying, “O dear son! I can no longer stay with you. I will commend you to God the Father in heaven.” Then she looked up at the sky and said, “O eternal God the Father in heaven, I now commend to you my son and my soul that I have buried with him.” And with that she walked towards the city.

When she came to the cross along the way, she and the others fell to their knees and prayed to it. She said, "On this my dear son rested and this is his precious blood." Then they walked towards the city. When they had walked so far from the tomb and the cross that they could no longer see them, she and the others fell to their knees and prayed to them. When they arrived at the city, the Virgin Mary's sister veiled her and wrapped her as was the custom for dressing widows. Then they walked with her into the city. The Virgin Mary followed between St John and St Mary Magdalene. As they went through the gate, St Mary Magdalene wanted to walk down the street that led to her house and asked the Virgin Mary to follow her will. She was silent and looked at St John as if she wanted to say, "Whatever he does, I am content to do." Then she asked St John to do so [i. e., decide what to do]. He replied, "It is better that we go to where Jesus ate his supper last night. There we will find the other apostles. Then we can tell them how everything has proceeded, and you shall accompany us there." She answered, "I would like to accompany the Virgin Mary wherever she goes and never forsake her." Then many girls, maidens, and good, honourable women came to her on the streets in the city and wept and sighed because of her great sorrow and despair. Many other good people who were walking around her wept and said, "O what a great wrong and injustice has happened to her today at the hands of the leaders and judges here in this city because they had her son tortured to death for no reason and crime. And God performed many marvellous miracles today for his sake. They should watch themselves that Our Lord does not torment them for this." When they arrived at the house where they were to stay, the Virgin Mary entered together with her sisters and St Mary Magdalene. But St John remained by the door and asked the other women and girls who had accompanied them to go home to their own houses because it was late at night. He thanked them greatly for walking so far on the street with them; and with that, he shut the door. Then the Virgin Mary said to St John, "Where now is my dear son, the joy, comforter, and consoler of us all, who ate here yesterday? How shamefully he was betrayed, captured and bound, scourged and crowned, and then suffered the disgraceful death on the gallows of the cross which torments my heart more than anything! O how bitter is our parting that I cannot die alongside him!" St John comforted her as best as he could and asked her to surrender herself to peace.

5 A Sermon for Passion Sunday

Headnotes

- Source:* **A** DAS AM 787 4^o, ff. 38rb32–40va3 (fifteenth century).
Parallel texts: **B** SKB A 27, ff. 153va5–154vb25 (1450–1500); **D** DKB GKS 1390 4^o, ff. 125v6–132r20 (c. 1450). These two versions are too different from *A* to make a variant apparatus of use. Should the reader wish to compare these two versions (*B* and *D*) with *A*, consult the editions in *SMP*.
Original text: ~
Editions: **A** *SermSac* 187–92 (no. 21); *SMP* I 103–10; **B** *SMP* II 63–66; **D** *SMP* VIII 158–65.

Edition (A DAS AM 787 4^o)

- Jhesus sagde iudhomen **hulkin**
af idhir formagh rætuislica awita mik
3 hafua giort syndh **Mædhan** iach
sigir idhir sannind hwi tron j ey
mik **Then** som ær af gudhi høre
6 tækkelica min ordh / j hørin them
ey **mædh** kærlek ty at j ærin ey af gu-
dhi / swa at j ælskin han judhane
9 swaradho **Sant** sighiom vi at thu æst
af them hedhna stadhenom samaria oc
hauir diæfwlskap **Jhesus** swaradhe jac
12 hauir ey diæfwlscap / vtan iak hedhra
gud min fadhír oc j vanhedhrin mik
Ey letar iak mina æro aff mannom
15 gudh fadhír ær hulkin mina æro le-
thar oc skal døma them som mik van-
æra / them som min kennedom gøme
18 scal ey se ælla koma j æuærdelikin
dødh **Judhane** swaradho nw vithom

2 awita] |awita| *A*.

- vi at thu haur diæfwlscap **Abraham**
- 21 ær dōdhir oc prophetane æru dōdhe /
ok thu sigir then min kennedom gōme
skal ey smaka dōdhin æuærdelica / *mædh*
- 24 huat dywre rækna thu tik meer
vara æn abraham ælla prophetana hul-
ke dōdhe æru
- 27 **Jhesus** swara-
dhe vm iak ærar mik *mædh* værdzlike
æro tha ær min æra enkte **Gudh**
- 30 min fadhīr ær / som mik ærar / hulkin j
sighin jdhan gud vara / oc j kændin
ey han / hōrande han / æn iak kenner
- 33 han ok ware thet swa / at iak swa sculi
faa sighia at iak honom ekki kenner
tha wardhīr iak liker idhīr en
- 36 liughare / vtan iak kenner han
oc gōmir hans budordh Abra-
ham idhīr fadhīr gladdis æuærdhelica
- 39 foreseande min tilquæmda dagh j
værildenna ok sagh min dagh *mædh*
sinne tro nar honum sagdhis af gudi
- 42 thinne affōdho gen xxij Som *christus*
ær skal alth folk vælsignas **Ju-**
dhane sagdo **Thu** æst ey æn fæmti-
- 45 ghi ara gamal huru sagh thu abra-
ham **Jhesus** swaradhe jac sigir sannelica
at iak ær fōr æn abraham **Tha** toko
- 48 judhane stena viliande stenka han
oc ihesus skiulte sik ok vtgik af mōn-
streno **Exposicio**
- 51 **J** Tesso helgo læst ær fōrst mærkian
dhe at alle the synda orsaklica som
ey vilia lydha gudz sanna kennedom
- 54 ty at mædhan enghin kan prōfwa

26 æru] æru [mædh licamans dōdh af | hulkom iak hær ey talar] A. 30 ærar] æra/r\ A.
31–36 oc ... han] |oc ... han| A. 34 kenner] kenner | [iak] A. 36 kenner] kenner [iak] A.

- synd til hans bør allom tro honom
 Ey kan ondz thanka synd prøfuas
 57 til hans ty at scriuat ær sap · v^o
Cogitacio iustorum apud altissimum At
 rætuisa manne tanke ær nær høg-
 60 ta gudh / myclo hældir ær gudz sons
 tanke nær gudhi **Ey** kan oc ordha
 ælla gærninga synd prøfuas til hans
 63 huadhan af petrus apostolus sigir j petri ij
peccatum non fecit et cetera *Christus* giordhe ey
 syndh oc ey fanz swik j hans mwn
 66 **Thy** sculu the fordømas som
 ey tro hans kennedom hulkom han sigir
johannis viij Vos ex patre dyabolo estis
 69 et desideria patris vestri wltuis facere **J**
 ærin af fadhír diæflenom fólghian-
 dhe honom j ondo / oc idhirs fadhírs
 72 diæfwlsins astundilse vilin j gøra / som ær at
 dræpa siælana **Ty** at scriuat ær aff
 honum johannis viii Homicida fuit ab
 75 inicio **Han** var mandrapare af vp
 hofueno lokkande adam ok eua til
 synd *mædh* hulke the forskulladhe
 78 dødhin gen iij **Oc** ty sigir *christus*
joh xviiij Qui est ex veritate audit
verba mea / **Huar** som ælskar gudlica
 81 sannind hører gærna min ordh
Ty ær mærkiande at *christus* predicar
 triggia handa sannindh / **Hulke**
 84 høgfærdoghe iudhane mothe sagdo
 oc æn mote sightha onde *crístne* mæn
 fførste ær ødmiuktinne sannindh
 87 til hulka han os kallar sigiande
Mt xj discite a me quia mitis sum
et humilis corde **Nimin** aff mik

55–57 bør ... hans] ~ A, bør allom tro honom Ey kan ondz thanka synd prøfuas til hans B, tha
 bør allæ at tro hammem Æy kan ondz thænken synd prøuæs ij hannem D. 66 the] the [fod] A.
 72 astundilse] |astundilse| A.

- 90 iak ær mildir ok ødmiukir
 j hierta / herne mote sigir høgførdogir
 som scriuat ær eccī xīj Abhominacio superbo
- 93 humilitas / ødmiuktin ær ledh oc stygh
 høgførdoghum mannom Oc sigx honum
 ysa xīj Detracta est ad inferos super-
- 96 bia tua Thin høgførdh ær nidhirdraghin
 til heluitis ¶ Annor ær
 siælfuiliande fatikdombir af hulke
- 99 han sigir Mt v · Beati pauperes spiritu et cetera
 Sæle æru siælfuiliande fatighe
 ty at thera ær himerikis rike
- 102 Oc sighir Cassiodorus Hii sunt pauperes
dei qui mundana superbia derelicta ·
humilitati se per omnia tradiderunt Nam pau-
- 105 per si superbiat non est dei pauper
 The æru gudz fatike mæn som for-
 leto høgførdena oc antwardadhe
- 108 sik alle ødmiukt Æn then fatikir
 man som høgførdhas ær ey gudz fatikir
 Æn for ty at som christus sigir vi libro celesti liij
- 111 Judhane høgførdadhos aff sinom la-
 ghum hulkin the ey gømdo ok waro
 aldra girughast til værildz godz
- 114 sagdho te mot ødmiukt ok fatik-
 dom som scriuat ær luc xvj Audie-
bant hec omnia pharisei qui erant auari
- 117 et deridebant eum Judhane som waro
 nidzske oc girughe hørðho huru
 ihesus predicadhe mot værildz giri
- 120 oc gabbadho han ok ty sighia the j
 heluite sap v Errauimus a via
veritatis Sequitur Quid profuit nobis nostra
- 123 superbia aut diuiciarum iactancia · quid
contulit nobis talia dixerunt in inferno qui
peccauerunt Vi ville forum aff san-
- 126 nindana vægh huat dugdhe

90 iak] [at] iak A.

- os war hōfærdh ælla huat gaf
 oss · vara rikedomas rosn /
- 129 Tolik ting sagdo the j hel-
 uite som syndadho ¶ Tridhia ær ren-
 lekir Til hulkit ihesus manadhe
- 132 sigiande Mt v · Beati mundo corde et cetera
 Sæle æru rene j hiertana ty at
 the sculu se gudh / renlekenom mote
- 135 sigir skørlifnadz man som scriuat ær Ecci
xxj Verbum sapiencie · scilicet · castitatis audiuit luxuri
osus et displicuit ei et proiecit illud
- 138 post dorsum suum Skørlifnadz man
 hørde sniælt renleks ord oc thet
 mistækkis honum oc han atirkastadhe
- 141 thet vm sin bak Ok thy scal
 han gratande j pinom sighia som scriuat
 ær iiij libro celesti vij Ve mik at iach
- 144 ælskadhe mins syndogha kōtz oc
 krops lusta j skørlifnadh / hær
 amot ropa renliwis mæn sigian-
- 147 dhe ps Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem
tuam et cetera O herra gud sænt mik thin-
 na nadha liws oc thinna sannindh
- 150 the sculu ledha mik til tith hel-
 gha biærgh som ær himerike Oc
 for thesse triggia sanna
- 153 predikan sigx christo j læstinne
 Mt xxj Verax es et viam dei in veritate
doces Thu æst sandir oc kærner
- 156 oc lærer gudz vægh j sannindh
 Fframledhis visar læstin os ath
 ihesus hafde fæm god ting moth
- 159 iudhana vredhis gialdh Fførsth
 var at han gømde sant tolamodh
 them som obrygdelica taladhe thil
- 162 hans sigiande han wara diæwls
 man oc annat tolikit Aff hulkom

141 sin] sin [rygh] A. 154 viam] |viam} A.

- han sagde *beata birgitta* ahørande
 165 Jak hafde mangfall drøfuilse
 oc ærfuodhe Jak hørde værsto
 ordh ok obrygdhise jak var fan-
 168 gadhir oc flengdir ok swa som
 j præs pinadhir Jak hørde All
 obrygdilse Jak tolde smælikkasta
 171 dødth oc bæskasto hiertans sorgh
 for idhra siæla helso **O** mine owi-
 ni thetta aktin j ey oc ty vthan j bæ-
 174 trin idhir skulin j sænkas swa diupt
 j heluite at alle heluitis diæfla
 skulu wara ofuir idhir otolica
 177 pinande idhir ¶ Annat ær at han
 tygdhe tha iudhana kalladhe han
 hedinzskaps man / hulkit han var ey /
 180 oc trætte ey mot them *mædh* delo ordom
 gifuande oss eptirdøme samuledh
 gøra / ty at swa som eldin slokna tha
 183 træen bortkastas fra hanum / swa
 slækkias delo ordh nar enghen swa-
 rar til thera / huadhan aff scriuat ær
 186 prouer xxvj^o Cum defecerint ligna extinguitur
ignis et susurrone subtracto iurgia
quiescunt Nar træen vanskas vt-
 189 slækkis eldin oc tha tuskarin ær
 borttakin huilas delor oc atiruæn-
 dhas **Oc** ty som scriptin biudhir ecce viij^o
 192 Non litiges cum homine linguato nec strves
in ignem illius ligna kifua ey ælla
 træth *mædh* tungofullom man oc kasta
 195 ey træ j hans vredhis eldh Thil
 hulkit gregorius sigir Jn irritacione rixe
gloriosius est iram tacendo fugere quam respon-
 198 dendo vincere J delo trætilsom
 ær ærlicare at fly vredhena tigan-

166 hørde] hørdo A, hørðhe D. 176 wara] wara [ofvan] A. 188 In left-hand margin: Nota A. 197–98 respondendo] respondendo [tacere] A.

- dhe æn forwinna hona swarandhe
- 201 ¶ Tridhia var at han siæflica
 swaradhe tha the sagdho han haa
 diæfwlskap oc ey *mædh* hardhom ordom /
- 204 vitande at som scriuat ær *prouer xx honor*
est homini qui separat se · a contencionibus
Hedhir ær them manne som skil sik
- 207 fran delom oc trættom ok folskra
 dara mundir tilblandas obrigdil-
 som oc smælicom ordhom *Eiusdem xv*
- 210 *Responsio mollis frangit iram sermo*
durus suscitatur furorem / lingua sa-
piencium ornat scienciam / os stultorum
- 213 *ebulit stulticiam* **Bløt** swar brytir
 vredhena / oc hart maal vpuæk-
 kir gelniska / sniælla manna tunga
- 216 prydhir visdom folskra dara mun-
 dir vpuællir folsko **Som** syntis
 j vars herra sniælla ordhom oc iudha-
- 219 na folsco oc obrigdhilsa ordom ¶
Ffiærda var at han atirgalt got for
 ont oc gaff them oc tedde æuærdeli-
- 222 kis lifs kennedom mot obrygdilsom
 ordom sigiande **Then** som gømir mith
 mal · ælla kennedom han skal ey sma-
- 225 ka · dødhin æuærdelica glosa **Nimi**
 ty then som skadhas af androm ey
 atirgælla · ont vtan got eptir wars
- 228 herra budhi **Som** sigir *Mt v Diligi*
te inimicos vestros et cetera **Ælskin**
 idhra owini oc gørin vælgærningha
- 231 them som idhir hata · oc bidhin for them
 ¶ **Ffæmpta** var at han skiul
 te sik for iudhomen oc bortgik
- 234 fran them **Til** hulkit *gregorius sighir*
Exemplo dominus nobis loquitur vt cum eciam
resistere possumus iram recedendo de-
- 237 *clinemus* **Hær** talar var herra til
 war *mædh* sino eptirdøme ath wi
 skulum bortgangande fly vredhe-

- 240 na · jæmuæl tha wi formaghom
 mote sta / hær fulkompnadhe *christus*
 j sik *thet som han bødth sinom apostolis*
- 243 Mt x Cum vos persequentur in vna
ciuitate fugite in aliam Nar the
 ælta idhir ælla hata · j enom stadh
- 246 tha flyn til annan ¶ ytarst j
 læstinne sigx at iudhane
 toko stena viliande sla *ihesum*
- 249 til dødth *mædh* them Ty ær mæ-
 kiande at the reddo honum
 fyra dødha Fførst vilde
- 252 herodes konungir dræpa han / tha han
 var nyføddir swa the som nyuæn-
 dhe æru til bætring gifua ondh
- 255 eptirdøme ælla radh til synd dræpa
christum af thera hiertom Ty sigir *augustinus*
Qui in conspectu multorum male
- 258 egerit omnes a quibus attenditur quantum
in se est occidit Then som illa lifuir j
 manga asyn dræpir a sina vægna
- 261 alla them som hans atæwe granlika
 skodha ¶ Annantidh som scriuat ær luc iiij^o
Duxerunt eum vsque ad supercilium montis
- 264 vt precipitarent eum et cetera Judhane leddo
 han vpp ofuir een hogan bærgha-
 klint viliande han thær nidhirfore
- 267 skiuta at han skulde swa aldir
 sundhirkrosas æn for ty at han vilde
 ey æn tha dø vtgik han oskaddhir
- 270 wr thera handom Swa vidhirstofresta
 kættara · oc trulkarla oc alle the
 helgha tro villara sundirkrosa hans
- 273 licama Af hulkom scriuat ær vi libro celesti
xxvij Somlike leta oc bedhas af
 trulkarlom at the swa skipin *mædh*
- 276 sinom diæfwlslico trulkonstom ok
 galdrom ok diæfla akallan at the
 maghin faa helbrygdo af siuk-
- 279 dom ælla annor the ting som the

- astunda **O**c ty alla the som tolik
 ting gøra ælla bedhas af diæf-
 282 wlslicom trulkarlom æru hatelike
 oc forbannadhe nær gudhi / **O**ch
 huru længe the blifua j toliko
 285 akt oc stadgha komer ey nokor
 thes helgha andæ · ingiutlse ælla nadh
 j thera hierta **T**ridhia tidh vilde
 288 iudhane stenka han som j dagh
 six Swa stenka the ihesum som onda
 tanka oc vilia hafua huadhan
 291 af beda *sigir* Quot malas cogitaciones
quis assumit quasi tot lapides contra deum
mittit **H**uru manga onda tanka no-
 294 kor takir til sin swa manga stena
 kastar han mot *christum* **O**c kærer *christus*
 owir them sigiande **J**ak talar til them
 297 *mædh* minom *predicarom* oc the helgo script
 oc the sighia at iach talar lygn the
 sla min mwn *mædh* stenom oc næwa
 300 pustom / nar the gøra hoor ok man-
 drap oc lygn **J**ac hører them dagh-
 lica sighia at pinan ær ey æ-
 303 uærdelikin oc ey swa bæsk som sigx ok
 min ordh dømas at vara lygn **O**k
 ty then som *sigir* min ordh vara lygn
 306 scal nidhir flyta til heluitis som træk-
 kir **F**fiærda tidh korsfesto the han
 swa korsfesta the han andelica som
 309 forlata dygdena oc følghia lasto
 men / huadhan af *ambrosius sigir* *Quid*
est ihesus nisi pax veritas et iusticia qui
 312 *ergo pro falsitate relinquit veritatem pro cupi-*
ditate corrumpit et odit pacem et pro
aliquo occultat iusticiam quid aliud videtur
 315 *nisi christum lapidare crucifigere et occidere*

285 stadgha] stadgha \oc/ A. 286 helgha andæ] helgha A, helgha andæ D. 312 veritatem]
 |veritatem| [iusticiam] A.

Huad ær *ihesus* vtan fridhir sannind ok
 rætuisa / oc ty then som sannindh for-
 318 latir for fals oc hatar ok sundirslitir
 fridhin for giri sculd ok løner ræt-
 uisona for nokat værildzlikit
 321 gagn ælla løn **Huadh** synis han
 arnat gøra æn stenka oc korsfesta
 ihesum at af tolkom fulkompnas thædh
 324 paulus sigir heb vj Rursum sibi crucifi-
gentes christum filium dei et ostentui ha-
bentes The korsfesta sik annantidh
 327 gudz son oc hafua for gab **Ty** bør
 os ey følghia them som *christum* korsfesto /
 fran allom syndom eptir pauli ordhom
 330 som sigir Qui christi sunt carnem suam cruci-
fixerunt cum viciis et concupiscenciis
 The som sanne *christi* tiænara æru kors-
 333 festa sith kòt fran syndom oc lastom
 sik atirhallande / hulkit miscunsambir
 gud gifui os at gøra **Amen**

Translation

[John 8:46] Jesus said to the Jews, “Which of you can rightfully reproach me for having committed a sin? As I am telling you the truth, why do you not believe me? [47] Whoever is of God joyfully hears my words. You do not hear them with love, because you are not of God in such a way that you love him.” [48] The Jews replied, “We say truthfully that you are from the pagan towns of Samaria and you have diabolical machinations!” [49] Jesus answered, “I have no dealings with the devil, but I honour God, my father, and you dishonour me. [50] I do not seek my glory among men. God the Father is the one who seeks my glory and shall judge those who dishonour me. [51] Those who keep my teachings shall not see or come to eternal death.” [52] The Jews replied, “Now we know you have dealings with the devil! Abraham is dead and the prophets are dead, and you are saying, ‘whoever keeps my teachings will not taste eternal death.’ [53] With what audacity do you count yourself as being greater than Abraham and the prophets who are dead?” [54] Jesus replied, “If I honour myself with worldly honour then my honour is nothing. God my father, whom you call your God, is the one who honours me. [55] But you do not know him and are unable to hear him! But I know him, and

were I to say that I do not know him, then I would be a liar, just like you. But I do know him and keep his commandments. [56] Abraham, your father, rejoiced when he foresaw the day of my arrival into the world and saw my day with his faith when he was told by God [Genesis 22]: ‘In thy seed shall all people be blessed like Christ.’” [57] The Jews replied, “You are not yet fifty years old, how have you seen Abraham?” [58] Jesus replied, “I tell you truthfully that I am from before Abraham.” [59] Then the Jews picked up stones and wanted to stone him and Jesus hid and left the Temple.

Exposition

In this Holy Scripture, the first thing to notice is all those who sin without excuse, who do not want to obey God’s teachings, because as no-one can prove there is sin within him, they should all believe him. The sin of evil thought cannot be proven within him because it is written in Wisdom 5[:16]: *Cogitatio illorum apud Altissimum*.¹ ‘That the thought of righteous men is near to God Most High,’ so much more is the thought of God’s Son near to God. Nor can the sin of words or deeds be proven within him about which the apostle Peter says in 1 Peter 2[:22]: *Qui peccatum non fecit nec inventus est dolus in ore ipsius*.² So those who do not believe his teachings shall be damned, about which he says to John 8[:44]: *Vos ex patre diabolo estis et desideria patris vestri vultis facere*.³ ‘You are of your father the devil, following him in evil, and you will do the desires of your father the devil,’ which is to kill souls. So, it is written about him in John 8[:44]: *Homicida fuit ab initio*.⁴ ‘He was a murderer from the beginning,’ tempting Adam and Eve into sin by which they earned death. Genesis 3. And so, Christ says [in] John 18[:37]: *Qui est ex veritate, audit vocem meam*.⁵ ‘He who loves divine truth, willingly hears my words.’ So, it is noteworthy that Christ preaches three kinds of truth against which arrogant Jews argued and bad Christians still argue.

First, the truth of humility to which he calls us, saying, Matthew 11[:29]: *Discite a me, quia mitis sum, et humilis corde*.⁶ ‘Learn from me: I am meek and humble in my heart.’ The arrogant [man] contradicts this as it written, Ecclesiasticus [Sirach] 13[:24]: *Abominatio <est> superbo humilitas*.⁷ ‘Humility is repulsive

1 ‘The thought of them is with the Most High.’

2 ‘Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth.’

3 ‘You are of your father the devil, and the desires of your father you will do.’

4 ‘He was a murderer from the beginning.’

5 ‘Every one that is of the truth, heareth my voice.’

6 ‘[...] and learn of me, because I am meek, and humble of heart.’

7 ‘And as humility is an abomination to the proud.’

and abhorrent to arrogant⁸ men.’ And Isaiah 14[:11] says about this: *Detracta est ad inferos superbia tua.*⁹ ‘Your arrogance is brought down to hell.’

Second is intentional poverty about which he says, Matthew 5[:3]: *Beati pauperes spiritu et cetera.*¹⁰ ‘Blessed are the intentionally poor because theirs is the kingdom of heaven.’ And Cassiodorus says: *Hii sunt pauperes Dei qui mundana superbia derelicta; humilitati se per omnia tradiderunt. Nam pauper si superbiat non est Dei pauper.*¹¹ ‘God’s poor men are those who forsake arrogance and entrust themselves entirely to humility. And the poor man who is arrogant is not God’s poor man.’ But as Christ says [to St Birgitta in] *Liber Caelestis* 6.54[:7–8]: “The Jews were arrogant towards the law that they did not follow and were exceedingly greedy for worldly wealth.”¹² They spoke against humility and poverty as it is written in Luke 16[:14]: *Audiebant haec omnia pharisaei, qui erant avari: et deridebant eum.*¹³ ‘The Jews who were jealous and greedy heard how Jesus was preaching against worldly greed and they mocked him.’ And therefore, they say in hell, Wisdom 5[:6, 8]: *Erravimus a via veritatis ... [Sequitur:] Quid profuit nobis nostra superbia? aut divitiarum jactantia quid contulit nobis? dixerunt in inferno qui peccaverunt.*¹⁴ ‘We wanted to stray from the way of truth, what did our arrogance do for us? Or what did our boasting of riches give us? Such things say those in hell who have sinned.’

Third is purity to which Jesus exhorted [us], saying, Matthew 5[:8]: *Beati mundo corde et cetera.*¹⁵ ‘Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God.’ The fornicator speaks against purity as is written, Ecclesiasticus 21: *Verbum sapi-*

8 Lat. *superbus* means ‘proud’ (cf. OSw. *stolter* [even *ivirdadhogher*]), whereas OSw. *høghfærdhogher* is closer to ‘arrogant.’

9 ‘Thy pride is brought down to hell.’

10 ‘Blessed are the poor in spirit, and so on.’

11 ‘God’s paupers are those who forsake worldly pride. They entrust themselves entirely to humility. But a pauper who is proud, is not God’s pauper.’ Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus (c. 485–c. 585), *Expositio psalmorum* 2; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 70, col. 507: “Dei sunt qui, mundana superbia derelicta, humilitati se per omnia tradiderunt. Nam et si pauper superbiat, non est Dei pauper.” [Belonging to God are those who forsake worldly pride and entrust themselves in all things to humility. In fact, if a pauper is proud, then he is not God’s pauper.]

12 Cf. OSw. Birgitta Birgersdotter, *BU* VI 150: “Judhanna mæstara høghfærdadhos ok æradho sik aff laghomen som the hafdho oc gømdo ey ok for thy at the varo giroghast vpuækto the folkit medh ordhom ok æptedømom at astunda ok afla værlzlik thing.” [The Jewish teachers were arrogant and took (their) honour from the law which they possessed and did not follow and because they were so very greedy, they encouraged the people with (their) words and example to seek and acquire worldly things.]

13 ‘Now the Pharisees, who were covetous, heard all these things: and they derided him.’

14 ‘Therefore we have erred from the way of truth [...] What hath pride profited us? or what advantage hath the boasting of riches brought us?’

15 ‘Blessed are the clean of heart, and so on.’

*enciae, scilicet castitatis, audivit luxuriosus et displicuit ei et proiecit illud post dorsum suum.*¹⁶ ‘A fornicator heard an intelligent, pure word and it displeased him and he threw it away behind his back.’ And therefore, he will go weeping into torments [i. e., hell], as is written in St Birgitta’s *Liber Caelestis* 4.7[.46]: “Woe is me, that I loved my sinful flesh and bodily desires in fornication.”¹⁷ Chaste men shout against this saying. Psalm 42[:3]: *Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam et cetera.*¹⁸ ‘O Lord God, send me the light of your mercy and your truth. They shall lead me to the holy mountain that is heaven.’

And for these three true sermons, it is said about Christ in the reading, Matthew 22[:16]: *Verax es, et viam Dei in veritate doces.*¹⁹ ‘You are true and teach God’s way in truth.’

Furthermore, the reading shows us that Jesus had five good things against the Jews’ furious anger.

The first was that he remained truly patient towards those who spoke insultingly to him saying that he was a man of the devil and other such things. About which he said to St Birgitta who listened, “I had many hardships and distress. I heard the worst words and insults. I was captured and scourged and tortured as if in a press. I heard all the insults.”²⁰ I suffered the most disparaging death and bitterest sorrow in my heart for the health of your souls. “O my friends, you do not pay attention to this, and so, rather than improving yourselves, you will sink so deeply into hell that all the devils of hell will be above you, torturing you without relief.”²¹

16 ‘An indulgent person hears a wise word, that is a pure word, and it displeases him and he throws it behind his back.’ Cf. Ecclesiasticus 21:18: “Verbum sapiens quodcumque audierit sciens, laudabit, et ad se adjiciet: audivit luxuriosus, et displicebit illi, et projiciet illud post dorsum suum” [A man of sense will praise every wise word he shall hear, and will apply it to himself: the luxurious man hath heard it, and it shall displease him, and he will cast it behind his back.]

17 Cf. Birgitta Birgersdotter, *BU IV* 16: “ve mik thy at jek ælskadhe mins syndogha kòtz oc krops lusta.” [Woe is me that I loved my sinful body and bodily desires.]

18 ‘Send forth thy light and thy truth, and so on.’ Cf. Psalm 43:3 *KJV*.

19 ‘Thou art a true speaker, and teachest the way of God in truth.’

20 Birgitta Birgersdotter, *Revelationes Extravagantes* 51.11; cf. *BU IV* 243: “Jak hafðhe mangfald drøuilse oc æruodhe Jak hørðhe værsta ordh oc obrygdhelse Jak var fangin oc flængdir oc bundin meðh repom oc pinadhír suasom j præs.” [I had many hardships and distress. I heard the very worst words and insults. I was captured and scourged and tied with ropes and tortured as if in a (wine-)press.] The image of Christ squeezed in the winepress is anticipated by the passage in Isaiah 63:1–3 about the man from Edom.

21 Birgitta Birgersdotter, *Liber Caelestis* 7.30.12; cf. *BU VII* 295: “J skulin aldre see mit ænlite vtan for jdhra høgghærdh skulin j swa diupt nidhír sækias j hæluite at alle hæluitis diæfla skulu vara owír jdhir syrghelica pinande jdhir.” [You will never see my face but for your arrogance you shall sink so deeply into hell that all the devils of hell shall be above you, torturing you without pity.]

The second is that he was silent when the Jews called him a pagan which he was not, and he did not fight against them with arguments giving us the example to do the same, because just as fire is extinguished when the wood is thrown out of it, so arguments are extinguished when no-one answers them. About which is written, Proverbs 26[:20]: *Cum defecerint ligna extinguetur ignis, et susurrone subtracto, iurgia quiescunt.*²² ‘When there is no wood, the fire goes out and when the gossiper is removed, arguments come to a rest and stop.’ And so, as Scripture commands, Ecclesiasticus 8[:4]: *Non litiges cum homine linguato, nec strues in ignem illius ligna.*²³ ‘Do not argue with a loud-mouthed man and do not throw wood onto his fire of anger.’ To which Gregory says: *In irritacione rixe gloriosus est iram tacendo fugere, quam respondendo vincere.*²⁴ ‘In an argument it is most honest to flee anger in silence than winning it by replying.’

The third was that when they said that he had dealings with the devil, he replied calmly and not with harsh words, knowing what is written in Proverbs 20[:3]: *Honor est homini qui separat se a contentionibus.*²⁵ ‘It is an honour for the man who keeps away from arguments and strife and false fools’ mouths will be mixed with words of mockery and disdain.’ The same book [Proverbs] 15[:1–2]: *Responsio mollis frangit iram; sermo durus suscitatur furorem. Lingua sapientium ornat scientiam; os stultorum ebullit stultitiam.*²⁶ ‘A gentle answer breaks anger, and a hard tongue awakens wrath. Wisdom adorns the tongues of intelligent men; the false fool’s mouth gushes falseness.’ As was seen in Our Lord’s intelligent words and the Jews’ false and disdainful words.

Fourth was that he repaid evil with good and gave them and showed them the teaching of eternal life in return for words of mockery, saying, “Whoever keeps my tongue or teaching will not taste death forever.” [John 8:52] *Glosa*. [Gloss:] Learn

22 ‘When the wood faileth, the fire shall go out: and when the talebearer is taken away, contentions shall cease.’ The sermon has “quiescunt” [rest, be inactive] for the biblical “conquiescent” [cease, go out].

23 ‘Strive not with a man that is full of tongue, and heap not wood upon his fire.’

24 ‘Rather than winning by replying, by irritating Christ(?), it is glorious to flee anger by remaining silent.’ St Gregory the Great, *In evangelia homiliae* 1.18.4; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 76, col. 1153: “Imitacione etenim Dei, gloriosus est injuriam tacendo fugere, quam respondendo superare.” [In fact, rather than winning by replying, imitating God – fleeing injustice by remaining silent – is glorious.] The version in the sermon contains several scribal errors (“In irritacione” for *imitacione*, “rix” for *Christe*(?) or *rexe*(?), “iram” [cf. the following OSw. translation “vredhena”] for *injuriam*) and uses “vincere” [win, defeat] instead of *superare*.

25 ‘It is an honour for a man to separate himself from quarrels.’

26 ‘A mild answer breaketh wrath: but a harsh word stirreth up fury. The tongue of the wise adorneth knowledge: but the mouth of fools bubbleth out folly.’ The sermon has “stultorum” [stupid, foolish] for the biblical *fatuum* [foolish].

that whoever is hurt by others does not repay with evil but with good according to Our Lord's commandment that says, Matthew 5[:44]: *Diligite inimicos vestros et cetera.*²⁷ 'Love your enemies and do good deeds for those who hate you and pray for them.'

The fifth was that he hid himself from the Jews and went away from them. To which Gregory says: *Exemplo Dominus nobis loquitur, ut cum etiam resistere possumus, iram recedendo declinemus?*²⁸ 'Here Our Lord speaks to us with his example that we should flee anger, walking away, even if we are able to stand against it.' Here Christ fulfilled in himself what he commanded for his apostles, Matthew 10[:23]: *Cum vos persequentur in una ciuitate, fugite in aliam.*²⁹ 'When they persecute or hate you in one city, then flee to another.'

Finally in the reading it says that the Jews picked up stones wanting to kill Jesus with them. So, it is noteworthy that they were preparing him for death.

First, King Herod wanted to kill him when he was new-born like those who are newly converted to better things give a bad example or counsel to sin [and] kill Christ with their hearts. As Augustine says: *Qui in conspectu multorum male egerit omnes a quibus attenditur, quantum in se est occidit.*³⁰ 'Whoever lives badly in sight of many people kills along his way all those who carefully watch his behaviour.'

Second, as it is written in Luke 4[:29]: *Duxerunt eum usque ad supercilium montis, ... ut praecipitarent eum et cetera.*³¹ 'The Jews led him up over a high mountain-cliff wanting to throw him down from there so that he would be crushed asunder but as he did not yet wish to die, he walked uninjured out of their hands.' So do heretics and sorcerers and all the disbelievers of the Holy Faith make great efforts to crush his body asunder. About which is written in *Liber Caelestis* 7.28[.21–23]: "Some look for and ask of sorcerers that they make it happen through

27 'Love your enemies, and so on.'

28 'The example of the Lord is told to us so that we are able to resist with it, decline anger by withdrawing.' St Gregory the Great, *In euangelia homiliae* 1.18.4; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 76, col. 1152: "Quid autem nobis hoc exemplo loquitur, nisi ut, etiam cum resistere possumus, iram superbientium humiliter declinemus?" [Why indeed is this example told to us, unless that when we are able to resist the anger of the proud we humbly decline?]

29 'And when they shall persecute you in this city, flee into another.'

30 'Whoever behaves badly in sight of many people kills along his way all those who were watching him.' Augustine of Hippo, *Sermones* 46.4: *De pastoribus*; *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 38, cols 274–75: "tamen qui in conspectu populi male vivit, quantum in illo est, eum a quo attenditur occidit." [however, whoever lives wickedly in sight of the people, how many there are, he kills them who were watching him.]

31 '[...] they brought him to the brow of the hill [...] that they might cast him down headlong.'

their devilish sorcery and magic and invocation of the devil that they can receive a cure of their sickness or other things that they desire. And so all those who do such things or ask them of devilish sorcerers are hateful and damned in God's sight. And for as long as they stay in such an act or state, the infusion or grace of the Holy Spirit will not enter their hearts."³²

Third, the Jews wanted to stone him like today, for it is said: those who have evil thoughts and desires stone Jesus. About which Bede says: *Quot malas cogitationes quis assumit, quasi tot lapides contra Deum mittit.*³³ 'As many evil thoughts that someone has, so many stones do they throw at Christ.' And Christ complains about them, saying, "I talk to them with my sermons and the Holy Scripture, and they say that I'm speaking lies. They hit my mouth with stones and punches while they are committing adultery and murder and [telling] lies. I hear them daily say that the torment is not eternal and not as bitter as it is said, and my words are judged to be lies. And so, whoever says that my words are lies will be moved down to hell like dirt."³⁴

32 Cf. OSw. Birgitta Birgersdotter, *BU VII* 292–93: "Nw æru mange mæn oc qvinnor som leta raadh aff forbannadhóm trokonóm ok gallirkonóm [...] Somlike at the maghin faa helbrygdho aff sinom siukdom Thy alle the som tholik thing gøra ælla nakra andra galdra ælla troldoma oc the som halla ok hysa tholka j sinom husom ælla tro thom æru hatughe oc forbannadhe nær gudhi Ok aldre skal nakar thæs hælgha anda ingiutlise ælla nadh ingaa j thera hiærta Swa længe som the bliua j tholkom stadhga ælla vilia" [Now there are many men and women who seek advice from damned sorceresses and witches (...) Some that they can receive a cure of their sickness. So all those who do such things or any other magic or witchcraft and those who do or entertain such things in their house or faith, they are hateful and damned in God's sight. And never shall the infusion or grace of the Holy Spirit enter their hearts for as long as they stay in such a state or desire.]

33 'How many evil thoughts someone has, so many stones do they send towards God.' The attribution to Bede is probably incorrect. Cf. Remigius of Auxerre, *Homiliae duodecim 7; Patrologia Latina*, vol. 131, col. 903: "Nam quotquot malas cogitationes homo in se suscipit, quasi tot lapides in Jesum jaciatur." [For how many bad thoughts that a person has, so many stones do they throw at Jesus.]

34 Birgitta Birgersdotter, *Liber Caelestis* 1.46.11–12; cf. *BU I* 141–42: "Jak talar til thera medh kænefædhromen ok the hælgho script vtan the sighia at iak talar lygn The sla min mun medh stenom ok næfwapustum nar the gøra hoor ok mandrap ok lygn ok sighia swa vm han ware manlikin thet ær vm han ware gudh alzualloghþir tha hæmpdis han owir tholikin ingang ok oræt Æn iak vmbær tholomodhelika thetta ok høre iak daglika thera ordh som sighia at pinan ær æwerdhelikin ok tho ey swa besk ok hardh som six Vtan min ordh dōmas ok sighias wara lygn ok fals [...] Æn then som sagdhe min ordh wara lygn ok sagdhe ey vita hwat hællir iak ær gudh ælla ey Jak skal sannelika þrøfwá mik wara gudh ok han skal nidhþir flyta til hæluitis swa som thrækkir" [I speak to them through the learned fathers and the Holy Scripture, but they say that I am telling lies. They hit my mouth with stones and punches while they are committing adultery and murder and (telling) lies, and they say "If he were manly, that is if he were God Almighty, then he would take

Fourth, they crucified him, so also do those who desert virtues and follow vices: [they] crucify him spiritually. About which Ambrose says: *Quid est Ihesus, nisi pax, veritas et iusticia? Qui ergo pro falsitate relinquit veritatem, pro cupiditate corrumpit et odit pacem, et pro aliquo occultat iustitiam; quid aliud videtur, nisi christum lapidare, crucifigere et occidere.*³⁵ ‘What is Jesus but peace, truth, and justice? And so, whoever deserts truth for the sake of falsity, and hates and breaks asunder peace for the sake of greed and conceals justice for the sake of some worldly advantage or payment, what does he seem to be doing but stoning and crucifying Jesus?’ That what Paul says is fulfilled by such things, Hebrews 6[:6]: *Rursum crucifigentes Christum Filium Dei, et ostentui habentes.*³⁶ ‘They are crucifying for themselves a second time the Son of God and [openly] mock him.’ So, we should not follow those who crucify Christ out of all sins in accordance with Paul’s words that say: *Qui Christi sunt carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis.*³⁷ ‘Those who are the true servants of Christ crucify their flesh by holding back from sins and vices.’ May the merciful God give us this to do. Amen.

revenge for such transgressions and wrongdoings. However, I deal with this patiently and I hear their words daily that say that the torment is eternal and yet not as bitter and harsh as is said. But my words are judged and said to be lies (...) But whoever said my words are lies and said that they did not know whether I was God or not, I shall truly show myself to be God, and he shall be moved down to hell like dirt.]

35 ‘What is Jesus, but peace, truth, and justice? And so whoever leaves truth for falsity, corrupts and hates peace for ambition, and conceals justice for something else, what else do they seem to be but stoning, crucifying, and killing Christ?’ Ambrose, *Sermones S. Ambrosio hactenus ascripti* 30.5: “*Quid enim est Iesus, nisi veritas, et pax et iustitia? Ergo qui pro falsitate relinquit veritatem, et pro cupiditate dirumpit charitatem, et odit pacem, et pro aliquo praemio occultat iustitiam; nihil aliud facere videtur, quam lapidare et crucifigere et occidere Christum*” [What is Jesus, but truth, and peace, and justice? Therefore, whoever relinquishes truth for falsity, breaks charity asunder for ambition, and hates peace, and conceals justice for some other prize, what else do they seem to be doing but stoning and crucifying and killing Christ?]

36 ‘[...] crucifying again to themselves the Son of God, and making him a mockery.’

37 ‘And they that are Christ’s, have crucified their flesh, with the vices and concupiscences.’ Galatians 5:24.

6 Esther

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 108, pp. 136:13–143:24 (1400–50).
Parallel text: ~
Original text: **SelTro** 115–20 (no. 33a); The Book of Esther.
Editions: A *SjäTrö* 166–74; *SjäTrö* K 220–31.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

- Thet* war een mæktogher oc walogher konung / heth asswerus /
han giordhe eeth storth gestabudh / **Oc** bødth ther til alla sina landis herra /
3 Han hafde vnder sino walde hundradha land / oc syu / oc thyughu / *thetta*
gestabudh war kostelikit oc stoort / oc stodh c oc attatighi dagha / ther
war een sal til bygder swa vndarlikin / at engin kan *thet* füllelika *scrifwa* /
6 stolpane waro alle aff sølfwer / **Thakit** war offwan til skapt som hy-
milin / **Nidhan** vnder thakino sato dyre oc ædhla stena / oc skino som
andra stiærnor / **Oc** waro skikkadhe oc satte æpter hymil tunglanna gang /
9 ffor salenom war een yrta gardher / **Oc** mit j yrtagardhenom stodho wintræ /
Bulane waro sølfwer / *qwistane* waro aff gul / winklasane waro aff alla handa
ædhla oc dyra stenom / *Ther* war alt vm kring hængt *purpura* / *baldakin* /
12 bliant oc all the køstelika stykke j *werldinne* matto wara / the linor
thet hængde oppa / waro aff fino silke / **Oc** ringane waro aff filsben /
Thetta hængde oppa them sølf stolpum / som ther waro vpsatte / **Gulfwit**
15 som man gig oppa / war skakkerat oc lakt *medh* dyrom stenom / then ene
war saphir **Oc** the andre smaragdus / **Ther** waro sænga giordha aff
gul oc sølfwer / **Alle** the ther waro / drukko besta oc vthwaldasta wiin /
18 aff *gulkarum* / **Oc** hwar man drak swa mykyt han wilde **Drotningen**

1 mæktogher ... walogher] weidich *SelTro*. 4 kostelikit ... stoort] sere grot *SelTro*; c] \c/ A, hundred *SelTro*. 5 sal] huß *SelTro*; vndarlikin] wonderlijk vnde so kostlijk *SelTro*. 6–7 hymilin ... stena] firmament van eddelen duren stenen *SelTro*. 8 **Oc** ... gang] ~ *SelTro*. 9–11 yrta gardher... stenom] winlouene van clarem suluere. De wynlouene stunt myddest in eyneme wingarden, de was geheten wunnen garden. De windrufelen weren gemaket van eddelen fynen perlen vnde van den duresten stenen, de de werlt hadde; de waren manniger var *SelTro*. 14 sølf] sølf[uer] A; **Gulfwit**] Dat ertrijke *SelTro*. 15 dyrom stenom] eddelen *SelTro*. 17 sølfwer] suluere, dat eyne noch schoner wen dat ander *SelTro*. 17–18 besta ... *gulkarum*] vte guldenen vaten, vnde all den win, den men dar drank, de was vterkoren, also eyme konninge wol temet to drinkene. Dar ne moste neymant den anderen noden to drinken *SelTro*.

heth wasta / **Hon** hiolt eeth *serdelis* gestabudh eller gilde / *medh* frwm och
 iomfrwm oc ærlikom *qwinnom* / **J** konugxsins palacio / **Tha** *thetta* gestabudh och
 21 høghtidh hafdhe standit hundredraha dagha oc attatighy / *bødh* konungin
 alth *thet* folk som war j stadhenom susi / *ther* konungen bodhe badhe fatikom
 oc rikom / **Oc** byriadhe oc hiolt ena nyia glædhy j wingardhenom / **Oc** the
 24 høghtidhen **oc** glædhin stodh j syu dagha / **Syunda** daghin konungen war
 blidher oc mykyt gladher / **Sænde** han bodh til drotnigema / **Oc** badh
 at hon skulde sik skønlika oc ærlika til sæthia / oc koma til hans
 27 glædhy *medh* sinne gulkrono / **thy** at han wilde at alde skuldo see henna
 fæggrind / **Hon** forsmadhe hans budh oc wilde ey til hans koma / **Tha**
 wardh konungen mykyt wredher oc gig til radz *medh* sinom herrom oc førstom /
 30 om hæenna bruth / **The** swaradho honom alle oc saghdho swa / **Herra** konung
Hon hafwer ey athenast thik ensampnan bedrøfft / vtan alla thina go-
 dha oc welborna men mædhir thik / som æro j thino rike / **Nu** taka wa-
 33 ra hustrvr æptedømø aff hænne / oc skulu oss wanwørdha oc forsma
 wart budh / **Thu** skalt hona ofwer gifwa oc lath kunnogha oc byudha /
 at wasti skal aldregh meer for konungin koma / **Oc** thu skalt ena an-
 36 dra bætre vthwælia j henna stadh / **Thet** skedhe oc swa / hon wardh
 for sina høgferdh / vthkastat aff allom them hedher oc æro hon
 hafdhe / **Tha** bødh konugen at alla the fægghersta iomfrvr / som waro
 39 j hans rike skuldo til hofwa koma / **Oc** aff them allom wilde han sik j
 wasti stadh ena drotning vthwælia / **J** them tymanom war j sama sta-
 dhenom susis een iudhe heth mardocheus / **Han** hafdhe ena fatika iom-
 42 fru nær sik / som mist hafdhe badhe fadher oc modher / **Oc** war hans
 brodher dotter hon heth æster / Hwilka han fødde oc hafdhe for sina dotter /
Han sagh een drøm / **Honom** thykte som han saa vpspringa ena litla
 45 kældo / **Oc** aff the kældonne waxte een stoor flodh / **Han** wiste ey hwat

19 gestabudh ... gilde] blitschap in ereme huß *SelTro.* 19–20 och ... palacio] ~
SelTro. 22–23 *ther* ... rikom] alle dat volk alle gemeynliken *SelTro.* 24 høghtidhen ... glædhin]
 blitschap *SelTro.* 25 blidher ... gladher] sere blide *SelTro.* 26 oc ærlika] ~ *SelTro.* 27–28 *thy* ...
 fæggrind] ~ *SelTro.* 29 mykyt] \mykyt/ A. 29–30 gig ... bruth] vragede de landes heren, wat ere
 broke were *SelTro.* 30 swaradho] spreken *SelTro.*; oc ... swa] ~ *SelTro.*; *Herra* konung] Konningk
SelTro. 31–32 alla ... rike] vns alle *SelTro.* 33 oss wanwørdha] ~ *SelTro.* 34–35 ofwer ... koma]
 vorwerpen van deme konningkrike *SelTro.* 36 bætre] ~ *SelTro.*; henna] *hemna* A. 37–38 aff ...
 hafdhe] ~ *SelTro.* 38 fægghersta] ~ *SelTro.* 39 rike] lande *SelTro.* 39–40 **Oc** ... stadh] ~
SelTro. 40–41 j ... susis] Do weren dar in deme lande yoden, de dar woneden *SelTro.* 41 fatika]
 arme eddele *SelTro.* 42 mist] ne hadde noch *SelTro.* 43 Hwilka ... dotter] De helt he dorch god
SelTro.; fødde] fødde A. 44 **Han**] Mardocheus *SelTro.*

drømin hafdhe thydha / **En** gudh inskøth j hans hiæarta at han fōrdhe iomfruna til konugxsins gardh / **Oc** forbōdh hænne at sighia *thet* at hon war
 48 fōdh af iudha slækt / **ther** war een mærkelikin kæmmenære til satter / som iomfrvmen skulde fore standa / oc gifwa them smidhe oc klædhe oc hwat the beddos / **Tha** war æster j bland andra iomfrvr swa ødhmyuk / at hon alz enkte
 51 wilde kræfia ælla bedhas / **Vtan** saghdhe til kæmmenærin / **At** hwat han henne wilde gifwa / **ther** ath skulde hænne wæl nøghia / **Thy** nøth hon sinna ødhmyukt / **Oc** kæmmenærin skipadhe henne syu iomfrvr som hænne skuldo
 54 thiæna / **Oc** gaff hænne alt *thet* hon widherthorfte / **Tha** skipadhe gudh *thet* swa at hon war for alla the andra thek j konungxsins asyn / **Ok** han vthwalde hona til sinna drotning / **Oc** giordhe brylløp *medh* hænne / **Tha** war then drømin sander / som mardochius hafdhe seth at een litin kælda / waxte j ena stora flodh / **Thet** war at the fatika iomfrvn wardh een mæktogh drotning / **Medh** these drotningenne hæster vnderstas the wælsighnadha iomfrvn iomfrv maria /
 60 **Hon** hafwer sina ødhmyukt oc lydhno swa mykyt nutit / **at** gudh hafwer hona giorth til hymerikis drotning / **Medh** the andre drotningenne wasti / som fordrifwin oc vthkastat wardh fran hedher oc wald / for sina høgghfærdh / vnderstas ewa / **Hon** war vthdrifwin for sina høgghfærdh oc olydhno aff paradisi / fran allom them hedher oc æro / **ther** gudh hafdhe hona drotning ofwer giorth / **Nu** thentidh drotningen hester war weldugh wordhin /
 66 **Kom** henna fadherbrodher mardochius opta til konugxsins gardh / och wilde see ok hōra huru hon matte / **Tho** berætte han engom *thet* drotningen war honom skyld / **J** them tymanom waro **ther** twe dora waktara / som plæghadho wakta *thet* innarsta konugxsins pallacium / **ther** han plæghadhe sofwa vth j / **The** fingo awnd til konungen / oc hafdho radh mellan siin

46 inskøth] sande *SelTro*. 46–47 iomfruna] de armen junckfruwen Hester *SelTro*. 47 forbōdh ... sighia] beuol er dat, dat se des nicht seggen scholde *SelTro*. 48 fōdh ... slækt] eynes yoden dochter *SelTro*; mærkelikin] ~ *SelTro*. 49 oc gifwa] ogifwa A; them] den junckfruwen *SelTro*. 49–50 smidhe ... beddos] allet, dat se esschen wolden van klederen vnde van smide *SelTro*. 50 j ... iomfrvr] ~ *SelTro*. 50–51 hon ... bedhas] se neyn smide noch nichtes nicht esschen wolde *SelTro*. 54 alt *thet*] genoch alles *SelTro*. 55 at ... asyn] ~ *SelTro*. 56 **Oc** ... hænne] ~ *SelTro*. 57 som ... seth] ~ *SelTro*. 58 wardh ... drotning] wart gekoren to eyner konningynnen. *SelTro*. 58–59 **Medh** ... hæster] Dijt *SelTro*. 60 ødhmyukt ... mykyt] otmodicheit *SelTro*; gudh] de hemelsche konningk hafwer *SelTro*. 61 hymerikis drotning] eyner konningynnen in syne ewigen rijke *SelTro*; wasti] ~ *SelTro*. 62 fordrifwin ... wald] vorworpen vte deme konningrike *SelTro*. 63–64 høgghfærdh ... olydhno] vnhorsam *SelTro*. 64–65 fran ... giorth] ~ *SelTro*. 66 opta ... gardh] to houe *SelTro*. 67 ok ... matte] wu yd er to handen genge vnde wanderde dicke vor der konningynnen palas *SelTro*. 68 **J** ... tymanom] Dat geschach in dem houe *SelTro*; twe ... waktara] twe portenere, de de dore bewareden *SelTro*. 69 innarsta] ~ *SelTro*. 69–70 **ther** ... j] ~ *SelTro*. 70 **The** ... konungen] ~ *SelTro*.

huru the wildo han myrdha / **Thetta** fik mardocheus wita hemelika / och
 72 saghdhe *thet* for drotningerne / **En** hon war ey seen / vtan saghdhe
thet genstan konungenom / **Oc** konungen gig siælfwer oc ranzsakadhe oc fan
 at swa war sant / oc loth them badha hængia / **Ther** æpter loth konugen
 75 *scrifwa* j sina kronicam / at ther war een iudhe heth mardocheus /
 som han hafdhe warnat for sinom fiandum / ther honom wildo myrdha / j
 them tyma war een man j konugxsins gardh / ther kalladhis aman / then
 78 vphøghdhe konungen ofwer all siin land / **Oc** bødth allom at falla oppa
 knæ for honom tha han kome gangande / *thet* giordhe ok alle / **oc** engin thordhe
thet forlata vtan mardocheus han wilde *thet* ikke gøra / **Ther** aff wardh aman
 81 wredher / oc spordhe hwat man han ware / **Tha** han hørde at han war een
 iudhe / wardh han hatugher oc wredher / oppa alla the iudha j landeno waro /
 oc wilde them alla fordarfwa / aff gamble awnd han hafdhe til thera / for
 84 thy iwdha hafdho førra fordarfwat *thet* folkit / som kalladhis amalechite /
 aff hwilko folke aman war fødder / **Oc** thy taladhe han til konungin / och
 saghdhe swa / Herra konung / her ær eeth handa folk j thino rike / **The** æro
 87 allom androm olike / **The** hafwa ny lagh / **oc** ther ofwer forsmat the thin budh /
 Thy ær widherthorfftokt / at the ey længer tholins / vtan byudh at the
 skulu forderfwas / **Oc** oppa *thet* at thu ey hafwer afsaknadh / eller minzkat
 90 j thinom skath / for thera skuld / wil iak in antwardha j thith fatabwr / **M**^o
 pund sølfwer / **Tha** swaradhe konungen / **Haff** sielfwer oc gør aff folkeno
 hwat thu wilt / **Oc** fik aman sin gulring / som han plæghadhe daghlika
 93 bæra / **Tha** screff aman vth breff a konungxsins wegna / til all hans land
 ok rike / insighlat *medh* konungxsins finger gulle / **at** alle iudhe vnge och
 gamble / qwinnor oc barn / skuldo dræpas / oc thera godz skøflas / oppa
 96 thrættande daghen j tolftha manadheno / tha the brefwin wordho læ-
 sin / j siælfwom stadhenom sosis / **Tha** sørghdho iudhane oc græto ower alla

71 huru ... wildo] vnde wolden *SelTro*; hemelika] ~ *SelTro*. 72 En ... seen] ~ *SelTro*. 73 genstan]
 ~ *SelTro*; oc ranzsakadhe] ~ *SelTro*. 74 at ... sant] de warheit *SelTro*. 75 *scrifwa*] bescriuen
SelTro; sina] sina [krono] A. 77 een man] eyn bose man *SelTro*. 78 oppa] *Catchwords written*
in bottom margin: knæ for honum tha han kome A. 79 for honom] ~ *SelTro*. 80 aman] jenne
SelTro. 82 hatugher ... wredher] hat *SelTro*. 83–85 aff ... fødder] ~ *SelTro*. 84 iwdha] [->]
 wdha A. 85–86 och ... swa] ~ *SelTro*. 86 Herra konung] Konningk *SelTro*; eeth ... folk] eyn
 yodesch deyt *SelTro*; thino] deme *SelTro*. 87 The ... lagh] ~ *SelTro*. 88–89 Thy ... forderfwas]
 Laet my dat deyt vordelgen *SelTro*. 89–91 **Oc** ... sølfwer] ik wil dij geuen teyn dusent punt
SelTro. 91 swaradhe] sprak *SelTro*; **Haff** sielfwer] Hebbe din gud suluen *SelTro*. 92–93 **Oc** ...
 bæra] Vnde de konningk ne wiste des nicht, dat de konningynne ock eyn yodyenne was. Aman
 en wiste des ock nicht *SelTro*. 93 a ... wegna] ~ *SelTro*. 94 rike] steden *SelTro*. 94–96 insigh-
 lat ... manadheno] dat men al de yoden morden scholde *SelTro*. 96–99 tha ... gratande] Do dat
 Mardocheus horde, do wenede he vnde scriede vnde toch eyenen sack an vnde gengk stan *SelTro*.

mato / **Oc** mardochius fōrdhe sik j een sæk / **Oc** strōdhø asko oppa sit hof-
 99 wdh / **Oc** medh hōghe rōst / gig han skriande oc gratande / vtan fore drotning-
 genna paladz / **Thet** war ekki loflikith / at nokor matte inga for konungen
 eller drotningena / ohōfwelika klædder / **Tha** drottnigen hester fik thetta wita /
 102 vndradhe hon storlika oc sænde honom klædhe **oc** badh han til sik koma / oc
 han wilde them ekki taka / vtan kungiordhe henne medh budhino konungx-
 sins dom / som gifwin war ofwer hænna slækt iudhana / **Oc** at aman wilde
 105 them alla dræpa / **Oc** badh hona gaa for konungen / oc bidhia for sino fol-
 ke / Hon sænde honom budh j geen oc saghdhe / Huru skal iak thora gaa til
 konungen / mædhan stadhghat ær oc budhit / at hwa som okalladher gaar
 108 til hans / han skal ioo ændelika genstan dōø / vtan at konungen rekker mot
 honom gulwanden / som han hafwer j sinne hand **Oc** æro nu framlihdne xxx
 dagha / sidhan han læth mik kalla / **Tha** loth mardocheus sighia henne swa
 111 **Hwa** weth / gudh kan hafwa giorth thik til drotning ffor thy / at thu skalt
 j these nōdh / koma thino folke til hielpa / **Tha** loth hon sighia honom ater j
 gen / at han skulde sampna alla the iwdha j susis waro / **Oc** bidhia them
 114 fasta alment j thre dagha / oc bidhia til gudh badhe for sik oc henne
Hon wilde gaa for konugin / oc sæthia sith liff til waghan / **Hon** fastadhe
 oc siælff / oc badh innelika til gudh / at han wilde werdhoghas hiel-
 117 pa sino folke / **Thridhia** daghin satte hon sik fagherlika til / oc gig medh
 twem iomfrvm / for konungxsins palacium / **En** han sath gen moth dør-
 rinne / a sino konungxlisko sæte **Oc** saa nokot aluarlika oppa hona / oc
 120 hon wardh forfærat **Oc** swa ræd / at hon fiol nidher til iordhinna / **Tha**
 konugen saa / at hon aff ræddogha fiol til iordhinna / **Rækte** han vth
 gulwandin mot henne / **Oc** saghdhe / hester **Rædz** ekki thetta budh æller dom /
 123 som iak hafwer budhit / skal ekki ofwer thik gaa / **Thet** ær ey for thina skuld
 giorth / **Thu** skalt radha oc styra medh mik / **Han** stodh wp oc tok hona j
 sin fampn / oc saghdhe / hester / bedz hwat thu wilt / thet skal thik gifwas /

100–02 *Thet ... storlika*] Dat vornam de konningynne *SelTro*. **103–05** konungxsins ... dræpa] dat Aman al ere siechte doden wolde *SelTro*. **105** sino] dat *SelTro*. **106–09** Huru ... hand] De konningk heft geboden: we in sin palas gheit vngeladen, de mot steruen *SelTro*. **113–14** at ... henne] dat alle de yodden scholden gemeynliken vor se bidden *SelTro*. **115** Hon ... waghan] Se woldet wagen vnde wolde ghan in des koninges palas *SelTro*. **116** innelika ... gudh] vnde reip vnsen leuen heren an *SelTro*; wilde werdhoghas] queme *SelTro*. **118** konungxsins palacium] konungxsins palaci[o>u]m A, der dore des palases *SelTro*. **118–19** En ... sæte] Vnde de koningk sach vp *SelTro*. **120** **Oc** ... ræd] ~ *SelTro*. **121** at ... iordhinna] ~ *SelTro*; iordhinna] iordhinna A. **122** **Oc** saghdhe] vnde stunt vp vnde vengk se al vmme *SelTro*. **122–25** **Rædz** ... fampn] Hester, ne hebbe neyne vare! Dijt bot ys dorch dynen willen nicht vt gegeuen, dat hir nement inghan scholde; du machst hijr in ghan wan du wult *SelTro*. **125** hester ... gifwas] Nu segge my: wat wultu *SelTro*.

- 126 Hon swaradhe / Jak bidher / at thu wili werdhoghas j morghon koma
til mik / j mina høghtidh iak hafwer thik reeth **Oc** haff aman medh thik /
Tha wil iak berætta thet iak hafwer j mino hiæerta / **Her** aff wardh aman
129 mykyt gladher / **Oc** gig heem j sith / hws / oc loth saman kalla sina wini / oc
alt sith folk oc berætte them huru stora æro / konungen oc drotnigen
hafdho honom giorth / **Oc** tho kærdhe han oc saghdhe / alt saman enkte wara
132 wæρθ / mædhan then iwdhen mardocheus forsmadhe han / **Oc** han wiste
enkte ther aff / at drotnigen war aff iwdha slækt / **Tha** rædho hans wi-
ni honom / at han skulde lata gøra een galgha j sino huse / xl· alna høgghan
135 **Oc** ga til konugen arla om morghonen **oc** bidhia at han matte hæ-
gia ther j mardocheum / **Han** loth sama nattena byggia galghan / oc mor-
ghin arla gig han til konugxsins palacium / **oc** wilde bidhia konungen
138 at han mate hængia mardocheum / **Nu** hænde thet swa / at wm the sama
nattena / han loth galghan byggia / tha la konugen anwaxe / oc gat ey sof-
wit / **Oc** thy loth han læsa for sik **Cronicam** / **oc** thet som hænt war j hans
141 daghum / **Tha** stodh ther scrifwit j bland annor ærande / at een iwdhe
heth mardocheus / hafdhe warnat konugen for sinom fiandum / som han wildo
myrdha / **Tha** saghdhe konungen / **Thet** war stoor thro ther mardocheus
144 mik bewiste / Hwat æro hafwer iak honom ther fore giorth / **Hans** thiænara
swaradho / **Herra** / alz enkte medh allo / **Tha** loth konugin kalla sik aman /
Oc saghdhe til hans / **Om** konugin wil nokon man æra / huru skal medh
147 honom gøras / **Tha** thænkte aman / at konungen mente honom ther medh / **Oc**
thy swa-
radhe han swa / oc saghdhe / **Then** man konugin wil æra / **Han** skal fōras
j konungx klædhe / **Oc** konungxsins krona skal a hans hofwdh sæthias
150 **Oc** han skal sithia a konungxsins hest / **Oc** then fræmste herra konungen

126 swaradhe] sprak *SelTro*; Jak] Here, ik *SelTro*. 127 mik ... reeth] “myner blitscap, vnde laet Aman myt dij komen.” Dat geschach; se quemen beyde. Do de konningk blide was, do sprak he: “Hester, bidde wat du wult, ik wil dij twiden.” Se sprak: “Ik bidde dij, here, dat du morgen echt komest” *SelTro*. 129–30 oc alt ... folk] ~ *SelTro*. 130 berætte] segede *SelTro*; konungen ... drotnigen] de koningk *SelTro*. 131 oc saghdhe] ~ *SelTro*. 131–33 alt ... slækt] dat dar eyn yode were, de bette Mardocheus, de vorsmade en vnde hadde en vor nicht, vnde sprak: “Al desse ere en dunket my nicht sin, de wile, dat my de man vorsmaet” *SelTro*. 134 galgha] galghen van eyne lange balken *SelTro*. 135 bidhia] bidde den konningk *SelTro*. 136 mardocheum] den yoden *SelTro*. 138 Nu ... swa] ~ *SelTro*. 139 han ... byggia] ~ *SelTro*; anwaxe] ~ *SelTro*. 139–40 sofwit] fofwit A. 140–41 oc ... daghum] ~ *SelTro*. 141 j ... ærande] ~ *SelTro*. 141–42 een ... mardocheus] Mardocheus *SelTro*. 145 swaradho] spreken *SelTro*; **Herra** ... allo] Konningk, du en heuest eme noch neyne ere geboden *SelTro*. 146 til hans] ~ *SelTro*; **Om**] Berichte my: off *SelTro*. 147 konungen] he *SelTro*. 147–48 **Oc** ... saghdhe] vnde sprak *SelTro*.

hafwer skal vnder honom hestin ledha / kring vm allan stadhin ok ropa **Swa**
 skal then man æras / som konungen wil æra / **Tha** saghdhe konungen til
 153 aman **Gag** nu rasklika / oc **gør** mardocheo alt *thet* thu hafwer nu sakt
Oc wakta *thet* widher thith liiff / at thu forsuma *thet* enkte aff / **Tha** wardh
 aman aff allo hiæarta drøfdhir / oc thordhe *thet* ekki lata /
 156 vtan ledde hæstin vnder honom / **oc** ropadhe som honom war budhit / **Oc** før-
 dhe han swa ater til konugxsins borgh / **Oc** gig hem siælfwer sørghian-
 de / oc gratande **Oc** kærdhe sik for sinom winom / **Tha** kom honom bodh / ath
 159 han skulde *medh* konungenom gaa til drotningerna gestabodh / **Thentidh**
 konungen war alstingx gladher / saghdhe han / **Hester** **Bedz** hwat thu
 wil / *thet* wil iak thik weta / **Tha** swaradhe drotningen / **Min** kære herra /
 162 iak bidher for mino lifwe / **Oc** for mino folke / at wi ey skulum for
 darfwas oc forgaa / **Gudh** gafwe at wi hælder saldoms til thræla / oc
 mattom lifwit behalda / **Konungen** saghdhe / **Hwa** ær then *thet* wil göra
 165 **Drotningen** swaradhe / war dødz fiande / ær thenne sami aman / **Tha** stodh
 konungen vp wredher / oc gig vth j yrtagardhin **Oc** hester sat a sinne
 sæng **Oc** aman fiol nidher a sængena oppa sin knæ / oc badh for si-
 168 no lifwe / **Vnder** thes kom konugen atir ingangande / **Oc** fik see at
 aman la a drotningerna sæng widh henna føter / sagdhe han **See** han wil en
 drotnigena skemma / oc wanæra ther iak ær siælfwer nær / **Æn** før en konungen
 171 hafdhe wel sakt ordhin / sprungo thiænarane fram / oc bundo for hans
 øghon / oc saghdho til konungen / **Han** hafwer latit byggia een galgha / j
 sino huse / xl· alna høgghan / som han wilde hafwa hængt j mardocheum / ko-
 174 nungen swaradhe / gan raslika oc hængin han j then sama galghan / han haf-
 dhe x sønir / the wordho ok alle hængde / **Konungen** gaff drotningenne
 hans hws / **Oc** hon antwardhadhe *thet* mardocheo / **Mardocheus** gig in
 177 for konungin **Oc** hester widher gig tha / at han war henna fadher brodher

151 allan stadhin] de stad *SelTro*; ok] \ok/ A. 152–53 til aman] ~ *SelTro*. 153 nu rasklika] alto-
 hant *SelTro*. 155 aff... hiæarta] aff allo hiæarta [wredher o] A, van herten sere *SelTro*. 156 hæstin ...
 honom] Mardocheus al de stad vmme *SelTro*. 157 borgh] palas *SelTro*. 157–58 sørghiande /
 oc] ~ *SelTro*. 160 alstingx gladher] blide *SelTro*. 161 *thet* ... weta] des wil ik dij twiden vnde
 bedestu ock myn koningrike halff *SelTro*; swaradhe drotningen] sprak se *SelTro*. 162 folke]
 slechtes *SelTro*. 162–63 at ... forgaa] Wij hebben eynen vient, de wil my vordelgen myt al
 myme slechte *SelTro*. 164 Hwa] We ys de vient *SelTro*. 165 swaradhe] sprak *SelTro*; samij]
 bose *SelTro*. 167 oppa ... knæ] ~ *SelTro*. 167–68 badh ... lifwe] sochte gnade *SelTro*. 168 fik
 see] sach *SelTro*. 169 aman] ene *SelTro*; widh ... føter] vor der konningynnen *SelTro*; See] ~
SelTro. 170 skemma ... wanæra] vneren *SelTro*; siælfwer] ~ *SelTro*. 172 Han] Han\han/ A, Kon-
 ningk, he *SelTro*; galgha] balken *SelTro*. 173 xl] wol viftich *SelTro*. 174 swaradhe] sprak *SelTro*;
 galghan] galgen, en he hadde gebuwet *SelTro*. 174–75 han ... hængde] syne teyn some worden
 ock gehangen *SelTro*. 175–80 Konungen ... bød] Dar bot de konningk ouer al sin lant *SelTro*.

Tha fik konungen mardocheo sin gulring / then han loth ater taka aff
 aman **Oc** badh han *scrifwa* breff ofwer all hans land oc rike / jnsighlat
 180 *medh* hans fingergulle / at engin skulde iudhana dræpa / **Oc** bødth ath
 iudhane skuldo hempna sik ofwer sina fianda / oc dræpa alla the som iudhana
 willo hafwa dræpit / **Oc** alle landis hōfdhinga skuldo them hielpa
 183 **Tha** bōriadho iudhane til / at sla oc dræpa sina fianda / oc slogho j
 j hel kring om alt rikit lxx M^o folk / **Oc** j siælfwom stadhenom susis ther
 konungin bodhe / sloghos j hel vel viij hundredat / **Nu** skulum wi nokot her
 186 aff vtththydha / iomfrv mario til hedher oc æro / *Medh* them onda aman vnder-
 stas war fiande diæfwlin / *Han* hafdhe giort een galgha mardocheo
Thet war at han hafdhe *medh* sino falsko radhe / som han gaff warum första
 189 forældrom / adam oc æwo / giort allo mankynino een galgha / *thet* ær
 æwinnelik fordømilse / **Oc** han hafdhe *thet* komit til wæggha / at hymerikis
 konunger hafdhe gifwit dom ofwer mænniskiona / æwinnelikx dødZ **Tha** kom
 hyme-
 192 rikis drotning iomfrv maria / oc vm skipte then domin / **Oc** hafwer *thet* komit
 til wæggha / at then galghin diæfwllin hafdhe oss allom bygt / kom oppa hans
 eyghin deel **F**for thy / at han **Oc** hans sælskap / skulu æwinnelika blifwa
 195 fordømde / at wi maghom alle wardha sæle / om wi wiliom siælfwe / **Thetta**
 bewisas oc j konunga bokomen / **Ther** staar *scrifwit* / at konung salomon /
 sat j sino konunxliko sæte / **Oc** hans modher bersabe / kom til hans gan-
 198 gande / **Tha** stodh han vp moth henne **Oc** vntfik hona *medh* store æro oc loth
 sæthia een stool a sine hōghro hand **Oc** læth hona nær sik sithia / oc sagh-
 dhe til henna / **Modher** betz hwat thu wilt **Thet** ware ey mōghølikit / at iak
 201 skulde thik nokot neka **Swa** hafwer alzwalogher gudh giort *medh* sinne kær-
 rasta modher / *Han* hafwer hona sat a sina hōghro hand j sino rike / **Han** vn-

181–82 oc ... hielpa] ~ *SelTro*. **183** iudhane] se *SelTro*. **183–84** sla ... rikit] slande alle, de en bose weren in deme lande *SelTro*. **184** lxx M^o] seuentich duset vnde viff dusent *SelTro*. **185** Nu] ~ *SelTro*. **186** hedher ... æro] loue *SelTro*. **187** war ... diæfwlin] de bose vient *SelTro*. **188–90** *Thet* ... fordømilse] Dat meynet so vele, dat de bose vient hadde vns allen gemaket eynen galgen der ewigen vordomnisse myt syneme valschen rade, den he gaff deme ersten mynschen *SelTro*. **191** *Tha*] Nu *SelTro*. **191–92** hymerikis] hy|rikis A. **192** iomfrv maria] Maria *SelTro*. **193** diæfwllin] de bose vient *SelTro*; oss allom] vns *SelTro*. **194** han ... sælskap] he *SelTro*. **195** wiliom siælfwe] suluen willen. Darumme schole wij yummer de benediden hemelschen konningkynnen louen vnde benedien *SelTro*. **195** *Thetta*] Dusse sulue seuede vraude vnser leuen fruwen, de se hadde, do se to hemele vor *SelTro*. **196** *Ther* ... *scrifwit*] dar lest men also *SelTro*; konung salomon] konigk Salemon koningk worden was *SelTro*. **197** bersabe] Vor Bersabee *SelTro*. **198** moth henne] ~ *SelTro*. **200** ey mōghølikit] vnmogelijck *SelTro*. **201** alzwalogher gudh] de hemelsche konningk *SelTro*. **202** hona] eynen thron *SelTro*.

fik hona medh store æro / tha han hænte hona medh ængla skara / af werldinne
 204 medh liiff oc siel til æwinnelika frøgdh oc glædhly / Oc hafwer hona giort
 til hymerikis drotning / Oc wil henne enkte neka thet hon bedhis Oc
 hon ær mæktogh medh sinom kærasta son / æ hwat hon wil **Oc** hon bidher
 207 altidh for oss / Thy skulum wi henna syunda frøgdh gerna ær / oc læsa thessa
 bøn **The syunda bønin** Glædz maria hymerikis keysarinna / Thina
 syunda frøgdh kan mænniskian ey besinna / Tha gudh thik vphøghdhe
 210 ofwer ængla chora / **Oc** kronadhe thik medh æronna krono / **Thy** est thu the
 kloka abigail / **Ther** konungenom dauid thektis swa wel / at for henna wisdom
 oc kloka sin / **Tok** han hona til sinna drotning / **Thu** est oc kallat the
 213 kloka hester / **Ther** konung asswerus hafdhe swa kær / **Han** kunde ey finna
 hænna lika / **Thy** wart hon drotning ofwer alt hans rike / **Swa** hafwer hy-
 merikis konunger aff thik giorth / **Ena** drotning j hymerike thet hafwom
 216 wi spoort / **Nær** honom ær thit sæte nu / **Thet** est thu best werdh welsighnadh
 iomfrv / ffor thina syunda frøgdh bidher iak thik / bidh thin kærasta son
 for mik / **At** han lati mik til siin koma / oc vnne mik j hymerike æ-
 219 werdhelika krono **Amen** / **Thessa** syu warfrv frøghdher skalt thu gerna hedhra /
 oc æra / oppa thet at hon wili werdhoghas / glædhia thik j thinom drøfwilsom /
 oc hiælpa thik til æwerdhelika glædhly / **Ffor** thy hwa hona hedhrar oc ærar /
 222 æ j hwat skipilsom the mænniskian ær stad / Tha blifwer thet ekki olønt /

204 æwinnelika ... glædhly] deme ewigen rijke *SelTro*; til] [oc > \til/] *A*. **205** hymerikis drotning] eyner konningkynnen *SelTro*. **206** kærasta son] leuen kinde *SelTro*. **207** altidh] alle daghe *SelTro*; oss] vns sundigen lude *SelTro*. **207–08** oc ... bøn] vnde spreken dijt loff *SelTro*. **208** bøn] *Written at right-hand end of following line A*; bøn ... Thina] Glædz maria hymerikis keysarinna / Thina **The syunda bønin** bøn *A*; **The ... bønin**] ~ *SelTro*. **208–19** Glædz ... **Amen**] Gaude Maria, hemelsche konningkynne, | Dyn seuende vraude tred bouen alle synne. | De hemelsche konning halde deck to syneme trone | vnde kronede dij myt der ewigen kronen. | Darumme bistu de kloke Abigail, | De konningk Dauite so wol bevel | Dorch klocheit willen erer synne, | Dat he se nam to eyner koningynnen. | Du bist ock Vrou Hester, de kleine born, | De koningk Assuerus hadde vt gekorn. | De kleine born wos in eyne grote vlot, | He satte se tho konningkynne ouer al syn ghut. | Also heft de hemmelsche konningk bij dij gedan | Vnde heft dij to eyner koningkynnen vntfan. | Ock leit de wise konningk Salomon | Tho syner vorderen harrt setten eynen torn, | Dar he syne leuen moder an vntfengk. | Also dede dijk de hemdelsche konningk: | He vntfengk dij myt der engele schare | Vnde satte dij to syner vorderen harrt al dare. | Bij der seueden vraude mane ik, konningkynne, dij: | Bidde den hemelschen konningk vor my, | Dat he mek bringe to syneme trone | Vnde vorlene my de ewygen kronen *SelTro*. **219** Thessa ... frøghdher] Kint leue, dusse seueden vraude vnser leuen fruwen *SelTro*. **219–20** hedhra ... æra] gerne eren *SelTro*. **220** hon ... werdhoghas] vnse leue fruwe roke to vrowene *SelTro*. **221** oc ... thik] bringe dij ane droffnisse *SelTro*; glædhly] vraude des hemelrikes *SelTro*; hona] \hona/ *A*; hedhrar ... ærar] eret *SelTro*. **222** Tha ... olønt] He ere god gerne vnde vnse leuen fruwen, se dankens eme wol. *SelTro*.

Translation

There was a mighty and powerful king called Ahasuerus. He held a great banquet and invited all his lords of the land. He had 127 countries under his rule. This banquet was splendid and large and lasted 180 days. A hall was specially built, so marvellous that no-one can describe it in full. The pillars were made of silver. The roof above was shaped like the sky. Expensive and precious stones were mounted under the roof, and they shone like stars, and they were designed and mounted copying the movement of the heavenly bodies. In front of the hall was a garden, and in the middle of the garden were grapevines: the drinking bowls¹ were of silver, the branches were of gold, [and] the bunches of grapes were made of all kinds of precious and expensive stones. A purple canopy woven with gold hung all around and must have been made from the most precious fabrics in the world. The cords that it hung on were made of fine silk and the rings were made of ivory. This was hanging on the silver columns that were erected there. The floor that you walked on was chequered and inlaid with precious stones: one of them was sapphire and the other was emerald. There were beds made from gold and silver. All those present drank the best and most exquisite wine from gold goblets and every man drank as much as he wanted. The queen was called Vashti. She held a special banquet or feast for ladies and maidens and honourable women in the king's palace.

When this banquet and celebration had been taking place for 180 days, the king invited all the people, both poor and rich, in the city of Shushan where the king lived, and he started holding a new party in the vineyard. And the celebration lasted for seven days. On the seventh day, the king was cheerful and very happy. He sent a message to the queen and asked her to make herself beautiful and honourable and come to his party wearing her golden crown, because he wanted everyone to see her beauty. She refused his message and did not want to go to him. Then the king became very angry and took counsel with his lords and princes about her crime. They all answered him and said thus, "Lord King! She hasn't just

1 OSw. "Bulane": I have interpreted this word as a definite plural of OSw. *bulle* [drinking bowl, cup, goblet], cf. Olcel. *bolli*, but this may be incorrect. The MLG *SelTro* version is not much help in interpreting the OSw. here. The relevant section in MLG reads: "Vor deme huß was eyn winlouene van clarem suluere. De wynlouene stunt myddest in eyneme wingarden, de was gebeten wunnen garden. De windrufelen weren gemaket van eddelen fynen perlen vnde van den duresten stenen, de de werlt hadde; de waren manniger var." (*SelTro* 115) [In front of the house was a wine-room of bright silver. The wine-room stood in the middle of a vineyard, that was a delightful part of the garden. The grapes were made from precious, fine pearls and from the most expensive stones that the world had to offer; they were of many colours.]

tormented you alone, but along with you all your good and noble men who are in your kingdom, too! Now our wives are going to copy her example and ignore and refuse our bidding. You should abandon her and let it be known and commanded that Vashti never again will come before the king. And you shall choose another better one in her place.” And it also happened in this way. On account of her arrogance, she was cast out from all the honour and praise that she had. The king then commanded that all the fairest maidens who were in his kingdom should come to court and from among them he would choose a queen in Vashti’s place.

At that time there lived a Jew called Mordechai in the same city of Shushan. He had a poor maiden [living] with him who had lost both her father and mother, and who was his niece² called Esther, whom he fed and treated as his daughter. He saw a dream. It appeared to him as if he saw a small spring that spouted forth and from that spring grew a large river. He did not know what the dream meant. But God put it into his heart that he take the maiden to the king’s court and forbid her from saying that she was born of the Jewish people.

There was a particular chamberlain [i. e., Hegai] employed who should stand in front of the maidens and give them jewellery and clothes and whatever they asked for. Compared to the other maidens, Esther was so humble that she did not want to demand or ask for anything at all but said to the chamberlain that whatever he wanted to give her would satisfy her needs. And so, she benefitted from her humility. And the courtier arranged seven maidens who were to serve her and gave her everything that she needed.

Then God made it so that she above all the others was desirable in the eyes of the king, and he chose her to be his queen and married her. So, the dream where Mordechai had seen a little spring grow into a large river was true: i. e., that the poor maiden became a mighty queen. With this queen, Esther, we are to understand the blessed virgin, the Virgin Mary. She benefitted so much from her humility and obedience that God has made her the queen of heaven. With the other queen, Vashti, who was banished and thrown from honour and power on account of her arrogance, we are to understand Eve. On account of her arrogance and disobedience, she was banished from Paradise, from all the honour and praise over which God had made her queen.

Now, when Queen Esther had become powerful, her uncle Mordechai often came to the king’s court and wanted to see her and hear how she was. Nonetheless, he did not tell anyone that the queen was related to him. At the time, there were two doorkeepers [i. e., Bigthan and Teresh] who used to guard the innermost part of the king’s palace where he used to sleep. They became jealous of the king

2 OSw. “brodher dotter” [brother’s daughter].

and planned between themselves how they were going to murder him. Mordechai got to hear about this secretly and told the queen about it. And she was not slow but immediately told the king about it. And the king himself went and investigated and found that it was true, and he had them both hanged. Then the king had written in his book of chronicles that it was a Jew called Mordechai who had warned him about his enemies who wanted to murder him.

At the time, there was in the king's court a man called Haman. The king promoted him over all his lands and commanded everyone to kneel before him when he came walking. And so everyone did and no-one dared refrain from doing so except Mordechai: he did not want to do so. This made Haman angry, and he asked what sort of a man this was. When he heard that he was a Jew, he became hateful and angry towards all the Jews who were in the country and wanted to destroy them all out of an old jealousy he had towards them, because Jews had previously destroyed the people called the Amalekites, the people from which Haman was born. And so, he spoke to the king and said this, "Lord King! There are a certain people here in your kingdom. They are unlike all the others. They have a new law and so they ignore your orders. It is incumbent that they are no longer tolerated, but rather you order that they be destroyed! And so that you do not have a loss or reduction in your income from taxes because of them, I will place into your treasury a thousand pounds of silver." Then the king answered, "Keep it yourself and do with the people what you wish!" And Haman was given a gold ring that he used to wear daily. Then he wrote letters on the king's behalf to all his countries and provinces, sealed with the king's golden ring, saying that all the Jews, young and old, women and children, should be killed and their goods confiscated upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month.

When the letters were read in the city of Shushan itself, the Jews mourned and wept very much. And Mordechai put on sackcloth and scattered ashes on his head, and he walked wailing and weeping in a loud voice in front of the queen's palace. It was not permitted for anyone to enter improperly dressed before the king or queen. When Queen Esther got to know about this, she was greatly surprised and sent him clothes and asked him to come to her. And he did not wish to have them but informed her via the messenger that Haman wanted to kill them all and asked her to go before the king and petition him on behalf of her people. She sent him a message again and said, "How will I dare go to the king? It is decreed and ordered that whoever goes to him without being summoned shall die immediately unless the king holds out the golden sceptre that he has in his hand; and thirty days have passed now since he had me summoned." Then Mordechai had her told, "Who knows? God might have made you queen because you're to come and help your people in their hour of need." Then, in return, she had him told that he should gather all the Jews who were in Shushan and ask them to fast for three

days and to pray to God, both for their own sakes and hers. She would go to the king and put her life at stake. She herself also fasted and prayed devoutly to God that he might deign to help his people.

On the third day, she made herself pretty and went with two maidens to the king's palace. But he was sitting on his royal throne facing the door and looked somewhat seriously at her and she was terrified and so scared that she fell to the ground. When the king saw that she fell to the ground out of fear, he held out his golden sceptre to her and said, "Esther, don't be afraid! You will not be subject to this command or judgement that I have given. It has not been made for your sake. You are to govern and rule alongside me." He stood up and took her into his embrace and said, "Esther! Ask for whatever you want! It will be given to you!" She replied, "I ask that you deign come to me tomorrow to my banquet that I have prepared for you. And bring Haman with you. Then I will tell you what I have in my heart."

This made Haman very happy, and he went home to his house and had all his friends and family summoned and told them about how much honour the king and queen were paying him. And yet he complained and said that it was all worth nothing as long as that Jew Mordechai ignored him. And he knew nothing about the queen being descended from the Jewish people. His friends counselled him to have gallows made in his house, forty cubits in height, and to go to the king early the next morning and ask him whether he could hang Mordechai on them. That very night he had the gallows made and early the next morning he went to the king's palace and wanted to ask the king whether he could hang Mordechai.

Now it so happened that the same night that he had the gallows built, the king lay awake and could not sleep, and so he had his book of chronicles and what had happened in his lifetime read aloud to him. There, among other matters, was written that a Jew called Mordechai had warned the king about his enemies who wanted to murder him. Then the king said, "Mordechai showed great faith in me then. What have I honoured him with for this?" His servants replied, "Lord, with absolutely nothing at all." Then the king had Haman summoned and said to him, "If the king wishes to honour a man, how should he do so?" Then Haman thought that the king meant him with this, and so he answered and said, "The man whom the king wishes to honour should be dressed in the king's clothes, and the king's crown should be placed upon his head, and he should sit on the king's horse, and the most preeminent lord whom the king has should walk below him leading the horse around all the city and proclaim: 'Thus shall the man be honoured whom the king wishes to honour!'" Then the king said to Haman, "Go now quickly and do for Mordechai everything that you have just said! And let it be on your life if you fail to do any of it!" Then Haman despaired with all his heart and did not dare refuse but led the horse under him [i. e., Mordechai] proclaiming as he had been

ordered. And he led him back to the king's castle and went home grieving and weeping and complained to all his friends. Then he received the message that he should accompany the king to the queen's banquet.

Then the king was extremely happy. He said, "Esther! Ask for whatever you wish! I want to give it to you!" Then the queen replied, "My dear lord! I ask you for my life and [the life] of my people, that we won't be destroyed and disappear. God ordained that we rather be sold as slaves and able to keep our lives." The king said, "Who is it that wants to do that?" The queen replied, "Our deadly enemy is this very Haman!" Then the king stood up angrily and went into the garden and Esther sat on her bed. And Haman fell onto the bed on his knees and begged for his life, during which the king returned, and walking in he saw that Haman was lying on the queen's bed at her feet, and he said, "Look! He still wants to shame and dishonour the queen even when I am present!" But even before the king had said these words, the servants leapt forth and blindfolded him [Haman] and said to the king, "He's had gallows built in his house, forty cubits high, on which he wanted to hang Mordechai." The king replied, "Go quickly and hang him on those very gallows!" He [Haman] had ten sons: they were all hanged as well. The king gave his [Haman's] house to the queen and she gifted it to Mordechai. Mordechai went before the king, and Esther confessed that he was her uncle. Then the king gave Mordechai his gold ring, the one he had had taken back off Haman, and he asked for letters to be written to all his countries and provinces, sealed with his gold ring, [saying] that no-one should kill the Jews. And he ordered the Jews to take revenge on their enemies and kill everyone who wanted to have the Jews killed. And all the leaders of the land should help them. Then the Jews began to attack and kill their enemies and killed 70,000 people throughout the whole kingdom, and in the city of Shushan itself where the king lived a good 800 were killed.

Now we should interpret something from this to the honour and praise of the Virgin Mary. With the evil Haman is understood our enemy, the devil. He had made some gallows for Mordechai: that is, that through his false counsel that he gave to our first parents, Adam and Eve, he has made some gallows for all human-kind, that is, eternal damnation. And he brought it to pass that the king of heaven had made judgement over humanity: eternal death. Then the queen of heaven, the Virgin Mary, came and changed the judgement and brought it to pass that the gallows that the devil have built for us all ended up as his own lot because he and his company are going to be damned forever [and] we can all be saved if we ourselves wish to be. This is also proven in the Books of Kings. There it is written that King Solomon sat upon his royal throne and his mother Bathsheba³ came

³ Solomon's mother in the OSw. text is incorrectly called "bersabe" [Beersheba].

walking to him. He then stood up towards her and received her with great honour and had a chair placed on his right-hand side and had her sit down there and said to her, “Mother! Ask for whatever you want! It is not possible that I will deny you anything.” So has God Almighty done with his mother most dear. He has seated her on his right-hand in his kingdom. He received her with great honour when he fetched her from the world with the host of angels with her life and soul for eternal joy and happiness,⁴ and [he] has made her the queen of heaven and will deny her nothing that she asks for. And she is powerful regarding her son most dear, whatever she wants. And she always prays for us. That is why we should be willing to praise her seventh joy⁵ and read these prayers:

The seventh prayer

Hail Mary, empress of heaven!
 Man cannot grasp your seventh joy,
 When God elevated you above the choirs of angels,
 And crowned you with the crown of honour.
 And so, you are the clever Abigail,
 Who was so pleasing to King David.
 Because of her wisdom and intelligence,
 He took her as his queen.
 You are also called the clever Esther,
 Whom King Ahasuerus held so dearly.
 He could not find her like,
 So she became queen over all his kingdom.
 Thus has the king of heaven done with you.
 A queen in heaven we have heard.
 Your seat is now near him.
 You are best worth this, blessed virgin,
 For your seventh joy I pray to you:
 Ask your son most dear on my behalf,
 To let me come unto him,
 And give me an eternal crown in heaven.
 Amen.

You are to honour and praise these seven joys of Our Lady willingly, so that she will deign to make you cheerful in your sorrows and help you towards eternal joy, because whoever honours and praises her, no matter what state the person is in, it will not go unrewarded.

⁴ The text is describing Mary’s assumption into heaven as happening while she was still alive.

⁵ The seven joys of Mary are traditionally listed as: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Pentecost, and the Coronation of the Virgin Mary in heaven.

7 Jerusalem in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*

Headnotes

- Source:* A SKB M 307, pp. 28a:3–36b:17 (1459).
Parallel text: ~
Original text: **Itin.** = *Itinerarius domini Johannis de Mandeville militis* (Strasbourg: Heinrich Knoblochzter, [c. 1484–86]), here: DKB Inc. Haun. 2616 4^o, ff. c1va11–c5va26.
Edition: A Mandev 39–49.

Edition (A SKB M 307)

- Af ten helly graff oc
aff then kyrkæ som
3 hwn vdy stonðher ¶
Capitulum xiiii etcetera
Iherusalem meth alt tet
6 land som guts
børn lofuet er er eet
af te firæ delæ eller
9 herskaph som tet rygæ
som suria heder er
skyft j iødæland tet haf-
12 uer oppa ten østræ
sidæ tet koningæ rygæ
som arabia heder pon
15 næ ten søndræ sidhæ
hafuer tet tet rygæ som
er egipten ponnæ ten
18 vestræ sidæ er tet storæ
haff oc nørræ sidæ liger**

1–3 Af ... stonðher] De ecclesia sacrați sepulcri domini in vrbe *Itin.* **6–7** guts børn] ~ *Itin.* **8** firæ] *quinque Itin.* **8–9** delæ ... herskaph] *prouincijs vel pluribus quibus Itin.* **10** heder er] er heder *with markings for transposition A.* **11** iødæland] *iudea Itin.* **14** arabia] *arakæ A, arabie Itin.* **14–17** ponnæ ... egipten] *ad meridiem egypto Itin.* **18** vestræ] *ve[n]stræ A; er]* ~ *Itin.* **19** liger] ~ *Itin.*

- tet ryge suria **Tet** fornefnde
 21 iødæland hafuer varet vn
 der mangæ herræ j man
 gæ oc atskilligæ tidher
 24 sosom æræ cananeis
 iødher affricis persis me-
 dis macedoniis grecis
 27 romanis cristianis sara
 cenis barbaris tur
 chiis *et tartaris* huil
 30 *ket* som vel ma varæ en
 sag til at vor herræ ikcæ
 villæ ladæ storæ **och**
 33 vskelligæ sinderæ lengæ
 blifuæ j *tet* land som
 hellict oc hannum sa tek
 36 chælict er **J**tem nor
 pelægrimæ kommæ til
 iherusalem ta skullæ tee
 39 først ful giøræ tørres
 peregrims reysæ tel ten
 verdigæ **oc** hellyæ *graff*
 42 oc søgæ hennæ meth
 ydmydælighed hennæ
 kyrkæ stonder yderst
 45 norden j byend **och**
 gar en mwret omgong
 om kringh hennæ fester
 48 intel stæder ten kyr
 kæ hun er skøn **ok**
 trind af skafnit oc
 51 takt *meth* bly oc hafuer
 vester eth stort torn
oc sterkt oc høgth

22–23 mangæ ... atskilligæ] diuersa *Itin.* 25 affricis] assyriorum *Itin.* 31 vor herræ] deus *Itin.* 32–33 storæ ... vskelligæ] magnos *Itin.* 33 sinderæ] sinder *A.* 34–36 som ... er] sibi tam placida *et* tam sancta *Itin.* 40–43 peregrims ... ydmydælighed] peregrinationem ad reuerendum *et* sacro sanctum domini nostri ihesu cristi sepulchrum *Itin.* 45–47 **och** ... hennæ] cum proprio suo ambitus muro *Itin.* 52–53 eth ... høgth] turrum altam *et* firmam *Itin.*

- 54 och mith ponnæ kyr
 kæ gulfuet er eet lidet
tabernaculum meth costælik
- 57 oc subtil gærning giort
 hos femten føder langt
 oc sa bret oc sa høgt
- 60 oc j ten sammæ capellæ
 eller tabernaculo ponnæ
 ten høgræ sidæ ter er ten
- 63 al uerdicstæ stæd ten graf
 som gud seluer j laa och
 hun er ottæ føder long
- 66 oc fem føder bred oc
 j all ten capellæ er intæ
 gaff eller vinduæ vden
- 69 al enestæ en liden dør
 oc nor pelægrimæ gaa
 ter ind ta er ter lyst
- 72 af mangæ lamper Ter æ
 skal alzmynstæ brennæ
 en ponnæ grafuen for vden
- 75 te andræ oc muæ j vy
 dæ at til nw nyligæ
 mottæ pelægrimæ kommæ
- 78 ponnæ grafuen oc tagæ
 ponnæ hennæ men forty
 at mangæ te brudæ aff
- 81 grafuen oc villæ brydæ ter
 af forty lod soldanen me-
 lechmandebron giøræ ter
- 84 iern om kring at mand

54 mith] medio ad figuram dimidij *Itin.* 56–57 *meth* ... subtil] nobili *Itin.* 59 oc ... høgt] et altitudinis miro artificio intus et extra compositum, ac multum diligenter diuersis coloribus exornatum *Itin.* 62–63 ter ... graf] continetur incomparabilis thesaurus gloriosissimi sepulchri *Itin.* 64 som ... laa] ~ *Itin.* 67 capellæ] habitaculo *Itin.* 68 gaff ... vinduæ] apertura *Itin.* 78–79 tagæ ponnæ] ad tangendum et osculandum *Itin.* 81 grafuen] de petra sepulchri *Itin.*; villæ] conabantur *Itin.* 83–84 giøræ ... kring] circumfabricari *Itin.* 84–87 at ... ponnæ] vt nec osculari valeat neque adiri *Itin.*

kan nw **h**uerken kommæ
 ter tel at kissæ eller
 87 tagæ ter ponnæ men all
 enestæ at te muæ se ten
 helly graf **o**c forty er ter
 90 ind muret j ten venstræ
 vech fem føder høyth
 eet stikcæ af grafuen
 93 stort som en manz hof
 uet huykket **s**om pelægri
 mæ mwæ bodæ tagæ
 96 oc lestæ opp Jtem sigs
 ter menæligæ at ten
 lampæ som henger ofuer
 99 vor herræs graf skickæs
 orligæ uth pa ten nien
 næ timæ om dauen oc
 102 opp tennes j gen poskæ
 nath om myn nates
 tid oc tet sker aff
 105 gutz skikkelssæ for
 vden noger manz herner
 er tet nu sa ta er tet
 108 eth stort gudz miraculum
 mangæ cristnæ menniskæ
 tro at tet er sent aff
 111 tørres ret enfollicheth
 ter æræ mangæ som
 her om tuylæ oc menæ
 114 at te saraceni som then
 helly graf giømæ giøræ

88–89 ten ... graf] ~ *Itin.* **90** venstræ] ve[n>\n/]stræ *A.* **92** eet stikcæ] *effracturam* petre *Itin.* **94–95** pelægri] ab *omnibus Itin.* **95–96** tagæ ... opp] *veneratur tangitur et osculatur Itin.* **99** vor ... graf] *sancto sepulchro Itin.* **99–101** skickæs ... dauen] in die *sancto parauesces* hora ix· *extingui Itin.* **104–05** oc ... skikkelssæ] ~ *Itin.* **107–08** er tet nu ... miraculum] *quod si ita est evidens diuini beneficij miraculum est Itin.* **110** tro] in magno pietatis merito credant *Itin.* **110–11** aff ... enfollicheth] *simpliciter Itin.* **112–13** som ... tuylæ] *est in suspicione Itin.* **115** helly] ~ *Itin.*

- tet forty at te muæ fa
 117 tes flere penningæ oc skat
 af pelægrimæ Jtem nota
 at huert ar skertorsdag
 120 oc langæ fredag oc pos-
 kæ aften tessæ tre da-
 gæ ta er tennæ cappellæ
 123 altid oben sa at allæ
 cristnæ muæ ter in ga
 vden peningæ Jtem nota
 126 at hos ten høyræ veg j
 fornefnde kyrkæ er caluarie
 locus ter som *christus ihesus*
 129 hengdæ ponnæ korsseth
 oc noger trapper op at
 ponnæ ten sammæ stædh
 132 er en sten som er **huid**
 oc rød blandet oc hafuer
 en fleckæ hannum sigæ
 135 te at varæ golgata och
 siæ te at j ten sten løff
 en stoor deel af *christi* blod
 138 oc ter er eth altaræ oc
 foræ tet altæræ æræ begrafnæ
 cristnæ koningæ gotfridus
 141 de baylon oc flæræ ko-
 ningæ som vnder vors
 herræs arr tusemnæ oc hun
 144 dræddæ wnnæ ten helly
 stad oc alt tet helly land
 vdh af saraceneræ henner
 147 oc forueruæddæ tøm ter
 eth verdichth nafn intil

116–18 forty ... pelægrimæ] *pro augendo emolimento tributi quod penditur seu oblationum que dantur Itin.* **122** cappellæ] *tabernaculum Itin.* **124** ga] g[æ>a] A. **125** vden peningæ] *gratis [...]* aliis vero *per annum non sine redditione tributi Itin.* **136** siæ ... at] ~ *Itin.*; ten sten] *qua Itin.*; løff] *influxisse Itin.* **138** oc ter ... altaræ] *vbi et habetur altare constructum Itin.* **139** æræ begrafnæ] *consistunt tumbæ Itin.* **140** cristnæ koningæ] ~ *Itin.* **141–42** koningæ] *regum christianorum Itin.* **148** verdichth] *magnum Itin.*

- dommen oc at te troes
 150 at varæ meth gud j hemmæry
 gæ Jtem hos ten fornefnæ stæd
 som vor herræ vor pinter
 153 stannæ scrifuæ tessæ
 ord som her effter nef-
 nes ponnæ gretzskæ othe
 156 os basileon ysmon prosto-
 nos orgazeen azachis
 gea tennæ scrift ter er
 159 sa meget saut at tennæ
 vor gud oc koning foræ
 verdens ophoff hafuer
 162 giort saliched meth ponnæ
 iorden Jtem ter som korsset
 stodh fæst j stenen stor
 165 tettæ efter screfnæ malet
 chyos niskios bases con
 pisceos thoy cosmotzi
 168 thet er sa meget sauth
 tet som tu seer tet er begin
 nelssen af troen ofuer
 171 aluerden Jtem Ey longth
 fran ten caluarie stædh
 ter er eth altæræ oc ter
 174 ligger ten stwd som vor
 herræ vor bunden oc hud
 strugen til oc vnner tet
 177 altæræ er en graf tolf

149 troes] troes at A. 150 varæ] regnare *Itin.* 150–51 j hemmærygæ] imperpetuum *Itin.* 153 stannæ] continetur *Itin.*; tessæ] tessæ h\æ/ræ; the meaning of hære is unclear, possibly a mistake for æræ [praise, honour] A. 155 gretzskæ] litteris grecis *Itin.* 155–58 otheos ... gea] Otheos basileon ysmon perroseonas ergazeen ozochis gea *Itin.* 158 scrift] ~ *Itin.* 162–63 meth ... iorden] in medio terre *Itin.* 164–65 stor ... malet] habetur hoc exaratum in saxo rupis *Itin.* 166–67 chyos ... cosmotzi] Chio nistis basis ton pisteos choy cosinom *Itin.* 168 sa ... sauth] ~ *Itin.* 169 tu] nu A. 169–70 beginnelssen] fundamentum *Itin.* 170 af troen] totius mundi huius *Itin.* 173 eth] aliud *Itin.* 175 bunden oc] ~ *Itin.* 176 til] *In Lat. followed by cui stant a propinquo et alie columne quatuor de marmore aquam iugiter resundantes. et secundum opinionem simplicium passionem innocentem christi deflentes Itin.* 177 er] e[e]r A.

- oc tyuæ trapper dyub
 ter som *sancta* elena fan te
 180 try korss som *christus* oc te
 to røfuæræ hengdæ oc ter
 er eet rwm j veggen
 183 som te naflæ fundes som
christus vor til korsset fester
meth Jtem mith j koret
 186 j *fornefnde* kyrkæ er en stæd
 uel ofuer bretter saset
 rumt som vor herræs
 189 legemmæ vor laugt ter
 som iosep af arimatia
meth sinæ hielperæ todæ
 192 oc smurdæ oc yrtædæ
 vor herræs legemmæ *meth*
aromatibus Jtem *fornefnde*
 195 kyrkæ ponnæ ten østræ
 sidhæ ter vises then
 stæd som *christus* obenbarædæ
 198 sek *sancta maria* magdalena
 efter sin oppstonnelsæ
 ten tid hun tenktæ ath
 201 han vor en yrtæ gartz
 plantæræ Jtem pa ten høgræ
 sidæ som man ingar j kir
 204 ken oc ter er attæn trapper
 oc vnner tøm er tørræ capel
 af india oc ter syng hæ
 207 tørres clærkæ messæ och
 tider efter tørres sed huilken
 messæ te giøræ gantzæ
 210 stakcæt te *consecreræ* først

179 elena] Helena regina *Itin.* 181 to] ~ *Itin.* 183–85 som ... *meth*] crucis domini *Itin.*
 185 Jtem] Jtem [fo] A; koret] korsset A. 187–88 uel ... rumt] pauimenti stratus mire et pulcre ad
 integri figuram compassi *Itin.* 189 laugt] depositum [...] de cruce *Itin.* 192 oc smurdæ ... aro-
 matibus] condiuit aromatibus *Itin.* 198 *sancta* ... magdalena] magdalene *Itin.* 206 af india]
 indorum *Itin.* 206–08 oc ... sed] vbi soli peregrimi de india per suos sacerdotes cantant iuxta
 ritum suum missam celebrantque diuina *Itin.*

- j messæn *meth* te rettæ ord
 som ter tel **Høræ** oc siden
 213 hafuæ te faa *orationes* ok
 sien ennæ te messen *meth*
pater noster oc sennen at siæ
 216 ta giøræ te tørres emby-
 dæ *meth* ydmighed **och**
 stor gudælighed *etcetera*
 219 **Aff te andræ tre kyrker**
och sinderligæ a templo
Capitulum xv etcetera etcetera
 222 **M**ERK at synder uth
 fran tennæ foræ *screfnæ*
 kyrkæ stor eth storth
 225 hospitale oc tet er hofuet
 oc beginnelssæ af ten
 orden som kalles hospi

211 j messæn] ~ *Itin.* 212 som ... **Høræ**] *sacramentum corporis et sanguinis christi de pane et vino Itin.* 214 messen] *messen [-] A.* 217–18 *meth* ... gudælighed] *cum maxima attentione. reuerentia humilitate et deuotione Itin.* 218 *etcetera*] *Porro illud quod quidam peruulgauerunt aut opinati sunt iudeam seu Iherusalem vel ecclesiam istam consistere in medio totius mundi propter supradictam scripturam Otheos basileon etcetera. hoc intelligi non potest localiter ad mensuram corporis terre. nam si ad terre latitudinem quam estimatur inter duos polos respiciamus. certum est iudeam non esse in medio. quod tunc esset sub circulo equatore. et esset ibi semper equinoctium. et vterque polorum staret iis in [eisin MS] orizonte. quod vtique non est ita. quia existentibus in iudea eleuatur multum polus arcticus. Rursus si ad terre longitudinem que estimari potest a paradiso terrestri. scilicet a digniori et altiori loco versus eius nadyr. scilicet versus locum sibi in spera terre oppositum respiciamus tanque iudea esset ad antipedes paradisi apparet ita non esse. quia tunc esset viatori de iudea ad paradisum tendenti equa itineris mensura siue versus orientem siue versus occidentem. Sed hoc non est verisimile nec verum. sicut probatum constat per experientiam multorum. Mihi autem videtur quod prefata prophetie scriptura potest exponi. in medio terre. ·i· circa medium nostri habitabilis. videlicet vt iudea sit inter medium inter paradisum et antipedes paradisi. distans tantum ab ipso paradiso inter orientem ·xc· gradibus quod ab antipedibus paradiso in occidentem. Similiter tot gradibus prout ego ipse [egoipse MS] per viam orientalem temptaui. quanquam de hoc non valet de facili [defacili MS] plena certitudo haberi. eo quod in longitudine celi mille stelle manent immobiles. sicut in latitudine manent poli semper fixi. Uel potest ita exponi. quod dauid qui erat rex iudee dixit. In medio terre. hoc est. in principali ciuitate terre sue hierusalem. qui erat ciuitas regalis et sacerdotalis iudee. Uel forte spiritus sanctus [spiritussanctus MS] qui loquebatur per os prophete nihil in hoc verbo vult intelligi non corporeum aut locale. sed totum spirituale. de hoc intellectu nihil ad presens est scribendum *Itin.* 220 templo] templo domini *Itin.* 223–24 foræ ... kyrkæ] *ecclesia sancti sepulchri Itin.**

- 228 *taleorum* ter mwæ tee
 lææ hus all *cristenhed*
 ho *som* te helst æræ som
- 231 tid *kommæ* *Jtem* star j *tet*
sammæ closter hundrædæ
 oc tyuæ pelæræ af
- 234 malmersten *som ten* big
 ning oppæ holdæ och
 j veggennæ sta firæ oc
- 237 halftrediaesinztyuæ pel
 læræ at skildæ som
 tiænæ til *fornefnde* bygning
- 240 *Jtem* nogit sa ner *ten* stæd
 som nw er nefnd er
 en annen kyrka som
- 243 kalles de *domina nostra* ma-
 gna oc ey lankt ter
 fran er en annen kyr
- 246 kæ som kalles *domine nostre*
latinorum oc hun er bigd
 pa *ten* stæd som maria
- 249 magdalene oc maria cle
 ophe *meth* fleræ andræ *ten*
 tidh te sowæ vor herræ *ihesum*
- 252 *christum* hengæ pa korsseth
 grædæ oc *iemmerligæ* lodæ
Jtem noget sa fran *ten* kyr
- 255 kæ som *ten* helly graf
 j star er en vnnerlig oc
 costælig bigningh och
- 258 megit skøn oc er trind
 som kalles *templum dominj*

229 all *cristenhed*] *omnes christiani peregrini Itin.* 230 ho ... æræ] *cuiuscunque sint conditionis, seu status vel dignitatis. Nam saraceni pro leui aura rumore prohibent quenquam* ne apud *quenquam suorum christianus pernoctet Itin.* 232–33 hundrædæ ... tyuæ] *centum vigintiquatuor Itin.* 235 oppæ] [ponnæ > |oppæ:] A. 241 som ... nefnd] in *orientem Itin.* 253 *iemmerligæ* lodæ] *dolores lamentabiles exercebat Itin.* 258 er trind] *constructum est in figura rotunda. cuius circumferentie dyiameter hoc ·lxuij cubitos Itin.*

oc er hundrædæ oc tyuæ
 261 oc en sex alnæ høgt
 oc ter æræ mangæ pelæræ
 j som tet vppæ hol
 264 læ oc mit j templet
 ter er en stæd som er
 høghræ en fiorten trapper
 267 oc han er all om giort
 meth pellæræ oc hafuer
 firæ portæ ponnæ sek efter
 270 firæ verdens delæ ok te
 portæ æræ costæligæ gioræ
 oc vd skornæ af cipress
 273 Jnnen foræ ten nørræ port
 er en kellæ meth clart
 oc rent vatn som for
 276 dom pleydæ at rynnæ
 men nw er tet stillet
 Vdhen for templet er
 279 eet skønt rumt hus
 oc guluæ er lagt meth
 huid malmersten och
 282 tettæ tempel star j ten
 stæd som gudz tempel
 vdy stod j ihesu christi tiid
 285 oc effter hans opstondelsæ
 vor tet forderfuet af te ro
 mere sien bigdæ keysæren
 288 adryanus tet opp j gen j
 mangæ aar oc lang tid
 men ey j sadan form tet
 291 førmeræ tempel bygh wor
 oc ten hōwæ bigningh
 som ter vdy stondher

260 hundrædæ] hudrædæ A. 263 som] som som A. 272 vd skornæ] sculptas et excisas
Itin. 273–75 nørræ ... vatn] portam aquilonarem intra templum fontem aque munde *Itin.*
 278–79 Vdhen ... hus] In toto circuitu edificij extrinsecus est velut pro atrio latum spacium loci
Itin. 288–89 j mangæ aar] ~ *Itin.* 289 mangæ] magæ A. 291 førmeræ] førmeæ A.

- 294 *som* før er rørt *ten* kallæ
 iødernæ *sancta sanctorum* oc
 mwæ j vidæ at *saraceni*
 297 *gioræ ten* tempel megit
verdicheth oc heder **Nor**
 te tiid indga skulæ taa
 300 drawæ te af *tørres* skoo
 oc fallæ *ponnæ tørres* knæ
 oc bedæ inderligæ **til**
 303 *ten* all mektistæ gud oc
 ter eræ engæ belædhæ j
 templet *men manghæ*
 306 lamper **æræ** ter som altid
brennæ te stædæ enghæ
 at gongæ ter ind oc me
 309 næ at te *æræ werdigæ* at
 tee ter ind gaa skullæ
 hadæ iec ey haft solda
 312 nens breff ta hadæ ey
 iec *komet* ter ind tha
 iek ter ind **gik** met
 315 mit selskap ta droo iec
 af minæ skoo oc tenk
 tæ saa met stor ruel
 318 sæ at oos burdæ *thet*
 meget ydermere at *gioræ*
 en tee wtro *saracener* och
 321 vessæligæ bør **ten** stet at
 holless j stor *verdiched* forty
 at ten tid *salomon* koning
 324 først hadæ bigd templet
 vdy ten *sammæ* sted *som*
 gud *hannum* bødh oc *hans*
 327 fader dauid *hannum* befoel

294 rørt] rø[r[is>t] A. 304 engæ] en[i]gæ A. 305–07 manghæ ... brennæ] multi lapides reluc-
 cent *Itin.* 307 enghæ] Neminem *christianorum* seu *iudeorum Itin.* 315 selskap] sodalis *Itin.*
 324–25 templet ... sted] primum in loco templum *Itin.*

ta bad han gud om alt
 israels folk neruærendes at
 330 hoo som badæ gud om
 noger retferdich sagh
 j ten stæd at han skullæ
 333 vordæ hørt ta sennæ gud
 hamnum eet tegn af hemmæ
 lind meth en sky at hans bøn
 336 vor hørt som istoria ve
 ritatis vdhuyser j ten tredia
 koningæ bogh Jtem j ten
 339 stæd som fornefnde koningh
 hadæ bigd eet altæræ at
 offræ ofuer pomnæ som ta vor
 342 sedh som stod vden ten
 vestræ port ved templet
 ter er end nw eet altæræ
 345 men ikcæ skapt som tet
 annet oc ey heller sadan
 tiænestæ Jtem foræ then
 348 port sines en en deel
 af ten port fordom wor
 oc hed speciosa ter som
 351 petrus et iohannes sadæ
 til ten syugæ som laa krvm-
 pen oc bad almøsæ / vdy
 354 ihesu christi nafn stat opp oc
 gak huylken som gee-
 nisten opp stodh oc lof-
 357 uædæ gudh etcetera / **Aff fleræ**
hellyæ stæder ter vdy

329 israel] israel A. 331 retferdich] retferdiched A. 340–42 eet ... sedh] ante templum altare
 holocausti *Itin.* 345–47 men ... tiænestæ] sed non ad instar sed *tamen* ad vsum primi. Nam sar-
 aceni de isto quasi nil curantes traxerunt in eo lineas *tanquam* in astrolabio figentes in *linearum*
 centro bacellum ad cuius vmbram per lineas discernunt diei horae *Itin.* 347–48 foræ ... port] in
 hac atrij parte *Itin.* 349–50 af ... speciosa] vestigia porte speciose *Itin.* 351 petrus] petretrus
 A, petrus apostolus *Itin.*; et iohannes] cum euangelista iohanne *Itin.* 352–53 til ... almøsæ] con-
 tracto *Itin.* 356–57 opp ... etcetera] consolidabantur illi plante *Itin.*

staden Capitulum xvj etcetera

- 360 Hoos tettæ fornefnde tem-
pel vedh tennæ høy
ræ sidæ noget sa neer
- 363 er en annen kyrkæ som
nw kalles templum salomonis
oc sien j synner er en an
- 366 nen kyrkæ som oc kal
les nw templum salomo
nis som fordom wor
- 369 hofuet oc beginnelssæ
til templariorum orden Jtem
nør ter vdh fran er en
- 372 skøn sancte anne kyrkææ
oc ter sigs at vor fruæ
vor vndfongen oc fød
- 375 af sancta anna oc ioachims
oc sancte annes graff vises
j ten sammæ kyrkæ giort
- 378 kostæligæ af steen too
trapper oc tyuæ nøder
at tok førnefnæ sancta elena
- 381 drotning sancte anne
legemmæ tædhen
oc intel constantinopolim
- 384 som nw ligger j sancte
sophien kyrkæ oc sancti
ioachims been liggæ
- 387 end kuer Jtem j ten sam
mæ kyrkæ er ten proba
tica piscina som engælin
- 390 pleyædæ fordom at røæ
oc huylken en syugh

359 staden] vrbe sacris *Itin.* **360–61** tempel] atrio *Itin.* **364** templum] scola *Itin.* **366** kyrkæ] templum siue ecclesia *Itin.* **371** er] habetur *Itin.* **372** anne] aririe A. **373** vor fruæ] gloriosa virgo maria *Itin.* **375** af ... anna] ~ *Itin.* **379** nøder] gradus vbi et adhuc patris eius ossa putantur quiescere *Itin.*, but cf. ll. 384–86 **381** anne] anne [drot[ning ·] A. **389–91** som ... oc] ~ *Itin.*

ter først vdy kundæ kommæ
 393 effter hans rørelssæ han
 vordæ karx aff allæ **hon**
 næ syugæ huylket vatn
 396 som nw er glømt oc
 ligger som en wren bek
Jtem sions byerg er ten høx
 399 tæ stæd som j staden er oc
 ter næden hoes er eeth
 skønt sloet bigd af en
 402 soldan oc øfuerst ponnæ
 byerget ter æræ mangæ
 koningæ begrafnæ som ær
 405 dauid oc salomon oc man
 gæ flere som efter tøm
 æræ koningæ vornæ
 408 oc som mand ind gar
 til bierget ter ligger ten
 steen som laa **ponnæ** vor
 411 herræs graff oc han er gantzæ
 stoor som oc stor screfuet
Erat quippe magnus valde
 414 **Ter** ligger oc eth stik
 cæ som vor herræ vor bun-
 dhen ponnæ som er eet
 417 stikcæ af en stydh **oc**
 en deel af tet bord som
 vor herræ odh sin afthen
 420 madh ponnæ *meth* sinæ
 apostoli oc noger trapper vnder

394 karx] karrex (?), cf. karsk [healthy, well] A. 396 glømt] neglecta [...] et deformata *Itin.* 397 bek] cisterna. Habetur et ante ecclesiam arbor grandis et antiqua. de qua fabulantur nonnulli quod beate marie natiuitatem principium cepit et ortum *Itin.* 401 en] aliquem *Itin.* 404 koningæ] regum iudee *Itin.* 406–07 som ... vornæ] successoribus suis *Itin.* 407 æræ] æræ [efter] A. 409 bierget] montis habetur capella *Itin.* 410–12 som ... screfuet] de quo vere tunc dicebat *Itin.* 413 **Erat** ... valde] **Erat** quippe. et adhuc dici valet. est magnus valde *Itin.* 414–16 eth ... ponnæ] pars columnæ flagellationis *Itin.* 416–17 som ... **oc**] ~ *Itin.* 419–20 odh ... madh] vltimo cenauit *Itin.* 421 apostoli] apostolis. et instituit noui testamenti sacramentum sui venerandi corporis et sanguinis *Itin.*

ten capellæ ter visess ten
 423 sted som vor **herræ** han odh
 sin aften moltid vdy som
 varet hafuer eet skønt oc
 426 rwmt hws **oc** er ter *tet*
 vatn fad som vor *herræ* todæ
 sinæ *apostolos* føder inden
 429 oc hoos *tet* **vatn** fad ter
 vor *sanctus stephanus* først
 iordet af gamaliele oc
 432 andræ gutz venner ok
 vdy *ten sammæ* stæd in kom
 ihesus at luctæ døræ *effter*
 435 sin **opstommelssæ** til sina
discipulis oc sadæ freth
meth eder han sendæ tøm
 438 oc *ten* helyæ and **p**inzæ
 dagh vdy *ten sammæ* sted
 j brennennæ tunges **J**tem fran
 441 *tet* bierg syon *hemmer* staden
 som er vidh *sancto* saluatori
 til ter ligger nw mestæ
 444 delen **aff** *sancti* steffani
 ben som før er nefndher
 oc *sancti crisostomi* venstræ
 447 arm oc fran **bierget** vester
 vd j mod gaden er en skøn
 vor fruæ kyrkæ ter som
 450 vor fruæ lengæ bedæ *effter*
 vor herræs opfarelsæ hun
 bedæ oc en stundh **J**n val
 453 le iosaphat oc ter dødæ

422–24 *ten ... vdy]* locus eiusdem cenationis *Itin.* 424–26 *som ... hws]* videlicet cenaculi magni *Itin.* 430 *sanctus]* prothomartir *Itin.* 432 *gutz venner]* viris timoratis *Itin.* 437 *meth eder]* vobis *et* agens alia que plenius euangelica pandit historia *Itin.* 441 *hemmer]* versus *Itin.* 446 *crisostomi]* *crisostimi* A. 446–47 *oc ... arm]* *et* sinistrum brachium beati iohannis crisostomi. cuius corpus vt dictum est requiescit *constantinopoli Itin.* 450 *bedæ]* demorabatus *Itin.* 451 *vor herræs]* filij sui *Itin.*; *hun]* hum A.

hun oc vor hederlighæ
 begrafuen af allæ appostolæ **Jtem**
 456 fram at ten gadæ som man
 gonger henner ten dal iosā
 phat stonder en keldæ
 459 som kalles natatoria syloe
 tid semæ vor herræ ten som
 blinder vor fødder at
 462 too sinæ øfuen **han** kom
 j gen wel sende oc sommæ
 siæ at ysaiaſ propheta lig-
 465 ger ter **Jtem** er ter eet
 steen bierg som fordom
 hed morea tet ligger ikcæ
 468 lonkt fran templeth
 sinder vdh øfuerst ponnæ
 ten sten plæyædæ vor herræ
 471 at sidæ oc kennæ sinæ dis-
 cipula oc folket / oc gioræ
 ter mangæ miracula oc
 474 ter forlod **han** qwinnæn sinæ
 sinder som greben vor j hoord
Jtem tuert fran ten kellæ
 477 natatoria *etcetera* er eet belæ
 dæ hugget j en sten grofuæ-
 ligæ giort tet kallæ te
 480 magnus absolon huor foræ
 tet sa heder tet findes in
 libro regum *secundo* oc ter hos
 483 stor en hylt ter som iudas
 sek self hengddæ vdy ten
 hyll eller en annen som
 486 ter hoos stondit hafuer
Jtem fran tet bierg sinder vd
 vel eet sten kast er en
 489 dall acheldemag som

456 ten gadæ] hoc monte in vico *Itin*. 480 magnus] manus *Itin*. 487 bierg] monte syon *Itin*.

køpt vor foræ trætyuæ pen-
 ingæ oc ter æræ begrafnæ
 492 mangæ pelægrimæ oc ter
 sines end mangæ boligæ
 som ærmædæ ter vdhy
 495 boot hafuer fordom *etcetera*

Translation

On the Holy Sepulchre and on the church in which it is situated – Chapter 14 etc.

Jerusalem, together with all the land that is promised to God's children, is one of the four parts or provinces into which the kingdom called Syria is divided. Judea¹ has on its eastern side the kingdom called Arabia; on its southern side it has the kingdom that is Egypt; on its western side is the Mediterranean Sea,² and on its northern side lies the kingdom of Syria. The aforementioned Judea has been under many rulers at many and different times, who are: the Canaanites; Jews; Africans;³ Persians; Medians; Macedonians; Greeks; Romans; Christians; Saracens; Barbarians; Turks, and Tartars.⁴ Which must certainly be because Our Lord did not want to have great and improper sinners staying long in the land that is holy and so pleasing to him.

Moreover, when pilgrims arrive in Jerusalem, they should first fulfil their pilgrimage at the venerated and holy sepulchre and head towards it with humility. This church is situated in the far north of the city and a walled perimeter walk encloses her tightly within the city.⁵ The church is beautiful and circular in shape and roofed with lead, and on its west side it has a large, strong, and high tower, and in the middle of the church floor is a small tabernacle wrought with precious and magnificent work, fifteen feet long and just as wide and just as high. And on the right-hand side in that very chapel or tabernacle is the most venerated place: the sepulchre in which God himself lay. And it is eight feet long and five feet wide, and in the entire chapel there is no slit or window, but just a small door, and when

490–91 peningæ] denariorum proditionis *Itin.* 493 mangæ boligæ] vestigia cellularum *Itin.* 495 *etcetera*] ~ *Itin.*

1 ODa. “iödæland,” lit. ‘Jew-land’ or ‘land of [the] Jews.’

2 ODa. “tet storæ haff,” lit. ‘Great Sea.’ Cf. Numbers 34:6.

3 ODa. “affricis” is probably a mistake for ‘Assyrians’; cf. Lat. *assyriorum* here.

4 ODa./Lat. “tartaris” [Tartars] probably refers to the Mongols who invaded Syria during the second half of the thirteenth century.

5 That is, the church is enclosed on all sides by a wall.

pilgrims enter, it is lit by many lamps. There must always be at least one [lamp] burning upon the sepulchre in addition to the others. And you should know that until recently, pilgrims could walk upon the sepulchre and touch it, but because many of them broke [pieces] off the sepulchre or⁶ intended to break [pieces] off, the sultan Melech Mandebro⁷ had an iron fence built around it, so that now you cannot either reach it to kiss or touch it, but only see the holy sepulchre. And a piece of the tomb the size of a man's head is walled in on the left side, five feet up, which the pilgrims can both touch and damage.⁸

Moreover, it is commonly said that the lamp that hangs above Our Lord's sepulchre extinguishes itself at the ninth hour in the day [on Good Friday] and rekindles itself on Easter night at midnight, and it happens by God's doing without any human effort. If this is indeed so, then it is a great miracle of God. Many Christians believe that it is brought about by their just sincerity.⁹ There are many who doubt this [miracle] and think that the Saracens who are the custodians of the Holy Sepulchre do it, because in this way they can get more money and tribute out of the pilgrims.¹⁰ Moreover, note that on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter Saturday, on these three days, this chapel is continuously open so that all Christians can go inside without paying.

Moreover, note that beside the right-hand wall in the aforementioned church is the site of Calvary where Jesus Christ hung upon the Cross. And a few steps up at the same place is a stone that is white with red mixed in and that has a cleft. They say that this is Golgotha and say that much of Christ's blood ran into this

6 ODa. "oc" [and] may be a mistake for *eller* [or]; cf. Lat. *vel* [or] here: "sed *quia* multi effringebant vel conabantur sibi effringere aliquid de petra sepulchri" [but because many broke off or attempted to break off pieces of rock from the sepulchre].

7 Sultan Al-Malik Al-Ashraf Khalil, 1260s–93, eighth Mamluk sultan (r. 1290–93). He conquered the last of the Crusader states at the Siege of Acre 1291.

8 ODa. "læste" may be a mistake for *kysse* [to kiss]; cf. Lat. *osculatur* [kiss] here: "ab *omnibus* veneratur tangitur et osculatur" [which is venerated, touched, and kissed by everyone].

9 ODa. "sent" from *sænde*, here interpreted with meaning "to provide, bring about." ODa. "aff tōrres ret enfollicheth" [by their just sincerity]; cf. Lat. "in magno pietatis merito" [a great reward of piety].

10 The Miracle of the Holy Fire is one of the highlights in the Byzantine Orthodox calendar in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Although for crusaders it was a cherished event, many later (Catholic) Christians expressed doubt about its authenticity. Pope Gregory IX denounced it as a fraud in 1238 and forbade Franciscans from taking part. Muslim rulers also considered it an elaborate religious fraud but allowed it to continue in exchange for payment. See Diego R. Sarrió Cucarella, *Muslim-Christian Polemics across the Mediterranean the Splendid Replies of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d. 684/1285)* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 61. The doubt expressed in the Mandeville text originates from the Vulgate Latin text from which the ODa. was translated.

stone. And there is an altar and in front of this altar are buried the Christian kings Godfrey of Bouillon¹¹ and other kings who in AD 1100 conquered the holy city and all the Holy Land from the hands of the Saracens and thereby earned themselves a revered name [that will last] until [the Day of] Judgement, and they are believed to be with God in heaven.

Moreover, at the aforementioned place where Our Lord was tortured are written these words that are mentioned here in Greek: “otheos basileon ysmon prostonos orgazeen azachis gea.”¹² This inscription means the same as this, ‘Our God and King, before the beginning of the world has wrought salvation in the middle of¹³ the earth.’ Furthermore, the following writing is painted where the Cross was set in the stone: “chyos niskios bases con pisceos thoy cosmotzi.”¹⁴ That means ‘What you see is the beginning of faith across the whole world.’

Moreover, not far from the site of Calvary there is an altar, and the column to which Our Lord was bound and scourged lies there. And under the altar is a cavern thirty-two steps deep where St Helena found the three crosses upon which Christ and the two thieves hung. And there is a room in the wall where the nails with which Christ was fastened to the Cross were found.¹⁵ Furthermore, in the middle of the choir in the aforementioned church is a place as wide as it is round¹⁶ where Our Lord’s body was laid, where Joseph of Arimathea with his helpers washed and anointed and embalmed Our Lord’s body with spices. Moreover, on the eastern side of the aforementioned church is shown the place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene after his resurrection, when she thought that he was a gardener. [John 20:11–18]

11 Godfrey of Bouillon (1060–1100) was the first ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem (r. 1099–1100).

12 This appears to be a garbled version of Gk. Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰώνων εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς [Here, God, Our King before the ages, wrought salvation in the middle of the earth] from Psalm 74:12 LXX. Charles William Reuben Dutton Moseley, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London: Penguin, 2005), 78n.

13 ODa. “meth” is here interpreted as *mith* [in the middle of]; cf. Gk. ἐν μέσῳ [in the middle of], Lat. “in medio terre” [in the middle of the earth].

14 The Gk. here is even more garbled but has been interpreted as: Ὁ ὄραξ ἐστὶ βάσεις τῆς πίστεως ὅλης τοῦ κόσμου τούτου [What you see is the base of all the faith in the world]. There is no known source for the phrase. Moseley, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 78n; Higgins, *The Book of John Mandeville with Related Texts*, 46–47n136.

15 On Helena and the finding of the Cross and the nails, see Text 29: *The Finding of the Holy Cross*.

16 ODa. “uel ofuer bretter saset rumt” is difficult to decipher. Perhaps it is a scribal error for *vel ofuer breth er sosom rund* [lit. well across wide is as round] meaning something like it is ‘so wide as to be round’ or ‘as wide as it is round.’ The Lat. original has “stratus mire et pulcre ad integri figuram compassi.”

Moreover, on the right-hand side where you enter the church there are eighteen steps and below them is the chapel of the Indians,¹⁷ and their clerics sing mass and hours according to their rite. They perform this mass quite quickly. First during mass, they make the sacrament with the right words that are necessary, and then they have a few prayers and then they end the mass with the Lord's Prayer. And it is true to say that they perform their office with humility and great devotion etc.

On the other three churches and especially the Temple – Chapter 15 etc.

Notice that to the south of the aforementioned church is a large hospice, and it is the court and the foundation place¹⁸ of the order that is called the Hospitallers. There, all Christendom, whoever comes there, can rent accommodation. Furthermore, in that same monastery, there are one hundred and twenty columns of marble that support the building and there are fifty-four pillars in the walls to separate those who serve in the aforementioned building.

Moreover, somewhat near the place that has just been mentioned is another church that is called Our Lady the Great, and not far from there is another church that is called Our Lady the Latin, and it is built upon the place where Mary Magdalene and Mary Cleophas with several others wept and moaned pitifully when they saw Our Lord Jesus Christ hanging on the Cross.¹⁹ [John 19:25]

Moreover, somewhat further from the church, where the Holy Sepulchre is, is a wonderful, exquisite, and very beautiful building and round that is called the Temple of the Lord.²⁰ And it is a hundred and twenty-six cubits high and there are many pillars within it that support it. And in the middle of the temple, there is a place that is taller than fourteen steps and is surrounded by pillars and has four doorways within it towards [each of] the four cardinal points. And the doorways are exquisitely made and carved from cypress wood. Within the northern doorway is a spring with clear and pure water that in earlier times used to flow but is now still. [Cf. Ezekiel 47:1] Outside the temple is a beautiful, round house and the floor is laid with white marble and this temple stands in the place where God's Temple stood at the time of Jesus Christ, and after his resurrection it was destroyed by the Romans. Then the emperor Hadrian rebuilt it over many years and a long time,

17 ODa. "tørræ capel af india" [lit. their chapel of India, the chapel of those from India]. The "Indians" in Jerusalem may refer to Ethiopian Christians in the Monastery of the Sultan (*Deir al-Sultan*) in the Holy Sepulchre church complex.

18 ODa. "beginnelssæ" [lit. beginning].

19 Our Lady the Great was a Benedictine abbey founded 1130 to receive female pilgrims. Our Lady the Latin was the first Latin Christian church built in Jerusalem in 1014.

20 The Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat aš-Šakhra*) was built in the late seventh century on Mount Moriah where Muḥammad ascended to heaven.

but not in the same shape that the former temple was built. And the high building that stands within it, that was touched upon earlier, the Jews call the Holy of Holies. And you should know that the Saracens treat the temple with much reverence and honour. When they enter it, they take off their shoes and fall upon their knees and devoutly pray to the almighty God. And there are no pictures inside the temple, but there are many lamps that are always burning. They allow no-one to enter those places and they think that [only] those who are worthy should go inside. If I had not had the sultan's letter, then I would not have come inside. When I entered with my company, I took off my shoes and thought with great regret that we ought to behave even better than the unbelieving Saracens. And this place should certainly be held in great dignity because when King Solomon built the temple for the first time on this very spot where God commanded him, and his father David ordered him, he asked God, in the presence of all the people of Israel, that whoever asked God about some just cause in this place would be heard. [2 Chronicles 6:21–42] Then God sent him a sign from heaven in a cloud that his prayer was heard as the *Historia veritatis* [History of Truth] relates in the Third Book of Kings [3 Kings 8:10–13 DRB, 1 Kings 8:10–13 KJV].

Moreover, the aforementioned king had built an altar in that place upon which to perform sacrifices as was then the custom. It stood outside the western doorway at the temple. There is still an altar now but not shaped like the other one and nor for that purpose.²¹ Furthermore, in front of the doorway is still seen a part of the doorway that once existed and is called *Porta Speciosa* [The Beautiful Gate] where Peter and John said to the sick man who was lying crippled and asking for charity, “Stand up in the name of Jesus Christ and walk!” [He] immediately stood up and praised God etc. [Acts 3:1–10]

On more holy sites there in the city – Chapter 16 etc.

Quite close to the aforementioned temple on the right-hand side is another church that is now called the Temple of Solomon that once was the court and foundational place²² of the Order of the Knights Templar.²³ Furthermore, north from there is a beautiful church of St Anne, and where it is said that Our Lady was conceived and born to St Anne. And Joachim and St Anne's grave, exquisitely made from stone, is shown twenty-two steps underneath this very church. The aforemen-

²¹ The French version of Mandeville tells us that the Saracens have converted the altar into a “quadran” [sun-dial]. Higgins, *The Book of John Mandeville*, 53.

²² ODa. “beginnelssæ” [lit. beginning].

²³ The Templars, founded in 1188, resided in the Temple (now the Al-Aqsa Mosque). Originally built as a mosque in the eighth century, it was transformed under the Latin kings into a church in the twelfth century. After Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, the mosque was restored in 1218.

tioned queen St Helena took St Anne's bones from there and to Constantinople where they are now in the Church of Hagia Sophia, and St Joachim's bones still lie there. Furthermore, in the same church is the *Probatina Piscina* [Sheep Pool] that the angel used to stir up, and the first sick man who could enter it straight after [the angel's] disturbance was cured from all kinds of disease. [Cf. John 5:1–9] This water is now forgotten and lies in a dirty stream.

Moreover, Mt Zion is the highest place that is in the city, and below it is a beautiful palace built by a sultan and on top of it many kings are buried, who are David and Solomon and many others who have been kings after them. And as you go onto the mountain, the stone that lay upon Our Lord's grave is there and it is rather big as is written: *Erat quippe magnus valde* [Mark 16:4; Luke 16:4]. There is also a fragment to which Our Lord was bound that is a piece of a column and a piece of the table at which Our Lord ate his supper with his apostles. And some steps below the chapel the place is shown where Our Lord ate his evening meal that has been a beautiful and round house. And there is the water basin in which Our Lord washed his apostles' feet. And St Stephen was first buried alongside this water basin by Gamaliel and others of God's friends. And in the same place, Jesus came in through locked doors to his disciples after his resurrection and said, "Peace [be] with you." [John 22: 19, 21, 26] He also sent them the Holy Spirit in tongues of fire during Pentecost at the same place. [Acts 2:1–4]

Moreover, from Mt Zion down towards the city is a church that it consecrated to St Saviour. Most of St Stephen's bones, that were mentioned earlier, and St Chrysostom's left arm lie there. And west from the mountain towards the street is a beautiful church of Our Lady where Our Lady prayed for a long time after Our Lord's resurrection. She also prayed for a while in the Valley of Josaphat and she died there and was honourably buried by all the apostles.

Moreover, further along the street that you take down towards the Valley of Josaphat, is a spring that is called the *Natatoria Siloae* [Pool of Siloam]. Our Lord sent the man who was born blind there to wash his eyes. He returned able to see. [John 9:1–7] And some say that the prophet Isaiah lies there. Furthermore, there is a rocky mountain that used to be called Moriah. It is not far from the temple, heading south. Our Lord used to sit upon this rock and teach his disciples and the people and perform many miracles there. And there he forgave the sins of the woman who was taken in adultery. [John 8:1–11]

Moreover, across from this spring, the Pool etc., is an image roughly carved in a rock. They call it *Magnus Absalon* [Great Absalom].²⁴ Why it is called this is

²⁴ The Lat. version has "manus absalon" [the Hand of Absalom]; cf. the Heb. name for the tomb: יד אבשלום [*yad Avshalom*, Absalom's hand]. The story of Absalom, the third son of David, is told in 2 Kings *DRB* (2 Samuel *KJV*) and his monument in 2 Kings (2 Samuel *KJV*) 18:18.

found in the Second Book of Kings. And next to it is an elder where Judas hanged himself, in that elder or another one that was standing near it. [Matthew 27:3–10] Furthermore, about a stone's throw south of that mountain is the Valley of Akeldama that was bought for the thirty pennies and many pilgrims are buried there [Matthew 27:7], and there can be seen many dwellings in which hermits have previously lived etc.

8 Jesus Raises a Jew from the Dead

Headnotes

Source: **A** *Hær begynnes aff Joachiam oc aff sancta Anna oc aff hwat slæct the ære fødth oc aff theris leffnet Oc saa aff Jomfrw marie leffneth oc aff wors herre ihesu barndom* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, c. 1508), ff. g5r15–g7v12.

Parallel text: ~

Original text: **Marienleben:** **B** Low German: BHL Ms. theol. germ. 4° 23, ff. 90v24–93r22 (1489); **C** High German: Heinrich Rückert, ed., *Bruder Philipps des Carthäusers Marienleben*, Bibliothek der deutschen National-Literatur, vol. 34 (Leipzig: Quedlinburg, 1853), 122–26 (ll. 4488–627). As these two German versions are rhymed, it is difficult to compare them directly to the ODa. **A**. They have therefore been provided in full after the English translation.

Edition: ~

Edition (*A Hær begynnes aff Joachiam... [c. 1508]*)

- ¶ Hos nazareth vor
een siø som heed mare galilee tijd
3 gijngē bōrnene vt oc læcte oc toge
ihesum met them ther the komme tijl then
siø Tha wordhe the fijskæ woor
6 som løbe hænder landhe tha sag-
de ihesus Wij wele gøre oss smaa parcke
och graffue them ath watnet kan
9 løbe vthaff siøn och i them Strax
woor ihesus fiske watn redhe och
the andre bōrn giordhe och theres
12 tha kom ther fiske løbendhe meth
watn vth aff siøen bodhe stoore
och smaa i the graffuer oc parcke
15 som the haffde giort ihesus oc the
andre bōrn Then dagh thet ske-

6–7 sagde ihesus] sagde A.

de tha wor thet iødernes søndag
 18 Tha kom ther ganghendis een
 gammel iøde oc han wor wrædh
 oc straffuede børnen saare oc sagde
 21 til them I gør gantze illæ at i hol-
 le icke eders søndagh hellig then
 alle folck holle hellig then haffue i
 24 brudet gud lader icke paa eder væ-
 re vhaeffnd han ladher sin vredhe
 gaa offuer eder her paa iorden. ihe-
 27 sus thet gør enghen vden thu ath
 woore børn brydhe moyses budh
 oc fortørne gud Ihesus swarede al-
 30 drig sculle tesse børn taghe ondhe
 effter syn aff megh The scule alle
 være rijge oc salige hær paa iorden
 33 Ieg rader teg at thu fructer sielff-
 uer gut oc holder thin søndag ræt
 oc her moyses bud Tha bleff iøden
 36 møget vræd oc wilde hæffne segh
 paa the børn oc spille theris læg oc
 tradde theres damme sønder och
 39 theres watn och fiske och løbe tha
 fald han strax neder pa then sam-
 me stæth oc døde Tha kom thet
 42 røcthe strax indh i nazareth och
 the gaffue stoor kære offuer ihesum
 for then samme man wor død oc sag-
 45 de alle Iosep søn gør oss møghet
 vnd scal han lenger bliffue hos oss
 tha komme han wore børn i nød. han
 48 kan møget troldom then lerne han
 i egipte land han wil oss ont oc wil
 sin troldom paa oss forsøge wi wil-
 51 le alle gaa i mod hannum oc sla han-
 num i hiel han ær enthet ræth barn di
 efflene ær hannum alle lydige. ther

54 iosep oc iomfrw maria thet hørde
 tha wore the fryctighe at iøderne
 sculde wor herre gøre vnd tha sag
 57 de iosep Siger meg fruwe edher
 raad iøderne wille hæffne paa oss
 oc thin søn at then iøde fal nedher
 60 oc døde Iomfrv maria swaredhe
 wij wille gaa strax hwar wi kun-
 ne finne min kære søn i bland the
 63 andre børn Finne iøderne hannum
 ieg fructer the gøre hannum ont. io-
 sep oc maria the ginge vth oc fun-
 66 ne ihesum all æne han kom gan-
 gendis paa then samme marck ther
 thet samme spell skæde ther maria
 69 saa sin søn tha sade hon. mijn kære
 søn hwat gjorde then man teg
 ther død ligger Mijn kære moder
 72 then iøde han gjorde meg møget e
 mod han talet meg illæ til oc wilde
 traade megh oc dreff mijne fijske
 75 borth the ieg haffde achthet at bære
 eder hiem Mijn kære søn thw ha
 wer formøget hæffnd teg thi bæ-
 78 der ieg teg mijn kære søn at thw
 wilde giffue hannum sit liff igen for
 mijn skyld. tha swareded ihesus ia
 81 mijn kære moder i hwat i bede meg
 thet wil ieg gerne gøre The ginge
 til then døde oc mange iøder gijn
 84 ge met them Wor herre gick til then
 døde oc rørde hanum met sin fod
 oc sagde Stad op oc wer leffuen
 87 dis och ghiff icke mære dom eller
 band offuer the vskyldige som thw
 gjorde offuer tesse børn strax ihe-
 90 sus haffde sagt tesse ord tha stod
 then døde op strax oc vor karsk oc
 sund oc sagde thette toctege barn
 93 ær kommet nedher aff hemmelin

Translation

Near Nazareth there is a lake called the *Mare Galilaeae* [Sea of Galilee]. Children went out there and played and they took Jesus with them. When they arrived at the lake, they noticed fish that were heading towards the shore. Then Jesus said, “We should make small ponds and dig them so that the water can run from the lake and into them.” Jesus’ fishpond was finished straightaway, and the other children also made theirs. Then fish came, swept along by the water from the lake, both large and small, into the ditches and ponds that Jesus and the other children had made.

The day this happened was the Jews’ Sabbath [lit. Sunday].¹ Then an old Jew came along, and he was angry and forcefully reprimanded the children and said to them, “You’re doing quite a bad thing by not keeping your Sabbath holy! All people keep it holy, [but] you have broken it. God will not let you go unavenged. He will let his wrath be upon you here on earth. Jesus, no-one but you makes our children break Moses’ commandments and enrage God!” Jesus answered, “These children would never learn an evil example from me. They will all be rich and blessed here on earth. I advise you that you yourself fear God and keep his Sabbath correctly and honour Moses’ commandments.” Then the Jew became very angry and wanted to take revenge on the children and ruin their game and stamp out their ponds and pools and fish and channels. Then he immediately collapsed on that very spot and died.

Straightaway the rumour spread to Nazareth, and they complained vehemently about Jesus on account of the man who had died, and they all said, “Joseph’s son is doing bad things to us. If he stays amongst us any longer, then he will get our children into trouble. He is very good at sorcery which he learnt in Egypt. He wants to do us harm and wants to practise his magic on us. We’ll all confront him and kill him. He is not a proper child – all the demons obey him!”

When Joseph and the Virgin Mary heard this, they were afraid that the Jews would hurt Our Lord. Then Joseph said, “Tell me, lady, your counsel! The Jews want to take revenge on us and your son because that Jew collapsed and died.” The Virgin Mary replied, “Let’s go straightaway to where we can find my dear son among the other children. If the Jews find him, I’m afraid that they will harm him.” Joseph and Mary left and found Jesus alone. He came walking on the very field where the incident had taken place. When Mary saw her son, she said, “My dear son! What did that man who’s lying dead do to you?” “My dear mother! That

¹ ODa. “søndagh” [Sunday] is used throughout this tale to refer to the Jewish Sabbath (from Friday evening to Saturday evening). Both German versions have Saturday (MLG “zunnabend”; MHG “samztac”). Cf. Text 22: *The Clay Birds*.

Jew did a lot against me! He spoke to me badly and wanted to tread on me and drive away my fish, the ones I had to take home to you.” “My dear son, you have avenged yourself too greatly! So, I am asking you, my dear son, to give him back his life for my sake.” Then Jesus answered, “Yes, my dear mother. I’ll happily do what you’re asking me to.” They walked over to the dead man and many Jews went with them. Our Lord walked over to the dead man and touched him with his foot and said, “Stand up and be alive and make no more judgements and pronouncements over the innocent as you did over these children!” As soon as Jesus had said these words, the dead man stood up straightaway and was healed and healthy and said, “This moral child has descended from heaven!”

Low German version (B)

Source: BHL Ms. theol. germ. 4° 23, ff. 90v24–93r22 (1489).

Dat yezus vissche makede vnde were myt den cynderen

- 3 Dar by nazoret steid en se
de het maer galile
spelen gingen de cinder dar hen
6 vnde nemen yhezum myt en
to deme ze de cinder qwemen
vnde in deme water vissche zegen
9 yezus sprak wy scollen alle
maken vpp in dat gevalle
bi dessem see werelin
12 vnde leidden ok water dar in
zo varen ock de vissche zan
yn vnze dike de wy van
15 scollen vnde dregen heim
de cindere drogen alle lem
vnde makeden cleine dikelin
18 dat water wizeden ze dar in
vnde vtte deme ze cleine grauen
de cynder begunnen alle to grauen

1 yezus] yzus B. 4 maer galile] maen galde B. 10 gevalle] ge vallee B. 14 wy] wyn B.
20 begunnen] be gunden B.

- 21 scire yezus zin dikelin
 maket hadde vnde ock dar in
 vtte deme ze water vlot
- 24 do quemen vissche cleyne vnde grot
 yesus in sinem dikelin
 vnde och in der anderen dickelin
- 27 da dit zulue spil scach
 do qwam en yode de was old
 de cindere myt bozen torne scold
- 30 he sprak wat do gi bozenwichte
 wor vme vire gi huden nichte
 dat is en hillich zunnabend huden
- 33 vnde viren ock alle lude
 de hilge tid han gi to braken
 got en let des nicht vngewraken
- 36 dar vme scolle gi werden
 vorvloket vppe der erden
 yezus dit makestu alleyne
- 39 dat de cynder algemeyne
 breken mogez es bod
 vnde vortornen alle god
- 42 du vor leydest vnze cind
 dat ze alle vorlaren zind
 yezus sprak do numer nicht
- 45 van my se scollen alle werden
 rike vnde zalich vpp der erden
 ik rade dy dat du vruchttest godd
- 48 vnde holden dinen sabat
 vnde en haue nene zorge vmme dy
 myr werd wol rad ane dy
- 51 de yoden begunden tornen
 myt grotome torne lepp he to
 vnde zik an deme cynde wreken
- 54 vnde zin spil em tobreken

25 yesus] ysus *B.* 28 qwam] qwan *B.* 30 bozenwichte] bozen wichte *B.* 31 gi] gu *B.* 35 vnge-
 wraken] vn gewraken *B.* 37 vorvloket] v\o/revloket *B.* 39 algemeyne] alge meyne *B.* 41 vor-
 tornen] vor tornen *B.* 43 vorlaren] vor laren *B.* 44 yezus] ye zus *B.* 51 begunden] be gunden
B. 54 tobreken] to breken *B.*

de he dem cinde zin spel tobrak
 he vil neder an der stad
 57 zin leuend myt deme dode vorlos
 zines bozen tornes de do not
 in der stad do auer all
 60 to nasaret em grot scal
 vppe dat cind yezum sik hoff
 ze spreken alle yozeppes zone
 63 de wil vns vele ledes dan
 scal he lange by vns zin
 he is en recht touerer
 66 he had vpp vns grot swere
 to vorne in egippten lande
 he lerde al vpp vns stande
 69 dat scolle wy truwen vnderstan
 wi willen ene tode slan
 he en is nicht en recht cind
 72 de duel eme alle horzam zind
 do yozepp vnde maria horden
 desse rede ze zere vruchteden
 75 vme yezum dat cyndelin
 doch wusten ze wol de vnscult zin
 vnde ok der yoden grote vntruwe
 78 yosepp sprak nu sage my vrouwe
 wat is de rad den wy don
 vmme vnze cind dinen zon
 81 maria sprak here ick rade
 dat wy gan vnde zoken drade
 myn leue kind wor wy dat vinden
 84 wor it is mank anderen cinderen
 camen em de yoden to
 ick vruchte dat ze em leid don
 87 yozep vnde de maget reyne
 gingen vt dat cind alleyne
 vunden an deme velde gen

55 tobrak] to brak *B.* 57 vorlos] vor los *B.* 61 sik] ik *B.* 64 he] h[a>e] *B.* 67 egippten] e
 gippten *B.* 69 vnderstan] vnder stan *B.* 73 horden] hrden *B.* 74 vruchteden] vruchteden
B. 78 yosepp sprak] yo sepp scprak *B.* 84 it] \it/ *B.*

- 90 dar dat dink wos gescen
do maria ere cynd zach
to em ze gink vnde balde sprak
- 93 leue cynd nu zage in
wat hat gedan de yode dy
dat he dar nedder ligget dot
- 96 yozepp sprak vil grote nod
dat my de suluen yode dat
wedder my dot myt groten bozen reden
- 99 zo ock hat my totreden
mynen dyk vnde myne vissche
do ick dy to dinem dissche
- 102 bringen wolde de hat he voryaget
dat zi vrouwe dy geclaget
maria sprak vil leue here
- 105 du hast vorcaren dick vil zere
doch bydd ick here dick
gif em wedder nu zin leuend
- 108 dat ze vns de sculd nicht geuen
wente ze tigen alle dick
dat du sculdich zist vnde ick
- 111 yesus sprak do moder myn
wat du biddest dat mot zin
se gingen to dem doden hen
- 114 der yoden vele myt em
yesus myt deme vote sted
vnde den doden vppstan heid
- 117 he sprak sta vpp vnde haue wedder din leuen
du scold nicht mer ordel geuen
auer dede vnschuldich zind
- 120 also du dedes auer dit cynd
do yhezus sprak dat eyne word
de dode wedder leuendich ward
- 123 he stund vpp vnde sprak tohand

90 gescen] ge scen *B.* 94 gedan] ge dan *B.* 99 zo] oh *B.*; totreden] to treden *B.* 102 voryaget] vor yaget *B.* 103 vrouwe] urouwe *B.*; geclaget] ge claget *B.* 104 vil leue] villene hene *B.* 105 vorcaren] vor caren *B.* 114 der] de[r] *B.* 115 yesus] se sus *B.* 116 vppstan] vpp stan *B.* 118 nicht] micht *B.* 123 tohand] to hand *B.*

he en swech dar na nycht lant
 dat dat cynd zo doentlik
 126 camen were van hemmelrik

High German version (C)

Source: Heinrich Rückert, ed., *Bruder Philipps des Carthäusers Marienleben*,
 Bibliothek der deutschen National-Literatur, vol. 34 (Leipzig: Quedlin-
 burg, 1853), 122–26 (ll. 4488–627).

Bi Nazarêth stêt ein sê
 der heizet mare Galilê.
 3 diu kint giengen spiln dâ hin
 und vuorten Jêsum ouch mit in.
 ze dem sê diu kint nu kâmen
 6 und in dem wazzer vische sâhen.
 Jêsus sprach “wir suln alle
 machen, ob ez iu wol gevalle,
 9 bi disem sê nu wîerlîn
 und leiten wazzer ouch dar in,
 sô varnt ouch die vische sân
 12 in unser wîer, die wir vân
 suln unde tragen heim.”
 diu kint dô gruoben alle den leim
 15 und machten kleiniu wîerlîn.
 daz wazzer leitten sî dar in
 ûz dem sê durch kleine graben.
 18 dô sî begunden alle graben,
 schier Jêsus sîn wîerlîn
 gemachet het und ouch dar in
 21 ûz dem sê daz wazzer vlôz:
 dô kômen vische klein unt grôz
 Jêsu in sîn wîerlîn
 24 und ouch der andern kindelîn.
 ez was der juden sameztac,
 dô daz selbe spil geschach.

124 lant] lan[->t] B. 125 doentlik] doent lik B. 126 hemmelrik] hemmel rik B.

- 27 dar kom ein jude, der was alt,
 diu kint mit grôzem zorne er schalt.
 er sprach “waz tuot ir boesewiht?
- 30 war umbe vîrt ir hiute niht?
 ez ist ein heilic samztac hiute
 und vîrent ouch al die liute.
- 33 die heiligen zît habt ir zebrochen:
 got lât daz niht ungerochen.
 dar umbe sult ir alle werden
- 36 von got vervluochet ûf der erden.
 Jêsus, daz machest du al eine
 daz disiu kint nu algemeine
- 39 brechent Moyses gebot
 und erzürnent alle got.
 du verleitst uns unsriu kint,
- 42 daz sî alle vervluochet sint
 und werdent al von dir verlorn
 und verdienent gotes zorn.”
- 45 Jêsus sprach dô “nimmer niht
 disen kinden leids geschiht
 von mir; sî suln elliu werden
- 48 rîche und saelic ûf der erden.
 ich rât dir daz du vûrhtest got
 und êrest dînen sabâot
- 51 baz danne ê, des ist dir nôt
 und behaltest Moyses gebot,
 und habe kleine sorge umb mich:
- 54 sîn wirt guot rât âne dich.”
 der jude begunde zürnen dô:
 mit grôzem zorn lief er hin zuo
- 57 und sich an dem kinde rach.
 sîn spil er im gar zebrach.
 daz wîerlîn zetrat der man,
- 60 daz daz wazzer gar ûz ran.
 do er dem kint sîn spil zetrat,
 er viel nider an der stat;
- 63 sîn leben er mit dem tôde vlôs,
 sîns boesen zorns er des genôz.
 in der stat dô über al
- 66 ze Nazarêth ein grôzer schal,

geschrei und ouch ein starker ruof
 ûf Jêsum daz kint sich huop.
 69 sî sprâchen alle “Jôseps sun
 der wil uns leides vil tuon.
 sol er lange bî uns sîn,
 72 wir engelten alle sîn.
 unser kint bringt er in nôt,
 die alten ligent von im tôt.
 75 er ist ein rehter zouberaere:
 er hât ûf unser grôze swaere
 zouber in Êgipten lande
 78 gelernet und ûf unser schande
 sîn zouber an uns versuochen wil.
 er wil unser toeten vil.
 81 daz sul wir triuwen understân:
 wir wellen in ze tôde slân.
 er ist niht ein rehtez kint;
 84 die tievel im gehôrsam sint.”
 dô Jôseph und Mariâ hôrten
 dise rede, harte vorhten
 87 umbe Jêsum daz kindelîn.
 doch westens die unschulde sîn
 und ouch der juden grôze untriuwe.
 90 Jôsep sprach “nu sage, vrouwe,
 waz ist dîn rât daz wir nu tuon
 umb unser kint und dînen sun?”
 93 Mariâ sprach “herr, ich daz râte
 daz wir gên und suochen drâte
 min liebez kint, swâ wir ez vinden,
 96 swâ er sî bî andern kinden,
 wan koment im die juden zuo,
 ich vûrht daz sî im leit tuon.”
 99 Jôseph und diu magt reine
 giengen ûz, daz kint al eine
 sî vunden an dem velde gên
 102 dâ daz dinc was geschên.
 dô Marjâ ir kint gesach,
 balde zim sî gie unt sprach
 105 “liebez kint, nu sage mir,
 waz hât getân der jude dir

- der dâ ist gelegen tôt?”
- 108 Jêsus sprach “vil grôze nôt
hât mir der selbe jude getân:
er wolt mich leides niht erlân.
- 111 er tet mir leit mit boesen reden;
ouch sô hât er mir zetreten
mînen wîer, und die vische
- 114 die ich dir ze dînem tische
tragen wolt, hât er verjagt:
vrouwe, daz sî dir geklagt.”
- 117 Mariâ sprach “min lieber hêrre,
du hâst in selbe gebuozt sêre.
doch sô bite ich, hêrre, dich
- 120 daz du daz tuon wellest durch mich:
gip im wider nu sîn leben,
daz sî uns die schult niht geben,
- 123 wand sî zîhent alle dich
daz du schuldic sîst und ich.”
Jêsus sprach “du muoter min,
- 126 swaz du gebiutest, daz sol sîn.”
sî giengen zuo dem tôten hin:
der juden gie vil mit in.
- 129 Jêsus mit dem vuoze stiez
den tôten und in ûf stên hiez.
er sprach “stant ûf und habe din leben:
- 132 du solt nimmer urteil geben
über die unschuldic sint,
sam du taete über diu kint.”
- 135 dô Jêsus gesprach ein wort,
der tôte wider lebendic wart.
er stuont ûf zehant unt sprach
- 138 und des offenbâre jach
daz daz kint sô tugentlîch
komen waer von himelrîch.

9 Judith

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 108, pp. 213:26–217:1 (1400–50).

Parallel text: ~

Original text: **SelTro** 171–73 (no. 4); The Book of Judith.

Editions: A *SjäTrö* 252–56; *SjäTrö* K 340–45.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

**Swa gig thet oc olofernes ther manga ænkior oc fadherlōs barn haf-
dhe giort Een qwinna hug hans hufwdh aff thet skal thu faa her hōra**

- 3 **T**het war een waldogher **K**onuger heeth nabogodonosor han sænde vth siin budh
til all the rike oc land han kunde afflanga / oc bōdh at the skuldo **h**onom
sænda sin skat / oc halda han for thera herra / **T**he swaradho alle at the wildo
6 **h**onom engin skat gifwa / **o**c wildo **h**onom hwarte manskap eller lydhno halda /
Tha
wardh **k**onungin grymber oc wredher / **o**c swoor vm sina thro oc helso at han
skulde thera hōghfærdh aff them taka / **O**c vthsænde sin **h**ergreua holofernem
9 **m**edh mykyt folk oc store makt / **H**an hafdhe tolf thusanda skyttor til hest
Oc hundradha thusand fotgangara / **H**an forhæriadhe all the land oc wan
alla the borgher oc stædher han kom til / **H**an drap oc sloo otalikit folk /
12 **T**hentidh iudhane **t**het forstodho satto the sik til wærio / **T**ha holofernes fik
thet hōra / spordhe han hwat folk **t**het war / **t**her thordhe sik sæthia til wern
moth **h**onom / **T**ha swaradhe een herra heth achor / **T**het ær eeth enkamelikit
folk
15 **h**wilkit then store gudhin hafwer aff alle werldinne vthwald / **H**an frælstē
them aff egypto land / oc ledde them gynom **t**het rōdha hafwit / **H**an fōrdhe
them j **t**hetta land / oc fordærfwadhe alla thera fianda / **Æ** mædhan thera gudh

1 **o**c] **o**c **o**c A. 4 the rike ... land] landen *SelTro*. 5 skat] tynß *SelTro*; halda] hebben *SelTro*; swaradho alle] spreken *SelTro*. 6 lydhno] herschop *SelTro*. 7 grymber ... wredher] tornich *SelTro*; thro ... helso] kronen *SelTro*. 8 thera hōghfærdh] allen *SelTro*; holofernem] de hette Olofernes *SelTro*. 9 mykyt ... makt] eyneme groten here *SelTro*. 11 han ... til] ~ *SelTro*; otalikit folk] allet, dat eme wedder vor *SelTro*. 12 wærio] vnde makeden lantwere vnde besloten al de wege, dar eyn her mochte inkomen *SelTro*. 14 swaradhe] sprak *SelTro*; enkamelikit] ~ *SelTro*. 15 **H**an] vnde *SelTro*. 16 **H**an] vnde *SelTro*.

- 18 wil them hielpa forma them engin bestridha / **En** swa brat the ofwergifwa
thera gudh / oc reta han til wredhe *medh* sinom syndom / **Tha** fortiir han thøm
oc swa wardha the forwnne aff thera fiandum / **Thy** lat fforhøra om æn
21 gudh ær thera win eller ey / **Ær** han thera win / thu format eengalund moth
them stridha / **Holofernes** ilzkadhis j sinne høgghfærdh / oc swaradhe *medh*
mykle
wredhe / **Thu** sigher mik fast aff thera gudh / **Thu** skalt befinna at engin annar
24 gudh ær til æn konung nabogodonor min herra / **Jak** skal sænda thik intil
iudhanna j thera stadh / **Oc** naar iak hafwer stadhin wnnit skal iak lata dræ-
pa thik *medh* iudhomen / **Oc** bødth genstan sinom thiænarom taka han oc fōran
27 til stadhin betuliam / hwilkin han hafdhe tha belakt / **The** toko achor och
fōrdhon til stadhin oc bundo **han** widh eeth thræ oc rændo swa ater til thera
herra / **Judhane** komo wth oc løsto achor oc leddo han in j stadhin / **The** spor-
30 dho for hwi han war thit sænder / **Han** berætte them sakena oc ærandit
alt til ænda / **Ther** war grater oc sørghelik laat **Thy** at hart ær lifwit at
mista / **Holofernes** hafdhe swa hardhelika them belakt at the enkt watn
33 kundo faa / **The** waro stadde j store nødh / **Oc** wildo hafwa gifwit stadhin /
Them wardh til radha at the wildo æn bidha j fæm dagha fōr æn
the wildo stadhin gifwa **Om** gudh wilde sik ofwer thera nødh forbar-
36 ma **J** them tyma war j stadhenom een hælagh ænkia heth judit hon thiæn-
te gudhy aff allo hiæarta / øfwande sik j fasto / waku / oc gudhlikom bønnum
oc j allom miskunsamlikom oc godhum gernigum / **Hon** war skøn oc dægghelikin
39 oc fæghirsta qwinna ther wara matte / **Hon** kalladhe saman presterna oc badh
thøm
bidhia *medh* allom almoghanom / oc ropa innelika til gudh alla nattena at han
wilde werdhoghas koma henne til hielp / **Thy** at hon wilde gaa vth aff
stadhenom

18–19 En ... syndom] Wan se gode vortornet myt sunden *SelTro*. 22–23 Holofernes ... wredhe] Do wart Holofernes tornich vnde sprak *SelTro*. 23 fast] vele *SelTro*. 24 min herra] ~ *SelTro*. 25 thera] de *SelTro*. 26 iudhomen] en *SelTro*. 27 The ... achor] ~ *SelTro*. 28 stadhin ... han] stad, do leipen se eme vntegen vt der stad. Do nemen desse knechte Achior vnde bunden ene *SelTro*. 29 Judhane ... achor] Dar nemen se Achior *SelTro*. 30–31 Han ... ænda] Do hoff he vp vnde segedede en alle dingk *SelTro*. 31 sørgghelik laat] sørgghelikaat A. 31–32 Ther ... mista] Do begunnen se alle to wenen vnde hadden groten angst *SelTro*. 32 Holofernes ... belakt] Do benam Holofernes der stad dat water *SelTro*. 34–36 Them ... forbarmal] Do spreken de prestere: “Wij willen noch wachten viff daghe, ofte sijk god bij wane icht yrbarmet ouer vns vnde kumpt vns to hulpe.” *SelTro*. 36–38 hon ... gernigum] vnde plach vele to beden vnde to vastene vnde ouede sijk in allen guden werken *SelTro*. 38–39 skøn ... matte] eyn schone frue *SelTro*. 39 Hon ... presterna] De quam vnde sprak to den presteren *SelTro*. 40–41 han ... hielp] he er to hulpe queme *SelTro*.

- 42 oc in j hærin / **Hon** tok oppa sik siin besto klædhe oc prydde sik som hon
 aldra best oc skønlikast kunde / **Hon** tok *medh* sik ena magdh / oc fik henne
 brødh / ost / oc wiin / oc gig vth aff stadhenom oc in j hærin / **Genstan** komo
 wardz
- 45 mennene oc toko hand a henne / oc leddo hona til thera herra olofernem / **Æn**
 oppa
 herma wenlek oc fæggrind kunno the ey fulwndra **Olofernes** spordhe hwi hon
 thith kom / **Hon** swaradhe thy at iudhane hafwa thera gudh giort wredhan
- 48 *medh* sinom syndom / **Oc** thy wil han gifwa them ofwer / oc bøgghia them vnder
 thit
 wald / Thy ær iak hith komin at iak skal thik *thet* kungøra / **Oc** iak skal sighia
 thik tyman naar thu skal winna stadhin / **Olofernes** saghdhe / Thu wilt ikke
- 51 æta aff *warum* mat · hwat skal wara thiin fødha / **Judit** swaradhe **Jak** hafwer
 mat *medh* mik borit som mik wel athrækker swa længe iak hafwer fulkompnat
thet iak hafwer thænkt / **Olofernes** loth wisa henne eeth rwm ey lankt fran
- 54 hans paulun ther hon skulde blifwa *medh* sinne magdh / **Ther** bleff hon dagh
 oc nat j gudhlikom bønnum / **Fiærdha** daghin epte taladhe olofernes til sin kem-
 mener / oc saghdhe gag til the iudhiska qwinnonna / oc radh henne *thet* hon
medh
- 57 sinom godhwilia kome til miin oc gøri min wilia / **Thy** at *thet* ær stoor blygdh
 skal hon mik swa foregaa / **Thentidh** kæmmenærin berætte henne *thetta* / swa-
 radhe hon at hon wilde gerna til hans koma / **Tha** hon til honom kom wardh
- 60 han aff allo hiærta fulkomit gladher / **Oc** j the glædhinne drak han sik swa
 drukkin som han nokontidh war j sina dagha / **Hans** thiænara waro oc wel
 beskænkte / oc gingo alle fran honom at sofwa **Oc** iudit bleff eensamen nær
- 63 honom *medh* sinne magdh / **Olofernes** lagh a sinne sæng ofwermatto drukkin
 och
 soff som eet swiin / **Tha** saghdhe iudit til sinna magdh / **Stat** fore dørrinne

42 **Hon** tok] Do gingk se hen vnde toch *SelTro*. 43 aldra ... skønlikast] aller schonest *SelTro*.
 44 oc in ... hærin] vnde ghingk to yenneme here *SelTro*; **Genstan**] ~ *SelTro*. 45 thera ... olofer-
 nem] Holofernes *SelTro*. 45–46 **Æn** ... fulwndra] Do was se so ouer schone, dat al de yenne,
 de se segen, de nekunden nicht to vullen wunderen van erer schone *SelTro*. 47 **Hon** ... at]
 antworde se vnde sprak *SelTro*. 48–49 oc ... wald] ~ *SelTro*. 50 saghdhe] sprak *SelTro*.
 51 **Judit** swaradhe] Do sprak se *SelTro*. 53 thænkt] willen *SelTro*. 53–54 **Olofernes** ... paulun]
 Dar wart er gewiset eyn stede, dar sin schat lach *SelTro*. 55 gudhlikom bønnum] bede *SelTro*.
 56 oc saghdhe] ~ *SelTro*; iudhiska qwinnonna] yodynnen *SelTro*. 58 *thetta*] vmme desse
 rede *SelTro*. 58–59 swaradhe] do segede *SelTro*. 60 aff ... gladher] sere gefrauwet *SelTro*.
 61–62 **Hans** ... sofwa] Do gengen al syne knechte slapen *SelTro*. 64 som ... swiin] aldore vaste
SelTro.

oc tak til wara at engin komber / **H**on ful sielff oppa siin knæ oc badh
 66 gudh innelika at han skulde hænnne hielpa oc styrkia / oc gifwa henne
 eet manlikit hiæрта / **H**on gik ther æpter til hans sæng / oc drogh vth
 hans swærdh / **H**on tok han j harit / oc hug swa aff honom hufwdhit / oc
 69 fik thet sinne magdh / oc hon tok sielf hans myggo thield som han
 laa vnder · **O**c gig swa om nattena gynom hærin in for stadzins port
Hon ropadhe oc saghdhe lætin **V**p portin / gudh ær medh oss / **T**he læto
 72 vp oc gingo moth henne medh lyktom / **T**her kom alt folkit saman oc hon
 stodh oppa enom høgh oc saghdhe til folkit / **J** skulin alle wælsighna
 oc lofwa gudh / **T**her oss for warum fiandum hafwer hulpit / oc min renlek
 75 hafwer bewarat / **O**c tok fram hufwdhit oc tedhe folkeno / oc sagh-
 dhe / **H**er hafwom wi hans hofwdh som oss hafdhe thænkt lata fordær-
 wa / **T**her wardh stoor glædhy oc frøgdh ofwer allan stadhin / oc alle lof-
 78 wadho oc wælsighadho gudh / **T**ha kom achor oc sagh ther hufwdhit
 oc wardh bradhelika gripin aff swa storo vndre at han nepplika
 wiste hwar han war / **E**n tha han aterkom til sik sielfwan lofwadhe han
 81 gudh oc wælsighnadhe medh størsta hiærtans glædhy / **O**c widher sagh-
 dhe hedhinga thro / oc læt sik vmskæra æpter iudhanna laghum **O**m sama
 nattena sampnadho iudhane alla thera makt / oc festo hofwdhit oppa
 84 ena langa stang oc satto hona oppa høxta stadzins mwr / **O**c om mor-
 ghonin arla drogho the vth aff stadhenom moth hedhnugomen / **T**hentidh
 hedhnugane thet sagho / saghdho the aff smælek / **N**u krypa mysse-
 87 na vth aff thera skrubbum / **O**c the fræmsto aff them gingo til paulunit
Ther olofernes laa inne / **O**c thænktø at han æn sofwe medh iudith oc thor-
 dho han ekki wekkia / **O**m sidhe gig hans kæmmener in / oc fan hans
 90 krop hufwdhløsan sweptan j sino eyghno blodhe / **H**an ropadhe rædhe-
 lika medh høghø røst / **A**ffwi een iudhinna hafwer oss fullelika skempt

65 sielff] ~ *SelTro*. 66 innelika] ~ *SelTro*. 67 gik] trad *SelTro*. 67–68 drogh ... swærdh]
 toch eme syn swert vt der scheyden *SelTro*. 68 tok] grep *SelTro*. 70 gynom ... port] dorch dat
 her ynde quam vor de stad. Do se vor de porten quam *SelTro*. 71 **H**on ... saghdhe] do reip se
SelTro. 72–73 hon stodh] se ghengk stan *SelTro*. 73 saghdhe] sprak *SelTro*. 74 **T**her ... hulpit]
 de yuw geloset heft van yuwen vyenden *SelTro*. 75 hafwer bewarat] bewaret heft van alle vnl-
 edicheit *SelTro*. 75–77 oc saghdhe ... fordærwa] ~ *SelTro*. 77 glædhy ... frøgdh] vraude *SelTro*.
 78 gudh] vnsen leuen heren god *SelTro*. 79 bradhelika] brdhelika A. 79–80 oc ... war] vnde
 quam van wundere van sijk suluen *SelTro*. 81 gudh] vnsen leuen heren god *SelTro*; medh ...
 glædhy] ~ *SelTro*. 83–84 festo ... mwr] hengeden dat houet vp de muren *SelTro*. 87 the ...
 them] de knapen *SelTro*. 88 æn] ~ *SelTro*. 90–91 Han ... røst] vnde reyp luder stemme
SelTro. 91 iudhinna] yodesch wiff *SelTro*.

Her ligger olofernes hofwdhløs dødher j sinne sæng / Tha hedhninga-
 93 ne thet hørdho / byriadho the til fly hwar som meer formatte / och
 iudhane følghdho æpte / oc slogho j hæl aff them otalikin mogha
 swa at the kundo næplika j thrætighi dagha saman hæmpta ther ha-
 96 wor oc wampn Swa tok holofernes sin ænda ther manga mænmiskio
 hafdhe giort liifløsa

Translation

And so it also happened to Holofernes who had created many widows and orphans: a woman cut off his head which you will hear about here.

There was a powerful king called Nebuchadnezzar. He sent his messengers to all the kingdoms and countries that he could reach and ordered them to pay him tax [i. e., tribute] and take him as their lord. They all replied that they would not pay him tax and would not provide him with either service [in war] or obedience. Then the king became furious and angry and swore upon his faith and health that he would remove their arrogance from them, and he despatched his general Holofernes with many people and a great force. He had twelve thousand archers on horses and a hundred thousand foot-soldiers. He plundered all the countries and conquered all the fortresses and cities that he came to. He killed and cut down countless people. When the Jews understood this, they prepared for war.

When Holofernes found out about this, he asked what sort of people it was who would dare to prepare for war against him. Then a lord called Achior answered, “It is a particular people whom the great God has chosen from all the world. He delivered them from Egypt and led them through the Red Sea. He led them to this land and destroyed all their enemies. As long as their God wishes to help them, no-one can defeat them. But as soon as they abandon their God and provoke his anger with their sins, then he turns silent towards them, and they are defeated by their enemies. So, find out whether God is still their friend or not. If he is their friend, you will not be able to defeat them in any way.” Due to his arrogance, Holofernes became furious and said with great anger, “You keep telling me about their God. You will find that there is no other God than King Nebuchadnezzar, my lord. I will send you to the Jews in their city, and when I have conquered the city, I will have you killed along with the Jews!” And he immediately ordered

92 Her ... sæng] Hir ys Halofernes ane houet *SelTro*. 92–93 hedhningane] se *SelTro*. 93 hwar ... formatte] ~ *SelTro*. 94 følghdho æpte] ~ *SelTro*. 95 næplika] n[a>æ]plika A. 95–96 thera ... wampn] de wapene *SelTro*.

his servants to take him and lead him to the city of Bethulia which he had then surrounded.

They took Achior and led him to the city and tied him to a tree and then ran back to their lord. The Jews came and released Achior and led him into the city. They asked him why he had been sent there. He told them all about the reason and mission ‹from beginning› to the end. There was weeping and mournful singing because it is hard to lose your life. Holofernes had besieged them so harshly, that they could not get any water. They were in great distress and wanted to surrender the city. They were advised to wait five more days before surrendering the city ‹to see› whether God would have mercy on their distress.

There was a holy widow called Judith in the city at the time. She served God with all her heart, practising fasting, mourning rituals, and divine prayers, and merciful and good deeds. She was beautiful and handsome and the fairest woman there was. She called together the priests and asked them to pray with all the common people and devoutly call upon God through the whole night that he should deign to come to her aid because she wanted to walk out of city and into the army. She put on her best clothes and decorated herself as best and as most beautifully as she could. She took a maid with her and gave her bread, cheese, and wine, and walked out of the city and into the army.

Immediately, the watchmen came and captured her and led her to their lord, Holofernes. But they could not fully marvel at her beauty and fairness. Holofernes asked why she had come there. She answered, “Because the Jews have made their God angry with their sins, and so he wants to abandon them and bend them under your power. That is why I have come here that I should inform you and I should tell you the time when you will conquer the city.” Holofernes said, “You won’t eat of our food – what shall be your sustenance?” Judith replied, “I have brought food with me that will last me until I have accomplished what I have planned.”

Holofernes had her shown to a room not far from his tent where she was to stay together with her maid. There she remained, day and night, in devout prayers. On the fourth day, Holofernes was talking to his personal attendant and said, “Go to the Jewish woman and advise her to come to me of her own goodwill and do my bidding because it is a great disgrace that she passes me by like this.”¹ When the attendant told her this, she answered that she would like to go to him.

¹ OSw. “skal hon mik swa foregaa”: The OSw. verb *forega* (or *foreganga*) is understood here to be a loan from MLG *vörgān* [to pass by, waste, be lost]. The meaning of Holofernes’s words is clear in Judith 12:11 *Vulg.*, *DRB* (12:12 *NRSV*): “For it is looked upon as shameful among the Assyrians, if a woman mock a man, by doing so as to pass free from him.” The verb in *Vulg.* is “transeat” [pass by, pass free from].

When she came to him, he was made completely happy in all his heart, and in this happiness, he drank himself as drunk as he had ever been in his days. His servants were also well liquored up and they all left him to go and sleep, and Judith was left along with him and her maid. Holofernes lay on his bed, dead drunk, and was sleeping like a pig. Then Judith said to her maid, "Stand before the door and make sure that no-one comes!" She herself fell upon her knees and prayed fervently to God that he should help her and give her strength and a manly heart. Then she went to his bed and drew his sword. She took him by the hair and then cut off his head and gave it to her maid and she herself took his mosquito-net that he was lying under. And so, they went into the night through the army to the city gate.

She shouted and said, "Open the gate! God is with us!" They opened [the gate] and walked out towards her with lanterns. All the people arrived together, and she stood on a mound and said to the people, "You should all bless and praise God who has helped us from our enemies and has preserved my purity!" And she took out the head and showed it to the people and said, "Here we have the head of the one who had planned to destroy us!" There was much rejoicing and happiness throughout the whole city, and everyone praised and blessed God.

Then Achior came and saw the head there and was suddenly gripped by great wonderment so that he hardly knew where he was. And when he came to, he praised and blessed God with very great happiness in his heart and renounced the pagan faith and had himself circumcised in accordance with the laws of the Jews.

That same night, the Jews gathered all their forces and fastened the head onto a long pole and placed it on the highest of the city walls. And early in the morning they headed out of the city towards the pagans. When the pagans saw this, they said out of mockery, "Now the mice are creeping out of their holes!" The highest-ranking among them went to the tent that Holofernes was lying in and thought that he was still asleep with Judith and did not dare to wake him. Finally, his personal attendant entered and found his headless body awash in its own blood. Terrified, he shouted in a loud voice, "Woe! A Jewess has completely fooled us! Here is Holofernes, headless, dead in his bed!" When the pagans heard this, they started to flee to wherever they could and the Jews pursued them and killed a huge number of them, so that over thirty days they could hardly gather up their possessions and weapons.² Thus Holofernes, who had made many people lifeless, met his end.

² In other words, there were so many dead enemy soldiers that thirty days was hardly long enough for the victorious Jews to collect the possessions and weapons from the bodies.

10 Mary of Bethzuba

Version 1

Headnotes

- Source:* **A** *AlleEpocEu*, f. 186r38–v19 [clxxx] (1515).
Parallel text: **B** UUB C 528, f. 65r20–v9 (1400–50); **C** SRA E 8900, p. 192:1–26 (1450–70); **D** SKB A 108, pp. 230:24–231:11 (1400–50); **E** *AlleEpocEu* (1518), ff. clxi.v32–clxii.r4.
Original text: The story is originally found in Josephus’ *The Jewish War* (see Greek version below) which was translated into Latin by Pseudo-Hegesippus (see Latin version 1). Pedersen refers to Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, but the story closely follows that in the *Legenda aurea* (see Latin version 2).
Edition: **A** *ChrPed Skr* II 187.

Edition (**A** *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia... [1515]*)

Eth Iertegen om hunger

- UI finde i en bog kalliss scolastica historia om den store hwn-
3 ger som vor i iherusalem der han vor belagd Der vor en fri-
baaren qwinde samme tiid i staden som hed maria fra huil-
ken røffuere oc skalcke toge alt det hwn hagde saa ner som et
6 lidet spæt barn Der hwn icke hagde mere dii at opfostre det
met da sagde hwn till det mit alder keriste barn leg haffuer
saa lenge fød dig som det mig mweligt wor aff all min formwe Nw nødiss
9 du faar min suare hwnger skyld at føde mig igen Saa høg hwn samme barn
i tw och sød det halffdelen Disse forneffnde røffuere lucthede den søde røg aff
samme kød Dii komme de til hende igen oc truede hende ved sit lifff at hun
skulde
12 vise dem samme kød som hwn da sødet hagde eller de skulde strax myrde hen-
de Hwn lod dem see at det vor halff delen aff henniss eniste barn och hwn det
sødet hagde for sin store hwnger och armod skyld Da bleffue de forferede och

1 Iertegen] Iertege A.

- 15 ginge fra hende Der vor saa stor hwnger i samme stad der Titus hannem be-
 lagt hagde i ii aar At faareldrene toge maden *met* mact aff deriss børnss hen-
 der oc mwnd Børnene toge oc maden aff deriss faareldriss mwnd och hender
 18 *met* wold Mange ode hwnde oc katte røtter och mwss och alle andre wskelli-
 ge diur som de købte for store penninge sammelediss ode de sko oc skotwenge
 oc
 andet lær oc skind nelde røder oc dwe møg oc sloge huer anden i hiel faare mad

Translation

A miracle about starvation

We read [lit. find] in a book called *Historia scholastica* about the great famine that happened in Jerusalem when it was under siege. There was woman, free by birth, at that same time in the city who was called Mary from whom robbers and rogues took everything that she possessed apart from a small baby. When she had no breastmilk left to nurse him with, she said to him, “My dearest child! I have fed you as long as it was possible for me with all my ability. Now because of my great hunger, you must feed me back!” Then she chopped that very same child in two and boiled the one half. These aforementioned robbers smelt the sweet smoke from this very same meat. They came back to her and threatened her with her life to show them the very same meat that she had boiled, or they would murder her straightaway. She let them see that it was the one half of her child and she had boiled him because of her great hunger and poverty. Then they were appalled and left her. There was such a great famine in the city after Titus besieged it for two years that parents took food by force out of their children’s hands and mouths. Children also took food out of their parents’ mouths and hands by force. Many [people] ate dogs and cats, rats and mice, and other ignorant animals that they bought for great sums of money. Similarly, they ate shoes and shoestrings and other leather goods and hides, nettles, roots, and pigeon dung, and killed one another for food.

Version 2

– For *B* and *C*, see Text 26: *The Emperor Vespasian and Titus*, ll. 109–32 from UUB C 528 and SRA E 8900 (*Forsvenska legendariet*).

Version 3

– For *D*, see Text 48: *The Punishment of the Jews*, ll. 84–101 from SKB A 108 (*Sjärens tröst*).

Greek version

1. Ἱστορία Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους βιβλία [The Books of the History of the Jewish War against the Romans]

Source: Josephus, *The Jewish War*, vol. 3: *Books IV–VII*, ed. and trans. Henry St. John Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 210 (London: William Heinemann, 1928), 434–37.

Γυνή τις τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατοικούντων, Μαρία τοῦνομα, πατρὸς Ἐλεαζάρου, κώμης Βηθεζουβᾶ, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο οἶκος ὑσσώπου, διὰ γένος καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπίσημος, μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καταφυγοῦσα συνεπολιορκεῖτο. ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κτήσιν οἱ τύραννοι διήρπασαν, ὅσην ἐκ τῆς Περαιᾶς ἀνασκευασαμένη μετήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ δὲ λείψανα τῶν κειμηλίων καὶ εἴ τι τροφῆς ἐπινοηθεῖη καθ’ ἡμέραν εἰσπηδῶντες ἤρπαζον οἱ δορυφόροι. δεινὴ δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἀγανάκτησις εἰσήει, καὶ πολλάκις λοιδοροῦσα καὶ καταρωμένη τοὺς ἄρπαγας ἐφ’ αὐτὴν ἠρέθειζεν. ὡς δ’ οὔτε παροξυνόμενός τις οὔτ’ ἐλεῶν αὐτὴν ἀνήρει, καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐρεῖν τι σιτίον ἄλλοις ἐκοπία, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἄπορον ἦν ἤδη καὶ τὸ εὐρεῖν, ὁ λιμός δὲ διὰ σπλάγχχνων καὶ μυελῶν ἐχώρει καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐξέκαιον οἱ θυμοί, σύμβουλον λαβοῦσα τὴν ὄργην μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐχώρει, καὶ τὸ τέκνον, ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ παῖς ὑπομάστιος, ἀρπασαμένη “βρέφος, εἶπεν, ἄθλιον, ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ λιμῶ καὶ στάσει τίνοι σε τηρήσω; τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεία, κἂν ζήσωμεν ἐπ’ αὐτούς, φθάνει δὲ καὶ δουλείαν ὁ λιμός, οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων χαλεπώτεροι. ἴθι, γενοῦ μοι τροφή καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἐρινὺς καὶ τῷ βίῳ μῦθος ὁ μόνος ἐλλείπων ταῖς Ἰουδαίων συμφοραῖς.” καὶ ταῦθ’ ἅμα λέγουσα κτείνει τὸν υἱόν, ἔπειτ’ ὀπτήσασα τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ κατεσθίει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κατακαλύψασα ἐφύλαττεν. εὐθέως δ’ οἱ στασιασταὶ παρήσαν, καὶ τῆς ἀθεμίτου κνίσης σπάσαντες ἠπέιλουν, εἰ μὴ δείξειεν τὸ παρασκευασθὲν, ἀποσφάξιν αὐτὴν εὐθέως. ἡ δὲ καὶ μοῖραν αὐτοῖς εἰποῦσα καλὴν τετηρηκέναι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ τέκνου διεκάλυψεν. τοὺς δ’ εὐθέως φρίκη καὶ παρέκστασις ἦρει καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἐπεπήγεσαν. ἡ δ’ “ἐμόν, ἔφη, τοῦτο τέκνον γνήσιον καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐμόν. φάγετε, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βέβρωκα. μὴ γένησθε μήτε μαλακώτεροι γυναικὸς μήτε συμπαθέστεροι μητρός. εἰ δ’ ὑμεῖς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποστρέφεσθε θυσίαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν

βέβρωκα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐμοὶ μεινάτω.” μετὰ ταῦθ’ οἱ μὲν τρέμοντες ἐξήεσαν, πρὸς ἓν τοῦτο δειλοὶ καὶ μόλις ταύτης τῆς τροφῆς τῆ μητρὶ παραχωρήσαντες, ἀνεπλήσθη δ’ εὐθέως ὅλη τοῦ μύσουσ ἢ πόλις, καὶ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ἕκαστος τὸ πάθος λαμβάνων ὥσπερ αὐτῷ τολμηθὲν ἔφριττε. σπουδῆ δὲ τῶν λιμωπτόντων ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἦν, καὶ μακαρισμὸς τῶν φθασάντων πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι κακὰ τηλικαῦτα.

Latin versions

1. *De excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae [On the Ruin of the City of Jerusalem]*

Source: Pseudo-Hegesippus, *Hegesippi qui dicitur Egesippi Historiae libri quinque de bello Iudaico*, ed. Karl Freidrich Weber (Marburg: Elwert, 1857–64), *Liber Quintus*, 28–30.

Quid adoriar dicere factum Mariae, quod quuiusuis barbari atque impii mens perhorreat. ea erat de locupletibus feminis regionis Peraeae, quae trans Iordanen iacet. belli terrore oborto cum ceteris se in Hierosolymitanam urbem contulerat, quo esset tutior. eo quoque suas devexerat opes, quas principes factionum certatim invasere. alimentorum etiam si quit pretio quaesiverat, de manibus eruebatur. exagitabatur a perditis, dira inprecabatur, volebat mori sed percussorem non inveniebat. malebant insultare diutius, affligere gravius quam cito perdere. putabant quamdiu viveret praedam fore. defecerant iam omnia et deliciis assueta asperiora palearum vel coriorum dura non emolliebat. saeva fames intimis se infudit medullis, exasperavit humores, mentem exagitavit. habebat mulier infantulum quem genuerat. vagitu eius excita cum se et parvulum commacerari videret, tantis victa immanitatibus atque inparata atroci calamitati affectum amisit et pietatis genitilis usu obliterato dolorem absorbit, furorem assumsit. conversa itaque ad parvulum iam matrem oblita et furens animi sic ait, quid tibi faciam parvule, quid faciam tibi? saeva te circumstant omnia, bellum, fames, incendia, latrones, ruinae. cui te moritura credam aut vitae tantillum relinquam? speraveram quod si adolevisses me pasceres matrem aut sepelires defunctam, certe si praevenires obitu, quod ego te pretioso tumulo meis manibus includerem. quid agam misera? vivendi tibi ac mihi nullum video subsidium. omnia erepta nobis, cui te reservabo? aut certe quo condam sepulchro ne canibus, alitibus vel feris praeda sis? omnia inquam erepta nobis. potes tamen dulcis meus et sic matrem pascere, idoneae ad cibum manus tuae. o suavia mihi viscera, artus iucundi, priusquam vos penitus consumat fames, reddite matri quod accepistis.

redi fili in illud naturale secretum, in quo domicilio sumsisti spiritum, in eo tibi tumultus defuncto paratur. ipsa complectar quem genui, ipsa exosculabor, et quod inpatientia amoris habet, habeat vis necessitatis, ut ipsa devorem meos artus non simulatis sed inpressis morsibus. esto ergo cibus mihi, furor latronibus et vitae fabula, quae sola deest nostris calamitatibus. quid faceres fili, si et tu filium haberes? fecimus quod pietatis fuit, faciamus quod fames suadet. tua tamen causa melior et quaedam pietatis species, quia tolerabilius est quod matri dederis cibum visceribus tuis, quam quod te mater aut occidere potest aut devorare. haec dicens averso vultu gladium demersit et in frustra filium secans igni imposuit, partem comedit, partem operuit ne quis superveniret. sed nidor incensi pervenit ad principes seditionis continuoque odorem sequuti introierunt mulieris hospitium minantes necem, quod ausa esset ipsis ieiunantibus edere atque exsortes eos facere cibi quem reperisset. at illa partem, inquit, vestram vobis reservavi, non fui avara nec inhumana. nolite indignari, habetis quod et vos edatis. de meis vobis visceribus cibum paravi. considete ocus, mensam apponam, mirari habetis et ministerium meum iudicare, quod talem nullius inveneritis mulieris affectum, quae vos nec dulcis filii fraudaret gratia. haec dicens simul redoperuit ambusta membra et epulanda optulit cum adhortatione huiusmodi sermonis. hoc est prandium meum, haec vestra portio, videte diligentius ne vos fraudaverim. ecce pueri manus una, ecce pes eius, ecce dimidium reliqui corporis, et ne alienum putetis, filius est meus, ne alterius opus arbitremini, ego feci, ego diligenter divisi mihi quod manducarem, vobis quod reservarem. numquam mihi dulcior filii fuisti. tibi debeo quod athuc vivo. tua suavitas animam tenuit meam et produxit matri miserae diem mortis. subvenisti in fame, tu munus supremum senectae, tu percussorum repressor. venerunt necaturi, convivae facti sunt. habebunt ipsi quod tibi debeant, cum epulas meas sumserint. sed quid refertis gradum, quid horrescitis animo, quare non epulamini quod mater feci? possunt et vos delectare quae matrem exsaturarunt. non esurio iam, postquam me filius meus pavit, abunde exsatiata sum, famem nescio. gustate et videte quia suavis filius meus. nolite fieri molliores matre, infirmiores muliere. aut si vos in meo vulnere misericordes estis et non suscipitis hostiam meam atque aversamini holocaustum meum, manducabo quod reliquum est. videte ne vobis opprobrio sit quod fortior vobis mulier reperta sit, quae absumeret epulas virorum. ego quidem tales paravi epulas, sed vos sic epulari matrem fecistis. et me tenebat passio sed vicit necessitas.

2. *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*]

Source: *LegAur* 456–57.

Translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 1, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 276.

Matrona quedam insuper genere et diuitiis nobilis, sicut legitur in hystoria ecclesiastica, cum predones in eius domum irruentes eam omnibus expoliassent nec sibi ultra quid comederet remansisset, paruulum lactantem tenens in manibus ait: “Infelicis matris infelicio filii, in bello, in fame, in direptione, cui te reseruabo? Veni ergo nunc, o mi nate, esto matri cibus, predonibus furor, seculis fabula.” Et hiis dictis filium iugulauit et coxit et dimidium comedens partem alteram occultauit. Et ecce, confestim predones odorem carnis cocte sentientes in domum irruunt et nisi carnem prodat mortem minantur. Tunc illa detegens infantis membra: “Ecce, inquit, uobis partem optimam reseruauit.” At illos tantus horror inuasit quod nec loqui potuerunt. Et illa: “Meus est, inquit, hic filius, meum est peccatum, securi edite, quia prior ego comedi quem genui. Nolite fieri aut matre religiosiores aut feminis molliores; quodsi uincit uos pietas et horretis, ego totum comedam que dimidium iam comedi.” Illi uero trementes et territi discesserunt.

11 Petronia and the Ring

Version 1

Headnotes

Source: A *AlleEpocEu*, f. 35r 25–37 [xxix.r] (1515).
Parallel text: B *AlleEpocEu* (1518), f. xxviii.r28–42.
Original text: Unknown. Cf. St Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, Book 22.8; *LegAur* 84.
Edition: A *ChrPed Skr* I 92–93.

Edition (*A Alle Epistler oc Euangelia... [1515]*)

AUgustinus scriffuer i forneffnde bog Ath en qwinde hed Patronia
Hwn hagde en ganske suar syugdom i lang tiidh Och førde der till
3 mange raad men det kwnde inthet hielpe hende Thii raadde hwn
hemmelige meth en iøde om han kwnde ingen raad sige hende der til Han sag-
de Iw och fik hende en ring som sad i sten vdi oc bad ath hwn den bere skul-
6 le nest sin bare krop paa en snor thi samme sten hagde serdeliss krafft mod saa-
dan syugdom Hwn bar hannum i lang tiid men det hialp henne inthet Thii
gik hwn til Sancti Staffenss kirke Oc bad der sine gudelige bøner stonden
9 diss paa sine knæ at han henne forwerffue ville sin helbrede igen aff gwd Der
hwn opstod da wor hwn karsk oc swnd oc samme ring fald ned paa iorden
hell oc holden Oc snoren som han sad paa bleff sidendiss om henniss liff igen
12 w opløst som hwn hende bwndet hagde Thi loffuede hwn inderlige och tac-
kede gud oc Her Sancte Staffen for syn helbrede oc denne store naade.

Translation

Augustine writes in the aforementioned book that a woman called Patronia [i. e., Petronia] had had a severe illness for a long time and received much advice about it but nothing could help. So, she secretly sought the advice of a Jew [to hear] if he did not have some advice about it for her. He said yes and gave her a ring in which sat a stone and asked her to wear it against her naked body on a string because this very stone had a special power against illness. She wore it for a long time, but it did not help her. So, she went to St Stephen's Church and there, on her knees, prayed her divine prayers [asking] if he would obtain her health again from God.

When she stood up, she was healed and healthy, and that very ring fell whole and complete to the ground, and the string which it was placed on, remained unbroken around her waist just as she had tied it. So, she fervently praised and thanked God and St Stephen for her health and this great mercy.

Version 2

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, ff. 60v27–61r1 (1400–50).

Parallel text: **C** SRA E 8900, p. 182: 8–18 (1450–70).

Original text: As Version 1.

Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 289; *FsvLeg* PAW II 414–15.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

Annat miraculum sancti stephani scrifuar han ok witnar tholict ·

En *quinna* som het petronia længe siuk myket illa lette ok

3 rønte sik gagnløst manga lækedoma hon badh wm sidhe en iudha til
hiælpa for pæninga løn / han fik hænne en sten j gulringe oc badh binda widh
hænna bara

licama vnder klædhum *medh* eno bande / the sælugh fru kiænde thæs æn

6 ga dygdh · tha læt hon ledha sik j *sancti* stephani kirkiu ok badh han aff
allu hiærta · nadha sik · **Alt** war sændher innan samu stundh fiol for hæn
ne føther gulringin vt af knyttu bande ok vløstum knute nidher widh

9 jordh ok hon kiænde sik siælfua wæl hela :—

1 **Ann**at ... stephani] |miraculum| **Ann**at miraculum C; ok witnar] oc C. **2** petronia] petronilla · war C; myket] oc mykith C; lette] hon lette C. **3** rønte] ryktadhe C; gagnløst ... lækedoma] manga lækedoma gagnløst C. **3–4** en ... løn] fore pæninga skuld hielpa sik C, ~ *LegAur.* **4** en] \en/ B, en C; j ... binda] j gulringe oc \badh binda/ B, j enom gulringe oc badh hona binda gulringin C, ipso annulo ... cingeretur *LegAur.* **5** bande] *followed by* ut ex uirtute illius lapidis beneficium reciperet sanitatis *LegAur.*; licama] [horandh > licama] B, harund(?) C; vnder] vnder sinom C; the] Tha the C; fru] *quinna* C. **6** *sancti* stephani] protomartyris *LegAur.*; han] beatum Stephanum *LegAur.* **7–9** sændher ... jordh] *thet* sænder at gulringin fiol fore henne føter heel oc obruthin oc opløstom knwte C. **9** sik siælfua] sik C.

Translation

He writes another miracle by St Stephen, and it bears witness to this. A woman, who was called Petronia, had been suffering from a severe sickness for a long time and tried many remedies in vain. In the end, she asked a Jew to help her in exchange for money. He gave her a stone in a gold ring and asked her to tie [it] against her naked body under her clothes with a ribbon. The blessed lady felt no improvement from doing this. She then made her way to St Stephen's Church and asked him with all her heart to have mercy upon her. Everything happened at once. At that same moment, the gold ring fell from the knotted ribbon to her feet, and the untied knot onto the ground, and she felt herself to be completely healed.

12 Sermons for the Feast of the Circumcision

Sermon 1

Headnotes

Source: **A** UUB C 56, ff. 322v22–325r14 (fifteenth century).

Parallel text: **B** UUB C 56, ff. 335r7–337v12 (fifteenth century).

Original text: ~

Editions: **A** SMP III 461–64; **B** SMP III 479–82.

Edition (A UUB C 56)

De *circumcisione domini*

POstquam consummati sunt dies octo vt circum-

- 3 cideretur puer vocatum est nomen eius jhesus
Kæræ wenær wy hawe i dagh otthendhe da-
gh fra then hælge dagh jwle dagh · thær
6 war herræ loth sigh afføde · Och han gaffh
sigh wndhær jøde logh · sa som i dagh ær · ey
for thy ath han haffde noghen syndeligh smitthe
9 aa sigh Far thy han war føddher aff skær møø
ffor wdhen al syndeligh smittæ · sa som *sanctus pa-*
ulus sigher *Venit plenitudo temporis misit filium*
12 *suum natum ex muliere* Tha then timæn kom tha sæ-
nde wor herræ syn hæly søn fødher aff jomfrw
och giwæn wndhen loghen waræ / som war wndher
15 diæffwælsøns woldh · For thy scwlle wy mæ-
rkæ hans hælgæ ydmygth · och afflade wa-
rth bældæ · och storæ hiærthe These logh
18 ware giffwæn førstæsyn aff *habraham* ath swe-
nebarn scwlde j een sin limæ a syn legommæ skæ-

1 De ... *domini*] In left-hand margin, A; *circumcisione*] *circumcisio[n]ne* A. 2 *POstquam*] *Ostquam* A. 5 hælge dagh] hæli B. 14 loghen] loghen at han skulde them løsa wnder loghen B. 16 hælgæ] hælgæ [ordh] A. 18 førstæsyn] første sin B. 19 syn] sit B.

ræs *mæth* flynthæsteen Och *thet* scwlde stande
 21 them for *cristendhom* Sa war *thet* fra *abrahams*
 dage · och til *dauidh* konings dage · ath the ska-
 re theræs børn *mæth* flynthesteen Och sidhen
 24 ther *dawid* haffde barsd och slagætz *mæth* then
 hennæ kæmpen som *goliath* heth · och han haffde
 kastæth een steen i hans anløde For thy ath
 27 *hymælæn* skøts wp · och gaff *stenæn* rwm
 · och kæmpæn blyff dødher ther aff · Och sy-
 dhen lode the skæræ theræs børn wm kry-
 30 ngh *mæth* iærnknyffwe Och *thet* holde jøde æn
 j dagh · Och for thy giordes *thet* wydher *ihesum*
christum gwdz søn som j dagh ær · som the hælghæ
 33 læsth sigher Ath sidhen otthæ daghæ waræ
 folkomneth ath wor herræ scwillæ skæræs : tha
 kallede thee hanum *jhesus* · sa som ængælæn kal-
 36 læde hanum · ther han bywdædæ til war
 frwge *sancta maria* Kæræ wænær *thet* war theth
 førstæ synnæ han tolde swyde · och wtgaff
 39 bloff faar waræ helsæ skyldh Thaghom eff-
 therlignælsæ aff war herræ · och thennæ dagh · och
 aff *thet* bwdh · ther han bødth *abraham* · For thy ath
 42 sa som han bødth hanum ath skæræ sik køtlige
 · sa bywdher han os · ath wy scwillæ os ande-
 lighe skæræ Och *thet* samæ han lignede hanum
 45 wydher · *thet* same ligner han os wydher · For
 thy han sagde hanum saa *Anima cuius caro circumcisa*
non fuerit peribit de populo suo Then som sith legom
 48 mæ hawer ey wm skoræth · han scal tapes aff
 sith folk *thet* same ligneth han os wydher
Ær *thet* sa ath wy williæ lade andeligæ skæræ
 51 os · tha scwllæ wy ey athenaste wm skæræ then
 ene lymen · wthen alle wore limer · bodhe
 hiærthe · mwn · øghen · øræn · hændher · och fødher
 54 æffthter wars herræs bwdh · ath rense os *mæth*

22 til] \til/ A. 27 *hymælæn*] *hyelmen* B. 38 *wtgaff*] *wt gøt* B. 39–40 *efftherlignælsæ*] *æpte-*
likin B. 40 och *thennæ*] oc aff *thenne* B. 49 *ligneth*] *liknar* B. 51 *athenaste*] at *enaste* B.

rygælsæ · och ræth scriffætæmal Aff warth hiærtæ
 scwille wy *mæth* thennæ steen / *som ær jhesus christus* ath teg-
 57 ne *mæth* · och thee hælge troo · skæræ aff os alth
 onth · och wreen hwgh · och alle wtro · och aw-
 ndh · Och twa sa aff woræ syndher *mæth* ræth
 60 anghær och gwdwiliæ · och kærligheth ath ha
 we til gwdh · och til war jænffcrisæn til døtz
 dagæ Aff war mwn scwille wy skæræ allæ
 62 wlofflige thalle · och all fwl ordh · thær
 wy hawe thalleth · bode j meenedher · och j
 scrøffthe edher · och j falsk wythne · och j løgn :
 66 sqwalder · j snøbber · och bannær · och j alle the
 ther man kan *mæth* ordh synde · och hawe adder
 i stadh godh ordh · och ræth scriffthæmal · och ræ-
 69 tthe bønner · och wars herræs logh ath gøme och
 wokthe os far ower ode · och ower drych · och far
 alth *thet* man *mæth* mwn synde kan Aff war øgen
 72 scwille wy skæræ os *mæth* wars herræs nade · alth
thet wy hawe *mæth* wloffligh syyn syndeth · och py-
 ne thee samæ øghen *mæth* ræth grath · och tharæ
 75 ther wy soghom os til syndh *mæth* Aff waræ hæn
 dhær scwille wy skæræ al wongiærninge · hwath
 wy haffwe giorth · slaget war jencristen æller rø-
 78 ffweth · ællær stolæth · ællær noghet *thet* man kan
medh hændher synde · och wænnæ them adher *mæth*
 almosse ath giwe / och goth ath gøre *mæth* alth *thet*
 81 man ma wars herræs wyllia *mæth* gøra · och geme
 them sydhen j gwdz tiænæste ee mædhen wy lewe
 Sa oc wm waræ fødher · och wm woræ øræn · oc
 84 wm alle woræ limmær · och hawe wy noghæth
 giorth *mæth* them · *thet* som syndwgh ær skærom *thet*
 aff *mæth* ræth scriffætæmal · och hiærtæ anghær · oc
 87 wænnæ them til ath gøra goth · och tiænæ gwdh
 til waar døtz dagh Gøre wy sa · tha hawe
 wy os wmskoræth æffther wars herræs bwdh

55 ræth scriffætæmal] ræthscriffætæmal A. 56 *mæth* thennæ] thennæ *mæth* with markings for transposition, A. 68 ræth scriffthæmal] ræthscriffthæmal A. 76 wongiærninge] vwana gærninga B. 81 geme] g{em}e A. 86 ræth scriffætæmal] ræthscriffætæmal A. 89 wmskoræth] wmskoræth A.

- 90 Och tha scwlle wy ey tapes aff warth folk ·
 hwath folk ær *thet* · ther warth folk hedher
 · *thet* æræ gode *cristne* mænneke · ther wars herræs
- 93 wyllia hæffwe giorth · til theræs ændeligh
 Ther fore scwlle the wp tage himærighs li-
 ws · ther wy hopes ath wy scwlle fange *mæth*
- 96 them · och the *mæth* os *Æn* then *som* j syndhen ær · oc
 sigh wil ey bædre · och ey wmskæræ sigh *som*
 gwgdh hawer bwdhet · hans siæl fortapes aff sith
- 99 folk Och sigher *scriptæn* Expectet *lucem et non*
videat nec ortum surgentis aurore Han scal bi-
 dhes liwset · och scal *thet* ey faa · och ey wp-
- 102 gangh aff thee wprisande deynigh *Thet*
 helge ljws ther han scal bidie · thæt ær
 wor herre · ther han komer til doms Hwar
- 105 scal han wars herræs dom bidie anner stad
 æn j helwede For thy ath han skyldes wj-
 dher wærældhen · *mæth* synæ syndhær wskriff-
- 108 thende Och a domedagh tha scal han wp re-
 sses · och war herre amath ath kome Och ge-
 nasteen the deynigh · *som* ær the hælge kyr
- 111 ke hwn wpriis ath tage hymærighs liws · ff-
 or syne tiænæste Och fore ath hwn hawer sigh
 wmskorith Oc wars herres bwdh folkomnæth
- 114 Oc then *som* sigh ey wylde her wmskæræ · och
 wars herræs bwdh ey folkomnæth · han faar yk
 kæ himærighs liws · och ey deynighen *som* æræ al
- 117 læ *cristne* mæns samfwndh j himærighen Wthan
 han faar ewinnæligh mørk i blandh *thet* wnde
 sælschap · *som* æræ wttallige diæffle Ther faræ
- 120 ær *thet* os radh · ath wy wmskæræ os hær j wæ-
 rældhen · aff alle ware syndher · och gøræ bæ-
 dryngh faar them hældher · æn wy scwlle py
- 123 nes for them j helwidhe *Æn* alsommegthaste
 gwgdh j himærigh giwe *thet* · ath wy moge sa
 bædre ware syndher · hær j wærildhen · ath
- 126 wy moge faa ewynnæligh glædæ j hymærighæ

99 Expectet] Et petit A. 107–08 wskriffthende] vscriptheadher B. 115 folkomnæth] fulkompna B. 126 ewynnæligh] ewærdeleka B; glædæ] glægæ A.

thet wnnæ os allæ samæn alsommegthastæ gwdh
qui est benedictus in secula seculorum Amen

Translation

De circumcissione Domini [On the circumcision of Our Lord]

“*Postquam consummati sunt dies octo, ut circumcideretur puer, vocatum est nomen ejus Jesus.*”¹ [Luke 2:21]

Dear friends, today we have the eighth day since the holy day of Christmas Day when Our Lord had himself born. And he subjected himself to Jewish law,² as is the case today, [but] not because he had any sinful impurity upon his person as he was born of a pure Virgin without any sinful impurity, as St Paul says, “*Venit plenitudo temporis misit filium suum natum ex muliere.*”³ – When the time had come, Our Lord sent forth his holy son, born of a virgin and to be subject to the law, which was under the power of the devil. [Galatians 4:4]⁴ For this reason we should notice his holy humility and abandon our arrogance and great heart. These laws were firstly given to Abraham that infant boys should have their member [i. e., penis] cut on their body [i. e., in the flesh] with a flint stone, and that [practice] should endure until Christianity. This is how it was from the days of Abraham until the days of King David, that they cut their children with flint stones. And afterwards when David had fought and battled with a pagan giant called Goliath and he had thrown a stone into his face, because the helmet⁵ lifted up and made room for the stone, ever since they have their children circumcised with iron knives; and Jews keep this [practice] to this very day. And this is why

127 alsommegthastæ] alzwoldugher *B.* 128 Amen] ~ *B.*

1 ‘And after eight days were accomplished, that the child should be circumcised, his name was called Jesus.’

2 ODa. *juthelagh* (“jøde logh”), lit. ‘Jew-law’ or ‘law of [the] Jews.’

3 ‘But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent his Son, made of a woman, made under the law.’

4 The final part of this quotation does not appear in Galatians. Cf. 1 John 5:19. The version in *B* is clearer here: “Tha then *timmen* kom tha sænde war *herra* sin hæli son foder aff jomfrw oc given wnder loghen at han skulde them løsa som wnder loghen ware som war wnder dyæwlssins wald” [When the time had come, Our Lord sent his holy son, born of a virgin and given under the law, that he should save those who were under the law who were under the power of the devil], UUB C 56 f. 335r; *SMP* III 479.

5 The translation ‘helmet’ is taken from *B*. In *A*, the word here is “*hymælæn*” [sky] which makes little sense and is most likely a scribal error.

it was done to Jesus Christ, the Son of God, which is today as the Holy Scripture says, “As eight days had passed, Our Lord was to be cut: then they gave him the name Jesus just as the angel called him when he made the announcement to Our Lady St Mary.” [Luke 2:21]

Dear friends, this was the first time he suffered pain and shed his blood for the sake of our salvation.⁶ Let’s take the example of Our Lord and this day and of the commandment that was commanded Abraham, because just as he commanded him to cut himself in the flesh, so he commands us to cut ourselves spiritually. And just as he was recognized by this, so are we likewise recognized, because he said to him, “*Anima cuius caro circumcisa non fuerit peribit de populo suo.*”⁷ [Genesis 17:14] He recognized us in the same way. If it is so that we have ourselves cut spiritually, then we should not only cut the one limb [here: penis], but all our limbs: both [our] heart, mouth, eyes, ears, hands, and feet as according to the commandment of Our Lord. And [we should] purify ourselves with incense and correct confession. From our hearts we should cut out with this stone, that symbolizes Jesus Christ and the Holy Faith, all evil and impure thoughts, and all unbelief and envy, and wash ourselves of our sins with correct repentance, and have goodwill and love towards God and our fellow Christian until the day of [our] death. From our mouths we should cut all improper [lit. unlawful] speech and all the vile words that we have spoken, both in perjury, in false oath,⁸ and in false testimony, and in lies, gossip, in ridiculing and cursing, and in everything that it is possible to sin with words. And have in their stead good words and correct confession and proper prayers and keep Our Lord’s laws, and beware of over-eating and over-drinking, and everything by which it is possible to sin with our mouths. From our eyes we should cut with Our Lord’s mercy everything that we have sinned by improper sight, and [we should] torment those eyes, with which we saw ourselves sin, with proper weeping and tears. From our hands we should cut all misdeeds that we have done, struck or robbed or stolen from our fellow Christian, or something by which we can sin with our hands, and turn them back by giving alms and doing good by every means with which we can do God’s will and keep ourselves ever more within God’s service as long as we live. So also with our feet and with

6 ODa. *helse* usually means ‘health,’ but in religious texts it has the same meaning as *frælse* [salvation]. Cf. OSw. *helsa/frælse* [salvation] and *helare/frælsare* [saviour], e. g. in Sermon 2 below: “*thetta nampnit jhesus betydhir swa mykit som helare*” [this name Jesus means the same as ‘saviour’].

7 ‘The male, whose flesh of his foreskin shall not be circumcised, that soul shall be destroyed out of his people: because he hath broken my covenant.’

8 Cf. ODa. “*scrøffthe edher*” < *skrømteð* [the conscious disagreement between one’s will and one’s statement, *reservatio mentalis*].

our ears and with all our limbs. And if we have done something with them that is sinful then we cut it off with correct confession and repentance of the heart and turn them back to doing good and serving God until our day of death. If we do so, then we have circumcised ourselves according to God's commandment and then we will not be lost to our people. What people are they whom our people praise? They are good Christian people who have done Our Lord's will to the end of their days. So they should take up the light of heaven which we hope we all shall receive with them and they with us. And he who remains in sin and does not want to improve himself and circumcise himself as God as commanded, he shall be lost to his people. And the Scripture says, "*Expectet lucem et non videat nec ortum surgentis aurore.*"⁹ – He shall ask for the light and shall not be given it, and [he shall] not be lifted up by the dawning day. [Job 3:9] The holy light that he will ask for is Our Lord when he comes to his judgement. Where shall he be waiting for Our Lord's judgement? No other place than in hell! Because he has parted from the world with his sins unconfessed. And on Judgement Day he shall be lifted up and walk towards Our Lord. And immediately the dawn, that is the Holy Church, she is lifted up to take the light of heaven for her service and because she has circumcised herself and fulfilled Our Lord's commandment. And he who does not want to circumcise himself here and not fulfil Our Lord's commandment, he shall not receive the light of heaven nor the dawn which is the community of all Christians in heaven. But he will receive eternal darkness among bad company who are countless demons. Therefore, we have been counselled to circumcise ourselves here in the world of all our sins and repent of them rather than be tortured in hell because of them. May Almighty God in heaven make it so that we can repent our sins here in the world, that we can receive eternal joy in heavy. May Almighty God, *qui est benedictus in secula seculorum*,¹⁰ grant this to us all. Amen.

⁹ 'Let it expect light and not see it, nor the rising of the dawning of the day.'

¹⁰ '[...] who is blessed unto the ages of ages, i. e., for all eternity, [...].'

Sermon 2

Headnotes

Source: A LSB T 181, pp. 105:6–113:22 (late fifteenth century).

Parallel text: This sermon is similar to the New Year’s Day sermon in LSB T 180, pp. 28a34–32a16 (fifteenth century), edited in *SMP* VI 46–50, although significant differences make it difficult to include as a parallel text.

Original text: ~

Edition: A *SMP* V 82–88.

Edition (A LSB T 181)

De circumsisione

POstquam consumati sunt dies octo vt circumcideretur

- 3 primum vocatum est nomen eius jhesus quod vocatum est ab angelo
priusquam in vtero conciperetur Sanctus lucas ewangelista han scriffuar
 thenna helgha læst ok betydhir swa oppa warth mall
- 6 sighiande Æptir thet ath atta dagha waro framlydne /
 fran thy ath thet welsignada barnit gudz son j hymerike / warth
 fōdh aff jomfrv maria ok hans forældre latho honum vm
- 9 kringh skæra / Som gudz lagh ok rættir tha haffde
 budhit / Tha warth hans nampn kallath jhesus / hwilkit
 næmpn til fōryrme aff gudz engelenom gabriele war
- 12 kallath / ffør æn han wardh affladhir j modhirliffwe
 no iomfrunne marie / aff thens helgha andz krapth ok
 dygdh / wi skulom mærkia ok vndhirsta / Ath thetta
- 15 nampnit jhesus betydhir swa mykit som helare / Ok
 warth ffore thy swa kalladhir aff gudhi fadhre
 j hymerike / ok budhadhir aff englenom / Ath han skulle
- 18 ok ville alla wærlhdhina hela / ok hylbrigdo gōra fran
 gambлом osarom ok fula dyæffwolsins lythi / som
 han henne langlika haffdhe medh sargath / hwilkin
- 21 saar jnghin kunne ællir formatte bōtha / ællir lækia

1 In right-hand margin: de circumsicione A. 11 gabriele] gariele A. 19 lythi] bythi A.

- for æn thenne dyre lækiarin kom hiit nidhr til
 jorderikis / ok ey *medh* androm smørilsom ællir læke
- 24 dom / vtan *medh* syno egno vtguttno blodhe a the
 helgha korse / ther aff fingho wi alla jorderikis
 menniskior helso ok hylbrygdo til wara syæl Som
- 27 *sanctus petrus apostolus* vitnar swa sigiande Cuius liuore sana
 ti sumus Wj ærom alle hele ok hylbrygdo wordne
 aff wars herra ihesu *christi* blodhe / hwilkith sith blodh han
- 30 byriadhe op j dag ath vth gywta / tha han war om
 kring skorin / ffor thy han vilde ey straffa vtan fulkomp
 na *medh* synom mandom / The lagh ok ræth som han lang
- 33 dom til forinna j guddomynom haffde skikkat ok
 budhit syno folke / allom gudz almogha som tha waro
 granlica gøma ok halla / Som scriffuat ær aff moysis
- 36 laghom Cuius preputii caro circumcisa non fuerit peribit anima
 illa de populo meo Hwilkith mankøn som ey lathir
 om kringh skæra kōtit fræmærst a synom hemelig
- 39 ko tinghe / Then syælin skal bort tappas fran my
 no folke Ok skulom wi fforsta ath thennyn om
 kringh skyrdhin war ey annat / æn eth tekin til ræt
- 42 dōpilsē Som war herre ihesus vmgandhis her j jorderike
 skykkadhe ok fulkomnadhe syælfuir / tha han læt
 sik dōpa j jordans flodh Ok framdelis bodh allom
- 45 them som luttakande vilia wara j æronne ok glædhinne
 j hymerike / ath the skula latha sik dōpa j watneno
 j nampn fadhirs ok sons ok tess helghans andha Ok
- 48 haar thet ey vil gōra / tha ær han skildhir fran gudhj
 ok hans rike / som war herre syælfuir sagdhe Nisi
quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto non potest introire jn
- 51 regnum dej Vthan hwar en mænniskia wardhir annat
 sin fōdh aff watn / ok them helgha andha / tha maa
 han ey jnga j gudhz rike / Thetta skulom wi swa
- 54 forstandha / ath swasom mænniskio kroppir fōdhis aff fadhir
 ok modhir til wærlðhinna vmghangho / Swa fōdis ok
 andelica menniskionna syæl aff watn / ok aff them hel
- 57 gha anda til hymerikis til ath wmga *medh* gudhi alz

36 In left-hand margin: moyses A. 39–40 In left-hand margin: P\ri/mus A. 49 In right-hand margin: jhesus A.

- walloghom / ok hans velsignada ænglom **Nw** framdelis
 tilbør oss ath witha aff tesso nampsins dygdh jhesus / aff
 60 hwilko *sanctus bernardus scriffuar* Hoc nomine ihesus est mel
in ore in aure melos in corde iubilus Thetta nampnit
 jhesus ær enne gudelico menniskio en søthir hugnadhír /
 63 j henne mwn / en søthir sanghír j henne øra / ok eth
 jrnirlikith loff ok glædhi j henne hyæarta / Hwilkit
 prøffuat ær *medh* manghom godhom jærteknom / Først
 66 j thy ath tha *sanctus paulus* war hals huggin / Tha sprang
 hans hwodh wel hundradha synnom aff enom stad ok
 oppa amnan **Ok** j hwart synnit ropade tunghan j hoff
 69 deno *ihesus christus* / *Medh* tesse nadhinne ok jærtekneno
 oppinboradhe war herra / huro stoor kærlekir som
 han haffde særdelis j synom mwnne / til *thetta* nampnit
 72 jhesus j gudelico loffwi sangh ok læsnigh / ok j sinne *pre*
dican / som han æna stadz scriffuar j synom kennedom swa
 sighiande / dico enim ihesum christum ministrum fuisse circumcisionis
 75 propter veritatem dej ad firmandas profirmandas et promissiones patrum
Jak sighír thet visselica at *ihesus christus* han giorde sik til
 en tyænara ok vndir dan / tha han loot sik vmkring
 78 skæra / oppa *tet* at han vildhe *thet* stadfesta j synom
 mandom / som han j guddomsins sannynndh haffde loff
 wat / gamblom forfædrom aff synne nadh **Thett** nampnit
 81 jhesus ær ok fægirsta sanghír j enne gudelico mænniskio
 ørom / som prøffuas *medh sancta cecilia* / Aff hwilke swa
 scriffuas ath hon war en gudelikin jomfru / ok tha
 84 hemelika j bland hedningha / **Thennyn** jomfrun war
 fæst ok giffwin enom hednom ryddare / som het walerianus
 Nw tha thera brølløpis høgtydh war / j orghom ok
 87 allom androm lostelikom lekom / **Tha** glædde hon sik
 vid wars herra ihesu *christi* nampn / ok befaladhe honum sin
 jomfrudom / *Æptir* thy aff henne staar scriffuat Cantanti
 90 bus organis cecilia soli domino decantabat **Ææ** mædhan
 orgona swngho aff huilko *sancta cecilia* ey lustadis vt
 aff / ællir skøtte *medh* sinom ørom / vtan hon sangh ensamp
 93 nan ihesu *christi* loff sangh j synne *gudelica* astundan / ok for
 thy giordhe war herre ihesus stora nadh *medh* henne / swa

- ath hon gath forwenth then sama walerianum sin
 96 festeswen / til crisna tro ok bliffuo badhin j synom jomfru
 dom / til tess the toldo dōdh fore gudz skuldh / och
 the helgho tro / ok funnos j hymerike medh varum herra ihesu
 99 christo Nw thet trydhia sanctus bernardus sagdhe / ath thetta nampnit
 jhesus ær eth jnnirlikit loff ok glædhi / enne gudelico
 mænniskio hyæarta / **Thet** ær prøffuat medh eth stort
 102 jærtekne aff sancto ignacio / hwilkin pinthir war
 til syn dōdh fore the helgha troo skuldh / **Ok** tha
 hedningane honum pintho j thre dagha / tha talade
 105 han jnthe annat vtan ropadhe altiidh jhesus / **Æn** aff
 pinaroman spordhe honum til / hwi han swa opta ropa
 dhe thet nampnit / ok inthe annat ville tala / Tha swarade
 108 sanctus ignacius ok sagde swa / **Thet** ordhit ær mik jn
 scriffuit ok infest j mith hyæarta / ath iak forma ey
 annat ropa ællir tala / **Ok** tho the omyldhe mennene
 111 haffdo pinth honum j heel / **Tha** skaro the honum op
 medh forwitis kæte / ok toko vt hans hyæarta ok
 skaro thet sundhir / **Tha** funno the j badhom lutoman
 114 scriffuat ihesus / medh forgylthom bokstaffwom / ok ææ j
 huro mang stykke / the thet hyærtat skaro / tha funno
 the jo thet sama scriffuat j hwariom delenom / **The** thetta
 117 jærteknit sagho / ok mange flere andre / som thetta hørdo
 offuirgaffuo sina wantro / ok tako vidh the helghe
 tro stodelica / ok lotho sik dōpa / ok wordho gudhz vinir
 120 æwærdelica / **Nw** mer skulom wi betænkie / ok j amynnilse
 haffua / ath war herre jhesus ville wærdughas ath blōdha fore
 oss syndugha menniskio j thenna dagenom / som føre ær
 123 sagdt / ffem sinnom / **Æptir** thy scriptin vtuisar / fførst j
 thenna dagenom som førra ær sagth Ad initium nostre
redempcionis **Thet** war til enne opbyrian til wara atir
 126 losin / ffor thy han ville byttydha kunnogha wærlðhinne
 medh hwat wærdhe hon skulle wara frælst / ok atir
 løsth fran dyæffwolsins walle **Annat** sin gōt han
 129 wt sith blōdh j then tydh han laa a synom
 bōnum vm aptanyn j enom yrthagardh / ffør æn han war

95 sin] Catchword in bottom margin: festeswen A. 101 In right-hand margin: **exemplum** A. 128 In left-hand margin: 2^o A. 129 tydh] tydh [vm then] A.

- fanghin vm nattena æptir ath / **Nw** fore thy ath han viste
 132 huro hardir dōdin war ath gaa oppa / ath han swa
 jnnirlika badh oppa gud fadhir j hymerike / **ffore** alle
 wærlðhinne tha swettadis han swa hardelica / ath blodh
 135 drupa fluto wt aff hans ænlite / ok allom hans
 lycame Ad sudendum desiderium nostre redempcionis
Thet war ffore thy ath han lot oss forsta / hwat astun
 138 dan han haffde til ath tola dōdin / mænniskionne
 til atirlōsin fra dyæfflenom / ok j the jnnirleketinne
 gaff han os æptirdōme j swa matto / at viliom wj
 141 nokot ōnska ællir bydia aff gudhi / thet oss gagne
 likit ware til liff ok syæl / **Tha** skulom wj thet
 gōra medh fulle akt ok hugh oc hyæarta ōdmyu
 144 kelica ok jnnirlica / **Annar** wardom wj ey bōnhørde
 medh gude / vtan wardom straffade ok awitthe / Som
 war herre sagde fanytto folke medh prophetanum j forðum
 147 dagum Populus hic labiis me honorat / cor autem eorum longe
est a me **Thetta** folkit hedrar mik medh synom læpom oc
 synom mwn / **Æn** thera hyæarta ær langht borto fran
 150 mik / **Thy** ær radelikit ath haar som bidia vil wærde
 lica / han skal ōdmyukelica ok atwakthelica bidhia
 om hans bōn skal koma fore gudhz asyn / Som sanctus
 153 gregorius sighir Oratio humilitatis se penetrabit nubes **En**
 na ōdmywka mænniskio bōn / hon gaar op ginom skyn
 fore gudz asyn / **Ok** sighir han annars stadz Orare est cum
 156 deo colloquium habere Rætuiselica bidhia thet ær ena sampta-
 lan ath haffwa medh warum herra / **Thridia** syn blōdde
 war herre ihesus ffore oss / tha han lot syna hendhir
 159 bindha vidhir studena / ok wardh flængdir hardelica
 medh linom ok hwassom gislom / **Swa** ath inthe war
 helt fra hans howodh / ok nydhir til hans fōthir /
 162 Hoc in meritum nostre reconciliacionis **Thet** ledh war herre
 fore ena rætta forlikan / fore wara syndhe / ffor thy
 ath swasom adam ok æwa fawislika ok snarlika /
 165 vtræktho syna hendhir / til the forbudna fruktana
 j paradys j kæthenne / som al wærlðhin war forbannadh

134 blodh] bodh A. 152 In right-hand margin: gregorius A. 157 In right-hand margin:
 3^o A. 160 linom] limom A. 163 forlikan] fo\rl/likan A.

- aff / **S**wa vildhe war herre ihesus twærth a mothe /
 168 latha byndha syna hendhir j pinonne / *medh* hwilkom
 han welsignadhe alla wærlhdhina / ok skyldhe
 hona fran dyæffwolsins bandhom / **T**her oppa tilbør
 171 hwarie *crisne* menniskio tænkia / ok bewara syna
 hendhir bundhna fran alle syndh ok odygth Som ær
 styldh roff manslekt bardagha / ok andra olofflica
 174 handh tækthir / rædandis gudz dom som hempnarin ær
 offuir alla *mysgerningha* Som sanctus paulus sighir Quoniam
vindex est dominus de omnibus his **W**ar herre ær hempnarin
 177 offuir alla *misgerningha* / Fyærdhe sin gøt war herre
 vth sith blodh **S**om war aff handhom ok fothom ther
 naglane stodho j gynom tha han hængdir war a
 180 korseno Hoc in nostre redemptionis pretium **T**het war eth
 fulkommelikit wærdh til wara atirløsn Ath swasom han
 inghan vndhan tok / ther føddhir war ok fodhas skulle
 183 swa længhe / wærlhdhin stodhe / vthan toldhe
 dødhin fore alla jordherikis mænniskior **S**wa haffdhe
 han ok osparan allan syn lykama / limir ok lydhamoth
 186 til pinonne ok plaghorne / ok gywtha blodhin wth
 j hwilko liffuit ær badhe j mænniskionne / ok allom
 liffwandhis *creaturum* / **S**wa sagdhe judhane til pylatum
 189 tha han ræddhis ath døma jhesum Sanguis eius super nos et
super filios nostros **H**ans blodh kombir offuir oss ok war
 barn **T**het war swa menth ath tha the haffdho wt
 192 guthit alt hans blodh / tha war ok liffuit ændath
 Fæmpthe sin blødde war herre ihesus æn sidhan han dødir
 war / **T**het war tha longinus en riddare stak honum ginom
 195 hans sydho / *medh* eth spyuth / ther æptir fløth vth blodh
 ok watn / Hoc fuit redempcionis nostre sacrum **T**het war eth
 tekin til *tet* dyrasta helgilse Som ær döpilsin Ok
 198 swasom *Æ*ua war skapadh aff adamps sydho / hwilkin
 modhir war til alt jorderikis folk / som liffwa stæk
 kotta stundh j enom forgængelikom tyma / **S**wa war
 201 ok döpilsin helgat ok fulbordat *medh* *tet* watn ok
 blodh / som vt gik aff wars herre ihesu *christi* sydho **T**het
 watnit döpilsin ær modhir til allom them syælom

175 *In left-hand margin: paulus A.* 183 swa længhe /] swa længhe / [swa længhe] A.

- 204 æwærdelica / skula bliffua j hymerike / Aff tesso watneno
 sighir oss *sanctus johannes ewangelista* j blandh mangh stoor vndhir
 ok jærtekne *Thet* gudh loth honum andelica forsta jj
- 207 hymerike / han saa oppa enom slættom waldh ena fa
 gra kyrkio / ok wth aff the høgge kyrkio wegginne
 vtran klarth watn / som aff enne kæello / Ok alle
- 210 the aff the watneno fingho wordho hele ok hylbrygdo /
 Tha spordhe *sanctus johannes ængelin* som honum ledde hwat
thet skulle tydha *Ængelin swarade* *Thet* tydhir döpilse
- 213 watn / som helaght wardh *medh* the watne ok blodhe
 som vtran aff wars *herra ihesu christi* sydho Aff hwilko
 alla jorderikis menniskior faa hylbrygdo til synne
- 216 syæl / Ok ær them en porthir ok ingangir til hyme
 rikis jn j thera fædhirnis landh ok rike / Til *thet*
 rykith ath koma vnne oss / gudh fadhir ok son ok then
- 219 helghe ande Amen

Translation

De circumssione [On the circumcision]

*Postquam consumati sunt dies octo ut circumcideretur primum vocatum est nomen ejus Jesus quod vocatum est ab angelo priusquam in utero conciperetur.*¹¹ [Luke 2:21]

St Luke the Evangelist writes this Holy Scripture and [it] means this in our language, saying, “After eight days had passed, from when the blessed child, the Son of God in heaven, was born of the Virgin Mary, his parents had him circumcised as God’s law and regulations had at that time commanded. Then his name was called Jesus, with which name [he] had previously been called by God’s angel Gabriel before he was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary through the power and virtue of the Holy Spirit. We are to notice and understand that this name Jesus means the same as saviour, and [he] was so called by God the Father in heaven and announced by the angel as he would save the world and heal [us] from old wounds and the vile devil’s host with which he had long harmed it.

206 In right-hand margin: **exemplum A.**

¹¹ “And after eight days were accomplished, that the child should be circumcised, his name was called Jesus, which was called by the angel, before he was conceived in the womb.”

No-one was able to heal all these wounds, not all the doctors [or: medicine], until this precious doctor descended here to earth, and not with other salves or medicaments, but with his own shedding of blood on the Holy Cross, by which all the people of the earth received salvation and healing for our souls. As St Peter the Apostles testifies, “*Cujus livore sanati sumus*¹² – We have all been made whole and healed by the blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ,” [1 Peter 2:24] whose blood he began to shed today when he was circumcised because he did not want to punish but to fulfil through his human form the laws and regulations that he had long before in the form of the divine sent and commanded his people, to all of God’s people who were then to keep and follow them carefully. As is written in the law of Moses, “*Cujus praepitii caro circumcisa non fuerit peribit anima illa de populo meo*¹³ – That man who does not have himself circumcised at the front of his private parts [lit. secret thing], that soul will be lost to my people.” [Genesis 17:14] And we are to understand that this circumcision is nothing other than a symbol of proper baptism which Our Lord Jesus walking here on earth created and fulfilled himself when he had himself baptized in the River Jordan, and moreover commanded all those who wanted to take a part in the honour and joy of heaven to have themselves baptized in water in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And he who does not want to do this, he is cut off from God and his kingdom, as Our Lord himself said, “*Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua, et Spiritu Sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei*¹⁴ – Unless he is born of water and the Holy Spirit, no person shall enter the kingdom of God.” [John 3:5] We are to understand by this that just as the human body is born of a father and mother to wander the earth, so is a person’s soul also born of water and of the Holy Spirit to wander in heaven with God Almighty and his blessed angels.

Now, furthermore, it is appropriate for us to know about the virtue of this name Jesus, about which St Bernard writes, “*Hoc nomine Jesus est mel in ore, in aure melos, in corde jubilus*¹⁵ – This name Jesus is a sweet comfort in the mouth for a pious person, a sweet song in his ear, and a devout praise and joy in his heart,” [Bernard, *In Cantica canticorum* 15.6] which has been shown through many miracles.

First, when St Paul was beheaded, his head bounced a hundred times from one place to another, and each time his tongue in his head shouted, “Jesus

12 ‘By whose stripes we are healed.’

13 ‘The male, whose flesh of his foreskin shall not be circumcised, that soul shall be destroyed out of his people.’

14 ‘Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.’

15 ‘This name Jesus is honey in the mouth, a melody in the ears, and a jubilation in the heart.’

Christ!” Through this grace and miracle, Our Lord revealed how great a love he had, particularly in his mouth, for this name Jesus in devout praise, song, and reading, and in his preaching. As he writes one place in his teachings, so saying, “*Dico enim Jesum Christum ministrum fuisse circumcisionis propter veritatem Dei ad firmandas profirmandas et promissiones patrum*¹⁶ – I say for certain that Jesus Christ made himself a servant and subservient when he had himself circumcised as he wanted to confirm through his human form what he had promised the old patriarchs through his mercy.” [Romans 15:8]

The name Jesus is also the most beautiful song in a pious person’s ears, which is shown by St Cecilia about whom it is written that she was a pious virgin, at that time secretly [as she lived] among pagans. This virgin was engaged and betrothed to a pagan knight called Valerian. When it was the time of their wedding celebration with organs and other joyous instruments, she kept herself cheerful with the name of Jesus Christ, and she entrusted her virginity to him. About her is written, “*Cantantibus organis Cecilia soli Domino decantabat*¹⁷ – All the while the organs were playing (which gave St Cecilia no pleasure or attracted the attention of her ears), she sang only a song of praise to Jesus Christ in her pious desire.” And for this reason, Our Lord Jesus performed a great act of grace through her, so that she was able to convert this Valerian, her betrothed, to the Christian faith, and they both remained virgins until they suffered death for the sake of God and the Holy Faith and were to be found in heaven with Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Now the third thing that St Bernard said, that this name Jesus is a devout praise and joy for a pious person’s heart. This is shown by the great miracle of St Ignatius who was tortured to death for the sake of the Holy Faith, and while the pagans were torturing him for three days, he said nothing but kept shouting “Jesus.” One of the torturers asked him why he kept shouting this name and did not want to say anything else. Then St Ignatius answered, “This word is written and imprinted in my heart, so I cannot shout or say anything else.” And when the cruel men had punished him to death, they cut him open with the joy of satisfying their curiosity; and they removed his heart and cut it into two. Then, in both pieces, they found *Jesus* written in gilded letters, and no matter how many pieces they cut his heart into, they always found the same thing written in every piece. Those who saw this miracle, and many others who heard about it, abandoned their disbelief and decisively accepted the Holy Faith and had themselves baptized and became ever more the friends of God.

16 ‘For I say that Christ Jesus was minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers.’

17 ‘With the organs playing, Cecilia chanted to the Lord alone.’

Now moreover, we should contemplate and remember that Our Lord Jesus was willing to lower himself to bleed for us sinful people on this day, as was said previously, five times. As the Scripture shows, [for the] first time on this day, “*Ad initium nostrae redemptionis*”¹⁸ – It was a beginning for our redemption,” because he wanted to proclaim to the world in good time for what price it was going to be saved and redeemed from the devil’s power. The second time he shed his blood [was] when he was kneeling at prayer in the evening in a garden before he was captured later that night. [Luke 22:44] This time he knew how harsh a death was approaching, so he fervently prayed to God the Father in heaven for the whole world. Then he sweated so heavily that drops of blood flowed from his face and his entire body. *Ad sudendum desiderium nostrae redemptionis*.¹⁹ It was because he made us understand with what desire he had to suffer death for the redemption of humankind from the devil, and with this fervour he gave us an example so that if we want to make a wish or ask for something from God that will be advantageous to life and soul, then we should do so with complete attention and mind and heart, humbly and fervently, otherwise our prayers will not be heard by God but they will be punished and rebuked. As Our Lord said to worthless people through the prophets in former times, “*Populus hic labiis me honorat; cor autem eorum longe est a me*”²⁰ – These people praise me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me.” [Matthew 15:8; Mark 7:6] So, it is advised that whoever wishes to pray with value shall pray humbly and attentively if his prayers are to come within God’s sight. As St Gregory says, “*Oratio humilitatis se penetrabit nubes*”²¹ – The prayer of a humble person goes up through the clouds before God’s sight.” In another place he says, “*Orare est cum Deo colloquium habere*”²² – Praying justly is having a conversation with Our Lord.”

The third time Our Lord bled before us was when he had his hands tied to the column and was harshly scourged with ropes and sharp whips so that nothing was left intact from his head and down to his feet. “*Hoc in meritum nostrae reconciliationis*”²³ – Our Lord suffered this for a just reconciliation for our sins,” because just as Adam and Eve ignorantly and quickly stretched out their hands for the forbidden fruit in paradise out of frivolity, so Our Lord, on the contrary, had his hands agonizingly bound with which he blessed the whole world and shielded it

18 ‘For the beginning of our redemption.’

19 ‘An ardent desire while sweating for our redemption.’

20 ‘This people honoureth me with their lips: but their heart is far from me.’

21 ‘The prayer of humility penetrates the clouds.’ Possibly Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum* 4.4 (Quirianus).

22 ‘To pray is to have a conversation with God.’

23 ‘This is for the merit of our redemption.’

from the bonds of the devil. Every Christian should think about this and keep his hands bound from all sin and vice, that is stealing, robbery, manslaughter, fighting, and other unlawful actions, fearing the judgement of God who is the avenger of all misdeeds. As St Paul says, “*Quoniam vindex est dominus de omnibus his*²⁴ – Our Lord is the avenger of all misdeeds.” [1 Thessalonians 4:6]

The fourth time Our Lord shed his blood was from his hands and feet when the nails had pierced them when he was hanging on the Cross. “*Hoc in nostrae redemptionis pretium*²⁵ – This is the full price of our redemption.” Just as he did not exempt those who were born and would be born for as long as the world was to exist but suffered death for all the people of the world, so he did not spare any of his body, limbs, and body parts from torture and torment and shed his blood in which there is life for both people and all living creatures. As the Jews said to Pilate when he was afraid to judge Jesus, “*Sanguis ejus super nos et super filios nostros*²⁶ – His blood come upon us and our children.” [Matthew 27:25] With this they were aiming that when he had shed all his blood, his life would also be ended.

The fifth time Our Lord Jesus bled was even after he had died. It was when Longinus, a knight, pierced his side with a spear, after which blood and water flowed out. “*Hoc fuit redemptionis nostrae sacrum*²⁷ – This was a sign of the most precious sacrament which is baptism.” And just as Eve, who was mother to all the people of the earth who live a short time in a passing moment, was created from Adam’s side, so was baptism also made whole and complete with the water and blood that poured from Our Lord Jesus Christ’s side: the water of baptism is the mother to all the souls that will remain in heaven eternally. About this water, St John the Evangelist tells us among many great wonders and miracles that God let him know spiritually in heaven. He saw upon a flat field a beautiful church and out of the right-hand wall of the church ran clear water as if from a spring. [Cf. Revelation 22:1] And everyone who received this water was saved and healed. Then St John asked the angel who was leading him what it meant. The angel replied, “It means the water of baptism that was made holy with the water and blood that flowed from Our Lord Jesus Christ’s side, by which all the people of the earth receive salvation for their soul, and it is for them a gate or entrance to heaven into the land and kingdom of their forefathers.” May God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit grant us to come to that kingdom. Amen.

24 ‘Because the Lord is the avenger of all these things.’

25 ‘This is the price of our redemption.’

26 ‘His blood be upon us and our children.’

27 ‘This sacrament was our redemption.’

13 St Barnabas and the Jews

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, f. 61v2–13 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, p. 158:6–20 (1450–70); **D** SKB A 3, f. 156va4–28 (1502).

Original text: **LegAur** 527–28.

Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 296; *FsvLeg* PAW II 419–21.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

Sanctus · dorotheus scrifuir · at barnabas predicadhe vidh rom ok war
første biscooper jnnan melan · En dagh saa barnabas carla ok quinnæ
3 danza nakin for sinom afgudhum · **O**k tha bannadhe han mōnstreno swa at thet
fiol /
widh iordh · **O**k mykit folk wndher thy til bana ·· **S**idhan gripu iudha bar-
nabam ok wildu drægha han for domin ok for thy at the ræddus en wæl
6 burin herra eusebium neronis keysara · frenda at han toke han medh wald aff
thera handum · drogho the barnabam wtan stadhin ok brændu a bale / hans
ben ok asku lagdhu the j blykistu · ok badh sænkiä them til grunda **J**ohannes
9 hans discipulus ok hans thwe compana gatu fangit kistuna vm nat medh benum

1 barnabas] sanctus barnabas C; war] wardh C. 2 jnnan] j C; carla] mæn C; quinnæ] Possibly quinna / B, quinnor C, qwinno D, mulieres LegAur. 3 danza nakin] danza nak{in} B, nakna dantza C, nudas currentes et sua festa agentes LegAur; **O**k ... swa] **O**k \tha/ bannadhe \han/ mōstreno swa B, **B**arnabas bannade swa thera mōnstre C, Oc bannade mōnstreno / swa D, unde idignatus templo maledixit LegAur. 4 wndher thy] ther vnder C; bana ··] dōdh B, C, oppressit. Tandem Salaminam deuenit et ibidem contra eum predictus magus seditionem non modicam excitauit LegAur; **S**idhan] **T**ha C. 5 drægha han] dr[[a>æ]gha ha}n B, dragha C, dragha han D; domin] dom / C, doom · D, iudici ciuitatis LegAur; for thy] fore C. 5–6 wælburin] magnus et potens LegAur. 6 keysara] ~ C, kesara D; toke] tok[o>e] B, toghe C, toke D. 6–7 han medh ... handum ·] han medh wald aff thera handum · [ok] B, han aff thom medh waldh thy C, han medh wald / aff thera handom Oc D, de manibus eorum eriperet et sic liberum abire permitteret LegAur. 7 drogho ... stadhin] Ligantes igitur funem in collo eius extra portam eum traxerunt LegAur; the] \the/ B, the C, ~ D; barnabam] han C. 7–8 a ... asku] han a baale · **A**sco oc ben medh signadha · likama C, combusserunt. Denique nec sic Iudei impii satiatu ossa eius LegAur. 8 badh] willo C; them] ~ C. 9 ok] medh C; hans thwe] twem hans C, hans twe D; compana] kompanom C; gatu fangit] fingo C; kistuna ... nat] om nat kistona · C. 9–10 benum ... ascu ·] helgodomom C.

ok ascu · ok iordhadhu diupt j eno iordhhuse · **O**k la næstan · **D**· ar til ge-
 lasius paua wardh ok zeno keysare / tha visadhe han siælfuir · hwar hans
 12 ben ok asku lagho

Translation

St Dorotheus¹ writes that Barnabas preached in Rome and was the first bishop of Milan. One day, Barnabas saw men and women [or: (a) woman] dancing naked before their idols. And then he cursed the temple so that it fell to the ground and killed many people underneath it. Then the Jews seized Barnabas and wanted to drag him before the court and as they were afraid that a noble lord, Eusebius, a relative of the emperor Nero, would take him by force out of their hands, they dragged Barnabas outside of the city and burnt him on a pyre. They laid his bones and ash in a leaden case and asked to have it sunk to the bottom [of the sea]. During the night, John, his disciple, and two of his companions managed to get hold of the case with the bones and ash and buried it deep in a crypt. And it remained there for nearly five hundred years until Gelasius became pope and Zeno emperor² when he [i. e., Barnabas] himself revealed where his bones and ash were lying.

10 iordhhuse] cripta occulte ... ut ait Sigebertus *LegAur*; næstan ·] ther C; ·D·] fæm hundrath C, d·
 D. **10–11** gelasius] gela[d>s]ius B, gelasius C, D. **11** paua wardh] wardh pawe / C; zeno] uero D;
 visadhe] wiiste C. **12** lagho] waro swa længe gømpdh C.

1 That is, Pseudo-Dorotheus. Several late third-century works are pseudepigraphically attributed to Dorotheus of Tyre (c. 255–362). They describe the lives of the Apostles and their disciples, and they include the tradition of Barnabas living in Rome.

2 Pope Gelasius, r. 492–96; Emperor Zeno (c. 425–91), r. 474–75, 476–91.

14 St Gamaliel the Elder Speaks to Lucian the Priest

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, ff. 58v29–59r21 (1400–50).
Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, pp. 177:32–178:24 (1450–70).
Original text: **LegAur** 711–12.
Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 281–82; *FsvLeg* PAW II 399–401.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

- EN** prestir heth lucianus nær ierusalem en af the ærlicu kirkiun
na herrum som gennadius ræknar **Ok** scrifuir aff / lucianus
3 scrifuer ok sighir aff sik siælfwm · **At** wm en fredagh ther han hwiltis
hwarke sowinde ælla wakin tedhis honum en gamal karll · høggher at wæx
te lius j ænlite ok skipadher *medh* sidhu skægge ok j hwitum klædhum som
6 war sænkt *medh* gyltum corsum ok dyrom stenum ok gyltum skoom **Ok** hafdhe
gyltan wand j hænde / ok kom nær hanum ok sagdhe læt rifua wara
grafuer / ther vi liggium laght / · ok os vetis engin wirdhning / far til ierusalem
9 **Ok** sigh iohanni patriarcha at han lægge war ben ther os ær ærlekt · **At** thæn ti
ma vfridher hungir oc vidhermødha j wæraldinne komber tha mugha mæn
niwta
ware bōon at gudh wrdhe blidhir lwcianus spurde hwat herra han ware
12 hin swaradhe Jak ær gamaliel som lærde paulum moysi lagh for minum fothum
Nest mik ligger stephanus første martir ihesu christi som iudhane thyrfdho

2 herrum] thiænista-mannom C; gennadius] gen\|n|adius B, Genadius C; ræknar ... aff /] scriuar swa at C. 3 scrifuer ok] ~ C; ther] som C. 4 hwarke ... wakin] ey wakin oc ey sowin C; karll] man C; sowinde] sowin\de/ B. 4–5 høggher ... lius] oc waxliws C; lius ... ænlite] uultu decorus *LegAur*; skipadher ... ok] haffdo siit skægh C; klædhum] pallio *LegAur*. 6 gyltum corsum] gulkorsom C; dyrom] [gim > dyrom] B, dyrom C. 6–7 ok gyltum ... hænde / ok] han haffde gyltan staff oc gylta sko han C. 7 kom ... hanum] tetigit eum *LegAur*; sagdhe] sagdhe swa C; wara] fyra C. 8 vi] \vi/ B; laght ... vetis] os tees C; far] fa[t>r] B, far C. 9 patriarcha] episcopo *LegAur*; ær ... **At**] ware hedherlikt oc C. 10 vfridher] ~ *LegAur*; hungir ... komber] {hungir oc} vidhermødha j wæraldinne komber B, mōdher wærlidina C; mæn niwta] mæn {niwta} B, almoghin niwta C. 11 spurde ... ware] dixit: “Domine quis es?” *LegAur*. 12 hin swaradhe] Han swarar C; moysi lagh] legem *LegAur*. 13 første ... christi] første gudz martir C; thyrfdho] thyrfdho [til] B, stento C.

- til dōdh *medh* stenum ok kastadho han for fugla ok diur / gudh for menadhe
 thet war
- 15 dha for hans reno tro · Jak lagdhe hans been *medh* wyrðhning j the samu
 graff Jak læt mik siælfuum graua / thæn tridhi nær os ligger ær nicode
 mus min syster son som kom wm nat til ihesum / guzson *sanctorum petri et
 iohannis* **Ok**
- 18 ther fore wildu iudha han dræpa · wtan han nōt thæs at the vetu mik vidher
 syn tho rōfuadho the alt hans goz ok sættu han aff hedhers waldum som
 fōr war en af fōrsto iudha·lanz herrum / ok lætu han lifua halfdōdhan
- 21 illa bardhan til han do jnnan fa dagha · j minu huse **Ok** iak jordha
 dhe han at *sancti* stephani fotom · Fiærdha liggir *medh* os min son. abbibas
 som dōptis *medh* mik xx ara gamal j mōdom ok hōrdhe *medh* paulo moy
- 24 si lagh · af minum mun · Ethea min kona · **Ok** min son selomias / som ey vil
 du · thaka widher *cristu* tro wrdhu ey wærdug jordhas *medh* os · **Ok** for thy
 skal thu finna · thera graf toma · Epter swo thalat hwarff gamliel aff
- 27 hans øghum /

Translation

There was a priest near Jerusalem called Lucian, whom Gennadius counts as one of the lords of the illustrious church and writes about. Lucian writes and says about himself that one Friday while he was resting, neither asleep nor awake, an old man appeared to him, tall in growth, light of face, and equipped with a wide beard, and [dressed] in white clothes that were embroidered with golden crosses and precious stones, and [wearing] golden shoes, and he had a golden rod in his hand. And he approached him and said, “Pull open our tombs where we lie laid out and [where] we are shown no reverence. Go to Jerusalem and tell the patri-

14 *medh* stenum] ~ C; kastadho] extra ciuitatem proiectus est *LegAur*; han] \han/ B, wt C; for menadhe] \for/ menade B, lot C. **15** the] ~ C. **16** graff] *graff* som C; mik] mik [siælfuum] B; thæn ... os] {thæn ... os} B, Tridhi *medh* os C; ær] \ær/ B, ~ C. **17** syster son] nepos *LegAur*; ihesum ... iohannis] ihesum C; *sanctorum petri et iohannis*] a Petro et Iohanne sacrum baptisma suscepti *LegAur*. **18** fore] \fore/ B; iudha] principes sacerdotum *LegAur*; nōt thæs] nōt[h] thæs B, nōt thet C. **19** han] han sieluan C; hedhers] ~ C. **20** af] ~ C. **21** til ... huse] oc do j fa dagha ther efter j mino hwse C, Hunc ego in domo mea duxissem, diebus aliquibus superuixit et defunctum *LegAur*. **23** ara] ar[a/ B; j mōdom] et uirgo permanen *LegAur*. **24** Ethea] Ethena C; selomias] solennas C. **25** tro wrdhu] \tro/ wrdhu B, waro C; jordhas ... **Ok**] *medh* os jordhas C; for thy] sed eos alibi sepultos inuenies *LegAur*. **26** toma] uacuos et inanes *LegAur*. **26–27** hwarff ... øghum] hwarff gamaliel borth aff hans øghom C, Gamaliel disparuit *LegAur*.

arch John that he is to lay our bones where it is honourable for us. And when war, starvation, and tribulation come to the world, men will benefit from our prayers to God to be merciful.” Lucian asked who this gentleman was. He answered, “I am Gamaliel who taught the Law of Moses to Paul [sitting] at my feet. Next to me lies Stephen, the first martyr of Jesus Christ, whom the Jews stoned to death with stones and threw him [outside the city] for birds and beasts. God prevented¹ this on account of his [i. e., Stephen’s] pure faith. I lay his bones with reverence in the very same tomb where I had myself buried.

“The third [man] near us is Nicodemus, my sister’s son, who during the night came to Jesus, the Son of God, [who had been baptized] by Saints Peter and John, and that is why the Jews wanted to kill him, but he benefitted from the fact that they held me in reverence. Nonetheless, they robbed him of all his belongings and deposed him from high office (he was previously one of the first lords of Judea)² and left him to live half-dead, savagely beaten, until he died within a few days in my house. And I buried him at St Stephen’s feet.

“The fourth [man] lying near us is my son Abibas who was baptized with me aged 20 as a virgin and alongside Paul heard the Law of Moses from my mouth. My wife Aethea and my son Selemias, who did not want to accept the Christian faith, were not worthy of being buried with us. And for this reason, you will find their graves empty.” Having spoken as such, Gamaliel disappeared from his sight.

1 Note that *C* has: ‘God allowed this [...].’

2 OSw. “*iudha·lanz*” [lit. of Jew-land, of (the) land of Jews] < *iuba land*.

15 St James the Great and the Sorcerer Hermogenes

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, ff. 33r29–34r13 (1400–50).
Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, pp. 105:3–106:15 (1450–70).
Original text: **LegAur** 651–53.
Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 163–65; *FsvLeg* PAW II 212–17.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

Sanctus iacobus brodher johannis ewangeliste for aff iudha lande til yspaniam at *predica* : **Ok** gat ther litit gaghn giort Thy at
3 folkit war ther myket hart ·ix· kienneswena fik han thy sinne j hyspania : Thua satte han ther nidher at *predika* : **Ok medh** ·vij· for han ather jfwer til judeam : **vm** thæn tima war j iudha lande en magus
6 som heet hermogenes han sænde sin *discipulum* / *medh* iudhum at disputera *medh* iacobo : **Ok** prøfua han vara falsara for iudhum **Disci-**
pulus heth philetus : *Jacobus* wrok ather philetum swa *medh* skælum at philetus
9 kom næstan *cristin* atir til sin mæstara : **Ok** rædh hanum taka vidh *cristindom* : hermogenes wardh vredher oc bant swa philetum *medh*
diæfwlskap
at han gat hwarkin rørt hænder ælla føther : **Philetus** læt

1 brodher ... ewangeliste] filius Zebedei *LegAur*. 1–2 iudha lande] Judeam et Samariam *LegAur*. 2 til] oc til C; gaghn] \gaghn/ B, ~ C. 3 ther] ~ C; myket] m[iok>yket] B, myket C; han thy] {han thy} B, han thær j thy C. 3–4 j hyspania] ~ C. 5 jfwer] ~ C. 6 hermogenes] her[mogin>mogen]es B, ærmogenes C; iudhum] phariseis *LegAur*. 6–7 *medh* ... iacobo] til iacobum at disputera · *medh* honum C. 7 han ... falsara] han \vara/ falsara B, han til falsara C, sua predicatio falsa esset *LegAur*; for iudhum] fore folke C. 7–8 **Discipulus]** then discipulus C. 8 wrok] {wrok} B, bar C; swa ... skælum] swa \medh skælum/ B, *medh* swa skælom C, rationabiliter ... et multa coram eo miracula fecisset *LegAur*; philetus] han C. 9 til ... mæstara] ad Hermogenem doctrinam Iacobi approbans et miracula recitans *LegAur*. 10 vidh] ~ C; hermogenes] hermog[i>e]nes B, Ærmogenes C; oc] |oc| B, ~ C; bant] immobilem fecit *LegAur*; swa philetum] philetum swa C; diæfwlskap] arte sua magica *LegAur*. 11 hwarkin rørt] rørt hwarte C; hænder ... føther] hand ellir foot C, nullatenus ... “Videbimus si Iacobus tuus te soluat” *LegAur*.

- 12 *sighia jacobo · huru han laa bundin : Jacobus sende hanum sin swet
ta duk ok bōdh hanum læsa en værs j psaltaranum : Dominus
soluit compeditos dominus erigit elisos : som thydher a wart mal :*
- 15 *war herra løse smidhadha : War herra resær vp nidherkastadha : Jæm-
skøt clædhit kom vidh philetum : tha vardh han løss : Ok skæm-
de medh ordhom hermogenem : Ok skildis vidh han : Ok wardh*
- 18 *discipulus sancti jacobii*
HERMogenes *kallar sina diæfla : Ok biudher them binda sanctum
jacobum · oc philetum · oc fōra them badha til sin j bandum Diæfl*
- 21 *la komo til jacobum : Ok thutu som vlua j wædhreno jfuer hanum : Ok
øpto jacobae apostole : haf miscund jfuer os wi brinnom før æn war time
komber : Jacobus bōdh them sighia sik sit ærande : The swara : Her-*
- 24 *mogenes sende os at binda tik : Ok philetum : Ok guz ængil bin-
dher oss swa hær medh eld bandum · at os sarlica swidher Jacobus
badh gudz ængil læta them løsa · Ok bōdh them fōra til sin*
- 27 *hermogenem bundin ok tho oskaddan ok helbrygdo : Diæfla bun-
do hermogenem hænder a bak ok fōrdho han bundin til
jacobum : Ok sagdho til hermogenem : Haff thu thætta ok lig hær*
- 30 *bundin : Thy at thu sænde os thit som wi sarlica brunnum*
Ok *the badho jacobum gifwa them wald at hæmpna jfwer han
fore thet at the brunno : Jacobus spurdhe them hwi the ænkte gior-*
- 33 *dho phileto som stodh for them : the sagdho sik ey thora minz-
sto myg gōra oro j hans herberghe : Jacobus sagdhe til philetum : christus*

12–13 *sin ... duk*] then *dwk* : som *han* strøk sweth aff *sino* ænne *medh C*, *sudarium suum LegAur*. 13–14 **Dominus** ... *mal*] ~ *C*. 15 *løse smidhadha*] løser them *ther fiætrade · ære* oc *C*. 16 *tha*] ~ *C*. 17 *medh ... hermogenem*] *medh* ordhom *hermog[i>e]nem B*, *ærmogenem* mædh ordhom *C*; *skildis*] *skilde sik C*. 18 *discipulus ... jacobii*] *sancti jacobii man C*. 19 **HERMogenes**] **HERmog[i>e]nes B**, *Ærmogenes C*; *sanctum*] ~ *C*. 21 *thutu ... vlua*] *ululare LegAur*. 22 *øpto*] *ropadho swa C*; *apostole*] ~ *C*. 23 *sik*] ~ *C*. 23–24 **Hermogenes**] **HERmog[i>e]nes B**, *Ærmogenes C*. 25 *swa ... bandum*] *her medh eldbandom swa C*, *catenis igneis LegAur*. 25–26 **Jacobus** *badh*] *Tha badh jacobus C*. 26 *them fōra ... sin*] *fōra sik C*. 27 *hermogenem*] *hermog[i>e]nem B*, *ærmogenem C*; *oskaddan ... helbrygdo*] [*helan > oskaddan*] ok *helbrygdo B*, *helan C*, *illesum LegAur*; **Diæfla**] **Diæfflane foro oc C**. 28 *hermogenem*] *hermog[i>e]nem B*, *ærmogenem C*; *hænder ... bak*] *hænder [ok] a bak B*, *hans hænder ater a hans bak C*; *til fore C*. 29 *sagdho*] *sagdho swa C*; *hermogenem*] *hermog[i>e]nem B*, *hans C*; *Haff ... hær*] *Sith C*; *lig*] *lig[h] B*. 30 *Thy at*] *Thy at [tha] B*, *mædhan C*; *sænde*] *wiiste C*. 31 *the*] ~ *C*; *jacobum*] *jacob[o>um] B*, *jacobum C*; *them*] *sik C*; *hæmpna*] *hæmpnas · thet C*. 32 *fore ... brunno*] ~ *C*; *them*] ~ *C*. 32–33 *ænkte ... thora*] *lotho philetum swa · fore sik standa at the honum enkte giordho The swaradho Wi thoroms ey C*. 33–34 *minzsto ... herberghe*] *minz-|sto {myg gōra oro j hans} herbergh[e] B*, *oroa the minzsto myyr j hans huse ær C*, *nec fornicam que in cubiculo tuo est manu contingere LegAur*.

- kiænnde os · væl lona illum : løss thy thu hermoginem : thy at han
 36 bōdh thik binda : hermogenes stodh for jacobo løss aff bandom · ok ey aff skammom
 Jacobus sagdhe til hans Gak lidhugher hwart thu vilt
 Thy at *christus* bōdh oss : ængin nōdhughan dragha til hans nadha
 39 Hermogenes sagdhe til jacobum Jac kiænner diæfla lund : tha
 the vordho wredhe : Ok ey læta the mik lifwa vtan jak nywte
 thin · Ok thu gifwer mik thina wærio medh nokro tekne : Jacobus
 42 fik hanom sin staff : til wærio for diæflum : hermogenes bar
 atir alla sina bōker for jacobum : at brænna : jacobus sagdhe · ey
 vilia gōra vædhrít siukt af thera rōk · Ok bōdh hermoge-
 45 nem sænkia them til grunda : Sidhan fiol hermogenes for
 fōther jacobí · ok kyste them oc clappadhe · ok sagdhe til jacobum
 siæla frelsare : Tak vidh mik til scriptamaal oc bætring : som thu tholde
 48 mik lifua afundzsiwkan owin : Jacobus tok vidh hermogenem : Ok wardh swa
 godher oc hælager : At han giordhe ther æpter gudhlik jærtetekne :

Translation

St James, the brother of John the Evangelist, left Judea¹ and travelled to Spain to preach but made little headway there because the people were very hard. He gained nine disciples that time in Spain. So, he left two of them there to preach and returned with seven across to Judea. At that time in Judea, there was a magi-

35 væl lona] lona væl C; løss thy] løss C; hermoginem] ærmogenem C. 36 hermogenes] hermog[i>e]nes B, Ærmogenes C; aff bandom] |aff bandom| B, ~ C. 36–37 ey ... skammom] {ey aff skammom} B, tho ey skamlōs C, confusus LegAur. 37 sagdhe ... vilt] badh han ganga hwart han wille / oc sagde C. 38 Thy ... christus] Jhesus C; Thy ... nadha] Non est discipline nostre ut inuitus aliquis conuertatur LegAur. 39–40 tha ... Ok] ~ C. 40 læta] latha [tik] C. 40–41 nywte thin] nyther tina nadh C. 41 Ok ... tekne] Ok thu gifwer \mik/ thina wærio \medh nokro/ [iær]tekne B, oc thinna jærtetekna C. 42 wærio] værn C. 43 at brænna] oc badh brænna thom C, cremandos LegAur; sagdhe] ~ C. 43–44 ey vilia] {ey | vilia} B, wille ey C. 44 vædhrít siukt] forte odor LegAur; Ok bōdh] wtan lot C, fecit LegAur. 44–45 hermogenem] ærmogenem C. 45 til grunda] ~ C, in mare LegAur; hermogenes] ærmogenes C. 46 fōther jacobí] jacobí fōter C; oc] \oc/ B. 47 Tak vidh] Tak \vidh/ B, tala medh C; scriptamaal ... bætring] scriptamaal \oc bætring/ B, rætta scriptamala C, penitentem LegAur. 47–48 som ... owin] ~ C, quem inuidentem et detrahentem hactenus sustinuisti LegAur. 48–49 hermogenem] honum C. 49 ther æpter] {ther æpter} B. 50 jærtetekne] gherninga C, uirtutes plurime LegAur.

1 Osw. “iudha lande” [lit. Jew-land, land of [the] Jews] < iuþa land. Later in the same paragraph (l. 5), we find both “judeam” (cf. Lat. *Judaea*) and “judha lande.”

cian who was called Hermogenes. He sent his follower along with the Jews to dispute with James and prove in the presence of the Jews that he was false. The follower was called Philetus. James refuted Philetus with such reason that Philetus returned to his master almost a Christian and advised him to accept Christianity. Hermogenes became angry and bound Philetus using black arts,² so that he could move neither his hands nor his feet. Philetus had James told how he was lying, bound. James sent him his kerchief and ordered him to read a verse in the Book of Psalms: *Dominus solvit compeditos; dominus erigit elisos*,³ which in our language means, 'May Our Lord set free the shackled; Our Lord raises the overthrown.' As soon as the kerchief came to Philetus, he was freed and rebuked him [i. e., Hermogenes] with words and left him and became a follower of St James.

Hermogenes summons his devils and orders them to bind St James and Philetus and bring them both to him in fetters.⁴ The devils came to James and howled like wolves in the air above him and shouted to James the Apostle: "Have mercy on us! We are burning before our time has come!" James ordered them to tell him their purpose. They answer: "Hermogenes sent us to bind you and Philetus. And an angel of God has bound us here with fetters of fire that burn us sorely!" James asked the God's angel to set them free and ordered them to bring Hermogenes to him, bound and unharmed and healthy. The devils bound Hermogenes' hands behind his back and led him bound to James and said to Hermogenes: "Take that and lie bound here! Because you sent us there where we were sorely burnt!" And they asked James to give them power to take revenge on him for their being burnt. James asked them why they did not do anything to Philetus who was standing in front of them. They said that they did not dare upset the smallest gnat in his house! James said to Philetus, "Christ taught us to repay evil with good. So, release Hermogenes because he ordered you be bound." Hermogenes, released from his fetters, but not from shame, was standing in front of James. James said to him, "Go freely wherever you wish because Christ has commanded us not to drag someone in need to their mercy [i. e., not to convert someone against his will]." Hermogenes said to James, "I know the mind of devils when they are angry, and they will not let me live unless I have your assistance and you give me your protection with some sign." James gave him his staff to defend himself against the devils. Hermogenes carried all his books back to James to burn. James said that

2 OSw. "diæfwlskap" [dark arts, devilry, magic].

3 Psalm 145:7, 8 *Vulg.* (146:7, 8 *KJV*): 'The Lord looseth them that are fettered: [...] The Lord lifeth up them that are cast down.'

4 The sudden change in tense is found in the OSw.: "kallar," "biudher." Cf. also the following "The swara" [They answer].

he did not wish to make the air sick from their smoke and ordered Hermogenes to sink them to the bottom [of the sea]. Then Hermogenes fell to James's feet and kissed and caressed them and said to St James, "Saviour of souls! Accept me for confession and improvement just as you tolerated me living as a jealous enemy!" James accepted Hermogenes and he became so good and holy that he thereafter performed divine miracles.

16 St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 34, f. 29ra1–b10 (c. 1350).

Parallel texts: B UUB C 528, f. 34r13–v8 (1400–50); C SRA E 8900, pp. 106:15–107:7 (1450–70).

Original text: **LegAur** 653–54. The OSw. versions diverge somewhat from *LegAur* making a direct comparison difficult. For this reason, Jacobus de Voragine’s version is provided in full after the English translation.

Edition: A *FsvLeg* I 165–66; *FsvLeg* PAW II 217–19.

Edition (A SKB A 34)

Note: There is a lacuna in A, so the beginning of the text (ll. 1–7) has been taken from B (f. 34r13–19).

Sidhan judha sagho at hermogenes

war cristin · Tha komo the til iacobum · ok disputeradhe *medh* hanum

- 3 Hwru thæn matte gudh wara / som dōdh tholde Iacobus
prōfuadhe thet *medh* script oc skiælum at gudz son skul-
de man wardha · Ok dōdh thola · Ok aff dōdh opstanda
- 6 Ok til himerikis vp fara Mange iudha toko vael vidh
hans ordhom · Ok wordho
kristne · abiatar biscopar vrep̄ar
- 9 af harme · ok casta caþal vm hals
iacobi · ok lede for herodem kunug ·
ok bedes dom at dræpa iacobum ·
- 12 herodes dōmde iacobum at hals
huga : a· væghenom þa han ledes
tel dōþ · mōte en saloghar siukar

4 prōfuadhe] prōfwar them B; script ... skiælum] script oc skiælum [ad] B, the hæghe script C. 5 wardha · Ok] wardha · Ok B, wardha C. 6 vp fara] vp fara B, fara C. 8 biscopar] Judha biscopir B. 9 ok casta] castar B, kastar C; caþal vm] caþal \rep/ vm A, reep ifwir B, kabel om C. 10 lede] læt ledha B. 12–13 at halshuga] halshuggas B. 14 mōte] mōtte hanom B, mōtte honum C.

- 15 man · numin ok onytar Sanctus
iacobus baþ han helan liua · vp stan
da væl fōran ·i· hans namn sagþe
- 18 iacobus · iak skal ·i· dagh dōþen þo
la · var þu væl fōr ok loua þin
guþ ·i· samu stund varþ han væl
- 21 fōr · ok louaþe varn hærra ¶ Josias
en iuþa klærkar · som *sanctum iacobum*
drogh tel dōþ · vændes viþ þe iar
- 24 tingne · ok fiol for fōtar *sancti ia*
cobi · ok bedes varþa cristen ¶ abi
athar biscopar · læt gripa klærken ·
- 27 ok hōte hanom dō · mæþ iacobo · æn
han eigh bannaþe ihesus namne ¶
Josias suarar biscope · bannaþar
- 30 vart þu ok þine guþa · ihesus namn
se væl signat æuinneleka · Ambi
atar læt sla hans mun ok tendar : ok
- 33 sænde buþ tel herodem · ok bedes
kunugs dom · at hals huga iosiam
meþ iacobo ¶ *Jacobus* dōþte iosiam ·
- 36 ok fingo baþe ens lifs ænda vn
di suærþe · ok annars hems lif
ok lōn for vtan ænda · *sanctus*
- 39 iacobus varþ dræpin ·a· vara
fru dagh gen pascom · ok atta
daghum for augusta manað · com

15 numin ... onytar] ok ofōr *B*, munnin oc onyttar *C*. 16–17 liua ... standa] vpstanda · oc *B*, liua / oc opstanda *C*. 17–18 sagþe iacobus] sagdhe jacobus som *B*, ther *C*. 18–20 ·i· ... guþ] ·i· dagh dōþen \fore/ þola · var[þ] þu væl fōr ok loua þin guþ *A*, dōdhin jnnan dagh firi thola *B*, j dagh dōdh fore thola / wardh thu væl fōr oc lowa gud *C*. 20–21 varþ ... fōr] var thæn wanfōre væl \fore/ ok helbrygdha *B*, wardh han væl fōr *C*. 21 varn hærra] gudh *B*, van herra *C*. 23 þe] thetta *B*, the *C*. 24–25 fōtar ... iacobi] fōther *sancti jacob* *B*, *sancti iacobi* / [petri] fōter *C*. 28 ihesus] gudz *B*, ihesus *C*. 29 biscope] biscopinom *B*, biscopenom *C*. 30 gupa] gudha en *B*, gudha *C*. 31 æuinneleka] ewerdhelica *B*, nw oc æwinnelica *C*. 31–32 Ambiatar] Abiathar *B*, *C*. 32 læt ... hans] læt sla \hans/ *A*, læt sla hans *B*, lot sla hans *C*. 33–34 sænde ... dom] {sende} budh til herdodem : Ok fik dom *B*, badh herodem giwa dom *C*. 36 ens lifs] {ens} lifs *B*, liffs en *C*; ænda] ænda \her j | werdlene] *B*, ændha *C*. 37–38 annars ... for] {j andre værld liff oc lōn} \for/ *B*, fingo badhe æwinnelikt liff oc lōn æ for *C*. 39 varþ ... ·a·] var dræpin *B*, war dræpin a *C*. 40 gen pascom] for pascha *B*, gen paschom *C*. 40–41 atta daghum] ·viii· daghum *B*, attha dagha *C*. 41 manað] manadh *B*, manath tha *C*.

42 hans lik tel comparstellam · ok
 þæn daghen haldar kirkian hō
 ghtip af hanom ·

Translation

After the Jews saw that Hermogenes¹ was a Christian, they came to James and disputed with him [on the subject of] how it could be God who suffered death. James proved with the Scriptures and discernment that God's son did become a man and suffered death and rose from the dead and ascended to heaven. Many Jews received his words well and became Christians. The bishop [i. e., high priest] Abiathar² was furious and threw a rope around James's neck and led him before King Herod [Agrippa] and requested an order to kill James. Herod sentenced James to beheading. When he was being led to his death, they met a blessed sick man, paralysed and disabled, on the road. St James commanded him to live able-bodied, to stand up cured in his name. James said, "I am going to suffer death today, be cured and praise your God!" At that very moment he was cured and praised Our Lord.

Josiah, a Jewish priest³ who was leading St James to his death, was converted by those miracles and fell at St James's feet and asked to become Christian. The high priest Abiathar had the priest seized and threatened him with death alongside James unless he cursed the name of Jesus. Josiah answered the high priest, "May you and your gods be cursed! May the name of Jesus be eternally blessed!" Abiathar had him punched in the mouth and teeth, and sent his messenger to Herod and asked for the king's order to behead Josiah alongside James. James baptized Josiah and they both had their lives put to an end under the sword and received life and reward without end in the other world.

St James was killed on Our Lady's Day around Eastertime. And eight days before the month of August his body arrived in Compostela and on that day the Church holds his feast.

42 comparstellam] *compostellam B*, *komperstællam C*.

1 See Text 15: *St James the Great and the Sorcerer Hermogenes*.

2 Abiathar (< Lat. *Abiatar* < Heb. אביתר, *Evyatar*) means 'father is great.'

3 OSw. *klærker* corresponds to Lat. *clericus*, one of the terms used to refer to a Jewish priest. The *LegAur* calls Josiah a *scriba*, Ecclesiastical Latin for a 'doctor of the Jewish law'; cf. Matthew 23:2 "Super cathedram Moysi sederunt scribae et pharisaei," *Vulg.*, 'The scribes and the Pharisees have sitten on the chair of Moses,' *DRB*.

Latin version: *Legenda aurea* [The Golden Legend]

Source: *LegAur* 653–54.

Translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 2, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 5.

Videntes autem Iudei Hermogenem conuersum zelo commoti Iacobum adierunt et cur Ihesum crucifixum predicaret increpauerunt. Ille uero cum eis per scripturas aduentum et passionem Christi euidenter probasset, plurimi crediderunt. Abiathar uero pontifex anni illius seditionem in populo excitauit et misso fune in collo apostoli ipsum ad Herodem Agrippam adduci fecit; cumque iussu eius ad decollandum duceretur, quidam paralyticus in uia iacens ad eum clamauit ut sibi sanitatem conferret. Cui Iacobus ait: “In nomine Ihesu Christi, pro cuius fide ducor ad ad decollandum, exurge sanus et benedic creatorem tuum!” Et statim sanatus surrexit et dominum benedixit. Scriba autem qui funem in collo eius miserat et trahebat, nomine Iosias, hoc uidens ad pedes eius se proiecit et ueniam petens se christianum fieri postulauit. Quod uidens Abiathar eum teneri fecit sibi que dixit: “Nisi nomen Christi maledixeris cum ipso Iacobo decollaberis.” Cui Iosias: “Maledictus tu et maledicti omnes dii tui; nomen autem domini Ihesu Christi sit benedictum in secula.” Tunc Abiathar os eius pugnis cedi iussit et missa de eo legatione ad Herodem impetrauit ut cum Iacobo decollaretur. Cum autem ambo decollari deberent, Iacobus a spiculatore lagenam atque petiit et ibidem Iosiam protinus baptizauit et statim capitis obruncatione uterque martyrium consummauit. Decollatus est autem beatus Iacobus VIII kal. Aprilis in annuntiatione domini et VIII kal. Augusti Compostellam translatus et III kal. Ianuarii sepultus, quia sepulcri eius fabrica fuit ab Augusto usque ad Ianuarium protelata. Statuit igitur ecclesia ut festum eius VIII kal. Augusti, in tempore scilicet magis congruo, deberet uniuersaliter celebrari.

17 St James the Just and the Jews of Jerusalem

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 34, ff. 37rb11–38va24 (c. 1350).

Parallel text: B UUB C 528, ff. 40v29–42r14 (1400–50); C SRA E 8900, pp. 155:4–157:9 (1450–70).

Original text: **LegAur** 448–51.

Editions: A *FsvLeg* I 194–98; *FsvLeg* PAW II 263–70.

Edition (A SKB A 34)

- Sanctus ieronimus scriuar
af / huar han gik þa þræng
3 des folk coma nær hans klæþa
fald ¶ egisippus vis mæstare som
var nær apostolorum tima /
6 skriuuar sua af hanom ¶ jacobus
af allom ræt uis callaþar : / tok
viþar at raþa ok styra ierusalem
9 kirkiu / ok haldar æn uiþ aldar fra
vars hærra daghum / ok tel var
ra dagha / hælagnar af moþor
12 liue ¶ han drak aldre vin ælla no
kon druken dryk / ok aldre at han
kiøt mat / ok aldre com harkni
15 uar ælla sax iui hans howþ /
aldre oleum viþ hans licama
ælla linklæþe / ok aldre com han
18 ·i· løgh ælla ·i· bastouo / tel þæs haf

2 af] aff hanom at B; þa] ~ B. 2–3 þrængdes] cuperent *LegAur*. 3 folk] folkit at B, folk til at C; coma] koma [\\handom/] B. 3–4 klæþa fald ¶] klæðhom C. 5 nær] nær j C; apostolorum] aplorum B. 6 sua ... hanom] sicut in hystoriis ecclesiasticis legitur et Ieronimus in libro de uiris illustribus attestatur *LegAur*; jacobus] frater domini Iacobus *LegAur*. 8 ierusalem] ierusalem[s] A, j iherusalem B. 9 kirkiu] Possibly kirkio A, cristendom oc kirkiom / C. 9–12 ok ... liue ¶] ~ C. 13 ok] ~ B. 15 ælla sax] ~ *LegAur*. 17 ælla linklæþe] oc aldre linklæðhe C, ~ *LegAur*; ok] ~ B. 18 ælla ... bastouo] sindone, id est ueste linea, semper indutus *LegAur*.

- þe han ·a· knæ fallet ·i· sinom bōnom /
 at þolika varo hans knæskali som
 21 hans hæla / þy callaðo mæn han
 rætuisan ok folks faþer ok lanz
 værn / hanom enom af allom appos
 24 tolis var louat af iuþa væghna /
 in ganga ·i· guz mōnstar : þær
 ensamen iuþa biscopar ær inlo
 27 uat / taa þæt heter *sancta sanctorum*
Han sigs haua saght fōrsto
 mæssō æpte varn hærra
 30 sialuan / þy at alle apostoli læto
 hanom þæn heþar for hans hæl
 gho lifnaþ ¶ Huarn dagh æpte
 33 varn hærra / vigþo alle apposto
 li varns hærra licama / ok nō
 to sialue ok gauo cristno folke /
 36 æn fōrsto hōghtiþes mæssa / *mēþ*
 ærkebiscops ælla paua bonað /
 sagþe iacobus ·i· ierusalem / ok petrus
 39 ·i· antiochioa / ok marcus euan
 gelista ·i· alexandria ¶ ok for þy
 hete þera þrigia staþa bisco
 42 þar / heþars namne patriar
 che / han gōmde mōdoms ren
 liue æ mæn han lifþe / sua som

20 þolika] ut callos in genibus sicut *LegAur.* **21** hæla /] yliar C; þy] Pro hac incessabili et summa iustitia *LegAur.* **22** folks faþer] fadher folk{sins} B, almoghans fadher / C; lanz] lanz]ins/ B, land C. **22–23** folks ... værn] abba, quod est interpretatum munimentum populi et iustitia *LegAur.* **24–25** af ... ganga] inganga A judha vægna B, a judha wægna inganga C. **25** guz] iudha C. **26** biscopar] ærkebiscoppe B. **26–27** inlouat] inlowande C. **27** taa] |taa| B, ~ C, D. **32** ¶ Huarn] ¶ Hwan B, huar C, etiam antequam esset episcopus ordinatus, cum ante eius ordinationem in actibus dicatur *LegAur.* **33** alle] ~ C. **34** varns hærra] gudz B. **36** æn] ~ C; mæssa /] mæssō B, mæssa ther sagdhis j iherusalem C. **37** ærkebiscops] biscops C; ælla ... bonað /] ælla pauē {bonath} B, bonadhe ellir pawa C. **38** ·i· ierusalem] ~ C. **39** ok] ~ B. **39–40** euangelista] ~ C. **41** hete] kallas B, heta C; þrigia] ~ C. **41–42** staþa biscopar] biscopa stadga with markings for transposition B, stadha C. **42** heþars] hedhers stædher a C. **43** han] ~ C; mōdoms] iumfrvdoms B. **43–44** renliue] ren{lek} B, |ren|liue C. **44** æ ... lifþe /] ~ C; sua] swa at sanctus iacobus / C. **44–45** sua ... scriuar] sicut testatur leronimus in libro contra Iouinianum *LegAur.*

- 45 sanctus ieronimus scriuar : ok
þæn tima var hærra var dō
þar / þa suor sanctus iacobus sik aldre
- 48 æta ælla drika fōr / æn var hærr
ra stoþe up af dōþ : ok paska dagh
teþes hanom var hærra meþ
- 51 flerom / ok baþ sætia borþ ok
vighia þær sin hælgha licama / ok
gaf iacobo ok sagþe sua æt nu
- 54 iacobe / þy at iugfruna son ær up
af dōþa staden
Niiunda are hans biscops dō
- 57 mes / þær alle apostoli varo
saman comne vm pasca i ierusalem / ok
iacobus spurþe huat naþom ælla
- 60 iartigne / guþ hafþe giort meþ þøm /
þa lysto appostoli guz iartigne
for folkeno / huar af þy lande han
- 63 hafþe prædicat ok varit / alle baþe
iacobus ok þe alle / þe siax dagha : siæt
ta daghen þa iacobus stoþ høght
- 66 iui folkeno / ok prædicaþe for cai
pha iuþa biscope / ok flerom iu
þom / ok andre appostoli varo nær /

45 sanctus] ~ B, C; ok] ok| [[þæn] A, at C. 45–47 ok ... dōþar] In parasceue autem mortuo domino, sicut dicit Iosephus et Ieronimus in libro de uiris illustribus *LegAur.* 47 sanctus] ~ B. 48 æta] \vilia/ æta B; ælla drika] ~ *LegAur.* 50 hanom ... hærra] {var herra} hanom B; meþ] meþ [þan|gin] A, medh B, oc androm C. 51 baþ] bōdh B; sætia] sætia [\thre/] A. 52 vighia] wig{dhe} B; þær] ~ B; hælgha] \vel/sighnadha B. 52–53 ok ... iacobo] Deinde panem accipiens benedixit et dedit Iacobo iusto *LegAur.* 53 nu] nw /min kære brodher\ B. 54 þy at] nw ær B. 54–55 son ... staden] son standen vp aff dōdha B, som ær nw standin op aff dōdha C. 56 Niiunda] SJunda B, C, Septimo *LegAur.* 56–57 hans ... dōmes] / ther han biscooper wardh C. 57–58 þær ... comne] tha komo alle apostoli saman C. 58 vm ... ierusalem] j iherusalem vm pascha : B, i iherusalem C. 58–59 ok ... spurþe] Tha spordhe iacobus C. 59 ælla] ok B. 60 þøm] /| þøm] /| A, them : B, C. 61 appostoli guz] gudz apostoli C; iartigne] nadh[e] ok jærtekne / B, iærteknom C. 63 prædicat ... varit] / varit] ok predika{dhe} B, varit oc predicath j C. 63–64 alle ... dagha:] {alle} badhe iacobus oc swa the {andre apostoli} {siw dagha} om kring B, ~ C. 64–65 siætta] si[>æ]tta A, siunde B, Siætta C. 64 siax dagha] septem diebus *LegAur.* 65 høght] høght oppe B, høgxt C. 67 ok flerom] oc androm flerom B, medh flerom C. 68 nær] /| oc nær C.

- 69 ok folket villde þa gærna taka
viþ cristendom / com en galin iu
þe diæfla fuldar ok øpte ¶ æþla
- 72 mæn israel slakt / lætin eigh jllgær
niga mæn ok cloca coclara / gøra
iþar af guþa / ok lop vpp þar iacobus
- 75 stoþ ok castaþe viþ iorþ ok brøt ¶
hans ben / ok haltaþe mæn han lifþe /
: ok com sua dighart bangh af enom
- 78 galnom iuþa / at flæste iuþa wrþo
galne / som þær før varo / ok vildo
tørua tel døþ meþ stenom alla ap
- 81 postolos / þætta timde a · siætta are
siþan var hærra for tel himna
I þrætiugunda are *sancti iacobi*
- 84 biscops dømme / siþan iuþa sagho
at þe gato ængte men paulo giort /
þy at han appellerape tel kunugen
- 87 vndan þera dom / þa vændo þe al
æmne at hæmna jui *sanctum iacobum* /
som þa var ensamen *apostolus i ierusalem* /
- 90 : ok sua scriuar egisippus / iuþa como
meþ gyru raþe tel iacobum / ok sag
þo sua / vi biþiom þik at þu løs þe

69 taka] alt taka B. 70–71 en ... fuldar] quidam *LegAur*. 71 øpte ¶] ropadhe C. 72 israel slakt /] israelis slækt : B, C. 72–73 jllgærniga] {jll}gærniga] A, forgærninga B, C. 72–74 lætin ... guþa] Cur ab istis magis uos decipi permittitis? *LegAur*. 73 ok] {oc} B; cloca] ~ B, C. 74 af guþa] galna C. 75 castaþe] kastadhe han nidher B, kastadhe han C; brøt ¶] brøt synder B. 75–76 ok brøt ... ben] ~ *LegAur*. 76 ok] swa at han B, C; haltaþe] haltadhe sidhan B; mæn] æ mædhan B, C. 77 dighart] mykit B. 78 galnom iuþa] ~ B. 79 som ... varo /] oc witløse aff honum / C; þær] the B. 80–81 tørua ... appostolos /] kasta oc thørfwa hælgha apostolos medh stenom : B, stena j hæl alla apostolos C. 81 a ... are] vij arom B, septimo anno *LegAur*. 82 for] for vp B. 83 I] A B; þrætiugunda] þr[a>æ]tiugunda A. 83–84 I ... siþan] Tha iacobus haffde warith xxx aar oc C. 84 dømme] dømis B. 85 paulo giort /] paulo \apostolo/ giort with markings for transposition, B. 86 kunugen] keysarin B, cesarem ... et Romam missus fuisset *LegAur*. 87 vændo] tænktø C. 88 æmne] æmpne / haua C; hæmna] hæmpnas C; jui] [i>]jui A. 89 appostolus] ~ C. 90 ok ... egisippus] sicut predictus Egisippus apostolorum contemporaneus refert, secundum quod in hystoriis ecclesiasticis inuenitur *LegAur*; iuþa] ath iudha C. 90–91 como ... raþe] medh giordho raadhe komo B, komo medh giordho radhe C.

- 93 villo folk ær ·i· comit / þy at baþe
 vi ok alt folket bærom þik vitne /
 at þu æst som þu hete baþe ræt
- 96 tar ok rætuis / ok alle viliom vi
 lyþa þino raþe ¶ þe leddo han tel
 guz mōnstar ok satto han hōgt
- 99 a mæstara stol ok øpto hōght
 ok sagþo ¶ Manna rætuisaste som
 ui ærum alle skyldoghe at lyþa /
- 102 folket far alt vilt siþan ihesus
 var corsfæstar / sigh os af hanom
 þina sannind ¶ jacobus suarar
- 105 iæm hōght som þe spurþo ¶ huat
 skal iak iþar annat svara af
 guz syny / vtan han sitar hōght ii
- 108 himnom ·a· hōghoro hans hōgh
 sta valz ¶ cristne mæn glados
 ok hørþo þæt gærna ¶ Juþa ok
- 111 hælzt þe fōrsto / ok þe visasto /
 læto sik þæt dighart angra /
 at þe læto sik tel hans vitne /
- 114 giorþo sik rad fara vp tel hans /
 ok casta viþ iorþ sua at huart
 ben ma brista / ¶ at jngen dyrues at
- 117 tala sua mer ·a· þem stole / ok
 øpto alle iam skyt som enom

93 folk] folkit *B*, som folk *C*; comit /] komit |aff ihesu| *B*, komith *C*; baþe] ~ *C*. **94** alt folket] alder almoghen *C*; bærom] b[a>æ]rom *A*; vitne /] thæs vitne *B*. **95** baþe] ~ *B*. **98** hōgt] hōgast *B*. **99** a ... stol] super pinnam templi *LegAur*; øpto] ropadho *C*. **100** som] ther *C*. **104** suarar] swarade *C*. **105** iæm] i[a>æ]m *A*. **105–07** huat ... syny] Quid me interrogatis de filio hominis? *LegAur*. **107** guz syny] gudz syni Ok som frimmæ [barne] : *B*; han] at han *B*; hōght] hōghist *B*. **108** hans] [hand > jar] *B*, hand *C*. **108–09** hōghsta] hōg{xsta}*B*. **109** valz] walz : |thædhan komande at dōma werlena| *B*; ¶] uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos *LegAur*; cristne] Cris|ne| *B*. **110–11** Juþa ... visasto] pharisei autem et scribe *LegAur*. **111** fōrsto ... visasto /] fōrsto oc visasto : *B*, wisasta oc fōrsto *C*. **112** þæt] ~ *B*. **114** giorþo] Ok giordho *B*, *C*; rad] ra/d\ *A*; fara vp] vp fara *B*, at fara op *C*. **115** casta] kasta \han/ nidher *B*, kastadho han *C*. **116** ma brista / ¶] bruste *B*, monde brista · *C*; jngen] \jngen/ *A*, han *C*; dyrues] |skulde| dirfwis til *B*, dirffdis *C*. **117** tala sua] swa tala *C*; mer] me\e/r *B*, ~ *C*. **118** øpto] ropadho *C*; alle ... som] iæmskøt alle som *B*, alle *C*. **118–19** enom munne ·/] \medh/ enum munne : *B*, enne røsth *C*.

- munne ·/ hør · hør · rætuis maþar
 120 far vildar : ok foro tel hans
 up som han stoþ ok castaþo
 við iorþ / ok tǫruþo han mæþ
 123 stenom / ok øpto dræpum iacob
 rætuisan / eigh at eno gato han
 dræpit vtan giorþo ey han vreþan /
 126 þa baþ han bæzt for þøm hanom
 giorþe værst : ok sagþe · min
 hærra forlat þøm / þy at þe uita
 129 eigh huat þe gøra ¶ En goþar
 iuþa præstar rætuis ok af
 rætuisom vt comin / ræþas
 132 gud / han hørþe hans orþ ok øp
 te / vændom atar at casta ræt
 uisan man / som æn biþar for os
 135 som illa gørum við han / þa lop
 en iuþe meþ enne klæþa stang /
 ok slo sunder houoþet iacobi /
 138 sua at vt lop hænnen ok do ·i· sama
 staþ ok stund / fyra ara ok fæm
 tighi æpte vars hærra døþ ¶ fol

119 hør · hør ·] Høør C. **120–21** foro ... up] foro vp til hans B, foro alle eno radhe fram til iacobum C. **121** som ... stoþ] oc stando han C. **121–23** ok ... stenom /] ~ C. **122** han] \han/ B. **123** øpto] ropadho C; dræpum] dræpin B, Draghum C, Lapidemus *LegAur*; iacob] iacobum B. **124** rætuisan /] rætuisan man / B, rætuisa at allom gathom C; eigh ... han] et at enesto [at the] |at the| gato ey han B, Tho gotho the han ey C. **125** dræpit] draghit C; vtan ... vreþan] sed conuersus et super genua procumbens *LegAur*; giorþo ey] giorþo \ey/ A, ey giort B, giordo C; vreþan /] vreþan /] A. **126** þa] Oc C; þøm] them : som B, thom som C. **127** værst :] værst [vidh :] B. **128** þy at] thet C. **129–31** En ... comin] En goþar iuþa præstar rætuis ok af [-] rætuisom [æt] vt comin A, En judha prester godher ok rætuis : oc aff rætuisom vt komin \aff/ Rechab slækt : B, En godher iudha prester rætuis oc aff ræthwisom wtkomin C, unus ex sacerdotibus de filiis Rechab *LegAur*. **131–32** ræþas gud /] ræþas [...] | {gud} / A, \aff/ Rechab slækt : B, ~ C. **132** han] ~ B; hørþe ... ok] ~ C. **132–33** øpte /] øpte aat andrum judhum : B, ropadhe C. **133** casta] thørfua oc kasta B. **134** som] ther C. **136** enne ... stang /] enne klædha stan[d>g] B, eth spiwt C. **137** houoþet iacobi /] hofwodh jacobi : B, sancti iacobi howodh / C. **138** vt] \vt/ A; lop] fløt B. **138–149** ok ... i ierusalem] Hec Egesippus. Talique martyrio migravit ad dominum sub Nerone qui cepit anno domini LVII, sepultus ibidem prope templum. Cum autem populus uellet eius mortem uindicare et malefactores capere ac punire, protinus aufugerunt *LegAur*. **139** staþ ... stund /] \stad oc/ stund : B, stund C. **139–40** fyra ... døþ ¶] Wars herra are :liiij: B, liiij a arom epter gudz pino C.

- 141 ket vilde hæmna hans dōþ / æn
 iuþa rymdo vndan þem / þy sin
 ne / tel guþ gaf harþare hæmd
 144 iuþom / som iosephus scriuar /
 ok finnaz ma frammer ·i· þæsse
 bok meþ guz naþom : þær ves
 147 pasiani dagha ok dygþe scri
 uas ¶ Cristet folk iorþaþe iaco
 bum viþ guz mōnstar / i ierusalem

Translation

St Jerome writes that wherever he [i. e., James] went, people thronged to come near to the hem of his garment. Hegesippus [the Nazarene], a wise master who lived close to the time of the apostles, writes about him thus: “James, called the Just by all, assumed responsibility for advising and administering the Church of Jerusalem and kept it going from the time of Our Lord until our time. [He was] holy from his mother’s womb. He never drank wine or any strong drink, and he never ate meat, and a razor or scissors never came near his head, never anointing oil on his body or a linen garment, and he never went into a washroom or a bathroom. He had fallen to his knees during his prayers so much that his kneecaps were like his heels. For this reason, people called him the Just and father of the people and stronghold of the country. He alone of all the apostles was allowed on behalf of the Jews to enter God’s Temple where only the Jewish bishop is permitted to enter, so it is called *sancta sanctorum* [holy of holies].

He is said to have celebrated the first mass after Our Lord himself because all the apostles allowed him that honour in recognition of this holy life. Every day emulating Our Lord all the apostles consecrated Our Lord’s body [i. e., the sacramental bread] and ate it themselves and gave it to Christian people, but James celebrated the first ceremonial mass in episcopal or pontifical vestments in Jerusalem, Peter in Antioch, and Mark the Evangelist in Alexandria. And for this reason, the bishops of these three cities are honourably called Patriarchs. He always kept a life of chastity for as long as he lived, as St Jerome writes.

141 æn] oc C. 142 iuþa] judh[e>A] B; þem] ~ B. 143 tel] til at B; gaf] gaff them C. 144 iuþom ... scriuar /] judhum Swa som iosephus scrifwar : B, som scriffuas C. 145 finnaz] finna/z\ A; frammer] fræmmer meer C. 146–48 vespasiani ... scriuas ¶] vespasianj keysara dagha ok dygdhe scrifwas B, som scriuas aff wæspasiano C. 148–49 iacobum] sanctum jacobum B. 149 viþ] j C.

And when Our Lord had died, St James swore never to eat or drink again until Our Lord rose from the dead and on Easter Day Our Lord appeared to him and several others and ordered the table to be laid and his holy body [i. e., the sacramental bread] be consecrated, and he gave some to James and said thus: “Eat now, James, because the Son of the Virgin has risen from the dead!”

In the ninth¹ year of his episcopate when all the apostles had gathered on Easter Day in Jerusalem, James asked what mercy or miracle God had done through them, so the apostles gave an account of God’s miracles for the people, each from the country where he had been preaching and been, all of them both James and all the others for six days. On the sixth day, when James was standing high above the people and preaching before Caiaphas, the Jews’ bishop, and several Jews and the apostles were close by and the time was at hand when the people were willing to be baptized, a mad Jew full of demons arrived and shouted, “Noble men of the tribe of Israel, don’t let wrongdoers and sly sorcerers turn you from God!” And he ran up to where James was standing and threw [him] to the ground and broke his leg and [James] limped for the rest of his life. And there was such a great calamity caused by one mad Jew that most of the other Jews who were already there turned mad and wanted to stone all the apostles to death. This happened in the sixth year after Our Lord rose to heaven.

In the thirtieth year of St James’s episcopate, the Jews then saw that they could not do anything about Paul because he appealed to the king [to escape] from their judgement, so they turned all their attempts at revenge onto St James who was then the only apostle in Jerusalem. And so writes Hegesippus: the Jews came to James with a pre-planned counsel and said thus: “We ask you to put an end to the error that the people have entered into, because both we and all the people bore witness that you are as you are called, righteous and just, and we all want to obey your counsel.” They led him to God’s Temple and seated him up high on a teacher’s chair and shouted loudly and said, “Most righteous of men whom we all are guilty of obeying, the people went completely astray after Jesus was crucified. Tell us your truth about him!” James answers² just as loudly as they asked, “What else shall I answer you about God’s son other than he is seated high in heaven on the right-hand side of the highest power?”

The Christians rejoiced and listened gladly. The Jews, particularly the foremost and the wisest, greatly regretted that they allowed his testimony, plotted to go up to him and throw him to the ground so that each of his bones might break, that no-one dare speak like this again on that chair. And immediately they all

¹ A mistake for seventh; cf. other OSw. manuscripts “sjunda” and *LegAur* “septimo.”

² The sudden change in tense is found in the OSw.: “suarar.”

shouted as if with one mouth, “Listen here! Listen here! The righteous man has erred!” And they went up to where he was standing and threw him to the ground and stoned him and shouted, “Let’s kill James the Just!” Yet not only could they not kill him, but they could also not even make him angry. And he prayed for those who had treated him the worst and said, “My Lord, forgive them for they know not what they do!” [Cf. Luke 23:34]

A good priest of the Jews, just and from just ancestors, feared God. He heard his [i. e., James’s] words and shouted, “Stop attacking the righteous man who is even praying for us who are mistreating him!” Then a Jew ran with a fuller’s pole³ and smashed James’s head so that his brain flowed out and he died in the same city and moment 52 years after Our Lord’s death.

The people wanted to avenge his death, but the Jews escaped them, until God dealt the Jews an even harder revenge, as Jerome writes, and can be found at the beginning of this book with God’s mercy where the days and deeds of Vespasian are written about.

The Christians buried James beside the Temple in Jerusalem.

³ See vol. 1, p. 472n64.

18 St Macarius and the Talking Skull

Version 1

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, f. 78v21–26 (1400–50).
Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, p. 226:30–36 (1450–70).
Original text: **LegAur** 150–51.
Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 403; *FsvLeg* PAW II 575.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

¶ **S**anctus macharius war ok en ærmitte han fan en dōdhan
howdh scalla a ene mark · **O**k manadhe han ifuir gudhz nampn at sæghia sik
hwat mæn
3 niskio han hafdhe warit / han swara sik hedhin hafua warit / **O**k innan
hæluiti wara · **M**acharius spurdhe hwat vndi hedhnu folke ær j hælu
ti / han swaradhe at iudha **O**k nidherst vnder iudhum ær falst cristit folk
6 ok want :—

Translation

St Macarius was also a hermit. He found a dead skull in a field and conjured over it in the name of God to say what person it had been. Its answer[ed] that it had been

1 ¶ |om onth | cristidh folk| ¶ *C*; ok ... ærmitte| ok en ærmi{te} *B*, en aff ærmetum *C*. 2 howdh scalla ... mark| scal{la a ene} mar{k} *B*, howod skalla a ødhe mark *C*, caput defuncti *LegAur*; manadhe ... nampn| manade a gudz wæyna *C*, orasset *LegAur*; at ... sik| \at sæghia sik/ *B*, at sighia sik *C*. 3 swara| swaradhe *C*; hedhin ... warit| wara hedhnan *C*; innan| j *C*. 3–4 **O**k ... wara| Et dixit ei Macharius: “Vbi est anima tua?” Respondit: “In inferno.” Cumque requireret si multum erat in profundo, respondit quod tantum in profundo esset quantum distaret terra a celo *LegAur*. 4 vndi ... ær| ær vnder hedno folke *C*. 5 at iudha| jwdha *C*; ær| \ær/ *B*, ~ *C*. 5–6 **O**k ... want| Et ille: “Et ultra Iudeos sunt aliqui profundiores?” Cui ille: “Profundiores omnibus sunt falsi christiani qui Christi sanguine redempti tantum pretium paruipendunt.” *LegAur*; ær ... want| falst oc onth cristidh folch *C*.

a pagan and was in hell. Macarius asked what was below the pagans in hell. It answered that the Jews [were below the pagans] and furthest down below the Jews were the false and bad Christians.

Version 2

Headnotes

Source: A UUB C 35, pp. 184:5–185:15 (late fifteenth century).
Parallel texts: ~
Original text: ~
Edition: A SMP IV 130.

Edition (A UUB C 35)

Note: Lines 25–35 are not part of the miracle story, but rather the beginning of an exposition that explains the difference between Christians, pagans, and Jews in the eyes of God.

miraculum Swa sigx vt

- aff j eno epterdømilse ok jærtekne som wj læsom
 3 aff enom hælgom abbota som het sanctus macharius thæt
 hænde j hans lifs thima ath tha han gik en
 tidh vth fran clostreña ok las sina tidher vth a
 6 markena Tha kom han a en wal gangande
 huar en stridh hafde standit j fordom dagom
 mellan hedninga ok cristne mæn thær fan han en
 9 gamblan huwd skalla aff enom man ta talade
 han til thæn skallan ok manade a gudz wægna
Ok badh sigia sik huat han hafde warit
 12 j sins lifs thima tha swarade honom en røst aff
 them skallanom ok sagde sik hafde warit en he
 din man som thær war slagin j stridena **Macharius**

1 **miraculum**] |**miraculum**] A. 14 Macharius] Marchurius A.

- 15 sporde huar hans siæl war han swaradhe ok
sagde sik wara j hæluite tha sporde abboten till
vm nagra siæla waro diwpare j hæluite en
- 18 han aff hedningana flere hans kompana ok wider
lika **R**østin aff skallanom swarade ok sagde at
falska *crístne* mæn som widher trono tagha ok döpilse
- 21 **O**k sidan wanwörda gudh ok hans hælgha
nampn *mædh* *sinom* fulom syndom ok misgærningom
ok a mote thy the haffua loffuat ok skilias
- 24 the swa aff wærlдена vtan anger ok *scriftamall*
The æro diwpare j hæluite æn *nagre* hedninge
som *ocrístna* æro swa mykit diwpare om thæt mō
- 27 gelikit waro ath sigia / som millan himmel ok
jordh thætta ær rygelikit *crístna* folk ath tænkia
ok ey vnderlikit for thæn stora kærleken ok go
- 30 dha wilkoret som wj haffuom aff gudi fram
for hedninga ok juda **F**or thy war hærra gør
en atskilnadh mellan them ok oss j swa mat
- 33 tha j *sinom* kærlek ok godgærninga swa som en goder
husbonda gør millan sina legadrængia ok
sin ælskelikin barn

Translation

A miracle

So, it is told in a parable and miracle that we read by the holy abbot who was called St Macarius. It happened during his lifetime that when he had once left the monastery and was reading his book of hours in a field, he came walking upon a field where a battle had taken place in the days of yore between pagans and Christians. There he found an old skull of a man. Then he spoke to the skull and conjured on God's behalf and commanded it to say what it had been during its life. Then a voice answered him from the skull and said that he had been a pagan who had been killed in the battle there. Macarius asked where his soul was. He answered and said that it was in hell. Then the abbot asked whether any souls were deeper in hell than those of his pagan companions and the like. The voice from the skull answered and said, "False Christians who accept the faith and

24 *scriftamall*] *scristamall* A.

baptism and then scorn God and his holy name with their vile sins and misdeeds and against what they have promised, and they depart the world without remorse and confession.”

They are deeper in hell than any pagans who are non-Christians, so much deeper – if it is possible to say – than between heaven and earth. This is plenty for Christians to think about, and [it is] not strange because of the great love and good, free will that we have received from God ahead of the pagans and Jews, because Our Lord makes a difference between them and us in such way in his love and deeds as a good husband does between his servants and his beloved children.

Version 3

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 108, p. 58:20–30 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: **SelTro** 52–53 (no. 24).

Editions: A *SjäTrö* 71; *SjäTrö* K.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

- Sanctus* macharius gig eentidh ofwer ena mark / oppa hulko han
 fan ena dødha mærniskio hofwudh skalla / han badh wan herra tee sik
 3 om *thet* ware *cris*tna mærniskio hofwdh eller ey / **Oc** spordhe hofwdhit sielfft
 hwa *thet* war / hofwdhit sswaradhe / **Jak** ær eens hedhninga hofwdh
 Macharius sagdhe / hwar ær thiin siel / hofwdhit swaradhe / min siel ær
 6 j hælfwite / Macharius spordhe hur dyupt ær hon j hælfwite / han swaradhe
 swa dyupt som ær fran hymblenom oc til iordhinna **Macharius** saghdhe / ær
 nokor dyupare vnder idher j hælfwite / **Hofwudhit** swaradhe / **Vnder** oss
 9 æro iwdhane / **Oc** vnder them æro onde *cris*tna **aldra** dyupast / thy mit
 kæra barn lat thik thetta wara til kærnedom / hafwer thu *cris*titt nampn / tha
 haff ok *cris*telika *gerninga*

1 eentidh] ~ *SelTro*. 2 wan herra] vnsen leuen here *SelTro*. 4 hwa] wat *SelTro*. 6 Macharius] he *SelTro*. 8 vnder ... hælfwite] deper wen gj *SelTro*; oss] vns heydenen *SelTro*. 9 mit] mit [kæ] A. 9–10 mit ... barn] Kynt leue *SelTro*.

Translation

St Macarius was once walking across a field where he found the skull of a dead person. He asked Our Lord to reveal whether it was the head of a Christian, or not. He asked the head itself who it was. The head answered, "I am the head of a pagan." Macarius said, "Where is your soul?" The head answered, "My soul is in hell." Macarius asked, "How deep is it in hell?" He answered, "As deep as it is from heaven to earth." Macarius said, "Is there anyone deeper than you in hell?" The head answered, "Below us are the Jews, and below them, deepest of all, are the bad Christians." For this reason, my dear child, let this be a lesson: if you have a Christian name, then also do Christian works!

19 St Sylvester and the Disputation with the Twelve Jewish Scholars

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, ff. 109r12–110v32 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, pp. 307:21–313:25 (1450–70).

Original text: **LegAur** 112–18. The Latin version is too different from *B* to make a comparative apparatus of use. The Latin text is therefore reproduced in full below.

Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 80–86; *FsvLeg* PAW III 213–28.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

Helena constantini modher war wm thæn tima vestan haf
nær ierusalem vend fra hedhno ok til judha sidhi oc spurde
3 at henna son war *cristin* wrdin ok lofuadhe gudh j brefuom til hans at
han war wendher fra villo fra stokka dyrk ok stena ok kerde tho sik syr
ghiande at han trodhe a *christum* corsfæstan ok ey a sannan judha · gudh **Con**
6 stantinus badh sino modher *medh* brefuom koma til rom *medh* mærastu judha
mæstarom ok vrdela *thet medh cristnom* clærkom hwilkra thro rættare ware ok
sanast ¶ **H**elena kom
til rom *medh* cxl· laghuisom iudhom tolf aff them hioldus visaste · ok størsto
9 mæstara / siælfuir pauin ok *cristne* clerka · *medh* constantino mëtto them a
næmdum dagh til dis-
puteran tiltaknom twem hedhnum mæstarum a badha sidhur craton ok
zenophilus rætuise mæn ok wisas
te philosophi som thom skulle rættan dom mællan seghia ¶ **A**biater · en aff them
visasto tolf judha mæstarom burde dispu
12 teran · ok sagdhe / guz laghvisa / at en ær gudh ther *cristne* kalla thre a mot /
guz

2 sidhi] sidh[a>i] B, sidha C; spurde] fik wita C. 4 dyrk] dyrk[e] B, dyrk C. 7 *medh* ... clærkom] |*medh cristnom clær|kom|* B, ~ C; hwilkra] hwilk\|r/a B, hwilkin C. 8 størsto] {størsto} B, førstho C. 9 *medh* constantino] \medh constantino/ B, ~ C; mëtto] mø{tto} B, mëtto C; a] a[t] B, a C. 10 tiltaknom ... sidhur] {tiltaknom twem hedhnum} \mæstarum a badha sidhur/ B, the hedhno heto C. 11 som ... seghia] |som thom skulle | rættan dom | mællan seg-|hia| B, ~ C. 12 laghvisa] lagh{visa} B, lagh\viisa/ C; a mot] a {mot} B, gen C.

laghum · thy fara the *medh* fals ¶ The sighia ok at *ihesus* er gudh thy at han gior
 dhe mangh jerthigne tha er *thet* engo wært thy at mange ware *propheta* gior-
 15 dho jerthigne / ok tho sagdhe enghin thera sik gudh vara ¶ *Siluester* swaradhe
Thet första abiaters argument ganger jamfast gen *judhum* som *crisnom* /
 thy at j iudha bokom finnas the thre scrifuadho fadir ok son ok then hæl
 18 ghe andhe aff fadhír ok syni scref dauid swa aff fadhirs wæghna j himerike til
 sin son

Jak fødde thik før æn *lucifer* vardh ¶ Aff them hælgha anda scref then
 sami dauid swa himna æru feste *medh* gudz orde ok all thera dygdh *medh*
 21 hans anda / ok iæmfast hørir *Judhum* ther til at swara · som os *crisnom* huru
 the thry æru en gudh mædhan badhe *scriuas* j thera · bokom · / ok wil jak
 nu swara badhe for os ok them at war gudh ær en ok tho ey ensamin sonaløs
 24 ok naturliks hugnadha · ¶ Ok the fædgha æru ey kærleks løse thera
 ælskogha bandh ær then hælgha ande swa at ens natura ær en ok oat
 skyld swa som lius ok hiti skilias aldre widh lughan ok hær wil iak
 27 taka eptedøme af kesarans mantle ok lagdhe *siluester* / pellit j thre
 falda oc sagdhe æru her ey thre falda ok tho alle eet pel ¶ Til annat abiaters
 argument swarar jak
 swa engin *prophete* then iertekne giordhe sagdhe sik gudh wara thy at
 30 enghin thera war gudh ok æn nokor thera lughi sik wara gudh tha ware
 han gudhz owin oc forgiordhe gudhlikt wald at göra jerteghne mer
 ¶ En war *ihesus* sagdhe sik wara gudh thy at han war gudh ok er ok
 33 prøfuas ther *medh* at han sagdhe sant thy at han giorde jertighne sidhan
 som før domara gafuo *siluestro* sighirs priis ok sagdho abiaters vara wnnin
 for thy skælin wisa / om han hafdhe sakt sik wara gud oc hafde ey varit tha
 formatte han ey hafua *dødhum* liiff gifuit
 36 ¶ Epte abiaters vmgiordan / giordhe *jonas* judhe sit argument *Abraam* /
 war rætuis ok all hans slækt *medh* skyrda skirsl · ¶ *Cristne* mæn · idhna ey
 the skirsl for thy æru the ey rætuisse oc thera thro ey ræt ¶ *Siluester*

14 ware] \ware/ B, ~ C. 15 tho] \tho/ B, ~ C. 17 the thre] \the/ {thre} B, the C. 18 j himerike] |j himerike| B, ~ C; son] |son| B, son C. 21 at] \at/ C. 23 gudh ær] \gudh ær/ B, en war C; tho ey] æy tho C; sonaløs] *Two lines of (now illegible) text deleted in the bottom margin, B.* 24 løse] løse ok C. 25 ande] and[h>e] B, ande C. 25–26 oatskyld] o[at|]skyld B, oskildh C. 27 pellit j] pel[lit j] B, pællith [ø] J C; thre] thre[a] B, thre C. 28 oc ... falda] |oc sagdhe æru | her ey thre fal-|da| B, ~ C; pel] pel[d] B, pæl C; abiaters] abiachar C. 30 æn] |om > æn| B, æn C. 32 han war] han [h|war C. 34 før] \før/ B, før C; domara] *Domara gw\z/ C.* 35 for ... gifuit] |for thy skælin | wisa / om han | hafdhe sakt | sik wara gud oc | hafde ey varit | tha formatte han | ey hafua dø-|dhum liiff gifuit| B, ~ C. 37 skirsl] sk[æ>i]rsl B, skærsl C. 38 skirsl] sk[æ>i]rsl B, skærss C.

- 39 *swarade* kunde jonas bæter sina bok tha wizste han wæl hwat *scrfuat* ær at
 abra-
 am war gudz win før æn hanum budus skyrda skirsl ok enghin ma guz win
 wara vtan han ær rætuis tha ær *thet* ey mōghelikt / at *crístne* mæn magho wa-
 42 ra guz · vini ok rætuisse vtan skyrda skirsl / *som* hon ær ey budhin / oc ey gafs
 skyrdha skirsl abrahe til at warda rætuis
 som nu er visat vtan til tekn at hans slækt var ensamin i them æwm /
 swa som ey ær for thy viin j tæwerne at ther hængher fore · viin tekn vtan
 45 for thy hænghis ther wiin tekn at ther ær viin inne ¶ **Domara** sagdho
 jonom wara wnnin ¶ **Godolias** iudhe giordhe ther næst sit argument guz
natura ær ey wmskiptelik / oc gudh ær ey dōdeliker ¶ **Cristne** mæn sighia
 48 *ihesum* vara gudh · oc han annan tima fōddan af modher som før fōddis
 af fadher · ok sighia han sidhan · wara frestadhan ok forradin pintan oc dræpin
thet ær amoth skælum · at *ihesus* ær gudh / siluester *swarade* Judha bōker sco
 51 lu bryta thit *argumentum* ¶ **Ysaia**s scripuar sua aff gudhz likamleke fōzlo ·
 ¶ **En** iomfru skal fōdha son then hæta skal emanuel som tydher gudh
medh os ¶ **Thet** ær at sighia at hon fōdde then til manna *medh* mandom som
 54 før var ok er then sami at gudhdom ¶ **Aff** hans frestilse scrifuar zacharias /
propheta sik hafua · fiærren seth j spadoms liuse · *ihesum* hōgxtan biscop stan
 da for diæfwls frestilse ¶ **Dauid** scrifuar oc huru han war forradhin · swa /
 57 Mins friz madher som mit brōdh aat forrædh mik / af hans dōdh skreff
 osee *propheta* ¶ **Dōdher** / iak skal warda thin dōdher / ok iak skal bita fra /
 thik heluite / helgha *patriarchas* ok thik æpte lena forbannada mæn **Nw**
 60 wardha iudha swara *medh* os *crístnom* ok wæria sina bōker · huru gudh ær siælf
 uir ey wmskipteliker · j allom thæssom mandoms *qualum swarom* wi *crístne* · at
 swa som kesarin ær en then sami hwilika lundh hans · klædhe · vm skiptas · swa
 63 ær ok war *ihesus* æ thæn sami at guddom en tho at · hwario at hanum er ymst
 ifuir gangit · at hans mandom ¶ **Domara** dōmdo godoliam for wnnan ¶ **Fiær**
 de som heth annas sagdhe nei gen siluestri skælum vtan argument at siluester

39 sina] |sina/ B, ~ C. 39–40 abraam] |abraham/ C. 40 skirsl] sk[æ>]rsl B, skærsl C; enghin ma] ma enghin with *markings for transposition* B, ma ængin C; win] |vin/ C. 41 wara] war[dha] {a} C; mōghelikt] |o]mōghelikt B, mōghelikith C; *crístne* mæn] |crístne mæn] B, the C. 42 vini] |o]vini B, owini C; skirsl] sk[æ>]rsl B, skærsl C; *som* ... skirsl] |som hon ær ey | budhin / oc | ey gafs skydha skirsl] B, *som hon ær ey budhin* Och æy gaffs skyrdha skærsl C. 43 ensamin] ensamin rætwiis C; æwm] daghum C. 44 for] oc C; viin] viin[a] B, wiins C. 45 wiin] wiin[a] B, wiins C; tekn] tek{n} B, tekn C. 47 oc] |oc} B, ok C. 49 pintan] |pintan/ B, ~ C. 50 amoth] mot C; *ihesus*] |ihesus/ C; bōker] ~ C. 51 thit *argumentum*] {thit} argument\um/ B, Judhans argument C; sua] |sua/ B, ~ C. 52 son] s{o}n B, son C. 56 swa] |swa/ B, ~ C. 57 friz] fritz [s] C. 58 Dōdher / iak] dōdher C. 60 swara] s[ca>]wa/ra C. 60–61 siælfuir ey] æy siælwer C.

- 66 bar *christo* fals vithne ok the witne waro ey aff hanum *scrifuad* / *siluester*
 swaradhe
 mædhan ey lughu gudz *prophete* tha wisa os nokon annan som thera witne oc
 spadom
 sannas *medh* / eller kenz widh *ihesum* gudz son som all thera withne sannadhe
 69 ok spadom *fulkompnadhe* / · annas gat engin annan *funnit* ¶ *Siælfuir constanti*
nus dømde han wm *striddan* ¶ *Fæmte* dock spurde *siluestrum* · hwi *christus* en
 han war gudz son Oc *hælaghir fœddir* som *crisne* mæn *seghia* læt sik *dœpa* · j
 jordan ok af *syndom skyra* ¶ *Siluester*
 72 swaradhe swa som *christus* ændade *skyrda* · *skærsl* · tha han læt sik *siælfuan*
 om skera · swa burde han *crisna* dœpilsa tha han læt sik *siælfuan* dœpa · ey ther
 til at han læt sik skira af *syndom* · vtan at gifua *vatneno* *gudhlika*
 75 *krapt medh* sino dœpilsa · at magha thwa them som *widher* *thorfua* *synda* *skirsl* ·
 dock thyghde oc *constantinus* *sagdhe* æy thyghde dock en han nokor skæl
 hafdhe
 ¶ *Siætte* som het kuse spurde *siluestrum* hwi *ihesus* modher sculde mø wa
 78 ra ¶ *Siluester* *swarade* for thy at adam første man giordhis af iordh før æn
 hon *plœgdis* ok *sadhis* · Ok then sami brøt første man gudz *budhordh* thy
 war *thet* skælikast · at thæn som *bœta* wilde brutit ok gathe skulde *fœdhas*
 81 af *ospiaeldade* mø · ¶ *Si* wnde *beniamin* spurde hwi *christus* wilde thola *diæf*
wls *frestilse* til han *mœddis* af *hunger* eller hwi *skapadhe* han ey brødh af
stenom som hanum war j *budhi medh* sith *gudhlikt* wald *Siluester* *swarade* thy
 84 at adam brøt ther *medh* *budhit* · at han *dirfdis* æta aff *forbudhne* *fruct* ·
 thy wilde war *herra* *fasta* oc læta sik *fresta* ok ey gifuas widh *hwnger* til nokor
skons *fœdho* han *frestadhis* a *licamans* *vegna* oc ey *guddomsins* ¶ *Attunde* *aroel*
sagdhe *gudh* ær *fulkomin* ok *alzwaldogher*
 87 hwi torfte han annan *tima* *fœdhas* eller hwi *matte* han ey *frælsa* *andra*
lundh *wæruledena* / *siluester* *swarade* ey *thorfte* *guz* son annan *thima* *fœdhas*
 for *sina* *skuld* · thy at han war *iamfædra* *fœddir* før æn *wæruledin* *vardh*

66 waro] \waro/ B, ware C. 67 gudz prophete] prophete gudz with markings for transposition, C; oc spadom] |oc spadom| B, ~ C. 69 annan funnit] funnith annan C. 71 Oc ... seghia] |Oc hælaghir | fœddir som crisne | mæn seghia| B, ~ C; skyra] sk[æy]ra B, skæra C. 73 om skera] |om| sk[æ>e]ra B, skæræ C; sik] ~ C. 74 skira] sk[æ>i]ra B; gudhlika] gudhlika[n] B, gudhlika C. 75 skirsl] sk[æ>i]rsl B, skærsl C. 76 en] ær C; han ... hafdhe] {han nokor skæl hafdhe} B, skæliker ware C. 77 siluestrum] |siluestrvm| C; ihesus] ihesu C. 79 hon] h[a>o]n B, hon C; man] ma[n]n[a] B, manna C. 80 brutit ... gathe] ok gathe brutit with markings for transposition B, oc gathe brwthit C. 85 fasta oc] \fasta oc/ B, ~ C; sik] sich [fœdha] C; hwnger] nakar hunger C. 85–86 nokor skons] nokor sk{o}ns B, nakarskøns C. 86 han ... guddomsins] |han frestadhis | a licamans | vegna oc ey | guddomsins| B, ~ C. 87 matte] ~ C.

- 90 swa som iak swaradhe idhrom första mästarta / vtan han vilde madher war
da at frælsa mammin thy at *thet* skulde man bōta som mannin brōt ¶ Ni-
vnde Jubal spurde siluestrum huru gudh matte dōdh thola ¶ Siluester
93 swaradhe ¶ Jhesus tholde · dōdh a sinom mandom / vtan gudhdoms men ok
thet ær
mōghelikt *medh* exemplo ¶ Litat klædhe ær · wl · eller liin før æn *thet* lita
dis sidhan *thet* snodis ok spanz j thradh tha tholde wl æller liin vmskip
96 te ok litrin enkte ¶ Thiunde thera sagdhe exemplum ay dugha vtan
litin ok vllena badhe i sændher snoos oc tha hiallo badhe domarane oc
constantinus amot them *medh* siluestro ¶ Tho gaf siluester annat exemplum
99 Solin skiin · a nokro thræ ok en · yxen hugger træet sunder tha ær tho
solskinit menløst j hwarre skirdinne ¶ Ellipte silion spurde siluestrum
hwi *christus* thorfte thola swa mangha pinor Siluester sware her sculde ·
102 cilion swara siælfuir til hwi thera *propheta* spadho ok scriuado them swa
mangha ¶ Vtan iak swarar for *crisna* thro *christus* tholde alla thæssa
hems pinor ok mōdho os til godh tholomodh ok astundan himerikis
105 ro ¶ Tha gafuo alle siluestro sighers priis badhe *crisne* ok hedhne ok
judha siælfue ¶ Wtan thæn tolfte mæstarin som æpte war han het
zambri han øpte siluestrum yfrit ordoghan vara ok kiæpt hardan / ok
108 enghin til nokra *gerninga* / oc bōdh sik i enwighe *medh* hanum til maktogha
gerningh ok sagdhe sik kunna eeth gudz nampn swa maktukt at biærghin
springa en *thet* næmpnis ok enghte *creatur* gitir *thet* lifuandis hōrt ok *thet* wil
iak prō
111 wa lætin hiit ledha grymmastan oc villastan thiwr ok en han dōr widh at iak
hwis
kar namnit j hans øra ok gitir æy siluester swa giordh wid annan tha
ær han wnnin ¶ Siluester spurde huru gat thu numit *thet* nampn som

90 swaradhe] swara[r>\dhe/] B, swaradhe C. 91 man bōta] \man/ bōta[s] B, man bōta C; mammin] mar{nin} B, man C. 93 a sinom] a \sinom/ B, aff C. 94 exemplo] liknilse C; æn *thet*] [ær > \æn *thet/*] C. 95 tha] tho B, tha C. 96 exemplum] li[trin>\knilsin/] C. 97 i] ~ C. 97–98 domarane ... *constantinus*] *constantinus* ok domarene C. 98 exemplum] liknilse C. 100 solskinit] [solin > \solskinit/] C; j] \j/ B, *medh* C; silion] [c>s]ilion B, cilion C. 101 sware] swaradhe [hwi h] C. 102 ok] \oc/ C. 104 hems] wærlzd C; godh tholomodh] godh[o] tholomod[o>h] B, godhe tholomodho C. 105 ok hedhne] ok [tro] hedhne C. 107 øpte] ropadhe C; yfrit] yfri[kt>t] B; kiæpt] k[iæpt] B, kraffth[en] C. 108 i] \i/ B. 110 ok enghte ... hōrt] ok engh[te *creatur* gitir *thet* lifuandis] \hōrt/ B, \oc/ ængin øron thola ther ther widh C; *thet* wil] th[er>et] wil C. 111 grymmastan ... villastan] {grymmastan oc} villastan/ B, en gryman C; at] æn C. 112 hans øra] hans ør[on>a] B, øron hans C; swa giordh] giorth swa C. 113 wnnin] wnni[t>n] B, wnnin C; gat] gat[e] B, gat C; nampn] nampnith C.

- 114 ænghin gate hørt lifuandis / zambri swarade owerdogher ær thu thet at
wita · som ær iudha owin · ¶ Siluester bōdh fram ledha thiwrin ok
kom fram swa grymber · at mange mæn gato hanum warla styrt ok
117 fiol dōdher widh iordh fōrzsta zambri swiskade namnit j hans øron
tha øpte iudha · ok sagdho sik sigher · hafua · wnnit en siluester gate
ey samulundh giordh ¶ Siluester sagdhe værsta diæwls nampn næm
120 de zambri ok ey guz ok thet wil iak prōfua ¶ Gudh seg-
hir siæluir iak dræper ok jak liiff gifuir / wm thænna thiwrin do for guz
nampn tha gifui ok hanum liiff medh thy sama nampne ¶ Zambri sag
123 de hwarghin thera thet gita giort oc badh siluestrum oc louadhe alle iudha
crisne vardha en han tiwren vpreste ¶ Siluester stodh fiærren ok øp
te ok reste wp thiwrin medh akallan namps ihesu christi ¶ Tha fiol ele
na constantini modher · widh iordhinna · a · knæ til siluestri · fōter ok alle
126 judha ok hedhne medh hænne ok beddus cristindom ok wrdho al cristin ·

Translation

At that time, Helena, the mother of Constantine, [who had] converted from pagan to Jewish customs, was west of the sea near Jerusalem and heard that her son had become a Christian and praised God in letters to him because he had turned away from delusion, from worshipping pillars and stones, and yet she complained sorrowfully that he believed in the crucified Christ and not in the true Jewish God. Constantine asked his mother in a letter to come to Rome with the foremost Jewish scholars and determine there with Christian clerics which faith was the more correct and most true. Helena arrived in Rome with 140 Jews, learned in law; twelve of whom were considered the wisest and greatest teachers. The pope himself along with Christian clerics and Constantine met them on the appointed day for the disputation [with] two pagan teachers appointed by both sides, Craton and Zenophilus, righteous men and exceedingly wise philosophers, who were to pronounce a fair judgement between them.

116 warla] næplika C. 117 swiskade] hwistadhe C. 118 øpte] ropadhe C. 120–21 seghir siæluir] siæluir s[a>e]g-[dhe>hir] with markings for transposition B, siælwer sigher C. 121 jak] [kan > jak] B, Jac scal C; gifuir] gifu[a>ir] B, giwa C; wm] æn C; guz] hans C. 122–23 sagde] sagde ath C. 123 oc badh ... vpreste] |oc badh silue|trum oc louad|e alle iudha | sne vardha | n han tiwren | preste| B, ~ C. 123–24 øpte] ropadhe C. 124 akallan] akallan[s] B, akallan C; namps ... christi] Jhesu christi nampn C. 124–25 elena] helena C. 125 widh] w[it] C; til] fore C. 126 cristin] cristhne *etcetera etcetera* C.

Abiathar,¹ one of the twelve wisest teachers, began the disputation and said, “God’s law shows that there is one God whom Christians call three against God’s laws, so they believe in a falsehood. They also say that Jesus is God because he performed many miracles. Yet this is worth nothing because many of our prophets performed miracles and yet not one of them said he was God.” Sylvester answered, “The first of Abiathar’s arguments goes just as much against Jews as against Christians because the three are found written in the Jews’ books: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. About the Father and the Son David wrote thus on behalf of the Father to his Son, ‘I gave birth to you before Lucifer came into existence.’ [Psalm 109:3 *DRB*, 110:3 *KJV*] About the Holy Spirit the same David wrote thus. ‘The heavens are made fast with God’s words and all their virtues with his Spirit.’ [Psalm 32:6 *DRB*, 33:6 *KJV*] And it is just as fitting for Jews as for us Christians to answer how the three are one God as it is written in both their books. And I will now answer for both us and them that our God is one and yet not alone without a son and natural comfort. And they, the Father and the Son, are not without love. Their bond of love is the Holy Spirit so that one’s nature is single and undivided just like light and heat are never separated from the flame and here I will use the emperor’s mantle as an example.” And Sylvester laid out the cloth with three folds and said, “Are there not three folds yet one piece of cloth here? To the second of Abiathar’s arguments I answer thus: no prophet who performed miracles said that he was God. And if one of them lied that he was God, then he would be God’s enemy and put an end to the divine power to perform miracles anymore. Only Jesus said that he was God because he was and is God and it is proved by this that he spoke truthfully because he performed miracles afterwards like before.” The judges awarded victory to Sylvester and said that Abiathar had been defeated because the argument shows that if he had said that he was God and he wasn’t, then he would not have been able to bring the dead to life.

After Abiathar [had been] defeated, the Jew Jonas made his argument: “Abraham and his entire family were righteous through circumcision. Christians do not make use of circumcision for which reason they are not righteous and their faith [is] not right.” Sylvester answered, “If Jonas knew his book better then he would have known what is written: that Abraham was God’s friend before he was commanded to circumcise himself, and no-one can be God’s friend unless he is righteous. So, it is not possible that Christians can be the enemies of God and righteous without circumcision as it is not commanded and circumcision was not given to Abraham in order to make him righteous, as is now shown, but as a mark that his family was alone at that time. Just as there is not wine in a tavern because

1 See Text 16: *St James the Great Converts Josiah the Jew*.

there is a sign for wine hanging out front, but there is a sign for wine hanging out front because there is wine inside.” The judges said that Jonas was defeated.

Then Godolias the Jew made his argument: “God’s nature is not changeable, and God is not mortal. Christians say that Jesus is God, and he was born again of a mother, [he] who was previously born of a father, and [they] say that he was then tempted and betrayed, tortured and killed. It goes against reason that Jesus is God.” Sylvester answered, “The Jews’ books will overturn your argument! Isaiah writes thus about God’s human² birth: ‘A virgin shall give birth to a son who shall be called Emanuel which means “God with us.”’ [Isaiah 7:14] That is to say that she bore him as a man in human form what was previously in divine form. About his temptation, the prophet Zechariah writes that he had seen Jesus from afar in the light of prophecy, the highest bishop, standing before the devil’s temptation. [Zechariah 3:1] David also writes thus about how he was betrayed: ‘Remember, the man of peace who ate my bread betrayed me!’ [Psalm 40:10 *Vulg.*, 41:9 *KJV*] About his death the prophet Hosea wrote: ‘Death, I shall be your death and by biting I shall deprive you and the holy patriarchs of hell and leave damned men behind you.’ [Hosea 13:14] Now the Jews will answer us Christians and defend their books, how God himself is not changeable. In all these disputes about [Jesus’] human nature, we Christians answer that just as the emperor is one and the same no matter how his clothing changes, so also is Jesus always the same in his divinity even though he has gone through changes in his human nature.” The judges judged Godolias to be defeated.

The fourth, who was called Annas, said no to Sylvester’s reasoning, without argument, that Sylvester was bearing false witness about Christ and that the testimonies were not written about him [Jesus]. Sylvester answered, “As God’s prophets do not lie, show us someone else who proves the truth of your testimonies and prophecies or recognize Jesus, the Son of God, who proved all their testimonies and fulfilled their prophecies!” Annas could find no other. Constantine himself judged him [Annas] defeated.

The fifth, Doch,³ asked Sylvester why Christ, if he was the Son of God and born holy, as Christians say, had himself baptized in the Jordan and cleansed of sin. Sylvester answered, “Just as Christ put an end to circumcision when he had himself circumcised, so he instituted Christian baptism when he had himself baptized – not in order to have himself cleansed of sin but to give the water divine power through his baptism to be able to wash whoever needs cleansing of their

² human] OSw. *likamlika* [corporeal, bodily, physical].

³ *Actus Silvestri* has “Doech” and “Dohec.”

sins.” Doch was silent and Constantine said, “Doch would not be silent if he had an argument!”

The sixth, who was called Chusi, asked Sylvester why Jesus’ mother had to be a virgin. Sylvester answered, “Because Adam, the first man, was made from the earth before it was ploughed and sown. And this same [man] was the first person to break God’s commandments. So, it was fitting that he, who was to atone and could break [it], should be born of an untouched maiden.”

The seventh, Benjamin, asked why Christ wanted to suffer the temptation of the devil until he was made exhausted from starvation, or why did he not shape bread from stones using his divine power as was suggested to him. Sylvester answered, “Because Adam broke the commandment in this way when he dared to eat of the forbidden fruit, and so our Lord wanted to fast and let himself be tempted and not bend because of his hunger to any kind of food that was tempting him on account of his body and not his divinity.”

The eighth, Aroel, said, “God is perfect and almighty. Why did he need to be born a second time or why can’t he save the world in another way?” Sylvester answered, “The Son of God did not need to be born again for his own sake, because like his father he was born before the world existed, as I am answering you, first teachers, but he wanted to become human in order to save humans, because a person must atone for what a person has broken.”

The ninth, Jubal, asked Sylvester how God could suffer death. Sylvester answered, “Jesus suffered death in his human form without damage to his divinity, and it is possible [to provide] an example: dyed cloth is wool or linen before it is dyed, then twisted and spun into thread. However, the wool and linen underwent the change, and the colour didn’t.”⁴

The tenth, Thara, said that the example did not work because the dye and the wool are both twisted at the same time, and then both the judges and Constantine taking Sylvester’s side disagreed with this. Then Sylvester provided another example: “The sun is shining on a tree and an axe cuts down the tree. Then the sunlight remains unharmed in every blow.”⁵

The eleventh, Sileon, asked Sylvester why Christ needed to suffer so many torments. Sylvester answered, “Here Sileon should answer this himself: why did their prophets foretell and write so many of them! But I shall answer for the Chris-

⁴ The meaning of this strange example is that the wool or linen is man, and the colour or dye is God. When wool or linen is twisted into thread, it is subjected to change – but the colour or dye remains unchanged. So, when God was on the cross, the human Christ suffered (was “subjected to change”), but God did not (“remains unchanged”).

⁵ Again, while man suffered, the divinity did not suffer.

tian faith. Christ suffered all the torments and tribulations of the world [as an example for] us of good patience and the desire for the serenity of heaven.”

Then everyone gave the victory to Sylvester, both Christians and pagans and the Jews themselves except for the twelfth teacher who was left. He was called Zambri. He shouted that Sylvester was exceedingly verbose and a big mouth and a nobody at [performing] deeds. And he offered himself for a duel with him in a powerful deed and said that he knew one of the names of God [that was] “so powerful that mountains split if it is said and no creature can bear to hear it and live, and I want to test this. Have a very fierce and wild bull led here and, if it dies when I whisper the name in his ears and if Sylvester cannot do this with another one, then he is defeated.” Sylvester asked, “How can you have learnt the name that no-one can hear and live?” Zambri answered, “You, who are an enemy of the Jews, are unworthy of knowing that!” Sylvester asked for the bull to be led forth, so fierce that many people could hardly control it and it fell dead to the ground as soon as Zambri whispered the name in its ear. Then the Jews shouted and said that they had won a victory if Sylvester could not do the same thing. Sylvester said, “Zambri mentioned the name of the worst devil and not of God and I will prove it! God himself said, ‘I kill, and I make to live.’ [Deuteronomy 32:39] If this bull died from God’s name, then it will also make it live with the same name.” Zambri said that none of them could do this and asked Sylvester to and promised that all the Jews would become Christian if he raised the bull. Sylvester stood well back and shouted and raised the bull by calling the name of Jesus Christ. Then Helena, Constantine’s mother, fell upon her knees to the ground before Sylvester’s feet and all the Jews and the pagans alongside her and asked for Christianity and they all became Christian.

Latin version: *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*]

Source: *LegAur* 112–18.

Translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 1, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 65–70.

Hec ubi Helena mater Constantini augusti in Bethania consistens audiuit per literas laudat filium quod abrenuntiasset simulacris ydolorum, sed dure increpat quod relicto deo Iudeorum crucifixum hominem deum colat. Rescribit matri augustus ut Iudeorum magistros secum adducat et ipse christianorum doctores proferret ut sic ex disputatione mutua appareat fides uera. Duxit igitur sancta Helena centum quadraginta unum doctissimos Iudeorum inter quos duodecim

erant qui sapientia et eloquentia pre ceteris rutilabant. Cum igitur Silvester cum clericis suis et predicti Iudei ad disputandum coram imperatore insimul conuissent, de communi consensu duos iudices gentiles sapientissimos et probatos nomine Craton et Zenophilum statuerunt, ad quos pertineret sententia dicendorum; qui licet gentiles erant tamen iustissimi et fideles talique inter eos sententia est firmatum ut uno stante et loquente alius non loquatur.

Incipiens igitur primus de illis duodecim nomine Abiathar ait: “Cum isti tres deos dicant, patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, manifestum est eos contra legem agere que dicit: ‘Videte quia ego sum solus et non sit alius preter me.’ Denique si dicunt Christum deum esse quia multa signa fecit, in nostra etiam lege multi fuere qui miracula plurima fecerunt et tamen nunquam ex hoc deitatis nomen sibi usurpare ausi sunt, sicut iste Ihesus quem isti adorant.” Ad hoc Silvester: “Nos unum deum colimus, sed non in tanta solitudine eum dicimus ut gaudium filii non haberet. Ex uestris autem libris trinitatem personarum uobis demonstrare ualemus. Nam patrem dicimus de quo propheta ait: ‘Ipse inuocauit me pater meus etc.,’ filium de quo idem: ‘Filius meus es tu etc.,’ spiritum sanctum, de quo idem: ‘spiritus oris eius omnis uirtus eorum.’ In hoc etiam quod dixit ‘Faciamus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram’ euidenter et personarum pluralitatem et deitatis unitatem demonstrat. Licet autem sint tres persone, unus tamen est deus quod exemplo uisibili aliquatenus demonstrare ualemus.” Et accipiens purpuram imperatoris tres ibi plicas fecit dicens: “Ecce uidete tre plicas.” Et explicans ait: “Ecce quia tres plice sunt unus pannus, ita tres persone sunt unus deus. De eo autem quod dicitur, quod ex miraculis deus credi non debet, cum alii plures sancti miracula fecerunt nec tamen se deos dixerunt sicut noster Christus deum per hoc se asserere uoluit, certe deus superbientes contra se nunquam passus est sine pena acerrima preterire, sicut patet in Dathan et Abyron aliisque quam pluribus. Quomodo ergo mentiri potuerit et se deum dicere quod non erat, cum eum se deum dicentem nulla pena secuta fuerit et uirtutum efficacia comitabatur?” Tunc iudices dixerunt: “Constat Abiathar a Siluestro superatum. Nam et ratio hoc docet quia si deus non esset et se deum dixisset, conferre uitam mortuis non ualeret.”

Tunc illo amoto secundus, qui et Ionas, ad conflictum accedens ait: “Abraham circumcisionem a deo accipiens iustificatus fuit et omnes filii Abrahe per circumcisionem iustificabantur. Igitur qui non fuerit circumcisus non erit iustificatus.” Ad quod Silvester: “Constat Abraham ante circumcisionem deo placuisse et amicum dei appellatum esse. Igitur non circumcisio ipsum sanctificauit, sed fides et iustitia ipsum deo placere fecit. Non igitur accepit circumcisionem in sanctificationem, sed in distinctionem.”

Isto superato tertius, qui et Godolias, accedens ait: “Quomodo Christus uester potest esse deus cum asseratis eum esse natum, temptatum, traditum, nudatum,

felle potatum, ligatum, sepultum, cum hec omnia in deo esse non possint?” Ad hoc Silvester: “De uestris libris hec omnia probamus de Christo predicta fuisse. Nam de eius natiuitate dixit Ysaïas: ‘Ecce uirgo concipiet etc.’; de eius tentatione Zacharias: ‘Vidi Ihesum sacerdotem magnum stantem coram angelo et Sathan a dextris eius etc.’; de eius traditione psalmus: ‘Qui edebat panes meos magnificauit super etc.’; de eius nudatione idem: ‘Diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea etc.’; de eius fellea potatione idem: ‘Dederunt in escam meam fel etc.’; de eius ligatione Esdras: ‘Vinxistis me non sicut patrem qui liberaui uos de terra Egypti, clamantes ante tribunal iudicis, humiliastis me suspendentes in ligno, tradidistis me’; de eius sepultura Ieremias: ‘In sepultura eius reuiuiscunt mortui.’” Cum ergo Godolias quid responderet non haberet, data sententia remotus est.

Quartus, qui et Annam, accedens ait: “Ea que de aliis dicta sunt, Silvester iste de suo Christo predicta fuisse affirmat; unum superest, quod probet hec de suo Christo dicta fuisse.” Ad quod Silvester: “Dabis ergo alium quem uirgo concepit, qui felle cibatus, spinis coronatus, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, qui resurrexit et ad celos ascendit.” Tunc Constantinus ait: “Si alium non dederit, sciat se superatus.”

Qui cum hoc agere non posset, hic amouetur et quintus, qui et Doeth, producit. Qui ait: “Si ex semine Dauid Christus iste natus est et sanctificatus ut dicitis natus est, ergo baptizari non debuit ut iterum sanctificaretur.” Ad quod Silvester: “Sicut circumcisio in Christi circumcissione finem accepit, ita noster baptismus in Christi baptisate initium sanctificationis habuit. Non ergo baptizatus est ut sanctificaretur, sed ut sanctificaret.” Qui cum taceret, ait Constantinus: “Non taceret Doeth, si haberet contraria que proferret.”

Tunc sextus, qui et Chusi, ait: “Vellemus ut Silvester iste causas huius uirginalis partus nobis exponeret.” Ad quod Silvester: “Terra, de qua Adam formatus est, incorrupta erat et uirgo, quia nec se ad bibendum humanum sanguinem aperuerat nec maledictionem spinarum acceperat nec hominis mortui sepulturam habebat nec serpenti data fuerat ad edendum. Oportuit ergo ex Maria uirgine nouum Adam fieri ut sicut serpens natum ex uirgine uicerat sic a nato ex uirgine uinceretur; et qui Ade uictor extitit in paradiso ipse tentator factus est domini in deserto ut qui Adam uicerat manducantem uinceretur a domino ieiunante.”

Hoc superato septimus, qui et Benjamin, ait: “Quomodo filius dei Christus uester esse potest, qui a dyabolo temptari potuit ut modo in fame panem ex lapidibus facere urgeretur, modo in templi celsitudinem leuaretur, modo ad adorandum ipsum dyabolum induceretur?” Ad quod Silvester: “Si dyabolus ideo uicit quia ab Adam est manducante auditus, constat eum ideo superatum quia est a Christo ieiunante contemptus. Nos autem non in quantum deus, sed in quantum homo temptatum eum esse fatemur; ideo autem tripliciter est temptatus ut a nobis omnes temptationes excluderet et formam uincendi daret. Sepe namque in

homine uictoriam abstinentie sequitur temptatio humane glorie et temptationem humane glorie appetitus dominii et excellentie comitatur; ideo a Christo de hiis uincitur ut uincendi nobis forma donetur.”

Isto superato octauus, qui et Aroel, ait: “Constat quia deus summe perfectus est et nullius indiget. Quid ergo opus ei fuit ut nasceretur in Christo? Quomodo iterum Christum uerbum appellas? Sed et hoc constat quia deus antequam haberet filium pater dici non potuit; ergo si pater Christi postea dictus est, mutabilis factus est.” Ad hec Silvester: “Filius ante tempora ex patre est genitus ut faceret que non erant et in tempore est natus ut reficeret que perierant; que etsi solo uerbo reficere poterat, sed per passionem, nisi homo fieret, redimere non ualebat quia in sua deitate ad patiendum aptus non erat. Nec hoc erat imperfectionis, sed perfectionis si in sua non erat deitate passibilis. Porro filium uerbum dici ex eo patet quia propheta ait: ‘Eructauit cor meum uerbum bonum.’ Deus quoque semper pater fuit quia semper eius filius extitit. Filius enim eius est uerbum eius, sapientia eius, uirtus eius. In patre autem semper fuit uerbum, iuxta illud: ‘Eructauit cor meum etc.’; semper sapientia iuxta illud: ‘Ego ex ore altissimi prodii primogenita ante omnem creaturam’; semper uirtus iuxta illud: ‘Ante omnes colles ego parturiebar, necdum fontes aquarum etc.’ Cum ergo pater nunquam fuerit sine uerbo, sapientia et uirtute, quomodo putas hoc nomen sibi ex tempore aduenisse?”

Hoc igitur amoto nonus, qui et Iubal, dixit: “Constat quia deus coniugia non dampnat nec eis maledixit. Quare ergo de coniugio natum negatis hunc esse quemcolitis, nisi ut obfuscare coniugia studeatis? Rursus quomodo temptatur qui potens est, patitur qui uirtus est, moritur qui uita est? Denique ad hoc cogaris ut duos filios esse dicas, unum quem pater genuit, alterum quem uirgo generauit. Rursus quomodo fieri potest ut patiatur homo qui assumptus est, sine lesione eius a quo assumptus est?” Ad hec Silvester: “Nos Christum non ideo natum de uirgine dicimus ut coniugia condempnemus, sed causas uirginei partus rationabiliter acceptamus. Nec hac assertionem obfuscantur, sed ornantur coniugia quoniam hec uirgo que Christum peperit de coniugio nata est. Temptatur autem Christus ut omnes temptationes dyaboli uinceret, patitur ut uniuersas passiones subiceret, moritur ut mortis imperium subiugaret. Dei quoque filius unus in Christo est qui sicut est uere dei filius inuisibilis, ita uisibilis est Christus; est ergo inuisibile hoc quod deus est et est uisibile hoc quod homo est. Pati uero posse hominem assumptum sine passione eius qui assumpsit, exemplo doceri potest. Nam ut presentis purpure regis utamur exemplo, lana fuit et huic lane sanguis accedens colorem purpureum prebuit; cum ergo teneretur digitis et torqueretur in filo, quid torquebatur? Hoc quod regie dignitatis color est an hoc quod lana extiterat antequam purpura fieret? Lane ergo assimilatur homo, colori purpure deus qui simul in passione fuit dum pateretur in cruce, sed passioni in nullo subiucuit.”

Decimus, qui et Thara, dixit: “Non mihi placet istud exemplum quia simul color torquetur cum lana.” Cui cum omnes contradicerent, Silvester dixit: “Accipe ergo aliud exemplum. Arbor in se habens solis splendorem, cum inciditur, ictum quidem suscipit, splendor autem ab incisione immunis extitit. Sic homine patiente diuinitas nulli passioni subiacuit.”

Vndecimus, qui et Sileon, ait: “Si de Christo tuo prophete ista uaticinati sunt tante irrisionis et passionis et mortis causas scire uellemus.” Et Silvester: “Esuriuit Christus ut nos reficeret; sitiuit ut ariditati nostre uitalia pocula ministraret; temptatus est ut nos a temptationibus liberaret; tentus est ut nos a demonum captura dimitteret; irrisus est ut nos a irrisione demonum liberaret; ligatus est ut nos a nodo maledictionis adsolueret; humiliatus est ut nos exaltaret; expoliatus est ut nuditatem prime preuaricationis indulgentia tegeret; spineam coronam accepit ut flores paradisi perditos redonaret; in ligno suspenditur ut concupiscentiam in ligno genitam dampnaret; felle et aceto potatur ut hominem ad terram fluentem lac et mel introduceret et fontes nobis mellifluos aperiret; mortalitatem suscepit ut suam immortalitatem donaret; sepultus est ut sanctorum sepulturas benediceret; surrexit ut mortuis uitam redderet; ascendit in celum ut celi ianuam aperiret; sedet a dextris dei ut preces credentium exaudiret.” Hec Siluestro prosequente uniuersi, tam imperator quam iudices et Iudei, in laudem Siluestri unanimiter proruperunt.

Tunc indignatus duodecimus, qui et Zambri, indignatione magna dixit: “Miror uos sapientissimos iudices uerborum ambagibus credere et dei omnipotentiam existimare humana ratione concludi. Sed iam cessent uerba et ueniamus ad facta. Stultissimi namque sunt qui crucifixum colunt, cum ego nomen dei omnipotentis sciam, cuius uirtutem nec sufferunt saxa nec audire ualet quelibet creatura. Et ut me uerum dicere comprobetis, taurus ad me ferocissimus adducatur et dum in eius aure nomen illud insonuerit, taurus illico morietur.” Ad quem Silvester: “Et tu quomodo hoc nomen non audiens didicisti?” Zambri dixit: “Non est tuum hoc nosse misterium qui Iudeorum inimicus es.” Adducitur igitur taurus ferocissimus, uix a centum hominibus fortissimis tractus. At ubi Zambri in aure eius uerbum protulit, continuo taurus mugiens oculosque eiciens expirauit. Omnes igitur Iudei uehementer acclamant et Siluestro insultant. Quibus Silvester: “Non dei nomen protulit, sed nomen pessimi demonis nominauit; deus enim meus Ihesus Christus non solum uiuentes mortificat, sed etiam mortuos uiuificat. Nam occidere posse sed uiuificare non posse est leonum, serpentum et ferarum. Si ergo uult ut credam quod nomen demonis non fuerit, dicat iterum et uiuificet quod occidit. Nam de deo scriptum est: ‘Ego occidam et ego uiuere faciam’; quod si non poterit, nomen demonis absque dubio nominauit qui uiuentem occidere potest, mortuum uiuificare non potest.” Cumque Zambri ad suscitandum taurum a iudicibus urgeretur, dixit: “Suscitet eum Silvester in nomine Ihesu Galilei et nos omnes in eum cre-

demus. Nam etsi pennis posset uolare, istud tamen non ualet perficere.” Omnes igitur Iudei si suscitauerit se credituros promittunt. Tunc Silvester oratione facta ad aurem tauri se applicans dixit: “O nomen maledictionis et mortis egredere iussu domini nostri Ihesu Christi in cuius nomine tibi dicitur: ‘Taure, surge et ad armentum tuum mansuetus recede.’” Statim igitur taurus surrexit et cum omni mansuetudine abiit. Tunc regina, Iudei, iudices et ceteri omnes conuersi sunt ad fidem.

20 The Antichrist

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 108, pp. 81:23–83:14 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: **SelTro** 65–66 (no. 32).

Editions: A *SjäTrö* 97–99; *SjäTrö* K 132–34.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

aff ante *christo* guddom han lyktas ey bætir

- Antechristus** skal fōdhas j babilonia aff iwdhiske slækt aff eens *patriarcha*
3 slekt som heeth dan / **Han** wardher onækta fōddir aff forbannadhe
qwinno oc forbannadhūm man / **Han** wardher oc vmskuren som een iwdhe
æpter iudhanna lagh / **Honom** wardher fōrst een hælagher ængil til gōmo
6 gifwin / **Ther** æpter nar han wexir til hōghfærdh oc ondsko / **oc** sigher sik
wara gudz son / tha gaar then godh ængillin fran **honom** **Oc** diæfwllin
taker han j sina antwardhan / **Han** wardher mektogher oc faar my-
9 kyt wald **Oc** alle the rōdho iudhane som mællan berghin æro æn inne
læste koma tha vth oc skulu **honom** fōlghia / **Han** later tha ater byggia
mōnstrit j *iherusalem* / **Oc** the halda han for een gudh oc bidhia til hans
12 oc sæghia at han ær *christus* **Oc** sighia wan herra *ihesum christum* hafwa warit
antechristum / **Han** swiker folkit j fyrahanda matto / **Ffōrst** medh sinom falska
kænne-
dom / **Han** sænder vth sina kænneswena ofwir alla *werldena* oc latir
15 predika moth *crisne thro* **Oc** tho bewisa the sik sielfwe wara *Cristna* men
omwændande oc swikande ther medh mykyt folk **J** andre matto swi-
kir han mykyt folk medh sinom falskom teknom som han gōr medh diæf-
18 wlsins konst ok makt / **Han** later dōdha vpsta / belæte later han tala /

1 aff ... bætir] ~ *SelTro*. 2 eens] ees A. 3–4 aff ... man] ~ *SelTro*. 5 æpter ... lagh] ~ *SelTro*. 5–6 een ... gifwin] gegeuen eyn hiliich engel, also eneme anderen mynschen *SelTro*. 6 wexir ... ondsko] so vormeten wert *SelTro*. 8–9 oc ... wald] ~ *SelTro*. 9–10 **Oc** ... fōlghia] de yoden volgen eme. De roden yoden, de besloten sin, de komet vt vnde volgen eme *SelTro*. 15 *Cristna* men] hilge lude *SelTro*. 16 omwændande ... swikande] vorkeret *SelTro*. 17–18 diæfwlsins ... makt] der swarten kunst *SelTro*.

- H**an later thræn blomstras oc thørkas nar han wil / **H**an later hafwit storma oc ater lunkt wardha tha honom thæktis / **H**an later eldin ofwan
 21 til nidher aff hymptom koma ofwer sina kæneswena / oc later them tala alla handa maal / **H**an gør sik oc som han ware dødher oc later sik vpføra swa som han ware til hymerikis farin / **T**her æpter komber
 24 han ater oc sigher sik wara vpstandin aff dødha oc swiker swa folkit *medh* sinom falsko iærteknom / **J** thridhia matto swiker han ffolkit *medh* gafwom han wardher mykyt riker / Han finder oc ffaar alt thet gul oc sølff som
 27 lønt oc gømt ær j iordhinne æ hwar thet ær **O**c gifwer allom nogh honom følghia wilia ¶ **J** fiærdha matto thwingar han folkit *som* ey wil thro oppa han oc honom følghia *medh* allom them pynom han kan thænkia
 30 **A**lle the oppa han thro skulu hafwa hans tekn eller merke / **O**c engin maa vtan hans tekn sælia æller kōpa *medh* androm / Tha wardher swa stoor ysæld oc drøfwilse j werldinne at alregh war slik førra
 33 oc aldregh wardher ther æpter for doma dagh / **T**her æpter komber elyas oc enok aff *paradys* oc *predika* moth honom vmwændande mykyt folk badhe iwdha oc hedhninga / Them later han badha dræpa
 36 **O**c thera lykama liggia iiij dagh a gatunne at engin thør thøm iordha / **N**aar the hafwa swa lighat iiij dagh standa the ater vp aff dødha / Tha komber een røost aff hymelenom sighiande swa **E**noc och
 39 elyas farin hiit vp / **g**enstan fara the vp j eno clara sky / **T**her æpter lifwer *antechristus* xv dagha oc sæter sin stool oc sith paulun oppa oliweti bergh **S**wa komber *sancte* michel oc dræper han j sinne høgfærdh / Hans wald oc regnacio warar ey længer æn iiij aar / ware hans tyme ey swa stunter / thaa kunde engin mænniskia aff them tha lifwa til sinna siel behaldin blifwa / **H**ans thiænara taka sik ther æpter hustrvr oc æro gladhy oc froo
 45 **O**c sighia swa **E**n thot hwarist at war herra oc første ær dødhir tho ærom wi sikre **O**c maghum ey thy sidher sigherlika *medh* glædhy lifwa / Tha the swa sighia komber bradhelika gudz hemd ofwer them oc
 48 the døø alle *medh* bradhdødha / **T**her æpter wardha alle iwdha oc hedhninga *crisne* / **O**c wardher godher fridher oc een *crisindom* ofwer alla

21 hymptom] *hymmpnom* A. 25 falsko iærteknom] tekenen *SelTro*. 26 gul ... sølff] schat *SelTro*. 27 lønt ... thet ær] nu behut ys *SelTro*. 30 tekn ... merke] merk *SelTro*. 31–33 Tha ... dagh] ~ *SelTro*. 35 han] Entekerst *SelTro*. 36 iiij] verdenhaluen *SelTro*; gatunne] straten tho Jherusalem *SelTro*. 37 iiij] verdenhaluen *SelTro*. 40 oc sith paulun] vnder syn pauluun *SelTro*. 41 han ... høgfærdh] en al dar *SelTro*. 41–42 Hans ... regnacio] Al syn tijd, de he weidich ys *SelTro*. 42 iiij] verdehalf *SelTro*. 43–44 sinna ... blifwa] salich bliuen *SelTro*. 46–47 **O**c ... lifwa] ~ *SelTro*. 48 *medh* bradhdødha] ~ *SelTro*. 49 *crisne*] eyn *crisindom* *SelTro*; fridher ... *crisindom*] vrede *SelTro*.

werllena / Huru længe werldin skal ther æpter standa Oc naar domadagh
 51 skal wardha weth engin vtan alzwalogher gudh all ena Swa taker
 antechristus sin ænda ffor thy han wil sik for gudh halda

Translation

On the divinity of the Antichrist. It does not end any better.

The Antichrist will be born in Babylon from the Jewish people from the family of a patriarch called Dan. He will be born illegitimately of a cursed woman and a cursed man. He will also be circumcised like a Jew in accordance with the law of the Jews. At first, he will be given a holy angel for protection. Then, when he grows arrogant and evil, and says that he is the Son of God, the good angel will leave him, and the devil will take him into his care. He will become mighty and acquire great power. And all the Red Jews who are enclosed between the mountains will come out and follow him. Then he will have the Temple in Jerusalem rebuilt and they will consider him a god and pray to him and say that he is Christ and say that Our Lord was the Antichrist. He will deceive people in four ways:

First, with his false teachings. He will send his disciples out across the whole world and have them preach against the Christian faith. And yet they themselves act like they are Christians, thus converting and deceiving many people. Second, he deceives many people with his false portents that he creates by means of the devil's arts and power. He makes the dead rise. He makes pictures talk. He makes trees blossom and wilt as he wishes. He makes the sea rage and then become calm as it pleases him. He makes the fire come down upon his disciples from the sky and makes them speak all kinds of languages. He also makes himself appear as if dead and makes himself ascend to heaven. After this he returns and says that he has risen from the dead, and thus he deceives people with his false miracles. Third, he deceives people with gifts. He becomes very rich. He finds and receives all the gold and silver that is hidden and concealed in the earth wherever it may be, and he gives it to everyone who will follow him. Fourth, he will torture people who do not want to believe in him with all the torments that he can think up. Everyone who believes in him will have his sign or mark, and no-one without his sign can sell or buy with other people.

There will be such great misery and despair in the world that there never were the likes of it before and never will be afterwards until Doomsday. Then Elijah and

50–51 Oc ... wardha] ~ *SelTro*. 51 weth engin] en weit neyn hilge in deme hemmelrike noch neyn mynsche in deme ertrike *SelTro*.

Enoch will come from Paradise and preach against him, converting many people, both Jews and pagans. He has them both killed, and their bodies will lie on the street for three and a half days as no-one dares to bury them. When they have been lying like this for three and a half days, they will rise again from the dead. Then a voice will come from heaven, saying thus: “Enoch and Elijah! Ascend here!” Immediately, they ascend in a bright cloud. Then the Antichrist lives for fifteen days and places his throne and tent on the Mount of Olives. Then St Michael will arrive and kill him for his arrogance. His rule and reign will last no longer than three and a half years. If his time were not so short, then no-one would be able to keep a living soul. His servants will then take wives and be happy and joyful and say thus, “Even though our lord and prince is dead, we are safe! And so let’s nonetheless live victoriously with cheer!” When they speak thus, God’s revenge is suddenly upon them, and they will all die in an instant. Then all the Jews and pagans will become Christians. And there will be a good peace and one Christianity throughout the whole world. How long the world will remain after this and when Doomsday is, no-one but God Almighty alone knows. Thus, the Antichrist meets his end because he wanted to be treated as God.

21 The Chains of St Peter

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, f. 21r27–v28 (1400–50).

Parallel text: **C** SRA E 8900, pp. 94:16–95:27 (1450–70).

Original text: **LegAur.** 704–07. The OSw. text diverges somewhat from the *Legenda aurea* making a direct comparison difficult. For this reason, the Latin text is provided in full after the English translation.

Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 114–15; *FsvLeg* PAW II 132–36.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

- Thridhia sak thænna høgthidh ær thæsse Romara gior-
dho : Octouiano keysare ok augusto · swa dighran hedher : at epther han
3 dødhan : Gauo the augusto manadh namn epther hanum som før
heth sextilis : Ok hioldo høgthidh epther han första dagh augusto ma-
naz fra them tima · Octouianus Augustus do · Ok til theodosius wardh
6 keysare cccc° xxv Arum epther wann herra : Eudoxia theodosii dotter godh
ok gudhlik som henne fadher for pilagrims færddh til iherusalem : Ok
j bland manga hælghodoma henne varo ther gifne : Gaff henne en ju-
9 dhe : The boior som sanctus petrus var smidhadher medh vnder herode ko
nunge : Eudoxia komber ather hem thil Rom : ok theer pelagio pawa sancti petri
boior : ok pelagius teer henne andra hans boior : som bötto balbine
12 Ok gingo badha boionar saman ok wardh een boya oc gik hwar thera

1 Thridhia ... thænna] Thridhi skæl tæsse C; thæsse] tæsse at C. 2 Octouiano ... augusto] octouiano keysara C; dighran] mykin C. 2–3 han dødhan :] hans dødth C. 4 hioldo] {hioldo} B; han] honom C; augusto] augusti C. 5 tima ... Augustus] dagh ther han C; til] \til/ B. 6 cccc° xxv Arum] fyra hundrat aarom xxv aarom C; wann] wa[r>n]n B; Eudoxia] Endoxia B; **miraculum**] Eudoxia C; theodosii dotter] ~ C. 7 fadher] fadher theodosius hon C; færddh] færddh mædh sinom fadher C; Ok] ok ther wordho C. 8 hælghodoma] hælghodom{a} B; varo ther] ~ C. 8–9 Gaff ... boior] gaff henne rika hælghadoma / boyor the C. 9–10 herode konunge :] herodi konungx handom C. 10 komber] kom C; theer] fik C; pawa] \pawa/ B. 11 teer] tedde C; som ... balbine] {som} bø{tt}o balbine B, som nw war før aff sakt oc balbine haffdo bøter giffuit C. 12 gingo badha] waro C; saman ... theraj] {saman oc w}ar{o>d}{h ... theraj} B, hwarie andre swa aalika the som tilførdhis oc the som førre wara C.

gønum Andra som the saman smidhadhe waro : **Ok** vordho badha boior en boya
Medh thenna iertekne komo the badhin pawen oc frwn romara ther til at the
 forlæto

- 15 hedhna høgtdih första dagh augusti manadz Oc hioldo hona *sancto petro* **Hwat**
 gudhlikin krapt these jærn hafua : **The**dhis j keysar otto daghum ix
 hundradh ok xliiij arum wars herra : **En** tima ther otto keysare war j rom : grep
 18 diæfwlin en hans greua for hans øghøm swa harmelica at han slet sik
 siælfwan *medh* tannum : **Otto** keysare læt han ledha for iohannem pawa : **Ok**
 badh han
 læggia *sancti petri* boior ifwer hans hals : **Pauans** klærka foro først ville
 21 som the wildo : **Ok** lagdho ifwer han annar scon's boior : **Ok** komo hanum aff
 them ængen dyghd som engin war Jnnan : æn första *sancti petri* boior ko-
 mo fram siælfwa : Tha øpte hin ille som i elde laghe : **Ok** flydhe for
 24 gudhliko valde : **Tha** grep biscop thidhrik aff mæn'z boionar til halz
 oc suor at hanum sculde før handin aff skiær's æn han slepte j thy sinne
Ok waxte dighirt bang ok wadhelikit mællan pauan **Ok** biscopin
 27 **Ok** thera klærka : **Octo** keysare sætte thøm ther *medh* at pauin gaff bisco-
 pinum en ring aff boiomen : **Ok** liggir han æn j mæn'z kirkio : **Diæfwlin**
 læt sik hafwa fangit mikla badhe skam ok skadha : badhe tha han
 30 war wt ælter aff sit hærberghe ok swa for thy mæst at han miste sin he-
 dher ok høgtdih : **Ok** hemde *thet* a otalika iudha som een iudhe giordhe **Tha**

13 gønum Andra] ~ C; the saman] \the saman/ B, the C; smidhadhe ... **Ok**] waro badhe enom stadh smidda oc the lagdos badha saman oc mærktos j same stundh tha C; boior] ~ C; en boya] \en boya/ B. **14–15** *Medh ... petro*] *Written in top margin with insertion mark, B, Mædher* tæssom jærteknom kom pawen oc jomfrvn romarom thom ther till · at the togho op ena høgtiidh a första dagh augusti manat oc hioldho hona sancto · petro apostolo |**miraculum**| C. **16** *The*dhis] *thet* teddis C; keysar otto] {keysar otto} B, otto · keysara C. **16–17** ix hundradh ok] ix^c C. **17** wars herra :] epter wan herra C; otto keysare] otto[uianus keysare > keysare] B, otto C. **19** **Otto** keysare] otto[uianus keysare > keysare] B, **Otto** keysare C; læt ... for] ledde han til C; pawa :] \pawa/ : B, ~ C; han] ~ C. **20** klærka] klærk{a} B; først] ~ C. **21** han] honum C; annar scon's] andra C; boior :] {boior} : B; komo hanum] kom C. **22** dyghd] dygh{t>d} B; Jnnan :] j C. **22–23** æn ... siælfwa :] *Tha* komo fram *sancti petri* boyor C. **23** *Tha ... som*] oc ropadhe *thad*ieffwlin som han C; flydhe for] flydh{e} for B, flydde vndhan fra C. **24** *Tha*] Oc tha C; aff ... halz] boyor *mædh* makt oc hiolt them j sinne hand / C. **25** suor] {suor} B; hanum ... før] før skulle honum C; skiær's] huggas C; j] \j/ B. **26** pauan ... biscopin] pauan[s] **Ok** biscopin[s] B. **27** **Octo** keysare] **Octo**[uianus keysare > keysare] B, **Octo** keyare C. **28** ring] lænk C; han] ~ C; mæn'z] mæ{nz} B, meylans C; kirkio :] kirkio mædh hedher oc æro C. **29** mikla badhe] badhe mykin last oc C; *thad* fore thy at C. **30** wt] \wt/ B; sit] sino C. **30–31** for ... høgtdih :] oc then last oc skam honom ther timde · C. **31** hemde] hæmdes C; a] oppa C; som] ther C; een] {een} B; iudhe] \iudhe/ B; giordhe] giordh{e} B, haffde giorth · C. **31–32** *Tha ... boionar*] som konungxins dotter haffde giwith boyonar · C.

han gaff *keysarens* dother boionar som wolte allan thæn skadha ok skam ther
diefwlin fik : han

- 33 tedhis judhum j moysi ham : **Ok** sagdhe sik vilia ledha them thørror
fotum ifwir jorsala haff som han lede flesta thera forfædher : **Ok** samnadh
til hans vtallike iudha widha aff værlidne : **Ok** drenkte thøm til grun
36 da : **Ok** the vordho alle *crisne* vndan komo :

Translation

The third reason for this feast day is this: The Romans showed Octavian, emperor and majesty [*Caesar Augustus*], such great honour that after he had died, they gave his name to the month of August that had previously been called *Sextilis*, and they held a feast day for him on the first day of the month of August, from the time when Octavian Augustus died until Theodosius became emperor in AD 425.

Miracle¹

Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius,² good and God-fearing like her father, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and among the many relics that were given to her, a Jew gave her the chains with which St Peter was shackled by King Herod. Eudoxia arrives back in Rome and shows Pope Pelagius³ St Peter's chains and Pelagius shows her some of his [Peter's] other chains that cured Balbina.⁴ And both chains joined together and became one chain, and each passed through the other as if they were connected and both chains became one chain. Upon this miracle both the pope and the lady made the Romans give up the pagan feast day on the first day of the month of August and keep it [instead] for St Peter.

32 som ... skam] ~ C; ther ... fik :] \ther diefwlin fik/ : B, ~ C. 33 **Ok**] oc samnades · til hans folk widha aff *werldhinne* han C; sik] ~ C. 33–34 thørror ... haff] *offwer jorsala haff thørror fothom* C. 34 flesta] *flest{a}* B, ~ C. 34–35 **Ok** ... værlidne :] ~ C. 35 thøm] them alla · flæste C. 36 **Ok** ... komo :] The som vndan komo wordho *crisne* · och lowadho · *innelica ihesum cristum* C.

1 The heading is taken from the margin in SRA E 8900.

2 Licinia Eudoxia (c. 422–93), daughter of Theodosius II (401–50).

3 Pope Pelagius I was bishop of Rome 556–61, but these dates clearly do not match Eudoxia's lifetime.

4 On the healing of Balbina, see *FsvLeg* I 113; *FsvLeg* PAW II 131; *LegAur* 704.

Miracle⁵

What divine power these irons possess became apparent during the time of Emperor Otto,⁶ 944 years AD.⁷ One day, when Emperor Otto was in Rome, the devil before his very eyes seized upon one of his counts so cruelly that he [i. e., the count] tore at himself with his teeth. Emperor Otto had him taken to Pope John⁸ and asked him to place St Peter's chains around his neck. At first the Pope's clerics got muddled in what they were to do and placed other chains around him and it did him no good as there was nothing inside. But when St Peter's chains were produced, the Evil One shouted as if in the flames of a fire and fled on account of the divine power. Then Bishop Dietrich of Mainz⁹ grabbed hold of the chains and swore that his hand would have to be cut off before he would give them up. And a huge and serious conflict grew between the pope and the bishop and their clerics. Emperor Otto pacified them in this way, that the pope gave one link from the chains to the bishop, and it is still lying in Mainz Church.¹⁰

The devil felt he had received much shame and injury, both when he was chased out of his dwelling and mostly because he had lost his honour and feast day. And he took revenge on countless Jews for what a Jew did when he gave the chains to the emperor's daughter which caused all the injury and shame that the devil received. He [the devil] appeared to the Jews in the likeness of Moses and said that he would lead them dry-footed across the Jorsala Sea¹¹ as he had led most of their ancestors. And he gathered countless Jews from all across the world and drowned them at the bottom [of the sea] and all who escaped became Christians.

5 The heading is taken from the margin in SRA E 8900.

6 Otto I the Great, Holy Roman Emperor (912–73, r. 962–73).

7 A mistake for AD 964 (CE); cf. *LegAur* 706: “DCCCCLXIV” [964].

8 Pope John XII (c. 930/937–64; r. 955–64).

9 A mistake for Metz; cf. *LegAur* 706: “Metensis” [of Metz]. Dietrich was bishop of Metz 964–84.

10 A mistake for a church in Metz.

11 OSw. *Jorsala haf* [lit. Jerusalem Sea], that is the ‘Eastern Mediterranean Sea.’

Latin version: *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*]

Source: *LegAur* 704–07.

Translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 2, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 37.

In memoriam itaque et honorem uictorie illius quam prima die Augusti Octavianus habuit, omnes Romani hac die sollempnizabant usque ad tempus Theodosii imperatoris, qui cepit regnare anno domini CCCXXVI. Eudoxia igitur filia predicti Theodosii imperatoris uxor Valentiniani Iherosolimam ex uoto perrexit ubi quidam Iudeus pro magno munere duas ei catenas obtulit quibus sub Herode Petrus apostolus uinctus fuit. Cum igitur Romam redisset et kalendis Augusti in honorem imperatoris gentilis Romanos sollempnizare uideret dolens quod dampnato homini tantus honor exhiberetur cogitansque quod non de facili eos a tali consuetudine reuocare posset, cogitando tractauit ut obseruantia quidem sic staret, sed in honorem sancti Petri fieret et illum diem unuersus populus ad uincula nominaret. Habita igitur collatione cum beato Pelagio papa populum blandis exhortationibus induxerunt ut obliuioni traderetur memoria principis paganorum et celebris fieret memoria principis apostolorum. Quod dum cunctis placuisset, illas catenas quas de Iherusalem attulerat protulit et populo ostendit. Papa uero et illam catenam protulit qua sub Nerone idem apostolus uinctus fuit. Hac ergo illis sociata ita miraculose una catena facta est ac si semper una et eadem exstitisset. Vnde papa et regina protinus statuerunt ut quod hominum indiscreta religio faciebat gentili dampnato, mutata in melius faceret apostolorum principi Petro. Ipsa igitur uincula papa cum regina in ecclesia sancti Petri ad uincula posuit et ipsam muneribus multis et priuilegiis magnis dotauit ac predictum diem ubique celebrem fore instituit. Hec Beda, idem dicit Sigebertus.

Quantae autem uirtutis hec catena fuerit, anno domini DCCCCLXIV apparuit. Quendam enim comitem Ottonis imperatoris propinquum dyabolus ante omnium oculos tam crudeliter arripuit, ut se ipsum dentibus laceraret. Tunc iussu imperatoris ad Iohannem papam ducitur ut catena sancti Petri eius collo circumdaretur; sed cum quedam alia catena furentis collo fuisset imposita et nihil ex hac proueniret salutis, nimirum ubi nihil latebat uirtutis, tandem uera Petri catena producit et furentis collo imponitur. Tante autem uirtutis pondus dyabolus ferre non potuit, sed mox coram omnibus exclamans abscessit. Tunc Theodoricus Metensis episcopus ipsam catenam arripuit et eam se nullatenus dimissurum nisi manus sibi precideretur asseruit. Cum igitur super hoc inter episcopum et papam aliosque clericos grauis oriretur contentio, imperator tandem ipsum litigium sedauit et episcopo ex ipsa catena a papa annulum impetrauit.

Narrat Miletus in chronica et idem habetur in hystoria tripartita, quod hiis diebus apud Epirum draco ingens apparuit, in cuius ore Donatus episcopus uirtute insignis expuens mox occidit, prius tamen ante eius faciem digitis crucem designans et eidem ostendens. Quem uix octo iuga boum ne eius putredine aer inficeretur ad locum incendii trahere potuerunt. Idem quoque ait ibidem et in eadem hystoria tripartita habetur quod in Creta dyabolus in speciem Moysi se posuit, qui Iudeos undecumque congregans super magnum montis precipitium iuxta mare eos duxit. Quos dum ad terram promissionis sicco pede se preeunte ducere polliceretur innumeros enecauit. Vnde creditur quod dyabolus indignatus quia occasione Iudei qui catenam regine dederat plausus Octauiani cessauit de eis se taliter uindicauit. Multi autem ex hiis qui euaserunt ad baptismi gratiam conuolarunt. Cum enim mons ipse decliuus incumberet et illi sese euoluerent, priores tam acutis rupibus lacerati quam in mare prefocati mortui sunt. Cumque reliqui idem facere uellent et de prioribus quid eis acciderit ignorarent, quidam piscatores inde transeuntes malum quid acciderat narrauerunt eisdem et sic illi conuersi sunt. Hec in hystoria tripartita.

22 The Clay Birds

Headnotes

Source: **A** *Hær begynnes aff Joachiam oc aff sancta Anna oc aff hwat slæct the ære fødth oc aff theris leffnet Oc saa aff Jomfrw marie leffneth oc aff wors herre ihesu barndom* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, c. 1508), ff. f3v13–f4v18.

Parallel text: ~

Original text: **B** Low German: BHL Ms. theol. germ. 4° 23, ff. 83v6–84v10 (1489); **C** High German: Heinrich Rückert, ed., *Bruder Philipps des Carthäusers Marienleben*, Bibliothek der deutschen National-Literatur, vol. 34 (Leipzig: Quedlinburg, 1853), 112–13 (ll. 4110–74). As these two German versions are rhymed, it is difficult to compare them directly to the ODa. **A**. They have therefore been provided in full after the English translation.

Edition: ~

Edition (*A Hær begynnes aff Joachim... [c. 1508]*)

Een dagh gijnghe alle børne
ne sammen oc læcthæ och to-
3 ge ihesum meth them och gijnghe
vth paa marken ther som leer och
lim laa graffuet wor herre sætthe
6 segh ther nedher och han tog met
sijne hender aff lim och iordh och
tryckte thet tijll sammen och han
9 giorde skøne smaa fwglæ lijgher
wijs som the flwæ i marken ther
the andre børn thet saghe at ihesus
12 haffde giort saa skøne fwglæ tha
loæ the ther at och wilde gøre an-
dre fwglæ effther hans Thet vor
15 iødernes søndagh ther then leegh
skede tha kom gangende een gam-
mel iødhe och saa thet ath the soo
18 legthæ oc sagdhe i holle icke sønda

ghen hellig oc han wor wræd oc
 straffede them at the wore dieff-
 21 uelssens børn i bryde eders helghe
 dagh ther meth och fortørne thin
 gudh møget ihesus thet gør thw
 24 the andre børn taghe alle effther
 syn aff teg oc bliffue alle fortabede
 ihesus swarede thet weth gud om
 27 thu holler thin søndag soo helligh
 som ieg. thu scullt icke robe offuer
 meg. then gamle iøde løb strax tijll
 30 oc wilde heffne seg offuer ihesum
 oc spille hans lægh oc bar opp sin
 fod oc wille trade hans fugle Ie-
 33 sus thet ey fortrød men han sloo si
 ne hender sammen som han wilde
 forfære fuglene oc ther met spilde
 36 han sin lægh the fwgle bleffue al-
 le leffuendis oc flwæ alle i lucthen
 Strax ihesus slo sine hender sam-
 39 men oc sagde eth ord soo fijnghe
 the lijff oc fiære oc flwæ op i modh
 solen i blant andre fwgle fra then
 42 iøde them wilde trade han mot-
 the tha lade them flwæ

Translation

One day, all the children went together to play and took Jesus with them, and they went out into the field where clay and chalk lay in the ground [lit.: buried]. With his hands, he picked up some of the chalk and soil and press it together and he made pretty, small birds just like they were flying in the field. When the other children saw that Jesus had made such pretty birds, they laughed and wanted to make other birds like his. It was the Jews' Sabbath [lit.

37 leffuendis] leffuendins A.

Sunday]¹ when that game was happened. Then an old Jew came along and saw that they were playing in this way and said that they were not keeping the Sabbath holy, and he was angry and accused them of being the devil's children. "You're breaking your holy day with this and greatly offending your God! Jesus, whatever you do all the other children follow your example and they're all led astray!" Jesus answered, "God knows whether you keep your Sabbath as holy as I do! You shouldn't be shouting about me!" With that the old Jew ran at him and wanted to avenge himself upon Jesus and ruin his game and lifted his foot and wanted to tread on his birds. Jesus did not become angry, but he clapped his hands together as if he wanted to frighten the birds and with that ruin his game. All the birds came alive and flew into the air. As soon as Jesus clapped his hands together and said a word, they were all given life and flew up towards the sun among other birds away from the Jew who wanted to tread on them. He had to let them fly off.

Low German version (B)

Source: BHL Ms. theol. germ. 4° 23, ff. 83v6–84v10 (1489).

Dat kin yhesus vogel makede

- Im** eneme dage tozamende gingen
 3 alle de cindere vnde ane vingen
 coertevile vnde cinder spil
 dar was yunger cinder wil
 6 dat cynd yezum myt zit nemen
 buten vppe dat veld ze qwemen
 dar lem vnde erde was
 9 dat cynd yezus dar nedder sat
 myt zinen handen tozamende werded
 den weken lem vnde ock de erden
 12 de erden myt der hand toriff
 vnde den lem tozamende wreff
 vnde makede myt der hand zin

2 tozamende] to zamende B. **4** coertevile] coerte vile B. **10** tozamende] to zamende B. **12** toriff] to riff B. **13** tozamende] to zamende B.

1 ODa. "søndagh" [Sunday] is used throughout this tale to refer to the Jewish Sabbath (from Friday evening to Saturday evening). Both German versions have Saturday (MLG "zunnabend"; MHG "samztac"). Cf. Text 8: *Jesus Raises a Jew from the Dead*.

- 15 also de cleynen vogelin
do dat zulue spil stath
eyn old yode cam dar to
- 18 dat dat de yungen cynder spelden
des sonnauende vire nicht en helden
he begunde ze to straffen alle
- 21 myt torne vnde myt scalle
he sprak gi zind des duels cind
vande gi dan nich rechte dink
- 24 yhi brekken yuwe sabat
dar mede vor torne gi got
yhezum dat makestu alleyne
- 27 dat de cynder gemeyne nu
van dy winnen godes torn
vnde werden all van dy vorlaren
- 30 yhezum sprak des wolde god
dat du dinen sabot
erdest zo wol alle ick
- 33 du scold nicht streffen myk
de zulue olde yode do
myt grote me torne lepp he dar to
- 36 he wolde zik an deme cinde wreken
vnde em zin scone spil to breken
he sloch dat cynd myt bozen reden
- 39 vnde wolde em zin spil totreden
do he den vot vppheuen scolde
de vogelin totreden wolde
- 42 yezus em dat nicht vordrach
tosamende he myt den henden sloch
also de vogel seuchten wil
- 45 dar mede vorde dat cynd zin spil
eyne stemme it vpphoff
alzo de voge seuchtet vff
- 48 van des zuluen eyndes scalle

26 yhezum] yhe zum B. 27 gemeyne] ge meyne B. 29 vorlaren] vor laren B. 39 totreden] to treden B. 40 vppheuen] vpp heuen B. 41 totreden] to treden B. 42 vordrach] vor drach B. 43 tosamende] to samende B. 46 stemme] stemm ene B; vpphoff] vpp hoff B. 47 seuchtet] seuchter B. 48–49 van ... scalle] *Dittography across a page break*, B.

van de suluen endes scalle
 de vogele worden leuendich alle
 51 vpp hen in de lucht ze vlogen
 vnde den olden yoden bedrogen
 do it de hende tosamende sloch
 54 vnde dar mede dede enen ropp
 lif vnde vlegendes begunden
 myt en allen van dannen
 57 vnde voren na deme suluen marne

High German version (C)

Source: Heinrich Rückert, ed., *Bruder Philipps des Carthäusers Marienleben*,
 Bibliothek der deutschen National-Literatur, vol. 34 (Leipzig: Quedlin-
 burg, 1853), 112–13 (ll. 4110–74).

An einem tage zesamen giengen
 alliu diu kint und ane viengen
 3 kurzwîle unde kinde spil.
 dâ was junger kinde vil.
 daz kint Jêsum sî mit in nâmen,
 6 ûz hin ûf daz velt sî kâmen
 dâ leim und erde gegraben was.
 daz kint Jêsus dâ nider saz,
 9 mit sîner hant zesamen er perte
 den weichen leim und ouch die erde.
 die erde er mit der hant zereip
 12 und den leim ze samen treip
 und machte mit den vingern sîn
 sam diu kleinen vögellîn.
 15 er machet siben vogele bilde
 die in dem walde vliegent wilde.
 dô gesâhn diu kindelîn
 18 des kindes Jêsus vögellîn.
 alle sî dâ von lachten

52 bedrogen] bo drogen *B.* 53 tosamende] to samende *B.* 54 enen] enen enen *B.* 55 lif]
 li[s>f] *B.*; begunden] be gunden *B.*

und semlîch bilde sî ouch machten.

- 21 ez was der juden samztac,
dô daz selbe spil geschach.
ein alter jude kom dô dar
- 24 gegangen und wart des gewar
daz diu jungen kint dâ spilten,
des samztags vîre niht behielten:
- 27 er begundes strâfen alle
mit zorn und ouch mit grôzem schalle.
er sprach “ir sît des tievels kint,
- 30 wand ir tuot unrehtiu dinc;
ir brechet iuwern sabâot,
dâ mit erzürnt ir sêre got.
- 33 Jêsus, daz machest allez du,
daz diu kint gemeine nu
von dir gewinnent gotes zorn
- 36 und werdent durch dich alle verlorn.”
Jêsus sprach “nu wolde got
daz du dînen sabâot
- 39 êrest alsô wol sam ich!
du ensolt niht strâfen mich.”
der selbe alte jude dô
- 42 mit grôzem zorne lief hin zuo
und wolt sich an dem kinde rechen
und im sîn schoene spil zebrechen.
- 45 er schalt daz kint mit boesen reden
und wolt im sîn spil zetreten.
do er den vuoz ûfheben wolde,
- 48 diu vogellîn zetreten solde,
Jêsus im daz niht vertruoc,
zesamen mit den henden fluoc,
- 51 sam der vogel schrecken wil:
dâ mit wert daz kint sîn spil.
ein stimme grôz er ouch erhuop,
- 54 sam der vogel schiuhet ûf.
von des selben kindes schalle
die vogel wurden lebendic alle.
- 57 ûf hin in den luft sî vlugen
und den alten gar betrogen.
do er die hend ze samen sluoc

- 60 und dâ mit tet einen ruof,
lîp und vedern sî geviengen
die vogel und begunden vliegen
- 63 mit einander all von danne
und vuoren von dem alten manne,
der si wolt zetreten hân:
- 65 dô muost er sî vliegen lân.

23 The Converted Jew and the Devil

Headnotes

Source: D SKB D 3, pp. 636:1–641:6 (1476).
Parallel text: A LSB Saml. 1 a, pp. 114:17–121:22 (c. 1500).
Original text: ~
Edition: D FsvLeg III 60–64.

Edition (D SKB D 3)

Thet war en jwdhe i tyske landh
och war en doctor j jødhelag i thet
3 gamble testemente och war en wnger
man aff xxx aar och hade i wng
hustrv och mærkthe han ath *crisne* men-
6 niskior giorde iomffrv maria storth
loff och ære / tha sporde han the *crisne*
aath hwath iomffrv thet war / Tha sag-
9 dhe the honum thet er en jomffrv oc mo-
dher och then worth Jhesus *christus* aff
føddher / ther epter gik han och lass i
12 jødiske prophetene tha fan han i ysaias
bøker och huath han taleder En iomffrv
skulde fødde ith barn ok bliffwe
15 thogh iomffrv och thet barn skuldhe
hetha emanuell then store gud tha
tenkthe han oppa ath thet skulde wara
18 maria och laa pa sin sængh ok talade
tiill syn hustrv the *crisne* the holle sa
mykit aff maria ok hon gjør swo mang
21 tekn och *miracule* ath mik wndrar
och the sige sa mykit aff henne ath
hon hiælper mænniskan aff nødh jag
24 tror thet er then iomffrv som sa mykit

15 thogh] tha A. 21 *miracule*] *miracula* A.

staar scriuidh i then gamble *propheten*
 ok i moyses *bøker* ther aff *messias*
 27 skulde *fødas* / *hustrvin* *swarade* *honum*
kære man then *skøne maria* ther the
crisnæ swa mykit aff *thale* / *Hon*
 30 er swo *godh* at *hon* *hielper* *badhe*
hedningga och *jødhæ* och alle the
oppa hæne kalle han *swarade* *hwadh*
 33 *weesth thw thet* / *hon* *sagde* swo *opte*
wij jødhena skulle *føde* *barn* tha *rope*
wij oppa henne och *sigie kære*
 36 *maria* *modher christi* *Hielp* *swa* *hielper*
hon oss eller *bliffue* *wij dødhe* /
 och *wij quinnor* *haffue thet lønligh*
 39 *medh* *oss* men *nar* *wij* *haffue wara*
nødh for *wnnidh* och *fongit* *barn* tha
widersige *wij henne* *ighen* ok *twa*
 42 *wor mwn* ther *wij henne* *nempdhe*
medh / ok *soppe* *worth* *huss* aff *hennes*
nampn och *hurw* *offthe* *wij henne*
 45 *forsma* *thogh* *hielper* *hon oss* *andre*
ariidh *ighen* swo *stor* er *hennes*
godhet och *barmhertighet* / *han* *thale-*
 48 *dhe* aff *huath* *slækthe* ær *hon* / *Hon*
swarade *joachim* *heth* *hennes* *fadher*
j betheleheem och *anne* *heth hæ-*
 51 *nes* *modher zacharias* *dotther* aff
jødhæ *slækthe* och *ihesus christus* the
crisnis *gud* ær *henne* *son* *hwilken*
 54 *wij jødhe* i *hel* *sloghe* tha *iordhen*
skalff tha *stenone* *reffnadhe* och
 tha *solen* *misthæ* *sith skÿn* / tha
 57 *sade* *han* *tiill* *henne* *hwadh*
tror *thu* *wille* *wij* och *tiæne* *hen-*
ne *oppa thet* *ath* *wij* *saalek* *bliffue*
 60 *meen* *iagh* aff *tik* *hørt* *hawer*

28 then] Theris A. 36–37 swa ... hon] |swa hielper hon| A. 39 nar] \nar/ A. 45 thogh] tha A.

- Ath hon swo dygdefull ær / ok ær
 thet tik tiill wile tha wille wij
- 63 henne tiæne / ja sagde hon kære bonde
 Jagh henne hade gernæ tiænthe lenge
 Jagh torde tik ther inthe aff sighæ
- 66 medh stakkith ordh the gaffwe øffuer
 alth theris godz och lathe sigh
 crasnæ och han gaff sig iomffrw
- 69 marie i woldh Som kallas karmelite
 och thiænthe Jomffrv marie full well
 Och hon gaff sigh in i eth liwst klø-
- 72 sther och tiænthe gudh / thet skedde
 oppa en kyndermesso dagh alth folk
 gingo medh liwss tiill kirchio ath hedra
- 75 och ære iomffrv marie / och han hørde
 ath høgtidhen heth purificacio / som
 kalles iomffrv maries klarheth Tha
- 78 tykthe honum swo ath diæffwlen
 skøth honum i hogh ath maria skul-
 le icke jomffrv wara thy at war hon
- 81 Jomffrv / hwar fore skulle hon sik klar
 gøre / likorwiss som then quinnæ aff
 man barn hade / han giik borth
- 84 och sporde en then øppirste docther
 ther om och han wnderuisthe honum
 thet medh the helge scrifft i thet gam
- 87 ble testhemente och medh prophetene
 som han thet wol forstodh Swa
 loth han sigh nøghe / och giik at
- 90 spacera / och kom i hwgh hwi han
 swo twyuelactigh war / tha kom
 han i træ garden / ther saa han diæff-
- 93 wlen sta och han sporde hoo esthu
 han swarade Jagh er dieffwlen / han
 sagde huadh wil thu her / han swarade
- 96 Jagh staar och seer oppa thigh /

65 tik ... inthe] ecke tiik ther A. 68 gaff sig] gaff A. 74 ath] ok A. 77 maries] maria A.
 80 war] ware A. 85 ther om] om A. 88 wol] well A.

thu lææss *marie* thydher thu mat-
 the heller bliffuith j jødhæ laghen /
 99 *han* sporde dieffwlen kenner
 thu *maria* ia sade *han* skulle
 jagh ikke *henne* ey kenne / *hymmel*
 102 och iordh och heluitis grwndh
 kænne *henne* och gøre *henne*
 stor ære / tha sadhe brodæren Jag
 105 maner tik dieffwll *medh* then øpper-
 stha gudh / then som haffuer skaffth
 løøff och græss och alth werdz re-
 108 gement sigh mik om *maria* er en iom-
 ffrw och modher tha swarade diæffw-
 len thu formaner mik swo høgth
 111 Jagh ma thigh ekki ney seya / Jagh
 siger tigh *hon* er swo renlykt at aller
 kom *hennes* lyke pa iordhen thy *hon*
 114 war modher och iomffrv then thiid *hon*
 warth och war *medh* then helghe
 cristh / Ja sagde *han* iak maner nw
 117 tigh framdelis Sigh mik hwar
medh iagh ma allerbest tiene *henne*
medh thet *henne* anameligit ær / *medh*
 120 stakkit bøn *henne* ath loffwe / Dieff-
 wlen sade inthe er *henne* anam-
 meliger æn mer om *henne* iomffrv-
 123 dom formaner / *han* swarade sik mik
 eth ordh ther aff ath jagh kundhe
 sie ath *hon* worde loffuat Dieff-
 126 wlen swarade sigh mik før hwadh
 hwitest ær oppa jordhen bade aff
 warmpt och kalt *han* swarade thet er
 129 snio och melk ja sade diæffulen
 swo skal thu syie oppa thin knæ
 O clemens *maria* O thu gode troo

101 *henne* ... kenne] *kænnæ* *henne* A. **108** en] ren A. **115** helghe] helgæ [a] A. **116** Ja] [r>]a A. **118–19** *henne medh*] *henne* A. **120** stakkit bøn] stakkit [ordh] bøn A. **123** *han* ... sik] *han* |swa|rade] sigh A. **124** aff ath] aff [ok] ath A. **126** før] først A. **129** melk] miølk A.

- 132 maria nær thu clemens staffuer
 tiill rygge swa haffuer thu swa
 mælth tiill eth jerteghen *thet maria*
- 135 hwit och ren war ren som snio
 och hwit som milc thiil hernes
 hiærthe och liiff øffuer alle *quinnor*
- 138 paa jorderike tha fioll broderen
 oppa sin knæ och badh nade aff *maria*
 och dykthede thesse werss aff *maria*
- 141 *Maria* wirgo *mater* clemens
Succurre mihi rogo gemens
 Ne stem *confusus* tristis tremens
- 144 *Ænim* me vexat hostis demens
Thet er swo mykit thydhe *maria* mil
 dhe modher jagh bidher sukkande
- 147 kom mik tiill hielp / oppa *thet* jag ikke
 star tiill skam drøffwelek oc bewer-
 ne nær mik oppa stridher figendhe
- 150 som er dieffwlen / tha diæffwlen
thetta hørde thaleda han See nw skal
 jagh fly wthan myna tack hadhe
- 153 jagh *thetta* tigh ey lærth tha hadhe
 thu icke mik swo snarth borth
 driffuidh / Thy *thet* ordh clemens
- 156 jagh tik lærdhe ok *thet* sin thw
 sætthe ther tiill / thy fordriffue
 well alle the dieffwle i hel-
- 159 uithe ære *Æn* sidhen mik ene aff
 marken och dieffwlen flydde
 strax borth och sadhe / jagh haffuer
- 162 giorth mik eth ryss tiill myn
 eyghin rygh och roppade *thet medh*
 høgisthe røsth / then thiid han *thet*
- 165 hørde tha fioll han oppa sin knæ *
 Ok bedis aff iomffrv *maria* nade
 och thiænthe henne alla sina

134 eth jerteghen] eth [ordh] ierteghen A. 135 ren] [er > ren] (*later hand*) D, er A. 136 milc] mīlk A. 154 icke mik] mik ikke mik ecke A. 156 sin] som A.

- 168 daghe och i hans ytersth thy-
me lass han these for skreffne
werss / *maria virgo mater clemens*
- 171 Ok *maria* kom sielff tiill hielp och
frælsthe honum fra diæffulen ok halp
honum tiill ewerdeligh glædhe *thet sa*
- 174 me forwæruæ oss iomffrv *maria* aff
sin kiære modher *sancta* Anne Amen
A M E N

Translation

There was a Jew in Germany, and he was a scholar in the Jewish law of the Old Testament and was a young man of thirty and had a young wife, and he noticed that Christians gave the Virgin Mary great praise and honour. So, he asked the Christians who this virgin was. They told him that she was a virgin and a mother from whom Jesus Christ was born. After this, he went and read the Jewish prophets. Then he found in the books of Isaiah¹ and what he [Isaiah] said: A virgin would bear a child and yet remain a virgin, and that child would be called Emmanuel, the great god. Then he considered whether this could be Mary and lay upon his bed and spoke to his wife, “The Christians are so fond of Mary, and she performs so many omens and miracles that I am in wonder, and they say so much about her, that she helps people in need. I think that it is this virgin about whom so much is written in the old prophet and in the books of Moses from whom the messiah was to be born.” His wife answered him, “Dear husband, the beautiful Mary about whom the Christians speak so much is so good that she helps both pagans and Jews and all those who call upon her.” He answered, “What do you know about it?” She said, “So often when we Jews are to give birth to a child, we call upon her and say, ‘Dear Mary, Mother of Christ, help!’ and so she helps us or else we would die. And we women keep this secret among ourselves. But when we have been delivered from our need and had the child, then we renounce her again and wash our mouths with which we mentioned her name and sweep our houses of her name. And no matter how often we insult her, she still helps us again another

169 these] *thenne* A. 174–75 aff ... *kiære*] aff *kære* A. 175–76 Amen A M E N] A M E N | *then jødhe fiik i hýmerik boo | siælin haffuer ther nw roo | ok glædhes ther for wtan gaman | th wne oss gud allom saman* A.

1 Isaiah 7:14.

year – so great is her goodness and mercy.” He spoke, “Of which family is she?” She answered, “Her father was called Joachim in Bethlehem, and her mother was called Anne, daughter of Zechariah, of Jewish family. And Jesus Christ, the god of the Christians, is her son, whom we Jews killed, when the earth shook, the stones broke asunder, and the sun stopped shining.” Then he said to her, “What do you think? Do we also want to serve her so that we will be saved? As I have heard from you that she is so virtuous and if it is your wish, then we will serve her.” “Yes,” she said, “Dear husband, I would have liked to serve her for a long time. I did not dare say so to you with even a short word.”

They gave up all their worldly possessions and had themselves christened. And he placed himself in the Virgin Mary’s hands, called the Carmelites, and served the Virgin Mary very well. And she [the wife] joined a light [Cistercian] convent and served God.

It so happened one Candlemas that people were walking to church carrying candles to praise and honour the Virgin Mary, and he heard that the feast day was called *Purificatio*, as Mary’s purification is called. Then he thought – as the devil had shot into his mind – that Mary might not be a virgin, because if she were a virgin, why did she have to purify herself like a woman who has had a child by a man? He went away and asked one of the greatest scholars about this and he instructed him about this with the Holy Scriptures in the Old Testament and the Prophets so that he understood it well. He was satisfied by this and went for a stroll and remembered why he was so doubtful. Then he entered the garden and he saw the devil standing there and asked, “Who are you?” He answered, “I am the devil.” He said, “What do you want here?” He answered, “I am standing watching you. You’re reading a Book of Hours of Mary. You would have been better off staying within Judaism [lit. Jewish law].” He asked the devil, “Do you know Mary?” “Yes,” he said, “should I not know her? Heaven, earth, and hell know her and award her great praise.” Then the brother said, “I command you, devil, by the highest god, who made leaves and grass and all the world’s government, tell me whether Mary is a virgin and a mother!” Then the devil answered, “You command me so highly! I cannot say no to you. I say to you, that she is so pure that her like has never been on earth, as she was a mother and virgin when she conceived and carried the holy Christ.” “Yes,” he said, “I command you now still: tell me how I can best serve her with that which is acceptable to her, with a short prayer to praise her.” The devil said, “Nothing is more acceptable to her than contemplating her virginity.” He answered, “Tell me one word with which I can say that she is praised.” The devil answered, “Before that, tell me what the whitest thing on earth is, both warm and cold.” He answered, “That is snow and milk.” “Yes,” said the devil, “So you should say while kneeling, “O, *clemens* [‘merciful,’ ‘gracious,’ ‘mild’] *Maria*! O you good, faithful Mary!” When you spell *clemens* backwards

then you have thus spoken a miracle: that Mary was white and pure, pure as snow [sne] and white as milk [melc] in her heart and life above all women on earth.” Then the brother fell upon his knees and prayer for mercy from Mary and recited this verse about Mary:

*Maria virgo mater clemens,
Succurre mihi rogo gemens.
Ne stem confusus tristis tremens,
Enim me vexat hostis demens.*

This translates as, ‘Mary, merciful mother, I pray, sighing, come to my aid! I do not stand ashamed of this, woeful and shaking, when the devil fights with me.’ When the devil heard this, he spoke, “See, now I have to flee without my thanks! If I had not taught you this, then you would not have driven me away so quickly! Because that word, *clemens*, that I taught you and the conscious meaning that you placed in it, they expel all the devils that are in hell not just me.” And the devil immediately fled and said, “I have made a rod [lit. whip] for my own back!” and shouted it in a very loud voice. When he [i. e., the convert] heard this, he fell upon his knees and prayed to the Virgin Mary for mercy and served her all his days. And in his final moments, he read these aforementioned lines, *Maria virgo mater clemens*, and Mary herself came to his aid and saved him from the devil and helped him attain eternal bliss. May the Virgin Mary, of her dear mother St Anne, obtain the same thing for us! Amen, amen!

[Concluding prayer in A: That Jew got to live in heaven | His soul now has peace there | and in truth is happy there. | May God grant this to us all.]

24 The Disputation and the Miracle

Headnotes

Source: A UUB C 35, ff. 2v19–3v3 [pp. 4–6] (late fifteenth century).
Parallel texts: ~
Original text: ~
Edition: A SMP IV 6.

Edition (A UUB C 35)

- Thæt hænde j room j ena kirkia at en
jude stodh ok disputerade *mædh* enom *crisnom*
3 *mæstare* ok mothe the hælga tro ok j blandh
annor ærende sagde juden thæt omøghelikit *wara*
Ath war *hærra* jhesus skulde fōdas aff ena
6 skæra mōø *mæstaren* giorde judanom skæll
ok liknilsse thær vppa thæt bæsta han kunde
ok thær ey lankt fran thær the stodho tha stodh
9 eth warefru bilæte aff sten huggit aff enom
hwitom alabastro klent ok spæt aff sik giort
mædh *mæsterskap* Tha thæn juden fan at han
12 war forwnnen ok kunde them *crisna* *mæstarenom*
jnkte swara wart han wredher ok sagde swa
Thu *mæstare* magh sigia huat thu wilt æn
15 swa mōgelikit ær thæt ath nogor qwinna warder
mædh barn vtan man som thætta sten belætith
hafde eth barn j sik Ok *genstan* han hafde
18 thæt ordit sakt tha bōriade thæt bilætith warda
tiokt wm kringh ok buken syntis stor som
a ena haffuandis qwinna ok til ytermer skæl
21 hafde bilætith eth silff bælte vm sik Mæth
hwilko en godh qwinna hafde hedrat warefru
mædh j sino offre Thæt sama bæltith brasth
24 swnder thær som remen war starkast och
foll nidher vppa altaret tha juden thætta jær
teknit sagh loth han sik *crisna* ok troode
27 sidan stadelika Ath war *hærra* jhesus *christus*

war fōdder aff skæra mōø jumfru maria be
haldnom henne jumfrudom ok oskaddom

Translation

It happened in a church in Rome that a Jew was standing and disputing with a Christian scholar and against the Holy Faith. And among other things, the Jew said that it was impossible that Our Lord Jesus had been born of a pure virgin. The scholar used discernment and metaphor about this against the Jew as best as he could. And not far from where they were standing, there stood an image of Our Lady cut in stone from white alabaster, fine and delicate, made by a master. When the Jew realized that he was beaten and unable to answer the Christian scholar at all, he became angry and said, “You, scholar, say what you want! But it is as likely that a woman was made pregnant without a man as it is that that stone image has a child inside it!” And as soon as he had spoken that word, the image began to grow fat around the middle and its belly looked as big as on a pregnant woman. And for further understanding, the image had a silver belt around it with which a good woman had honoured Our Lady by offering it: this very belt broke apart just where the strap was strongest and fell upon the altar. When the Jew saw this miracle, he had himself made a Christian and believed firmly that Our Lord Jesus Christ was born of a pure maiden, the Virgin Mary, who kept her virginity and was inviolate.

25 The Emperor Hadrian

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, f. 75v2–15, 30–32 (1400–50).
Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, pp. 215:11–29, 216:12–14 (1450–70).
Original text: ~
Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 376–78; *FsvLeg* PAW II 538–41.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

Adrianus sonason traiani cxix Are wars herra war Rømsker · keysare · xxi · Ar ·
han slæp
te *medh* siælfs wilia Thy landh wndhan Rømsca rike · Syriam mesopo
3 tamiam Armeniam · All hin wægh haff · Thy at han awundadhe fadherfadhers
hedher som them wndher sik wan · Swa wilde han **Ok** slæppe danmark æn
han siælfuir hafde radhet for Rømsca · herrum som hanum aff radde **Ok**
talde hwat rom
6 costadhu før æn trayanus gat wnnit ok haldit danmærk · **Ok** huru traya-
nus ferdhe widha wæghna · aff allum landum folk til danmark At byggia landh
ok halla borgher · Thy at dani waru nødhugha thera wndirdana / wm all annur
mal
9 war Adrianus hedhers herra · han bøgde iuda landh til lydhnu **Ok** brøt
nidher ierusalem **Ok** bygdhe · vp Annan stadh · Ater ther vp nær · wm kring ·
wars
herra pinu stadh · **Ok** kalladhe stadhrin heliam Aff sik siælfwm Thy at han
12 heth helyus · Adrianus · han forbødh hwarium judha At boa jnnan stadhenum
wtan
han ware cristin · **HAN** forbødh *medh* brefwm · At göra nocot meen nokrom
crisnom manne for *crisna* thro : wtan Annur nokor bruth funnis *medh* them
[...]

1 traiani] trayani keysara C; Are ... herra] aarom epter wars herra pino C. 2 Rømsca] roma C. 2–3 mesopotamiam] mesopotam|i/am B. 5 hafde radhet] \hafde/ radhe\t/ B, rædhe C. 6 costadhu] korstadhe sik C. 7 allum] mangom C. 8 thera wndirdana] \thera/ wndi\|r/dana B, vnderdana C. 9 til lydhnu] til [he>ly]dhnu B; brøt] brødh B. 10 Annan ... Ater] ater op annan stadh C; vp] ~ C. 11 pinu stadh] pino C. 12 jnnan] j C. 13 cristin] cristen oc trodde a gudh C. 13–14 göra ... manne] nokot ont gøre *crisno* folke C. 14 Annur nokor] nakor annor C.

15 *J hans daghum bur*

dhis gudz thiænist siungas ok læsas j kirkiom aa grescu af kristnum klær
cum som før lasu alt **Ok** sungu · A iudha tungu :

Translation

Hadrian, Trajan's grandson, became Roman emperor in AD 119 for twenty-one years. Of his own volition, he released three countries from the Roman Empire – Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia – on the other side of the sea, because he envied his grandfather's honour [i. e., the honour in which his grandfather was held] for having conquered them. He also wanted to let Denmark¹ go. But he took the advice of Roman lords who dissuaded him from it and told him what Rome had to go through before Trajan could conquer and hold on to Denmark. And how Trajan led from all over, from all countries people to Denmark to settle the country and maintain fortresses, because the Danes were forced to be their subjects. In all other respects, Hadrian was a man of honour. He bent Judea² to obedience and razed Jerusalem and rebuilt another city around there, near to the site of Our Lord's suffering, and called it Helias after himself because he was called Helius. He forbid every Jew from living in the city unless he was Christian. With decrees he forbid doing any harm to a Christian for [his] Christian faith unless there was some other crime with them [i. e., unless they had committed some crime]. [...] During his reign, mass began to be sung and read in churches in Greek by Christian clerics, which before [they] read and sang it all in the Jewish language [i. e., Hebrew or Aramaic].

16 læsas ... aa] {læsas j kirkiom aa} *B.* **17** lasu] lasu[m] *B.* **18** siungas ... kirkiom] først læsas oc siongas *C.*

1 OSw. “danmark” [Denmark] must be due to a mistranslation of Lat. *Dacia* in the (unknown) original.

2 OSw. “iuda landh” [lit. Jew-land, land of (the) Jews].

26 The Emperor Vespasian and Titus

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, ff. 63v18–65v10–29 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, pp. 188:32–193:13 (1450–70).

D SKB A 108, pp. 228:1–232:9 (1400–50). See Text 48: *The Punishment of the Jews*.

AlleEpoEu, f. 186r38–v19 [clxxx] (1515); *AlleEpoEu* (1518), f. clxi. v32–clxii.r4. See Text 10: *Mary of Bethzuba*

Original text: **LegAur** 451–58. The OSw. versions diverge somewhat from *LegAur* making a direct comparison difficult. For this reason, Jacobus de Voragine’s version is provided in full after the English translation.

Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 310–18; *FsvLeg* PAW II 438–55.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

UEspasianus war wm thæn tima wæstan haff *medh* hærfærdh · hærskapit forstodho ther hwat hema war thit · **Ok** at fule mæn mōddu ok ød-

3 du rømska rike · **Ok** kiærdhu sik wara fōrsta til ærfwdhis ok lifs wadha

Ok fiærran satta waldum ok landum · **Ok** toco ther sin forman · vespasianum til rømskan keysare lxxij Are wars herra · Aff litlu folke fōddan ok tho hwarium fōrsta

6 jæmfroman ok war Rømsker keysare ix · Ar · xi *Manadha* · xxij · dagha / hæR ær wæl til fallit

At sighia huru iudha guldu wars herra dōdh :—

UAr herra som siælfuir sigher sic ey wilia se syndogha manna dōdh æn the

9 wilia bōtha sin bruth · han giordhe som han sagdhe ok gaff them xl ·

ara frest · At *scripta* sik ok bæthra som *apostoli* *predicadhe* ok rædhu them ok mæst *sanctus iacobus* alpei som hwar dagh war *medh* them j *jerusalem* ok *predicade*

12 Sidhan the lyddo ey guz ordhum ok godhum radhum tha wilde gudh rædha them til got *medh* mangom wndhers thingom swa som *josephus* judhe *scrifuer* En bræn

4 landum] landom at radha C. 5–6 fōrsta jæmfroman] fōrsta {jæmfroman} B.

- nande stiærna skapadh som swærdh hængdhe eth ar wm kring ifuer *ierusalem*
- 15 *medh rædhelikum lugha / wm ena midhia pascha nat kom swa dighirt lius*
wm altaran j gudz mōnstre **At** hwar man wænte wara dagh liusan / wm
the samu hōghtidh kiælfðhe quigha lamb for guz altara · **Jnnan** them daghum
sa-
- 18 ghu mæn j wædhreno riddarskap j alscons wapnum ganga saman flukninghum j
skynim ok stridha
UM ena pinzdagha nat hōrdhu preste som widh of
fer stodho ok waro / røster wm kring sik / farum hædhan aff ·
- 21 thæssum sætugardhum / A fiærdhu are før æn vespasianus com tok en man
ihesus Ananie son at øpa wm en hælaghan dagh / Røst aff østan · Røst aff
wæstan
Røst aff fyrum wægnum som windher blæs · Røst ifuir *ierusalem* · røst ifuer
templum Røst ifuir brudhir
- 24 ok brutgoma · Røst ifuir alt folkit Judha gripa marnin **Ok** fangadho sla ok bæ-
ria · æn han gat them enkte Annat swarat ella talat wtan øpte æ thet sama ·
ok æ thy mer · At the han mer bardhu · **The** leddu han for pylatum · **Pylatus**
- 27 læt han swa bæria **Ok** hudhstryka : at hans riffben tedhus bar / han gret ey / ok
ey han badh sik nadh / wtan øpte A thet sama som før ok ændadhe hwart
opit *medh* ve ve · **Sidhan** iudha kændis ey **Æn** widher sik *medh* tholikom wndirs
- 30 teknum / tha kom vespacianus xl · Arum epter wars herra dōdh **Ok** hans son
titus
medh hanum / **Ok** brutu nidher alt *ierusalem* widh iordh som war herra spadhe
tha
han græt ifuir *ierusalem* · **Swa** finnum wi scrifuat hwi vespacianus kom mæst a
mot
- 33 *ierusalem* ok judhum Ater *medh* Andre sak / æ som her æpter fōlghir
Pylatus ræddis hæmdh · aff tyberio *Rømska* keysare for wars herra dōdh · **Thy** at
han skref
hanum før aff wars herra dygdhum ok gerningom **Ok** for thy sænde han en sin
- 36 **win** ifuir haf til tyberium · at gōra hans orskuldh for wars herra dōdh · **Sænde**bu-
dhit heth albanus han brōth sit skipp for galathia / vespacianus war tha
wældugher

17 kiælfðhe ... lamb] kiælfðhe qui{gha lamb} B. 18 flukninghum ... stridha] fluknin|ghum j skynim ok stri|dha B. 20 hædhan] hæ|stitched tear in manuscript|dhan B. 21 vespasianus] vespasia|stitched tear in manuscript|nus B. 23 røst ... templum] |røst ifuer templum| B. 24 fangadho] fanga|dho/ B. 27 riffben] |riff/ben B. 31 war] war|s| B. 33 æ ... fōlghir] hans komo som sniman war giwin C. 37 sit] |sit/ B; han ... galathia] Hans skip brōth fore galacia C.

- ifuir galathie rike aff tyberij *keysares* wæghna · *Albanus* kom til *wespasianum* /
wespacianus
- 39 spurðhe hwæðhan han waar comin han swara sik wara · comin aff *ierusalem*
stadh
iudha rikis / *wespacianus* hafðhe ena fula sot innan *sinum næsum* swa at the
wllu fulle
medh matkum **Ok** ther aff fik han nampn · thy at *vespa thyter* en mathk a warth
42 mal / ok for thy taler han til *albanum* **Thu** komber Aff thy lande visastu mæn
byggia · cant thu mik lækedom wisa vidh *thenna* sot thu ser mik hafua / ella
west
thu mik thæn lækira wisa · **The** taladhu swa længe saman at *albanus* sagðhe en
45 lækira sniman hafua warit j iudha lande som gaff *medh* ordhe dōðhum liiff · **Ok**
siukom helso · **Ok** iudha hafua dræpit han for awndh / ok at han bōther nw
flerom
sidhan æn fōr · **Allom** them hans guddom throa / *wespasianus* swaradhe thet ær
min
- 48 thro ok thrōst at thæn ma minom næsom gifua helsu som dōðhum gifuir liiff · **J**
samu stwndh æftir swa talat fik han hela bōther *wespacianus* lofuadhe gla-
dher sin lækira **Ok** for til rom · ok fik tyberij loff · fordærfua · ok ødha gudz
51 owini iudha · **Ok** sammadhe mang Ar wapn ok hæR / til tyberius doo oc nero
wardh *keysare* At han
fik tha budh aff hanum fordærfua iudha thy at the waro *romarum* falske ok onde
V*espacianus* kom pascha dagh for *ierusalem* **Ok** bur-
54 dhe storma ok stormadhe manga dagma **Mykit** folk widha aff wæ
raldinna war saman comit wm hōgtidhena j *ierusalem* · **Ok** ænkte war ther
cristit
folk Thy at thæn hæghe ande varadhe them · **At** fōr æn *wespasianus* kom /
57 **Ok** the foro bort · **Ok** waro *medh* godhum fridhi jnnan eno thorpe som callas pel
la Annan wægh jordan ther til at guz hemder gingu ifuir alla gudz owini

38 til] \til/ B. 40–41 the ... matkum] the wllu {fulle} *medh* matkum B, tha wullo *medh* madhkom C. 41 mathk] wmak C. 42 albanum] {albanum} B. 44 lækira] lækir\`a/ B, læke C. 46 nw] \nw/ B. 48 næsom] næs[a>om] B. 49–50 gladher] ~ C. 50 lækira] lækir\`a/ B. 51–52 til ... onde] til \tyberius doo oc/ nero wardh *keysare* At han fik [stitched tear in manuscript] \tha/ budh aff hanum fordærfua iudha thy at the waro *romarum* falske ok onde B, til saman Tha sænde tyberius ower haff oc loth fanga *pilatun* oc fōra til rom C. 52 falske ... onde] fal|ske ok onde B. 53 *Vespacianus*] *V*espaci[stitched tear in manuscript]anus B. 54 storma ok] storma [stitched tear in manuscript] ok B. 55 saman] sa[stitched tear in manuscript]man B; j *ierusalem*] j *ierusalem*] B. 56 hæghe] hæl[stitched tear in manuscript]ghe B. 57 the] \the/ B.

ok ængin Annan · Swa laa tha ierusalem bilaght at vmoghelict war nokrom
vtkoma

- 60 **EN** visaste judhe **Ok** ærliker herra · wnger at aldre josephus at nampne swa
at han war tha barn · judha · drapo wan herra sa wæl at stadherin mun
de fordærfuas · war forman for et torn ok castel gōmde sik *medh xi · companum*
- 63 wnder eno iordhuse iij dagha til them thok sar hunger / oc the wildu sik tha
hælder siælfua dræpa æn swælda / ella sik romarom j wald gifua · The drogho
loth hwilkin thera først wndher swærdh skulde / ok drapos · x · til josephus
- 66 war epter *medh enom compane* · Josephus war raskir ok snar **Ok** fik handum for
swærdhit · **Ok** rymde fra hanum ok fik tala ifuir murin widh en rømskan
herra hemelican · vespaciani win / ok røktadhe sik coma · sikran for vespacia-
- 69 **num Vespacianus** talar til iosephum ok sigher han vara wærdhan dōdh :
Josephus sigher sit
maal væl mugha bætras · **Wespasianus** spør hwat en bundin fange ma bæt
tra · **Josephus** sigher sik nokot *thet wita* · hanum wardha · **Wespasianus** bidher
- 72 han sighia · **Josephus** swaradhe nero *Rømsker keysare* ær dōdher ok alt romara
borgh radh
hafuir thik walt til · *keysare* · wespasianus sigher til iosephum æn thu æst spa-
man hwi spadhe thu ey thinu lande ok frændum *thet them nu ifuir ganger*
- 75 **josephus** swaradhe xl · daghum før æn nokor annar viste thina como spadhe iak
iu-
dhum *thet nw ær comit ok raddhe iak them gifua stadh ok landh j romara wald* ·
Mædhan como *Rømska* herra sendebudha til vespasianum · At bæra ha
- 78 num wissu budh af romara radh : at han ær · *keysare* · walder ok takin /
wespasianus
gaff iosepho lif ok winskap · **Ok** skipadhe titum sin son hwarium manne kæræn
forman for hærscahit ater blifua til stadherin wrdhe wnnin **Ok** han for
- 81 siælfuir landh wæghin til rom ok thok widh · *keysare* · crono liufuir æpter
ledhan
Titus wardh swa bradhfæghin aff fadhurs hedher at han fik wadhelika
sot **Josephus** lette granlika sottiinna sak ok tima ok forstodh *thet sannasta*
- 84 At han munde sot hafua fangit af iferwætis glædhi **Ok** spurdhe af hans

59 nokrom vtkoma] nokrom | vtkoma B. 60 josephus ... nampne] |josephus at nampne| B.
63 tha] tha- B. 64 drogho] drogho- B. 65 drapos] Possibly dræpos B; josephus] josephus- B.
66 for] for- B. 67 fra] a written with a dot above, B; rømskan] røn\i/skan B. 68 sikran] felighan
C. 69 vara] \vara/ B. 69-70 sit ... væl] |sit| [sik væl > maal væl] B. 73 keysare · wespasianus]
keysare [ok] · wespasianus B. 74 thinu] thinum B. 76 raddhe] ra\d/dhe B; romara wald ·]
romara | wald · B, romara wald oc wærio C. 78 radh] radh[a] B. 81 liufuir] liu\f/uir B.

- vinum æn nokor ware then j the færðinne titus ware wredher / ok for-
 stodh At ther war en ther aldre matte coma for hans øghon · Josephus sag
 87 dhe til titum herra wilt thu bætra fa tha lofua mik · at thu wardh hwariom man
 ne j dagh blidher widh bordh
 oc jngom wredher · tytus lofwadhe hanum thet a sina tro
 90 josephus let koma thæn man tytus var wredher · oc lofwadhe
 han skadhaløsan / oc satte han widh bordh
 medh sik j matunøte genwert tito · Titus fik af
 93 hans syn dighra stridh j sinu hiærta / glædhi ok wredhe ok swa myklu mere
 mødhu at han wilde ey synas wredher a mot sinna lofuan / Ok ther medh
 temprá-
 dhis hans ifuerwætis glædhi · Ok forgik hanum crampasot Ok fik han bøther
 siælf-
 96 uir Ok gaf hanom winskap som han war wredher Ok iosepho hedher ok æ-
 ro · Titus la tu ar for ierusalem ok wardh swa digher sylt j stadhenom at son
 ok fadher dotter ok modher rifws wm fødho ok drogh hwart andrum maat ·
 99 wt af munne · wnge mæn ok starke gingu a · gatum som gasta sultne til the
 fiollu nidher dødhe for wanmæghen · The som andre jordadhu · the fiullu for
 sylt
 ifuir them innan grafuena · Sidhan engin gat tolt ok lifuat widh rothna lukt
 102 tha lægdhis draghara medh staz ingiældum at casta likin ifuir murin til · gro-
 pane munde nær fyllas · Titus wardh thæs war ok warkunnadhe vslum
 ok lypte gratande hender gen himnum · Ok taler swa : Gudh siælfuir thu
 105 west thet wæl at iudha walda thætta siælfua ok ey iak · Jak hafuer them
 medh minne blygdh opta · tha fridh budhit ok · godha dagtingin oc the wildu
 hæller stridha · Seltis øla ok sulur · war iudha fødha · hwar the kændu
 108 røk aff · elde ther brutu the dør hwar ifuir androm thy at the wæntu
 ther fødhu wara EN rik fru som het maria war wm thæn tima
 j ierusalem · Judha brutu opta hus ifuer hænne · æ mædhan ther war nokot til
 111 fødhu ok lefdhu hænne ænkte / wm sidhe / wtan hænna barn som j wag
 gu laa · Modherin thok barnit j sin fampn · Ok taler til · thæs Min son
 hwar skal thik fødha · mædhan iak swælther · mun ey bæther wara · at thu
 114 wari før min fødha · hæller æn røfuara røua thik æpter mik dødha fødhu mik sø-

85 the færðinne] herfærðinne C. 87 bætra] bøter C. 89–91 oc ... bordh] Added in top margin with a marker in the text, B. 90 wredher] wredher[-] B. 100 wanmæghen] wanmæren B; omæghne C. 101 tolt] \tolt/ B; widh ... lukt] widh roth{na l}|ukt} B, fore rotin røk C. 104–05 thu west] west thu B. 107 Seltis ... sulur] Bæltisrema oc swlur oc alskons ledher C. 113 hwar] huru C. 114 æn ... thik] æn {røfuara røua} \thik/ B, æn røwaranna fødha C; dødha] dødha[n] B.

ta barn / Mædhan iak gitir ey længer thik føt / fødth mik iak fødde længer
 thik / far innan thit eghit hærbærghe ok wardh modher mather **Ok** læt
 117 mik swa længe lifua · at iak mughi thik dødhan ok mik mætta grata
Tha fōrzsta wardher sylta sorghin ful iak grater mik mætta wardh mo-
 dher mater ok sorgha saki : Epter swa talat · vende hon ænlitit fra barne
 120 no **Ok** scar stōkkium sunder · steker et stykke **Ok** gōme flere til annan ti-
 ma · Alt war sændher hon war alla mæt ok ille mæn komo som wani ware /
 ok brutu dør ok badho sik · æta gifua : aff stekinne som them wisadhe røk
 123 rin ok høttu hænne dōdh æn hon gafue ey fødho hon kastadhe klæ
 dhe aff sælughu sarghadha like · **Ok** sagdhe til thera · hær at jak en del
 aff mins sons limmum mino eghno blodhe **Mæstan** del hafuir iak idher
 126 gōmt · **Mænnena** stygdīs widher ok stodho Annars hugha **Conan** taler · til
 thera · nær war conan hardhare æn mannin **Ok** mannin blōtare æn mo-
 dherin **Tha** matte hwar man prōfua gudz hemd ifuir iudha syni · for
 129 guz son / ifuir maria son som modherin at / for marie son som iumfruan
 græt / thet hafuer iudhin fangit som han beddis han gaf wt ihesum helsuna læ
 kira **Ok** beddis barrabam til lifs som war mandrapare · **Mist** hafuir
 132 iudhin helsuna / ok lifuir hanum engte · vtan drap ok dōdher :
Tridhia are brōt titus nidher ierusalem · mura wm kring ok templum
 domini alt widh iordh · **Swa** som iudha · saldho war herra for xxx pæ-
 135 ninga · swa læt titus sælia xxx iudha · for en pæning · **Niotighi** tusand ok
 vij · M · judha saldus wnder trældom wm thæn tima · **Ok** elleuo sinnom
 hundradh thusandh forforus wndher swærdh ok sylt / thet hittis ok scrifuat
 138 at thæn tima titus redh ifuir ierusalem fik han sea · en thiuccastan sten
 mur · ok læt han ginum grafua · ther funnu the som grouo en gamblan
 karl sithia inne muradhan wænan man j ænliti ok tho hærughan **The**
 141 spurdho hwat manne han ware han sagdhe sik wara joseph af Arima-
 thie som warn herra jordadhe ok ther fore insættan aff iudhum · **At** han
 giordhe swa · ok sagdhe sik hafua ther sælan lifuat xl · Ar jnna luctan
 144 widh ængla fødho ok gudhlict lius · **Tho** scrifuer nichodemus · **At** war herra
 tedhis ioseph jnneluctum ok løste han ok ledde han hem til Arimathiam

117 mætta] mætta[n] B; grata] grata- B. 118–19 Tha ... saki] ~ C. 120 stōkkium ... flere] taghar sundher / oc sompt stekte oc sompt gōmpde hon C. 121 ille mæn] [a>i]lle mæn B, the C. 122 dør] dør ower henne C. 124 sarghadha] sa\r/ghadha B. 125 mino eghno] min[a siæl-ua>o eghno] B, Mæstan] Mæsta{n} B. 126 stodho] stodho som stokka C; til] til- B. 127 mannin blōtare] mannin {blōtare} B. 128 for] for- B. 130 fangit] fang{it} B. 130–31 helsuna lækira] helsu\na/ lækir\ a/ B. 135 Niotighi] Ni\o/tighi B. 136 vij] fyra C. 140 j ænliti] fagran j ænlite oc allan hærughan C. 143 jnna] jnna[n] B. 145 han] \han/ B; hem] [han > hem] B.

Thætta løsis swa : at han war thyswa fangin ok en tima wt takin af
 147 warom herra ok annan tima aff tito :—
 Langan tima ther æptir · wildu iudha ater wpbyggia ierusalem ok fun
 no första daghin alla markena fulla medh dagh Ok alla daggena falna
 150 j cors like · Annan daghin funnu the all sin klædhe blodugh ok hwan
 blodhz dropan fallin j kors like · Sidhan thrøstu the enkte meer
 At bygningh gøra :—

Translation

At the time, Vespasian was west of the sea on a military expedition. The commanders understood what had happened at home and that vile men were plaguing and destroying the Roman Empire. And they complained that they were the first to action and to endanger their lives and be stationed in distant empires and countries. And they took their leader Vespasian as Roman Emperor in AD 72. Born from a lowly family and yet equal to every prince, he was Roman Emperor for nine years, eleven months, and twenty-two days. Here is surely the opportunity to tell how the Jews paid for the death of Our Lord.

Our Lord, who himself says that he does not want to see the death of sinful people if they want to atone for their crimes, did as he said and gave them [i. e., the Jews] a deadline of forty years to confess and do penance, which the apostles preached and counselled them, especially St James, son of Alphaeus, who was among them every day in Jerusalem and preached. As they did not obey God's words and good advice, God wanted to terrify them with many wondrous things, as Josephus the Jew writes. A burning star, shaped like a sword, hung over Jerusalem for a year with terrifying flames. On a certain Passover evening, a great light shone around the altar in God's Temple so that everyone believed that it was daylight. During the same festival, a heifer calved a lamb in front of God's altar. During those days, men saw soldiers [lit. knighthood] in the air armed with every kind of weapon walking together in battalions [lit. groups] and fighting in the clouds.

On a certain night of Pentecost [i. e., Shavuot], the priests who were standing next to the sacrifice heard voices surrounding them [saying]: "Let's get away from these residences!"

146 thyswa fangin] twen sinnom fangin C. 147 titu] tyto vespesiani søne C. 150 cors] korss-
 wiis C. 150–51 hwan blodhz] hwa|n||riu blodh[e>z] B.

The fourth year before Vespasian came, a man, Jesus, son of Ananias, began to shout on a holy day: “A voice from the east! A voice from the west! A voice from the four directions the wind blows! A voice over Jerusalem! A voice over the Temple! A voice over brides and bridegrooms! A voice of all the people!” The Jews caught and captured the man in order to hit and beat him, but he could not answer them and say anything else, but rather kept shouting the same thing, and the more [he did so], the more they beat him. They led him before Pilate. Pilate had him beaten and scourged so that his rib bones were visible, bare. He did not cry and he did not beg for mercy, but shouted in the same way as before, and ended every shout with “Woe! Woe!”

As the Jews did not comprehend such miraculous signs, Vespasian arrived forty years after the death of Our Lord, and [he had] his son, Titus, with him. And they razed all Jerusalem to the ground just as Our Lord foresaw when we wept for Jerusalem. [Luke 19:41–44] And so we find written why Vespasian came most to Jerusalem and back to the Jews with another matter that follows hereafter.

Pilate feared the revenge of Tiberius, the Roman Emperor, for the death of Our Lord because he had written to him about Our Lord’s virtues and good works. And so, he sent one of his friends across the sea to Tiberias to claim his innocence for the death of Our Lord. The envoy was called Alban. He was shipwrecked off [the coast of] Galatia. Vespasian was then ruling over the province on behalf of Emperor Tiberius. Alban came before Vespasian. Vespasian asked where he had come from. He answered that he had come from Jerusalem, a city in the province of Judea.¹ Vespasian had a vile disease inside his nose that was crawling with insects from which he got his name as *vespa* means ‘insect’ in our language.² And for this reason his spoke to Alban: “You come from the land where the wisest men live. Can you give me medicine for this disease that you see I have? Or can you give me the doctor [who can]?” They spoke together for so long that Alban said that there had recently been a doctor in Judea³ who by [saying] words gave life to the dead and good health to the sick: “And the Jews killed him out of envy and now he cures all those who believe in his divinity – even more [people] than before!” Vespasian replied, “It is my belief and succour that the one who can give life to

1 OSw. “iudha rikis” [lit. Jew-province, province of (the) Jews].

2 OSw. “matkum” and “en mathk” (< *maþker*) usually means ‘worm’ or ‘maggot.’ However, here it is being used as a translation of Lat. *vespa* [wasp] to explain the meaning behind Vespasian’s name. For this reason, I have used translated it with ‘insect’; cf. Söderwall, s.v, “maþker 1) mask; äfven insekt el. annat mindre djur af lägre ordning” [worm; also an insect or other small animal of a lower order]. However, as some traditions – also those based on Latin – do talk about Vespasian’s nose being full of worms, the meaning ‘worm’ is also possible here.

3 OSw. “judha lande” [lit. Jew-land, land of (the) Jews].

the dead will be able to cure my nose.” Straight after saying this, he received a complete cure. With joy, Vespasian praised his doctor and travelled to Rome and received permission from Tiberius to annihilate and destroy the enemies of God: the Jews. And for many years he gathered weapons and forces until Tiberius died and Nero became emperor. Then he received an order from him to annihilate the Jews because they were false and evil to the Romans.

Vespasian arrived in Jerusalem on the day of Pascha [i. e., Passover/Easter] and began to storm [the city] and stormed for many days. Many people from across the world had gathered in Jerusalem for the festival. And there were no Christian people present because the Holy Spirit had warned them before Vespasian arrived, and they had left the city and were in good peace in a village called Pella on the other side of the Jordan,⁴ because God’s revenge was to afflict all of God’s enemies and no-one else. And Jerusalem was then besieged so that it was impossible for anyone to leave.

An exceedingly wise Jew and honest honourable man with the name Joseph, of young age, so that he was a child when the Jews killed Our Lord, saw that the city could be destroyed. [He] was the overseer of a tower and castle. Together with eleven companions, [he] hid in an underground cellar for four days until they were afflicted by a great hunger, and they would rather kill themselves than starve to death or give themselves over to the Romans’ custody. They drew lots to determine who was the first of them to go under the sword. And ten of them were killed until Joseph remained with one companion. Joseph was quick-witted and clever and [he] grabbed hold of the sword and took it off him [the other man]. [He] managed to speak confidentially⁵ over the wall to a Roman lord, Vespasian’s friend, and arranged to come before Vespasian. Vespasian speaks⁶ to Joseph and says that he is worthy of death. Joseph says that his measurement [i. e., Vespasian’s assessment of him] can certainly be improved. Vespasian asks what a bound prisoner can improve. Joseph says that he knows something that is going to happen to him [Vespasian]. Vespasian asks him to tell. Joseph answered, “Nero, the Roman emperor, is dead and the whole Roman Senate has elected you emperor.” Vespasian says to Joseph, “If you are a soothsayer, why did you not prophesy to your country and kinsmen what has befallen them now?” Joseph answered, “Forty

4 Eusebius (Church History 3.5.3) and Epiphanius of Salamis (*Panarion* [*Adversus Haereses*] 30.2.7; *On Weights and Measures* 15) were the first to refer to the tradition that before the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, the city’s Christians had been miraculously warned and fled to Pella (modern-day ʿAbaqat Faḥl in Jordan).

5 OSw. “hemelican” is not an adverb, but an adjective (*hemeliker*) qualifying the Roman. However, ‘a confidential Roman lord’ sounds odd in English.

6 The sudden change in tense is found in the OSw.: e. g., “talar,” “sigher,” and “spør.”

days before anyone knew of your arrival, I prophesied to the Jews what has now happened and advised them to place the city and country under Roman power.”

In the meantime, Roman lords, envoys, arrived before Vespasian to carry a certain message to him from the Roman Senate: that he has been elected and taken as emperor. Vespasian gave Joseph his life and his friendship, and made Titus, his son, beloved by everyone, commander of the army to remain behind until the city was conquered. And he himself travelled the land route to Rome and accepted the emperor’s crown, a benign [rule] after a cruel one.

Titus was so extremely exulted at his father’s honour that he caught a dreadful disease. Joseph carefully investigated the cause and timing of the disease and understood what was truest: that he could have caught the disease from excessive joy and asked his friends whether there was anyone on the expedition who Titus was angry with and learnt that there was someone who could never come within his sight. Joseph said to Titus, “Lord, if you want to get better, then promise me that you will be kind to everyone at the dinner-table today and angry with no-one.” Titus promised him this upon his faith. Joseph had the man who Titus was angry with come and promised him he would be unharmed and seated him at the table next to himself and opposite Titus. At the very sight of him, Titus experienced a great conflict in his heart – joy and anger and even more torment as he did not want to appear angry counter to his promise. And with this his excessive joy was tempered and the cramping disease left him, and he was cured. And [he] gave his friendship to the one he was angry with and honour and praise to Joseph.

Titus lay [i. e., maintained the siege] for two years outside of Jerusalem and there was such great starvation in the city that son and father, daughter and mother fought over food and pulled the food out of each other’s mouths. Young and strong men walked the streets like hungry ghosts until they fell down dead from weakness. Those who buried the others fell dead from starvation onto those in the grave. As no-one could cope or live with the rotten stench, bearers were hired with city funds to throw the corpses over the wall until the moat had almost been filled.

Titus became aware of this and felt pity for the wretches and, weeping, he raised his hands to the sky and speaks⁷ like this: “God yourself, you know well that that the Jews have brought this on themselves and not I! With my modesty, I have often offered them peace and a good negotiation, but they would rather fight.” Belt straps and soles [of shoes] were the Jews’ food [lit. Jew-food]. Everyone who noticed smoke from a fire broke down the door, each one over the other, because they expected there to be food.

⁷ The sudden change in tense is found in the OSw.: e. g., “taler.”

There was at that time in Jerusalem a rich woman who was called Mary. Jews often broke into her house as long as there was any food, and in the end, they left her nothing but her child who was lying in a cradle. The mother took the child into her embrace and spoke to it, “My son, who is going to feed you while I starve? But wouldn’t it be better for you to be my food than for the robbers to steal you after my death? Feed me, sweet child because I can no longer feed you! Feed me! I fed you for a long time. Go into your own room⁸ and become food for your mother! And let me live long enough that I can weep about you, dead, and me, full. Only then will starvation be sorrowful. I will weep about having been made full by mother-food and the reason for sorrow.” After having spoken like this, she turned her face away from the child and cut him into pieces, roasted a piece, and hid several [bits more] for another time.

Everything happened at once: she became wickedly full and, as was their habit, wicked men arrived and broke open the door and asked her to give [them] something to eat from the roast, which revealed itself by its smell, and threatened her with death if she did not give them some food. She threw off the cloth from the poor, cut up body, and said to them, “Here, I ate part of my son’s limbs, my own blood! I’ve kept the largest part for you!” The men were repulsed and appalled. The woman spoke to them, “When were women⁹ tougher than men, and men softer than mothers?” Then every person could taste God’s revenge against the sons of the Jews for the Son of God: for Mary’s son whom the mother ate, for Mary’s son whom the Virgin wept about. The Jews have got as they asked. They handed over Jesus, the doctor of health, and asked for Barabbas’s life to be saved, who was a murderer. The Jews have lost their health and live for nothing but killing and death.

In the third year, Titus razed the city wall around Jerusalem and the Temple of the Lord,¹⁰ all of it to the ground. Just as the Jews sold Our Lord for thirty pennies, so Titus had thirty Jews sold for a penny. At that time, 97,000 Jews were sold into slavery and 110,000 perished under the sword and [from] starvation. It is also found written that when Titus was riding through Jerusalem, he noticed an

8 This curious phrase may be a garbled translation of Pseudo-Hegesippus’s “reddite matri quod accepistis, redi fili in illud naturale secretum, in quo domicilio sumstisti spiritum” [return to your mother what you have received; return, son, to that secret place of nature, where you took up the spirit], where OSw. *hærbærghe* [a roof over one’s head, dwelling; room] has been used for Lat. *domicilium* [habitation, dwelling, abode, home]. See Text 10: *Mary of Bethesuba*.

9 In several places in the OSw. text a definite singular noun is used to generalize: “conan,” “man-nin,” “modherin,” and “iudhin.” For reasons of idiom, these have been translated with generalizing plural forms in English: “women,” “men,” “mothers,” and “the Jews.”

10 The Second Temple that stood on the Temple Mount between c. 516 BCE and c. 70 CE.

exceedingly thick stonewall and had it dug through. Those digging found an old man there sitting bricked-up inside, a handsome man of face and yet hairy. They asked what man he was. He said he was Joseph of Arimathea who had buried Our Lord and was therefore immured by the Jews for doing so. And [he] said that he had lived bricked-up there happily for forty years on angel food and divine light. However, Nicodemus writes that Our Lord appeared to Joseph, immured, and freed him and led him to Arimathea. This is interpreted that he was captured twice: and one time released by Our Lord and another by Titus.

A long time afterwards, the Jews wanted to re-build Jerusalem and on the first day found all the ground covered in dew and all the dewdrops had fallen in the shape of crosses. The second day, they found all their clothes bloodied and each drop of blood had fallen in the shape of a cross. Subsequently, they did not trust to do any more construction.

Latin version: *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*]

Source: *LegAur* 451–58.

Translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 1, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 272–77.

Refert Iosephus quod propter peccatum mortis Iacobi iusti factum sit excidium Iherusalem et dispersio Iudeorum; sed non solum ob mortem Iacobi, sed etiam ob mortem domini precipue hec destructio facta est, secundum quod dominus dicit: “Non relinquent in te lapidem super lapidem, eo quod non cognoueris tempus uisitationis tue.” Sed quoniam dominus non uult mortem peccatoris et ut ipsi excusationem non haberent, per quadraginta annos penitentiam eorum expectauit et per apostolos, maxime per Iacobum fratrem domini inter eos continue predicantem, eos ad penitentiam reuocabat; sed cum per admonitionem eos non posset reuocare, uoluit eos saltem prodigiis exterrere. Nam in hiis XL annis sibi ad penitentiam datis multa monstra et prodigia, sicut refert Iosephus, euenerunt. Nam stella prefulgens gladio per omnia similis uisa est ciuitati desuper imminere ac per totum annum exitialibus flammis ardere. In quodam festo azimorum hora noctis nona tantus fulgor aram templumque circumdedit ut omnes diem clarissimum factum putarent. In eadem festiuitate uitula ad immolandum adducta inter ministrorum manus agnam subito est enixa. Post aliquot dies prope solis occasum uisi sunt currus et quadrige in omni regione per aerem ferri et armatorum cohortes misceri nubibus et urbes circumdare agminibus improuisis. In alio die festo qui pentecostes appellatur, noctu sacerdotes in templum ingressi ad ministeria ex

more complenda motus quosdam strepitusque senserunt ac uoces subitas audierunt dicentes: “Transeamus ab hiis sedibus.” Ante quartum etiam annum belli quidam uir nomine Ihesus Ananie filius in festo tabernaculorum repente clamare cepit: “Vox ab oriente, uox ab occidente, uox a quatuor uentis, uox super Iherosolimam et super templum, uox super sponso et sponsas, uox super populum uniuersum.” Predictus igitur uir capitur, ceditur, uerberatur, sed ille aliud dicere nequiens quanto plus uerberabatur tanto eadem fortius clamitabat. Ad iudicem igitur adducitur, tormentis duris afficitur, usque ad patefactionem ossium laniamur, sed ille nec preces nec lacrimas effundebat, sed cum quodam ululatu per singula pene uerba eadem proferebat, addens etiam hoc: “Ve, ue, Iherosolimis!” Hec Iosephus. Cum autem Iudei nec admonitionibus conuerterentur nec tantis prodigiis terrentur, post quadragesimum annum dominus Vespasianum et Titum Iherusalem adduxit qui ipsam ciuitatem funditus destruxerunt.

Hec autem fuit causa aduentus ipsorum in Iherusalem, sicut in quadam historia inuenitur, licet apocrypha. Videns Pylatus quia Ihesum innocentem condemnauerat, timens offensam Tyberii cesaris pro se excusando nuntium nomine Albanum ad cesarem destinauit. Eo autem tempore Vespasianus monarchiam in Galatia a Tyberio cesare tenebat. Nuntius igitur Pylati a uentis contrariis in Galatiam pellitur et ad Vespasianum adducitur. Talis autem seruabatur ibi consuetudo, ut quicumque ibidem naufragium pateretur, rebus et seruitute principi subderetur. Quem Vespasianus quis esset aut unde ueniret seu quo tenderet requisiiuit. Cui ille: “Iherosolimitanus sum, de partibus illis ueni, Romam usque tendebam.” Cui Vespasianus: “De terra sapientum uenis, artem nosti medicaminis, medicus es, curare me debes.” Vespasianus enim quoddam genus uermium naribus insitum ab infantia gerebat, unde et a uespis Vespasianus dicebatur. Cui uir ille respondit: “Artem medicaminis, domine, nescio, et ideo te curare non ualeo.” Cui Vespasianus: “Nisi me curaueris, morte morieris.” Cui ille ait: “Ille qui cecos illuminauit, demones effugauit, mortuos suscitauit, ille nouit quia medendi artem ignoro.” Cui Vespasianus: “Quis est iste de quo tanta profaris?” Et ille: “Ihesus Nazarenus, quem Iudei per inuidiam occiderunt; in quem si credideris sanitatis gratiam consequeris.” Et Vespasianus: “Credo quia qui mortuos suscitauit me etiam de hac infirmitate liberare poterit.” Et hec dicendo uespe de eius naribus ceciderunt et continuo sanitatem recepit. Tunc Vespasianus ingenti gaudio repletus ait: “Certus sum quia filius dei fuit qui me curare potuit. Petita igitur a cesare licentia Iherosolimam cum manu armata pergam et omnes proditores huius et occisores funditus euertam.” Dixitque Albano nuntio Pylati: “Rebus et uita sanus et incolumis domum tuam mei licentia reuertaris.” Vespasianus igitur Romam adiit et destruendi Iudeam et Iherusalem a cesare licentiam impetrauit. Per annos igitur plures exercitum congregauit, tempore scilicet Neronis imperatoris, cum Iudei imperio rebellassent. Vnde secundum chronicas non fecit hoc zelo Christi,

sed quia a dominio recesserant Romanorum. Iherusalem ergo cum copioso exercitu Vespasianus aduenit et in die pasche Iherusalem per circuitum potenter obsedit ibique infinitam multitudinem que ad diem festum conuenerat conclusit. Per aliquod autem tempus, antequam Vespasianus Iherusalem adueniret, fideles qui ibi erant a spiritu sancto admonentur ut inde recedant et in quodam oppido trans Iordanem quod Pella uocatur secedant ut ablatis ab urbe sanctis uiris celesti uindictae fieret locus tam de urbe sacrilega quam de populo scelerato. Quendam autem ciuitatem Iudee, nomine Ionapatam, in qua Iosephus princeps et dux erat, primo omnium est aggressus, sed Iosephus cum suis uiriliter resistebat. Tandem uidens Iosephus imminere excidium ciuitatis assumptis undecim Iudeis subterranam domum intrauit, ubi quadriduana fame afflicti Iudei non consentiente Iosepho malebant ibidem mori quam Vespasiani se subicere seruituti uolebantque se mutuo interficere et sanguinem suum in sacrificium deo offerre; et quoniam Iosephus inter eos erat dignior, uolebant eum primitus occidere ut eius effusione sanguinis deus citius placaretur, uel, ut in quadam chronica dicitur, ideo mutuo se interficere uolebant, ne darentur in manibus Romanorum. At Iosephus uir prudens et mori nolens iudicem mortis et sacrificii se constituit et quis prior alio occidendus esset inter binos et binos sortem mittere iussit. Missis itaque sortibus sors nunc unum nunc alium morti tradidit, donec uentum est ad ultimum, cum quo Iosephus sortes missurus fuit. Tunc Iosephus homo strenuus et agilis gladium illi abstulit et quid magis eligeret, uitam scilicet aut mortem, requisiiuit et ut sine dilatione eligeret precepit. Et ille timens respondit: “Viuere non recuso, si gratia tui uitam conseruare ualeo.” Tunc Iosephus uni familiari Vespasiani et sibi etiam familiari latenter locutus est et ut sibi uita donaretur petiit et quod petiit impetrauit. Cum autem ante Vespasianum Iosephus esset adductus, dixit ei Vespasianus: “Mortem meruisses si huius petitionibus liberatus non esses.” Et Iosephus: “Si quid perperam actum est, in melius commutari potest.” Et Vespasianus: “Qui uictus est, quid facere potest?” Et Iosephus: “Aliquid facere potero si dictis meis aures tuas demulsero.” Et Vespasianus: “Concedatur ut uerbis inhereas et quidquid boni dicturus es, pacifice audiatur.” Et Iosephus: “Imperator Romanus interiit et senatus imperatorem te fecit.” Et Vespasianus: “Si propheta es, quare non es uaticinatus huic ciuitati quod mee subicienda sit ditioni?” Et Iosephus: “Per quadraginta dies hoc eis predixi.” Interea legati Romanorum ueniunt, Vespasianum in imperium sublimatum asserunt eumque Romam deducunt. Hoc quoque Eusebius in chronica testatur, quod scilicet Iosephus Vespasiano predixit tam de imperatoris morte quam de sua sublimatione. Reliquit autem Vespasianus Titum filium suum in obsidione Iherusalem. Titus autem, ut in eadem hystoria apocrypha legitur, audiens patrem suum in imperium sublimatum, tanto gaudio et exultatione repletur quod neruorum contractione ex frigiditate corripitur et altero crure debilitatus paralysi torquetur. Iosephus autem audiens Titum infir-

mitate laborare, causam morbi et morbum et tempus morbi diligenter inquit. Causa nescitur, morbus ignoratur; de tempore autem quoniam audita patris electione hoc sibi acciderit aperitur. Iosephus autem uir prouidus et sapiens ex paucis multa coniecit et ex tempore morbum et causam inuenit, sciens quia gaudio et letitia superabundanti debilitatus fuit. Animaduertens itaque quoniam contraria contrariis curantur, sciens etiam quia quod amore conqueritur, dolore frequenter amittitur, querere cepit an aliquis esset qui principis inimicus obnoxius teneretur. Et erat ibi seruus adeo Tito molestus ut sine uehementi conturbatione nullatenus in eum posset respicere nec etiam nomen eius audire. Dixit itaque Tito: “Si curari desideras, omnes qui in meo comitatu uenerint saluos efficias.” Cui Titus: “Quicumque in tuo comitatu uenerit, securus habeatur et saluus.” Tunc Iosephus cito prandium fieri precepit et mensam suam mense Titi oppositam locauit et seruum a dextris suis sedere fecit. Quem Titus respiciens molestia conturbatus infremuit et qui prius gaudio infrigidatus fuerat, accensione furoris incaluit neruosque distendens curatus fuit. Post hoc Titus et seruum in sui gratiam et Iosephum in sui amicitiam recepit. Vtrum autem hec hystoria apocrypha narranda sit, lectoris iudicio relinquatur.

Biennio igitur a Tito Iherusalem obsessa, inter cetera mala que obsessos grauiter perurgebant tanta fames omnes tenuit quod parentes filiis et filii parentibus, uiri uxoribus et uxores uiris cibos non tantum e manibus, sed etiam ex ipsis dentibus rapiebant; iuuenes etiam etate fortiores uelut simulacra per uias oberrando pre fame exanimes cadebant. Qui mortuos sepeliebant sepe super ipsos mortuos mortui cadebant; fetorem itaque cadauerum non ferentes ex publico sumptu ipsa sepeliebant, sed deficiente sumptu et uincente cadauerum multitudine de muro cadauera precipitabant. At Titus circumiens cum uidisset ualles cadaueribus repletas et totam patriam ex eorum fetore corruptam manus suas cum lacrimis ad celum leuauit dicens: “Deus, tu uides quia hoc ego non facio.” Tanta enim ibi fames erat quod calceamenta sua et corrigias comedebant.

Matrona quedam insuper genere et diuitiis nobilis, sicut legitur in hystoria ecclesiastica, cum predones in eius domum irruentes eam omnibus expoliassent nec sibi ultra quid comederet remansisset, paruulum lactantem tenens in manibus ait: “Infelicis matris infelicior fili, in bello, in fame, in direptione, cui te reseruabo? Veni ergo nunc, o mi nate, esto matri cibus, predonibus furor, seculis fabula.” Et hiis dictis filium iugulauit et coxit et dimidium comedens partem alteram occultauit. Et ecce, confestim predones odorem carnis cocte sentientes in domum irruunt et nisi carnem prodat mortem minantur. Tunc illa detegens infantis membra: “Ecce, inquit, uobis partem optimam reseruauit.” At illos tantus horror inuasit quod nec loqui potuerunt. Et illa: “Meus est, inquit, hic filius, meum est peccatum, securi edite, quia prior ego comedi quem genui. Nolite fieri aut matre religiosiores aut feminis molliores; quodsi uincit uos pietas et horre-

tis, ego totum comedam que dimidium iam comedi.” Illi uero trementes et terriți discesserunt.

Tandem secundo anno imperii Vespasiani Titus Iherusalem cepit et captam subuertit templumque funditus destruxit et, sicut Iudei Christum XXX denariis emerant, sic et ipse uno denario triginta Iudeos uendidit. Sicut autem narrat Iosephus, nonaginta septem milia Iudeorum uendita sunt et undecies centena milia fame et gladio perierunt.

Legitur quoque quod Titus intrans Iherusalem quendam murum densissimum uidit ipsumque perforari precepit; factoque foramine quendam intus senem aspectu et canitie uenerabilem inuenerunt. Qui requisitus quis esset respondit se esse Ioseph ab Arimathia ciuitate Iudea seque a Iudeis ibidem inclusum et muratum fuisse eo quod Christum sepelisset. Addiditque quod ab illo tempore usque nunc celesti sit cibo pastus et diuino lumine confortatus. In euangelio tamen Nychodemi dicitur quod cum Iudei ipsum reclusissent, Christus resurgens eum inde eripuit et in Arimathiam duxit. Potest dici quod cum eductus a predicatione Christi non cessaret, a Iudeis iterum est reclusus.

Mortuo quoque Vespasiano imperatore Titus filius eius eidem in imperio successit, qui fuit uir clementissimus et multe liberalitatis; tanteque bonitatis fuit, sicut ait Eusebius Cesariensis in chronica et testatur Ieronimus, quod dum quodam sero recordatus fuisset quod illo die nihil boni egisset aut nihil dedisset ait: “O amici, hunc diem perdidit.”

Post longa uero tempora quidam Iudei Iherusalem edificare uolentes, exeuntes primo mane plurimas cruces de rore inuenerunt; quas terriți fugientes et secundo mane redeuntes, unusquisque, ut ait Miletus in chronica, cruces sanguineas uestibus suis insitas inuenit. Qui uehementer terriți in fugam iterum uersi sunt, sed tertio reuersi uapore ignis de terra prodeuntis penitus sunt exusti.

27 The Enclosed Jews

Version 1: *Consolation of the Soul*

Headnotes

Source: **A** SKB A 108 (1400–50): Text a) pp. 6:13–7:2; Text b) pp. 81:24–82:2; Text c) pp. 316:28–317:6.

Parallel text: **B** SKB A 109 (c. 1425): Text c) ff. 64v15–65r4 [pp. 154:15–155:4].

Original text: **SelTro:** Text a) 277 (*Alexandersage*); Text b) 65 (no. 32); Text c) 263 (no. 7g).

Editions: **A** *SjäTrö:* Text a) 9; Text b) 97–98; Text c) 379.

B *SjæTrø:* Text c) 118–19.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

a)

Konugin aff israel læth

- gøra twa kalfwa aff gul hwilka han oc hans folk dyrkadho oc tilbadho for
3 thera gudh / **F**for the sakena wredhghadhis gudh offwer them oc stadde theth at
konungen aff niniue kom oc wan thera land oc dreff them alla vth aff lan
deno lankt bort j ødhknenā ther mang stoor bergh waro / **T**her læth han
6 them byggia oc hafdhe them for syna thræla / **L**langan tyma ther æptir
thentidh konung alexander **f**for om werldena *medh* sinom her / kom han oc
thith
som the bygdo oc spordhe hwat folk the waro / **T**ha wardh *honom* beræth
9 ath *thet* waro iwdha / ok huru mykyt goth gudh hafdhe them giorth Och
huru mildelika oc wel han hafdhe them j sinom drøfwilsom hulpit / ok huru
opta the hafdho han ther amoth ofwergifwit oc forsakat oc afgudh dyrkat
12 **O**c for thy hafdhe gudh *thet* stat at the waro fangade oc thit j berghin

1 Konugin] *Followed by* asrael *crossed-through and underpricked*, **A. 2** han ... folk] *de SelTro*; dyrkadho] *dy|r/kadho* **A. 5** lankt bort] *vnde brachte se verne in eyne wostenie SelTro. 6* thræla] *egen SelTro. 7–8* ffor ... bygdo] *dar met eme groten here SelTro. 9* ath ... iwdha] *~ SelTro. 9–11* Och ... amoth] *~ SelTro.*

driffne / **Tha** swaradhe konung alexander / oc saghdhe wisselika / mædhan the
 hafwa
 sinom gudh swa othrono warit / oc han hafwer them swa mykyt goth giorth tha
 15 skulu the ok her blifwa / **Oc** læth bōria alla wæghana ater mura oc wil
 de them ther inne lykkia at the skuldo alregh ther vth koma / **Tha** han
 sagh at *thet* kunde ekki dugha badh han innirlika *israels* gudh sik hielpa at han
 mat
 18 te them ther inne teppa / **Tha** skedhe ther eeth stoort gudz vnder / eet stoort
 bergh feste sik wiðh eeth *arnat* bergh kring vm alt *thet* landit swa hōght
 at the alregh sidhan vthkomo / **Oc** æro ther inne / oc skulu ther inne blifwa
 21 til *antichristi* tyma / tha skulu the vthkoma oc honom fōlghia **Thenna** widhermō
 dho oc ysæld kom them ofwer for thy at the *thet* fōrsta gudz budhordh ekki
 hioldo vtan
 dyrkadho oc badho til affgudh

Translation

The king of Israel had two golden calves made which he and his people worshipped and prayed to as their god. [3 Kings 12:26–30 *DRB*; 1 Kings 12:26–30 *KJV*] Because of this, God became angry with them and made it happen that the king of Nineveh came and conquered their land and expelled them from the country far into the desert where there were many great mountains. He let them live there and kept them as his slaves. A long time after this, when Alexander was riding across the world with his army, he also came to that place where they were living and asked what people they were. He was then told that they were Jews and how much good God had done for them, and how kindly and well he had helped them in their distress, and how often they had rebelled against him, abandoned and deserted [him], and worshipped an idol. And for this reason, God had made it happen that they were captured and herded into the mountains. Then King Alexander replied and said with full certainty, “As they have been so unfaithful to their god and he has done so much good for them, they shall remain here!” And he had all the roads bricked up and wanted to enclose them so that they would never again come out. When he realized that this could not be done, he prayed fervently to the

13 swaradhe] sprak *SelTro*; oc ... wisselika] ~ *SelTro*. 14–15 tha ... blifwa] so wolde he se besluten dat se nummer vtkomen scholden *SelTro*. 15–17 oc ... dugha] dat en help nicht *SelTro*. 17 innirlika] ~ *SelTro*; *israels* gudh] vnsen leuen heren *SelTro*. 21 til ... tyma] bitte Entekerst kumpt *SelTro*. 23 dyrkadho ... badho] anbededen *SelTro*.

God of Israel to help him so that he could enclose them there within. Then, a great miracle of God occurred: one large mountain attached itself to another mountain all the way around the country, so high that they never again came out and are in there and will remain in there until the time of Antichrist. Then they will come out and follow him. This sorrow and wretchedness came upon them because they did not keep the First Commandment but worshipped and prayed to an idol.

b)

Antechristus skal fōdhas j babilonia aff iwdhiske slækt aff eens patriarcha slekt som heeth dan / **H**an wardher onækta fōddir aff forbannadhe
 3 qwinno oc forbannadhūm man / Han wardher oc vmskuren som een iwdhe
 æpter iudhanna lagh / **H**onom wardher fōrst een hælagher ængil til gōmo
 gifwin / **T**her æpter nar han wexir til hōghfærdh oc ondzko / **o**c sigher sik
 6 wara gudz son / tha gaar then godh ængillin fran honom **O**c diæfwllin
 taker han j sina antwardhan / **H**an wardher mektogher oc faar my-
 kyt wald **O**c alle the rōdho iudhane som mællan berghin æro æn inne
 9 læste koma tha vth oc skulu honom fōlghia /

Translation

The Antichrist will be born in Babylon from the Jewish people from the family of a patriarch called Dan. He will be born illegitimately of a cursed woman and a cursed man. He will also be circumcised like a Jew in accordance with the law of the Jews. At first, he will be given a holy angel for protection. Then, when he grows arrogant and evil, and says that he is the Son of God, the good angel will leave him, and the devil will take him into his care. He will become mighty and acquire great power. And all the Red Jews who are enclosed between the mountains will come out and follow him.

1 eens] ees A. 2–3 onækta ... man] geboren van vnechte *SelTro*. 3–4 som ... lagh] also eyn yode *SelTro*. 4–5 een ... gifwin] gegeuen eyn hiliich engel, also eneme anderen mynschen *SelTro*. 5 wexir ... ondzko] so vormeten wert *SelTro*. 7 mektogher ... wald] weldich *SelTro*. 7–8 oc ... wald] ~ *SelTro*. 8–9 **O**c ... fōlghia] de yoden volgen eme. De roden yoden, de besloten sin, de komet vt vnde volgen eme *SelTro*.

c)

- Alexander foor thædhan oc kom ther æpte til eet annat land / Ther waro oc
iodha
som thit waro drifne at byggia / oc waro som andre thræla The beddos frihet aff
3 aff alexandro / at the matto thædhan fara / Tha spordhe konungen hwa the waro
/ ok
honom war sakt / at thet waro iodha / oc hafdho ofwergifwit oc forsakat thera
gudh /
Tha saghdhe alexander / Thy wil iak them her inne teppa / at the skulu aldri
hædhan
6 koma / Oc bœriadiadhe kring om landit lata mura / oc badh israels gudh sik
hiel
pa / at han matte them ther inne teppa / Tha giordhe gudh eet stort vnder / eet
bærgh
festis widh eet annat bergh / swa at the æro ther æn inne / och skulu ther swa
9 længe blifwa / til antichristus komber / Thetta sama staar oc scrifwit først j
bokinne /

Translation

Alexander left and then arrived in another country. There were also Jews who had been forced there to live and they were like slaves. They asked Alexander for their freedom so that they should be able to leave there. Then the king asked who they were, and he was told that they were Jews and had abandoned and forsaken their god. Then Alexander said, “For this reason, I will enclose them here, so that they

1 foor ... kom] quam he *SelTro*. 2 oc] oc the *B*. 2–3 som ... fara] De beden ock vmme vriheit *SelTro*. 3 konungen] he *SelTro*; hwa] hwa som *B*. 4 ofwergifwit ... forsakat] ofvirgifvit oc forladit *B*, vortegen vnde en hadden syne e nicht gheholden. Darumme hedde des god gestadet, dat ere lant gewonnen were, dar se hadden gewonet, vnde weren vte deme lande gedreuen, gevangen, in dijt lant *SelTro*. 5 alexander] konningk Allexander: “Na dem male, dat se ereme gode hebben vntruwe gewesen, de so grote dingk bij en heft gedan *SelTro*; at] oc *B*. 6 kring ... mura] at lada mvra vm kring landit; israels] irael's *B*. 6–7 oc ... teppa] Do he sach, dat he en also nicht gedon mochte, do bat he gode, dat he eme hulpe *SelTro*. 7–8 vnder ... festis] vndir · swa at et stort bærgh thæt fæstis sek *B*. 8 eet ... bergh] den anderen in deme lande *SelTro*; swa at ... inne] dat dar neymant vntkomen mach. Dar sind se noch inne. Dijt sin de roden yoden, de in deme berge besloten sin *SelTro*. 9 til ... komber] til thæs anticristus combir *B*, also lange went Entekerst kumpt *SelTro*; Thetta ... bokinne] thæt sama star oc skrifvit forst i bogene *B*, ~ *SelTro*.

never will be able to leave!” And he began having a wall built around the country and he asked the God of Israel to help him so that he could enclose them. Then God performed a great miracle: one mountain became joined to another mountain, so that they [i. e., the Jews] are still inside and should remain there until Antichrist comes. The same thing is also written at the beginning of the book.

Version 2: *Konung Alexander*

Headnotes

Source: A SKB D 4, ff. 144v40–145v20 (F1v–F2v) (c. 1400–50).

Parallel text: ~

Original text: *Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni*. See Alfons Hilka, ed., *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman nach der Berliner Bilderhandschrift nebst dem lateinischen Original der Historia de Preliis (Rezension ƒ)* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1920), 140–41. The OSw. text is a reworking into verse of *Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni* making a direct comparison difficult. For this reason, the Latin text is provided in full after the English translation.

Edition: A *KonAl* 130–33.

Edition (A SKB D 4)

han foor thædhan ower sitiam
 øster borter ij wærlina fram
 3 enkte land laa thiit wt mere
 ther man wiste aff sighia flere
 han fan ther folk wærræ æn trull
 6 thet hafdhe tho ræt mænniskio hull
 rædhelikith ok mykith oreent
 them gat ængin opa seet
 9 the hafdho syyn æ swa grym
 at ængin thordhe se a them

3 thiit] thi[->i]t A. 4–5 In left-hand margin: nota røde | judha A. 5–7 han ... oreent] Underlined by a later hand. In left-hand margin: fâlck fan | han thär A.

- thet lifdhe alt widh trulla sidh
 12 ængin mænniskia fik ther fridh
 thet aat folk medh huld ok krop
 inbyrdhis aat hwart annath op
 15 ok alla handa creatwr
 hæst ok wargh foghil ok diwr
 hwath som fødhis a iordh æller wædher
 18 thet æta the alt saman mædher
 the stykke ther omøghelik æra
 olofflikt tala mon thet wæra .
 21 tholikt dreff thet trulskøn
 swa oreen ok fwl æra thøn
 the plægga enkte thera jordha
 24 the æta them op a thera bordhe
 hwath man kan hælzt lifwande næmpna
 the lata sik thet til fødho æmpna
 27 hwath thet føddis qwikt æller dõt
 them thykte thet wara alt fult söt
 orena gerninga margha handa
 30 sa alexander aff them ganga
 ther ey lofflika æra skriffwa
 thet ær alt ont thet the drifwa
 33 Rødhe iudha mon thet heta
 swa finder han æn hwa them wil leta
 tha alexander hafdhe thetta seet
 36 badhe hørt ok widha leet
 at thetta folk dreff tholik last
 han thænkte ij sinom hoghe rast
 39 vtan thetta folk forgaar
 al wærlin æpter dømme faar
 ok smittas ij tholik gerning snødh
 42 all wærlin hafwer thæs stora nødh
 om thet skal fanga sin fram gang
 æpter thera sidh tha smittas mang
 45 ok lifwa ij thera æpter dømme

26 æmpna] æmpn[->a] A. 32–33 thet ær ... heta] *Underlined by a later hand. In right-hand margin: rōdha jōdha | hether detta | onda fālk A.* 38 hoghe] hoghe [fast] A.

- thet ware bætra at man them gøme
 Alexander fan et ful got raadh
 48 thet folkith han saman drifwa badh
 ij en flok badhe mæn ok qwinna
 swa then mera som then minna
 51 swa at enkte ater bleff
 nor ij wærlina alla them dreff
 swa langan wægh ræt ij nor
 54 at thiit ængin fara thør
 Thet war alexanders idhelik bøn
 til gudh som allom gifwer løn
 57 at wærlin skulle ekki smittas
 aff tholikt lifwerne ekki hittas
 æller aff thy folke blandas
 60 ok ængin optare swa illa grandas
 han badh swa længe gudh hørðhe han
 gudh giordhe vnder the æra san
 63 ey stort fore alexanders saka
 vtan mænniskio helso til maka
 han bødth twem berghom the standa æn
 66 ganga til saman badhin ij sæn
 the waro høgh ok mykith lang
 gingo saman vtan alt bang
 69 alla thera fyra ænda
 mondo sik til saman wænda
 opa ena næwusta nær
 72 til twa porta ingangin ær
 ther ær stort rwm innan til
 som et ganzt land iak thet sighia wil
 75 thet ena bærghe heet boreum
 thet andra peruinctorium
 The rødha iudha iak sagdhe fra
 78 monde alexander ther in sla
 han dreff ther in hwart ok et
 thet war gudz wili at thet war skeet
 81 aff malm ok eer godha porta twa

48–54 thet ... thør] Underlined by a later hand. In right-hand margin: Alexander | loth driva | ----
 ---- | i världen- A. 60 grandas] g[>r]andas A. 62 giordhe] giordhe [-] A. 81 A cross has been
 drawn in the left-hand margin, A.

- lot han fore gapith sla
 the æra fullfast ther fore hængde
 84 *medh* absintiton æra the saman mængde
 the dygdh hafwer absintiton
 han ær wæl wærdhugh storan mon
 87 *medh* hwath malme han wardher lødder
 han bryter sidhan ængin fōdder
 hwarte iærn eld æller staal
 90 ok ængin man ok enkte baal
 portane æra fore berghith hængde
 the æra *medh* thæssom malme mængde
 93 bærgihin æra alt kringom brant
 som annar mwr *thet* ær sænt
 the æra som andre mwrwægga høgga
 94 ther kan ængin op fore øghia
 the rōdha iudha æra ther inne
 badhe flere ok swa minne
 95 at then man ær ængin nakath sin
 at til them kan koma in

Translation

From there, he travelled across Scythia | eastwards far ahead into the world. | There was no further land | about which was known to tell. | There he found a people worse than trolls, | even though they had the flesh of humans | terrifying and very dirty. | No-one could bear to look at them. | They had such a vile appearance, | that no-one dared to look at them. | They all lived in the manner of trolls. | No human was in peace there. | They ate people's flesh and bodies | and ate each other up! | And all kinds of creatures, | horses and wolves, birds and animals, | whatever is born on earth or in the air | they gobble up everything! | Those deeds¹ that are improper | must be unlawful to speak of. | That troll

94 A cross has been drawn in the left-hand margin, A.

1 deeds] Translation of OSw. *stykke*. The word could simply mean 'piece', 'part' and be referring to the lines or section of the Latin text that was being translated. However, the word occurs in OSw. also with the meaning 'deed,' ("gärning") and '(act of) roguery' ("skålmstycke") according to Söderwall's *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket*.

race lived in such a manner | they are so unclean and ugly. | They are not in the habit of burying anyone: | they gobble them up at their tables. | Whatever can be called living, | they use as suitable food, | whether it is born alive or dead, | they consider it to be so very sweet! | Many filthy kinds of deeds | did Alexander see come from them, | that are not lawful to write about. | What they engage in is pure evil. | They are called Red Jews. | This is what he will find, whoever wishes to look for them. |

When Alexander had seen this, | both heard and learnt | that this people behaved so disgracefully, | he thought in his clever mind | that unless this people disappear, | the whole world will have an example | and be infected by such an evil deed. | The whole world will have this great affliction | if it makes any progress. | Many will then be infected by their habits | and live by their example. | It would be better if they were hidden. | Alexander came upon a very good idea: | He ordered that people to be rounded up | in a flock, both men and women | both bigger as well as smaller | so that no-one was left behind. | He drove them all northwards, | such a long way into the north | where no-one would dare to go. | It was Alexander's constant prayer | to God, who gives reward to all, | that the world should not be infected | that such a way of life not be discovered, | or there be mixing with such people, | and no-one again shall be so badly harmed. | He prayed so long, that God heard him. | God performed miracles, they are true, | not just for Alexander's sake | but to make things right for the health of humanity. | He ordered two mountains, they are still standing, | to come together both at once. | They were high and very long. | They came together without any noise, | all four of their ends | had to turn towards each other | many miles² closer. | Access is by two gates. | There is a great space inside | like an entire country, I would say. | The one mountain was called Boreum, | The other Pervincorium. | The Red Jews about whom I spoke, | Alexander could enclose them within. | There he drove in every single one of them. | It was God's will that this happened. | Two good gates of iron and bronze | he had set up in front of the gap. | They are hanged there very solidly, | They are welded with absintiton.³ | Absintiton has the quality, | it is well worth great praise, | that with whatever ore it is welded, | no living-being will ever break it, | whether by iron, fire, or steel, | and [by] no man and no blaze. | The gates have been hanged in front of the mountain. | They are mixed with this ore. | The mountains are steep

² many miles] The OSw. has “ena næwusta”. A *nævusta* is a distance of a now unknown length.
³ absintiton] This is a fantastic metal and probably an invention of Pseudo-Methodius, who calls it ἀσυνκίτη (asynkíte). The name has been understood to be related to Gk. ἀσύνχυτος (asynchutos), ‘unalloyed,’ ‘unmixed.’ See Benjamin Garstad, ed. and trans., *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius: An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 333n20.

all around. | Like another wall, it is held together. | They are high like walls | that no-one can see the top of. | The Red Jews are inside there, | both many and few, | that no man will ever | be able to get inside to them.

Latin version (*Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni*)

Source: Alfons Hilka, ed., *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman nach der Berliner Bilderhandschrift nebst dem lateinischen Original der Historia de Preliis (Rezension F)* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1920), 140–41.

Et ambulans ultra Scythiam in partibus Orientis invenit gentem immundam et aspectu horribilem et contaminatam omnibus magice artis et pravis operibus, que comedebat omnia abhominabilia et omnium bestiarum et iumentorum et pecorum seu et omnium volatilium reptiliumque carnes, non solum autem hec, sed et abortiva omnia et deformitates conceptorum omnium que in alvo matris concepte necdum perfecte coagulate sunt. Homines autem mortuos non sepeliunt, sed magis comedunt illos. Videns autem Alexander hec omnia immunda et nefanda ab eis fieri, timens ne, quando egrederentur per orbem terrarum, etiam contaminaretur mundus ab eis, statim precepit congregari eos omnes cum uxoribus et filiis et cum omnibus ipsorum rebus et expulit eos de terra Orientis et adduxit eos in partibus aquilonis. Tunc continuo Alexander deprecatus est Deum impensius, et exaudivit eius deprecationem. Et precepit Deus duobus montibus quibus est vocabulum Promunturium et Boreum, et adiuncti sunt adinvicem usque ad cubitos duodecim; et statim construxit ibi portas ereas et circumfudit eas asinthico quod a ferro non rumpitur nec ab igne solvitur. Talis namque natura asinthici est quod ferrum confringit ignemque ut aquam extinguit. Et nullus prevalet ad eos intrare nee illi valent nullomodo exinde exire.

Version 3: *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*

Headnotes

Source: A SKB M 307, p. 141a11–b5 (1459).

Parallel text: ~

Original text: **Itin.** = *Itinerarius domini Johannis de Mandeville militis* (Strasbourg: Heinrich Knoblochtzter, [c. 1484–86]), here: DKB Inc. Haun. 2616 4^o, f. g9vb.

Edition: A *Mandev* 158.

Edition (A SKB M 307)

- oc tæden synder ud noger
dags ferd ta kommer mand
3 jntil the førstæ steenbier
gæ aff caspan huilkæ
steenbiærgæ strekcæs neter
6 tel amasoniam vester ud aff
huilkit amasonia til foren
er screfuit oc udi te bier
9 ghæ boo mangæ iødher in-
næluctæ aff te thy slekter
som thædhen ikcæ ud
12 kommæ kundæ uden siælden
at nogher kommer thæthen
oc hoo thædæn skal han
15 skal frem at amasoniam
oc drotningen stæder thøm
jkcæ frem at kommæ

3 the] th[->e] A. 5 steenbiærgæ] alpes *Itin.* 6 amasoniam] amasoïniam A. 7–8 huilkit ... screfuit] de qua tractatum est insula mulierum *Itin.* 9 mangæ] maxima multitudo *Itin.* 9–10 innæluctæ] per dei voluntatem ita inclusa *Itin.* 10 te ... slekter] decem tribuum israel *Itin.* 11 ud] [er] A. 11–12 som ... kundæ] vt in copiosa numerositate non possint a nostra parte exire *Itin.* 14 thædæn] th\->æ/dæn A. 15 amasoniam] insulam Amazonie *Itin.* 16–17 stæder ... kommæ] diligenter [ob]seruar *Itin.*

Translation

And from there southwards for several days' journey when you come to the first rocky mountains of Caspian: these rocky mountains stretch westwards down to Amazonia (I wrote earlier about this Amazonia). And in these mountains live many Jews, shut in, from the Ten Tribes, who cannot escape from there. Only rarely does one leave there and whoever does must advance towards Amazonia and the queen does not allow them to advance.

28 The Fifteen Places

Version 1 (ODa.)

Headnotes

Source: **A** *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder som wor herre tolde syn pyne paa oc hoo som the betencker hwer daw i sith hierthe then for-thiener stor affladh* Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, 1509. [= *JesuPassV*].

Parallel text: ODa.: **B** DAS AM 21 4^o, ff. 184r1–192r15 (1475–1500); **C** DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 8v24–16v8. The differences between *B* and *C* are minimal (e. g., use of capital letters). Below, the spelling in *B* is quoted in the apparatus for both *B* and *C*, while *C* is only quoted separately where it differs from *B*.
OSw.: **D** SKB A 118, ff. 5r1–43v21 (1450–1500); **E** SKB A 49, ff. 221r1–235v28 (1400–1500); See Version 2 below.

Original text: ~

Editions: **A** Hans Ostenfeld Lange, ed., *Jesu Passionsvandring: Opbyggelseskrift trykt i København 1509 af Gotfred af Ghemen. Faksimiletryk*. Århus: Aarhus Stiftsbogtrykkeri, 1915; **C** Christian Bruun, ed., *Modus Confitendi: De Passione Domini. Et tabt dansk Skrift fra ca. 1500* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1866), 12–26.

Edition (*A Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder...* [1509])

Title page

Source: **A** *JesuPassV*, f. a1r1–5.

Parallel text: **B** DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 184r1; **C** DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 8v24.

¶ Hær begynnes the fæmthen
stæder som wor herre tolde syn
3 pyne paa oc hoo som the betenc

1–5 ¶ Hær ... affladh] De passione dominij B, De passionis Domini C.

ker hwer daw i sith hierthe then
 forthiener stor affladh

Translation

Here begins *The Fifteen Places Where Our Lord Suffered His Torture* and whoever contemplates them every day in his/her heart will earn a great indulgence.¹

The Introduction

Source: **A** *JesuPassV*, ff. a2r1–a2v12.

Parallel text: **B** DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 184r2–24; **C** DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 8v25–9r16.

Vidne ær oss thet at iomfrw
 maria effther hennes søn wor
 3 op faren til hemmeriges Tha leff
 de hun hær i werden i fæmthen
 aar oc paa thet sextende I the ·xv
 6 aar tha gick hun sin pelgrims ferd
 tijl the fæmthen stæder hwilken
 som hennes elskelighe søn war
 9 pynt paa Tha bydde hun lenge
 paa hwer stedh och tenckte paa
 hans hellige pyne oc dõt som han
 12 hafde ther toldh ther hun sculle de-
 den gaa tha faldh hun paa syne
 knæ oc køste iorden met syn wel
 15 signede mund saa stodh hun op
 oc gick til een anden saa lenghe

1 Vidne] Uidendes *B*, Videndes *C*. 2 maria] *maria* ydeligæ *B*, *C*. 6 pelgrims ferd] pelegrims gong *B*, *C*. 7 fæmthen] xv *B*, *C*. 9 paa] wppaa *B*, *C*. 12 hafde ... toldh] haffde toldh oc lidhet ther *B*, *C*; ther hun] Tha hwn *B*, *C*. 15 saa] Tha *B*, *C*. 16 gick] gick fran en stædh oc *B*, *C*; lenghe] længæ at *B*, *C*.

1 Under the title is a woodcut that depicts Christ on the cross with the Virgin Mary on his right-hand side and John the Evangelist on his left-hand side. On the verso page of the same folio is a woodcut of Christ collapsing under the weight of the cross on his way to Golgotha. Simon holds the bottom of the cross.

hun haffde them ywer faret alle
 18 samen Hos iherusalem wed syons
 biergh ther war hennes hiem met
 hennes kære wen sancto iohanne
 21 ewangeliste offte sagde han messæ
 for henne i thet siste aar I ho som
 tæsse fæmthen stæder hwer dag yff
 24 uer faar i sith hiærte meth een reen
 hwg oc een sand attraa han scal
 døø fra verdens elskw och gøres
 27 lefuendis i gutz kærlighed forthi
 thet teckes gud oc iomfrw maria
 meget gerne for inden tæsse fæm-
 30 ten stæder tha løckes all wor her-
 re ihesu christi pyner och passie Amen

Translation

We are told² that after her son had ascended into heaven, the Virgin Mary lived here in the world for fifteen years and into [the beginning of] the sixteenth. During those fifteen years she went on a pilgrimage to the fifteen places at which her beloved son was tortured. Then she rested a long time at each place and contemplated his holy torment and death that he had suffered there. When she was to leave there, she fell to her knees and kissed the ground with her blessed mouth. Then she stood up and went to another place until she had examined all of them. Her home was in Jerusalem at Mount Zion together with her dear friend St John the Evangelist. He often said mass for her during the last year. Whoever considers these fifteen places every day in his heart with a pure mind and a true desire, he will die from the love of the world and be revitalized in the love of God because God and the Virgin Mary are very fond of these fifteen places. Then all Our Lord Jesus Christ's torments and passions will end. Amen.

21 ewangeliste] ewangelista Oc B, ewangelista / Oc C. 22 I ... som] Hwo B, C. 23 fæmthen] xv B, xv· C. 23–24 hwer ... hiærte] offuer far i siith hierthæ hwer daff B, C. 24–25 meth ... attraa] meth en reen hwff B, C. 26 verdens] al verdhens B, C. 26–27 gøres lefuendis] brenne B, C. 29–30 fæmten] xv B, xv· C. 31 pyner ... passie] piner *etcetera*. B, C.

2 Lit. 'it is known to us,' 'we can know.'

The First Station

Source: **A** *JesuPassV*, ff. a2v13–a3r13.

Parallel text: **B** DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 184r25–v:7; **C** DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 9r17–v2.

- Hær begynnes then førsthe stædh
 Then første stæd wor herre iesus
 3 *christus* tolde sin pine pa *thet* vor
 i iherusalem i simeons hwss ther *han*
 tog watn i en mwlwe oc gik om
 6 kring oc togde alle sine apostolis føder
 oc tyrde them met eth linet klæ-
 de oc køste them met sijn welsig
 9 nedhe mundh saa togh *han* sith
 welsignedhe legome oc blod och
 gaff them wijn oc brødh tijl eth
 12 nyth testamente oc kendhe them
 the fæm ordh hwilken som *thet*
 werdughe gutz leghome wijæs
 15 hwer dag ponne altereth meth
 i presthens hendher oc sagde tijl
 them som iegh haffuer nw giort
 18 met edher saa sculle i gøre frem
 delis hwer met anden amen

Translation

Here begins the first place.

The first place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was in Jerusalem in Simeon's house³ when he took water in a basin and walked about washing his

1 Hær ... stædh] *Primus locus passionis* B, C. 3 sin pine] *pinæ* B, C. 4 iherusalem ... hwss] *symonis leysi hws i iherusalem* B, *symonis leijsi Hws i iherusalem* C. 4–5 ther ... mwlwe] *tha togh han en mwllugh meth vadn* B, C. 9 saa] *Oc swa* B, C. 10 welsignedhe] *hellige* B, C. 11 them] *them i* B, C. 13 fæm ordh] *v· benedidede ordh* B, C. 14 werdughe] *hellige* B, C. 15 ponne] *paa* B, C. 16 sagde] *sagde swa* B, C.

3 Note that B and C have “*symonis leysi/leijsi hws*” which could be a reference to Matthew 26:6 and Mark 14:3 and the house of Simon the leper (“*in domo Simonis leprosi*”) with the ODa. “*leysi/*

apostles' feet and dried them with a linen cloth and kissed them with his blessed mouth. [John 13:1–17] Then he took his blessed body and blood and gave them wine and bread as a new testament and taught them the five words with which God's body [the sacrament] is consecrated every day on the altar in the priest's hands. And [he] said to them [the apostles], "As I have now done with you, so you must also do in the future each with another person." [John 13:14–15] Amen.⁴

The Second Station

Source: **A** *JesuPassV*, f. a3r14–v12.

Parallel text: **B** DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 184v8–21; **C** DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 9v3–14.

Then annen stædh

Then annen stæd wor som wor

- 3 herre ihesus *christus* tolde syn py
ne pa thet wor then tijd han tog
met sig the tre apostele som war
6 sancte pedher och sancte iEEP och
sancte iohannes ewangelista och
gick til een annen stadh intil oli-
9 ueten biergh ther som han ynder
lighe bat tijl syn hellige fader tre
synne meth knæfaldh saa at han
12 swetes watn oc blodh oc sadhe
Fader i hemmelin ieg bedher teg
lath thenne beske døth wdgaa
15 som meg standher fore at dricke
men worde thet effther thin wil

1 Then ... stædh] *Secundus locus passionis* B, C. **2–4** Then ... tog] Tha togh vor herræ ihesus *christus* B, C. **5** tre] iij B, iij· C. **8** een annen] en B, C; intil] til B, C. **10** hellige fader] fader B, C. **11** at han] thet hannum B, C. **13** hemmelin] *himmerige* B, C. **14** lath] om at tw ladher B, om, at tw lader C; døth] kalk B, C; wdgaa] vndgaa meg B, C. **16** effther] at B, C.

leijsi" being a scribal error for *leprosi* [(of the) leper]. However, in neither Gospel does the washing take place in the house of Simon the leper.

4 The description of Jesus speaking of bread and wine as his body and blood is based on Matthew 26:26–28; Mark 14:22–25; Luke 22:14–20.

lie som thu wilt oc icke som iegh
18 wil Amen

Translation

The second place⁵

The second place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was when he took the three apostles – St Peter, St James, and St John the Evangelist – with him and they walked to another town by the Mount of Olives, where he devoutly prayed to his holy father three times, falling to his knees, so that he was sweating water and blood, and [he] said, “Father in heaven, I pray to you. Let this bitter death before which I am to drink stop, but let your will be done as you wish and not as I wish.” Amen.

The Third Station

Source: **A** *JesuPassV*, ff. a3v13–a4r8.

Parallel text: **B** DAS AM 21 4^o, ff. 184v22–185r4; **C** DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 9v15–24.

Then trædie stædh
Then tredie stæd som wor her
3 re ihesus cristus tolde syn py
ne paa thet wor i yrthe gardhen
som han war forrad aff then fw
6 le iudas oc køster for syne bene-
dijde mund tha war han greben
oc fangen aff the wmildhe iøder

18 Amen] tha kom gud fader oc then helliandh offuer vor herræ i en klar sky oc styrckte hamnum i alle synæ pinelighedh *B, C*.

1 Then ... stædh] *Tercius locus passionis B, C*. **2** stæd som] stædh *B, C*. **3** ihesus cristus] ~ *B, C*. **4** yrthe gardhen] yrthægordhen som man kaller jessemanj / ther *B, C*. **5–6** fwle iudas] ondhe jøde *B, C*. **8** oc fangen] ~ *B, C*.

5 The description of events at the Second Station is based on Matthew 26:36–46; Mark 14:32–42; Luke 22:39–44.

- 9 oc reebunden pynther oc plawt
 oc ledher intijl stadhen alth thet
 ther war i weyen torne stene bec
 12 ke tha støte the hannum vtij Saa
 infulde the hannum i staden meth
 alsom største daare oc spot Amen

Translation

The third place⁶

The third place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was in the garden [of Gethsemane; John 22:1] where he was betrayed by the vile Judas and kissed on his blessed mouth. Then he was seized and captured by the cruel Jews and tied up with rope, tortured and tormented and led into the city. They shoved him into everything that was in the way: thorns, rocks, streams. So, they accompanied him into the city with the greatest jeering and mockery. Amen.

The Fourth Station

Source: A *JesuPassV*, ff. a4r9–b1r2.

Parallel text: B DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 185r5–24; C DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 9v25–10r13.

- Then ferde stæd
 Then fierde stæd som wor herre
 3 iesus *cristus* tolde sin pyne paa
 Thet war i annas hoff ther som
 han war først ind ledet om nat-
 6 then ther war han slawen weth
 sijn kindbeen saa hordelige at han

9 reebunden] Och *meth* reff bwnden B, C; plawt] sworelige plaweth B, C. 10 intijl stadhen] til stadhen / oc B, C. 11 torne stene] stenæ / tyrnæ / oc B, C. 13 infulde] fwlde B, C; i] til B, C. 14 daare ... spot] daares spoth B, C.

1 Then ... stæd] *Quartus locus passionis* B, C. 4 hoff] stwæ B, C.

6 The description of events at the Third Station is based on Matthew 26:36–56; Mark 14:32–52; Luke 22:47–51; John 18:1–12.

faldh nedher tijl iorden O men
 9 niske merker wel huor annas han
 ropte oc orsagde seg oc sagde sa
 For huad sagh haffue i grebeth
 12 ihesum tha røbte een aff iøderne
 hannum igeen oc sagde Han ha-
 wer forbudet at giffue keyseren
 15 skat Tha ropte och iøderne alth
 sammen Han hafuer forbwdeth
 at gifue keyseren skat Wor her-
 18 re ihesus cristus swaredhe them
 igeen oc sagde Gijff keyserin *thet*
 keyseren bør oc giff gudh *thet han*
 21 num bør Tha fræm løb een aff
 iødherne som heth malchus och
 sloo wor herre ihesum cristum wit
 24 sijn hellige kinbeen saa hordelij-
 ghe ath han faldh neder tijl ior-
 dhen Wor herre ihesus *cristus* swa
 27 rede hannum igeen och sagde
 saa met een ydmydelighe røsth
 Haffuer ieg talet illæ tha bør ieg
 30 witne om hafuer ieg ey talet illæ
 hwor føre slooss thu meg Amen

Translation

The fourth place⁷

The fourth place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was in the court of Annas into which he was first led during the night. There he was beaten

8–9 O ... wel] Merckendes ær oss *B, C.* 10 sa] ~ *B, C.* 11 sagh] sagh skyldh *B, C.* 13 hannum igeen] ~ *B, C.* 15 skat] syn skath *B, C.* 15–17 Tha ... skat] ~ *B, C.* 18 swaredhe them] han swaredde hannum *B, C.* 19 *thet]* *thet ther B, C.* 20–21 *thet hannum]* *thet ther gudh B, C.* 24 hellige] ~ *B, C.* 25–26 faldh ... iordhen] nedher til jordhen faldh *B, C.* 26 ihesus *cristus]* ~ *B, C.* 27–28 och ... røsth] *meth en ydmygdh røsth oc sagde B, meth en ydmijgh røsth oc sagde C.* 29 ieg] *ther B, C.* 30 ey] icke *B, C.* 31 hwor ... slooss] hwi slo *B, C.*

7 The description of events at the Fourth Station is based on John 18:13–24.

on his cheek bones so brutally that he fell to the ground. O person! Notice how Annas shouted and explained himself and said thus, “For what reason have you seized Jesus?” Then one of the Jews shouted, “He has forbidden paying tax to the emperor.” Then all the Jews also shouted together, “He has forbidden paying tax to the emperor.” Our Lord Jesus Christ answered them again and said, “Render unto the emperor the things that are the emperor’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.” [Matthew 22:21] Then one of the Jews called Malchus⁸ ran forward and hit Our Lord Jesus Christ on his holy cheekbone so brutally that he fell to the ground. Our Lord Jesus Christ answered him again and said thus with a humble voice, “If I have spoken badly, then I ought to testify again. If I have not spoken badly, why are you hitting me?” Amen.

The Fifth Station

Source: *A JesuPassV*, ff. b1r3–b2r4.

Parallel text: *B* DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 185r25–v17; *C* DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 10r14–v6.

Then fæmte stedh
 Then fæmte stæd som wor her
 3 re ihesus cristus toldhe syn
 pyne paa thet waar i Cayphas
 hwss ther som wor herre ihesus
 6 cristus wor først bundhen tijl
 stheen støthen och ther war han
 slawen offuer houedh och halss
 9 oc drawen i hoor oc i hans skegh
 oc the kallede hannum een løyerne
 oc een swijghere och een forræ-
 12 dere Cayphas spurde hannum at
 oc sagde Men thu kaller teg at
 wære iødhe kvningh Hwor ær

1 Then ... stedh] *Quintus locus passionis B*, *Quintus locus passionis christi C*. 3 syn] ~ *B*, *C*. 5–6 wor ... cristus] *han B*, *C*. 7 och] oc lester i boyen *B*, *C*. 8 och] offuer *B*, *C*. 9 oc i ... skegh] i ørn / oc i skægh *B*, *C*. 10 the] ~ *B*, *C*. 11–12 oc ... forrædere] ~ *B*, *C*. 12–13 spurde ... sagde] *han sagde til vor herræ B*, *C*. 13–14 at wære] ~ *B*, *C*.

8 A reference to the Malchus whose ear was cut off by Simon Peter during the arrest of Jesus (John 18:10, 22).

- 15 tith rige hwor ære thine swenne
 Wor herre ihesus cristus stod oc
 wilde hannum encthet sware. tha
 18 manedhe cayphas hannum och
 sagde Ieg maner teg oc beswær
 teg wedh then liffuendis guds
 21 søn at æstw then som thu siær
 Wor herre ihesus swarede hanum
 igeen meth een ydmydelige røst
 24 och sagdhe. thu siær forthij iegh
 ær · tha reff cayphas sijne kleder
 aff seg oc menthe ath wor her-
 27 re haffdhe spottet hannum · och
 alle the andre iøder · tha sloo the
 wor herre ihesum cristum welsig-
 30 nedhe ligome met træ och meth
 knøpele oc spitthe hannum op wn
 dher hans øgen · the drucke wijn
 33 tijl samen blandet met watn alth
 thet the leffnedhe i skalen thet
 slowe the op wor herre ihesu *cristi*
 36 øghen intil een andhen Fra then
 langhe nath gaffue the hannum
 hwerken hwijlæ eller roo Amen

Translation

The fifth place⁹

The fifth place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was in the house of Caiaphas where Our Lord Jesus Christ was first bound to a stone pillar and

15 rige] righæ / oc B, C; swenne] swenue A. 17 hannum ... sware] icke swaræ hannum B, C. 19–20 oc ... teg] vedh leffuendes gwdz søn B, C. 21 som] ~ B, C. 22 hannum] ~ B, C. 26 seg] sigh / oc kastæ B, C. 28 the andre] andre B, C. 29 cristum] *christum* paa sith B, C. 30–31 och ... knøpele] oc vendher B, C. 31–32 wnder ... øgen] vnderi sith hellige andledhæ B, C. 32–36 the ... Fra] ~ C. 33 met] mit A. 38 roo] roo eller nogher liisæ B, roo eller noghen liisæ C.

⁹ The Fifth Station focuses on the abuse of Jesus during his interrogation at the court of Caiaphas; cf. Matthew 26:56–67.

there he was beaten across his head and neck and had his hair and beard pulled, and they called him a liar and a betrayer and a traitor. Caiaphas interrogated him and said, “But you call yourself ‘King of the Jews.’ Where is your kingdom? Where are your attendants?”¹⁰ Our Lord Jesus Christ stood and did not want to answer him anything. Then Caiaphas admonished him and said, “I admonish you. And swear on the living God’s son that you are who you say.” [Cf. Matthew 26:63] Our Lord Jesus answered him again with a humble voice and said, “You say so because I am.” Then Caiaphas rent his clothes and thought that Our Lord had mocked him and all the other Jews. Then they beat Our Lord Jesus Christ’s holy body with wood and with clubs and spat up into his eyes. They drank wine mixed with water. Everything that was left over in the bowl they threw into Our Lord Jesus Christ’s eyes until another[?]. They gave him neither rest nor peace during that long night.¹¹ Amen.

The Sixth Station

Source: **A** *JesuPassV*, f. b2r5–v8.

Parallel text: **B** DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 185v18–31; **C** DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 10v7–18.

Then syete stædh
 Then syete stæd som wor herre
 3 ihesus cristus tolde syn pyne
 paa · thet wor om morgenen prij
 me tijd dawst ther the then all-
 6 som sødesthe ihesum cristum for
 pylatum fuldhe meth eth bleght
 anlædhe meth thaare fwllt øgen
 9 meth nedher hengdhes hoffueth
 meth falsk och swigh tha toghæ
 iødherne eth klædhe och bunnæ

1 Then ... stædh] *Sextus locus passionis* B, C. 3 cristus] ~ B, C. 4–5 prijme ... dawst] ~ B, C. 5–6 then ... sødesthe] ~ B, C. 7 pylatum fuldhe] pylato førde / oc fulde B, pijlato førde / oc fulde C. 8 meth] oc B, C. 10 meth ... swigh] oc aff falsk oc aff swigh B, C.

10 In the Gospel accounts, this question is posed by Pilate (Matthew 27:11–14; Mark 15:2–5).

11 The ODa. is unclear. This could possibly be understood as something like: ‘Until the second (vigil) that night, they gave him neither rest nor peace.’

- 12 *thet* for wor herre ihesu cristi *øgen*
 Saa toghe *iødherne* och sloghe
 hannum bagh paa halsen och
 15 ropte paa hannum oc sagde saa
 Esthu then leffuendes guds søn
 tha geeth *tijl* hoo tegh sloo Wor
 18 herre ihesus cristus stodh saa to
 ligh i blandh them som eth faar
 ther stonder i blant alsom grom-
 21 meste *wlffue* oc wille them *inthe*
sware Amen

Translation

The sixth place¹²

The sixth place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was in the morning at Prime when, with falseness and deceit, they led the exceedingly sweet Jesus Christ before Pilate with a pale face with tear-filled eyes, with a hanging head. Then the Jews took a cloth and bound it over Our Lord Jesus Christ's eyes. Then the Jews took and beat him on the back of his neck and shouted at him and said thus: "If you are the Son of the Living God, guess who hit you!" Our Lord Jesus Christ stood so patiently among them like a sheep that stands among the cruellest wolves [Matthew 10:16] and did not want to answer them. Amen

12 *thet*] ~ B, C. 13 Saa ... sloghe] oc swa sloghe the B, C. 14 paa halsen] i syth *howeth* B, C. 15 saa] ~ B, C. 16 then leffuendes] *ihesus* B, C. 17 *tijl*] til oc spaa B, C. 18 *cristus*] ~ B, C. 20–21 ther ... grommeste] blandh *altsom griffuendes* B, C. 21–22 wille ... *sware*] *jncthet* *swarede* them then *tijdh* B, *jncthet* *swarede* them then *tijdh* C.

12 The description of events at the Sixth Station is based on Luke 22:63–65.

The Seventh Station

Source: *A JesuPassV*, ff. b2v9–b4v12.

Parallel text: *B* DAS AM 21 4^o, ff. 186r1–187r2; *C* DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 10v19–11v15.

- Then sywende stæd
 Then sywende stæd som wor her
 3 re ihesus cristus tolde syn py
 ne paa thet wor for herodes Oc
 herodes war nylige komen tijl
 6 staden at see oc skwdhe ihesum
 ther aff war han bodhe glad oc
 froo Hwor herodes spurde ihe-
 9 sum ath oc sagde Saa esthu then
 mijn fader loth dreffue the man
 ghe bōrn fore oc æstw then ther
 12 reysde lazarium op aff dōde som
 hafde lith paa fierde daw i iorden
 oc luctede illæ Estw then som for
 15 loth maria magdalena syne syn-
 der Wor herre ihesus stodh saa
 thiendhe som eth lam ther stodh
 18 han i theris hender oc wille them
 inthet sware tha giorde herodes
 oc alle hans hōffdinge dore och
 21 spoth aff hannum oc førde hannum
 i eth wit dore klede oc neylde en
 fiel for hannum oc een annen bag
 24 hannum meth alsom hwasisthe
 iern spiger som messe serken be-
 tegner e i dagh i then helli kirc-

1 Then ... stæd] *Septimus locus passionis* *B*, *C*. 2 som] ~ *B*, *C*. 3 cristus] ~ *B*, *C*. 4 for] aff *B*, *C*; Oc] ~ *B*, *C*. 5 herodes ... nylige] herodes han vor nys *B*, *C*. 6 at ... ihesum] ihesum at see *B*, *C*. 7–8 bodhe ... froo] meghet gladher *B*, meget gladher *C*. 8 Hwor] ~ *B*, *C*. 9 Saa] ~ *B*, *C*. 11 oc] ~ *B*, *C*. 12 op] ~ *B*, *C*. 13 hafde ... daw] iiij daghe haffde ligeth *B*, ·iiij· daghe haffde liggeth *C*. 14 illæ] ~ *B*, *C*. 15 syne] alle syne *B*, *C*. 16–17 saa thiendhe] tyende for herode *B*, tijende for Herode *C*. 17–18 stodh ... hender] ær i dræperens hendher *B*, *C*. 18 them] ~ *B*, *C*. 19 sware] sware hannum *B*, *C*. 19–21 tha ... hannum] herodes oc alle hans hōffdinge the giorde aff vor herre ihesu christo swa megel daræ *B*, *C*. 23 annen] ~ *B*, *C*.

- 27 ke oc lodhe krone hannum och
 sende hannum igeen tijl pylatum tren
 ne synne skødhe the hannum och
 30 trode hannum i gaden Siden fwl-
 de the hanum ind for pilatum met al
 lom største rop oc skrol oc ropte
 33 oc sagde Seer oc skuder then løij
 ner och thenne swijgere som seg
 haller at være iøde koning Tagh
 36 thu hanum oc giff dom offuer han-
 num Tha togh pilatus hannum
 besynderlige i sine hender och ful
 39 de hannum borth fran alt folketh
 oc lod hustruge hannum oc spur-
 de hannum oc sagde Men thu kal
 42 ler tegh ath være iøde koningh
 hwor ær tidh rijge oc hwore ære
 thine swenne Wor herre ihesus
 45 stod oc wille hannum inthet swa-
 re Tha talede pilatus tijl hannum
 oc sagde thu æst een vnderlig man
 48 Thw west at iegh haffue mackt
 at pyne oc plawe tegh och døme
 teg tijl døden Iegh haffuer och
 51 mackt at frælsse tegh oc thu stor
 oc wijlt eij sware meg Tha ma
 nede pilatus hannum oc sade iegh
 54 maner oc beswer tegh wedh then
 liffuendis gutz søn at estw then
 som thu siær aff Wor herre ihe-
 57 sus swarede hannum igeen meth

27 oc ... hannum] ~ B, C. 28–29 trenne] xxx B, ·xxx· C. 29 hannum] ~ B, C. 30–32 Siden ... største] Oc fulde hannum meth B, C. 32 oc ropte] ~ B, C. 34 och ... swijgere] ~ B, C. 35 haller ... være] kaller B, C. 40–41 spurde] spu-|de A. 41 hannum] hannum at B, C. 42 ath] ~ B, C. 44 swenne] tyænere B, tijænere C; ihesus] ~ B, C. 49–50 pyne ... døden] døme teg / oc pyne til dødhe B, C. 50 Iegh ... och] oc ieg haffuer B, oc jeg haffuer C. 54–55 oc ... søn] teg wedh gudh leffuendes søn B, C. 56 som] ~ B, C; aff] ~ B, C. 56–57 ihesus] ihesus christus B, C. 57 igeen] ~ B, C.

een ydmydelig røst oc sade Thv
 siær at thu haffuer mackt at dø-
 60 me meg then mackt som thu haf
 uer then haffuer thu icke aff teg
 sielff men thu haffuer henne owen
 63 aff mijn hemmelske fader Tha
 togh pilatus hannum nøgen i syne
 hender oc fuldhe hannum wdh tijl
 66 al folketh oc sadde Ieg kan ingen
 sag fijnne meth thenne mand ther
 hanum bør at vndliffues fore men
 69 tage i hannum oc hudstruger han
 num oc gører aff hannum huad i wil
 le tha tog pilatus watn i en mwl
 72 we oc todhe syne hender oc sag-
 de saa Vskyldigh wil ieg wære
 i thenne mantz døt och blodh som
 75 thette watn rensser mijne hender
 tha røpte alle iøderne meth een
 hyw røsth oc sagde hans blod thet
 78 scal gaa offuer oss oc ofuer wore
 børn Amen

58–59 Thv siær] swarede hannum meth en ydmygelig røsth / oc sagde Tw sigher forthy ieg ær
 Tw spyr mig at myt righe / oc at myne swæne / Myth righe thet ære / oc thet ær icke hær / Myne
 tyænere the ære i myth rige / oc ieg ær hoes them / Oc tw sigher B, swarede hannum meth en
 ydmijgelig røsth / oc sagde / Tw sigher forthij jeg ær · Tw spyr meg at iij· spørsmol / tw spør meg
 at mijt righe / oc at mijne swæne / Mijth righe thet ær / oc thet ær icke hær / Mijne tijænere the
 ære i mijth rige / oc jeg ær hoes thennum / oc tw sigher C. 60 som] ~ B, C. 61 then ... thu] tw
 haffuer henne B, C. 62–63 owen ... fader] offuer teg B, C. 64 hannum] ihesum B, C. 67 ther]
 som B, C. 72 hender] hendher wdi B, hendher wdj C. 74 och blodh] ~ B, C. 76–77 meth ...
 røsth] ~ B, C. 77 thet] ~ B, C. 78 oss] oss B, oss oc offuer oss C.

Translation

The seventh place¹³

The seventh place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was before Herod. And Herod had recently arrived in the city to see and observe Jesus, so he was both happy and joyful. When Herod interrogated Jesus and said, “So, are you the one on whose account my father had the many children killed and are you the one who raised Lazarus, who had been lying in the earth for four days and smelt bad, from the dead? Are you the one who forgave Mary Magdalene for her sins?”¹⁴ Our Lord Jesus stood there as silent as a lamb. [Cf. Isaiah 53:7] He was standing in their hands and did not want to answer them anything. Then Herod and all his chieftains ridiculed and mocked him and dressed him in a white fool’s robe and fastened one plank onto his front and one onto his back with exceedingly sharp iron tacks, which the surplice today in the Holy Church still symbolizes,¹⁵ and [they] had him crowned and sent him back to Pilate. For the third time they shoved him and trod on him in the street. Then they led him before Pilate with a large amount of shouting and yelling and shouted and said, “Look and see the liar and this betrayer who considers himself to be the King of the Jews! Take him and sentence him!” Then Pilate took him separately into his hands and led him away from all the people and had him scourged and asked him and said, “But you call yourself ‘King of the Jews’: where is your kingdom and where are your attendants?”¹⁶ Our Lord Jesus stood and did not want to answer him anything. Then Pilate spoke to him and said, “You are a peculiar man. You know that I have the power to torture and torment you and sentence you to death. I also have the

13 The description of events at the Seventh Station is based on Luke 23:8–11.

14 Maria Magdalene is here – as is typical in medieval works – a composite character: Mary in Mark 16:9 and an anonymous woman depicted in Luke 7:36–50.

15 Cf. ODa. *Lucidarius* (AM 76 8^o, ff. 38v–39v [c. 1450–75]; *DanTeachM* 153–54): “**Discipulus**. huat merker messæ serken. **Magister**. Messæ serken merker thet hwithæ clædhæ ther erodes looth fōræ ihesus christus i / forthi then tymæ ther ihesus christus war sendh til erodes / oc fran pylatus / oc willæ enghen ierteghen foræ hanum gōre / oc ey tale eth ordh til hanum / for erodes war thes ey werdhw Tha loth han hanum fōræ i eth hwith clædhæ / oc giorthæ meghet spoth aff hanum / han oc alt hans folk / och sendhæ hanum saa ighen til pylatus” [Pupil: “What does the surplice symbolize?” Teacher: “The surplice symbolizes the white robe that Herod had Jesus dressed in because when Jesus Christ had been sent to Herod from Pilate and did not want to perform any miracles and did not speak a word to him because Herod was not worthy of this, he had him dressed in a white robe and (Herod) and all his people mocked him greatly and then sent him back to Pilate.] A surplice is a shorter version of the ankle-length alb (*vestis albis*) and is a loose, white liturgical garment worn by the priest during mass.

16 This question is the same as that posed by Caiaphas in the Fifth Station.

power to save you. And you're just standing there and don't want to answer me." Then Pilate admonished him and said, "I admonish you. And swear on the living God's son that you are who you say." Our Lord Jesus answered with a humble voice and said, "You say that you have the power to judge me. The power that you have, you do not have from yourself, but you have it from above from my heavenly father." [John 19:11] Then Pilate took him naked into his hands and led him out to the people and said, "I can find no crime in this man for which he should be executed. But take him and scourge him and do with him as you wish!" Then Pilate took some water in a basin and washed his hands and said, "I shall be innocent in this man's death and blood just as this water washes my hands!" Then all the Jews shouted with one loud voice and said, "His blood shall be upon us and upon our children!" [Matthew 24:20–26] Amen.

The Eighth Station

Source: **A** *JesuPassV*, ff. b4v13–c2r12.

Parallel text: **B** AM 21 4^o, f. 187r3–30; **C** DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 11v16–12r13.

Then ottende stædh
 Then ottende stød som wor her
 3 re ihesus cristus tolde syn py-
 ne paa thet war hos steenstøtten
 ther som the først wors herre ihe
 6 su arme vtrackte om kring steen
 støtte oc sammen bunne hans well
 signede hender saa hordelige at
 9 hwer then nyel roth han haffde
 ther wth spranck blodh twenne
 skiffte saa sloo the wor herre ihe
 12 su thet æne wor meth geysler
 och they annen wor meth swøber

1 Then ... stædh] *Octauus locus passionis* B, C. 2 som] ~ B, C. 3 ihesus cristus] ~ B, C. 4 hos] vedh B, C. 5–7 wors ... støtte] *vdracthæ ihesu christi armæ* B, C. 7 bunne] *bune* A. 7–8 well-signede] *hellige* B, C. 9 then ... han] *ihesu neyroedh ther han* B, C. 10 ther ... spranck] *tha sprack vdh* B, C. 11 skiffte] *synne* B, C. 11–15 saa ... benediede] *tha hwdstrvge the hannum / tha thoge the oc wdflengde wor herres ihesu christi* B, *tha Hwdstrøge the hannum / tha thoge the oc wdflengde vor Herris ihesu christi* C.

tha toge oc hudstrugede hannum
 15 hans hellige oc benediede legome
 saa ynkelige oc saa hordelige at
 alle wors herre ihesu cristi rygh-
 18 been oc sijde been the synthes al
 le blodige at wære Wor herre ie
 sus cristus sywntes woss tijl ath
 21 see so eth sønder reffuet klæde
 ther henghet paa een gaard och
 tørres meth alle hondhe wedher
 24 aff ræt bitter swede oc werck oc
 trøsth tha nedher signedhe wor
 herre ihesus cristus hoos steen-
 27 støtten oc hengdhe meth arme-
 ne och hwilte legome lijdet tha
 ropte een aff iøderne och sagde
 30 Wij slaa thenne man hiel oc han
 ær vdømter tha ære wij skyllige
 i hans døth oc blodh Tha fræm
 33 løbe een aff iøderne oc skar wor
 herre løøs fran steenstøtten Wor
 herre ihesus cristus stodh op och
 36 gick selffuer bort fran steenstøt-
 ten blegher oc blodigh oc lidigh
 meth alsom ynkeligesthe swedhe
 39 fult legome Oc han lethe at sij-
 ne kleder paa then tijd han fan
 them tha togh han them ydmy-
 42 delijge tijl segh oc the wore blo-
 dijge aff hans welsignede lego-
 me Icke wilde the wmilde iøder
 45 gijfue wor herre ihesu soo lenge

16 oc ... hordelige] ~ B, C. 17 wors ... cristi] hans hellige B, C. 19–23 at ... wedher] oc baræ B, C. 24–25 oc werck ... trøsth] werck / frost / oc kwldh B, C. 26 hoos] vedh B, C. 30 hiel] i hiel B, C. 32 blodh] hans blodh B, C. 32–33 fræm ... een] tha løff en frem B, C. 34–39 steenstøtten ... legome] stenstwdhen blegher oc blodigher B, C. 40 kleder] klædher som jøderne haffde tha tageth fran hannum B, C; paa ... tijd] Ther B, C; han] han tha B, C. 42–44 the ... legome] tywrde blodet aff syne øghen meth B, C. 45 wor ... ihesu] hannum B, C.

stund ath han motte føre segh
 i syne kleder Tha togh iøderne
 48 reb och liner och komme om kring
 wor herre ihesu i medie och ruch
 te hannum opp aff een høy steen
 51 trappe saa ynkelyghe ath hans
 welsignedhe næsæ och mundh
 toghe i steen trappen saa ynkelij
 54 ghe at legomet faldt langt i mar-
 ken wedh Amen

Translation

The eighth place¹⁷

The eighth place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was at the stone pillar where they initially stretched Our Lord Jesus' arms around the stone pillar and tied his blessed hands together so harshly that each nail root he had spurted blood. Two [men] then took turns to beat Our Lord Jesus: the one used whips and the other used flails. Then they also started to scourge him, his holy and blessed body so pitilessly and harshly that all Our Lord Jesus Christ's backbone and ribs seemed to be all bloody. Our Lord Jesus Christ seemed to us to look like a piece of torn cloth that is hanging on a fence and being dried of its truly bitter agony and pain and comfort¹⁸ by every kind of wind. Then Our Lord Jesus Christ sank to the ground by the stone pillar and hung by his arms and rested his body a short while. Then one of the Jews shouted and said, "We are going to beat this man to death, and he has not been judged, so we will all be guilty of his death and blood!" [St Birgitta, *Liber Caelestis* 1.10.18] Then one of the Jews ran forwards and cut Our Lord free from the stone pillar. Our Lord Jesus Christ stood up and walked away from the stone pillar by himself, pale and bloody and suffering with his extremely pitiful body full of pain. And he looked for his clothes. When he found them, he picked them up humbly and they were bloodied from his blessed body. The cruel

46 stund] roo eller magh B, C. 47 iøderne] iødernen A. 47–55 Tha ... Amen] ~ B, C;

17 The description of events at the Eighth Station is based on legendary material about the Flagellation of Christ; cf. Matthew 27:26; Mark 15:15; John 19:1.

18 The word 'comfort' seems a bit odd in the context here. Perhaps the ODa. word "trøsth" is related to the verb *thryste* [to crush], cf. OIce. *þrýsta*.

Jews did not want to give Our Lord Jesus as much as a moment to dress in his clothes. Then the Jews took rope and cords and tied Our Lord Jesus around the waist and pushed him off a high stone step so pitilessly that his blessed nose and mouth hit the stone step so pitilessly that his body fell far on the ground next to it.¹⁹ Amen.

The Ninth Station

Source: **A** *JesuPassV*, ff. c2r13–c3v11.

Parallel text: **B** DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 187r31–v28; **C** DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 12r14–v11.

Then nyende stædh

Then nyende stæd som wor her

- 3 re ihesus cristus toldhe sijn
 pine paa thet war i iherusalem wed
 een gade som man kaller likostwdh
- 6 thijd foldhe the then alsom sø-
 desthe gudh oc sætthe hannum
 paa een steen som han wor eth
- 9 fordwlt menniske och førde han
 num i eth rewet purpur klede oc
 giordhe hannum en krone aff
- 12 alsom hwassethe torne och sette
 henne paa hans welsignede hoff-
 uedh och nedher tryckthe henne
- 15 met hwasse iern spiger saa hoor
 delige at kronen ind gick oc iessen

1 Then ... stædh] *Nonus locus passionis* B, C. 3 ihesus cristus] ~ B, C; sijn] ~ B, C. 5 man ... likostwdh] som kalles liquostrates B, C. 6–7 then ... gudh] ihesum B, C. 8 wor] haffde væreth B, C. 9 fordwlt] fordelth B, C. 15 hwasse ... spiger] storæ stenger B, C.

19 Cf. Else Holgersdatter's Book of Hours (DKB GKS 1613 4^o, f. 118r–v [1500–25]; *BønneB* IV 53 (*EHolgersd*): “Tha togæ iødhærnæ reb oc linær / och bwndæ om kringh vor herræ i midæ / oc ryttæ hanom aff ien høgh stien trappæ / so hardæligh och ønkkæligh at hans vælsignæth thænder / neesæ oc mwnd / togæ i stien trappæn / oc Brustæ op at blødæ / och ligommet faldh longt vt i gadæn” [Then the Jews took rope and cords and tied Our Lord around the waist and pushed him from a high stone step so harshly that his blessed teeth, nose, and mouth hit the stone step and burst open bleeding and his body fell far out onto the street.]

- han opspranck oc hiernen hand vd
 18 fløth saa ath the thorne ther ind
 gick at hans welsignede anlede
 the møtthes wedh tynnijnghen
 21 saa møtthes alle thornene i hans
 welsignedhe hoffuet tha vdfloed
 hiernen och blodh aff hans welsig
 24 nedhe hoffuet oc næse oc mund
 och skegh the war opfyldt meth
 alsom mest leffret blodh oc tijll
 27 frusset met al som horesthe egle
 tha toge iøderne røør i theris hen
 der som staffræ oc sloo wor her-
 30 re ihesum offuer hals oc hoffuet
 oc støtte hannum for hans bryst oc
 33 hels koning tha sculle thu haffue
 eth nyt purpur klæde oc een kro
 ne aff guld och een konlijg spire
 36 vthij thijn hand nw forti thu æst
 een loynere oc een forderuere for
 thi scaltu haffue een gammel reff
 39 uet purpur klæde oc en krone aff
 alsom hwassethe torne paa tith
 hoffuedh och eth tompst wijsset
 42 røør i thijn hand for een koning
 ligh spire i thin handh tha togh
 iøderne eth tompst wesset røør i
 45 theris hender och sagde saa Som
 thette røør ær for vdhen al marg
 saa scal tijth koninglighe naffn

17 han opspranck] wdh sprack B, wdhsprack C; hand] ~ B, C. 18 vdfloeth] vdløth A. 18–27 saa ... egle] oc alle tornene møttes B, C. 28 røør] store røør B, C. 29 som] oc B, C. 29–30 wor ... oc] hannum offuer hans B, hanum offuer hans C. 33 haffue] haffth B, C. 36 vthij] i B, C. 37 forderuere] forrædhære B, forrædhæræ C. 38–39 een ... reffuet] eth gamelt B, C. 39–40 krone ... torne] tornæ krwnæ B, tornæ krwnæ C. 43 i ... handh] ~ B, C. 44 wesset] ~ B, C. 46 vdhen al] wdhen B, C.

- 48 wære for vdhen al matkt tha fal-
dhe iøderne paa eth knæ oc ga-
bedhe meth mwnd oc glode *meth*
51 øghen och wtracthe twnghen oc
ropte och sagdhe Hælseth wære
thu iøde koning Amen

Translation

The ninth place²⁰

The ninth place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was in Jerusalem on a street that is called *Lithostrotos*²¹ [John 19:13]. There they accompanied the sweetest God of all and seated him on a stone as if he were a hidden²² person and dressed him in a torn purple cloth and made him a crown of the sharpest thorns and placed it on his blessed head and pressed it down with sharp iron bars so harshly that the crown also penetrated the top of his head. It burst open and his brain flowed out so that the thorns that penetrated his blessed face touched one another at his temples. Then all the thorns in his blessed head touched one another. Then his brain and blood flowed out of his blessed head, and his nose and mouth and beard were filled with the utmost congealed blood and frozen with the hardest icicles. Then the Jews took reeds into their hands as rods and beat Our Lord Jesus across the neck and head and shoved against his chest and said, “Had you been the king of Israel, then you would have had a new purple cloth and a crown of gold and a royal sceptre in your hand. Now because you’re a liar and a corruptor you’ll have an old torn purple cloth and a crown of the sharpest thorns on your head and an empty withered reed in your hand instead of a royal sceptre in your hand!” Then the Jews took an empty withered reed into their hands and said thus, “Just as this reed is without any internal tissue, so shall your royal name be without any power!” Then the Jews fell to their knees and gaped with their mouths and glared with their eyes and poked out their tongues and said, “Hail, King of the Jews!” Amen.

48–53 tha ... Amen] ~ B, C.

20 The events of the Ninth Station are found in Matthew 27:29, Mark 15:17, and John 19:2, 5.

21 Also known by the Aramaic name Gabbatha.

22 From the ODa. verb *fordylje* [to hide]. It is possible that it may be a loan from MLG *vördult* [patient, having patience] or, more likely, a scribal error for *fordelt* [judged, condemned]; cf. “fordelth” in C.

The Tenth Station

Source: *A JesuPassV*, ff. c3v12–d3r1.

Parallel text: *B* DAS AM 21 4^o, ff. 187v29–189r9; *C* DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 12v12–13v16.

- Then tijende stæd
 Then tijende stæd som wor her
 3 re ihesus cristus tolde syn py
 ne paa thet wor paa then stædh
 som han førsth føre segh i sijne
 6 klæder tha toge iøderne reff och
 liner och bunne om kringh wor
 herre ihesum i medie och neylde
 9 een fiel for hannum och een an
 nen bagh hannum meth alsom
 hwasseste ieern spijgher och opp
 12 drowe hans kiortel for hannum
 saa ath then fiel for hannum heng
 dhe the spijgher sloes i be-
 15 nediede knebeen then som bagh
 hannum hengdhe the spijgher
 sloes i hans benedidhe adre och
 18 sener · tha togh iøderne thet store
 kors och thet horde och thet lag
 de the paa hans benedide rygh
 21 Saa bar han thet til then stædh
 som han frelste oss all *meth* · af kor
 sens tiwngsel tha neder signede
 24 wor herre ihesus vnder nen korseth
 oc korset falt owen paa hannum

1 Then ... stæd] *Decimus locus passionis B, C.* 2 som] ~ *B, C.* 3 cristus] ~ *B, C.* 5 førsth føre] første *B, C;* sijne] synæ [h] egnæ *B,* sijnæ egnæ *C.* 8 ihesum] ihesum *christum B, C.* 9–10 annen] ~ *B, C.* 13 saa] ~ *B, C;* fiel] fiæl som *B, C.* 14 sloes] indh sloes *B,* indhsloes *C.* 14–15 benediede] ~ *B, C.* 15 then] oc then fiæl *B, C.* 17 sloes] ind sloes *B,* indhsloes *C.* 19–20 och thet horde ... the] oc lade *B, C.* 20 benedide] ømæ *B, C.* 21 Saa] oc saa *B, C.* 22 meth] paa *B, C.* 23 tiwngsel] tyngelsæ oc legommens vanmecktigheth *B,* tyngelsæ oc legomens vanmecktighedh *C.* 24 ihesus] ~ *B, C;* vnder nen] vnder *B, C.*

so ynkelige oc so hardelige at all
 27 wor herre ihesu rygbeen oc side ben
 the skødes aff lede oc blodet aff
 hannum saa stridhelige neder ran
 30 tha kom wor herre ihesu cristhi
 moder iomfrw maria och wille
 husswale sijn kære søn och bære
 33 korsset met hannum Hun motthe
 icke komme til hanum for iøderne
 Alle iøderne støtte henne oc sko-
 36 de henne bort Vden sanctus iohannes
 ewangelista han tog i mod henne oc
 husswalede henne Hun taledede til
 39 hannum oc sagde Iohannes iohan
 nes Aldri wiste ieg at engelin kun
 ne siæ wsand han taledede til meg
 42 oc sagde Heel maria thu æst meth
 naade herre ær met teg Senneli
 ge siær ieg teg iohannes At iegh
 45 ær opfult meth alsom mesth an-
 ger och drøwelse och herren ær
 lucht fraa megh han ær i dagh i
 48 the wmijlde iøderne hender och
 the pyne oc plawe hannum tijl
 døde tha gick sanctus iohannes
 51 oc iomfrw maria ath een anden
 gadhe hwilke hun wille komme
 før tijl porthen en hennes kære
 54 søn tha fræmskøde iøderne then
 alsom ydmydigeste wor herre ie
 sum cristum meth korsset saa yn-
 57 kelighe och saa hoordelighe ath
 then wmijlde iøde som fore han
 num gick han støtte hannum oc slo

26 so ynkelige oc] ~ B, C. 27 ihesu] ~ B, C. 28 the] ~ B, C. 28–29 oc ... ran] ~ B, C. 31 iomfrw]
 ~ B, C. 34 icke] ey B, ej C; iøderne] jødhæ trangh B, C. 35–50 Alle ... døde] ~ B, C. 50 gick]
 gick bort B, C. 52 hwilke] hwilken som B, C. 52–53 komme før] før komme B, C. 56 cristum]
 ~ B, C. 56–57 saa ... och] ~ B, C. 58 wmijlde] ~ B, C.

- 60 han saa wmijskundelig oc hoor-
deligh op i sijne tender och then
iøde som bag hanum gick han støt-
63 te wor herre *meth* korsset saa ynke
lige oc saa hordelige at alle wor
herre ihesu fodh spor stodh *meth*
66 blodh oc alt thet folck ther wor
i staden the kaste at hannum drek
oc dyn som man pleyer at steene
69 wdedes menniske met ther ihe-
sus kom tijl porthen tha møtthe
hannum *hans* welsignede moder
72 Tha soo hun hwor blodeth heng-
de wed *hans* welsignede anlæ-
de oc øwe och næse oc mund oc
75 skeg · thaa wille iomfrw *maries*
hiærthe dane · tha saa wor herre
ihesus til sijn anger fulle modher
78 han hvsswaledede henne oc sagde
Hellie ær then qwinne som aldrij
føde barn Hellie ær *thet* barn som
81 aldri dide moder Tha græd all
thet folck om kring iomfrw *ma-*
rie stodh Ta oplodh wor her-
84 re ihesus cristus sin welsignedhe
mundh som han wijlle saa syæ
Iherusalem dotther græder icke
87 offuer meg men grædher offuer
edher sielff oc offuer edher børn
forthij ath the daghe sculle en *kom*
90 me ath i sculle saa sijæ i bierghe

60–61 han ... op] *hannum* B, *hanum* C. 62–63 støtte] *fran skøth* B, C. 65 fodh ... stodh] *christi* fodhspor the stodhe opp fylth B, C. 66–67 ther ... staden] i stadhen wor B, C. 67 drek] *dræck / och fwlsteen och dyng* B, C. 69 met] *ihie*ll *meth* B, C; ther] *Tha* B, C. 69–70 ihesus] *ihesus christus* han B, C. 70 tha] *Ther* B, C. 71 hannum ... moder] *hans* welsinedhe modher *hannum* B, C. 72 Tha] *Tha* saa hwn op wndher *hans* welsinedhe anlødhe *Tha* B, C; hwor] wor A. 72–73 hengde] henghe leffryth B, henghe leffrijth C. 73–74 anlæde] *kynben* B, *kijn-*
been C. 75–76 iomfrw ... hiærthe] hwn B, C. 76 saa] *taledede* B, C. 78 han] ~ B, C; sagde] *sadhe* sa B, C. 83–85 Ta ... syæ] *Tha* *sadhe* vor *herræ ihesus christus* B, C. 86 icke] *ey* B, *eij* C. 89–90 sculle ... komme] *kommæ* B, C. 90 i bierghe] *byorgh* B, *bijorgh* C.

och dale faller nedher skywler
 oss for then grumme dom som
 93 oss stander fore for then gerning
 nw gøres fræm Tha skødh iø-
 derne wor herre ihesum cristum
 96 meth korsset saa ynkelighe och
 saa hoordelighe ath woor herre
 ihesus cristus benediede næse oc
 99 mundh the toghe i steen hallen
 och hans welsignede thenner the
 slowe løse aff hans benediede kin
 102 been Hwn stötthes dybere i ho-
 wedet en hun føre wor Iomfrw
 maries hiærte wor saa wanac-
 105 tigh och all hennes lydh falnede
 tha wor hun saa blegh som een
 yrth tha opreysde the wmijldhe
 108 iøderne wor herre ihesum cristum
 met korsset och sagdhe saa Hey
 hey thu karl hwij wilthu ey bære
 111 korsset Wor herre ihesus cristus
 swarede them igien met en yd-
 mydige røst oc sagdhe saa Ger-
 114 ne wil ieg bære korsset for mennis
 kens salighed skyld · tha kom gan
 gendis een fattig man som hedh
 117 symon tha toghe iøderne oc nød
 de hannum tijl at bære korset tha
 togh han yderst paa endhe · och
 120 bar lidet met hannum som en gø-
 re dawelig menniske i wor her-
 re ihesu cristi pynelse Amen

91 nedher] nedher / och B, C. 94 nw ... fræm] som gyøris B, som gijøris C. 94–103 Tha ... føre] ~ B, C. 103–05 Iomfrw ... falnede] The wor iomfrw mares hyarthæ B, Tha vor jomfrw Maries Hijarthæ C. 106 tha ... saa] at hwn vor blegh B, C. 107–08 the wmijldhe] ~ B, C. 108 ihesum cristum] ~ B, C. 111 ihesus cristus] ~ B, C. 112–13 them ... røst] ~ B, C. 114–15 menniskens] alle menneskes B, C. 116 fattig] gamell B, C. 117–18 tha ... hannum] Then nødhe iødhernæ B, C. 119 yderst ... endhe] yderligh om korseth B, C. 120–22 hannum ... Amen] vor herræ B, C.

Translation

The tenth place²³

The tenth place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was at that place where he first dressed in his clothes. Then the Jews took rope and cords and tied them around Our Lord's waist and nailed a board on his front and another one behind him with the sharpest iron nails and pulled up his robe in front of him so that the spikes hanging on the board on his front struck against his blessed knees. The one on his back with spikes hanging off it struck against his blessed arteries and tendons. Then the Jews took the great and hard cross and lay it upon his blessed back. Then he carried it to that place where he saved us all. From the weight of the cross Our Lord Jesus fell underneath the cross and the cross fell on top of him so pitilessly and harshly that all of Our Lord Jesus' backbone and ribs were dislocated and his blood poured off him as if from battle. Then Our Lord Jesus Christ's mother the Virgin Mary came and wanted to comfort her dear son and carry the cross with him. She was unable to get near him on account of the Jews. All the Jews pushed her and shoved her away. But St John the Evangelist received her and comforted her. She spoke to him and said, "John! John! I never knew that the angel could say an untruth when he spoke to me and said, 'Hail Mary, you are [full] of grace, the Lord is with you!' Truly I tell you, John, that I am full of regret and grief and the Lord is shut off from me. Today he is in the hands of the cruel Jews, and they are tormenting and torturing him to death!" Then St John and the Virgin Mary went along another street by which she wanted to arrive at the gate before her dear son. Then the Jews pushed our most humble Lord Jesus Christ forwards with the cross so pitilessly and so harshly: the cruel Jew who was walking in front of him pushed him and hit him so mercilessly and harshly in his teeth, and the Jew who was walking behind him pushed Our Lord with the cross so pitilessly and so harshly that all of Our Lord Jesus' footprints were filled with blood, and all the people who were in the city threw dirt and muck at him just like a criminal is usually stoned with. When Jesus arrived at the gate, his blessed mother met him. When she saw how the blood hanged on his blessed face, and eyes, and nose, and mouth, and beard, the Virgin Mary's heart was going to swoon. Then Our Lord Jesus saw his sorrowful mother. He consoled her and said, "Blessed is the woman who never gave birth to a child! Blessed is the child who never suckled a mother!" [Luke 23:29] Then all the people standing around Mary

²³ Most of the contents of the description of events at the Tenth Station are not based on the Gospel accounts but are found in legendary material. For example, Mary and John following Jesus through the streets of Jerusalem is not mentioned in the Gospel accounts but explains their presence at the Crucifixion.

wept. Then Our Lord Jesus Christ opened his blessed mouth as he wanted to say: “Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children, for the days shall come when you shall say in [the] mountains and valleys, ‘Fall down! Hide us from the cruel judgement²⁴ that is awaiting us for the act that is now being performed!’” [Luke 23:28–30] Then the Jews shoved Our Lord Jesus Christ with the cross so pitilessly and so harshly that Our Lord Jesus Christ’s blessed nose and mouth struck the rock cliff, and his blessed teeth were knocked loose out of his blessed cheekbone. It [i. e., the crown of thorns] was pushed deeper into his head than it was previously. The Virgin Mary’s heart became so weakened and all her colour faded, and she then turned as pale as a herb.²⁵ Then the cruel Jews picked up Our Lord Jesus Christ along with the cross and said thus: “Oi! Oi, you! Jack! Why don’t you want to carry the cross?” Our Lord Jesus Christ answered them with a meek voice and said thus: “I will happily carry the cross for the salvation of humanity.” Then a poor man called Simon [of Cyrene] came along and the Jews grabbed him and forced him to carry the cross. [Matthew 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26] Then he took the far end of it and carried it a little with him like a [Christian] person does every day in Our Lord Jesus Christ’s passion. Amen.

The Eleventh Station

Source: *A JesuPassV*, ff. d3r2–d4r9.

Parallel text: *B* DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 189r10–30; *C* DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 13v17–14r9.

Then elffthe stædh

Then elffte stæd som wor herre

- 3 iesus cristus tolde sin pyne pa
 thet wor paa then stæd som man
 kaller locus gallie thet wor then
 6 slijmsthe stædh ther nær wor ihe
 rusalem alt thet the rensedhe aff
 gaderne thet vdførdede paa then

1 Then ... stædh] *Vndecimus locus passionis* *B, C.* 2 som] ther *B, C.* 4 som] ~ *B, C.* 5 gallie] kaluarie *B, C.* 6 slijmsthe] skemisthe *B, C.* 6 ther] thet *A, som B, C.* 8 vdførdede] førdhe the wth *B, C.*

²⁴ Cf. Apocalypse (Revelation) 6:15.

²⁵ The simile “as pale as a herb” may sound odd, but it is also found in a description of St Margaret where her pallid complexion is said to be “sosom en blec yrth” [like a pale herb], *HellKv* 32.

- 9 stædh tyffue oc vdhedes mennis
 ken them vndliue the paa then samme
 stædh · tijdh fuldhe the iomfrw
- 12 maries kære søn at hans py-
 ne och drøwelse sculle wore han-
 num thes mere Och somme aff
- 15 the vmijldhe iødher toghe kors-
 seth aff wor herre iesum oc some
 krone aff hannum meth iern ster
- 18 ger och some toghe hans kiortel
 som til foren war indtrycket i se-
 nerne och tijl fruseth meth leff-
- 21 reth blodh och flenthe hannum
 offuer hals oc hoffueth meth al-
 som største hastig modh saa ync
- 24 kelige och saa hordelige ath hw
 den hun med følde kiortelen saa
 at wor herre ihesus vndher och
- 27 saar tha brøste op at blødhe och
 wore møget store sidhen en tijl
 foren Ther iøderne soo ath han
- 30 war saa ynkelige och saa ledher
 giort aff sith eghet blod the men-
 te ath han kunne icke løbe Tha
- 33 toghe the hannum nøghen i the
 ris hender oc dantze met hannum
 oc sprunge meth hannum aff spot
- 36 och spee · tha rophte all iøderne
 oc sagde seer oc skuder thesne loy
 nere oc swijgere som segh kaller
- 39 at wære iødes konijng gijffwer

9 stædh] stedh Och thet som ther dødhe i stadhen hwnde oc assen B, C; tyffue oc] Tywffue oc Røffuere B, Tijwffue oc Røffuere C. 10 them] ~ B, C; samme] ~ B, C. 13 wore] bliffue B, C. 14 thes mere] støre B, C; Och] ~ B, C. 15 the ... iødher] iødernæ B, jødernæ C. 16 wor ... iesum] hannum B, C; some] somme toghe B, C. 17 hannum] hans hoffueth C. 18 toghe] toghe nedhen B, C. 19–32 senerne ... løbe] sarene sa hordeligh / ath alle vor herres ihesv christi saar brusthe op at blødhe B, sarene / sa hordeligh / ath alle vor Herris ihesu christi saar brusthe op at blødhe C. 33–34 nøghen ... hender] ~ B, C. 37 seer oc] ~ B, C. 38 oc swijgere] ~ B, C. 39 at wære] ~ B, C. 39–40 gijffwer ... hannum] ~ B, C.

dom offuer hannum tha ropthe
 the annen syn alle samen oc sagde
 42 Crucifige Crucifige thet ær sa me
 get Korsfester Korsfester hannum
 oc døder hannum tijl døde Amen

Translation

The eleventh place

The eleventh place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was at that place that is called Place of the Calvary.²⁶ That was the most awful place that was near to Jerusalem. Everything that they cleaned off the streets was taken out to that place.²⁷ They executed thieves and criminals at that very same place. They took the Virgin Mary's dear son there so that his torment and distress would be greater for him. And some of the cruel Jews took the cross from Our Lord Jesus and some [his] crown from him with iron rods and some took his robe that had previously been pressed into his tendons and frozen with congealed blood and tore it off over his neck and head with the greatest of haste, so pitilessly and so harshly that his skin was torn off along with the robe so that Our Lord Jesus' injuries and wounds were much greater than before. When the Jews saw that he was so pitiful and made so hideous with his own blood, they thought that he would be unable to run. So, they took him naked into their hands and danced with him and jumped about with him out of mockery and contempt. Then all the Jews shouted and said, "Look and see this this liar and deceiver who calls himself King of the Jews. Pronounce judgement over him!" Then they all shouted together for a second time and said, "*Crucifige! Crucifige!*" which means "Crucify! Crucify him and kill him – to death!" [Mark 15:13, 14; Luke 23:21; John 19:6, 15] Amen.

41 annen ... sagde] allæ B, C. 42–44 thet ... Amen] ~ B, C.

26 The place name "locus gallie" instead of the expected *locus calvarie* [Calvary, place of the skull] may be due to confusion with or an intentional play on the word *galghe* [gallows].

27 The claim that Golgotha was the site where the city's rubbish was dumped is not supported in the Gospels. It is possible that the association between the site of the Crucifixion and Resurrection on the one hand and a midden on the other came about when the area was under Muslim control. Arabic for resurrection is *qiyama* (قيامة) which sounds similar to *qumama* (قمامة) meaning 'rubbish,' 'garbage,' 'dung.' Muslims sometimes called the Church of the Resurrection for *al-qumama* (القمامة) [the rubbish heap]. John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977), 176.

The Twelfth Station

Source: *A JesuPassV*, ff. d4r10–e1r10.

Parallel text: *B* DAS AM 21 4^o, f. 189v1–18; *C* DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 14r10–24.

- Then tolfte stæd
 Then tolfte stæd som wor her
 3 re ihesus cristus tolde syn py
 ne paa thet wor paa steen hallen
 som the hengde the too røffuere
 6 som sculle korsfestis *meth* hannem aff
 ræt bitter werck oc swede oc frost
 oc aff legomens wanmactighed
 9 tha scalff wor herre ihesus cristus
 han benediede thender oc sames
 slowes saa hordelige som nogre
 12 store knøppele som kunne knøples
 tijl samen Tha saa woor herre
 hwor the skøde hans welsignede
 15 modher op tijl steenstøtten Tha
 blunnede wor herre oc gad ey seet
 paa herne tha sa han huor the haf
 18 de the ·ij røffuere som sculle kors-
 festis *meth* hannum tha saa han huor
 the dobbledede om hans kleder hwel
 21 ke som them sculle beholde tha sa
 han reff naule oc tenger oc al the
 waben som hans benedide legome
 24 sculle pynes paa korsset tha tale
 de wor herre ihesus eth grædeligt
 ord oc sagde O kors aff teg haf

1 Then ... stæd] *Duodecimus locus passionis* *B*, *C*. 2 som] ~ *B*, *C*. 3 ihesus cristus] ~ *B*, *C*. 4 steen hallen] then stedh / the sætthæ *hannum* nøghen paa steen hallen *B*, then stedh / the sætthe *hannum* nøghen paa steenhallen *C*. 5 som ... hengde] men the henthe *B*, *C*. 6 *hannem*] *hunum* *A*. 6–13 aff ... samen] ~ *B*, *C*. 13 saa ... herre] swa han *B*, *C*. 15 steenstøtten] stenen *B*, *C*. 15–16 Tha ... herre] han blunnede for herne *B*, *C*. 17 paa] ~ *B*, *C*. 17–19 tha ... *hannum*] ~ *B*, *C*. 19 saa] swa *B*, *C*. 20 kleder] kiortel *B*, *C*. 21 som ... beholde] *hannum* skulle haffue *B*, *C*. 22 reff naule oc] hammer reff *B*, *C*. 23 benedide] ~ *B*, *C*. 24 paa] *meth* paa *B*, *C*. 25 ihesus] ~ *B*, *C*.

- 27 uer ieg lidet werck och slaw saa
 store o kors tw æst widh o kors
 thu æst benediet wore thet mw-
 30 ueligt at ieg kunne tole pyne och
 døth for menniskens gerningher
 gerne wille ieg henne tole oc lide
 33 for noget menniske sculle forta-
 beth bliue O eddel menniske lath
 op thine øwen oc see tijl meg och
 36 tenck vthi thit hiærthe wor ync-
 kelighe iegh swider nw for thin
 skyldh amen

Translation

The twelfth place

The twelfth place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was on the rock cliff where they hanged the two robbers who were to be crucified alongside him. From sheer bitter pain and agony and frost and his body's powerlessness, Our Lord Jesus Christ's blessed teeth chattered and struck against one another so hard like some big clubs that could be pinched together.²⁸ Then Our Lord saw how they pushed his blessed mother up to the stone foot [of the cross]. Then Our Lord blinked and could not see her. Then he saw where they had the two robbers who were to be crucified with him. Then he saw how they cast lots for his clothes, who was going to keep them. Then he saw rope, nails, and pincers, and all the weapons with which his blessed body was to be tortured on the cross. Then Our Lord spoke a mournful word and said, "O cross! From you I have suffered such great pain and blows! O cross! You are timber! O cross! You are blessed! If it were possible that I could suffer torture and agony for the deeds of humanity, then I would willingly endure and suffer it, because some person is going to be lost. O noble person! Open your eyes and look at me and contemplate in your heart how pitifully I am now feeling pain for your sake."

27 lidet] tolth *B, C.* 28–34 o kors tw ... bliue] ~ *B, C.* 34 eddel] ~ *B, C.* 34–35 lath op] oplath *B, C.* 37 iegh swider] swidher ieg *B, C.* 38 amen] ~ *B, C.*

28 Translation of ODa. "knøppele som kunne knøples tijl samen" is uncertain here. ODa. *knyppele* means 'club' or 'truncheon,' but the verb **knøple* [to beat, club (?)] is a hapax legomenon. It is possibly a scribal error, e. g., for *knippe* [to gather (together); bundle (together); tie (together); pinch (together)].

The Thirteenth Station

Source: *A JesuPassV*, ff. e1r11–f1v17.

Parallel text: *B* DAS AM 21 4^o, ff. 189v19–190v9; *C* DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 14r25–15r13.

- Then trettende stædh
 Then trettende stædh som wor her
 3 re iesus cristus tolde syn pyne
 paa thet war paa then stæd som
 han op gick tijl korsset met fæm
 6 træen Thet første wor kærlighed
 thet annet wor tollighed · thet træ-
 die wor ydmøghed thet fierdhe
 9 wor wanmectighed ind tijl dø-
 den Oc thet fæmte wor woraff
 tighed tha toge iøderne och kas-
 12 the hannum op tijl thet store korss
 och hordhe tha wor wor herre
 ihesus *christus* legome saa bloth om
 15 wenth for folket at han hafdhe
 ey saa møget aff all thet skapt vor
 at han kunne skiule segh met vdhen
 18 han togh thet ene knæ oc lagdhe
 offuer thet annet oc skiulte segh
 met tha fræm gick hans welsigne
 21 de moder iomfrw maria som stæd
 wor i alsom største anger oc drø
 welse oc tog sith houed klæde oc
 24 bant neden om kring hanum tha

1 Then ... stædh] *Tredecimus locus passionis* *B*, *C*. 2 som] ~ *B*, *C*. 3 iesus cristus] ~ *B*, *C*. 4 som] ~ *B*, *C*. 5 fæm] v *B*, v. *C*. 9–10 wanmectighed ... døden] pinæackteligheth *B*, *C*. 10–11 worafftighed] vaaractigheth jnd til døden *B*, *C*. 11 iøderne] jødherne hans ømæ rygh *B*, jødherne hans ømæ rijgh *C*. 12 hannum] ~ *B*, *C*. 13 hordhe] horde *B*, *C*. 13–15 tha ... hafdhe] tha haffde vore herre ihesus *christus* *B*, tha haffde vor herræ ihesus *christus* *C*. 17 segh] sith benedide mandoms legomme *B*, *C*. 17 vdhen] men *B*, *C*. 20 met] lideth meth [k-] laareth *B*, lidet meth laareth *C*. 20–21 hans ... moder] ~ *B*, *C*. 22 alsom ... oc] størstæ *B*, *C*. 24 hannum] vor herræ *B*, *C*.

donede iomfrw maria oc wor hun
 ner dõt · tha vdrachte wor herre
 27 ihesus sine arme paa korsset som
 han wille saa siæ til alle sundy-
 ge menniske mijne alsom kærethe
 30 wanner ieg stander nw redebon
 at gøre fult for menniskens skyld
 tha igenem slo iøderne wor her-
 33 re ihesu høgre hand *meth* een stompt
 iern naule saa ynkelighe och saa
 hordelige at naufflen indgick oc
 36 blodet vdspranck saa bunne the
 reff oc lijner om kring wor herre
 ihesu welsinede wenster handh
 39 oc vdrecthe henne wedh korsseth
 først twert oc saa endelangt ath
 alle hwor herre ihesus ryghbeen
 42 sloues aff lede tha igemen slowe
 the wor herre ihesu høgre handh
meth stompet iern naule saa ynke-
 45 lige at naufflen ingick oc blodhet
 vdspranck Saa toghe the reebe
 oc liner och bunne om wor herre
 48 ihesu føder oc neder tryckte them
 til korsset saa hordelighe ath alle
 wors herre ihesu ledemot the at
 51 skyltes saa at inthet bleff i sin ræt-
 te sted · tha lode the then ene fodh
 offuer gaa then annen oc igemen
 54 slowe hans werduge fødder *meth*
 then stompede iern naule saa hor-
 delige at naulen indgick oc blodet
 57 vdspranck ther the haffde korssfest

25 iomfrw maria] hwn B, C. 25–26 hun ... dõt] nær ihiel trodh / aff jødherne B, C. 27 arme] helligæ armæ B, Hellige armæ C. 28 til] Thu A, til B, C. 29–30 alsom ... wanner] kære venner kommer nw hiidh til mig B, kære venner / kommer nu hiidh til meg C. 30 stander] ær B, C. 31 menniskens skyld] edher B, C. 32–57 tha ... vdspranck] ~ B, C. 57 ther] thet A; haffde] haffde tha B, C.

then alsom megtigeste gudh tha
 opreysde the korset op i een sten
 60 icke wore the vmilde iødher øff-
 reth treth aff hans pyne the løbe
 om kringh korsset oc samen sanc-
 63 kede the døde mens been som til
 foren wor wndliuedhe paa then
 stædh och kaste oppa korsset tijl
 66 wor herre iesum oc ropte och sag
 de Estu then liuendis guts søn
 tha løss theg selff fran korsset och
 69 gack net tijl oss tha wille wi troo
 ath thet thy siær oss · tha oplodh
 wor herre ihesus sijne welsigne-
 72 de øgen oc saa op tijl hijmmelin
 oc talede tijl sijn hellige fader oc
 sagde fader forlat them som meg
 75 korsfeste forti the vide icke hwad
 the gøre · tha weder kendis røff-
 ueren seg han wor leffuendis guds
 78 søn tha talede røffueren till wor
 herre oc sagde Herre kom megh
 i hw først thu kommer i thit righe
 81 Wor herre ihesus swarede hanum
 oc sagde sandelige siær iegh tegh
 i daw scaltu wære meth meg i pa
 84 radis I dagh tørstede wor her-
 re ihesus paa korsset och sagdhe
 meg tørster · tha samen blandedhe
 87 the edicke oc galle oc meram som
 wor alsom mest beskhed thet gaf
 ue the hannum at dricke ther han
 90 smagede thet tha wille han icke

58 alsom ... gudh] hannum *B, C*. **59** opreysde ... sten] reestæ the korsseth op / oc løffthæ thet høgth op / oc lodhæ saa fallæ nedher i stenen *B, C*. **60** iødher] jødher æn tha *B, C*. **61** hans] ihesu *christi B*, then *christi C*. **61–84** the ... paradis] ~ *B, C*. **84** I dagh] Tha *B, C*; tørstede] trøstede *A*. **85** ihesus] *ihesus christus B, C*. **87** galle ... meram] gallæ *B, C*. **88** wor] ær *B, C*. **88–89** thet ... the] oc gaffue *B, C*.

dricke men han sagde *Consumatum*
 est Nw ær al ting fulkommen tha
 93 begijnte wor herre ihesus lego-
 me at skellfue oc røstes oc samen
 krompes oc hiærte wärmegtighe
 96 de segh aff døtzens twangh och
 hans welsignede hofued fald ne
 dher paa hans bryst oc sagde sa
 99 Nw ær altingh fulkomen hwor
 fore ieg wor wdsender aff hijm
 melin oc neder til iorderighe och
 102 fulkomen for menniskens skyldh
 tha befalede wor herre ihesus sijn
 welsignede moder iomfrw maria
 105 sancti iohannes ewangelista gömel
 se och sagdhe Qwinne seer thin
 søn Iohannes see thin anger fulle
 108 moder · tha taledede iomfrw ma-
 ria eth grædelicth ordh oc sagdhe
 Hwad sorg er thet meg ath iegh
 111 skiffter i dag bort mijn herre och
 myn gud for en aff hans fattighe
 thienere Ieg skiffter i dag borth
 114 guds søn aff hemmelen och mijn
 kæreste søn for een fattighe fiske
 re søn tha saa iomfrw maria opp
 117 tijl korsset til sijn kære søn oc sag
 de Heel guds faders søn thu æst
 myn hellere oc mijn frelsere thw
 120 æst mith welsignede blod och ieg
 ær thin møø for tegh føddhe for
 vden all wee tha saa iomfrw maria
 123 op til korset til sin eneste søn ther
 hun saa at hans pyne wor hannum
 saa stor tha oprast iomfrw ma-
 126 ria øgen oc græd blodighe taare

91 dricke] dicke A. 91–92 *Consumatum est*] ~ B, C. 92–138 tha ... dag] ~ B, C. 99 fulkomen]
 fulkomeu A.

Ther wor herre ihesus saa neder
 tijl sijn anger fulle moder oc ath
 129 hennes pyne wor saa stor tha opp
 skødh wor herre ihesu segh paa
 korsset meth alsomstørste legomens
 132 mackt ropte oc sagde lamazaba
 tani Mijn gud min gud hwij ha
 uer thu forladet megh ær thet ey
 135 øffret ath ieg pynes paa korsset
 i dag saa hordelige at mijn wel-
 signede moder maria at hun scal
 138 oc pynes meth meg i dag Tha be-
 gynte wor herre iesus legome at
 arbeyde i moth døden saa swarli-
 141 ge at hwer then tijd han vdgaff
 andhen aff legometh · tha vd-
 gøth han sijn blodh aff alle syne
 144 vndher och hwer then tijdh han
 draff andhen tijl segh tha ne-
 dher drogh han blodhet tijl hier
 147 then meth alsom horesthe stingh
 aff telligh ynclighe erendhe tha
 hengdhe gutz søn paa korsseth
 150 intijl nyendhe tijme paa daghen
 om nyende tijme tha opnedhes
 mundhen oc twnghen rørdhes
 153 lijdhet oc sagde Fadher i hem-
 melen i thine hender befaler ieg
 mijn andh tha brast hierthet tha
 156 gaff seg all thet weth i werdhen
 wor Hemmelin han mørkendes
 och solen hun tabede sijth skijn
 159 och monen han omwendhis tijl
 blod oc stirnene the gaffue them

139 iesus] ihesu *christi* B, C. 140 i moth] modh B, C. 140–50 saa ... tijme] Oc om nonæ timæ dags B, C. 153–54 Fadher ... hemmelen] fadher B, C. 154 thine hender] thin hand B, C. 155 tha] oc ther B, C. 156 all ... weth] vedh / al then thing B, C. 158 och] ~ B, C. 159 och] ~ B, C; tijl] i B, C. 160 oc] ~ B, C; the] ~ B, C.

neder tijl iorden oc stenene sprun
 162 ghe op och sloues tijl samen och
 iordhen hun skeluedhe och beue-
 de graffuerne the obnedes saa at
 165 mange stodhe opp aff døde och
 gijnge i staden oc ropthe oc sag-
 dhe offuer iøderne Ihesus gutz
 168 søn haffuer told vskylligh døth
 i dagh Tha stodh thet swerdh i
 gemen iomfrv maries hierte som
 171 sijmeon prophete spadhe henne
 om kijndelmøsse dagh i templen
 Tha danedhe iomfrw maria oc
 174 hennes welsignede legomen fald
 nedher tijl iordhen I træ thijme
 wor mørck offuer all wærdhen
 177 Amen

Translation

The thirteenth place

The thirteenth place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was at the place where he ascended to the cross with five steps. The first was love. The second was patience. The third was humility. The fourth was powerlessness until death. The fifth was steadfastness. Then the Jews took [him] and threw him up to the great and harsh cross. Then Our Lord Jesus Christ's body was so exposed facing the people that he had not so much of everything that had been created that he could cover himself with, but he took his one knee and laid it over the other and covered himself with it. Then his blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, who was still in the greatest sorrow and grief, came forward and she took off her headscarf and tied it around his nether parts. Then the Virgin Mary fainted, and she was near death. Then Our Lord Jesus stretched out his arms on the cross as if he wanted to say to all sinful people, "My dearest friends, I am now prepared to atone for the

161 oc] ~ B, C. 162–64 och ... beuede] ~ B, C. 164 the] ~ B, C; saa at] oc B, C. 166 i] til B, C. 166–67 oc sagdhe ... iøderne] ower iødherne oc sadhæ B, ower jødhernæ oc sadhæ C. 169–72 Tha ... templen] ~ B, C. 174 welsignede] hellige B, C. 175 nedher tijl] paa B, C; iordhen] iordheu A; træ] the iij B, the iij· C. 177 Amen] ~ B, C.

sake of humanity!" Then the Jews pierced Our Lord Jesus' right hand with a blunt iron nail so pitilessly and so harshly that the nail went in and the blood spurted out. Then they tied rope and cords around Our Lord Jesus' blessed left hand and stretched it out on the cross, first sideways and then lengthways. All Our Lord Jesus' backbones were dislocated. Then they pierced Our Lord Jesus' right hand with a blunt iron nail so pitilessly that the nail went in and blood spurted out. Then they took rope and cords and tied up Our Lord Jesus' feet and forced them down against the cross so harshly that all Our Lord Jesus' limbs were separated, so that nothing remained in its right place. Then they made the one foot go over the other one and pierced his blessed feet with the blunt iron nail so harshly that the nail went in, and the blood spurted out. When they had crucified the almighty God, they raised the cross up onto a stone. The cruel Jews were not sufficiently tired of his suffering. They ran around the cross and gathered up the bones of dead men who had been executed previously at that place and threw them up at the cross at Our Lord Jesus, and [they] shouted and said, "If you are the Son of the Living God, free yourself from the cross and step down! Then we will believe in what you are telling us!" Then Our Lord Jesus opened his blessed eyes and said upwards to the sky and spoke to his heavenly father and said, "Father, forgive those who are crucifying me for they know not what they are doing!" Then the robber recognized our living God's son. Then the robber spoke to Our Lord and said, "Lord, remember me when you come into your kingdom!" Our Lord Jesus answered him and said, "Assuredly, I say to you, today you shall be with me in paradise!" [Luke 23:39–43] Today Our Lord suffered thirst on the cross and said, "I thirst." [John 19:28] Then they mixed vinegar and gall and myrrh which was of the greatest bitterness. They gave it to him to drink. When he tasted it, he did not want to drink, but he said, "*Consumatum est*. Now everything is finished." [John 19:30] Then Our Lord Jesus' body began to shiver and shake and crumple, and his heart was weakened from the force of death, and his blessed head fell down onto his chest, and [he] said thus, "Now everything is finished, the reason I was sent from heaven down to earth and finished for the sake of humanity." Then Our Lord Jesus commended his blessed mother Mary to St John the Evangelist's protection and said, "Woman, behold your son! John, behold your grief-stricken mother!" [John 19:26–27] Then the Virgin Mary spoke a tearful word and said, "How sorrowful is it for me, that today I exchange my lord and my god for one of his poor servants! Today I am exchanging God's son from heaven and my dearest son for a poor fisherman's son." [Matthew 4:21–22] Then the Virgin Mary looked up at the cross to her dear son and said, "Hail, Son of God the Father! You are my redeemer and saviour. You are my blessed blood, and I am your maiden for I gave birth to you without any [labour] pains." Then the Virgin Mary looked up at the cross to her only son. When she saw that his agony was so great the Virgin Mary's eyes burst

and [she] wept bloody tears. When Our Lord looked down at his sorrowful mother and [saw] that her agony was so great, Our Lord Jesus straightened himself up on the cross, with the greatest bodily power [he] shouted and said, “[*Eloi, Eloi,*] *lama sabachthani?* My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? [Matthew 27:46] Is it not superfluous that today I am tortured on the cross so harshly that my blessed mother Mary is also to be tortured with me today?” Then Our Lord Jesus’ body began to work so hard against death that every time he expelled the breath out of his body, he shed his blood from all his injuries, and every time he drew his breath, he drew the blood down to his heart with the harshest stabbing pains from such pitiful circumstances. Then God’s son hung on the cross until the ninth hour of the day. At the ninth hour, his mouth opened, and his tongue moved a little, and [he] said, “Father in heaven, into your hands I commend my spirit!” [Luke 23:46]. Then his heart burst, and everything that was in the world was afraid.²⁹ The heavens darkened, and the sun lost its shine and the moon turned to blood and the stars fell to the earth. [Matthew 27:45]. And the rocks leapt up and were smashed against one another and the earth shook and trembled. [Matthew 27:5]. The graves opened so that many were raised from the dead [Matthew 27:52], and [they] went into the city and shouted and said to the Jews, “Jesus, the Son of God has today suffered an innocent death!” Then the sword pierced the Virgin Mary’s heart just as Simeon the Prophet had foreseen for her on Candlemas Day at the Temple. [Luke 2:34–35]. Then the Virgin Mary fainted, and her blessed body fell to the ground. It was dark across the world for three hours. Amen.

The Fourteenth Station

Source: A *JesuPassV*, ff. f1v18–g2r8.

Parallel text: B DAS AM 21 4^o, ff. 190v10–191v1; C DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 15r14–16r3.

Then fiortende stædh

Then fiortende stædh som wor

3 herre ihesus cristhus toldhe
syn pyne paa thet wor om aff-

1 Then ... stædh] Decimus quartus locus passionis B, C. 2 som] ~ B, C. 3 ihesus cristhus] ~ B, C. 4 syn] ~ B, C.

29 ODa. “gaff seg ... weth,” cf. OSw. *giva sik vidher* ‘blifva ängslig el. förskräckt’ [to be afraid or terrified]. See Söderwall, s. v. “giva.”

then sangs tijme ther ioseph och
 6 nicodemus the gijnghe i stadhen
 och badhe pylato om ath thee
 motthe taghe wor herres lego-
 9 me nedher aff korsseth och iorde
 hannum i een ny steen graff Py
 latus han sagdhe iaa och tordhe
 12 icke sømme them thet for een stor
 plawe som tijl føren wor offuer
 ganghen stadhen for døde men
 15 niske skyldh Pylatus vdh wys-
 the alle sijne riddere och han bat
 them ath the sculle tage wor her
 18 re ihesu cristi legome neddher aff
 korsset och syndher brydhe hans
 been och the iordhe hannum i en
 21 ny steen graff och gøme hannum
 hærdelijghe oc hans wenner ath
 the sculle icke borthtage hannum
 24 och syæ sidhen ath han wor op-
 standhen aff dødhe Tha borth
 gijnghe sanctus Ioseph och Ni-
 27 codelus och køpthe eth nyth
 lijneth klædhe och monghe hon-
 dhe dyre yrther och saa vdgyn-
 30 ghe the aff stadhen Tha stodh
 sanctus iohannes ewangelista
 vndher nen korsset och taledhe
 33 tijl iomfrw maria och sagde saa
 Hwadh mwe the meghle folck
 wijlle som hær kommer gangen
 36 dis Tha op reysde iomfru ma-
 ria segh vndher nen korsseth vth

5 ther] tha *B, C*. 6 gijnghe i] komme til *B, C*. 8 wor herres] ihesu *christi B, C*. 9 nedher] ~ *B, C*. 10 hannum] thet *B, C*. 11 han] ~ *B, C*. 12–15 for ... Pylatus] ~ *B, C*. 16 riddere] tænerer oc ryddheræ *B, C*. 16–17 och ... them] ~ *B, C*. 17–18 wor ... legome] hannum *B, C*. 19 hans] alle hans *B*, allæ hans *C*. 20 the] ~ *B, C*. 21 ny] ~ *B, C*; och] oc the skulle *B, C*. 22 hærdelijghe oc] at *B, C*. 22–23 ath the] ~ *B, C*. 23 icke ... hannum] ey komme / oc tagæ hannum op *B*, eij komme / oc tagæ hannum op *C*. 24 sidhen] saa *B, C*. 25–87 Tha ... hanum] ~ *B, C*.

aff alsom største beskhed anger oc
 39 drøwelse oc sagde iohannes nv
 scal ingen kenne we at wære paa
 meg i alle mijne drøwelsse men
 42 ieg wil fræm bywdhe mijn gam
 le thieneste som ær ydmydighed
 och kærlighedh och sandh tool-
 45 modh Tha gick iomfrw maria
 i modh iøderne met blodige klæ-
 der oc werkendes hiærte oc tore
 48 fulle øghen och meth grædendhe
 ordh hwn taledhe tijl them och
 sagde Mijn alsom kæreste wen-
 51 ner Hwad wijlle i gøre aff mijn
 kære søn han hengher døth paa
 korset tøckes eder at han hafuer
 54 icke giorth fult for menniskens
 synder tha standher iegh her rede
 bon och wijl ieg gøre fult for men-
 57 niskens synden Tagher mijth
 legome oc pyner thet paa korsset
 oc pyner mijn alsom kereste søns
 60 dødhe leghome nw ey mere paa
 korset tha fremledhe iøderne een
 bljnd man som hedh longinus
 63 oc wor een riddere och fick han-
 num een hwass spiuth i hans hen-
 der at han sette thet paa vor her
 66 re ihesu cristi welsignede sijde oc
 tijl stack saa hordelige at spiudet
 ingick i gemen sidhen oc i hiertef
 69 tha flodh want oc blodh vth for
 menniskens synder tha fick lon-
 ginus sijne øgen igeen tha rop-
 72 te han och sagde O fili dei mise-
 rere mei O søn gutz miskundhe
 meg thu æst then same leffuendes
 75 gutz søn · tha wor iomfrw maria
 hiærthe wanmectigh och grædh
 och gaff segh ynckelighe tha ta-

- 78 lede alle menniske som om kringh
 iomfrw maria stode oc sagde tijl
 herne Mijn alsom kæresthe frowe
 81 gjiff tegh ey saa saare forthi at
 weste thu thet ey ful wel til foren
 ath the tinge sculle fulkomes met
 84 thin kære søn propheterne spade
 ther the sawe at han wor døth
 tha wille the icke mere pyne ha-
 87 num The løste først then høgre
 hand fraa korset oc saa then wen
 ster handh och saa benene Saa
 90 toghe the hannum nedher aff kor-
 set oc lagde hannum i iomfrw ma-
 rie skøt hun vntfick hannum met
 93 store kærlighed oc stor ydmydig
 hed met sorg oc grod tha taledhe
 iomfru maria tijl sijn kære søn oc
 96 sagde O alsom høgeste oc wise-
 ste herre oc mester ey for vden en-
 de hwi æsthu nw saa thiende O
 99 alsom høgeste klareste sol oc ewin
 nelig lyws hwi æstu saa iemner-
 lig vth sluckt O alsom høgeste
 102 rigeste mestere hwi æstu saa mør
 ker giort i thit hellige och benedi-
 de antlæde oc i saa stor fattigdom
 105 hwij æstu saa hordelige pynther
 ther ganger aff eth swerdh i ge-
 men mijth sorgeful hiærte haff
 108 naadhe oc miskundh offuer alle
 thine creatur Tha skude iomfru
 maria wor herre iesus sijn bene-

89 handh] ~ B, C; Saa] oc saa B, C. **90–91** aff korset] ~ B, C. **93** kærlighed ... ydmydighed] ydmygheth oc kerligheth B, ydmijghet oc kerlighet C. **94** met] oc stor B, C. **95** iomfru maria] hwn B, C; sijn ... søn] hannum B, C. **96–97** alsom ... herre] alsomvisisthæ menniskæ B, C. **97–98** ey ... ende] ~ B, C. **98–104** O ... fattigdom] O alsomhøgestæ natur B, C. **106** ganger aff] aff ganger B, C. **107** sorgeful] sorgelige B, C; haff] haff B, aff C. **109** creatur] skabende creaturæ B, C. **109–13** Tha ... krone] ~ B, C.

- 111 dide hoffuet hwilket wor sønder
brudhet paa thet hellighe korsset
meth hwasse torne krone tha sku-
114 de iomfrw maria wor herre ihesu
antlæde oc tale tijl *thet* oc sagdhe
O thu alsom benediede antlede
117 thu wast klare en noger sool och
alle the engle i *hemmerige* ære the
attraade ath see tegh Nw esth
120 giort domer aff thin egen hierne
oc blodh oc thet lede iøde spoth
som ær spyt paa teg thu æst mijn
123 største glædere oc husswalere Tha
skude iomfrw marie wors herres
øgen oc sagde O alsom sødeste
126 oc benediede øgen som wore lyvssæ-
sære ath see en nogre stierne Nw
ære the giort saa dome oc stanne
129 obne oc ære omwende døde som
andre døde memmiskens øgen tha
skude iomfrw maria wor herres
132 mund oc sagde O thu alsom sø-
desthe oc benediedhe mundh thu
som alsom sødeste kennedom fran
135 tegh gaff Nw æsthu giorth tien-
dis och standher oben oc tungen
henger vdhe kan thu ey husswa-
138 le thin anger fulle modher *meth*
eth ord tha indlagde iomfru ma-
ria vor herres twnge och samen
141 lucthe munden *meth* alsom stør-
ste kærlighed sorg oc graad tha

114 wor ... ihesu] ihesu *christi* C. 116 alsom benediede] alsomsøste oc benedidhe B, C. 117 wast klare] som vor clarære B, som vor claræræ C. 118 the engle] ængle B, C; ære the] ~ B, C. 120 domer] saa dwm B, C. 121 blodh oc] blodh oc aff B, C. 123 glædere ... husswalere] glædhæ / oc hwgswalelsæ B, C. 124 herres] herres ihesu *christi* B, Herris ihesu *christi* C. 125 sagde] sadhe saa B, C. 126–27 lyvssære] claræræ B, C. 127 stierne] stiernæ / at skudhæ oc at see B, C. 128 the] i B, C. 128 stanne] standhe nw B, C. 129 døde] i dødhen B, C. 130–42 tha ... graad] ~ B, C.

skudhe iomfrw maria hans bene
 144 dide føddher och taledhe saa tijll
 them Iherusalem dötter grædher
 meth megh wore thet mwelijcht
 147 ath englen kunne græde tha ma-
 the han wel græde aff telig ync-
 kelijgh sorgh oc grædh som iegh
 150 haffuer for mijne enesthe och kæ-
 reste søn Er thet och saa ath een
 qwynne haffuer fæm børn eller
 153 sex nar goth wijl borth tage eth
 aff them tha wed hun aldri hwor
 hun wil græde och ladhe Men
 156 ey aff telligh sorgh eller gredh
 som ieg haffuer for mijn enesthe
 søn oc ieg fanger aldri flere forti
 159 maa ieg wel græde Amen

Translation

The fourteenth place

The fourteenth place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was at the hour of Evensong when Joseph [of Arimathea] and Nicodemus went into the city and asked Pilate whether they could take Our Lord's body down from the cross and bury him in a new sepulchre. [John 19:38–39] Pilate agreed and he did not dare to delay them in so doing on account of a great plague that had previously engulfed the city because of dead people.³⁰ Pilate dismissed all of his knights and he ordered them [Joseph and Nicodemus] to take Our Lord Jesus Christ's body

143–44 hans ... och] vor herres ihesu christi hendher / oc fødher / tha B, vor Herris ihesu christi Hendher / oc fødher, tha C. **144–45** saa ... them] hwn oc sagde B, C. **147** englen] ænglenæ B, C. **148** han wel] the B, C; aff] wedh B, C. **150–51** enesthe ... kæreste] kære B, C. **151** och ... ath] ~ B, C. **152** haffuer] som haffuer B, C. **152–53** børn ... sex] eller sex børn B, C. **153–54** borth ... them] eth aff them taghæ B, C. **154** aldri] ey B, ej C. **155** græde ... ladhe] sørgæ eller grædhæ B, sørgæ eller grædhæ C. **156** ey] iegh A, icke B, C; sorgh ... gredh] sorrig B, C. **159** wel ... Amen] græde oc ynckelige ladhæ B, C.

30 In other words, a plague that had come about because dead bodies had been left unburied or hanging on crosses.

down from the cross and break his legs³¹ and bury him in a new sepulchre and to store him securely so that his friends would not take him away and then say that he was risen from the dead. [Cf. Matthew 27:62–66] Then Joseph and Nicodemus departed and bought a new linen cloth and many kinds of herbs, and they left the city. Then St John the Evangelist was standing underneath the cross and spoke to the Virgin Mary and said thus, “What do all the people want who are arriving here on foot?” Then the Virgin Mary stood up below the cross out of the greatest bitterness, grief, and sorrow and [she] said to John, “Now no-one will see the pain that I am in due to my grief, but I will offer my old service which is humility and love and true patience.” Then the Virgin Mary walked towards the Jews with bloodied clothes and a pained heart and tearful eyes and with words of lament. She spoke to them and said, “My dearest friends! What do you want to do with my dear son? He is hanging dead on the cross. If you not think that he has atoned for the sins of humanity, then I am standing here ready and willing to atone for the sins of humanity? Take my body and torture it on the cross and do not torture the dead body of my dearest son anymore now.” Then the Jews led forward a blind man who was called Longinus and who was a knight and placed a sharp spear in his hands so that it was placed against Our Lord Jesus Christ’s side and stabbed so hard that the spear pierced his side and his heart. Then water and blood flowed out because of the sins of humanity. [John 19:34] Then Longinus regained his eyesight. Then he shouted and said, “*O fili Dei miserere mei!* O Son of God, have mercy upon me! You are the very Son of the Loving God!” Then the Virgin Mary’s heart became weak, and she wept and gave in to pity. Then all the people who were standing around the Virgin Mary spoke and said to her, “My dearest lady! Do not be so afraid because you did not really know that the things were to be fulfilled with your dear son [as] the prophets foresaw.” When they saw that he was dead, they did not want to torture him anymore. First, they loosened his right hand from the cross and then his left hand and then his legs. Then they took him down from the cross and laid him in the Virgin Mary’s lap. She received him with great love and great humility with sorrow and weeping. The Virgin Mary spoke to her dear son and said, “O highest and wisest lord and master not without end! Why do you keep so silent now? O highest, brightest sun and eternal light! Why has your holy and blessed face been made so dark and in such poverty? Why have you been so harshly tortured? There is a sword going through my grieving heart. Have grace and mercy on all your creatures!” Then the Virgin Mary contemplated Our Lord Jesus’ blessed head that had been split open on the holy cross by the sharp crown

31 This is a direct contradiction of the Gospel account where Jesus’ legs are *not* broken (John 19:31–33).

of thorns. Then the Virgin Mary contemplated Our Lord Jesus' face and spoke to it and said, "O you most blessed face! You were brighter than any sun and all the angels in heaven desire to see you! Now you have been made filthy with your own brain and blood and the Jew's vile spittle that has been spat on you. You are my greatest giver of joy and mercy." Then the Virgin Mary contemplated Our Lord's eyes and said, "O sweetest and blessed eyes that were lighter to look at than any stars! Now you have been made dirty and left open and are upturned, dead like other dead people's eyes." Then the Virgin Mary contemplated Our Lord's mouth and said, "O you sweetest and blessed mouth! You who imparted the sweetest teaching! Now you have been silenced and are wide open and your tongue is hanging out. Can't you console your grief-stricken mother with a word?" Then the Virgin Mary pushed Our Lord's tongue in and closed his mouth with the greatest love and sorrow and weeping. Then the Virgin Mary contemplated his blessed feet and spoke thus to them, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep with me!³² If it were possible that the angel could weep, then he would weep out of such pitiful sorrow, and weep like I have for my only and dearest son. If it is so that a woman has five or six children when God wants to remove one of them, then she does not know how she will weep or behave. But not from such sorrow or sadness as I have for my only son, and I will never have any more. For this reason, I am entitled to weep." Amen.

The Fifteenth Station

Source: **A** *JesuPassV*, ff. g2r9–g3v19.

Parallel text: **B** DAS AM 21 4^o, ff. 191v2–192r15; **C** DKB NKS 129 4^o, f. 16r4–v8.

Then fæmtende stæd

Then fæmtende stæd som wor her

- 3 re ihesus cristus tolde syn py
ne paa Thet wor om natsens tij
me ther sanctus iohannes oc ni-
6 codemus the toge wor herre aff
iomfru maria skøt met mackt oc

1 Then ... stæd] *Quindecimus locus passionis* B, C. 2 som] ~ B, C. 4 om] ~ B, C. 6 the] ~ B, C; herre aff] *herræ ihesum christum vdaff* B, C. 7 mackt] *woldh oc vellæ / oc meth mackt* B, C.

32 A variation on the words spoken by Jesus at the Tenth Station (Luke 23:28).

wildhe tha iordhe hannum i een
 9 nyth lijnnen klædhe met monge
 dyre yrter Then ene tog kroppen
 med houed oc een wedh fødher-
 12 ne oc iomfru maria holt hannum i
 medie oc saa bare the hannum til
 een sten som vdhi wor breedh
 15 eth nyt klæde ther lagde the hans
 welsignede legome men icke wil-
 le the syy klæde tijl samen forti the
 18 wiste thet tijl wisse at han sculle
 vp staa Siden kom maria mag
 dalena oc mange flere qwinner sa
 21 kom monge engle aff hemmelin som
 gran i solen oc wore ther hoss oc
 witte theres skabere thineste och
 24 ingen ær tijl som kan sie hwor stor
 sorgh och drøwelse ther iomfrw
 maria tha tolde Tha stod iom-
 27 frw maria op oc vredh syne hen-
 der oc sagde wee ær meg at bedrø-
 wede moder at ieg motte ey ha-
 30 we mijn kære søn men han war liff
 uendis nw maa iegh ey heldher
 men han ær døth Wore thet thijn
 33 willie at ieg matte døø met tegh
 tha wille ieg gerne døø Men thet
 ær ey thijn benediede willie thet
 36 ieg ey scal døø met teg tha scal al
 dri myn siel eller mith hierte skjil
 les fran teg forti thu æst then ræt
 39 wjssse søn Tha gick iomfrw ma-
 ria til graffuen oc falt paa sine kne
 oc opløffte sine hender och sagde
 42 Welsignet oc benediet wære thu

8 wildhe ... iordhe] jordedhe B, C. 9 met] oc meth B, C. 10–26 Then ... tolde] ~ B, C.
 28–29 ær ... bedrøwede] megh armæ bedrøffweth B, C. 31 heldher] haffue hannum men han er
 dødh B, C. 34 wille] voræ B, C; døø] dødh B, C. 35 ey] ~ B, C; thet] ath B, C. 36 ey] ickæ B,
 C. 38 forti] fforthi at B, C. 39 søn] soel B, C. 41 opløffte] holth opp B, C.

mijn alsom kæreste søn thu wast
 vnder min lyelse i tre oc ·xxx aar
 45 Tha kom gangendes sanctus io-
 hannes oc sancta maria magdale-
 na oc maria iacobi oc maria salo-
 48 me oc andre flere gudhe hellighe
 qwinner aff iomfrw maria fenc-
 ker oc sagde til henne Maria thet
 51 ær nw nær qwelle oc solen ær nw
 nedher ganghen thet bør inghen
 qwinne at wære sa lenge vde tha
 54 toge the henne meth mackt oc met
 wold oc fulde henne fraa graffuen
 ther hun kom ieffne korseth som
 57 ihesus haffde tolt sin dõt paa om
 dagen tha falt hun paa sine knæ
 oc holt sijne hender tijll hemmelijn
 60 och sagdhe Welsignet ær och be-
 nediet wære thu alsom høggesthe
 oc hellighe træ hwelket som had
 63 de hadde medelidelse met myn kæreste
 søn ihesu welsignet oc benediet wæ-
 re thu kors offwer alle tree som
 66 skaph ære paa iorden Amen

44 tre ... aar] iij aar oc xxx B, iij·aar oc xxx·C. 47–48 oc maria salome] *et salomee* B, C. 48 flere
 gudhe] flere B, C. 49 aff] oc B, C. 50 til henne] ~ B, C. 51 nw nær] ner B, C; solen ... nw] solen
 ær B, C. 52 bør] sømer B, C. 54–55 met wold] velle B, C. 55 henne] henne bort B, C. 56 ther]
 Tha B, C. 57 ihesus] han B, C; dõt] pynæ oc hellige dødh B, pijnæ oc Hellige dødh C. 59 holt]
 holt op B, C. 60 sagdhe] sadhæ saa B, C; ær] ~ B, C. 61–62 alsom ... hellighe] alsomhellig-
 ste oc høggestæ B, C. 62 som] so m A. 63 hadde] *Possibly haude* A; medelidelse] lydelsæ B,
 C. 64 ihesu] ~ B, C. 64–65 wære] vordhe B, C. 65 alle] alle the B, C. 66 paa iorden] ~ B,
 C; Amen] [In *nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti Amen*] B, In *nomine patris et filii et spiritus*
sancti Amen C.

Translation

The fifteenth place

The fifteenth place where Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered his torture was during the night when St John and Nicodemus took Our Lord from the Virgin Mary's lap and were then going to bury him in a new linen cloth with many expensive herbs. One of them took the body by the head and the other by the feet and the Virgin Mary held him around the waist. And so, they carried him to a stone [tomb] in which a new cloth was spread out. There they laid his blessed body but did not want to sew the cloth together because they knew for sure that he would rise [from the dead]. Then Mary Magdalene and many more women arrived. Then many angels came from heaven like specks [of dust] in the sun and were present there and bore witness to their creator's service, and there is no-one who can say how great was the sorrow and grief that the Virgin Mary then suffered. Then the Virgin Mary stood up and wringed her hands and said, "Woe is me, grief-stricken mother! That I could not have my dear son while he was alive, now I may not have while he is dead either! If it be your wish that I die alongside you, then I will willingly die, but it is your blessed wish that I do not die with you.³³ So my soul or my heart shall never be separated from you, because you are the just son." Then the Virgin Mary went to the tomb and fell on her knees and raised her hands and said, "You are blessed and bestowed with glory, my dearest son! You were obedient to me for thirty-three years." Then St John and St Mary Magdalene and Mary of Jacob and Mary Salome [Mark 16:1] and several other godly, holy women who were the Virgin Mary's female relatives arrived and said to her, "Mary, it is nearly dusk, and the sun has now set. No woman should be outside so long." Then they took her by force and with might and accompanied her from the tomb. When she came near the cross upon which Jesus had suffered his death during the day, she fell upon her knees and held her hands up to the sky and said, "You are blessed and may you be bestowed with glory, you the tallest and holy tree who had pity on my dearest son Jesus. May you be blessed and bestowed with glory, crucifix over all trees that are created here on earth." Amen.

³³ There is also a "ey" in the main clause, but "it is not your blessed wish that do not I die with you" makes no sense in the context here.

Colophon

Source: *A JesuPassV*, f. g4v1–4.

¶ Tryckt i kiømenhaffn hoos
 Gotfrid af ghemen Anno domini ·m·
 3 ccccc· oc ny paa sancti Pedher
 affthen cathedre ·

Translation

Printed in Copenhagen at Gotfred af Ghemen’s [press]. AD 1509 on the eve of the Feast of the Chair of St Peter [i. e., 21 February].

Version 2 (OSw.)

Headnotes

Source: *D* SKB A 118, ff. 5r1–43v21 (1450–1500).

Parallel text: OSw.: *E* SKB A 49, ff. 221r1–235v28 (1400–1500); Stations 1–13 only. *E* is the older version, but it is not as detailed as *D* and it is missing the final two stations. For this reason, *D* is used in the edition here. There are too many differences between *D* and *E* to make a comparative apparatus of use. Those interested in the *E* version should consult Andersson’s edition and/or the digital images of the manuscript that are available online.

ODa.: *A JesuPassV* (1509); *B* DAS AM 21 4^o, ff. 184r1–192r15 (1475–1500); *C* DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 8v24–16v8.

Original text: Cf. *BonavBetrakt* 169–217 (ch. 62–69).

Editions: *D FsvLeg* III 72–107; *E* Roger Andersson, “Om de femton platser Maria besökte efter Jesu död. Den fornsvenska texten,” in *I Kristi och hans moders spår: Om stationsandakter i Vadstena*, ed. Alf Härdelin, *Scripta minora*, vol. 8 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, 2003), 110–35 (“Textkritisk utgåva”).

Edition (*D* SKB A 118)

Note: The hand in *D* makes frequent use of superscript letters. When these are used as part of an abbreviation, I have not noted the placing of the superscript letters but expanded the abbreviated letters in italics in the main text (e. g., jōf^v > jomfrv). When the superscript letters do not form part of an abbreviation, they have been noted in the apparatus (swarad^e > swarad\e/). As the text is not much discussed in Volume 1, notes on the content and imagery in the work have been included below in the translations.

Introduction

Source: *D* SKB A 118, f. 5r1–v4.

Parallel text: *E* SKB A 49, f. 221r1–26.

- Æpther thet ath war herre ihesus christus
 war opfaren til himbla tha
- 3 liffde iomfrv maria fæmton aar epther
 honom oc j the fempton aaren søktæ
 hon femptom stædher i huilkom henne
- 6 ælskelike son tolde ryghelike pynor
 thet giorde hon e eth syn hwar dagh medh
 alle størstæ ødhmiwkth och kærlek
- 9 och tenktæ granlike / thet som giordis
 i huariom stadhenom / ty skulle
 hwar gudelikin mæniskia gerna
- 12 søkia tom andelica medh iomfrv maria
 medhan hon kan ey licamica oc tenkia
 gudelica medh alla aathwakth tet
- 15 som waar søthe herre ihesus christus tolde i
 hwariom stadenom / och lathe sigh
 tykkia som hon waare nær stadh /

7 hon] \hon/ *D*. 11 mæniskia] Possibly mænniskia *D*. 13 licamica] licamli\ca/ *D*.

- 18 och saghe all tingh *medh* wnderstan
 dilsena øghon / oc takka gudj
 innerlica / for syn stora kærlek

Translation

After Our Lord Jesus Christ had ascended to heaven, the Virgin Mary lived for fifteen years more, and during these fifteen years she visited the fifteen places where her beloved son had suffered miserable acts of torture. She always did this once every day with the greatest humility and love, and she carefully contemplated what had been done at each place. This is the reason why every God-fearing person should visit them spiritually, not physically, along with the Virgin Mary while he can, and contemplate devoutly with complete devotion what our sweet Lord Jesus Christ suffered in each place, and imagine how she was at that place and saw everything with eyes of understanding [Ephesians 1:18] and devoutly thank God for his great love.

The First Station

Source: D SKB A 118, ff. 5v5–8v16.

Parallel text: E SKB A 49, ff. 221v1–223v4.

- Førsta stadhin var / ther som war
 herre aath nathwordin / *medh* synom
 3 discipulis / i tessom stadhenom saato
 alla apostlana kryng om eeth
 bordh / och iohannes sath nesth war
 6 herre æn too han war ynxtther / tha
 baars fram paaska lambith /
 før tom wæl stekth / hwilkit var herre
 9 ihesus *christus* som var / tet sama obesmit
 tade lambith / togh och skaar tet
 swnder / i stykke oc skiptæ thet glade
 12 lica *medh* apostolis / och størkte

11–12 gladelica] gladelic\ca/ [swnder] D.

- tom adh ætha / och the aato æn
 thet saank / tom ey gladelika ty
 15 ath the reddis mista sin mestare
 Nw widher the aato / tha looth
 war herre vppenbarlica vn-
 18 dherstaa / huath som til tidhendis
 var / oc huath han meentæ oc
 i blandh annor tyngh sagde han
 21 Aff alla hiertha aastundade
 iak ath ætha thetta paaska lambit
 medh ider for æn iak tol dødhin /
 24 æn een aff ider skal mik førrada
 tessin ordin gingo in i thera
 hiærta / oc ginom stwngo tom som
 27 eth hwasth swærdh / oc wendo
 aather adh ætha / oc aa
 wittes sigh inbørdis / swa som
 30 huar haffde mistanka til annan /
 oc huar wilde sigh wrsækia
 tha sporde iohannes aath wan herra Som
 33 sancte pedher haffde honom bidith / oc iohannes
 sagde / herre hoo ær then som tik skal før
 radha / oc war herre sagde thet honom heme
 36 lica / tha warth han illa widher och
 tyktæ honom som eeth brynmande swærdh
 gyk gynom hans hiærtha / widh thet ordit
 39 / och lwthe sigh til wars herre brysth
 ok sompnade ther aa / oc sagde sancte pedher ther
 intæ aff / for ty haffde han thet wisth
 42 han haffde fore slitidh then forradha
 ren swnder / medh sinom tannom / nw
 sidhan the haffdo ætyth / tha stodh
 45 war herre opp fraan bordeno / gen
 stan stodho oc apostlana vp
 tha gik han medh them / j een annan
 48 stadh nidher bæther j huseno / oc ther
 loth han tom sithia alla oc tith bødth

28 aather] [---th] aather D.

- han bæra vatn / sidhan lagde han aff
 51 sigh clædhin / oc giordadhe sigh *medh*
 eno linno clædhe / han looth wath
 nith i ena steen mwlløgh / *medh* huil
 54 ka han wilde twa *sancte* pedhers fōther /
 tha warth han vnderlica widher / oc
 tyktæ thet ey hōffwelikit wara / tha sagde
 57 war herre honom / twaar ey iak tik taa
 ffaar thu ey loth *medh* mik / tha loot
sancte pedher segia sigh / oc baadh wan
 60 herra twa / hender oc fōther / oc hoffwdh /
 her maa thu mykit vndra oppa gudz
 stora ødhmiwkth / ath ærona konun
 63 ger bōgher oc lwther staa til iord
 dinna for fyskarena fōther / han staa
 lwther aa synom knæm / for tom sit
 66 tiandem twaar oc torkar them *medh*
 synom egnom handom / oc kysser allas
 thera fōther / æn tet gaar ower ødhmiwk-
 69 tena / ath han gør thet synom fōrradhare
 sama tiænistena Sidhan war herre haf
 dhe twaghit theris fōther / tha gyk var
 72 herre aather ath sytia / oc stōrktæ apostolos
 oc lærde them / sæghiande / iak gaff ider
 ephther dōmilsæ ath swa som iak giorde
 75 swa gōryn oc j / sidhan wilde han ath
 gambra laghen skulde ændas / och
 theris offer / oc nya laghen skulde bōr
 78 ias / tha togh han brōdit / ok oplyptæ
 syn øghon til syn ffadher / oc wigde
 syns licama sacramenthum / oc gaff
 81 tet synom kenneswenom / oc sagde thetta ær
 myn licame / huilken som scal anth
 wardas j dōdhin for idher / sa
 84 ma leedz togh han wineth oc sag-
 de thetta ær myn blodh / som skal wth giw
 tas for ider / thetta giorde war herre til sy

50 lagde han] lagde D. 75 swa] swa [-] D. 83 for] for [-dher] D.

- 87 na pina ok kærlex aamynilsæ **O**
 herre gud / huath stoor kærlek *thetta* war / san
 nelica inta *werdughare* / kærare / søta
- 90 re / oc nyttelighare kunde han oss anth-
 warda / ok aatherløsa æn sikh siælfwan
 til maath oc fødho **Nw** sidhan war herre
- 93 haffde *tetta* giorth / tha sagde han til iudam
 proditorem **Thet** thu haffwer tenkth ath gøra
 gør *thet* snarlica / oc then vsle mannen
- 96 stodh gynstan opp oc gik til presta høffdin-
 gan / *thet* ær til byscoppen / huilkom han
 haffde saalth van herra om odhinsdagyn
- 99 for trætyghe peninga / oc bedis aff honom
 folk til ath fanga van herra **Nw** her
 i myllan giorde han for synom apostolis / ena
- 102 liwffua predican ffaghra aff allom hiærtans kærlek
 oc apostlanæ stodho sorghiande / oc nider
 lutande *syn* huffwdh / gratande oc sukkan
- 105 de / *medh* ffulle sorgh oc widermødho / aff al
 lom drøffwilsom / oc i *thet* ythersta / sagde war
 herre til tom / for ty ath iak idher *tetta* sag
- 108 dhe / opfyltæ sorghin idhert hiërta / sidhan
 sagde war herre til apostlana **Staar**
 opp ok gangin hedhan **O** huath stoor
- 111 rædoghe kom j thera hiërta / ty ath the
 wistæ ey huarth the skulde ganga
 / oc ææ war *thet* thera mæsta rædh
- 114 dogha ath han skulde skilias widher tom
 / oc ææ medhan the gingo aath wæg
 henom / tha taladhe var herre vidher them
- 117 / oc sidhan gik han *medh* tom i een ørta
 gaardh

95 snarlica] snarli\ca/ D. 102 hiærtans kærlek] hiær/tans kærlek\ D.

Translation

The first place was where Our Lord ate supper with his disciples.³⁴ In this place, all the apostles sat around a table where Our Lord and John sat next to Our Lord even though he was the youngest. Then the paschal lamb, well roasted, was carried out before them which Our Lord Jesus Christ, who was the very same unblemished lamb, took and cut into pieces and joyfully shared it out with the apostles and encouraged them to eat. And they ate but they did not swallow it joyfully because they were afraid to lose their teacher. Now as they were eating, Our Lord revealed what was going to happen, and what he thought, and among other things he said, “With all my heart I desired to eat this paschal lamb with you before I suffer death, but one of you will betray me.” [John 13:21] These words entered their hearts and pierced them like a sharp sword. And they went back to eating and rebuked one another as every man suspected the other, and every man wanted to claim his innocence. Then John asked Our Lord what St Peter had asked him to, and John said, “Lord, who is it that’s going to betray you?” And Our Lord told him confidentially. Upon that word he became unwell, and it felt as though a burning sword pierced his heart, and he leant on Our Lord’s chest and fell asleep there. And he said nothing to St Peter about this because if he had found out, then he would have torn the traitor apart with his teeth. Now after they had eaten, Our Lord rose from the table and the apostles also stood up straightaway, and he walked with them to another place lower down in the house. And there he had them all sit down, and he ordered water to be carried there. Then he removed his clothes and girded himself with a linen cloth. He poured the water into a stone basin with which he wanted to wash St Peter’s feet. He [St Peter] was amazed by this and did not think it fitting. Then Our Lord said to him, “If I do not wash you, then you have not part with me.” [John 13:8] Then St Peter was convinced and asked Our Lord to wash his hands and feet, and his head. Here, you can wonder at Our Lord’s great humility, that the king of glory genuflects and bows to the ground before the feet of the fishermen. He kneels before those [who are] sitting, washes and dries them with his own hands, and kisses all of their feet. But his performing the same service to his betrayer transcends humility. After Our Lord had washed their feet, Our Lord went back to sitting and giving strength to the apostles and teaching them, saying, “I gave you an example: as I did, so you too shall do.” Afterwards he wanted the Old Law to be ended and the sacrifice and the New Law were to begin. Then he took the bread and lifted his eyes upwards to his father and consecrated his body, the sacrament, and gave it to his disciples, and said, “This is my body

³⁴ This part of the text follows events according to John 13.

which is to be received into death for your sakes.” And in the same way he took the wine and said, “This is my blood that shall be shed for your sakes.” Our Lord did this in remembrance of his torture and his love. O Lord God! What great love this was! Truly he could not give us anything more worthy, dear, sweet, or useful, and redeem [us], than [to give us] himself as food and nourishment. Now after Our Lord had done this, he said to Judas the traitor, “What you have thought of doing, do it soon!” And straightaway, the wretched man stood up and went to the leader of the priests, that is to the bishop, to whom he had sold Our Lord on the Wednesday for thirty pennies, and he asked him for manpower to capture Our Lord. Now, in the meantime, he [Jesus] held a sweet sermon for his apostles, [it was] beautiful from all the love of the heart. And the apostles stood and lamented, and they bowed down their heads, weeping and sighing, in complete grief and sadness, and from all afflictions. And in the end, Our Lord said to them, “Because I have said this to you, sorrow has filled your hearts.” Then Our Lord said to the apostles, “Get up and go from here!” Oh, what great fear appeared in their hearts because they did not know where they should go! And all the time, it was their greatest fear that he was going to be separated from them. And the whole time they were walking on the road, Our Lord spoke to them, and then he went with them into a garden.

The Second Station

Source: **D** SKB A 118, ff. 8v17–11r5.

Parallel text: **E** SKB A 49, ff. 223v5–224r28.

Andre stadhen var widh olya bærgit
 ther togh war herre ihesus / medh sigh / three
 3 apostla / petrum / iacobum / iohannem / oc gik
 noghoth lytet fraa tom / til oliueti
 bærggh / swa som eth litet steen kast oc
 6 ffwl aa syn knæ medh alla størsta ødh
 miwkth / oc badh innerlica til syn helgra
 ffadher sighiande **O** fadher all tingh
 9 ærw tik møghelikin / iak bidher tik / tagh
 ffraa mik thenna kalkin ok bittherli
 ca pino / tho lyko wæl warde thin wi-

7 innerlica] innerli\ca/ D. 8 ffadher] ffadhr D.

- 12 li oc ey men **Sidhan** gyk var herre til
 syna apostla / oc fan them soffwande / taa
 opwektæ han tom / ok badh tom bidhia
- 15 ok gyk æn *annan* tiidh / oc swa *tridhie* syn
 til syna *bøner* **Oc** i treem stadhon
 badh han / ok huan stadhin skylde aath eeth
- 18 lythet steen kasth / ffræa *androm* **Nw** tha var
 herre gyk *annath* syn ok *tridhi* syn / oc badh
 sama *bønena* / tha lagde han ææ *thet* til sæg
- 21 iande **O** ræthwise fadher / medhan
 thu swa stadhfæste / ath iak skal ende
 lica *døø* / oc thola korsins pina for man
- 24 *kønith* / tha warde thin wili æn iak
 antwardar tik / *myna* aldra *kærista* moder /
 oc *myna* æskelica *kenneswena* / huilka
- 27 iak her til *gømde* / medhan iak war
medh tom / *myn* helghe *ffadher* *gøm* oc
 bewara tom ffræa ondo **Oc** swa
- 30 lenge *han* swa *jinnerlica* badh /
 tha *fløth* aff *hans* *licama* / *hans*
dyra blodh om *allan* *licamen* /
- 33 swa *som* swetther *nidher* aa *iordena*
O *søtæ* *gud* i *huath* *stora* *drøffwil*
sæ oc *ænxlän* / *hans* *helga* *siæl*
- 36 war tha stadh / i ty *warkurna* *honom*
 aff *alla* *hiertha* / *nw* ææ medhan
 war *herre* swa *innerlica* badh /
- 39 tha stodh *engelyn* nær *honom* / oc *trøs*
 tæ han / ok sagde heel oc *sææl*
myn *herre* *gud* *ihesu* *christe* / *tyn* *bøn* och thin
- 42 *blodhogha* sweth / *offrade* iak *thinom*
ffadher i *allo* *himerikis* *herskaps*
aasyn / oc wi *ffwillom* alle *ødhmw*
- 45 *kligha* til *bøna* / oc badhom ath
han skulle *owersee* *tæssø* *pynonna*
Oc *ffadhrin* *swarade* swa / *myn*

- 48 *ælskelica son / ihesus / weeth wæl ath
mankønsyns aatherløsn / huilke
wi storlica aastunda / kan thet ey*
- 51 *warda wthan blodhsyns wthgiw
tilsæ / oc ty om han wil sielina
helso / tha til bør honom ath døø for*
- 54 *them / huath haffwer thu tenkth
ath gøra / tha swarade var herre ihesus
ængelænom / ok sagde / siælina*
- 57 *helso wil iak endelica wittha /
ok ty wil iak heller døø at sielinna
som fadhren scapade / ephther syth*
- 60 *belætæ / skulo aatherløsas æn
ath ey døø / oc siælana førtappas
oc ty warde myn faders wile / sidhan*
- 63 *anthwardade war herre synom helga
ffadher sigh / oc allo himerikis hersca-
pi / ok stodh taa opp tridhi syn aff*
- 66 *synom bønønom / ok warth aller waather
aff blodenom / ther han swittis / oc strøk
swetthin aff anlitenā / oc aff twa-*
- 69 *de blodhin / j strømenom som ther war
nær Sidhan gyk han til apostlana
oc sagde them Soffwen nw oc*
- 72 *hwilen ider / oc the soffwo genstan
Nogra stwndh ok war herre vakade
offwer them / tha nalkadhis iudas*
- 75 *førradhare / then arma stymparen
helffwitis hundin / kom medh allom iudha
moghan / medh blossom / lyktom / och*
- 78 *swærdom medh spiwtom / oc androm
waaknom / tha sagde war herræ
apostolis / i haffwen nogh soffwith*
- 81 *Seer han nalkas nw / som mik scal
førradha / standom opp oc gaam / oc var*

48 *ælskelica]* *ælskeli*\ca/ D. 57 *endelica]* *endeli*\ca/ D. 58 *døø]* *døø* [-] D. 59 *syth]* *syth* be D. 74 *nalkadhis]* *nalkadhis* [-] D.

herre gyk moth synom owenom / ty han
 84 wilde medh godh wilia / toola pino oc
 dødh for mæniskiona skuldh

Translation

The second place was at the Mount of Olives where Our Lord Jesus took three apostles – Peter, James, John – with him and walked a little bit away from them, like a small stone’s throw,³⁵ to the Mount of Olives and fell upon his knees with the greatest humility and prayed fervently to his holy father, saying, “O father! For you, all things are possible! I’m asking you: take this chalice and bitter pain from me, even though it may well be your will and not [your] mistake.” Then Our Lord went to his apostles and found them asleep. Then he woke them up and asked them to pray and walked away a second time, and then a third time for his prayers. And he prayed in three places, and each place was a small stone’s throw away from the other. Now when Our Lord went the second and third time, and prayed the same prayers, he always added to them, saying, “O just father! As you affirmed that I am finally to die and suffer the pain of the cross for humanity, your will shall be done. But I entrust unto you my dearest mother and my beloved disciples whom I have protected until now while I was among them. My holy father, keep and protect them from evil!” And the whole time he was praying so fervently, from his body his dear blood flowed over all his body like sweat down onto the earth.³⁶ O sweet God! In what state of great sorrow and anguish his holy soul was then to be found. For this reason, have mercy upon him with all your heart! And the whole time Our Lord was praying so fervently, the angel was standing close to him and comforting him, and he [i. e., the angel] said, “Hail and blessings, my Lord God, Jesus Christ! I offered your prayer and your bloody sweat to your father in view of all the heaven’s host. And we all fell humbly [upon our knees] in prayer and asked that he should refrain from these torments! And the father answered thus, ‘My dear son Jesus, know that the redemption of humanity which we all ardently desire, cannot happen without the shedding of your blood. And so, if he wants souls to be healthy, then he needs to die for them.’ What do you intend to do?” Then Our Lord Jesus answered the angel and said, “I wish finally to strive for the health of souls and so I prefer to die so that the souls that the father

³⁵ Measuring distance in and around Jerusalem with phrases such as “a small stone’s throw away” is also found in the ODa. Text 47: *The Pilgrims’ Guide to the Holy Land*.

³⁶ Jesus’ sweating blood (Luke 22:44) prefigures his torments to come.

created in his image will be saved, rather than not die and the souls be lost, and so my father's will be done." Then Our Lord gave himself to his holy father and all heaven's host. And [he] stood up a third time from his prayers and was soaking wet from the blood that he had sweated, and he wiped the blood from his face and washed off the blood in a nearby stream. Then he went to his apostles and said to them, "Sleep now and rest!" And they immediately fell asleep. Our Lord had been watching over them for some time when Judas the traitor, the wretched villain, the dog from hell, approached with a crowd of Jews accompanying him with torches, lanterns and swords, with spears and other weapons. Then Our Lord said, "You have slept enough. Look, the one who is to betray me is approaching now. Let us stand and go!" And Our Lord walked towards his enemies as he wanted wholeheartedly to suffer pain and death for the sake of humanity.

The Third Station

Source: **D** SKB A 118, ff. 11r6–12v13.

Parallel text: **E** SKB A 49, ff. 224v1–225r20.

- Tridhia** stadhin war yrtagar-
 din / som kallas yessemani / her
 3 kom iudas gangande for tom skal
 komyn / ok gyk fram oc kystæ wan herre
 oc sagde / heel mestare **O** thu rættæ
 6 snødhe førradare / tyn herre oc gudh
 twade lytet for thina snødha oc førban
 nade fføther / oc gaff tik syn wælsigh
 9 nadha licama / ok thu gør moth honom
 som een skalk oc slæmmer førrada-
 re **Sidhan** sprungo iuderner ffram
 12 oc fangade wan herre **Tha** sagde
 han til them **Swa** som til en røffwara gar
 i wth moth mik / medh swerdom och
 15 spiwtom / ath gripa mik daghlica
 war iak i mønstridh medh ider / oc lærde idher
 oc tha hullen i mik ey **Sidhan**

9 ok thu] ok *D*. **13** røffwara] \røffwara/ *D*. **15** daghlica] daghli\ca/ *D*. **16** lærde idher] lær/
 de idher\ *D*.

- 18 foro the snødha jwdhernær
 grymmelica oc osaktelica medh warom
 herra / somme haardroghe han / somma
- 21 slogho han medh spiwtom / oc stangom /
 somma slogho han til iordena / oc
 somma bakbundo han / som han haffde
- 24 warit een tiwff eller een ylger
 ningx man / som ey mottæ sigh ath
 wærya Tha warkunnade han æn
- 27 synom apostlom / oc sagde laatyn myna
 kenniswena borth gaa / oc gøryn
 them intæ onth Taa flydde apostoli
- 30 oc foro alle willeraadhe **O** herre
 gud huath storan reddoghe oc sorgh
 the tha fingo **O** huadh nødh-
- 33 oghe the skildis widh han **O** huru
 the sorgde / swkkande / oc gritw som
 ffadherløøss barn / ther mysth haffdo
- 36 allan syn hugnat / oc ææ øktis thera
 sorgh tæss meera / ath the saago syn
 mestara oc syn herra swa omildelica
- 39 oc ffulica draghas / tha loppo the in
 i ierusalem til iomfrv maria / grytw oc
 sagdo / ath hennis son oc thera mest
- 42 tare var fangin / ok bwndin / oc wistæ
 ey huath aff hanom giørdis **O** huat
 haardelica iomfrv maria hiærtha gaffs
- 45 widher tessin tidhendin **O** huath
 sorgh hon fyk i syth hierta / swa
 ath førmottæ hon ey tala / tha gyk
- 48 hon æn som hon gath / tyth som hon
 fan syn son / om nathena / skoda
 nw mæniskia tyn herra ok gudh
- 51 hwrw han osaktelica ryktis / oc leddis
 oc hæddis / aff tem ffwla skalko
 myn ffraa strømenom / oc opp til ierusalem

39 ffulica] ffuli\ca/ D. 44 haardelica] haardeli\ca/ D. 53 til ierusalem] [---]/ierusalem\ D.

- 54 baakbwndin / oc kaapa l  s
ok kyortillen aath sn rdher / som the pl ga
g ra skembda g stom / oc barhoff
- 57 dher / oc gik aller krompyn aff ty han war
m dher / oc aff ty ath the haffde rykth
han oc osaktelica medh honom ffarith **Swa**
- 60 leddis han i annas hws / ther war han
sputtadher gabbadher oc hedher **Ther**
warth han slagin widh syth w lsig
- 63 nade anlit  / oc kynbeen / for ty
ath han swaradhe ey anne tha han
sporde honom aff hans l rdom oc aff
- 66 hans kemeswenom **Sidhan** ledis war
herre baak bundin in til caypham

Translation

The third place was the garden that is called Gethsemane.³⁷ Here, Judas arrived walking in front of the villains and walked forward and kissed Our Lord and said, “Hail teacher!” O you truly evil traitor! Your lord and God washed the error from your evil and cursed feet and gave you his blessed body! And you behave towards him like a villain and evil traitor! Then the Jews leapt forwards and captured Our Lord. Then he said to them, “You come after me as if to a robber with swords and spears to capture me! Every day I was among you in the Temple and taught you, and you did not seize me then.” Then the evil Jews treated Our Lord cruelly and violently: some pulled his hair, some hit him with their spears and cudgels, some knocked him to the ground, and some tied his hands behind his back as if he were a thief or criminal who could not defend himself. Then he still had mercy on his apostles and said, “Let my disciples go and do not do anything bad to them!” Then the apostles fled, not knowing where to go or what to do. O dear Lord! With what great fear and sorrow they were then filled! O how unwillingly they were separated from him! O how they grieved, sighing, and wept like fatherless children who had lost all their comfort! And their sorrow was increased manifold when they saw their teacher and their lord being pulled so cruelly and vilely.

59 ffarith] ffa|i/rth *D.* 67 herre] herre [thet] *D.*

37 This section includes accounts of the walk from the Mount of Olives, across the  rdron, and into the city, not found in the Gospels.

They ran to Jerusalem to the Virgin Mary, [they] wept and said that her son and their teacher had been arrested and bound and that they did not know what was going to happen to him. O how harshly the Virgin Mary's heart was upset by the news! O what sorrow she received in her heart, so that she was unable to speak! Then she walked as best as she could that night to that place where she found her son. Now, [Christian] person, contemplate your Lord and God! How cruelly he was pushed around and led and mocked by the vile villains from the stream [i. e., the River Kidron] and up to Jerusalem with his hands tied behind his back, without a coat and [with] his robe tied up like they usually do to fools, and bare-headed, and he walked bent right over because he was tired and because they had pushed him around and treated him cruelly. In this way he was pulled into Annas's house where he was spat on, mocked, and humiliated. He was struck on his blessed face and cheek because he did not answer Annas when he asked him about his teachings and his disciples. Then he was led with his hands tied behind his back to the Caiaphas.

The Fourth Station

Source: D SKB A 118, ff. 12v14–15v10.

Parallel text: E SKB A 49, ff. 225r21–226r19.

- Fyærde stadhin war byskop cay-
 phas hws / tith ledis var herre
 3 bakbundin / oc presenteradhis byscop
 penom / oc iwdhahøffdingomen / ther
 the waaro samansankade / i cayphas
 6 huse / frøgdadhe sik oc gladdis som leonedh
 naar thet haffwer fangith bradenna
 som thet wil haffwa / ther forsøktæ the
 9 oc ransakade han / oc prøffwadhe
 oc baaro mangh fals witne mot
 honom / the hædde han margha leedz /
 12 the dømhdin til dødhin / oc sputta-
 dhe i hans helgha anlitæ oc bun
 do han om hans ænlitæ / oc øghon /
 15 oc slogho han aa hans hals / the pu

6 leonedh] [leonet] / leonedh\ D.

- stadhe han widh kynbenyn / och sag
 de / criste / spaa til hoo tik slogh /
 18 ok haardrogho / *somma* plukkadhe aff
 honom skæggith / oc swa giordo the honom
 smælik / oc obryxilsæ / j fyra han
 21 dha motta / i ty the bwndo han
 som een røffware / the slogho han
 som en faana / oc armasta duk
 24 ka / the hedde han som een skemda gæsth /
 the besputhade han / som een spyth
 elskan man / oc war herræ ledh
 27 alth thettæ twlomodhlica / ty skoda
 han i allom tæssom drøffwilsom gran
 lica / oc warkunna honom j tolkom drøf
 30 wilsom som honom giordis / nw i thetta
 synnith / tha stodh iomfrv maria wth
 for dørryn / oc wilde gerna ingaa
 33 til syn son / æn taa warth hon
 borth skuttyn / aff them snødha
 iudhomyn / oc kom ey til hans /
 36 wthan stodh wth før dørryn
 alla nattena / ok græth iæm-
 merlica / ok hørde hon hwrw
 39 han war pustadher / om sidher
 gingo the størsta høffdingane
 borth / och lytw sætia wan herra
 42 ihesum j ena mørka stwffw / som ther
 vnder huseno war / oc maa æn
 synas hoo som ther haffwer waryth / ther
 45 bundo the han widh ena Steen stodh
 oc til meera bewarilsæ / tha ly-
 tw the ther aather bliffwa wænkt
 48 folk / som medh spoth / gab / medh barnom
 oc haadwilsom ordwm / ty scode hurv
 the diæffwa / oc snødhe mænnyna
 51 lastadhe han / oc straffadhe oc huat

24 skemda gæsth /] /skemda gæsth /\ D. 26 war herræ] herræ war, the words are marked for transposition in D. 27 twlomodhlica] twlomodhli\ca/ D. 28–29 granlica] granli\ca/ D. 49 hurv] hur\v/ D.

- smælek the talade til honom oc sag
do trodhe tw tik wara bætre oc wi
- 54 sare æn wora hœffdinga ærw
/ tolkyn war thin daarskaper / tw skul
le ey haffwa tordz latha tyn mwnd
- 57 opp motæ tom / hwi var thu swa
dyærffwær / æn thin wisdomber
synes nw / tw staar nw som tik oc
- 60 thinom likom hœffwidz / wthan iæff ær
tw werder dœdhin / oc han skal thu haf
wa / oc swa haadhwhite the han
- 63 / bade medh ordwm oc gerningom / alla
nattena huar ephther annan / scoda
nw wan herra / hurw han blighelica
- 66 nidher slaar huffwdith / oc tigher
twlumodelica / til alth thet honom til ta
ladhis / ty warkunna honom storlica /
- 69 oc nym wara tholugh Sua stod
han bwndin widh stodena / alt til
tees dagher waar / arla om mor
- 72 ghonen komo iudha hœffdingana
the fremsto aff folkena tymlica
til cayphe hwss oc lithu
- 75 wan herra ihesum bindas / hendher aa
ther om baken / oc sagde til
honom thu rœffware / kom medh oss kom
- 78 til dœdhin / j dagh skal thin ondz
ska oc tyna snœdha / medh ferdher
tagha een ænda / nw seer man
- 81 tyn wisdom / oc swa ledhe the han
tedhan / oc til pilatum / ok han fœlgde
tom / swa som then ther brwdzlikin
- 84 war / æn han war too lykowæl
thet meenløsa lambet / æn then
tith hans modher iomfrv maria ssagh
- 87 han swa smælica ledhas / skiwtas /
oc dragas / aa gatwne / oc hans

67 twlumodelica] twlumodeli\ca/ D. 74 til] til [cap] D. 76 til] \til/ covered by a large ink blot and smudge, D. 87 smælica] smæli\ca/ D.

- anlitæ war allth besputtath
 90 tha opffyltis herne hierta *medh* osighe
 lica sorgh / oc græth iæmerica / oc
 wilde *gerna* gaa til *honom* / oc tagha
 93 han i syn fampn / æn tha wart
 hon aather skuthin aff iudomen
 oc smælica / bort rykth ffraan *synom*
 96 *kærom* son / *thet som* giordis moderne / *økade*
 mykit wars *herre* sorgh / ok drøwilse
 swa ath sielyn oc licamen monde
 99 nestan haffde aath skildz *Swaa*
 leddis han til pylatum / oc moghen
 saman sankadis kringh om han
 102 / swa *som* om een tiwff eller røffware
 ther dōmas skulle til dōdhin / ty scoda
 oc tenk *thet* granlica i thino hierta

Translation

The fourth place was Bishop Caiaphas's house. Our Lord was led there with his hands tied behind his back and was presented to the bishop and the Jewish leaders who were assembled there in Caiaphas's house. They were merry and joyful like the lion when it has caught the prey that it wants to have.³⁸ There they examined and investigated him, and [they] tested and bore many false witnesses against him. They abused him in many ways. They sentenced him to death and spat in his holy face, and [they] bound him around his face and eyes [i. e., blindfolded him] and struck him on his neck. They punched him on the cheek and said, "Christ! Prophecy who is the one who hit you!" [Matthew 26:28; Mark 14:65; Luke 22:64] And [they] pulled his hair. Some tore out his beard. And so, they treated him to insults and curses in four ways: [1.] they bound him like a robber; [2.] they beat him like a fool and the most miserable doll; [3.] they insulted him like a fool; [4.] they spat on him like on a leper. And Our Lord suffered all this patiently. So carefully contemplate him in all these sorrows and have mercy on him in these

90–91 osighelica] osigheli\ca/ D. 104 granlica] granli\ca/ D.

38 Note the use of animal imagery in this section. The Jewish leaders are like a joyful lion having caught its prey; Jesus is later described as the innocent lamb.

sorrows that were done unto him. Now, at this time, the Virgin Mary was standing outside the door and wanted to go in to her son, but she was pushed away by the cruel Jews and did not come to him but stood outside the door the whole night and wept pitifully, and she heard how he was being punched. At last, the greatest leaders left and had Our Lord Jesus placed in a dark cell that was under the house and that can still be seen by whoever has been there. There they bound him to a stone pillar, and for greater security they had armed people stay behind there who [used] mockery, insults, curses, and abusive words. So, contemplate how the bold and cruel men blamed and punished him and what insults they spoke to him and [they] said, “Did you think yourself better and wiser than our leaders are? Such was your foolishness. You shouldn’t have dared open your mouth against them! Why were you so bold? But your wisdom is visible now: you are now standing as is fitting for you and your like! Without a doubt you’ll be killed, and you’ll have him!”³⁹ And so they insulted him, with both words and deeds, the entire night, one after another. Contemplate now Our Lord! How meekly he lowers his head and patiently keeps silent in the face of everything being said to him. So, feel great pity for him and learn to be patient! Thus he stood bound to the pillar right until dawn. Early in the morning the Jewish leaders, the foremost among the people, arrived early at Caiaphas’s house and had Our Lord Jesus bound, his hands behind his back, and said to him, “You robber! Come with us! Come to [your] death! Today your evilness and your cruelty will be brought to an end with one journey! Now we see your wisdom!” And so, they led him from there and to Pilate and he followed them as if he were a criminal, but he was like the innocent lamb. And when his mother the Virgin Mary saw him being abusively led, pushed, and pulled along the street, and his face was entirely covered in spit, her heart was filled with unspeakable sorrow, and she wept pitifully and wanted to go to him and take him in her embrace. But she was again shoved by the Jews and abusively pushed away from her dear son. What was being done to his mother greatly increased Our Lord’s grief and sorrow, so that his soul and his body almost separated. Thus, he was led to Pilate and the mob gathered around him like around a thief or robber who is to be sentenced to death. So, contemplate and meditate upon this carefully in your heart!

³⁹ The pronoun “him” (OSw. *han*) here probably refers to an implicit masculine noun such as *døþer* [death].

The Fifth Station

Source: **D** SKB A 118, ff. 15v11–16v4.

Parallel text: **E** SKB A 49, f. 226r19–v10.

- Fæmthe stadhen war raadh
 husyth / ther stodh han bakbwndin
 3 for pylato / ok iudherner kærde
 mangh tingh aa hanom medh lygn
 ok baaro ffals wetnæ moth honom
 6 **Somma** sagdo ath han haffde før
 bwdit kesarens skath **Somma** wit
 nade ath han sagde wilia slaa nider
 9 mønstrith **Somma** sagdo ath han
 wilde wara thera konunger / oc somma
 sagdo ath han haffde ffarith oc om
 12 vænth alth folkít aff galilea land
 ok androm landh / thetta oc mangh
 androm tolkyn witnade the som
 15 hwffwdh liwghare plegha /
 oc mykit annath kerdo the aa
 honom **Æn** war herre wmbar thet ger
 18 na / ok leedh allan smæleek **Scoda**
 tyn konungh oc herra / hurw han
 staar bakbunden / for pylato / medh
 21 bleko anlite / medh tystom mwndh
 oc medh taara ffwillom øghon
 hørde twlomodhelica thera falska
 24 kære maal / æn pylatus wiste
 wæl ath iudhane haffdo gry
 pith han / for affwndh skuldh

14 androm] andron *D*. 22 øghon] øghon och *D*. 23 twlomodhelica] twlomodheli\ca/ *D*.

Translation

The fifth place was the city hall where he stood with his hands tied behind his back in front of Pilate.⁴⁰ And using lies the Jews accused him of many things and bore false witness against him. Some said that he had forbidden the emperor's tax. Some testified that he had said that he wanted to pull down the Temple. Some said that he wanted to be their king, and some said that he had gone and converted all the people in Galilee and in other lands.⁴¹ They witnessed this and many other such things as great liars usually do, and they accused him of much else. But Our Lord willingly endured it and suffered every insult. Contemplate your king and lord! How he is standing in front of Pilate with his hands tied behind his back, with a pale face, with a silent mouth and tear-filled eyes, and patiently listening to their false accusations. But Pilate knew that the Jews had seized him out of jealousy.⁴²

The Sixth Station

Source: **D** SKB A 118, ff. 16v4–17v15.

Parallel text: **E** SKB A 49, ff. 226v11–227r7.

vi locus

Sætte stadin war konunger herodis

- 3 hws / tyth ledis war herre baak
bundin / oc herodes gladdis aff ty
ath han fyk see wan herre / och
- 6 wilde gerna see for vnder skuldh
nogoht aff tom iærteknom /
som han haffde hørth at war herre
- 9 giorde / oc sporde wan herra om
mangh tingh / æn war herre stodh

40 Here, and in other sections, Jesus is described as having his hands tied behind his back in order to emphasize the injustice to which he is being subjected and his helpless, passive state.

41 Jesus is accused of both civil (refusal to pay tax, desire to be king) and religious crimes (converting the Galileans, wanting to raze the Temple).

42 Pilate recognizes Jesus' innocence and the Jews' jealousy. He is already being exculpated.

- for *honom som* eth lamb / oc swarade
 12 *honom intæ / wthan* slogh nidher øgh
 onyn tha *førsmadhe* herodes wan *herra*
 oc holth wan *herra* for en daara
 15 oc til haadh ok aatløghe oc før
 dhe han i eeth hwith clæde *som* han
 haffde warith een daare æn han
 18 ombaar *thet* alt *medh* størsta twlo
 modh *Sidhan* sendis han aather til
pylatum *Scodha* nw van *herra med*
 21 *dhan* han ledis aather oc fram fraa
 enom oc til *androm* hurw han gaar
 nidher sygiande blyghelica *medh*
 24 anlitena oc lydher *thera* roop ok
 skryan ok *thera* mycla haadh oc
 smælek *Scodha* oc hans moder
 27 *mariam* oc *andra* *hans* wenir som
 følgde *honom* epther *medh* myclom graat
 oc osighelicom nw tha the haffdo leeth
 30 han aather til *pylatum* tha
 fulfølgde the snøde iudhane
 syn falska kæra maal *medh* my
 33 cla dirffwe æn for ty ath *pylatus*
 fan inga dødz saak *medh* *honom*
 tha wilde han giffwan løsan / och
 36 sagde / iak scal nepsan oc lata
 han quittan / swa bødh han tha gen
 stan flengia han *Sidhan* førdis
 39 war herre aff cledhom oc bandz
 widh stodhena / stoldzer oc fagher
 oc bligher / *som* propheten sisher / her scal
 42 thu lenge duælias / oc scoda wel
 granlica *hans* widhermødho / oc
 varkunna *honom* aff alla thina
 45 hiærtha

11 swarade] swarad\e/ D. 23 blyghelica *medh*] blygheli\ca/ *medh* [and---] D. 28 graat] graa\t/
 D. 29 osighelicom] osigheli\com/ D. 30 tha] tha ffwl D. 43 granlica] granli\ca/ D.

Translation

Sextus locus [The sixth place]

The sixth place was King Herod's house. Our Lord was led there with his hands tied behind his back. and Herod was happy that he got to see Our Lord and for the sake of amazement he wanted to see something of the miracles that he had heard that Our Lord performed. And [he] asked Our Lord about many things, but Our Lord stood in front of him like a lamb and did not answer him but cast his eyes downwards.⁴³ Then Herod insulted Our Lord and considered him a fool and worthy of derision and mockery and dressed him in a white robe as if he were a fool. But he endured it all with the greatest patience. Afterwards he was sent back to Pilate. Contemplate now Our Lord while he is being led back and forth from one place to another. How he walks down, mourning meekly with his face and listening to their shouts and screaming and their great derision and jeering. Also contemplate his mother Mary and his friends who followed him with great and indescribable weeping now that they had led him back to Pilate. Then the cruel Jews pursued their false accusations with much boldness. But as Pilate did not find any reason to put him to death, he wanted to release him, and said, "I shall punish him and let him go free." So, he ordered him to be scourged. Afterwards Our Lord was undressed and bound to the pillar, dignified, handsome, and meek, as the prophet says. [Psalm 44:3]⁴⁴ You shall dwell on this for a long time and carefully contemplate his sorrow and have compassion for him with all your heart.

The Seventh Station

Source: D SKB A 118, ff. 18r1–19v5.

Parallel text: E SKB A 49, f. 227r8–v16.

Siwnde stadhin war ther / war herre
 hastelica oc grymmelica war nyder
 3 rykther til iordena / oc huffwdith stöt
 tis swa hardelica ath tenderna løstnade

2 hastelica] hasteli\ca/ D. 4 hardelica] hardeli\ca/ D.

⁴³ Again Jesus is described as a lamb. His meekness is shown by his downcast eyes.

⁴⁴ "Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum" [Thou art beautiful above the sons of men], Psalm 44:3 *Vulg.*, DRB (Psalm 45:2 *KJV*).

- vidher **Sidhan** stodh *han* op / ok førde
 6 sikh siælfwer aff klædhomen / oc aller
hans helga licame war skælfwan
 de / aff frosth ok stodh aller naken
 9 *som* *han* war fødher aff *iomfrv maria* och ther
 syna nekth oc blydh for *allom* almo
 ghanom **Sidhan** bundo the *han* haar
 12 delika om henderna widh stodhina
 wthan alla miskundh *Sidhan* fleng
 dis ok sarghadhis aller *hans* helga
 15 licame swa iæmerlica ath ryff
 ven syntis / huar blanadher lagdis
 ower blanath / ryffw ower ryffw / oc
 18 saar ower saar / swa tiokth ath at
 øffwersth aff *hans* hiæssa ok nidhersth
 til *hans* taa war intæ heelth eller
 21 osargath sa *allan* *hans* helga licama
 swa ath bade the *som* flengde *han*
 trøttis oc the *som* ssagho oppa leddis widh
 24 **Oc** *hans* helga blodh fløth wth aff
allom *hans* lymmom oc lidhamothom
 nydher aa iordena / ok trodhadhis
 27 vndher thera fføther / *som* flengdo
 oc oppa stodhena / *som* *han* war flengder
 widher / oc synes æn blodzens tekn
 30 / huath monde *hans* sorghaffwldz moder
iomfrv maria aathaffwas / medhan *han* swa
 iæmerlica sarghadis wisselica widh
 33 thet första slaghith / *som* *han* war slag-
 in medh gyslomen / tha ffwl hon nyder
 til iordena / ok daanadhe oc lagh
 36 *som* hon waare dødh **O** herre gudh
 huath sorgh oc drøffwilsæ hon tol
 de i syno hiæarta / wisselica tha gik
 39 sorgena swærdh gynom *henne* hiæarta
Tha war herræ war løster ffraan stode

15 iæmerlica] iæmerli\ca/ D. 25 lymmom] lymmon D. 31 medhan han] medhan D. 32 iæmer-
 lica sarghadis] iæmerli\ca/ sarghadi\s/ [----] D. 39 swærdh] swæ\r/dh D.

- na / tha ledhe the han / oc drogho
 42 han swa naknan / ok flengdan
 om huseth / oc letade epther hans
 cledher / som kastadh waro kring
 45 om huseth / aller swa eth som annat
 / oc ææ huarth han gyk / tha syntis
 epther honom blodhsyns / ffooth / spor
 48 ok iordin syntis all beguthin medh
 blodh / oc medh synom kiortil strøk
 han blodhin aff synom øghon oc tha
 51 han wilde føra sigh aather i clæd
 dhen / taa ropade the omilde mæn
 ok sagde til pylatum / herre han giorde sigh
 54 til konungh / clædhom ok kronom honom
 som een konungh

Translation

The seventh place was where Our Lord was hastily and vilely pushed down to the ground and his head struck [the ground] so hard that his teeth became loose. Then he stood up and took off his clothes and his whole holy body was trembling from the freezing cold, and he stood entirely naked just like when he was born to the Virgin Mary, and there he appeared naked and meek to all the common people. Then they bound his hands harshly to the pillar without any mercy. Then his entire holy body was scourged and injured so pitilessly that his ribs showed, and each bruise was made upon a bruise, tear upon tear, and wound upon wound, so densely that nothing from the top of his head right down to his toe was whole or uninjured. Thus was his entire holy body. Both those who scourged him became tired and those who were watching were repulsed. And his holy blood flowed from his limbs and extremities down onto the ground and was trodden under the feet of those who were scourging. And upon the pillar where he was being scourged a bloody sign also appeared. What was his sorrowful mother the Virgin Mary to do while he was being so pitilessly injured. For sure, upon the very first stroke that he was lashed by the whip, she fell to the ground and fainted and lay as if she were dead. O Lord God! What misery and grief she surely suffered in her heart when the sword of sorrows pierced her heart. [Luke 2:34–35]⁴⁵ When Our Lord was released

⁴⁵ On the image of the sword piercing Mary's heart, see vol. 1, 225n128.

from the pillar, they led him and pulled him, thus naked and scourged, around the house and [he] looked for his clothes that had been thrown about the house in disarray. And wherever he walked, bloody footprints appeared after him and the earth seemed thoroughly soaked in blood. And with his robe he wiped off the blood from his eyes and when he went to put on his clothes again, the cruel men shouted and said to Pilate, “Lord! He considered himself a king! Let’s dress and crown him like a king!”

The Eighth Station

Source: D SKB A 118, ff. 19v5–21v7.

Parallel text: E SKB A 49, ff. 227v17–228v16.

viii locus

Attonde stadhin war

- 3 stolyn / ther han sath oppa nar
han krøntis / her giordis warom herra stoor
smæleker oc obrygdilsæ j fyra han
- 6 dha motta / fforsth i ty ath the førde
han i eth røth clæde / honom til smælek
i eth purpvra clæde gamalth / honom
- 9 til aathløghe / annath syn i ty / at
the sættthe oppa hans hwffwdh
ena torna crona / oc tryktæ
- 12 hona swa hardelika gynom hans
hwffwth / swa ath hans øghon / øron /
næsa / oc mwndh / opfyltes
- 15 medh blodh / oc war aller blodhoger om syt
anlitæ / oc sættthe ena rør i hans handh
for konunx spira / honom til smælek oc
- 18 haadhwitilse Tridhie motta gior
de the honom smælek / i ty ath the
gingo ffram / oc fwlo oppa knæ for
- 21 honom oc helsadhe han medh stora haade
oc sagdo til honom / heel thu iudha

2 war] war [sto-] D. 14 opfyltes] opfyltes medh D. 21 haade] haad\e/ D.

- konunger / som the wilde sighia / thu
 24 wilde wara konunger / oc thu haffwer
 ey tess makt J fierde motta
 giorde the honom smælik / i ty ath the
 27 gyngo ffram / til skyptis / oc slogho
 wan herra vidh kynbenen / swa
 ath the all swlnade / oc sputtade
 30 i hans helgha oc faghra ok æra
 ffulla anlità / oc syntes som een
 spythælsker man / oc een thera rykte
 33 rørena aff hans handh / oc slogh han
 i hans torna kronadhe huffwth / swa
 ath han ffwl aather aawogher
 36 nidher aa iordena Sidhan ledis var
 herre wth af raadhuseno / medh torn
 cronane ok purpura cledena / ønke
 39 lighin ok aller blodhogher / ledis wt til the
 arma stimparane / iudhomyn / tha ro
 padhe the ok sagdho til pylatum / tag
 42 borth han / oc hengh han oppa korsyt
 wi gittom ey lenger lidhith han Sid
 an dømdis var herre aff them vsla
 45 domarenom pylato / til korsyns dødh
 Sidhan ledis war herre aather jn oc
 the førde wth han aff purpura cledeno /
 48 ok stodh nakin for tom / til tess honom
 gaffs loff ffara in i syn eghin clæ
 dhe Tha gyk var herre aller sar
 51 ghadher / blodugher / oc nakin / oc hemp
 tadhe saman syn clæde aff gulffweno
 som kastade wora hyth oc tyth i huseno
 54 huarth fraa andro oc førde sigh i them
 som han haffde warith alla fwlasta skam
 oc en køpther træl / ty scodha nw wan
 57 herra granlica oc see huath blygdh han
 lidher ffor tom forbannadhom iudhom ok
 varkunna honom innerlica aff alla

32 oc een] oc D; rykte] ryk\te/ D. 35 aather] aather [aaw\o/g] D. 43–44 Sidan] Sida[m>n] D.

- 60 thino hierta Sidhan han war in faryn
i syn clædhe / tha leede the han wth
aff stadenom / ath dødhin skulde ey
- 63 lenger drøghias ok lagde oppa hans
helga aaxlar korsyth / som war bade
length storth oc twnkth ok han bar
- 66 tet aa synom helga axlom medh stora wider
mødho Scodha nw thin gud oc herra medh
huath widermødho han gaar lwtha oc
- 69 krumpyn gyk han vnder korseno wan
mektoget ok meghin løss aff fasto oc
waku oc aff ærffwodhe oc aff stora
- 72 pino som han leedh tilforende oc
warkunna honom ok vndra oppa hans
stora ødhmiwkt ok twlomodh ok
- 75 følgh honom oc bær medh honom korseth
oc tik skal tykia som tw ware nær
stad oc saghe alth huath honom widerføre

Translation

Octauus locus [The eighth place]

The eighth place was the chair where he was sitting when he was crowned. Here, Our Lord was mocked and insulted in four ways: First, that they dressed him in a red robe, to mock him in an old purple robe, to ridicule him. Second, that they placed a crown of thorns upon his head and pressed it down so hard through his head so that his eyes, ears, nose, and mouth were filled with blood, and his face was entirely bloody, and [they] placed a reed in his hand as a royal sceptre to ridicule and insult him. Third, they mocked him by going forward and falling upon their knees and greeting him with great disdain and saying to him, “Hail, you, King of the Jews!” as if they were saying, “You wanted to be king, but you do not have [a king’s] power!” The fourth way in which they mocked him, when they went forward in turns and struck Our Lord on the cheekbone so that it all swelled up, and [they] spat in his holy and fair and honourable face, and [he]

70 fasto oc] fastooc written with a separation mark, D.

looked like a leper.⁴⁶ And one of them knocked the reed out of his hand and beat him on his head, crowned with thorns, so that he again fell backwards down to the ground. Then Our Lord, pitiable and completely bloody, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple cloak, was led out of the city hall; he was led out to the wretched villains, the Jews. Then they shouted and said to Pilate, “Take him away and hang him on the cross! We cannot tolerate him any longer!” Then Our Lord was condemned by the wretched judge Pilate to death on the cross. Then Our Lord was led inside again, and they took the purple cloak off him and he stood naked before them until he was allowed to put on his own clothes. Then Our Lord walked, injured all over, bloody and naked, and gathered his clothes up off the floor where they had been thrown here and there in the house, each piece away from the other. And he dressed himself in them as if he were the ugliest disgrace and a purchased slave. So now contemplate Our Lord carefully and see what shame he suffers on account of the damned Jews and pity him devoutly with all your heart. When he was dressed in his clothes, they led him out of the place because his death was not to be put off any longer. And upon his shoulders they lay the cross which was both long and heavy and he carried it upon his holy shoulders with much difficulty. Now contemplate your God and Lord, with what difficulty he walks leaning over, and he is walking bent over under the cross, without any power and strength due to the fasting and vigil and the labour and the great torment that he previously suffered. And have mercy on him and be present and see all that is happening to him.

The Ninth Station

Source: D SKB A 118, ff. 21v7–23r1.

Parallel text: E SKB A 49, ff. 228v17–229r18.

Nyonde stadhen war gatan ther
han gik wth om stadhin tha han
3 baar korsith *medh* stora widermødho
tith han skulle korsfæstas ther war

⁴⁶ Christ is described as looking like a leper in fulfilment of the prophecy in Isaiah 53:4: “quasi leprosus.” On Christ resembling a leper in Passion narratives, see Thomas Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society*, University of Pennsylvania Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 156–57.

- han skutthin oc draghin ok smælica
 6 ledher offwer the langa gatuna
 som en ogerningx man oc mykin
 moghe trengdis kring om han ok
 9 gingo epther honom som epter en tiwff
 som ledhis til galghan *somma* giorde
 leek ok haadh aff honom *Somma* kastade
 12 træk i hans øghon *Somma* slogho han widh
 kynbenen oc aa halsyn *Tha*
 gyk *iomfrv maria* epther honom *medh* sorgh fwlla
 15 hiertha som hon waare dødth oc greeth
 iæmerlika oc margha andra gude
 lika *quinnor gingo medh henne* alla gra
 18 tande oc for ty ath *iomfrv maria* kunde ey
 nalkas honom for mykla moghanom *tha*
 gik hon raskligha *medh sancto iohanne* oc *quin*
 21 nomen som *henne* følgde een gynare weg
 ath hon skulle koma ffram for mog
 anom oc swa nalkas honom / Oc *tha* hon
 24 møthe honom i weghe*nom* wthan portyn
 oc saagh honom swa trøtthan oc mæghin
 løsan vndher korseno *tha* varth hon
 27 halff dødth aff sorg ok gath ey ta
 lath eth ordh til honom oc ey war herre
 til *henne* Swa skyndadhe the fram
 30 *medh* honom the som han ledho *Sidhan* var
 herre kom lythet fram bæther *tha* wende
 han sigh om til *quinnoner* som gritw
 33 oc sagde til them J *ierusalems* døtther
 graather ey offwer mik wthan offwer idher
 siælfwa oc ower ider barn ty then dagh
 36 skal koma i huilkom skal sighias Sæ
 la ærw i ofruitsama *quinnor* som
 ey fødhe barn oc the spynar som ey
 39 søgde *Tha* skulu the sighia berghe
 myn størtyn ower oos ok skylin oss *Nw*
 leddis oc twa røffwara *medh* warom

5 smælica] smæli\ca/ D. 11 kastade] kasta\de/ D. 13 kynbenen] [øghonæn] kynbenen D.

- 42 *herra / til størræ smælek oc giordis honom*
større smælek æn røffwaromen for
ty ath the litw wan herra bæra syth
- 45 *kors som ey giørdis røffwaromen*
ok huarth thet fath war herre gyk
thet fyltis medh wars herra blodh

Translation

The ninth place was the street where he walked out of the city when he was carrying the cross with great difficulty to where he was to be crucified. There he was shoved and pulled and disdainfully led along the long street like a criminal. And a large crowd gathered around him and followed him like a thief who is being led to the gallows. Some made fun of him and jeered. Some threw muck into his eyes. Some struck him on the cheek and on the neck. Then the Virgin Mary followed him with a sorrowful heart as if she were dead and wept pitifully. And many other godly women, all weeping, walked with her. And because the Virgin Mary was unable to get near to him due to the great crowd, she walked quickly with St John and the women who were accompanying her, [taking] a more direct route so that she would arrive before the crowd and thus get near him. And when she met him on the street outside the gate and saw him, so tired and without strength under the cross, she became half-dead from grief and could not speak a word to him, and Our Lord [could] not [speak a word] to her. Then those who were leading him hurried him forwards. When Our Lord had come a little further forward, he turned to the women who were weeping and said to them, “You daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, but for yourselves and for your children, for the day shall come when it shall be said: ‘Blessed are you infertile women who have never given birth to a child and those breasts that have not suckled!’ Then they will say to the mountains, ‘Fall down and hide us!’” [Luke 23:28–30] Now, two robbers were also being led with Our Lord as a greater insult. And he received a greater insult than the robbers because they made Our Lord carry his cross which the robbers were not [made to do]. And every step that Our Lord walked was filled with Our Lord’s blood.

46 *gyk] gyk thet D.*

The Tenth Station

Source: *D* SKB A 118, f. 23r2–17.

Parallel text: *E* SKB A 49, f. 229r19–v2.

Tyende stadhen war ther *som* war herre fwl
 nidher wndi korsith tha *han* havde æn
 3 bæther ffram gangit oc war swa lamber
 ok trøther oc mæghinløss aff ty ath blo
 dhin war *hanom* forløpin tha orkade *han*
 6 ey lenger bæra korsyth tha ffwl *han* fram
 stupa vnder korsyth oppa anlitet moth
 Sten gatwna swa ath næsa oc mundh
 9 bløde ok *hans* helga tender los
 nade Tha nødhgade the snøda
 iudhane swa hastelica en *man*
 12 *som* heeth symon *medh* *honom*
 bæra kørsith ok ledhe swa til
 stadhen caluarie *thet* ær then ffwla ok
 15 orena galghin *som* ylgernyngx men dræ
 pas i

Translation

The tenth place was where Our Lord fell under the cross when he had walked forwards and was so lame and tired and powerless as his blood had run from him. He was then incapable of carrying the cross any longer. Then he fell and smashed his face under the cross onto the stone street so that his nose and mouth bled, and his holy teeth became loose. Then the cruel Jews hastily forced a man called Simon [of Cyrene] to carry the cross with him and then led him to the place of Calvary, that is the vile and impure gallows on which criminals were killed.

2 havde] ha[-->vde] *D*. 10 the] the [---] *D*. 11 iudhane] [r->iud]hane *D*; en] bæra *medh* *honom* en *D*. 13 til] til [stad] *D*.

The Eleventh Station

Source: *D* SKB A 118, ff. 23v1–32v17.

Parallel text: *E* SKB A 49, ff. 29v3–33v19.

- Ælloþthe stadhin war bergith ther
 war herre kors fæstis i tessom
- 3 stadenom tolde han margffallelica pinor
 ok haadhwitilse Somlica ryktæ aff
 honom torn kronona medh besklicheth ok
- 6 somma førde han aff cledhomen ok stodh
 nakin for allom almoghanom ok tha yp
 nadhis saaren oc wærkin wider tet
- 9 ath clædhin ryktis borth som skorpnat
 wora widh saaren Tha drøffdis modren
 iomfrv maria ower alla motta ok blygdis
- 12 ath hon saagh han swa alztinx nak
 nan tha gyk en fram oc banth eth
 clæde nydhan om kryngh hans lender
- 15 Sidhan opreste the korseth ok fæsthe
 thet i bergith medh starkom wigiom ath
 thet skulle staa stadhukt ok ey nider
- 18 ffalla Sidhan gyorde the ena stælningh aff
 brædhom kring om then delyn aff korseno
 som wars herre føther skulde fæstas widh ath the
- 21 mottæ wara standande oppa medhan the kors
 festæ van herra Sidhan ledhe the han oppa
 stælningena medh stora haadhe oc obrygdilse
- 24 oc war herre giorde alth thet the wilde Tha
 rektæ han ffraan sigh syn helga arm medh
 godhwilia oc lagde førsth høghra handena
- 27 tæl korsyth tha ffæsta the grymma diæff
 lana ok hælfwitis bødelana hans handh
 staarklica til korsyth medh en iærns spyk
- 30 tha ræktæ ey winstra handin til bw
 runa oppa korseth war Taa bundo the

3 margffallelica] margffalleli\ca/ *D.* 4 Somlica] Somli\ca/ *D.* 17 nider] nider ffal *D.*
 26 handena] handen\a/ *D.* 29 staarklica] staarklica *D.*

eth reep om handena oc the som nidre
 33 stodho drogho swa ok wthando hona swa
 ath alla synor nær motte swnder slitas
 til tess ath hon rækte til bwruna
 36 som borrhath war til forande for spykomen
 ok swa festæ the annan spyken
 gynom wenstra handena slogho oc festo
 39 honom tyl korseth Sidhan bwndo the reep
 om føtherna oc drogho swa hardelica ath
 hwar lydhen skildis fraan annan tha
 42 han war swa wtander tha festa the fø
 therna til korsyth then venstra ower then
 høghra medh twem spykom oc widh thet før
 45 sta slagith som slogs taa gaffs iomfrv maria
 hiertha swa hardelica wider ath øgho
 næn mørktis oc henderna skwlffw oc
 48 ffwl nider til iordena oc daanadhe
 oc laagh som hon wore dødh oc gath
 ey oppseeth aff rætta hiærtans sorg
 51 oc besklighet for æn henne kæriste son
 war medh alla kors fæsther Sidhan krøntæ
 the han annath syn medh torn kronane oc
 54 the sætthe henne oppa hans hwffwth ok ni
 dher trykte hona oppa hans helghasta huff
 wdh oc nidhertryktæ herne myth aa anlitet
 57 ok swa fasth stak krønan hans helga hwf
 wdh ath badhe øghon ok øron næsa och
 mwndh oc anlitæ opfyltis medh blodh swa
 60 ath intæ syntis wthan alth bloder Tha thetta
 war giorth tha stighw the nidher och
 togho borth stælningena ok korssith bleff
 63 quarth ensampnth ok war herre hengde
 aa korseno ok all hans been motthe
 telyas ok engen syn lym gath han
 66 rørth for store pino vthan huffwthet
 ok spikano vphullo allan licamans twng

35 ath] a[->th] D. 37 annan] arnan [fothen] D. 40 hardelica] hardeli\ca/ D.

- nath ok tolde han bitterlikastæn wærk
 69 oc swidha ok twingadis meera æn
 noghor kan sighia eller tenkia han henger
 ok i blandh thet fwla sælskapith som
 72 ærw tuaa røffwara oc i tom fwla
 stadenom som ær galghen ok spara the honom
 ey æn i tolka nødh wthan borya aather
 75 gøra leek oc haadh aff honom Somma
 sagdo see thu som niderslaar gudz mønster
 ok atherbygher thet j tre dagha Somma
 78 sagde andra giorde han heela ok sigh
 siælffwan gyther
 han ey heelan giorth Oc sagdo marg
 81 annor smælighin ordh ok prestane høff
 dinga ropade oc sagdo ær han gudz
 son tha ffary nidher aff korse
 84 na oc wy trom honom Sidhan stodh hans
 moder iomfrv maria wider korsidh ffwl medh
 sorgh ok græth swa iæmerica ath henne
 87 hiærtha mottæ brysta oc heller haffde hon bliffwit
 dødh medh honom aa korseno æn lenger liffwat
 ok alle the pinor som henne son leedh til
 90 licamen / tom leedh hon alla saman til
 syna siel / æn ingen gitther ffwl sakt
 aff thera widher mødho swa modhren
 93 som sonnen ok ænxladis ok badh aff alla
 hiærtha til fadhren for honom / sighiande ffader
 ok æwerdelikin gadh / om tik tekkis ath
 96 myn son skulle korsfæstas ty ær tyma
 ath iak honom aatherbedhis aff tik vtan
 thu seer i huath ænxlan hans siæl ær
 99 nw ty bidher iak tik ath thu lynna hans
 pino om tik tekkis ffadher iak
 antwardar tik myn son samwledz badh
 102 oc sonnen ffadhren for henne ok talade
 tysteligha sighiandis Min ffadher thu

68 bitterlikastæn] bitterlikastæn [---] D; wærk] /wærk\ D. 71 sælskapith] sælskapith [-] D. 79 gyther] gyther han ey siælffwan gyther D. 87 oc heller] oc D. 91 sakt] sak[t/ D. 92 modhren] modhren som D. 100 iak] iak [ant] D.

- seer hurw myn moder hon pinas thet
 105 skullde iak korsfæstas / oc ey hon ær her
 medh mik aa korsseno thet ær nogh myn kors
 fæstilsæ oc myn pina som bæer alla werldena
 108 synder hon førskullade intæ tolkit oc thu seer
 henne allan daghin swa ønkelica wara mødha
 hene antwardar iak tik gør henne sorgh
 111 lethare / ok waar iohannes medh waar frv widh
 korsyth oc manga andra maria magdalena
 oc andra hennes systra maria iacobi oc maria
 114 salome ok andra fflere quinnor / som storlica
 grytw ower gudz pino oc iomfrv maria drøff
 wilse æn war herre war ey ffafenger
 117 iamwel hengiande aa korseno / til tess
 han gaff vp syn helgasta anda wtan
 ropade ok sagde siw ordh som
 120 scriffwath staar i læstinna thet før
 sta war tha the kors fæsta han taa
 badh han for syna korsfæstara
 123 medh gratande taarom til syn ffader oc sagde ffader
 fforlaat tom thet the gøra / for ty the wit
 ta ey huath the gøra Thet andra ordit
 126 taa sagde han til røffwaren / sannelica sigher
 iak tik / i dagh skal thu wara medh mik
 i paradiis / Thet tridhie ordith talade han
 129 til syna modher / tha han saagh til henne
 medh gratande røsth / quinna see thin son
 Oc til iohannem / see thina moder Som
 132 han wilde swa sighia Jak kan ey wara
 nær tik / vthan thin systerson iohannes / han
 skal wara tik for son / ok tik til hughswa
 135 lilse Thet ffiærde ordith sagde han til
 syn helga ffadher / medh ropande
 ok gratande røsth / Myn gudh myn gud
 138 hwi haffwer thu mik forlatyth Thet femte
 ordyth sagde han / Mik torster / som han

112 magdalena] magdalen\|a/ D. 114 storlica] storli\|ca/ D. 126 sannelica] sanneli\|ca/
 D. 138 femte] fem\|te/ D.

- wilde syghia Jak aastwNDAR aff alla
 141 hiærtha mæniskiona aatherløsn ok
 helsa Tha blandadhe the omilda
 mænnena ætikio oc galla oc gaffwo
 144 honom drykka Sætte ordit war *thet* nar
 han sagde *Thet* ær fwlkompnath som
 han wilde sighia Alth *thet* som scriffwath
 147 ær aff mik *thet* ær ffwlkompnath
 Tha sagde ffadhren til hans / kom myn
 ælskeligha son / thu haffwer alth wel
 150 ffwlkompnath oc giorth / iak
 wil ath thu skal ey lenger mødhas
 kom i myth skøth / oc iak scal tagha
 153 tik i myn fampn Sidhan togh han wen
 dha øghonen / som the plegha gøra som
 pinas i dødzlomen / oc wende tom
 156 om kringh / stwNDom op oc stundom nider
 ok kastade huffwdhit / stwNDom hiith
 ok stwNDom tith / aa ømpsa wegna / ok synæn
 159 oc alla krapther wanskadhis / ok dødzins
 wærker gyk in til hiærtath / swa ath *thet*
 mottæ bristæ aff otalikom wærk ok pino
 162 Tha skolwo alla hans helga lymy ther
 widher / tha ropade han i dødzlomen *medh*
 stora røsth ok graatande thaarom til
 165 ffadren oc sagde til ffadren siwnde ordit
 ffadher i thina hender anthwardar iak min
 anda O swa bleeff war herre dødher
 168 tha seegh hans hwffwdh nidher aa brysten
 / ok hans helgha mwndh fyltis
 op *medh* blodh / twngan war all blodhog
 171 næsan war ffalnath ok saman
 ffallyn / hans kynben waaro inswnkin
 til tenderna / hans øghon wora omwenda
 174 i huffwdith / hans haar oc skegh war
 alth blodhoth / ok anlitet war bliknath

150 iak] iak [----] D. 166 iak min] iak D. 169 mwndh] mwndh [fwltis] D. 171 saman] saman [fal--t] D. 173 omwenda] omwen\da/ D.

- oc blanadh ok alth blodhokth hans ryff
 177 syntis swa ath the mottæ tælyas hans
 bwker war inswnken til rygen
 ok wædhskan war all borth torkath
 180 i honom oc syntis som han ey haffde inælf
 wa i sigh oc aller hans helga licame
 waar aller blaar oc blodhuger oc bort
 183 tranadher O mæniskia see nw hwru
 thin herre henger ønkelikin dødher aa
 korseno for tik graath hans dødher medh iomfrv
 186 maria som swa iæmerica græth tha henne
 son gaff opp syn helga andha swa at
 hon wistæ intæ til sigh wthan fwl nidher
 189 til iordena ok danadhe ok lagh som
 hon ware dødher hendenær wistnadhe
 anlitet blyknadhe twngan tystnade
 192 øghonen mørktis øronen hørde intæ
 Visselica tha gyk sorghenæ swærdh
 gynom henne hiæta
 195 Sidhan war herre var dødher / tha
 gyk aller moghen borth æn iomfrv maria bedrøf
 dista modhren oc henne følgher blyffw aater
 198 oc sættho sigh nider widh korsyth ath see
 syn ælskelica herra swa hengiande aa korseno
 myllan twa røffwara swa naknan ok pyn
 201 tan dødhan ok swa aff allom fōrlatnan
 Tha sagho the komma manga wengta
 mæn aff stadenom til tom som skulle
 204 swnder brytha laaren aff them som kors
 festo waara ok draapa them Tha yp
 nadhis iomfrv maria sorgh / ok war
 207 mykit rædh ok wiste ey huath hon skul
 de gøra wthan sagde til syn son Min
 sōtastæ son hwi koma tesse aather huat
 210 wilia the tik meera gøra huath ey
 draapo the tik Son myn jak tenktæ tom

183 hwru] hw\ru/ D. 194 hiæta] hiæta [gig] gyk sor | hena swærdh gyk gynom henne hiætha
 D. 195 war] war h[-n-] D. 199 korseno] korse\no/ D.

- wara mættā aff tik æn iak seer the
 213 hatha tik æn dōdhan / myn kæra son ey
 weeth iak huath iak scal gōra
 vthan her skal iak staa nær thina
 216 korse / nær thinom fōtom Jak bidher
 tyn ffader ath han gōre tom tik blidhan
 ok iak wil gōra huath iak gitter
 219 Tha the wænhta mæn komo fram
 oc saagho ath rōffwaræna the liff
 dho / tha swnderbrwthu the theris laar
 222 ok draapo tom / ok togho tom nidher
 oc kastadha tom nider i ena groop / tha
 the komo til wan herra / tha rædis
 225 modhren ath the skulde oc swa gōra
 herne son / ok mōdis hon innerlica aff hiær
 tans sorgh / ok ffwl aa knæ / ok lagde
 228 henderna i kors wisth for brysthet / oc
 taladhe til them oc sagde / kære brōder
 iak bidher ider for gudz skuldh ath i
 231 wilden mik ey meera mōdha i mynom
 aldra kærīsta son Jak ær hans aldra bedrōf
 dasta moder / oc j within wæl kære brōdher
 234 / ath aldre giorde iak ider meen eller oræth /
 oc om æn han syntis wara idher i moth / tha
 draapin i han Oc iak fōrlather ider thet
 237 aff alla hiærtha then oræth oc alth thet i
 moth giordin i myn sons dōdh ok gōryn
 thenna miskundena medh mik / ath i ey bry
 240 then swnder hans been / ath iak maghe ffaa
 lycaman lægia heelan j graffwena / thet hiæl
 per ider entæ / ath i brythen sunder hans been
 243 ok i see nw wæl ath han ær nw dōder / æn
 iohannes oc magdalena ok iomfrv maria Systrar stodo
 aa kne medh herne ok grytw alle saman
 246 Sarlika / æn en hōgfærdwgher rid
 dare oc omilder som heeth longinus / forsma

226 innerlica] innerli\ca/ D. 244 magdalena] magdalen\ a/ D; iomfrv maria] iomfrv D.
 246 Sarlika] [saarli\ca/] Sarlika D.

- dhe *thera graath ok bønør / støthe opp medh*
 249 *spiwteno medh alla makt / ok stak gynom wars*
herre sidho / ok in gynom hans hiertha swa ffast
/ ath spiwtet haffde nær gangith gynom
 252 *wenstra sidhona / ok ther fløth wth*
blodh ok vatn / tha gik sorghena
swærdh gynom iomfrv maria siæl / ok tyktæ
 255 *henne swa som hon var gynom stungin i*
syth hiærtha / tha hon saagh syn kæra
son stingas ginom hiærtath / for ty han
 258 *var swa som henne eghit hiærtha / tha*
fwl hon nidher swa som dødth i han
dhomen theris / ok maria magdalena / oc hen
 261 *ne systrar / tha stodh iohannes opp moth*
tom aller ffwller medh sorgh ok sagde O i
snødha ok omilla men / hwi gøren
 264 *i swa omilla gernynge / huath ey seer*
i / ath han ær dødher / huath wilin i iam
wel dræpa hans moder / gaar hedhan
 267 *wi iordum han wæl Tha gingo*
the vsla stimparanna / helwitis hunda
Ther ephther fikx iomfrv maria gynstan aather
 270 *widher ok stodh opp swa som hon waknade*
af dødzins sompn ok sporde om the haffdo
nogoth meera giorth henne ælskeligha son
 273 *Taa sagdo the ath the haffdo honom intæ*
annath giorth æn for hon swkkadhe och
sørgdhe aff alla hiærtha ok saagh sin son
 276 *swa iæmerlica sarghadhin ok mødhan*
ok mødhis hon aff dødzins sorgh Sidhan
sætte the sigh ather alla nidher widh
 279 *korsyth ok vistæ ey huadh the skulde*
gøra the formotte ey nidher tagha
licamen ok iorda han ty ath the haffdo
 282 *ey maktено eller ankosth ther til ok ey*
tordo the borth gaa ok lata licamen

248 *medh*] *medh* [s---] *D.* 249 *spiwteno*] |*spiw|teno* *D.* 260 *magdalena*] *magdale\na/*
D. 270 *waknade*] *wakna\de/* *D.* 275 *sørgdhe*] *sagde* *D.* 280 *tagha*] *tagha* [---] *D.*

quarran hængia aa korseno oc ey
 285 matte the ther lenger qwar bliffwa
 for ty *thet* ledh aat *qwællenom* oc natthen
 stodh tom førre O herre *gud* i huath stora
 288 nødh ok vanda *iomfrv* maria war stad oc
 henne *følgia* Sidhan kom iosep oc nicodemus
 gangande aff *stadenom* til tom ok haffde
 291 *andra medh* sigh som baaro ankosten *medh* huil
 kom the wilde nidertagha *licamen* aff
 korseno ok baaro the *medh* sigh wæl hun
 294 drade skaal *pund* mirram oc aloes at
 the skulde ther *medh* smøria hans *licama*
 oc iorda han tha the komo fram til kor
 297 sedh tha ffwlllo the a *knææ* / oc stodo
 ena stundh longa oc gritw *medh* *iomfrv*
 maria tha sagde hon til them i *gøryn*
 300 wæl ath i *mynnes* oppa ider mesta
 re ty ath han ælskade ider *mykit* *gud*
 løne ider *thet* for idhan *kærlek* ok *hiælp*
 303 iak wiste ey huat iak skulde *gøra*
 eller aath haffwas Tha sagdo the *wy sørgiom*
 aff alla wora *hiæarta* aff ty som *honom* ær giort
 306 gerna haffdom wi *honom* *ffrælzsth*
 aff swa storan *oræth* om æn *wy*
 haffdim *førmaat* æn *atenast* *magom*
 309 wi *gøra* *gudj* oc *warom* mestare tessa lis
 laa *tænistena* Sidhan stodho the
 opp ok redho sigh til ath tagha han
 312 nidher aff korseno Sidhan *ræktæ* the
 opp stigha aath baadom *armomen*
 aa korseno ok iosep for opp aa then
 315 *stighanom* som stodh widh *høghra* weg
henom / ok *widerfrestadhe* ath draga
 wth spiken aff the *handena* æn
 318 han kunde ey wæl ath koma ty ath
 spikane waro longa oc tiokka
 ok sath spiken *mykit* ffaster i korse

306 *honom*] *honom* [frælt] D.

- 321 no wthan han crysten oc kom mykit
 fasth widh henderna aa warom herra
 Taa spiken war wth draghin tha tekna
- 324 dhe iohannes hemelica til iosep oc badh
 han rækia sigh spiken swa ath war ffrv
 skulde ey see han ther ephther drogh nico
- 327 demus then andra spiken aff winstra han
 dena oc fyk han iohanni samaleedz Sidhan
 for nicodemus nidher oc foor swa opp aa
- 330 enom androm stigha ok togh wth spikana
 aff fotomen medhan iosep holt licamen
 Sidhan spikana wora wthdragna tha
- 333 for iosep saktelica nidher ok iomfrv maria
 togh han myth om liffweth ok iosep
 om hwffwdhit ok nichodemus om føter
- 336 ner ok swa baaro the han lytith ffraa
 korseno ok lagde han nidher aa ior
 dina medh storom graath ok sorgh

Translation

The eleventh place was the mountain where Our Lord was crucified.⁴⁷ In this place he suffered many torments and insults. Some bitterly knocked off his crown of thorns, and some removed his clothes and [he] stood naked in front of the common people. And his sores and wounds were opened because, along with his clothes, the scabs on the sores were ripped off. Then his mother, the Virgin Mary, despaired in every way and was embarrassed that she saw him completely naked. Then someone went forwards and tied a cloth around his loins.

Then they raised the cross and fastened it in the mountain with strong wedges so that it would stand solidly and not fall over. Then they made a scaffolding of planks around that part of the cross where Our Lord's feet were to be fastened, so that they could stand upright while they crucified Our Lord. Then they led him up onto the scaffolding with much hatred and insults, and Our Lord did everything that they wanted. Then he willingly stretched out his holy arm and

321 mykit| my\kit/ D.

⁴⁷ The description of the Crucifixion follows St Birgitta's revelation as related in *Liber Caelestis* 1.10 and 7.15.

first laid his right hand against the cross. Then the vile devils and executioners from hell attached his hand firmly with an iron nail. His left hand did not reach the hole that was on the cross, so they tied a rope around his hand, and those who were standing under him pulled and stretched him so that all the sinews were nearly torn until it [his hand] reached the hole that had already been drilled for the nail. And then they fastened the second nail through his left hand, they hammered and attached him to the cross. Then they tied rope around his feet and pulled so harshly that all his joints were dislocated from one another. When he was stretched out, they attached his feet to the cross, the left one over the right one with two nails. And with the first blow that was struck, the Virgin Mary's heart succumbed so harshly that her eyes went dark, and her hands trembled and she fell down to the ground and fainted and lay there as if she were dead and could not look up on account of her just heart's sorrow and bitterness until her dearest son was completely crucified. Then they crowned him for a second time with the crown of thorns and they placed it on his head and pressed it onto his most holy head and forced it into the middle of his face, and the crown pierced his holy head so hard that both his eyes and ears, nose and mouth, and face were filled with blood so that nothing other than blood could be seen. When this had been done, they descended and took the scaffolding away and the cross was left standing alone. And Our Lord was hanging on the cross and all his bones could be counted and because of the great pain he was unable to move any of his limbs except for his head. And the nails supported all the body's weight, and he endured the most bitter pain and agonies and he was tormented more than any one can say or imagine. He is also hanging among vile company, that is the two robbers, and in that vile place, that is the gallows. And they do not spare him even in such a place, but they begin again to ridicule and insult him. Some said, "Look! You who tore down God's temple and rebuilt it in three days!" [Matthew 27:40] Some said, "He healed others and he is unable to heal himself!" [Matthew 27:42] And [they] said many other insulting words and the chief priests shouted and said, "If you are the Son of God, descend from the cross and we will believe him!"

Then his mother the Virgin Mary, filled with sorrow, was standing by the cross and weeping so pitifully that her heart might burst and she would rather have died alongside him on the cross than live any longer. And all the torments that her son suffered upon his body, she suffered them all upon her soul. But no-one can speak fully of both their heartache. And both mother and the son were afraid and prayed with all their heart to the father for his [Jesus'] sake, saying, "Father and eternal God! If it pleases you that my son is to be crucified, it is time that I am compensated by you. But consider the vexation his soul is in now, so I ask you to soothe his pain. If it pleases you, Father, I offer you my son." In the same way, the son also prayed to his father for her sake and spoke quietly, saying, "My

father! Look how my mother is being tormented by me being crucified and her not being with me on the cross. My crucifixion and my pain are enough to carry all the sins of the world. She does not deserve this, and you see that she has been grief-stricken all day. I entrust her to you: lighten her pain.” And John was with Our Lady by the cross and many others, Mary Magdalene and her other sisters Mary of Jacob and Mary Salome, and several other women, who were weeping a lot about God’s pain and the Virgin Mary’s grief. But even though he was hanging on the cross, Our Lord was not idle until he gave up his holy spirit; but he shouted and said seven sentences which are written in Scripture. The first was when they crucified him, he prayed with weeping tears for his crucifiers to his father and said, “Father, forgive them what they are doing, because they know not what they do.” [Luke 23:34] The second sentence he said to the robber, “Truly, I tell you, today you shall be with me in paradise.” [Luke 23:43] The third sentence he spoke to his mother when he said to her with a tearful voice, “Woman! Behold your son!” And to John, “Behold your mother!” [John 19:26–27] As if he wanted to say, “I cannot be near you, but your nephew⁴⁸ John can be a son and a comfort to you.” The fourth sentence he spoke to his holy father with a loud and tearful voice, “My God! My God! Why have you forsaken me?” [Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34; cf. Psalm 21:2 *DRB* (22:1 *KJV*)] The fifth sentence he spoke, “I am thirsty.” [John 19:28] As if he wanted to say, “I desire with all my heart the redemption and health of humanity.” Then the cruel men mixed vinegar and gall and gave it to him to drink. The sixth sentence was when he said, “It is finished.” [John 19:30] As if he wanted to say, “Everything that has been written about me has been fulfilled.” Then the father said to him, “Come my beloved son. You have fulfilled and done everything. I do not want you to be tormented any longer. Come to my lap and I shall receive you in my embrace.” Then he rolled his eyes like those who are being tortured to death usually do, and he rolled them around, sometimes upwards, and sometimes downwards, and tossed his head, sometimes one way, and sometimes the other, in different directions. And his sight and his strength were taken from him and the pain of death entered his heart so that it would burst from countless aches and pains. Then all his holy limbs shook. Then he shouted at the moment of death with a loud voice and lachrymose tears to his father and spoke to his father the seventh sentence: “Father, into your hands I commit my spirit.” [Luke 23:46; cf. Psalm 30:6 *DRB* (31:5 *KJV*)] And so Our Lord died.

⁴⁸ The OSw. has “systerson” [lit. sister’s son, nephew]. The tradition here is that John is the son of Zebedee and Salome, the Virgin Mary’s sister. Together with the Virgin and Mary of Cleophas, Salome (as Mary Salome) is one of the three Marys who were the daughters of St Anne.

Then his head fell onto his chest and his holy mouth was filled with blood. His tongue was completely bloody. His nose had turned pale and collapsed. His cheeks had sunk into his teeth. His eyes were upturned in his head. His hair and beard were completely bloody, and his face was pale and bruised and completely bloody. His ribs could be seen so that they could be counted. His belly had sunk into his back and the fluid within him had dried up, and it looked as if he did not have any intestines, and his entire holy body was bruised and bloody and withered away. O person! Now see your Lord hanging pitifully dead on the cross for you. Cry over his death with the Virgin Mary who wept so pitifully when her son gave up his holy spirit that she did not watch but fell to the ground and fainted and lay there as if she were dead. Her hands withered. Her face turned pale. Her tongue fell silent. Her eyes went dark. Her ears heard nothing. For sure, the sword of sorrow pierced her heart then.

After Our Lord had died, the crowd of people walked away, but the Virgin Mary, the most grief-stricken mother, and her followers stayed behind and sat down by the cross to see her beloved lord hanging like this on a cross between two robbers, naked and tortured to death and forsaken by everyone. Then they saw coming towards them from the town many armed men who were to break the thighbones of the men who had been crucified and kill them. Then the Virgin Mary's sorrow became apparent, and she was very afraid and did not know what she should do but said to her son, "My sweetest son! Why are they coming back? What more do they intend to do to you? Did they not already kill you? My son, I thought that they had had enough of you, but I see they hate even though you're dead. My dear son, I do not know what I am to do but stand here close to your cross, close to your feet. I ask your father that he make them mild towards you, and I will do what I can." When the armed men arrived and saw that the robbers were alive, they broke their thighbones and killed them, and took them down and threw them into a ditch. When they got to Our Lord, his mother was afraid that would do the same thing to her son and she was extremely distressed by the sorrow in her heart and she fell to her knees and crossed her hands upon her chest and spoke to them and said, "Dear brothers! I ask you for God's sake that you do not distress me anymore about my dearest son. I am his most grief-stricken mother, and you know perfectly well, dear brothers, that I have never done you any harm or injustice, and even if he seemed to be against you, you killed him. And I wholeheartedly forgive you for the injustice and everything that you did to me by killing my son. And do me this mercy: do not break his legs so that I may be able to place his body unbroken in the grave. It does not help you if you break his legs and you can see now perfectly well that he is already dead." And John and [Mary] Magdalene and the Virgin Mary's sisters were next to her on their knees, and they all wept bitterly together. And an arrogant and cruel knight called Longinus disparaged their tears and petitions

and pushed his spear upwards with all his might and pierced Our Lord's side and his heart so hard that the spear had almost gone out through his left side. And blood and water poured out from there. Then the sword of sorrows went through the Virgin Mary's soul, and it felt as if she had been stabbed in the heart when she saw her dear son be stabbed through the heart, because he was like her own heart. Then she fell as if dead in their hands and [the hands of] Mary Magdalene and her sisters. Then John, filled with sorrow, stood up to them and said, "Evil and cruel men! Why do you perform such cruel acts? What? Do you not see that he is dead? What? Do you want to kill his mother as well? Go away from here. We will bury him properly." Then the wretched villains, dogs from hell, walked off.

Straight after this the Virgin Mary regained consciousness and stood up as if she had awoken from the slumber of death and asked if they had done anything else to her beloved son. Then they said that they had not done anything else to him since she sighed and mourned with all her heart and saw her son so pitifully injured and tormented, and she was tormented by the grief of death. Then they all sat down again by the cross and did not know what they should do. They could not take the body down and bury him because they did not have the strength or tools to do so. And they did not dare go and leave the body hanging on the cross and they could not stay there any longer because it was becoming evening and night would be upon them. O Lord God! In what great distress and difficulty the Virgin Mary and her followers found themselves! Then Joseph [of Arimathea] and Nicodemus arrived walking from the city and had other people with them who were carrying the tools with which they would take his body from the cross. And they were carrying bowls with a good hundred pounds of myrrh and aloe with which they were going to anoint his body and bury him. When they arrived at the cross, they fell to their knees and stood for a long while and wept alongside the Virgin Mary. Then she said to them, "You do well to remember your teacher because he loved you a lot. May God reward you for your love and assistance. I did not know what I should do or undertake." Then they said, "We mourn with all our hearts for what has been done to him. We would willingly have saved him from the great injustice if we could have, but we can only do this small favour for God and our teacher. Then they stood up and got ready to take him down from the cross. Then they placed ladders up to each arm of the cross and Joseph went up the ladder and stood on the right-hand side and tried to pull the nail out of his hand, but he could not manage to do so because the nails were long and thick and the nail was stuck fast in the cross, but he bent it and got very close to the hands of Our Lord. When the nail had been pulled out, John secretly signalled to Joseph and asked him to pass him the nail without Our Lady seeing. Afterwards Nicodemus pulled the other nail from his left hand and gave it to John in the same way. Then Nicodemus came down and went up another ladder and took the nail

out of his feet while Joseph supported his body. After the nails were pulled out, Joseph carefully descended and the Virgin Mary took him [Jesus] by the waist and Joseph by the head and Nicodemus by the feet, and so they carried him from the cross and laid him on the ground with much weeping and grief.

The Twelfth Station

Source: D SKB A 118, ff. 33r1–35r15.

Parallel text: E SKB A 49, ff. 233v20–234v11.

- Tolfftæ stadhin war ther som iomfrv maria haff
de syn son dødhan j sino skøtæ ok skod
- 3 adhe han medh hiærtans bæskheth och sagde
O myn kærsta son huath haffwer thu tom giorth
hwi haffwa the tik swa storlica hatath æn
- 6 maria magdalena war ææ widher føtherna
nær huilkom hon fyk nadena oc miskundena
The andra stodho kringh om han oc alla
- 9 gritw bæsklica ower honom Sidhan ath natte
na leedh ok qwællin nalkadhis tha badh
iosep warfrv ath hon skulde laatha swepa
- 12 honom ok iorda han æn hon gath ey latet han
ffraa sigh ok sagde til tom Myna kæra
wenir tagher ey swa braath myn son aff
- 15 mik wore thet møghelekit ath i iordadhin
mik medh honom thet aastundade iak gerna hon greet
ok fæltæ taara vthan lysa widh at hon
- 18 skodhadhe saaren ok vndernær badhe
j sidhone ok i handomen hon skodha
dhe och hwffwdith oc anlitet ok torn kro
- 21 nane stynger skæggit wth plukath oc
anlitet alth smittath aff blodhenom
aff theræ forbannade spøthe ok aff grat
- 24 Swa scodade hon all saren i hans licama
ok wilde lenge see syn son oc aff the

4 haffwer thu] haffwer D. 5 storlica] storli\ca/ D; hatath] hata[->t]h D. 9 bæsklica] bæskli-\ca/ D.

- ønkelica synena kunde hon ey mættas
 27 æn for ty ath fasth ledh aath qwellenom
 tha sagde *sancte iohannes* til warffrv Modher
 wi skwlum scona iosep oc nichode
 30 mo lather swepa *han* oc iorda hans lica
 ma ty ath for langa dwalw
 magha iudaner ffaa tilfælle ath
 33 gøra tom nogoth meen Tha lyde
 warffrv *iohanni* oc welsignadhe syn son
 ok takadhe *honom* ok looth tom swepa
 36 *han* i eth granth klede æn hon holth al
 tidh huffwdith i syno skøtæ oc maria mag
 dalena fføtherna ok naar the komo nider
 39 til laaren ok skynnoben en nær fothomyn
 tha sagde maria magdalena iak bidher ider
 ath i lather mik swepa føtherna nær
 42 huilkom iak fyk miskundh oc the vntæ
 henne *thet* naar hon hwlth fføtherna
 ok saagh tom sarghade oc gynom slagna
 45 storknade oc blodughe taa greth hon
 iæmerlica ower alla motta oc twade hans føther
medh synom taarom gærna haffde hon
 48 døth widh syns herra fføther Sidhan
 torkade *hon* tom *medh* alla gudeligheth
 ok kystæ tom ok sweptæ oc redhe
 51 tom trolica til *thet* bæsta ther hon kunde
 ok førmatthe Sidhan the haffde swept
han ok maria magdalena fotherna tha
 54 sagde the til varffrv *som* the willæ swa
 sigia ath hon skulde latha lydha sigh
 ok the børiadhe alla saman aather ath
 57 gratha oc tha hon saagh ath hon kunde
 ey lenger beholla *han* tha lagde hon syt
 anlitæ ower sonsyns anlitæ ok sagde
 60 *medh* graatande øghon Myn aldra kærístæ
 son i myna skøtæ haffwer iak tik dødhan

26 ønkelica ønkeli\ca/ D. 31 langa] langa [d-] D. 32 iudaner] iud[erner>aner] D. 40 magda-
 lena] magdale\na/ D. 46 iæmerlica] iæmerli\ca/ D; hans føther] hans D. 59 sagde] sag\de/ D.

- thu ær dræpin *medh* ffwlasta dōdh swa
 63 bittherlica wtan saak ty iak weth at
 thu ældre syndadhe Son myn nw ær
 waar saatha wnganga aath skyldh
 66 Jak wardær nw skilias wider tik iak
 thin bedrøffda modher skal nw ior
 dha tik æn huarth skal iak sidhan
 69 gaa hwa skal iak bliffwa Son
 myn hwru fōrmaar iak liffwa vtan
 tik ty iordadhiss iak gerna *medh* tik
 72 oc mædhan iak gytther ey *medh* lica
 menom tha iordas iak nær tik *medh*
 myna siæl hona anthwardar iak tik *henne*
 75 lather iak tik her ather son myn huath ænx
 laffwller oc sørghelikin thenna aathskil
 nadhin ær ok ææ medhan hon swa haffde
 78 sigh tha twade hon hans anlite *medh* synom
 taarom ok torkade *thet* sidhan oc kystæ hans
 mwndh oc øghon ok gaff sigh alla wyn
 81 om ath swepa hwffudith i eno sudario
 Sidhan signade hon han och alla stodho
 aa knæm ok badho til hans ok kystæ hans
 84 fōther oc sidhan togho the han oc baaro til
 graffwena warffrv holth hwffwdith och
 magdalena fotherna oc the andra baa
 87 ro j midhio ok lagde han i graffwena *medh*
 alla wōrdhningh

Translation

The twelfth place was where the Virgin Mary had her dead son in her lap and looked at him with bitterness of the heart and said, “O my dearest son! What have you done to them? Why did they hate you so much?” But Mary Magdalene was always at his feet close to which she received mercy and grace. The others were standing around him and everyone was crying bitterly over him. As night was

63 bittherlica] bittherli\ca/ D. 70 fōrmaar] fōrmaa[k>r] D. 76 sørghelikin] sørghelikin ær D. 87 lagde han] lagde D.

coming and the evening approaching, Joseph asked Our Lady whether she would let him [Jesus] be shrouded and buried, but she could not let him be taken from her and said, “My dear friends! Do not take my son from me so hastily. If it were possible that you buried me alongside him, I would wish for it.” She wept and felled tears without rest when she looked at the wounds and injuries both in his side and his hands. She also looked at his head and face and the stab wounds from the crown of thorns, his beard yanked out and his face made completely filthy from blood, from their damned spit, and from weeping. Then she looked at all the wounds on his body and wanted to look at her son for a long time. And she could not get enough of the pitiable sight even though evening was fast approaching.

Then St John said to Our Lady, “Mother, we should agree to Joseph and Nicodemus shrouding him and burying his body because delaying too long will give the Jews the opportunity to do them harm.” Then Our Lady obeyed John and blessed her son and thanked him and let them wrap him in a fine cloth, but she held his head in her lap the whole time and Mary Magdalene his feet. And when they got down to his thighs and shins near his feet, Mary Magdalene said, “I ask you to allow me to wrap his feet near to which I received mercy.” And they granted her this. When she held his feet and saw them wounded and pierced, scabby and bloody, she wept pitifully in every way and washed his feet with her tears. She would have willingly died beside her lord’s feet. Then she dried them most devoutly and kissed them and wrapped and faithfully prepared them as best she could and was able to. When they had shrouded him and Mary Magdalene his feet, they said to Our Lady what they wanted to say, that she should hurry away, and they all began to weep. And when she realized that she could no longer keep him, she lay her face over her son’s face and said with tearful eyes, “My dearest son! I’m holding you dead in my lap. You have been killed with the vilest death so bitterly for no reason as I know that you never sinned. My son! Now our affectionate association is to be broken. I’ll be separated from you now. I, your grief-stricken mother, will now bury you. But where shall I go then? Who will I be? My son, how can I manage to live without you? For this reason, I would willingly be buried with you, and as I cannot [be buried] with my body, I shall be buried alongside you with my soul. I give it to you. I will leave it behind here with you. My son, how sad and sorrowful is this separation!” And the whole time she was saying this, she washed his face with her tears and then dried them and kissed his mouth and eyes and made an effort to wrap his head in a *sudarium*.⁴⁹ Then

⁴⁹ That is a ‘face cloth,’ ‘head cloth,’ or ‘veil.’ Cf. Christiern Pedersen, *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum* (Paris, 1510), s. v. “sudarium”: “swede klede eller nese dwg” [sweat cloth or handkerchief].

she blessed him, and everyone knelt and prayed to him and kissed his feet. And then they took him and carried him to the tomb. Our Lady held his head and Mary Magdalene his feet and the others carried him around the waist. And they laid him in the tomb with great reverence.

The Thirteenth Station

Source: D SKB A 118, ff. 35r16–40v17.

Parallel text: E SKB A 49, ff. 234v12–235v28.

- Trætande stadhin war ther som
 war herre lagdis i graffwena tha
 3 som han war iordadher tha ffwl iomfrv maria
 oc the *medh* henne waro aa syn knæ *medh*
 stora swkan ok ønkelighan graath ok
 6 modren welsignade han oc omfæm
 de ok kystæ O huath gærna hon
 haffde tha iordaz *medh* honom æn the lag
 9 de en storan steen oppa graffwena
 Sidhan sagde iosep til warffrv *myn*
 kæra ffrv bidher iak ider for gudz skuld
 12 ok for thins sons ok *myns* mestare
 elskogha ath thu gaar heem *medh* mik
 j myth hws for ty iak weeth ath thu
 15 haffwer ey siælff egith hws ok alth *tet*
 iak egher *thet* ær tyth samedez sagde
 oc nicodemus O huath warkunnan
 18 ok ønkan *thetta* war ath *werldena* ffrv oc
 hymerikis drøtningh haffde ey huar
 hon mottæ legya sith hwffwdh vnder
 21 tha negh hon them ødhmiwkliga
 oc takade them oc sagde sigh wara *anth*
 wardadhe *iohanni* Sidhan baadhø
 24 the *iohannem* om *thet* sama ok han sag
 dhe sigh wilia gaa *medh* henne til syons
 bærg h i *thet* huseth som war herre aath nat-
 27 wordyn i om quællen *medh* *sinom* *discipulis*
 oc ther wara nær henne tha nighw the
 warfrv ok bado syna bøner widh graff

- 30 wena oc gingo aather i stadhin æn
 warffrv ok henne følgæ som læsten sigher
 bliffw quar sytiande widh graffwena
- 33 ok grytw ower syn herra Nw tha aath nat
 thena leedh sagde *sancte iohannes* til war
 ffrv thet ær ey høffwelikit ath bliffwa
- 36 her aff lenge eller koma seenth om
 nætther tidh in i stadhin ty om ider
 tækis kæra modher gaam hædhan
- 39 tha stodh *iomfrv maria* opp ok fwl aa syn
 knæ widh graffwena ok wmfæm
 dhe ok wælsignade henne ok sagde myn
- 42 aldra *kærsta* son iak maagh ey læn
 ger dwælias nær tik iak anthwar
 dar tik thinom ffadher ok saagh opp
- 45 *medh øghonen* til hymelen oc sag
 dhe *medh* gratande thaarom ok alla
 hiæarta *Æwerdelikyn* ffadher iak anth
- 48 wardar tik myn son ok myna siæl huil
 ka iak lather her qwarra nær honom Oc
 sidhan gingo the tædhan oc naar
- 51 the komo til korseth tha saghde
 hon her huiltis myn son her ær hans
 dyra ok *werdugha* blodh alla giorde
- 54 samedz ok hon war the første
 som badh til korseth Sidhan ææ
 mædhan the gyngo aath weghenom
- 57 til stadhen tha wendæ hon sigh
 opta om oc saagh opta aather
 epther sigh æn nar the komo
- 60 tyth som the fingo ey see graff
 wena ok korseth tha wendhe
 hon sigh om oc negh tyth ok
- 63 ffwl aa knæ oc badh syna bøner
 oc alla giorde samedz *medh* gratande
 øghon tha the nalkadhis stadenom tha
- 66 sætte the henne til som ena ænkia oc

59 komo] komo tith D. 63 ffwl] [ok] fwl D; bøner] /bøner\ D. 65 tha] the D.

- gingo for *henne* ok warffrv gik myllan
sancto iohanni oc *sancta maria* magdalena nar
69 the komo in j stadhen tha badh mag
dalena ath warfrv skulde gaa heem
medh henne ok kom skøth sikh til *iohannem*
72 Sidhan komo the til *henne* iomfrvr och
gode *quinnor* ok wilde hoghsuala *henne*
ok alla grytw *medh henne* ok the gode
75 mæn som *henne* saagho sagde wisselica
stoor orætther giordis i dagh aff warom
höffdingom moth tesse frvnæ son ok
78 gud gjorde for hans skuldh stoor vnder
likin iertekn Then tidh hon kom til
husedh tha negh hon ok takade *quinno*
81 men som *henne* fölgde tha byriade the alle
ath gratha Sidhan gik varfrv in i huset
oc magdalena oc iomfrv maria Systrar oc
84 *iohannes* badh *quinnoner* gaa heem och
takade tom oc lyktæ aather dōrena
tha sagh warffrv kring om huseth oc
87 sagde Min aldra *kærsta* son nw seer
iak tik ey her **O** *iohannes* huar ær myn
son o magdalena huar ær thin mæstare
90 som swa ælskade tik **O** myna systra
huar ær idher son oc all wor glædj
ok all var søtme Sidhan bōriade hon
93 tala ok the hørde om the pynor som
henne son haffde lidith ok ræknade tom
medh gratande taarom ok *medh* hiærtans
96 besklighet tha om sidher badh *sanctus iohannes*
ath hon skulde venda ather ath grata
oc sørgia ey swa saarllica oc togh til at
99 hugna hona *thet* mesta han gath Om
løgherdaghin saato the in j huseno oc
døren var stengdh om tom varffrv oc
102 *iohannes* ok theres fölghe waro all mødh

71 *iohannem*] *iohannem* [Sid] D. 75 *wisselica*] *wisselic*a/ D. 83 *magdalena*] *magdale*na/
D. 85 *dōrena*] *followed by an ink blot*, D. 87 *aldra*] *followed by an ink blot*, D. 98 *saarllica*]
*saarli*ca/ D.

oc sørgiande *som* the ther ffadhren so haff
 de mysth oc waro all mōdh aff graa
 105 tenom oc ey mykit talande wthan ssaato alla
 saman tænkiande oc saagh huarth thera
 oppa annan meghin løss oc wistæ ey
 108 huadh the skulde aath haffwas widher
 ath the swa saato tha bwltaðhis aa
 dørryn tha gaffwos the alla saman
 111 wider oc varo alla saman rædha tha
 gyk *sanctus iohannes* til dørryn oc saagh aat
 huar ther war oc kendis widh *sancte* pedher
 114 tha badh warffrv lata han in æn petrus
 gyk in blyghelica *medh* sukkan oc storan
 grath ok tha byrgiade the alla til ath
 117 gratha oc talade om *syn herra* tha sagde
 pedher Jak blyghiæs oc skæmmis i mik
 siælfwom ath iak skal tala eller synas
 120 for ider eller for noghan godhom manne ty
 ath iak foredhe oc nekade *myn herre* som
 mik swa mykit ælskadhe Samaledz
 123 sagde oc flere gritw oc slogho sigh *medh*
 handomen for brysthet oc aawitho sigh
 siælfwa ath the forlytho Taa sagde
 126 varffrv var gode mestare for ffraa oss
 oc wi atherliffwom swa som ffaderløsa barn
 æn iak hoppas stadelica oc weeth
 129 for wisso ath wi ffaa han skøth ather ok
 wittom *thet* ath *myn son* ær godhwilioger
 wælsignadher wary han mykit ælskade
 132 han ider ty torffwen i ey tweka om at
 han glømer ey ider gerna forlather han
 alla saak oc alth *thet honom* ær i motæ
 135 giorth oc i haffde ey førmaath at
 hiælpa honom æn tho ath i haffden bliffwit
 standande *medh honom* ty skule j ey swa drøf
 138 was Taa sagde *sancte* pedher sannelica *thet*
 ær som j sigher ty ath iak som saagh intæ

105 ey] \ey/ D. 115 blyghelica] blygheli\ca/ D.

- vthan byginilsen iak warth swa redher
 141 i cayphe hws ath iak nepligha trode
 mik skula gyttith vndhkomyth ok neka
 de iak han oc ey myntis mik ordyn *medh* huilkom
 144 han føre sagde *thet* iak skulde honom neka for
 æn han sagh oppa mik tha sagde han tom
 hwar han nekade honom oc mykit annat
 147 som var herre fore sagde j natwardenom
 aff syno pina oc swa talade the syna
 myllan aff hans pino ok huath han
 150 giorde i nathwardenom ok swa ledh
 then daghin fram O huath granne
 lica *iomfrv* maria waktadhe aath ty som
 153 tha taladis om herne son oc vidher the
 talade om han sagde hon wælsignadher
 vary myn son oc swa waro the allan
 156 then daghin i stora widermødho oc wis
 tæ ey huath the skulde göra wtan
 trøstæ sikh ther widher at the talade
 159 gudz ordh oc sagde aff hans godh gernyn
 ga oc warffrv war mykit sørgiande i
 hoghenom æn tha haffde hon ffwlkomit
 162 hopp oc war viss a *syns* sons opstandil
 sæ oc i henne ensampna aatherbleff
 tron om then løgherdaghin oc ty egh
 165 nas løgherdaghin *iomfrv* maria til Sidan
 om quællen epther *thet* ath sol berg
 ath war ok ey lofflikit war ath ærff
 168 wodhath gyk maria magdalena oc
 en maria warfrv syster til en wars
 herra godh wen oc køptæ dyr cryd
 171 de aff honom til ath göra smørilse aff
 oc han ffyk tom gerna *thet* the wilde haff
 wa oc the wthualde *thet* bæsta the
 174 kunde ffynna Sidhan gingo the tith som
 warffrv ok apostlana wora oc ther red
 do the til smørilsen *medh* taarom ok swk

154 wælsignadher] wælsigⁿadher obscured by smudge, D. 163 henne] heme [-] D.

- 177 kan oc gudelighet Sidhan the haff
do giorth smørilsen bliffw the quarra
the nathena oc tetta ær løgherdaxens
- 180 tænkilse aff warffrv Nw skal thu ok
tænkia huath war herre ihesus giorde i
thema dagh ty ath genstan han var
- 183 dødher ffor han nidher til helffwitis til
the helga forffædherna oc bleff ther *medh*
tom ok the vora tha i ærona ty ath
- 186 wars herre syn ær ffwlkomyn æra O
huath storlica han bewistæ tom syn
kærlek oc syna ødhmiwkt i ty ath han
- 189 siælfwer niderffor til helffwitis oc stodh
ther *medh* tom alth til swnnedaghin
til tess ath daghadhis ok i hans til qwemd
- 192 fføghdade the sigh forffædrane oc wor
do oppfylta *medh* osæglica glædj ther sto
dho the for honom oc hedhradhe han *medh* loff
- 195 sangh ffulkomit arla om morganan
kom var herre ihesus til graffwena *medh* tom
hederlica ængla moghanom ath athertagha
- 198 syn helga licama oc tha han opstodh
oc ffram gik aff graffwena *medh* syna
eghna makth tha gik *sancta maria* mag
- 201 dalena oc badha warffrv systrar maria
iacobi oc maria salome til graffwena
medh dyrom smørilsom oc wilde smørya
- 204 han

Translation

The thirteenth place was where Our Lord was laid in the tomb when he was buried. Then the Virgin Mary and those who were accompanying her fell to their knees with much sighing and pitiable weeping, and his mother blessed and embraced and kissed him. O how much she would have liked to have been buried there alongside him, but they placed a great stone upon the grave. Then Joseph said

187 storlica] storli\ca/ D. 195 om] om [om] D. 197 hederlica] hederli\ca/ D.

to Our Lady, “My dear lady, I ask you for the sake of God and of your son and for the love of my teacher, to go home with me to my house because I know that you yourself do not have your own house. And everything that I own is yours.” And Nicodemus said the same thing. O what compassion and mercy it was that the lady of the world and the queen of heaven did not have a place where she could lay her head. She bowed humbly to them and thanked them and said that she had been entrusted to John. Then they asked John about the same thing, and he said that he would go with her to Mount Zion to the house where Our Lord ate supper in the evening with his disciples and stay with her there. Then they bowed to Our Lady and prayed their prayers at the tomb and walked back to the city, but, as the Scriptures say, Our Lady and her followers remained sitting by the tomb and wept over their lord. Now, as night was approaching, St John said to Our Lady, “It is not appropriate to stay here any longer or to arrive in the city late at night, so if it suits you, dear mother, let’s leave.” Then the Virgin Mary stood up and fell to her knees by the tomb and embraced and blessed it and said, “My dearest son! I cannot remain close to you any longer. I give you to your father!” And she looked up to the heavens with her eyes and said with lachrymose tears and her whole heart, “Eternal father, I entrust you my son and my soul that I am leaving behind here close to him.” And then they left and when they came to the cross, she said, “My son rested here. His dear and worthy blood is here.” Everyone did the same thing, and she was the first to pray to the cross. Then, the whole time they were walking along the road to the city, she kept turning around and looking behind her. But when they got so far that they could no longer see the tomb and the cross, she turned around and bowed in that direction and fell to her knees and prayed her prayers, and everyone did the same thing with tearful eyes.

When they approached the city, they treated her like a widow and walked in front of her. And Our Lady walked between St John and Mary Magdalene. When they entered the city, Mary Magdalene asked Our Lady to go home with her and [she] quickly came to John. Then maidens and good women came to Our Lady and wanted to comfort her, and everyone wept alongside her and the good men who saw her said, “For sure, a great injustice was committed today by our leaders against this lady’s son and God performed a great, marvellous miracle for his sake.” When she arrived at the house she bowed and thanked the women who had accompanied her. Then they all began to weep. Then Our Lady and Magdalene and the Virgin Mary’s sisters went into the house, and John asked the women to go home and thanked them and closed the door again. Then Our Lady looked around the house and said, “My dearest son! I do not see you here now. O John, where is my son? O Magdalene, where is your teacher who loved you so? O my sisters, where is your son and all our joy and all our sweetness?” Then she began talking and they heard about the torments that her son had suffered and counted

them with lachrymose tears and bitterness of the heart. Finally, St John asked her to refrain from crying and not mourn so painfully and began consoling her as best he could.

On that Saturday they sat inside the house and the door was closed. Our Lady and John and their followers were all tired and grieving like those who have lost their father. And they were all tired from weeping and not very talkative, but they all sat thinking and each of them saw the other as powerless and they did not know what they should do. While they were sitting there like this, there was banging on the door at which they all became terrified, and they were all scared. St John walked to the door and saw who it was and recognized St Peter. Then Our Lady asked him in, and Peter entered meekly with sighing and much weeping, and then they all began to weep and talk about their Lord. Then Peter said, "I am embarrassed and ashamed of myself, that I should speak to or appear before you or before any good man because I betrayed and denied my lord who loved me very much. Several others also said the same thing, wept and beat their chests with their hands and reproached themselves for having deserted [him]. Then Our Lady said, "Our good teacher left us, and we live on as fatherless children, but I firmly hope and know for sure that we will soon get him back. And we know that my son is benevolent. May he be blessed! He loved you very much, so you need not doubt that he will not forget you. He will willingly forgive every matter and every thing that has been done against him. And you would not have been able to help him even if you had remained standing alongside him. So, you should not be so sorrowful." Then St Peter said, "It is as you say, because I who saw nothing but the beginning, I was so afraid in Caiaphas's house that I hardly believed I would be able to escape, and I denied him and I did not remember the words with which he had said earlier that I would deny him even though he was looking at me." Then he told them where he denied him and much else that Our Lord had prophesied during the supper of his torture. And so, they spoke among themselves about his torture and what he did during the supper and so the day approached. O how carefully the Virgin Mary paid attention to what was said about her son! And as they were speaking about him, she said, "May you be blessed, my son!" And so, they were in great distress for the entire day and did not know what they should do but comfort themselves by speaking God's words and talking about his good deeds. And Our Lady was very sorrowful in her soul, yet she was full of hope and certain of her son's resurrection. And in her alone did the belief remain on that Saturday, and for this reason, Saturday is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Then in the evening after the sun had set and it was not [!] allowed to work, Mary Magdalene and Mary, Our Lady's sister, went to one of Our Lord's good friends and bought expensive herbs from him to make into an unguent. And he willingly gave them what they wanted, and they selected the best that they could find. Then they went

to where Our Lady and the apostles were, and there they prepared the unguent with tears and sighing and devotion. When they had made the unguent, they stayed the night and this is Saturday's meditation of Our Lady.

Now you shall also contemplate what Jesus was doing that day because as soon as he died, he descended to hell to the holy forefathers and stayed there with them. And they were in glory because the sight of Our Lord is complete glory. O to what a great extent he proved his love and his humility by descending to hell himself and standing there alongside them right until Sunday when dawn broke! And the forefathers revelled in his arrival and were filled with indescribable joy. They stood before him and honoured him with songs of praise. Very early in the morning Our Lord Jesus arrived at the tomb with the honourable host of angels to reclaim his holy body. And when he rose and went forth from the tomb by his own strength, St Mary Magdalene and both of Our Lady's sisters, Mary of Jacob and Mary Salome, were going to the tomb with the exquisite unguent intending to anoint him.

The Fourteenth Station

Source: **D** SKB A 118, ff. 41r1–43r14.

Fiortande stadhin war ther som war herre
 ihesus oppenbærade sigh syna modher
 3 nw medhan the waro widh graffwe
 na tha bleff iomfrv maria qwar i huseno
 all mød oc trøth oc stodh aa synom gud
 6 lica bønóm oc sagde O mildaste oc
 varkundsamasta gud ffadher thu weth
 at myn son ær døder myllan twa røffwara
 9 var han kors fæster oc iak lagde han
 dødhan i graffwena medh mynom handom
 æn thu ær mektoger ffaa mik han
 12 heelbrygdoghan aather iak bider tik for
 tet gudelica waldh ath thu ffaa mik
 han aather myn kæríste son hwi dwæls
 15 thu swa lenge thu sagde tridhie

1 Fiortande ... war] *A later hand has written ffortondhe stadh var [the fourteenth places was] in the top margin, D. 13 gudelica] gudelica D.*

daghin skal iak opp staa ty at *medh*
 an i dagh ær tridhi daghin stath
 18 opp myn æra oc kom til mik aather
 ower alth *thet som* ær aastwNDAR iak
 ath see tik thu ær myth enda hop
 21 oc myn æra ty myn elskelica son kom
 til tyna moder Nw widh ath hon
 swa innerlica badh oc taarana
 24 *rwnno* aff hiærtans sötma kom
 gynstan war herre *ihesus* til *henne* i hwi
 tom clædhom clar oc skynande i syno
 27 ænlitæ blidher oc gladher stolzær oc
 æraffwller oc sagde til *henne* heel
 hælgh fføderska Tha sagde hon ær
 30 thu myn son *ihesus* oc ffwl aa knæ
 oc badh til hans Samaledz ffwl
 oc han aa knæ oc sagde myn
 33 kæra moder *thet* ær iak Jak stodh
 opp aff dødha oc ær nw her nær
 tik tha stodho the opp oc hon om
 36 fempde *han medh* alla hiærtans kær
 lek oc glædj ok lagde syn anlitæ sa
 man huarth widh *annath medh* brynman
 39 dæ kærlek Sidhan skodadhe hon gran
 lica *han* i anlitet oc i handomyn ok i
 fotomen oc om *allan* licamen Taa spor
 42 dæ hon om aller wærker var bortha
 oc fran gangyn tha sagde *han* myn
 kærista moder aller wærker oc pina oc
 45 dødth oc widermødha haffwer iak for wn
 nyth oc allre skal iak kenna ther nog
 oth til *Jomfrv maria* swaradhe welsig
 48 nader wari tyn ffader *som* tik gaff mik
 aather Loffwat oc ærat warde hans
 helga nampn for vthan enda Swa
 51 talade the syna myllan gladis oc
 frøgdadhis i paaska høgtidhena

- oc sagde aff huilka ledis han frælz
 54 stæ syth folk aff hælfwitæ i the
 tree daghana Nw æ medhan
 thettha skede tha gyngo maria magdalena
 57 oc warffrv systrar til graffwena medh
 smørilsomen oc nar the komo wth
 om stadhin tha myntis the oppa syns
 60 mestare pynor i tom stadenom
 som nogoth mærkelikit giordis motæ
 honom ther staddis the nogra stundh ok
 63 ffullo aa knæ gratande ok swkande
 oc kystæ iordena oc sagdo her møttom
 wi honom tha han baar korssyth her om
 66 vænde han sigh til quinnoner som
 grytw her ffwl han nider vnder korsyth
 her ryktæ the han oc skuttu ath han
 69 skulde rasklica gaa her førde the han
 naknan aff cledhomen her kors feste
 the han her ffwllo the paa syn knæ
 72 medh gratande taarom oc kystæ korsyt
 som æn war blodukt aff blodhenom
 Sidhan stodho the opp oc gingo til graf
 75 wena oc widher the gingo tha sagdo
 the huar skal lypta stenen aff
 graffwena tha sagho the ath stenyn
 78 war borta aff graffwena oc gudz æn
 gla saato oppa honom oc sagde til
 tom rædhins ey j lethin epther ihesum
 81 nazarenum som korsfæster war oc opp
 stodh aff dødha oc ær ey her her ær
 stadhin the lagde honom i gaar och
 84 sighin hans apostlom ath han gyk
 til galileam ther skuli ffaa see han

67 korsyth] korsyth her rykte the han naknan aaf clædhomen her kors fæstæ the han D. 69 ras-
 klica] raskli\ca/ D.

Translation

The fourteenth place was where Our Lord Jesus appeared to his mother. Now, while they were at the tomb, the Virgin Mary remained in the house completely drained and tired, and she stood saying her devout prayers and said, “O God the Father, most kind and merciful! You know that my son is dead. He was crucified between two robbers, and I placed him, dead, in the tomb with my [own] hands. But you are powerful. Give him back to me healed! I ask you because of your godly majesty to give him back to me. My dearest son! Why are you taking so long? You said, ‘On the third day I shall rise!’ As today is the third day, rise, my glory! And come back to me! More than anything else I desire to see you. You are my only hope and my glory! So, my beloved son, come back to your mother!” Now while she was praying so devoutly and tears were running because of the sweetness of her heart, Our Lord Jesus came immediately to her dressed in a white robe, his face bright and shining, meek and happy, magnificent and full of glory, and said to her, “Hail, holy birth-mother!” Then she said, “Are you my son Jesus?” And [she] fell to her knees and prayed to him. In the same way, he also fell to his knees and said, “My dear mother! It is I! I rose from the dead and am now here with you.” Then they stood up and she embraced him with all the love and joy in her heart, and [they] placed their faces together one against the other with burning love. Then she looked carefully at his face and at his hands and at his feet and around his whole body. Then she asked whether all the pains were gone and disappeared. Then he said, “My dearest mother! I have conquered all pain and torment and death and distress, and I shall never feel any of it.” The Virgin Mary replied, “May your father who returned you to me be blessed! May his holy name be praised and honoured without end!” So, they spoke to one another, were happy and merry during the paschal holiday and [he] told how he saved his people from hell during the three days. Now, the whole time this was happening, Mary Magdalene and Our Lady’s sisters were going to the tomb with the unguent and when they left the city, they stopped for a while and fell to their knees, weeping and sighing, and [they] kissed the ground and said, “We met him here when he was carrying the cross. Here he turned to the women who were crying. Here he fell under the cross. Here they pushed and shoved him to make him walk quickly. Here they took his clothes off him, [making him] naked. Here they crucified him.” Here they fell to their knees with lachrymose tears and kissed the cross that was still bloody from his blood. Then they stood up and went to the tomb and as they were walking, they talked about who was going to lift the stone from the tomb. Then they saw that the stone had been moved away from the tomb and God’s angels were sitting on it and said to them, “Do not be afraid! You are looking for Jesus of Nazareth who was crucified and rose from the dead and is not here. Here is the place where

they laid him down yesterday. And tell his apostles that he went to Galilee. They will be able to see him there.”

The Fifteenth Station

Source: *D* SKB A 118, f. 43r15–v21.

- Femtande stadhin var bergit
 som kallas olyueti ther stodh han
 3 then tiidh han bødth syna kære modher
 oc synom apostlom licamlica godha nat
 oc sigher *sanctus ambrosius* ath han giorde
 6 try tingh i the sama *berghena* for æn
 han widher tom skildis fforsth war *tet*
 ath han kystæ tom huan thera kærliga
 9 oc liwfflica *medh syn* welsignade
 mwndh *arnat* var *tet* ath han helsade
 tom oc bødth tom allom goda nath Tridj
 12 war *tet* at han hoff vpp syna helgha
 hender oc gaff tom syn wælsignilse
 ther ephther war han optaghin til hym
 15 bla i ena hwita sky Sidhan apost
 lana sagho han oplyptas i hymelen
 tha ffwllø the stupa nider til iordena
 18 oc lagdo sigh til *gudelica bønner* Nw
 sitthter han aa *gudz ffaders høgghra handh*
 styrer oc radher *medh honom ææ* for vtan
 21 enda amen Deo patri sit *perpetuus honor*
et gloria tingat oss ath komande oc ther
 bliffwande *medh* licame oc siæl *tet vnne* oss
 24 allom *cristnom mæniskiom gud ffader son ok then*
 helga ande AMEN

4 *licamlica*] *licamli*\ca/ *D*. 9 *oc*] *oc* [liwffli\ca/] *D*; *liwfflica*] *liwffli*\ca/ *D*. 18 *gudelica*] *gudeli-*
 \ca/ *D*. 23 *licame*] *licam*\e/ *D*.

Translation

The fifteenth place was the mountain that is called the Mount of Olives where he was standing when he physically bid his dear mother and his apostles good night. And St Ambrose says that he [Jesus] did three things on that very same mountain before he was separated from them. The first thing was that he kissed each of them dearly and exquisitely with his blessed mouth. The second thing was that he greeted them and bid them all good night. The third thing was that he raised his holy hands and gave them his blessing, after which he was lifted into heaven in a white cloud. After the apostles saw that he was lifted into heaven, they fell to the ground and began their devout prayers. Now he is sitting on the right hand of God the Father, ruling and taking counsel with him for all eternity without end. Amen. *Deo Patri sit perpetuus honor et gloria.*⁵⁰ May God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit grant us to arrive and rest there with body and soul. Amen.

50 'May honour and glory be to God the Father in perpetuity.'

29 The Finding of the Holy Cross

Version 1

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, ff. 110v33–111v5 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, pp. 313:26–315:26 (1450–70).

Original text: **LegAur** 464–69. The OSw. text diverges somewhat from the *Legenda Aurea* making a direct comparison difficult. For this reason, the Latin text is provided in full after the English translation.

Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 86–88; *FsvLeg* PAW III 228–32.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

Helena constantini modher for atir til ierusalem ok læt alla iudha saman
kalla ¶ Judha ræddus thy at the visto hona cristna wordna ¶ Hele
3 na bōdh them visa sik thet dyra thræ som ihesus tholde dōdh ·a· Judha bed-
dos · dagh til anzswara · ok ingo a radh ¶ En som heth iudhas sagh
dhe til thera · min fadherfadher zacheus manadhe min fadher symonem sy
6 mon manadhe mik aldre visa thræt hwar thet ligger · thy at aldre war-
dha iudha rike til æro ok aldre thrifs war slækt sidhan thet wardher
vpuist · Jak swaradhe minom fadher · hwi wildo ware ætmæn dræpa *christum*
9 ¶ Han swarade mik aldre war iak ther i radhum medh vtan iak aftaldhe
ok ey drapo the han for andra skuld vtan at han awitte them for osidhi
æn han stodh sannelika thridia dagh wp aff dōdh ok til himna vpstegh
12 ok thiin brodher stephanum drapo iudha for thy at han predicadhe *christum* ¶ Oc
rædh min fadher mik · aldre hata cristit folk ok sagdhe at thera rike
skal wara æwinnelikt ¶ Judha komo ather for drotningena · ok · sagdho /
15 enghin thæn finna · som thræt kunde visa ¶ Helena hōtte them brinna

3 ·a·] AA C. 4 dagh] fresth C. 5 thera] them C; fadherfadher] \fadher/fadher C. 6 visa] wisa thet C. 6–7 wardha] wardher thet C. 8 minom] \minom/ [war] C. 9 ther ... radhum] J radhom ther C. 10 drapo] drap[a>o] B, \draap/ C; at] \at/ B, ~ C. 11 æn] [men > æn] B, æn C; thridia ... dōdh] wp aff dōdh tridhia dagh C. 12 thy] \thy/ B, ~ C. 13 hata] [dræpa > hata] B, dræpa C. 14 drotningena] d[ø>r]øtningina C.

a bale tha gafuo the wt **j**udam redde for ellenom ok sagdho han wara /
 visan son hælaghs prophete ¶ **H**elena læt them lidugha · ok thok iudham ·
 18 judhas sagdhe omøghelikit wara sik nokot vitha aff thy thræ · som bort war
 kastat for hundradha · aarom · ¶ **H**elena læt kasta iudham j diupastan thør-
 ran brun at swelta til dødth vtan han sagdhe hwar thræt ware ¶ **S**iæt
 21 ta dagh nær dødth sultin gik iudhas widh sanno ok wizste drotningerne thræt
 ok gik medh ok grof · epte træno · jæmskøt skalf al iordhin ok wt røk sø
 tasta lokt / tha lypte iudhas hænder til himna : ¶ **T**hiio alna diwp groff
 24 iudhas ok funno thry kors ¶ **w**m then tima laa en frw widh dødthin ok
 en vnger man dødher medh allo helena wilde wiis wardha hwilkit korssit
 wars herra ware oc læt fresta them olikasto først ok dughdo enkte som ængin
 27 dygdin war medh ¶ **T**ha wars herra siælf s kors lagdhis wppa fruna · ok a ·
 thæn dødha tha fik frun bøther ok thæn dødhe liiff ¶ **T**ha øpte diæfwlin ·
 j wædhreno ¶ **A**wi iuda · olikir minom iuda / han forredh ihesum til corsith
 30 en thu forræd corsit fra mik han giordhe mik mykit waldughan ok thu æltir mik
 wt af rike ok æro ¶ **J**ak skal thik skipa annan kesara · som thik skal
 atir fra christo thrugha ¶ **J**udhas hørðhe røstine som flere ok læt sik døpa
 33 ok kalla quiriachum ok wardh patriarcha · j ierusalem epte macharium patriar
 cham dødhan ¶ **H**an lette ok epte wars herra naglom ok fan them · skinan
 dhe som gul ther han grof ok gaff drøtninggimne ¶ **H**elena for hem ok før-
 36 dhe medh sik dighran del aff korseno ok naghлана ok arons wand ok man
 na ok mangha andra hælgho doma ¶ **M**edh thwem naglum læt hon pryð
 ha sins sons hiælm ok en · læt hon fæsta medh gulle widh hans bezl til ·
 39 sighirs thrøst · ¶ **G**regorius thuronessis scrifuar at naglane waro fyre ok si-
 ghir at hon læt · sænkia then fiærdha j iorsala haff ther swalghit war wadhe-
 lighast pelagrimum til thrøst sidhan tappadus aldre folk ther nær sighlande ¶ **S**il-
 42 uester paue bødth halda · thridia dagh maii manaz helghan huart aar som helena
 hit
 te vars herra cors :-

16 for] ~ C. 17 son] \son/ [son] C. 18 sagdhe] sagde sich C. 20 at] [ok > at] B, ok C. 21 dagh] daghin C; dødth] \dødth/ B, ~ C. 22 wt] \wt/ B, ~ C. 24 widh] fore C. 25 wardha] war\dh/a B, wara C; korssit] ko\|r/sith C. 26 først] \først/ B, ~ C. 27 ok a] [-] oc op a C. 28 øpte] ropadhe C. 29 iuda] iud[ha>a] B, jwda C. 30 mykit waldughan] mykit |waldughan| B, wældoghan C; thu] [han] \tw/ C. 31 wt aff] w C; ok] och [-] C; thik skal] tik C. 32 thrugha] kwska C. 33 kalla] kalladhe sich C. 34 lette] l{e}tte B, lætte C. 35 gul] |gul| B, gwł C; gaff] gaff them C. 36 dighran] dighran [del] C; arons wand] {arons wand} B, wirgan aaron C. 37 thwem] thwe[n>m] C. 37-38 pryðha] pr[yd|h]a B, prøwa C. 38 en] ~ C. 40 hon] h[a>o]n B, han C. 40-41 wadhelighast] [mest>wadhe]-||lighast| B, mæsth C. 42 paue] \paue/ C; huart aar] /huart aar\ B, ~ C. 43 vars ... cors] thet hælgha kors aa C.

Translation

Helena, the mother of Constantine, returned to Jerusalem and had all the Jews summoned. The Jews were afraid because they knew that she had become a Christian. Helena commanded them to show her the precious tree upon which Christ suffered death. The Jews asked for a day to answer and met together in council. One [of them], who was called Judas, said to them, “My grandfather Zacchaeus demanded of my father Simon; Simon demanded of me never to show where the tree is because the Jews’ kingdom [i. e., the Jewish nation] will not be praised and our family will never thrive from the moment it is revealed. I answered my father, ‘Why did our forefathers kill Christ?’ He answered me, ‘I was never in their councils, but I advised against it, and they killed him for no other reason than he accused them of vices. But he truly did rise from the dead on the third day and rose to heaven. And the Jews killed your brother Stephen because he was preaching about Christ.’¹ And my father advised me never to hate the Christian people and said that their kingdom would last forever.”

The Jews came once again before the queen and said they could find no-one who could show [her] the tree. Helena threatened to burn them on a bonfire. Then, afraid of the fire, they handed over Judas and said he was the wise son of a holy prophet. Helena let them go and took Judas. Judas said that it was impossible for him to know anything about the tree that had been thrown away hundreds of years previously. Helena had Judas thrown into the deepest dry well to starve to death unless he said where the tree was. On the sixth day, almost dead of starvation, Judas admitted the truth and showed the queen [the location of?] the tree and went along and dug for the tree. Immediately, all the earth shook, and the sweetest fragrance seeped out. Then Judas lifted his hands to the sky. Judas dug ten cubits deep and found three crosses. At that time, a lady was close to death and a young man completely dead. Helena wanted to know which cross was Our Lord’s and had them tested in different ways first and if they had no virtue then they would not work. When Our Lord’s cross was laid upon the lady and upon the dead man, the lady was cured, and the dead man returned to life. Then the devil shouted into the air, “O woe, Judas! Unlike my Judas [i. e., Iscariot]! He betrayed Jesus to the cross, but you betrayed the cross from me! He made me very powerful, and you drive me out of kingdom and honour! I shall create another emperor who will force you back from Christ!” Judas, just like several others, heard the voice and had himself baptized and named Quiriacus and became the patriarch of Jerusalem after Macarius the patriarch died.

¹ See Text 49: *The Stoning of St Stephen*.

He also searched for Our Lord's nails and found them shining like gold where he dug and gave them to the queen. Helena travelled home and took with her a large part of the cross and the nails and Aaron's staff as well as many other men's holy relics. She had her son's helmet adorned with two nails and one she had fastened with gold upon his [horse's] bridle to ensure victory. Gregory of Tours writes that there were four nails, and she sank one of them into the Jorsala Sea² where the swell was dangerous in order to be of help to pilgrims. From then on, no-one was ever lost when sailing there. Pope Sylvester ordered the third day in the month of May every year to be kept as a festival for when Helena found Our Lord's cross.

Latin version: *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*]

Source: *LegAur* 464–69.

Translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 1, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 280–83.

Cum autem Helena Iherusalem aduenisset, omnes Iudeorum sapientes qui per totam regionem reperti sunt ad se congregari precepit. Hec autem Helena prius stabularia fuerat, sed propter eius pulchritudinem Constantius eam sibi coniunxit, secundum quod dicit Ambrosius in hec uerba: “Stabulariam hanc fuisse asserunt, sed coniuncta est Constantio seniori, qui postea regnum adeptus est. Bona stabularia que tam diligenter presepe domini requisiiuit; bona stabularia, que illum stabularium non ignorauit qui uulnera curauit a latronibus uulnerati; bona stabularia que maluit omnia extimare stercora ut Christum lucrifaceret; ideo illam Christus de stercore leuauit ad regnum.” Hec Ambrosius. Alii uero asserunt et in quadam chronica satis autentica legitur quod ipsa Helena fuit filia Cohelis regis Britonum; quam Constantius in Britanniam ueniens, cum esset unica patri suo, duxit uxorem unde insula post mortem Cohelis sibi deuenit. Hoc et ipsi Britones attestantur, licet alibi legatur quod fuerit Treuirensis. Iudei igitur nimium formidantes dicebant ad inuicem: “Quare putatis quod regina nos ad se faciat congregari?” Vnus autem ex eis nomine Iudas dixit: “Scio enim quia uult a nobis discere ubinam sit lignum crucis in quo Ihesus crucifixus fuit. Videte ergo ne aliquis sibi confiteri presumat. Sin autem certissime sciatis quod lex nostra euacuabitur et paterne traditiones funditus destruentur. Zacheus autem auus meus prenuntiauit

² OSw. *Iorsala haf* [lit. Jerusalem Sea], that is the ‘(Eastern) Mediterranean Sea.’

patri meo Symoni et pater meus moriens dixit mihi: ‘Vide, fili, quando inquiretur crux Christi, illam manifesta antequam aliqua patiaris tormenta. Nusquam enim ex tunc gens Iudeorum regnabit, sed illi qui crucifixum adorant quia ipse est Christus filius dei.’ Cui ego dixi: ‘Pater mi, si uere patres nostri ipsum esse dei filium cognouerunt, cur ipsum crucis patibulo affixerunt?’ Et respondit: ‘Nouit dominus quia nunquam in consilio eorum extiti, sed eis sepius contradixi. Quia uero ipse Phariseorum uitia exprobrabat ipsum crucifigi fecerunt. Ipse uero die tertia resurrexit et celos discipulis uidentibus penetrauit. In quem Stephanus frater tuus credidit, quem Iudeorum uesania lapidauit. Vide ergo, fili, ne ipsum uel discipulos eius audeas blasphemare.’” Non uidetur autem multum probabile quod pater istius Iude tempore passionis Christi esse potuerit, cum a passione Christi usque ad Helenam, sub qua Iudas fuit, fluxerunt plus quam ducenti septuaginta anni, nisi forte diceretur quod tunc homines plus quam modo uiuebant. Dixerunt ergo Iudei ad Iudam: “Nos talia nunquam audiuimus, uerumptamen si de hoc regina quesierit uide ne hoc sibi aliquatenus confitearis.” Cum ergo illi ante reginam stetissent et illa eos interrogasset de loco ubi fuerat dominus crucifixus et ipsi locum nullatenus indicare uellent, iussit eos omnes igne cremari. At illi timentes tradiderunt Iudam dicentes: “Hic, domina, iusti et prophete filius optime nouit legem et tibi omnia que quesieris ab eo indicabit.” Tunc illa omnes dimittens tenuit Iudam solum cui dixit: “Mors et uita tibi proposita sunt. Quid malueris elige. Ostende igitur mihi locum qui Golgotha dicitur ubi fuit dominus crucifixus ut crucem eius inuenire possim.” Respondit Iudas: “Quomodo locum scire ualeam, cum ducenti iam anni et amplius fluxerint et nequaquam illo tempore natus essem?” Cui regina: “Per crucifixum fame te perimam nisi mihi dixeris ueritatem.” Ipsum igitur in puteum siccum iussit proici et ibidem famis molestia cruciari. Cum ergo ibidem sex diebus sine cibo mansisset, die septimo extrahi petiit et crucem se indicaturum promittit. Cum ergo extractus ad locum uenisset et ibidem orasset, locus subito commouetur et fumus aromatum miri odoris sentitur, ita ut miratus Iudas ambabus manibus plauderet et diceret: “In ueritate Christe tu es saluator mundi.” Erat autem in loco illo, sicut in ecclesiasticis hystoriis legitur, templum Veneris quod Adrianus imperator ibidem construxerat ut si quis christianorum in loco illo adorare uoluisset uideretur Venerem adorare et ob hoc infrequens et pene obliuioni datus fuerat locus. Regina autem templum funditus fecit destrui et locum inarari. Post hoc Iudas precingens se uiriliter fodere cepit et XX passus fodiens tres cruces absconditas reperit, quas ad reginam protinus deportauit. Cum autem crucem Christi ab illis latronum nescirent discernere, eas in medio ciuitatis posuerunt ibidem gloriam domini prestolantes. Et ecce, cum circa horam nonam quidam iuuenis mortuus deferretur, Iudas feretrum tenuit et primam et secundam crucem super corpus defuncti apposuit, sed nequaquam ille surrexit; apponens autem tertiam protinus rediit defunctus ad uitam. In hys-

toriiis autem ecclesiasticis legitur quod cum quedam mulier primaria ciuitatis semiuiua iaceret, Macharius episcopus Iherosolimitanus primam et secundam crucem adhibuit, sed nihil profecit; tertiam uero apposuit et protinus mulier apertis oculis sanata surrexit. Ambrosius uero dicit quod discreuit ipsam crucem domini ab aliis per titulum quem posuerat Pylatus, quem titulum ibidem inuenit et legit. Dyabolus autem in aera uociferabatur dicens: “O Iuda, quid hoc fecisti? Iude meo contraria operatus es. Nam ille me suadente fecit proditionem et tu me renuente Ihesu inuenisti crucem; per illum multorum lucratus sum animas, per te perdere uideor iam lucratas; per illum regnabam in populo, per te iam expellar a regno. Verumptamen tibi uicem rependam et contra te regem alium suscitabo qui fidem deserens crucifixi cum tormentis te negare faciet crucifixum.” Quod quidem de Iuliano apostata dictum uidetur qui Iudam episcopum Iherosolimis factum multis tormentis affecit et martyrem Christi fecit. Audiens Iudas uociferantem dyabolum nihil extimuit, sed constanter dyabolo maledixit dicens: “Christus te dampnet in abyssis ignis eterni.” Post hoc Iudas baptizatur, Quiriacus appellatur et Iherosolimorum defuncto episcopo ibidem in episcopum ordinatur. Verum cum beata Helena clauos domini non haberet, rogauit episcopum Quiriacum ut ad locum pergeret et clauos domini inquireret. Qui cum uenisset et ad dominum preces fudisset, continuo clauus uelut aurum fulgentes in terra apparuerunt, quos ille accipiens regine detulit. Illa autem genua figens in terra et caput inclinans eos cum multa reuerentia adorauit. Crucis ergo partem Helena detulit filio, partem uero thecis argenteis conditam reliquit in loco. Clauos uero quibus dominicum fuerat corpus affixum portat ad filium, ex quibus, ut Eusebius Cesariensis refert, frenos quibus uteretur ad bellum composuit et ex aliis galeam suam armauit. Nonnulli uero asserunt, ut Gregorius Turonensis, clauos quatuor in dominico corpore fuisse, ex quibus Helena duos in freno imperatoris posuit, tertium in ymagine Constantini que Rome supereminet urbi locauit et quartum in mare Adriaticum quod usque tunc fuerat nauigantium uorago proiecit, precipiens hoc festum de inuentione crucis singulis annis sollempniter celebrari. Ambrosius uero sic ait: “Quesiuit Helena clauos domini et inuenit et de uno frenos fieri precepit, de altero dyadema intexuit; recte clauus in capite: corona in uertice, in manu habena: ut sensus premineat, fides luceat, potestas regat.”

Version 2

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 108, pp. 187:10–189:8 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: **SelTro** 148–49 (no. 30).

Editions: A *SjäTrö* 223–24; *SjäTrö* K 299–302.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

- Then tidh wars herra pino time nalkadhis
 tha gaff thræt sik vp aff grundenom / oc fløth j watneno / **Hwilkit** iudhane
 3 toko / oc giordho ther aff wars herra kors / **Oc** ther tholde han dødhin
 oppa for allom oss / **Naar** han war pinter oc dræpin / toko iudhane
 thet hælgha kors / Oc bæggia røwaranna kors / oc kastadho them aal
 6 thry j ena dyupa graff / oc skufw ther iordh oppa / Ther laa thet hælgha
 kors meer æn hundradha aar før æn thet war funnit / **Huru** thet war
 funnit skalt thu nu faa ath høra / **Hør æn eet miraculum**
 9 **I** Room war een hedhin konunger / heth constantinus / **Han** skulde eentidh
 stridha moth sina fianda / oc the waro mykyt mange oc starke / **Oc**
 han ræddis storlika at han skulde stridhena tapa / **Om** nattena kom
 12 gudz ængil / oc wekte han aff sømpne / **Oc** saghdhe / **See** vp j hymilin /
Han saa vp oc sagh thet hælgha kors tekn / **Thet** war skinande oc klarth
 som solin / **Ther** stodh swa scifwit j *medh* forgyltom bokstafwom / *Medh* thetta
 15 tekn mat thu forwinna thina fianda / **Konungen** stodh genstan vp oc
 loth göra eeth kors æpter thy korsse / han hafdhe seeth oc loth *thet* føra
 for sinom her / **Han** foor diærflika moth sinom fiandom oc stridde *medh*
 18 them / **Han** wan stridhena / oc slogh rædhelika mykyt j hæl aff them

1 wars ... time] der martere vnse leuen heren *SelTro*. 2 j watneno] in deme dijke *SelTro*; **Hwilkit**] Dat holt *SelTro*. 3 wars ... kors] dat hilge cruce *SelTro*. 3–4 **Oc** ... oss] ~ *SelTro*. 4 **Naar** ... dræpin] Do vnse leue here gemarteret was *SelTro*. 6 j ... graff] in enen grauen *SelTro*; skufw ... oppa] worpen dar erden vp vnde dammeden dat to *SelTro*. 7 hundradha] twe hundred *SelTro*. 8 skalt ... **miraculum**] dat wil ik dij seggen *SelTro*. 9 eentidh] ~ *SelTro*. 10 mykyt ... starke] vele *SelTro*. 11 han ræddis ... tapa] he hadde angest *SelTro*; **Om** nattena] Do *SelTro*. 13 **Han**] **Ha** A. 13–14 **Thet** ... solin] dat was dar also de sunne *SelTro*. 15 **Konungen**] he *SelTro*; genstan] ~ *SelTro*. 17 foor diærflika] treckede *SelTro*. 17–18 oc ... them] ~ *SelTro*. 18 stridhena] den seghe *SelTro*; rædhelika ... them] erer vele *SelTro*.

Ther æpter loth han saman kalla alla sina hedhniska mestara oc spor
 dhe / hulkom gudhenom thet teknit til hørðhe / Hwilkit the wisto ey **Och**
 21 kundo honom thet ekki berætta / Tha komo *cristne* mæn / oc berætto honom
 huru
 ihesus *christus* aterløstø mankønit oppa korsseno / met biterlike pino oc
 hardhas-
 ta dødth / Tha han thet hørðhe tok han widh throne oc lørth sik døpa /
 24 ther æpter thetidh han war dødher / lifdhe hans son æpter honom som
 heth constantinus / Han sænde sina modher helenam til iherusalem / at hon
 skulde vpsøkia thet hælgha kors ther gudz son tholde dødthin oppa / **Then-**
 27 tidh hon kom til iherusalem / Tha war ther een gamal iudhe heeth iudas
Han taladhe til andra iudha oc saghdhe swa / **Jak** forstaar wel ath
 drotnigen ær for thy hit komen / at hon wil thet korssit vpsøkia som
 30 ihesus war hængder oppa / **Thet** skal henne engin wisa / ffor thy wardher thet
 korssit fumit / **Tha** nidher thrykkioms wi oc wardhom alle til enkte
Min alderfadher zacheus / wiiste minom fadher symoni stadhin ther korsit
 33 war nidher grafwit / **Oc** min fadher symon wiiste mik thet sidhan tha
 han skulde døø **Oc** forbødth mik thet nokrom sighia / **Drotnigen**
 kom oc spordhe hwar korssit war / **Oc** engin wilde herne thet sighia
 36 Tha bødth hon / taka iudhana oc brænna them alla / **Tha** the hørðho
 thet / wiisto the fran sik oppa then iudhan som viste hwar korssit laa
Hon loth taka then iudhan oc kasta han j ena dyupa kulo / ther skulde
 39 han antiggia swælda j hæl eller wisa hwar korssit ware / **Tha** han haf-
 dhe ther sitit j syu dagha vtan fødhø / Lofwadhe han at wisa thøm korsit
 om han matte lifwit behalda / **The** toghon vp w kulonne / oc han wiste
 42 them stadhin ther korssit war begrafwit / **The** fiollo ther a knæ och
 badho til gudh / at the matto finna thet hælgha kors **Genstan** byriadhe

20–21 **Och** ... berætta] ~ *SelTro*. 21–23 huru ... dødth] wo vnse leue here Ihesus Christus in deme cruce gestoruen were *SelTro*. 23 Tha ... throne] Do wart de konningk louich *SelTro*. 24 lifdhe ... honom] do hadde he eynen sonen *SelTro*. 25 heth] hette ock *SelTro*; helenam] Sunte Helenen *SelTro*. 26 ther ... oppa] ~ *SelTro*. 26–27 Thentidh ... Tha] Do *SelTro*. 27 gamall] grot *SelTro*. 28 forstaar] wet *SelTro*. 28–29 ath ... komen] ~ *SelTro*. 31 Tha ... enkte] wij moten alle vordelget werden *SelTro*. 32 alderfadher] alde|r|fadher A; zacheus] de hette Zacheus *SelTro*. 33 symon] ~ *SelTro*; thet] de stede *SelTro*. 33–34 sidhan ... sighia] do he starff *SelTro*. 34–35 Drotnigen kom] Do quam de konningynne Sunte Helena *SelTro*. 35 war] begrauen were *SelTro*. 36 taka ... alla] dat men alle de yoden bemen scholde *SelTro*. 36–37 Tha ... thet] Do *SelTro*. 37 hwar ... laa] dat *SelTro*. 38 **Hon** ... han] Den warp se *SelTro*. 39 hwar ... ware] de stede *SelTro*. 41 om ... behalda] ~ *SelTro*; vp ... kulonne] vth *SelTro*. 41–42 oc ... stadhin] vnde brachtene vp yenne stede *SelTro*. 42–43 **The** ... kors] vnde began dar to heden *SelTro*. 43–44 byriadhe ... skielffwa] wart eyn ertbeunge *SelTro*.

- iordhin skielffwa / **Oc** kom swa s^øøt ædhla lukt at alle vndradho
 45 ther oppa som ther waro / **Tha** saghdhe iudhen som them wiiste stadhin
Sannelika ihesus *christus* thu est *werldinna* helsa / Oppa sama stadhenom war
 bygt
 eeth afgudha m^ønster / *thet* loth drotningen nidher bryta / The growo
 48 ther oc funno thry kors / **Oc** baro them *medh* sik in j stadhin **Oc** wisto
 tho ekki hwilkit *thet* rætta korssit war / **J** them tymanom war een
 mænniskia d^ødth j stadhenom / **Tha** toko the f^ørst eet kors oc laghdho
 51 oppa then d^ødha / oppa *thet* han skulde aff thes hælgha kors dygdh
 oc makt / faa liif j gen / *Thet* f^ørsta halp honom enkte / The toko *thet* andra oc
 gior-
 dho samuledh / *Thet* kunde honom oc enkte hielpa / The toko *thet* thridhia
 korssit
 54 ok laghdho oppa likit / genstan fik then d^ødhe liiff / **Oc** stodh helbryghdho
 vp aff d^ødha / **Tha** loth iudas d^øpa sik / **Oc** loth sik kalla *quirinum* **Oc** wardh
 biscooper
 j *ihersusalem* / **Oc** ther æpter pinter oc dræpin for the hælgho thro skuld / **Nu**
 hafwer
 57 thu h^ørt / huru gudh hafwer ærat *thet* hælgha kors / Thy skalt oc thu *thet* gerna
 badhe hedhra oc æra / Hwa som hedhrar oc ærar *thet* hælgha kors **Han**
 ffaar æro aff gudhy

Translation

When the time of Our Lord's passion was approaching, the tree offered itself up from the ground and floated in the water, which the Jews took and made Our Lord's cross from it. And there, upon that, he suffered death for all our sakes. When he had been tortured and killed, the Jews took the holy cross and both of the robbers' crosses and threw all three of them into a deep ditch and shovelled

44 s^øøt] ~ *SelTro.* 45 iudhen ... stadhin] Yudas *SelTro.* 47 *thet*] Den tempel *SelTro.* 47–48 The ... ther] Dar beghunden se to grauen *SelTro.* 48 wisto] konden ... rechte bekennen *SelTro.* 49 **J** ... tymanom] Do *SelTro.* 50 mænniskia ... stadhenom] mynsche storuen *SelTro.*; f^ørst] ~ *SelTro.* 51–52 oppa *thet* ... j gen] ~ *SelTro.* 52 *Thet* ... enkte] do en stunt he nicht vp *SelTro.* 52–53 The ... hielpa] Se legeden vp em dat andere, do en stunt he auer nicht vp *SelTro.* 53 korssit] korssit ok A. 53–54 The ... likit] Do legeden se vp em dat dridde *SelTro.* 54–55 genstan ... d^ødha] do stunt he vp vnde wart wedder leuendich *SelTro.* 55 *quirinum*] *Quiriacus SelTro.* 56 pinter ... dræpin] gemarteret *SelTro.* 57 *thet* ... kors] dat *SelTro.* 58 badhe ... æra] billiken eren *SelTro.*; hedhrar ... kors] dat eret *SelTro.*

earth on top of them. There the holy cross lay for more than a hundred years before it was found. How it was found you are now going to hear.

Listen to yet another miracle.

In Rome there was a pagan king called Constantine. One time he was about to do battle with his enemies, and they were many and strong, and he was greatly afraid that he would lose the battle. During the night, God's angel arrived and woke him from his sleep and said, "Look up into the sky!" He looked up and saw the sign of the holy cross. It was shining and bright like the sun. Upon it was written with gilded letters, "With this sign you will be able to defeat your enemies." The king got up immediately and had a cross made copying the cross that he had seen and had it carried before his army. He rode bravely towards his enemies and fought them. He won the battle and killed terribly many of them. After this he had all his pagan teachers summoned and asked them to which god the sign belonged, which they did not know and could not tell him. Then some Christian men arrived and told him how Jesus Christ atoned for humanity on the cross with bitter pain and a very harsh death. When he heard this, he accepted the faith and had himself baptized.

After he had died, his son who was called Constantine survived him. He sent his mother Helena to Jerusalem so that she would seek out the holy cross upon which the Son of God suffered death. When she arrived in Jerusalem, there was an old Jew called Judas. He spoke to the other Jews and said thus, "I understand well that the queen has come here so that she will seek out the cross upon which Jesus was hanged. No-one will show her it because if the cross is found, we will be oppressed, and we'll be annihilated. My grandfather Zacchaeus showed my father Simon where the cross had been buried, and when he was about to die my father Simon showed that place to me and forbade me from saying it to anyone." The queen arrived and asked where the cross was, and no-one wanted to tell her. Then she ordered for the Jews to be seized and all burnt. When they heard this, they made known from among them the Jew who knew where the cross was. She had the Jew seized and thrown into a deep pit. There he was either to starve to death or reveal where the cross was. When he had been sitting there for seven days without food, he promised to show them the cross if he could be spared his life. They took him up from the pit and he showed them the place where the cross was buried. There they fell to their knees and prayed to God that they would be able to find the holy cross. Straightaway the earth began to shake and there was such a sweet, precious fragrance at which everyone who was there marvelled. Then the Jew who had shown them the place said, "Truly, Jesus Christ is the saviour [lit. healer] of the world!" A temple to an idol was standing built on the same spot. The queen had this pulled down. There they dug and found three crosses and carried them

into the city, and yet they did not know which was the right cross. At the time, there was a dead person in the city. So, they first took one cross and laid it upon the deceased so that he would regain life on account of the holy cross's virtue and power. The first [cross] did not help him at all. They took the second [cross] and did the same thing. That did not help him at all either. They took the third cross and laid it upon the corpse. Straightaway, the dead man came to life and cured [he] rose from the dead. Then Judas had himself baptized and had himself named Quirinus and became the bishop of Jerusalem, after which he was tortured and killed for the sake of the holy faith [i. e., he was martyred].

Now you have heard how God has praised the holy cross, and so you too should both honour and praise it willingly. Whoever honours and praises the holy cross will receive praise from God.

30 The Flying Host and the Jew's Son

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 110, ff. 62v22–63r10 (c. 1385).
Parallel text: ~
Original text: ~
Edition: A *Klās* 31–32 (no. 42).

Edition (A SKB A 110)

EN iudhe wændis til kristna tro ok gaffs
j swart brødhra klostir ok hans son bleff
3 atir blindir j sinne willo mæst mot gudz likama
Klostersins prior thær hans fadhur war ingi-
win læt sighia høgthidhelika mæssu
6 for hans willo aff them hælgha anda
Ok vm samu nattena syntis them
otrona iudhanom swa som gudz lika-
9 me j offlætis liknilse flyghande j wædhrino
ælte han ok innelykte han j enne wraa j huse-
no thær som han inne war · swa at han formatte
12 sik ey thædhan flytia ok ginstan afflagdhe han
alla willo ok tok widh kristindom ·

Translation

A Jew was converted to the Christian faith and joined a monastery of the Black Friars [i. e., the Dominicans] and his son remained blind in his delusion mostly against the Body of God [i. e., the host]. The prior of the monastery that his father had joined had a mass ceremoniously said for the Holy Spirit about his [i. e., the former Jew's son's] delusion. And that same night, flying in the air, the Body of God, in the likeness of an oblate, appeared to the unfaithful Jew, chased him, and trapped him in a corner in the house where he was inside, so that he was unable to move from there, and he immediately gave up his delusion and accepted Christianity.

31 The Helmeted Preface

Headnotes

Source: A DKB Thott 8 2^o, ff. 210ra39–211va40 (1475–1500).

Original text: **ProGal.**

Edition: A *GldBib* I 1–15.

Edition (A DKB Thott 8 2^o)

**Hær ændhes rwth Ok begynnæs
ffortalæ i konnyngens bōgher**

- 3 Syrorwm ællær syrenes *theth*
folkins twnghe / **Ok** caldeis
winnebær to ok tywæ boghstawe
- 6 wære hoos hebreos *theth* ær hebrai-
ske **H**wilken som twnghe ær hebre-
ens næstæ af stoor deel / **ff**orthy
- 9 the hafwe to ok tywæ *elemente*
theth ær bogstawe *mæth* thæn same lydil-
se / **W**then j ath skilielighe teghne
- 12 ællær bogstawe / **Ok** samaritani
skrifwe pentatevcum *theth* ær
moyses fæm bōgher *mæth* sa manige
- 15 boghstawe ath eniste *mæth* figuris
ok hōwe boghstawe atskiliaende /
T*theth* ær wist esdram skrifwere
- 18 ok lowæns kennefædhær æftær
jherusalem taghin ok templens gen-
byggilse wndhær zorobabel pa

1–2 **Hær ... bōgher**] Incipit Prologus Sancti Hieronymi in Libro Regum *ProGal.* 13 pentatevcum] pentate[u]vcum A. 13–14 pentatevcum ... bōgher] Pentateuchum Mosi *ProGal.* 16 hōwe boghstawe] apicibus *ProGal.* The translation of *dat. pl.* apicibus < apex [tittle, dot], cf. Gk. κεφαλα, as hōwe boghstawe [high letters] is not correct here. It is surely *niḳud* that is meant here: the diacritical marks used to distinguish between alternative pronunciations of consonants or to represent vowels. Isidore of Seville calls the apex “*linea jacens super litteram aequaliter ducta*” [a line placed above a letter, drawn down straight], *Etymologiae*, 1.4.18. 17 esdram] esdram [ok] A.

- 21 *fw̃n*neth andre boghstawe hwilke
som the nytte nw mædhen the sa-
me samaritanes ok hebraischiſ
- 24 teghne ok boghstawe ware wth
til thæn tidh / **O**k j *nwmm*erum *theth*
ær j talenes boogh thæn same wn-
dherſkerælsæ ællær reghnelsæ ællær
æftærſkerælsæ tees wndhær leui-
tens ok preſtenes hælligh ællær
- 30 lønligh ſin / **O**k wi pafinnæ tetra-
gramaton hærræns nafn j same
greke bøggher wth til j dagh wth
- 33 trykt j gamle boghstawe / **W**then
ok psalme sættæ / ok træthiwænde
ok tiændhe ok hwndrændhe / ok
- 36 ælloftæ ok hwndrethe / thæn attænde
ok hwndredhe / **O**k fiærdhe ok fyre-
tywænde ok hwndrethe / **T**hohwær-
mæn the ſkwlæ ſkrifwæs *mæth* ath
skilieligh wærs / **A**llighewæl samæn
sættes the *mæth* same tals alpha-
42 beta ællær boghstawe / **O**k *jeremias*
græth ok hans bøn / **O**k *salomonis*
prouerbia ællær bisprocke j ændin aff
- 45 thæn stædh j hwilken han ſighær
hwo ſkal pafinnæ stærk qwynne
the wndærſkæres ællær tæliaes *mæth*
- 48 the samæ alphabethe ællær jnske-
rælsæ framledhes fæm boghstawe
ære twefolde hoos hebreos
- 51 caph mem nvn phe sade / **f**forthy
the ſkrifwe andærlwnde with
thæm ordens begynnælsæ ok mid-
54 delse andærlwnde ændenæ / **H**we-

25–26 *nwmm*erum ... boogh] Numerorum *ProGal.* 28 æftærſkerælsæ] æfærſkerælsæ A.
30–31 tetragramaton ... nafn] tetragrammaton *ProGal.* 41 tals] tals [m-] A. 44 *prouerbia* ...
bisprocke] *Proverbia ProGal.* 50 hebreos] hebreos [os] A.

dæn aff ok fæm bøggher wyrdes
 ællær reghnæs twefolde aff man-
 57 ghe ællær flere / **Samwel** / **Malachim**
Dabreiamin / **Esdras** / **Jeremias** *mæth*
 cinoth *theth* ær sine græth ællær wæ-
 60 nilse / **fforthy** hwre ære to ok ty-
 wæ elemæntæ ællær boghstawe with
 hwilke *som* wi skrifwe hebraiz-
 63 ke alt hwilkith *som* wi talæ / **Ok** *mæn-*
niskelighe røst gribes aff theræs
 begynnælse sa to ok tywæ bøggher
 66 wndærskeræs ællær tæliæs ællær
 reghnæs aff hwilke sa *som* boghsta-
 we ok begynnælsæs rætwisæs manz barn-
 69 dom æn spææth ok diænde kænnæs
 ællær læræs j gwdz kænnedom / **fførste**
 bogh hoos thæm kallæs bresich hw-
 72 ilken *som* wi sighe genesim / **Annæn**
 elesmoth hwilkin *som* kallæs *exodus* /
Tridhie wagetra *theth* ær *leuiticus* /
 75 **ffiærde** wagedaber hwilke *som*
 wi kallæ *numerum* / **ffæmte** adda-
 barim hwilkin *som* til foren mæ-
 78 kæs *deutronomium* these ære
 fæm moysis bøggher / **Hwilke** *som*
 the kallæ rætelighe chorath *theth*
 81 ær lowæn / the gøre æftær prophe-
 tens skikkælse / **Ok** the begynnæ
 aff jhesu naues søn hwilken *som*
 84 sighes hoos thæm Josue *benwn*
Thethæn aff the wndærwæfwe
 sophym *theth* ær *domerenes* bogh /
 87 **Ok** the samen malæ *rwth* j thæn

55–56 wyrdes ... reghnæs] aestimantur *ProGal.* 59–60 græth ... wænilse] Lamentationibus *ProGal.* 61 elemæntæ ... boghstawe] elementa *ProGal.* 62 *som*] \som/ A. 66–67 wndærskeræs ... reghnæs] supputantur *ProGal.* 68 rætwisæs] |rætwisæs| A. 69–70 kænnæs ... læræs] eruditur *ProGal.* 74 wagetra] Vaicra *ProGal.* 75 wagedaber] wagedab[a->\er/] A, Vaiedabber *ProGal.* 80 chorath] Thorath *ProGal.*

- samæ forthy hænnæs hystoria
 kwngøres ware giort j dome-
 90 res daghe / **Tridhie** æftærfylgær
 samwel hwilken som wi sighe ri-
 ghens første ok annæn / **ffiærdhe**
 93 malachim *theth* ær konnyngens hw-
 ilkin som holdes j tridhie ok fiær-
 dhe righens bogh / **Ok** *theth* ær mø-
 96 ghet bedhræ ath sighe malachim
theth ær konnyngens æn malachoth
theth ær righens / **fforthy** hon ey sk-
 99 rifwær manghe folkis righe w-
 then eet *Israels* folkins hwilkin
 som holdes aff tolff slegtæ / **ffæmte**
 102 ær *ysaias* siætæ / **Jeremias** / **Sywæn-**
 dhe ær ezechiel / **Ottænde** tolff
 propheternæs bogh hwilken som kal-
 105 læs hoos thæm thare affra / **Tridie**
 skikkælse holde hæghe skriften /
Ok første boghen begynnær aff
 108 job / **Annæn** aff dauid hwilkin som
 the gribe *mæth* fæm jnskærilse ok
 en psalmens bogh / **Tridhie** ær
 111 salomon hawænde tre bøghær
 prouerbia bisprokkæ hwilken som
 the kallæ *parabolas* æftærlighne
 114 *theth* ær maloth / **ffiærdhe** *ecclesiasten*
theth ær choeeth **ffæmtæ** ær canti-

100 *Israels* folkins] *israhelitici populi ProGal.* **105** thare affra] *Thareasra ProGal.* **106** hæghe skriften] *αγιογραφα ProGal., i. e., Gk. ἁγιογραφα ‘hagiographa.’* Rather than use the Latin/Greek term, the Danish scribe has translated the two parts of the Gk. compound *ἅγιο-* [holy] + *γραφ-* [writing] > Hæghe skriften [Holy Scripture]. On the one hand this translation is completely misleading, but on the other it raises the question of whether the translator-scribe had some knowledge of Greek who recognized and translated the word literally. On knowledge of Greek in monastic milieux in Scandinavia, see the excursus in Chapter 4. **112** prouerbia bisprokkæ] *Proverbia ProGal.* **114** maloth] *Masaloth ProGal.* Cf. *Heb.* מְשָׁלוֹת, *mešalot* [proverbs]. Nowadays the Masoretic Text (MT) is usually referred to as מִשְׁלֵי, *Mišlei* [the Proverbs of (Solomon)], that is the first word in the book. **115** choeeth] *Accholeth ProGal.* Cf. *Heb.* הַקְּוֵהֶלֶת, *ha-kohelet* [the congregation]. The book is also referred to as קְוֵהֶלֶת, *kohelet* [Congregation], and this appears to be the basis of the form in A.

- cum canticorum sangenes sangh
 117 hwilken som the til forin mærkes
 mæth boghens øwær skriwælsæ sira
 sirim / Siætæ ær daniel / Sywæn-
 120 dhe ær dabreiamin theth ær dawe-
 nes ordh hwilkit som wi nw
 moghe kallæ mærkelighere algw
 123 dhelighetz hystories crōnicæn
 hwilkin som boogh jnskriwæs ho-
 os oss paralipomenons første
 126 ok annæn otændhæ esdras hw-
 ilkin ok hon sameledh hoos gre-
 kene ær skift j to bøggher / Niæn-
 129 dhe hester ok sa ære sameledh
 gamlæ loghens bøggher to ok ty-
 wæ / Theth ær moysis fæm ok prophe-
 132 tenes ottæ helghe skriftens
 ni thyhwærmæn sommæ skrif-
 we rwth ok cinoth blant helge
 135 skriftæ ok the wænte the bøgghær
 regneskwælendes j sit tal / Ok
 with theth ath ware firæ ok tywæ
 138 fōrmere lowins bōggher / Hwil-
 ke Johannis apenbarilsæ inledhær wnder fi-
 re ok tywæ ældræ mænztal til
 141 bedændhe lambith / Ok offrænde
 sine kronæ ænletene nedhær
 slawne standænde fore firæ
 144 dyr hafwænde øghin fore ok bagh
 theth ær seænde i framgangin th-
 ingh ok til kommænde ok øbende
 147 mæth wtræt røst helligh helligh
 helligh hærræ gwth almektigh hwil-

118–19 sira sirim] Sirassirim *ProGal.* Cf. *Heb.* שִׁיר־הַשִּׁירִים, *Šir-ha-Širim* [*The Song of Songs*].
120 dabreiamin] Cf. *Heb.* דְּבָרֵי־הַיָּמִים, *Divrei-ha-Yamim* [*The Words of Days*]. **121** nw] nw nw
 A. **127–28** hon ... grekene] ipse similiter apud Graecos et Latinos *ProGal.* **132** helghe skriftens]
 helghe skrif(t)ens A, Agiograforum *ProGal.* See n. 106. **134–35** helge skriftæ] Agiografa *ProGal.*
 See n. 106. **139** inledhær] ~ A. **144** fore ... bagh] retro et ante *ProGal.*

ken som war ok ær ok til kommæn ær
 150 thæn skriftens fortalæ sa som hiæl-
 mæth begynnælse ma qwæme allæ
 bøgher hwilke som wi wændhe af
 153 hebraizske j latine / **Ath** wi mwghe
 wrthe ath hwath som wthen thæm ær
 theth ær setteskwlænde blant the
 156 skrifte som twiflæs om wære san-
 nændhe / **fforthy** wiisdom hwil-
 ken som almænnelighe jnskrifwes
 159 salomonis / **Ok** jhesus sirachs søns
 bogh / **Ok** judith / **Ok** tobias ok pastor
 hyrdhe the ære jkke j canone theth
 162 ær j reghlæn / **En** pafan første ma
 chabeorum bogh hebraizske / **Annæn**
 ær greke hwilkin som ma prøwæs
 165 af thæn talæ hwilke som mædhæn
 the skwlæ sik sa hawe / **Jæk** bedhær
 / læsæræ man ath thw skalt ey wyr-
 168 dhe ællær thænkæ mit ærwethe
 gamlæ mænz straffælsæ **Hwar** man
 offrær j gwdz boligh hwath som han
 171 kan ællær forma / **Andre** gwld ok
 sylff ok dyre stenæ / **Andre** bliald
 ok pwrpwre ok røt cledhæ offre ok
 174 jacinct wæl gøræs mæth oss om
 wi ok ofre gethenens skiin ok hoor /
Ok the hwærmæn apostelin kwn-
 177 gør wore forsmælighere thing
 ware heldær ællær meer nøt-
 tørfelighere / **Hwethæn** af ok
 180 al thæn bolighs fawærhet ok nær-
 wærændhe kirkens ok kommeskwl-
 lændæs ath skiliællsæ with syndær-

155–57 the ... sannændhe] apocrifa *ProGal.* 160 ok] ~ A. 161–62 j ... reghlæn] in canone *ProGal.* 165 thæn talæ] φρασiv *ProGal.*, i.e., Gk. φράσις [way of speaking, idiom, expression]. 167–68 wyrdhe ... thænkæ] aestimes *ProGal.* 171 kan ... forma] polest *ProGal.* 173 røt cledhæ] coccum *ProGal.* 178–79 nøttørfelighere] nøt[–]||tørfelighere A.

- 183 lighe hweriæ skapnethe ællær
 skabilse skyles *mæth* skin ok hoor-
 klædhe / **Ok** the thær æræ snødhære
- 186 ællær wwærdughere forbythe
 solins hedhæ ok reynæns wræt /
fforthy læs først samwel ok myn
- 189 malachim jæk skal sighe myn
 forthy hwath *som* wi nimmæ ok
 holde ofte omwændhe ok om hw-
- 192 ghelighe bethrænde *theth* ær wort /
Ok thæn tidh thw wndhær stoor
 hwilkith *som* thw jkke til forne
- 195 wiste ællær skalt thw wæntæ
 mik ællær wyrdhe mik tolkere
 om thw æst thækkeligh ællær wnd
- 198 tolk om thw æst wthækkeligh
 hwre mōgheth ællær thy hwær-
 men jak skal ikke swæræ mik
- 201 samwitheligh mik ath hawe for-
 omskiftith noghith af hebraizske
 sanheth / **S**annelighe om thw æst
- 204 wantroeligh læs greke bōgher
 ok samæn *fōor* *mæth* the smogier-
 ninghe / **Ok** hwar thw seer thæm
- 207 wonsæmme blant sik spōr hwe-
 rie hebraizske hwilkith thw sk-
 alt gifwe ællær til fōwe troæn /
- 210 **Ok** om han stadhfæstær wore thing
 ællær giærninghe jæk wæntær
 ath thw skalt ey wyrdhe ællær
- 213 reghne hannom spoman ath han
 skal spo ællær giædhe til sameledh
mæth mik j thæn same stedh wthen

185–86 snødhære ... wwærdughere] *viliora ProGal.* **197–98** wnd tolk] *παραφραστὴν ProGal.* [*paraphrast*]. **204** greke bōgher] *graecos codices et latinos ProGal.* **208–09** thw ... fōwe] *accomodare debes ProGal.* **210 Ok** om] **Ok** \om/ *A.* **210–11** wore ... giærninghe] *nostra ProGal.* **212–13** wyrdhe ... reghne] *aestimes ProGal.* **213** spoman] *coniectorem ProGal.* **214** skal ... giædhe] *divinarit ProGal.*

- 216 ok jæk bedhær edhær *christi* tiæniste
 qwinnær hwilke som smøriæ hæ-
 ræns ædhændeshowith *mæth* dyre-
 219 ste troæns smøriælse hwilke som
 ænglwnde leedhe ath hieleren
 j grawen / **H**wilke *christus* som nw
 222 wpfoor til fadheren Ath j skwle
 sættæ edhræ bønæs skioldhe a-
 moth gøændhe hwnðhe **H**wilke
 225 som grymme æræ amoth mik *mæth*
 galin mwn / **O**k the omginghe
 stadhin ok the dōme thæm at ware
 228 lærdhe j *theth* om the skwlæ bag-
 talæ andre / **J**æk wedhænde myn
 ødhmygheth jæk skal altidh j hwg
 231 komme thæn *sententie* ællær dom / **J**æk
 sagdhe jæk skal gøme myne weye
 ath jæk skal ey syndhe j myn tw-
 234 ghe / **J**æk sættæ myn mwn gømæ
 thæn tidh syndherene the skwlde stan-
 dhe amoth mik iæk war dwmbe
 237 ællær thighdhe ok jæk ær ødhmyg-
 giort ok thystedhe ællær hiolt
 tyste aff godhe **H**ær ær **forta-**
 240 **lin wte ok hær begynnæs ffør-**
ste konnyngkens boogh ok thettæ
hær ær *theth* første capitulwm

218 ædhændeshowith] Domini dicumbentis ... caput *ProGal.* [*the reclining Lord's head*]. The *ODA*. word literally means 'eating head' and at first glance, it seems to make no sense, but Lat. discumbō means 'to recline at table to eat.' Thus, hærræns ædhændeshowith [*the Lord's eating-head*] refers to the angle of his head as he was reclining at the table. **220** hieleren] Salvatorem *ProGal.* **226** omginghe] The verb appears to be in the past tense and is probably a mistake as a present tense form such as omgange would be expected here; cf. circumeunt [*they go around*] *ProGal.* **227** ware] w\æ/re A. **231** *sententie* ... dom] *sententiae ProGal.* **235** tidh] |tidh| A. **236–37** iæk ... thighdhe] obmutui *ProGal.* **238–39** thystedhe ... tyste] silui *ProGal.*

Translation

Here ends Ruth and begins the preface to the Books of Kings.

The language of the *Syrori* or Syrians, i. e., the vernacular, and of the *Chaldaei*, bears witness to twenty-two letters among the *Hebraei*, i. e., Hebrews, which is for the most part similar to the Hebrew language; because they have twenty-two elements, i. e., letters, with the same sound, but in different characters or letters. The *Samaritani* write the Pentateuch, i. e., the Five Books of Moses, in the same number of letters, only they differ in shapes and high letters. It is certain Ezra, the scribes and doctors of the Law, after the capture of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple under Zerubbabel, invented other letters, which they now use, while these same Samaritan and Hebrew symbols and letters were up to that time the same.

And in *Numeri*, i. e., the Book of Numbers, the same calculation or computation or reckoning is shown by the holy or secret census of the Levites and the priests.¹

And we find the Tetragrammaton, the Lord's name, in the same Greek books to this day printed in ancient letters. But also Psalms 36, 110, 111, 118, and 144,² although they are written in different meter, are nevertheless put together using an *alphabet* or letters of the same number.

And in the Lamentations of Jeremiah,³ and his prayer, also at the end of the *Salomonis Proverbia* or Proverbs from that place in which he says "Who can find a strong woman?"⁴ are calculated or counted the same alphabet or sections.⁵ Furthermore, five of the letters among the *Hebraei* are doubled: *kaf*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, *zadi*, for they write them differently at the beginning and in the middle of words and differently at the end.⁶ From which also five books are considered or counted as double by many or more: Samuel, *Malachim*,⁷ *Dabreiamin*,⁸ Ezra,⁹ Jeremiah with *Cinoth*,¹⁰ that is, his lamentations or mourning. As there are twenty-two ele-

1 Numbers 3:39.

2 Psalms 37, 111, 112, 119, and 145 *KJV* respectively.

3 Lamentations 1–4.

4 Proverbs 31:10–31.

5 Jerome is referring to the Hebrew alphabetic acrostics found in these passages.

6 These five Hebrew letters are written one way at the beginning or middle or a word (כ, מ, נ, פ, צ) and another in final position (ך, ם, ן, ף, ץ).

7 1–2 Kings.

8 דְּבָרֵי־יָמִים, *Divrei-ha-Yamim* = 1–2 Chronicles.

9 Ezra–Nehemiah.

10 קִינֹת, *Qinot* = Lamentations. The book in the MT is nowadays usually referred to as אֵיכָה, *Eichah* after the first word of the book.

ments or letters, with which we write [in] Hebrew all that we speak and the human voice is understood by their beginnings, thus twenty-two books are calculated or counted or reckoned, by which letters and beginning of a just man's childhood, when still an infant and nursing, is instructed in or taught God's wisdom.¹¹

The first book among them is called *Bresith*,¹² which we call *Genesis*; the second, *Elesmoth*,¹³ which is called *Exodus*; the third, *Vaetra*¹⁴ that is *Leviticus*; the fourth *Vagedaber*,¹⁵ which we call *Numeri*; the fifth, *Addabarim*,¹⁶ which is already designated *Deuteronomium*. These are the Five Books of Moses, which they appropriately call *Thorath*,¹⁷ that is, the Law.

They do in accordance with the Prophet's order and they begin, with Jesus son of Nave, which is called among them *Iosue Bennun*.¹⁸ After this they append *Sophim*,¹⁹ that is the book of Judges; and they combine *Ruth* into the same, because her story is determined to have happened in the days of Judges. Third follows Samuel, which we call First and Second Kingdoms. Fourth *Malachim*,²⁰ that is the King's, which contains the Book of the Third and Fourth Kingdom; and it is much better to say *Malachim*, that is King's, than *Malachot*,²¹ that is Kingdom's, because it does not write about the kingdoms of many nations, but only of the people of Israel which comprises twelve tribes. Fifth is Isaiah; sixth Jeremiah;

11 The Danish is garbled here and difficult to follow. In the Latin version, Jerome is comparing a righteous adult learning the Scriptures to a small child learning the alphabet.

12 Nowadays, Genesis in the MT is called בְּרֵשִׁית, *Bere'sit* [In the beginning] from the first words of the book. Note the scribal confusion between *ch* ("Bresich") and *th* ("Bresith") here; cf. also "Chorath" for "Thorath," l. 80.

13 *Elesmoth*, i. e., *Eileh šmot* [These are the names], must be the first two words of Exodus in the Hebrew Bible used by Jerome. The MT used today has: וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת, *Veileh šmot*: [And these are the names].

14 *Vaetra*, i. e., וַיִּקְרָא, *Vayikra'*, is the Hebrew name for Leviticus and the first word of the book: 'And he called [...].'

15 *Vagedaber*, i. e., וַיְדַבֵּר, *Vayedaber* [And he spoke], must be the first word of Numbers in the Hebrew Bible used by Jerome. Nowadays, the book is referred to as בְּמִדְבָּר, *Bemidbar* [In the desert of (Sinai)].

16 The name of Deuteronomy is taken from the second word in the book: הַדְּבָרִים, *Hadevarim* [The words]. Nowadays, the book in the MT is referred to as דְּבָרִים, *Devarim* [Words].

17 The Danish scribe has written "chorath" and mistaken a *t* for a *c*. The name of the Five Books of Moses in Hebrew is תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה, *Torat Mošeh* [Law of Moses] (usually just תּוֹרָה, *Torah*).

18 יוֹשׁוּעַ בֶּן־נּוּן, *Yosu'a Ben-Nun* [Joshua].

19 שֹׁפְטִים, *Šoftim* [Judges].

20 מְלָכִים, *Malachim* [Kings].

21 *Malachot* מְלָכוֹת actually means 'queens.' The same mistake is found in the Latin. The Hebrew for kingdoms is מַמְלָכוֹת, *mamlachot*.

seventh Ezekiel; eighth the Book of the Twelve Prophets, which among them is called *Thareasra*.²²

The third order holds the Holy Scripture [Hagiographa], and begins with the first book of *Iob*, the second of *David*, which they understand as five sections and a Book of the Psalms. The third is Solomon, having three books: *Proverbia* Proverbs, which they call *Parabolas*, that is *Masaloth*. The fourth Ecclesiastes, that is *Choeleth*. The fifth is The Song of Songs, which used to be denoted with the book's title *Sirassirim*. Sixth is *Daniel*. Seventh is *Dabreiamin*, that is Words of the Days, which we may call more clearly the Chronicle of All Divine History, which book is written among us as *First* and *Second Paralipomenon*. Eighth *Ezra*, which in the same manner as among the Greeks is in two books. Ninth is Esther.

And thus, there are likewise twenty-two books of the Old Law: that is five of Moses, eight of the Prophets, nine of the Holy Scripture [Hagiographa]. However, some write Ruth and Cinoth among the Holy Scripture and think of counting these books among their number, and by this there are twenty-four books of the Older Law, which the Apocalypse of John²³ <introduces> under the number of twenty-four elder men worshipping the Lamb and offering their crowns, their faces struck downwards, standing before four beasts that have eyes before and behind, that is seeing into things past and things to come, and crying out with unwearied voice: “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.”

This prologue to the Scripture as a helmeted introduction may be appropriate to all books which we translate from Hebrew into Latin, that can know whatever is outside of them is to be set apart among the writings that we doubt to be true. Therefore, Wisdom, which is commonly ascribed to Solomon, and the Book of Jesus Son of Sirach, and Judith and Tobias, <and> the Pastor are not in the canon. That is the first rule. One found the First Book of the Maccabees in Hebrew, the Second is Greek, which may also be proven by that the phrasing.

Which while these things may be so, I beg you, reader, that you might not consider or think my work a castigation of the ancient men. Each man offers in the Tabernacle of God what he can or is able. Some offer gold and silver and precious stones; others offer valuable cloth and purple and scarlet cloth and violet. It will go well with us, if we offer the skins and hair of goats.²⁴ And as the Apostle determines our more feeble parts to be preferable or more necessary.²⁵ From which

²² The Danish scribe has written “thare affra” and mistaken a long s for an f; cf. *Vulg.* “Thareasra” from Aramaic תְּרַיִי עֵשְׂרִי, *terai-‘aşrai* [twelve].

²³ Apocalypse (Revelation) 4:4–8, 10.

²⁴ Exodus 25:2–7; 35:5–9.

²⁵ 1 Corinthians 12:22.

both the whole of the beauty of the Tabernacle and a distinction of the present and future Church, especially by each living being or creation being covered in skins and hair-cloth. And those things that are more wretched or of less value prevent the sun's heat or the rain's harm. Therefore, first read Samuel and my Malachim; I must say my, because whatever we learn and keep by often translating and carefully improving is ours. And when you understand what you before did not know, either you must regard or consider me a translator if you are grateful, or a bad translator if you are ungrateful. How much or although I shall not swear to be aware of my having changed anything of the Hebrew truth. Truly, if you are incredulous, read Greek books and compare them with these little works. And wherever you see them differ among them, ask every Hebrew, in whom you will give or place faith, and if he confirms our things or works, I expect that you will not consider or reckon him a soothsayer, that he will similarly foretell or guess with me in the same place.

But I also ask you, handmaidens of Christ, who anoint the head of the reclining Lord with the most precious anointment of faith,²⁶ who have in no way sought the Saviour in the tomb,²⁷ for whom Christ now ascends to the Father, that you shall place the shields of your prayers against the barking dogs which are cruel towards me with rabid mouths. And they go around the city,²⁸ and they consider themselves learned when they are slandering others. I, knowing my humility, I will always remember these *sententiae* or judgements: "I said: I will guard my ways, so that I will not sin with my tongue. I have placed a guard on my mouth when the sinners were to stand against me. I was mute or kept silent, and I am humiliated and was silent or kept silent because of good things."²⁹ Here ends the prologue and here begins the First Book of Kings and this is the first chapter.

²⁶ Matthew 26:7; Mark 14:2.

²⁷ John 20:15–17.

²⁸ Psalm 58:7, 15 *Vulg.* (59:6, 14 *KJV*). Note also the translation of "deseviunt" as "grymme æræ" [are cruel] (instead of 'rage'). The phrase employs the word *grim*, a commonly used word in descriptions of Jews and Jewish behaviour. This section of Psalms has been linked to descriptions of Jews as dogs. For more on the association of dogs with Jews, see vol. 1, pp. 212–14.

²⁹ Psalm 38:2–3 *Vulg.* (39:1–2 *KJV*).

32 The Hermit and the Jewess

Version 1

Headnotes

Source: **B** LSB T 180, pp. 39b16–40a17 (c. 1450).

Parallel texts: **A** LSB T 181, pp. 136:4–137:21 (late fifteenth century; see Version 2 below).

Original text: ~

Edition: **B** SMP VI 59–60.

Edition (**B** LSB T 180)

- swa sigis vt af eino
iærtekne af einom ærmita / thet
3 hende at thenne same ærmitin /
tok til at ænxlaxs ij sinom boda-
stad ij skogenom ther han var oc
6 loot siik til ad vm ganga medh werl-
dinne folke ij nogra stund / oppa
thet at han skulde thes formaga
9 ther eptir ij skogenom blifua / tha gik
han ij næsta kōpstadin oc dw-
aldis ther ij nogra daga in-
12 nan thes han ther var / tha skynda-
dhe diæfwlin af stadenom eina
heidna iudzska quinna til at
15 vmganga medh honom swa lenge at
hon medh sinne falske tungo oc fulom
radom gat komit mannen til sam-
18 tykt oc folkomligan / vilia / at synda
medh sik ij skōro lifuerne / tha sago te
badin / at ein huit dufua fløgh

13 eina] *The word is marked by a line with the following gloss in the margin: sara cono A.*

- 21 bort w ærmitans munne / tha vndra-
de quinnan ther oppa / oc ærmitin vart
illa vider / oc prøfuade thet vel at
- 24 var herræ medh thes hægandz nad
vilde ey længre medh honom ij hans hiær-
ta blifua medan han folkomliga haf-
- 27 de vilie oc samtykt fangit til syndenne
tha gik han til ein prest medh gra-
tande tarom oc medh storom angher
- 30 oc bedis afløns ij gudz nampn fore
sina syndher the sama iudzska
quinnan følgde honom oc vilde see h-
- 33 wat han skulde giora oc genstan han var
afløsther fore syndena / tha sago badhe
prestin hans scripta fader / oc swa te quinnan
- 36 at the sama hwita dufuan kom ather
flygande in ij ærmitans mwn / ther
eptir gik han ather heim ij skogen / oc
- 39 lofuode thet gudi stadliga / at han
skulde aldre optarín lata sik løs-
ta til vmga medh werldzliga folke
- 42 oc fik ather gudz vinskap / oc the
nadena som han fore hafde / oc fore thetta
iærteknith skuld varth the heidz-
- 45 niska quinnan cristin / oc tiente gudi /
swa lenge hon liifde / oc fik sik go-
da løøn ij hymerike thet sama vn-
- 48 næ os allom gud

Translation

So, it is told in a miracle about a hermit. It so happened that this very hermit became afraid of staying in his home in the forest. So, he went to the nearest town and stayed there some days until the devil prodded a pagan Jewish woman to be with him for as long as she was able with her false tongue and vile counsel to get the man to agree and wholeheartedly desire to sin with her in a dirty way of living.

34 sago] saga A. 46 fik sik] sik til A. 47–48 vnna] vnn[->æ] A.

Then they both saw a white dove fly out of the hermit's mouth. The woman was amazed by this, and the hermit felt unwell and clearly saw that Our Lord with the grace of the Holy Spirit no longer wished to remain with him in his heart as long as he had got the desire and agreed to sin.

Then he went to a priest with weeping tears and with great regret and asked for absolution for his sins in God's name. That same Jewess accompanied him and wanted to see what he was going to do and immediately he was absolved of his sins. Then, both the priest – his confessor – and the woman saw the same white dove come flying back into the hermit's mouth. After this he went back home to the forest and steadfastly promised God that he would never again let himself have a good time socializing with worldly people and again he received God's friendship and the grace that he had before. Because of this miracle, the pagan woman became a Christian and served God for as long as she lived for which she received good reward in heaven. May God give us all the same thing!

Version 2

Headnotes

- Source:* A LSB T 181, pp. 136:4–137:21 (late fifteenth century).
Parallel texts: B LSB T 180, pp. 39b16–340a17 (c. 1450; see Version 1 above).
Original text: ~
Edition: A SMP V 106–07.

Edition (A LSB T 181)

- Swa sigx vt aff j eno jærtekne
 at en gudelikin ærmethe som længhe haffde wa
 3 rith i gudhz tyænisth ensammyn j ykna skoghenom /
 gik om sydhir j en kôpstadh ok loth sik ther lusta
 til ath vmga *medh* folkeno / j nokra dagha oppa tet
 6 ath han skulle tess bætir wara vtan ængxlan jj sko
 ghenom / ther æptir Nw mædhan han ther war skyndhade
 dyæffwoln aff stadh ena saracenam / ena judiska hed
 9 na quinno / til ath vmga *medh* honum / swa længhe ath
 hon *medh* synne falske twngho ok radhom / at han
 gath komyth mannyn til ath samtykkia ath syndha

- 12 *medh* henne / j fulo ok skøro liffuirne / **tha** sagho the
 badhin ath en hwith dwa fløgh borth w æmetans
 mwnne / **Quinnan** vndradhe her oppa ok æmethin
 15 wardh illa vidhír / ok prøffwadho the thess wel ath
 war herre *medh* tess helghans nadh / ville ey længhír
medh honum j hans hyæarta bliffwa / mædhan han fulan
 18 vilia ok samtykkia fanghit haffde til syndhinna /
 Han gik gænstan bort til en prest grathandhe *medh*
 angír ok ydrogha / ok beddis affløn j gudhz nampn
 21 fore sina syndhír / **Tha** sagho badhe prestin ok swa
 the judhinna / ath the hwitha dwan kom athir
 flyghandhis jn j ærmetans mwn / Ther *medh* gik then
 24 godhe ermethin athír heem j skoghin ok loffuade
 gudhi stadelica / ath han skuldhe ther æptir latha sik
 jnthe lænktha / æptir almoghans vmgangho / ok fik
 27 athir gudz vnskap / ok the nadhír han førra haffde
Ok fore *thetta* jærteknith skuldth wardh the hednis
 ka quinnan *cristin* / ok tyænthe gudhi swa længhe hon
 30 liffdhe **Hær** jnman moghom wi forstandha ath swasom
 godh sædh wardhír forfarin / ok nydhír trykt / ther
 hon wexir op j blandh ogræsan / swa ær ok gudz
 33 kærlekír ey j the mænniskio hyæarta / som mykit wild
medh wærlðhinne vmga / ok kræselikit liffuirne altiidh
 ynska / ok æn tha vndhirstundhum / hon nokon godhan
 36 tanka faar / ok godhan vilia / tha kan *tet* ey længe
 rækkia / *Æptir thy sanctus iohannes crisostomus sighír* / *Sicut impossibile*
est quod ignis jnflammetur in aquis / jta jnpossibile est conpunccionem cordis
 39 *vigere in deliciis* / **Swasom** omøghelikit ær ath
 ellin kan lugha op j høgh j watnom / swa ær
 ok omøghelikit / ath mænniskian faar nokon
 42 angír j sith hyæarta ællir kærlek til gudh /
 mædhan hon hallir sik j kreseliko liffuirne /

Translation

So, it is told in a miracle that a godly hermit, who had long been alone in the service of God in a deserted forest, finally went into a town and let himself have fun in the company of people for a few days, so that afterwards he would better be without fear in the forest. Now, while he was there, the devil prodded a Saracen woman, a Jewish, pagan woman, to keep him company so that with her false tongue and counsel she could make the man agree to sin with her in a vile and dirty way of living. Then they both saw a white dove fly out of the hermit's mouth. The woman was much amazed by this, and the hermit felt unwell and they clearly saw that Our Lord with the Holy Spirit no longer wanted to be in his heart as long as he had a vile desire and agreed to sin.

He immediately went to a priest, weeping with regret and contrition, and in the name of God he asked him for absolution of his sins. Then, both the priest and the Jewess saw the white dove come flying back into the hermit's mouth. With that, the good hermit returned to his home in the forest and steadfastly promised God that he would thereafter not long for the company of people and again received the friendship of God and the grace that he had previously had. And because of this miracle, the pagan woman became a Christian and served God for as long as she lived.

From this we can understand that just as God's seed is spilled and trodden upon where it grows among the weeds, so too is God's love not in the hearts of those people who engage very wildly with the world and always wish for a fancy lifestyle, and furthermore we understand that if he has a good thought and a good desire, it can no longer carry on. As John Chrysostom says, "*Sicut impossibile est quod ignis inflammetur in aqua, ita impossibile est compunctione cordis vigere in deliciis,*" "Just as it is impossible that a fire can blaze high in what, so too is it impossible for a person to get any contrition or love for God in their heart as long as he is engaging in a fancy lifestyle."¹

¹ While the ultimate source is John Chrysostom, the immediate source would appear to be "Sermo 50" (fifteenth Sunday after Trinity) from a Czech Hussite collection. See Iohannes Hus, *Dicta de tempore Magistro Iohannis Hus attributa*, ed. Jana Zachová, Opera omnia, vol. 26A: Dubia, vol. 1, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaevalis, vol. 239A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 1180.

33 The Host Desecration

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 110, f. 62r12–v22 (c. 1385).
Parallel texts: ~
Original text: ~
Edition: A *Klās* 30–31 (no. 41).

Edition (A SKB A 110)

JUdha j enom stadh plæghadho hwar langa fred-
agh at gøra nokro kristno barne vm the kunno
3 thæt fa ælla wigdhom gudz likama vm the kun-
no han fa al the obrygdhилse ok pino som siæl-
wum ihesu *christo* giordhis tha han korsfæstis **Vm**
6 et aar hafdho the gudz likama ok lagdho han
a mulløgh fore sik ok stungo ok sputtadho ok
giordho hanum annor otallik obrygdhилse til
9 thæs mange rødhe bloz drupa vtdrupu
aff hanum j mølløghena **En** aff them no-
kat rørdhir til at taka kristna tro · kungior-
12 dhe thæt enom præst ok sagdhe hanum j hwat
tima han sculde finna them annantidh saman
komna til at gøra gudhi tholikt gab · **Tha**
15 iudhane komo annantidh saman · vmwændis guz
likame j thera nærwaru j fægharstan smaswen sla-
ghin ok blodhohan · hulkin thulomodholikast bleff
18 i mylløghinne innan thæt kom præstin *mædh* kristnom
mannom ok brutu husit owir judhomin · ok toko
gudz likama vmwænt j køtz liknilse swa som han
21 æn bliwir ok baro til kyrkio *mædh* hedhir ok
wyrdhning · **Mange** aff iudhomæn wordhu dræp-
ne ok somlike fludho aff hulkum en ænkia kom til
24 kyrkio *mædh* kristnom mannom · ok sa gudz likama

9 mange] mange [l] A. 20 vmwænt j] vmwæntj A. 21 til] til [he] A.

- tha han lyftis j præstins handum swa som fa
ghran smaswen slaghin ok blodhoghan som hon haf-
- 27 dhe seet han før Ok trodhe sidhan fulkomlika
ok tok kristindom · ok kungiordhe vppinbarlika
alt thætta som nu ær sakt Sidhan hon war døpt
- 30 ok lærdh j trønne ok sculde taka gudz likama ·
sa hon han j barns liknilse sarghadhan swa som
før ok stygdís at taka han sighthande · huru scal
- 33 iak tugga min gudh Præstin bødth hærne taka
ok ey rædhas ok tha han nalkadhis hærna mun
borthwarff barnsins liknilse ok hon tok guz
- 36 likama mz fulle tro · Thætta ær nu vi arom ok xx ·

Translation

Every Good Friday, the Jews of a certain city used to carry out all the abuse and torment, that was done to Jesus Christ himself when he was being crucified, on some Christian child if they could get hold of one or on a consecrated Body of God [i. e., host] if they could get hold of one.

One year, they had the Body of God and laid him before them in a basin and stabbed and spat and performed countless abuses against him until many red drops of blood dripped from him into the basin. One of them, somewhat moved to take the Christian faith, informed a priest about it, and told him at what hour he would find them gathered for a second time in order to carry out such mockery against God.

When the Jews gathered for a second time, the Body of God was transformed in their presence into the most beautiful infant boy, beaten and bloody, who most patiently remained in the basin until the priest arrived with Christian men and broke open the Jews' house and took the Body of God transformed into the likeness of flesh as he still was and carried him to the church with honour and reverence.

Many of the Jews were killed and some fled, of whom a widow came to the church accompanied by Christian men and saw the Body of Christ as it was being raised up in the priest's hands just like a beautiful infant boy, beaten and bloody, as she had seen before. And subsequently she believed completely and accepted Christianity and publicly made known all this that has now been said. Then she

was baptized and instructed in the faith and [when she] was to take the Body of God, she saw it in the likeness of an injured child just like before and was repulsed from taking it, saying, “How am I to chew my God?” The priest ordered her to take it and not to be afraid, and when it approached her mouth, the likeness of the child disappeared, and she took the Body of God with full faith. This was now 26 years [ago(?)].

34 The Jew and the Lightning Strike

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 110, f. 75r8–16 (c. 1385).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: ~

Edition: A Kläs 54 (no. 86).

Edition (A SKB A 110)

En judhe war j bland kristna mæn · owir
hulka rædhelikin thordyn · ok lygneldir ni-
3 dhir fiol · kristne mænnine signadho sik *medh*
kors tekne · Judhin gabbadhe them sighiande
aldrigh drap lygneldir nokan judha vtan
6 munga kristna mæn dræpir han hulke som
sik signa *medh* kors tekne **Ok** genast kom
lygneldir ok vpbrænde judhan · ok kristne
9 mænnine bliwu oskadde

Translation

A Jew was [standing] among some Christians over whom thunder and lightning were falling. The Christians made the sign of the Cross. The Jew mocked them saying that lightning never killed any Jew, but it kills many Christians who make the sign of the Cross. And with that, a bolt of lightning struck and burnt up the Jew, and the Christians remained unharmed.

35 The Jew and the Staff Filled with Gold

Version 1

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, f. 113r28–v2 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, p. 322:15–27 (1450–70).

Original text: **LegAur** 44–45. The OSw. text diverges somewhat from the *Legenda Aurea* making a direct comparison difficult. For this reason, the Latin text is provided in full after the English translation.

Edition: **B** *FsvLeg* I 578; *FsvLeg* PAW III 247–48.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

- en iudhe bōdh enom cristnom manne
edh iwi *sancti* nicholai nampn fore burgat gul som then *cristne* lōgh sik hafua
3 guldit judanum ¶ Ath næmpdum dagh kom then *cristne* at ganga edhin ok
fik mædhan han swor. judhanum sin staf at halda helan ok fullan *medh* gul
ok soor sik hafua iudhanum mera gul aterfanghit. en han borghade ¶
6 Han somnadhe a wæghenom ok wardh thrudin til dōdh vndher waghne
ok *funno* mæn gullit vfallit aff brutnom stafuenom ey wilde iudhin widh
taka gulleno vtan thæn dōdhe ginge til liifs ok iætte sik wardha *cristin* en
9 nicholaus gate thæt giort / thæn dōdhe fik liiff ok iudhin dōptis

Translation

A Jew offered a Christian man [to swear] an oath on the name of St Nicholas for borrowed money, which the Christian lied about having paid the Jew. On the agreed day, the Christian came to swear an oath and whilst he was swearing gave

1 *cristnom*] *cristne* C. 4 at halda] igen at haldha C; helan ... fullan] fwillan C; gul] gul [hafua] B. 5 hafua ... gul] jwdhanom mera gwll hawa C. 6 wæghenom] wæghenum [---] C. 7 *funno* mæn] fwanno [wathnith wthgullith] mæn C. 7–8 widh taka] taka widh C. 8 wardha] wara C.

the Jew his staff – complete and filled with gold – to hold and [he] swore that he had repaid the Jew more gold than he had borrowed. He fell asleep on the road and was trodden to death under a waggon and men found the gold fallen out of the broken staff. The Jew would not take the gold unless the dead man was brought to life, and he promised to become a Christian if St Nicholas could do it. The man was brought back to life and the Jew was baptized.¹

Latin version: *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*]

Source: *LegAur* 44–45.

Translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 1, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 25.

Vir quidam ab uno Iudeo quandam summam pecunie mutuo accepit iurans super altare sancti Nicholai, cum alium fideiussorem habere nequiret, quod, quam citius posset, sibi redderet. Tenente illo diu pecuniam Iudeus eam expostulat, sed eam sibi reddidisse affirmat. Trahit eum ad iudicium et iuramentum indicitur debitori. Ille baculum cautum quem auro minuto impleuerat secum detulerat ac si eius adminiculo indigeret. Volens igitur facere iuramentum Iudeo baculum tradidit reseruandum; iurauit ille quod plus sibi reddiderit etiam quam deberet. Facto iuramento baculum suum repetiit et Iudeus ignarus astutie eum sibi reddidit.

Version 2

Headnotes

Source: **A** SKB A 108, p. 39: 3–30 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: **SelTro** 39 (no. 4).

Edition: **A** *SjäTrö* 48–49.

¹ The text in Version 1 is very abbreviated and the reader almost needs to be familiar with the story already to make sense of it.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

- Thet* war een *cristin* man han kom til een iudha oc wilde goodz aff honom borgha / oc haffdhe engin lofwandz man honom sæthia / **V**tan spordhe iudhan
- 3 om han wilde *sancta nicholaum* hafwa til borghan / **J**udhen swaradhe at honom *sancte nicholaus* wel nøghdhe oc fik honom sith goodz / daghin kom vm sidhe a hwilkom han skulde honom betala / **J**udhen manadhe then *cristna* mannen oc badh
- 6 betala sik sina pæninga / **H**an swaradhe / **A**lt *thet* thu hafdhe mik borghat hafwir iak thik wel betalat / **J**udhen saghdhe ney **T**he thrætto mellan sin swa længe at the komo for rættin badhe / **O**c then *cristne* skulde swæria
- 9 at han honom betalat hadhe / **T**ha hafdhe han lætit gøra een holan staff / **O**c fylte han innan *medh* gul / **T**hen stafwin fik han iudhanom at halda mædhan han skulde edhin swæria / **H**an laghdhe siin finger a hælgho domana och
- 12 swoor at han hafdhe honom meer aterfangit æn han hafdhe aff honom borghat **T**ha han hafdhe sworit / tok han ater aff iudhanom stafwen oc for sin wægh *medh* honom / **V**ppa wæghenom sompnadhe han j wangnenom / oc fiol nidher vndi
- 15 wangnin / oc wangnen knusadhe han til dødth / **T**ha brast stafwin sundir oc gullit fiol vth / oc wart tha for allom oppinbart / at han war swikfuller oc falskir oc iwdhen hafdhe ræth / **T**ha folkit forstodh hans fals oc swik
- 18 saghdho the iudhanom oc badho han taka gullit / **J**udhen swaradhe / **Æ**r *thet* swa at *sancte nicholaus* gifwer thessom dødha mannenom ater sit liiff **T**ha wil iak *cristin* wardha / **O**c han skal sielfwer mik sina skuld betala / **T**het skedhe /
- 21 **T**hen dødhe fik liiff / **O**c iwdhen wardh *cristin* / **O**c alle the *thet* forstodho thordho ey nokra listogha edha swæria / **T**her hafdhe han badhe liiff oc siel fortapat hafdhe ey *sancte nicholaus* honom hulpit thy min
- 24 kære son wakta thik for tholkom falskom oc listoghum eydhum **T**hu skalt

2 oc ... sæthia] ~ *SelTro*. 3 swaradhe] sprak *SelTro*. 4–5 daghin ... betala] so sin tidd quam *SelTro*. 5–6 *Judhen ... pæninga]* do mande han en *SelTro*. 6 swaradhe] sprak *SelTro*. 6–7 *Alt ... betalat]* he hedde eme vorgulden *SelTro*. 7 *Judhen ... ney]* ~ *SelTro*. 7–8 *The ... badhe]* *Se quemen vor dat gerichte SelTro*. 9 at ... hadhe] deme yoden *SelTro*; een ... staff] eynen staff ... de was bynnen hol *SelTro*. 11 och] och [-] *A*. 11–12 *Han ... swoor]* *Dar swor he vp de hilgen SelTro*. 13 sin wægh] to huß *SelTro*. 15 knusadhe] trad (< *trēden*, ‘*sich durch Treten verletzen*’ [*be injured/killed by kicking*], *August Lübben*, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch [Norden: Soltau, 1888]*, s.v. “*trēden*”), *SelTro*. 16 swikfuller] swikfull *A*. 16–17 oc wart ... ræth] *Dar wart de valsheit openbar SelTro*. 17 forstodh ... swik] de warheit segen *SelTro*. 20 *cristin wardha]* de dope vntfan *SelTro*. 22–23 *Ther ... hulpit]* *Dar was beyde lijff vnde sele verloren, en hedde Sunte Nicolaus eme nicht sunderliken gehulpen occurs a few lines earlier, SelTro*. 23–24 min ... son] *Kynt leue SelTro*. 24 falskom ... listoghum] alsulken *SelTro*.

oc enga onda edha swæria / **T**he som thu mat ekki halda / **S**wær thu no-
 kot ont wilia gøra / **T**hen edhin skalt thu engaledhis halda / **V**tan thu skalt
 27 tagha both for *thet* ath thu swa sworth / hwilkin slika edha wil halda han
 syndar moth gudhy groflika

Translation

There was a Christian man. He came to a Jew and wanted to borrow goods from him, and he had no guarantor to present, but asked the Jew if he would accept St Nicholas as a guarantee. The Jew answered that he was happy with St Nicholas and gave him his goods. Finally, the day arrived when he should pay him. The Jew reminded the Christian man and asked him to pay him his money. He answered, “Everything you lent me, I have repaid you well!” The Jew said, “No!” They fought between themselves for so long that they both came before the court and the Christian was to swear that he had paid him. He had had made a hollow staff and filled it inside with gold. He gave the Jew that staff to hold whilst he was swearing the oath. He laid his finger on the Holy Judges and swore that he had given him back more than he had borrowed from him. When he had sworn this, he took back his staff from the Jew and went on his way with it. On the road, he fell asleep in the waggon and fell under the waggon, and the waggon crushed him to death. Then the staff burst open and the gold fell out, and it then became apparent to everyone that he was deceitful and false, and the Jew was right. When the people understood his falseness and deceit, they spoke to the Jew and asked him to take the gold. The Jew answered, “If it is so, that St Nicholas returns dead men to life, then I will become a Christian and he can repay me his debt himself.” It happened! The dead man returned to life and the Jew became a Christian and everyone who understood, did not dare to swear wily oaths. He would have lost both his life and his soul had St Nicholas not helped him. That is why, my dear son, beware false and wily oaths. You shall also swear no bad oaths, those that you may not keep. If you do swear to do some bad thing, then you are not to keep that oath under any circumstances, but rather you should do penance for having sworn such a thing. Whoever keeps such oaths sins very heavily against God.

26 halda] *The MLG version follows this with:* Swerestu, wat bozes to donde, des en schaltu nicht holden, vnde edder du swerest, dat du eynen mynschen slan woldest edder doden edder nummer nicht gudes don, den eyt schaltu nicht holden *SelTro*. 28 syndar ... groflika] de dede grote sunde *SelTro*.

36 The Jew at the Devils' Council

Version 1

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, ff. 131v–132r (1400–50).
Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, pp. 382:25–383:20 (1450–70).
Original text: **LegAur** 936–38.
Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* II 724–25; *FsvLeg* PAW III 396–98.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

- ¶ En iudhe kom syrla j myrke til rom ok lagdhis
at sofua ther eth afgudha mōnster hafdhe warith ok signadhe sik *medh*
3 kors tekne swa som han hafdhe seet *cristna* manna sidh thy at han ræd
dis diæfla ¶ **Gen** midhnat kom en kronadher diæfwl oc sattis a stool
ok dighirt diæfla hærskap vm kringh han ok hiolt rægingh *medh* them
6 ¶ En sagdhe sik hafua vp vækt mangh ørløgh ok mykit blodh wtgutith
ok sagde sik alt *thet* hafua syst j thrætighi daghum ¶ **Annar** sagdhe sik hafua
rørt hafuit oc giort stora storma · ok mangha mæn tappat liiff oc goz
9 j skipbrutum ok sik *thet* hafua syst j · xx daghum tholika læt han sla oc bæria
ok gaff them skuldh · at the hafdho ey mera ilt giort wm swa langhan
thima · en annar sagdhe sik hafua frestat en hælaghan biscop xl aar ok
12 komith han swa nær syndh then apton ok ey før at han klappadhe ena *quinno*
om lænd *medh* sinne hand **Diæfwlin** thok krono aff sino hofdhe ok satte a hans
hofwdh ok sagdhe han hafua mera syslat æn alla the andre **Sidhan** badh

1 En iudhe] Jwdhe en C; syrla] s[i>e]rla B, sørla C. **2** eth ... mōnster] in quodam templo Apolinis *LegAur*. **5** hærskap] \hærscap/ [meth sich] C. **6** vp vækt] \vp/ vækt B, wæcth C; wtgutith] \wt/gutith B, gwthit C. **7** sagde sik] \sagde/ sik B, sich C; thrætighi] xxx C. **8** tappat] hawa tappadh C. **9** hafua syst] syysth \haua/ C; daghum] dagma C; sla ... bæria] \sla oc/ bæria B, bæria C. **12** syndh] \synd/ C. **12–13** klappadhe ... hand] [slog ena kona wm hærda *medh* hende > klappadhe ena *quinno* om lænd *medh* sinne hand] B, slo ena kono om hærda meth sinne handh C, in lapsum carnis precipitai *LegAur*. **14** syslat ... andre] [ilt giort æn alle vy her > syslat æn alla the andre] B, jlth giorth æn alla them C.

- 15 han sik lata faa wita · hwar ther soff · en sagdhe ther liggia eth thomt kaar ok tho
 insiglat ok mente ther *medh* judhan troløsan ok dygdha thoman ok tho sigh-
 nadhan *medh* cors tekne vidh these andhswar flude alt diæfla herskap Ju-
 18 dhin forstodh corsins tekns dygd ok ward *cristin* ok waradhe biscopin widh
 siin wadha ·

Translation

A Jew arrived late in Rome in the dark and lay down to sleep where an idol temple had once stood and blessed himself with the sign of the Cross just as he had seen the Christians' custom to be, because he was afraid of devils. Towards midnight a crowned devil arrived and sat upon a chair with a great court of devils around him and examined their accounts. One said that he had caused many wars and much bloodshed, and he said that he had accomplished all this in thirty days. Another said that he had stirred up the sea and created great storms and many men had lost their lives and cargo in shipwrecks, and this had taken him twenty days. He [the crowned devil] had them beaten and hit and blamed them for not having done more evil in such a long period. Another said that he had been tempting a bishop for forty years and that he [i. e., the bishop] had that evening come so close to sinning that he patted a woman on her back with his hand. The devil took his crown off his head and placed it upon [the other's] head and said that he had accomplished more than all the others. Then he asked to know who was sleeping there. One [of them] said it was an empty vessel, yet sealed, that was lying there and with this he meant the Jew, faithless and empty of virtue, yet blessed with the sign of the Cross. Upon this answer, the entire court of devils fled. The Jew understood the power of the sign of the Cross and became a Christian and warned the bishop about his error.

15 sik lata] sik \lata/ B, sich C; hwar] [ath] hwa C; ok tho] ok {tho} B, och tho C. 16 dygdha] [tydha] dyghda C. 18 tekns] tek\n/s B, tekns C.

Version 2

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 108, pp. 190:1–191:23 (1400–50).

Original text: **SelTro** 150–51 (no. 32).

Edition: A *SjäTrö* 226–27.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

- Thet* war een iudhe han skulde gaa til room / **Een** qwæld kunde han a wæ-
ghenom enkte herberghe faa / **Han** kom om sidhe til ena ødhe kyrkio
3 som hafdhe fordhum warit eet affgudha mønster / **Han** gig ther in oc lagh-
dhe sik til ath sofwa / **Honom** kom swa mykyn ræddoghe oc fasi til at han
ey wiste hwart han wilde / **Oc** æn tho at han war iudhe / signnadhe han
6 sik *medh* thy hælgha korssens tekne / **Thentidh** mitnat kom / vpfyltis møn-
strit alt *medh* diæflom / **Oc** thera hōfdhinge lucifer satte sik mit j mōnstrit
oppa een hōghan stool / ther gingo diæflane fram til skiptis / **Oc** berættō
9 honom hwar the hafdho warit / **Oc** hwat the hafdho syst oc ændat / **Tha** kom
ok een diæfwl fram / **Han** full a knæ oc saghdhe / **Herra** mestare **Jak** hafwer
jeeth landzskap warit / Ther skikkadhe iak folkit saman oc kom them til ath
12 kifwa / **Oc** ther æpter byriadho the til at stridha / oc bleff mykyt folk
saart oc dōth a badha sidhor / **Llucifer** saghdhe / Huru længe hafwer thu ther
warit / **Han swaradhe** / **Jak** ærwodhadhe ther ofwer j xxx dagha / llucifer
saghdhe
15 skulde thu ther swa længe ofwer wara / **Oc** ekki mera ænda / wisselika *thet* skal
thin rygger gælda / **Oc** bōdh genstan gislan oc slan ful wel til skiptis / Ther
kom fram een annar **Oc** saghdhe herra mestare / **Jak** war j hafwino oc vpwek-
18 te starkan storm / **Oc** mykyt folk drunknadhe / **Oc** forgingo mang skip
Llucifer saghdhe / Huru længe wast thu ther ofwer / **Han swaradhe** j xx dagha /
llucifer

1 Een qwæld] eynes nachtes *SelTro*. 2 ena ... kyrkio] eynen tempel, dat was woste *SelTro*.
3 warit ... mōnster] gebuwet in eynes affgodes ere *SelTro*. 4 ræddoghe ... fasi] gruwene
SelTro. 7 thera ... lucifer] Lucifer *SelTro*; mōnstrit] kerken *SelTro*. 9 hwar ... ændat] wat
se woruen hadden *SelTro*. 11 ath] ath at A. 15–16 **Oc** ... gælda] ~ *SelTro*. 16 til skiptis] ~
SelTro. 18 starkan storm] eynen storm *SelTro*.

- saghdhe / Kunde thu ey meer ænda j swa manga dagha / thet skal thu surli-
 21 ka betala / Oc bødth at slaa han wil til wændis / Ther æpter kom then thridhi
 fram oc ssaghdhe / Herra mestare / Jak hafwer j enom kōpstadh warit j eno
 brylløpo / Oc ther halp iak fast til at skænkia oc kom folkit saman ath
 24 kifwa / swa længe at mennene blifwo dōdhø / Oc æn brudhgommin sielfwer
 medh / Llucifer saghdhe / Huru længe wast thu ther ofwer / Han swaradhe j x
 dagha / llucifer
 saghdhe / wana thu aramber stympare / kunde thu ekki mera ænda j x dagha
 27 oc bødth oc han gisla oc fulsla / Ther kom then fiærdhe diæfwllin fram oc
 saghdhe Mestare iak hafwer warit j enom skogh xl. aar nær enom ermeta
 badhe dagh oc nat / Oc bar iak moth honom alla mina fund / oc wilde gerna
 30 lango hafwa komit han j synd / Æn han bewaradhe sik altidh swa at iak
 enkte wik kunde oppa han faa / Tho hafwer iak han tu ther til komit at han
 hafwer medh ene qwinno ena synd bedrifwit / Thentidh lucifer thetta hōrdhe /
 stodh
 33 han vp aff sinom stool / Oc tok han j sin fampn / Oc satte sina krono a hans hof-
 wdth oc loth han nær sik sithia / Oc saghdhe / Thu est een ærlikin frombir
 kæmpe / Thu hafwer ensampnin mera gagn oc nytto forworwit æn the
 36 andre alle saman / Æpter thenna kom een fram oc saghdhe herra mestare
 Her bygger een biscoper heter andreas / Jak hafwer honom længe æpte følgt och
 hafdhe gerna komit han til fal medh ene klosterfru / Nu hafwer iak thet swa nær
 39 komit / at han kalzadhe medh hænne / Oc slogh hona a lændena medh sinne
 hand
 Tha sagdhe lucifer Thu est een fromber kompan / ffulfølgth thet ærandit til
 ænda / Ther maa wel nokot aff wardha / Kan thu koma then biscopin til
 42 fall Jak wil thik krona ofwer alla mina första Judhen la alt oc hōrdhe
 oppa / huru the taladhos widh om siin ærande / Om sidhe saghdhe lucifer
 Hwa ær then ther borto ligger / Lledhin han hiith oc latin see hwat man han
 45 ær / Tha diæflane komo til hans / Ffunno the at han hafdhe sik sighnadh
 medh korsins tekn / Tha ropadho the oc saghdho / Thetta fatit æ tomt

20–21 thet ... betala] ~ *SelTro*. 21 til wændis] ~ *SelTro*. 22 ssaghdhe] [l>s]saghdhe A; kōp-
 stadh] stad *SelTro*. 22–23 j eno brylløpo] up eenre bruytlacht *SelTro* 151n35 (variant in only
 some MLG manuscripts). 23 Oc ... skænkia] ~ *SelTro*. 25 Huru længe] Llænge A. 26 wana ...
 stympare] ~ *SelTro*. 27 gisla oc] ~ *SelTro*. 28 Mestare] Here meyster *SelTro*. 29 dagh ...
 nat] ~ *SelTro*. 30–31 swa ... faa] ~ *SelTro*. 33 tok ... fampn] tak han j sin fampn A, vengk ene
 vmme synen hals vende kuste ene vor synen munt *SelTro*. 34–35 een ... kæmpe] eyn vrom helt
SelTro. 35 ensampnin] ensampnin A; gagn ... nytto] nuttes *SelTro*. 39 kalzadhe] tackede
SelTro; a lændena] ~ *SelTro*. 40 Thu ... kompan] O here man *SelTro*. 42 la] Lla A. 43 huru ...
 ærande] al desse rede *SelTro*. 46 Tha ... saghdho] do begun den se to ropene *SelTro*.

Oc ær tho mærkt *medh* thes hælgha kors tekn / Tha diæflane hørðho thet
 48 flydho the thædhan alle j sænder / Judhin stodh vp oc gig til sama biscopin
 andream oc berætte honom all thera ordh oc athæfwe / ffran thy första oc til
 thet ytersta / Thentidh biscopin hafðhe thetta hørt / lloth han fran sik w sinom
 51 gardhe alla the qwinnor ther waro Oc wilde enga qwinno lata nær sik byggia
 Oc iudhin tok widh *crístne* thro oc løth sik døpa

Translation

There was a Jew who was going to Rome. One evening, he was unable to find a guesthouse on the road. At last, he came to a ruined church that had previously been a temple for idols. He entered and lay down to sleep. He was filled with so much fear and terror that he did not know what to do, and even though he was a Jew, he blessed himself with the sign of the Holy Cross.

When midnight arrived, the temple was entirely filled by devils, and their chief, Lucifer, sat in the centre of the temple upon a high chair. In turn, the devils came before him and told him where they had been and what they had been doing and accomplished. Then a devil came forward. He fell upon his knees and said, “Lord Master! I have been in a country where I brought the people together and made them fight, and afterwards they started to do battle and many people were injured and killed on both sides.” Lucifer said, “How long did this take you?” He answered, “I was working on this for thirty days.” Lucifer said, “If you took so long about this and did not accomplish more, then for sure your back will pay!” And he immediately ordered him to be whipped and beaten in turns.

The second [devil] came forward and said, “Lord Master! I have been at sea and awoken a great storm and many people drowned and many ships were lost.” Lucifer said, “How long did this take you?” He answered, “Twenty days.” Lucifer said, “Could you not accomplish more in so many days? You will pay painfully for this!” And he ordered him to be beaten in turns.

After this the third came forward and said, “Lord Master! I have been at a wedding in a market town and there I helped to pour [drinks] and the people gathered to fight for so long that the men were killed and even the bridegroom himself too.” Lucifer said, “How long did this take you?” He answered, “Ten days.” Lucifer said, “Woe, you poor wretch! Could you not accomplish more in ten days?” And he ordered him to be whipped and beaten hard as well.

49–50 honom ... ytersta] desse mere *SelTro*. 50 biscopin] he *SelTro*.

Then the fourth devil came forward and said, "Master! I have been in a forest close to a hermit both day and night. And I used all my inventions against him and for a long time wanted to draw him into sin. But he always took care of himself so that I could not cause him to weaken. But then I managed to get him to commit a sin with a woman." When Lucifer heard this, he stood up from his chair and embraced him and placed his crown upon his [the fourth devil's] head and had him sit near him. And he said, "You are an honest, pious giant! You alone have brought about more benefit and worth than all the others together."

After this, a [devil] came forward and said, "Lord Master! A bishop called Andreas lives here. I have been following him for a long time and would have liked to bring him into misfortune with a nun. I have got so far that he joked with her and patted her on the back with his hand." Then Lucifer said, "You are a pious fellow! Complete your mission! Something must certainly come of this. If you can draw the bishop into misfortune, then I will crown you above all my princes."

The Jew was lying and listening to how they talked about their missions. Finally, Lucifer said, "Who is that lying over there? Bring him here and let's see what sort of a man he is." When the devils came over to him, they found that he had blessed himself with the sign of the Cross. So, they shouted and said, "This vessel is empty and yet it is marked with the sign of the Cross." When the devils heard this, they fled from there at once. The Jew stood up and went to that same Bishop Andreas and told him all their words and missions from beginning to end. When the bishop heard this, he had all the women who were in his court removed and would allow no woman to live near him. And the Jew took the Christian faith and had himself baptized. My dear friend, the sign of the Cross has a great power.

37 The Jew, the Axe, and St Nicholas

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 110, f. 109r17–24 (c. 1385).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: ~

Edition: A Kläs 108 (no. 160).

Edition (A SKB A 110)

- En judhe lænte enom kristnom man ena yxe
kristne mannin nekadhe yxena wara
3 iudhans tha han atirbeddis hona The ko-
mo badhe for en doom Sancti nicholai dyg-
dh lettis at sannindin matte vppinbaras oc
6 ginstan vprætte yxen sik ok taladhe sighian-
de jak ær judhans · hulkin sannelika lænte
mik thæssom sama kristna manninom

Translation

A Jew lent an axe to a Christian man. The Christian denied that the axe belonged to the Jew when he was asked to return it. They both came before a court. The aid of St Nicholas was sought that the truth be revealed, and the axe immediately jumped up and spoke, saying, “I belong to the Jew who truly lent me to this very Christian!”

38 The Jew, the Fish, and the Host

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 110, f. 51r12–v22 (c. 1385).
Parallel texts: ~
Original text: ~
Edition: A Kläs 12–13 (no. 9).

Edition (A SKB A 110)

Nær enom stadh som hetir **V**rbeeth liggir
en flodh Thæt timde at en iudhe foor
3 thær fram han fan thær en kristen man taka
fiska ok taladhe til hans · **V**ilt thu mik tro
Tha wil iak thik kænna huru thu mat fis-
6 ka fa j the flodhinne æ mæn thu wilt **o**k
thær skulu fiska ey minzskas Han swaradhe
Sigh mik thæt ok iak tro thik Judhin sagdhe
9 Thæn tidh thu skalt taka gudz likama tha *gøm*
hostiam hela j thinom munne ok gak hiit
ok kasta hana hær nidhir j thæssa flodhena · ok
12 sidhan skulu thek aldrigh brista fiska **H**ulkit
thæn vsle mannin giordhe a paska dagh tha
kastadhe han gudz likama nidhir j flodhena
15 thær han hafdhe takit **O**k vm morghonin foor
han vt at fiskia ok thæt fôrsta han kastadhe vt
sin krok tha fik han en storan fisk som hetir a
18 thera maal parbar · hulkin som hafdhe gudhz li-
kama fræmmærst j sinom munne som thæn vsle
mannin hafdhe j flodhena kastat · **T**ha han thætta
21 sa tha skalff han aldir ok ræddis storlika ok
slæpte fiskinom j watneno ok kastadhe wandin
widhir iordhina ok lop thæt mæsta han gat til
24 kyrkionna **o**k ropadhe saman aff rædde alt fol-
kit ok præstin · **O**k scriptadhe sik aff storum angir
ok kændis sina gerning ok synd oppinbarlika **O**k
27 ginstan præstin ok alt folkit gingo *mædh* storum

hedhír til thæn stadhín ok funno fiskin standan-
 de j watnino sama stadh **Ok mædh** storum hedhír
 30 hiult vp høght gudz likama fræmmarst a sino næ-
 wi **Ok** ginstan præstin kom til fiskin mædh budh-
 kenom tha slæpte fiskin sinom skapara nidh j
 33 budhkin mædh storum hedhír **Ok** ginstan gik fiskin
 helbrygdho sin wægh ok war fræls som wæl war
 wært for thæn dyra herran thær han j sinom mun-
 36 ne bar

Translation

There is a river near a city called Orvieto.¹ It happened that a Jew went there. He found there a Christian man fishing and spoke to him: “If you believe me, then I will teach you how you can take fish from this river as often as you like and the [number of] fish will never decrease.” He answered, “Tell me this and I will believe you!” The Jew said, “When you are to receive the Body of God [i. e., take communion], hide the whole host in your mouth and come here and throw it into this river and then you will never lack fish.” Which the wretched man did on Easter Day when he threw the host into the river where he had been fishing. And in the morning, he left to go fishing and as soon as he cast his hook, he got a large fish that in their language is called a *parbar*, which was holding in the front of its mouth the host that the wretched man had thrown into the river. When he saw this, he shuddered all over and was greatly afraid and released the fish into the water and threw the fishing rod onto the ground and ran as fast as he could to the church and out of fear summoned all the people and the priest. And [he] confessed with great remorse and publicly admitted his deed and sin. And with great honour, the priest and all the people immediately went to that place and found the fish standing in the water in that same place, and with great honour, [it] held up high the Body of God in the front of its mouth. And as soon as the priest came to the fish with a ciborium, the fish dropped its creator down into the ciborium with great honour. And immediately afterwards the fish went saved [lit. healed] upon its way and was free as was well deserved on account of the dear lord whom he carried in his mouth.

1 “Vrbeeth” may refer to Orvieto (Lat. *Urbs Vetus*), Italy.

39 The Jew, the Host, the Devil, and the Sieve

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 110, ff. 46r18–47r11 (c. 1385).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: ~

Edition: A Kläs 4–5 (no. 3).

Edition (A SKB A 110)

- Thæt war en brodhir som het gregorius aff
enom stadh som hetir abilio hulkin som hør-
3 dhe sannind aff them thætta wiste at en quinna
wælburin aff thydhisland j hulke diæfwlin
war ok tho som sigx hafdhe the quinnan got
6 liwærne ok war the pinan hæne giwin j wær-
ldinne til sinna synda rensilsa ok thæn diæfwl-
len taladhe j hæne ok vppinbaradhe mang
9 thing ok ey mødde han hona idhelika ok thy
gik hon stundom til kyrkio ok hørðhe mæssø Thæt
hænde en syndagh tha hon hafdhe hørð mæssø · ok
12 gik aff kyrkionne · Vtan for kykionne stodh my-
kit folk · owir nokrom ærindom · j bland them
stodh en judhe Tha kom præstin framgangande
15 vm thæm mædh gudz likama ok liusum til en siu-
kan man · Tha præstin gik aff kyrkionne Ok
ginstan the quinnan som diæfwlen war j ok alt
18 folkit fiol a knæ ok giordho gudz likama hedhir
æn iudhen stodh quar oc vilde ey gøra gudz licama wyrðhning
hwlkit diæfwlen som j quinnonne war · sa ok
21 lop rasklika til iudhans ok hooff vp quinnon
na hand ok gaff them judhanom j hans æne
en storan pust ok sagdhe · Hør vsæl judhe hwi

7 rensilsa] ren{silsa} A. 19 æn ... wyrðhning] |æn iudhen sto\dh/ | quar oc vilde | ey gøra gudz
li{cama wyrðhning} A. 20 som] {som} A.

- 24 gør thu ey hedhir thinom gudhi ok thinom ska-
para ok thinom atirløsara Tha swaradhe jud-
hin · Tholike gudha æru mange for thæn sculd
- 27 at j hwario altare ær en gudh tha mæssan
sigx · Æn tho at ey ær ok scal wara vtan en
gudh · Diæfwlen swaradhe ffaan mik et saald
- 30 Ok ginstan fingo the hanum thæt Tha tok han
saldit ok satte thæt mællan sin ok solinna · som
tha skeen skærlika · Ok tha soolin sken gynom
- 33 saldins burur Tha gingo swa manga soolgizsla
gynom saldit som thær waro buru vppa saldino
Diæfwlen taladhe til judhin Se thu hær gy-
- 36 nom saldit manga soolgizsle Judhin swaradhe ja · diæ-
fwlen swaradhe hwat ær j thæsso skinino mer
æn en sool · Swa ær ok j
- 39 sacramento ihesu *christi* likama j altareno ælla
hwar han ær · en gudh j hwarium stadh oatskil-
likin ok oumskiptelikin oc j mangum stadhum
- 42 oc vmskiptelikum · tha nøta gudz wini hans
likama · Ok swa wardh thæn judhin wnnin
mædh angir gudhi til hedhirs ok warre tro
- 45 til styrkilsa

Translation

There was a brother who was called Gregory from a city that was called Avella[?],¹ who heard from those who knew the truth, that there was a well-born woman from Germany in whom was the devil; and yet about this woman it was said she led a good life and was given this torment in this world to purify herself of sin. And the devil spoke inside of her and revealed many things, and he did not trouble her continually and so she sometimes went to church and heard mass.

It so happened one Sunday that she heard mass and was walking out of the church. Many people were standing outside of the church with things to do [and]

33 saldins] sal\d\ins A; soolgizsla] soolgi\z/[l]sla A. 35 Diæfwlen ... judhin] Judhin taladhe til diæfwlen *with markings for transposition*, A. 36 saldit] \saldit/ A. 38 sool . Swa] sool . [Diæfwlen swaradhe] Swa A.

1 “Abilio” may refer to Avella (Lat. *Abella*), Italy.

among them was standing a Jew. Then the priest came out walking before them with the Body of God [i. e., the host] and candles for a sick man. When the priest walked out of the church, the possessed woman and all the people immediately fell to their knees and honoured the host, but the Jew stayed standing and did not pay respect to the host, which the devil who was inside the woman saw. And he quickly ran over to the Jew and raised the woman's hand and dealt the Jew a great blow in his brow and said, "Listen, wretched Jew! Why do you not honour your God and your creator and your saviour?" Then the Jew replied, "There are many such gods because in every altar there is a god to whom the mass is said, and yet there is not and cannot be but one god." The devil answered, "Fetch me a sieve!" And immediately he was given one. Then he took the sieve and held it between himself and the sun which was then shining brightly. And the sun shone through the mesh in the sieve. The devil said to the Jew, "Do you see many sunrays here through the sieve?" The replied, "Yes." The devil answered, "What are these rays but one sun? So too it is in the sacrament of the Body of Christ in the altar or wherever he is. One God in every place, undivided and unchanged, in many and different places." Then the friends of God enjoyed his body [i. e., the Christians present took communion] and thus the remorseful Jew was won over to the honour of God and the strengthening of our faith.

40 The Jew Who Attacked the Virgin Mary's Bier

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 34, f. 6rb8–vb24 (c. 1350).

Parallel texts: B UUB C 528, ff. 6v–7r (1400–50); C SRA E 8900, pp. 11:23–12:19 (1450–70).

Original text: **LegAur** 783–85; cf. Monika Haibach-Reinisch, *Ein neuer “Transitus Mariae” des Pseudo-Melito: Textkritische Ausgabe und Darlegung der Bedeutung dieser ursprünglicheren Fassung für Apokryphenforschung und lateinische und deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, Bibliotheca Assumptionis B. Virginis Mariae, vol. 5 (Vatican: Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1962), 102–05.

Editions: A *FsvLeg* I 14–16; *FsvLeg* III 21–23; *FsvLeg* PAW II 31–33.

Edition (A SKB A 34)

huru var

Petrus fru bars tel graua ·

- 3 bæt iohanni bæra paradis palm
firi lik bar · ok paulo mæþ
bæra likbarena ok alle apostoli
6 folghþo ok sotleka sungo sua
høght at iuþa hørþo : ok en
tjþande sagþe flerum at
9 alle apostoli fœra mariam tel gra
ua dœþa ¶ Iuþa væmpto sik ok
calloþo huar annan ok baþo dræ
12 pa alla apostolos ok marie ben a

1–2 huru ... graua ·] huru ... graua · written above the col. by later hand A, ~ B, C. 3 bæra ... palm] bæra parads palm A, bæra palm qwistin B, at bæra paradiis palmen C, hanc palmam ... portabis *LegAur*. 4–5 paulo ... ok] paulo *medh* sik bæra likbarena B, paulo bœdh at barena *medh* sik bæra æn C. 6 sungo] *samman* sungo B. 7 hørþo ... en] hœrdho ok baro B, thet hœrdho oc en bar C. 8 tjþande] tjþande [ok] A; sagþe flerum] Ok sagdho flerum B, oc sagdhe thet flerom judhom C. 9–10 alle ... graua] apostoli fœrdho ihesu modhir til graff dœdha B, apostoli fœra mariam ihesu modher dœdha C. 11 huar] hwar a B. 12–13 a ... brenna] brænna j baale C.

- bale brænna ¶ Iuþa biscopar
 var galin : han grep handom
 15 likbarena : ok vilde við iorþ
 casta : han fik braþa guz hæmd
 firi folsko derue : warþ numin
 18 ·i· handom : ok worþo onyta :
 ok sua bundana við likbarena
 at han gat ængalund liþughar
 21 ælla lós wrþet ok værkte sarleka
 ok øpte · Sancte petre help mik þu
 est van at halpa nøpstadom · petrus
 24 suaraþe vi ærum alle tomløse ·ii·
 vara fru þienist ok gitum nu eigh
 iartingne giort : vilt þu þo tro
 27 ·a· ihesum *christum* ok at hans moþer do
 menlós mō þa varþar þu lós · han
 sagþe sik tro ok lōstes þaghar æn
 30 þo han stoþ eigh fastar : þo hafþe
 han en værk ok sarsōka : tel han
 mintes við likbarena som petrus
 33 hanom ræþ ok sagþe sik tro som
 fōr ihesum vara guz son ok hans
 moþor mō vara sua siþan som fōr
 36 æn hon fōde : Siþan fik biscopen
 bōtar af allom værk ok varþ
 cristen : alle andre iuþa wrþo
 39 blinde ok gato ængom giort ·

14 var galin] galin ok odhir aff thøm allom B, war galen oc odhaster aff allom thøm C, obstupuit et ira repletus *LegAur.* 14–15 handom likbarena] badhom til barena C. 15–16 við ... casta] kasta widh jordh C. 16 braþa] bradhlika [ok] B. 17 firi ... derue] for \sina/ folsko \oc/ dyrfwe \oc/ B, fore sinna folsko dyrwe C. 17–18 warþ ... worþo] wardh nummin j handum ok B, hans hændher wordho C, manus eius ... aruerunt *LegAur.* 21 ælla] ok B; sarleka] saara C. 22 petre] petrus C. 24 tomløse] olydogha C, impediti *LegAur.* 25 nu eigh] ey nw B, C. 26 þo tro] þo tro B. 28 þa ... lós] spero quod continuo sanitatis beneficio poteris *LegAur.* 29–30 æn ... eigh] thædhan : Han stodh B, æn tho at han stodh ey C. 30–31 þo hafþe ... sarsōka] ariditas remanserat et dolor uehemens non recesserat *LegAur.* 31 tel] til thæs C. 32 likbarena] barena B; petrus] sanctus petrus B. 33 ræþ] radde hanum B, reedh honom C. 34 ihesum] ihesum *christum* B. 35 moþor ... vara] vara covered by an ink blot A, [modhir] modhir wara mō B, modher mō C. 36 fik] warth C. 37 bōtar] fōr C. 39 ængom] ænkte B, enghom meen C.

petrus sænde paradís palm tel
 þera ok fingo alle bøtar · som palm
 42 men hannaðo meþ tro · a· ihesum *christum*
 ok at hans moþer do menløs mø ·
 ok ænge andre fingo bøtar vtan
 45 gingo blinde allan sin aldar : siþan
 lagþo apostoli guz moþor i graf · som hæn
 na son bøþ miþ vact i dal iosafat

Translation

How Our Lady was carried to the grave

Peter asked John to carry the paradise palm¹ in front of the bier and Paul to help carry the bier and all the apostles to follow and sing sweetly, so loudly that even the Jews also heard the news, and [they] told many that all the apostles were taking Mary to her grave of death. The Jews armed themselves and called to and ordered each other to kill all the apostles and to burn Mary's bones on a pyre. The Jews' chief priest was mad: he grabbed the bier with his hands and wanted to throw it to the ground. He immediately received God's revenge for his false arrogance: his hands were paralyzed and were useless and stuck to the bier, so that he was in no way able to get free or unstuck, and it hurt a great deal, and he shouted, "Saint Peter! Help me! You're used to helping those in need." Peter answered, "We are all busy in the service of Our Lady and cannot perform any miracles now. But if you believe in Jesus Christ and that his mother died as an immaculate virgin, then you'll be set free." He [i. e., the Jewish priest] said that he believed and immediately became unstuck. Although he was no longer stuck, he was still in pain and it was hurting more and more, until he kissed the bier, as Peter had advised him, and he said that he believed Jesus to be the Son of God and his mother to be a virgin both after and before she gave birth. Then the priest was relieved of all his pain and became a Christian. All the other Jews went blind and could not do anything to anyone. Peter sent the paradise palm to them and those who touched

41 alle] alle tha B, alle the C. 41–42 palmmen hannaðo] hannaðo palmin B. 42 a] \a/ B; *christum*] xp̄[c] A. 46 i graf] igraf A. 47 miþ vact] om midianat C; dal] walle B.

1 The palm branch is associated with Jesus' entry to Jerusalem on Palm Sunday (John 12:13). Note also that there are numerous alliterative couplets in the OSw. text that make it suitable for reading aloud: e. g., "paradís palm," "søtleka sungo," "ben a bale brænna," "liþughar ælla løs," and "menløs mø."

the palm were all cured through belief in Jesus Christ and that his mother had died an immaculate virgin. And no-one else was cured but they were blind for the rest of their lives. Then the apostles lay the mother of God in the grave as her son had commanded in the middle of the Valley of Josaphat.

41 The Jew Who Stabbed the Icon

Version 1

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, f. 131v20–27 (1400–50).
Parallel texts: **C** SRA E 8900, p. 382:15–25 (1450–70).
Original text: **LegAur** 934.
Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* II 724; *FsvLeg* PAW III 395–96.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

- ¶ **EN** iudhe j constantinopoli grep eth kors
aff *sancte* sophie kirkio ok laghde *medh* swerde *gønum* strupan · bilætít blødde
swa at judhans
- 3 klædhe ok howd wrdo blodugh · Judhin kastadhe ræddir corsit j en brun
en *cristin* man mōtte hanum oc øpte han wara mordara ok thy blodu-
ghan wrdin · Judhin øpte moth ok sagdhe *cristna* manna gudh mykin ok
- 6 maktoghan wara ok sagdhe alt gørla som giort vart ok wiste hwar
korsit laa ok wardh siælfuir *cristin* ok synis wndin a belatins strupa æ mæ-
dhan *thet* ær belate

1 EN] \E/N B, En C; grep] conspexit *LegAur*; kors] kors C, ymaginem christi *LegAur*. **2** strupan ... blødde] strupan · |bilætít blødde| B, strupan oc thaghar bløddhe *thet* C, in gutture Christum [...] Statimque inde sanguis exiuit *LegAur*. **3** klædhe] klædhe C, faciem *LegAur*; Judhin ... brun] Jwdhin kastadhe ræddhir korsith j en brwn C, Qui territus ymaginem accepit et ipsam in puteum proiecens statim aufugit *LegAur*. **4** øpte] ropadhe C. **5–6** mykin ... maktoghan] mykin och maktoghan C, magnus *LegAur*. **7–8** mædhan] mæn C.

Translation

A Jew in Constantinople grabbed a crucifix [i. e., image or icon of the Crucifixion] from the Church of Sancta Sophia¹ and pushed his sword through its throat. The image bled so that the Jew's clothes and head became bloodied. Afraid, the Jew threw the crucifix into a well. A Christian man came across him and shouted that he was a murderer and that was why he was covered in blood. The Jew shouted back and said that the God of the Christians was great and powerful and told [him] what had happened in every detail and showed [him] where the crucifix was and became himself a Christian and the wound on the throat of the image is still visible for as long as there is an image [i. e., as long as the icon exists].

Version 2

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 108, pp. 185:18–186:1 (c. 1400–50).

Original text: *SelTro* 147 (no. 28).

Editions: A *SjäTrö* 221; *SjäTrö* K 297.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

Hør æn eet annat *miraculum* aff thy hæl-

gha korsse ¶ **E**En iudhe kom gangande j ena kyrkio oc fan ther enkte

- 3 folk inne / **H**an fik vth sit swærdh / oc gig til korsit / oc stak *thet* gynom hal-
sin / genstan sprang ther vth blodh / oc sprang iudhanom vndir ænlitit / Judhen
wardh forfæradhir oc ræddir / **H**an tok oc kastadhe *thet* j een brun oc lop sin
6 wægh / **E**n cristin man kom j moth widhir han oc saghdhe **O** thu iudhe thu est

3 **H**an fik] Do he dat sach, dat dar nement ne was wen he allene, do toch he *SelTro*. 4 vndir ænlitit] vnder de ogen *SelTro*. 5 forfæradhir ... ræddir] vorueret *SelTro*. 6 saghdhe ... iudhe] sprak: “Wor lopestu hen, du yode? *SelTro*.”

1 Hagia Sophia (Greek Ἁγία Σοφία, Latin *Sancta Sophia*) was the Orthodox patriarchal basilica in Constantinople (Istanbul). Dedicated in 360, it was famous for its enormous collection of holy relics and sacred objects.

- een mordhare / Thu hafwîr dræpit nokon man / Han swaradhe / Thu lyughîr iak
hafwîr thet ekki giorth / Cristne mannen saghdhe / wisselika thu hafwîr giorth
eet
- 9 mordh ellîr draap / thu est æn allîr blodhughîr / Tha swaradhe iudhen
Sannelika
thet weth iak nu for wisso at idhar cristna manna gudh / han ær een sandîr gudh
Jak hafwîr enga mænniskio dræpit / vtan ihesu christi bilæte hafwîr iak vndat
medh mi-
- 12 no swærdhe / Oc thet hafwîr mik besprenkt medh sino blodhe / Oc ledde swa
then
cristna mannin medh sik til brunnen / The toko ther vp korssit oc baro thet in ·j·
kyrkiona / Oc vnden j halsenom synis æn j dagh oppenbarlika Judhin took
15 widh throne oc loth sik dōpa / Oc thiænte sidhan gudhy aff allo hiærta

Translation

Hear yet another miracle of the Holy Cross! A Jew came walking into a church and found that there were no people inside. He took out his sword and walked over to the cross and stabbed it through the throat. Straightaway blood spurted out and fell onto the Jews' face. The Jew was horrified and afraid. He took the cross and threw it into a well and ran on his way. A Christian approached him and said, "Oi! You, Jew! You're a murderer! You've killed someone!" He answered, "You're lying! I haven't done that!" The Christian said, "For sure you have committed some murder or killing! You're all covered in blood!" Then the Jew answered, "Truly, I know now for sure that the God of you Christians is a true god! I have killed no-one, but with my sword, I wounded an image of Jesus Christ and it showered me with its blood." He then led the Christian to the well. They pulled up the crucifix and carried it into the church and to this day the wound on its throat is still visible. The Jew took the faith and had himself baptised and then served God with all his heart.

7 Han swaradhe] De yode sprak *SelTro*. 7–8 iak ... ekki giorth] ~ *SelTro*. 9 mordh ... draap] mort *SelTro*; Tha ... iudhen] Do sprak de yode *SelTro*. 10 weth] proue *SelTro*; idhar ... gudh] yuwe god Ihesus Christus *SelTro*. 14–15 Judhin ... hiærta] Do leit sijk de yode dopen *SelTro*.

42 The Jewish Boy in the Oven

Version 1

Headnotes

Source: A LSB T 180, pp. 41b31–43a16 (c. 1450).

Parallel text: B LSB T 181, pp. 142:11–145:22 (late fifteenth century; see Version 2 below).

Original text: Unknown. Cf. *LegAur* 796.

Edition: A SMP VI 62–64.

Edition (A LSB T 180)

Note: Part of the sermon's exposition is included at the beginning of the transcription to provide context.

Nw *thet* tridia

oc *ytersta som* vi skulom *merkia*

3 ij *them första ordonom / som* ek sag-

de *thet ær iosep* oc *maria fun-*

no van *herra iesum* ij *kirkione*

6 oc *thet* var vm *dagen / oc ey*

vm *nattena / mænmiskione da-*

gher til at *søkia eptir* *varom*

9 *herra / thet ær liifs* time til

kroppin / oc thet ær oc *natti*

ne thime til *sælene / æn eptir*

12 *thenne liifs thiman / ta ær* nat

oc *myrkir fore kroppenom / oc*

nadine thime ær tha *fram-*

15 *lidin* ij *thenne werldinne* til *salenne*

thy radher os *prophetin ysayas*

oc *siger swa Querite dominum*

15 *werldinne]* *wldinne* A.

- 18 *dum inveniri potest invoke eum dum prope est*
thet ær spørin oc søkin eptir varom herra
medan han lather sik finnas / oc kallin
- 21 *oppa honom medan han ær yder swa nær*
stadder oc swa som han loot sik finnas
ij kirkione ij them thimanom / tha iosep
- 24 *oc maria søkto eptir honom / swa later han*
nw finnas sin likama oppa altare-
nom / ij prestins handom / sannan gud oc
- 27 *man / som han fødder var af iomfrv maria*
skære møø forvtan synd / oc æn tho
at han theer sik ther ij brødzsins
- 30 *liknilse / tha ær han visseliga then*
same som dødin tolde a korseno / for
alla werldena helso skuld / oc ather-
- 33 *løsn fran diæfwlenom / Swa siger*
ein af mestarnom Constat in altari
carnem de pane creati / illa caro
- 36 *deus est / qui dubitat reus est / thet ær vis-*
seliga ær thet santh oc stadfest
medh gudi at aa altareno var-
- 39 *dher brødit til ein likama / oc then*
same likamen ær sannerliga var
gud / oc hwar ther nogot twækar
- 42 *vti / han ær brodzligin amote gudi*
oc helga troo / oc oppa thet at hwar
ein cristin mænnesskka skal thenna
- 45 *trona stadliga behalda vtan alla*
twækan / tha hafuer var herre ihesus
ij mangom iærteknom beuist sik lik-
- 48 *amliga vara ij prestins hand / af*
huilkom eit af them iærteknom vil
ek min ordh lykta meder / thet
- 51 *hende swa ij einom kōpstat hwar*
mange iuda bygdo inne ij bland
cristit folk oc thera barn gingo

21 swa nær] swanær 28 skære] skøre A. 31 for] for[-] A. 34 mæstarnom] mæsta{rn}om A.
 38 aa altareno] aa [l] alta{t>r}areno A. 42 gudi] possibly gud A.

- 54 til samen heidne pilta *medh crisonom* til skola / vm pasca dagh
skedde *thet swa* / at iuda son var
- 57 stadder ij *kirkione medh crisonom* diæknom / tha the togo gudz likama / oc vaktade giorliga aat
- 60 hwat ther giordes / vppa *thet* at han vilde *thet sama sigia sinom fader* / tha han hem kome / tha
- 63 saa han ij hwart sin *prestin lypthe vp gudz likama* af altareno / oc vilde gifua fol-
- 66 keno at han holt eit karst litit swein barn ij *sinne hand* oc tha *mænniskian gapade* oc
- 69 han loot *thet* til herne *mwn* / tha vendis *thet ather* ij eit litit oflæte / nw tha han hafde vndr-
- 72 at her oppa ij nogra stund tha gik han *fram* / ij bland *medh flerom diæknom* / oc dyrfde
- 75 sik til at taka gudz likama *medh them* / oc ther *eptir* gik han heim til sin fadher / tha spor-
- 78 de fadherin *honom* til hwar han hafde varit / piltin *swarade* oc sagde / at han hafde varit
- 81 ij *crisnamamma kirkio* oc takit gudz likama *medh sinom skolabrøddrom* / tha vart then
- 84 vsle mannen *iudin hans fader galin oc vredher* / oc bant *genstan then sama sin egin son* / oc
- 87 kastade han vti ein *brinnan-* de vngn / modren *piltsins lop oppa gatona* / oc byria-

56 at] Followed by a lacuna, A. 75 taka] thaka A. 78 han] |han| A. 85 oc] \oc/ A. 88 pilt-
sins] pilsins A.

- 90 de til at *grata* / oc ropade
 sik ve / oc loot illa / swa len-
 ge at ther komo løpande *cris-*
 93 ne men / oc iuda / oc spordo
 henne aat hwat henne ska-
 dde / hon sagde at henne
 96 bonde brende vp thera en-
 da son / oc ropade hon oc gret
 swa sara / *thet* folkit ther
 99 var komit slogo vp thes iudans
 port oc gingo in ij hans stof-
 uo / oc *funno* piltin en heilan
 102 oc helbrigdan sititande inne
 ij ongnenom / swa at *honom* *einthe*t
 skadde / the toko *honom* ther
 105 vth / oc spurdo *honom* til hw-
 rw han kunde swa lifua ij æl-
 denom / piltin swarade oc sag-
 108 de swa / ther inne ij vngnenom
 var ein fagher iomfrv velklæt
 oc hafde ij sino skøte eit kar-
 111 sth litit sweinbarn / hwilkit
 mik tykte vara *thet* sama
 som ek tok w *prestins* hand ij min
 114 mwn *medh* diæknonom ij *crisna*
 manna *kirchio* ij dagh / oc ther
 fore vilde min fadher mik bre-
 117 nna / the sama iomfrvn kasta-
 de vt ofuer mik sina kapo swa
 at ældin kunde mik *einthe*t scada
 120 til thes ij tokin mik ther vth
 Nw tha *crisne* men *thetta* hørdo
 tha toko the then sama gambla
 123 iudan piltzsins fader oc ka-
 stado *honom* ij sama eldin oc
 vart *genstan* op *brendher* / fore thera
 126 øgom oc fore *thetta* iærteknit skuld

109 velklæt] velklæ|t| A.

vordo mange iuda crisne ij them
 thimanom / oc gudz cristin almo-
 129 ge stadgadis thes ytermer ij
 gudz tiænist / sik til godan løn
 ij hymerike / thet sama [...]

Translation

[Exposition:] Now the third and final thing that we should notice in the first words that I spoke:¹ it is that Joseph and Mary found Our Lord Jesus in the church [i. e., temple] and it was daytime, not night-time, when the people agreed to look for Our Lord. That is daylight for the body, and it is also night-time for the soul. But after this daytime, it is night and dark for the body and the time of mercy for the soul has passed in this world. Therefore, the prophet Isaiah advises us and says: *Quærite Dominum dum inveniri potest; invocate eum dum prope est*, that is “Ask and seek Our Lord, while he may be found, and call upon him while he is standing near.” [Isaiah 55:6] And as he let himself be found in the temple at the moment when Joseph and Mary were looking for him, so now he, true God and man who was born of the pure virgin Mary without sin, lets his body be found upon the altar in the hands of the priest and even though he appears in the likeness of bread, he is certainly the same [person] who suffered death on the Cross for the wellbeing of the world and salvation from the devil. Thus says one of the masters: *Constat in altari carnem de pane creari, illa caro deus est, qui dubitat reus est*,² that is “Certainly it is true and confirmed by God that bread on the altar becomes a body, and that same body is truly our God. And whoever doubts that is committing a crime against God and the Holy Faith.” And as every Christian must constantly keep this

131 sama] *Followed by a lacuna, A.*

1 “[P]ost triduum inuenerunt eum parentes eius in templo” [after three days his parents found him in the temple; Luke 2:46], LSB T 180 (A), p. 38.

2 This orthodox affirmation of the doctrine of transubstantiation has uncertain origins but became commonplace. The earliest record of it is in an anonymous text from the Benedictine abbey in Melk, Austria, written shortly after 1135 which records the words of Berengar of Tours (c. 999–1088) when, in rhyming couplets, he renounced heresy as “Constat in altari carnem de pane creari; Ipsa caro Deus est; qui negat hoc, reus est” [It is confirmed that on the altar bread becomes flesh; this flesh is God; whoever denies this is a villain]. See *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 213, col. 979a, and Favreau Robert, “Les inscriptions du calice et de la patène de l’abbé Pélage au Louvre,” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 137e année, N. 1 (1993): 31–48 (40–43).

belief without all doubt, Our Lord Jesus has proven in many miracles to be bodily present in the hands of the priest. With one of these miracles, I will now end my words with you.

[Exemplum:] It so happened in a market town where many Jews lived among the Christian people and their children went to school together – pagan boys with Christian ones – that it so happened on Easter Day that the son of a Jew was standing in the church with Christian schoolchildren when they took the Body of God and was paying close attention to what was being done with it as he wanted to tell his father when he came home. Then he saw that as the priest lifted the Body of God from the altar and was to give it to the people, he was holding a healthy little baby child in his hand, and when the people opened their mouths and he passed it to their mouths, it reverted to a small host wafer.³ Now when he had been amazed by this for some time, he stepped forward with several schoolchildren and dared to receive the Body of God with them, and afterwards he went home to his father. When his father asked him where he had been, the boy answered and said that he had been in the Christians' church and together with his schoolfriends received the Body of God. Then that wretched man, that Jew, his father, went crazy and became angry and immediately tied up his own son and threw him into a burning oven. The boy's mother ran up the street and started to cry and shouted her woe and wailed for so long that Christian men and Jews came running and asked her what had happened to her. She said that her husband was burning their only son to death, and she shouted and wept so pitifully that the people who had come to her broke open the Jew's door and went into his dwelling and found the boy, still intact and healthy, sitting inside the oven as if nothing had happened to him. They pulled him out and asked him how he could be alive like this in the fire. The boy answered and said thus: "There inside the oven was a beautiful well-dressed virgin and she had on her lap a healthy little baby boy who seemed to me to be the same one that I had received from the priest's hand into my mouth with the schoolchildren in the Christians' church today. And for this reason, my father wanted to burn me to death. That same virgin threw her mantle over me so that the fire could not harm me until you pulled me out." Now, when the Christian men heard this, they took hold of that very same old Jew, the boy's father, and threw him into the same fire and he was immediately burnt up before their eyes. And due to this miracle, many Jews at that time became Christian, and God's Christian people were strengthened even more in their service to God for a good reward in heaven. [...]

³ There is a similar description of the host changing form in this way just as it is about to be consumed in Text 33: *The Host Desecration*.

Version 2

Headnotes

- Source:* **B** LSB T 181, pp. 142:11–145:22 (late fifteenth century).
Parallel text: **A** LSB T 180, pp. 41b31–43a16 (c. 1450; see Version 1 above).
Original text: Unknown. Cf. *LegAur* 796.
Edition: **B** SMP V 110–12.

Edition (**B** LSB T 181)

- Nw oppa *thet* ytirsta skulom wi taka til *myn*
 nis ok granlica mærkia / som læstin sighir oss
 3 vt aff / ath jomfru maria fan sin velsignada son ihesum
 j kyrkionne / æptir *thet* hon haffde søkt æptir honum j
 thre dagha / **Thetta** vtydis oss til æptirdøme / ath
 6 swasom hon fan ihesum ther likamlica / fore sik swa lathir
 han en nw fynnas ther syn welsignada likama / op
 pa altareno j prestins handhom / Swa sighir en aff
 9 mæstaromyn / Constat jn altari carnem de pane creari
Jlla caro deus est qui dubitat ille reus est / **Wisselica** ær
thet stadfæst *medh* gudhi ok sant / ath a altareno
 12 wardhir brødhit til en lycama ok then samy ly
 camyn ær sannelica war gudh / hwar ther nokot twæ
 kar vti / han ær brutlikin a mothe gudhi / ok
 15 the helgha thro **Ok** oppa *thet* ath hwar en mænnis
 kia skal thenna throna stadhelica halla / ffor vtan
 alla twækan ok villo tha haffuir war herra beuist
 18 sik j marghom jærteknom / sik wara lycamlika jj
 prestins handh **Aff** huilkom iak vil eth nw sæghia /
 ok ther *medh* myn ordh lyktha j *thetta* sinnit **Thet**
 21 hendhe j enom kópstad ther manghe hedne judha
 waro byggiandhe j blandh *cris*tit folk / ok thera
 barn gingho saman til skola / badhe *cris*ne pilta
 24 ok judiske / **Om** en paska dagh war en dyækne
 ens judha son j kyrkionne staddir / *medh* *cris*nom
 pilthom / ther the toko gudhz lycama / ok wak
 27 thadhe gørlika ath hwath ther giordhis / oppa

tet ath *han* vildhe *synom* forældrom *tet* sighia /
 tha *han* heem kome hwath *cristith* folk plæghade
 30 *haffua* til sydhwenio j *thera* kyrkio / **Tha** saa
han ath / at j *hwarth* sin *prestin* løpthe gudhz
lycama aff *altareno* / ok gaff *folkeno* / som *han*
 33 *hyolle* eth vnkt ok spæth *swenbarn* j *handhinne* /
 ok *tha* *mæmniskian* *gapadhe* ok *prestin*
baar *thet* ath *mwrnenom* / *tha* wændhis *thet* *atir*
 36 j eth øfflæthe / **Nw** *tha* *han* *haffdhe* vndrat
ther oppa nokra stundh / gik *han* fram j *blandh*
flere dyækna *syna* kompana / ok dyrffdhe
 39 *sik* til ath taka gudhz lykama / *medh* them ok
ther æptir gik *han* hem til syn fadhir / *Hans* fa
dhir spordhe *honum* til hwar *han* *haffde* warith
 42 *Pilthin* *swarade* / ok sagde ath *han* *haffde* warith
j *crisna* manna kyrkio ok takit gudz lykama
medh *synom* skola brødhrom / **Tha** warth then vsle
 45 *judhin* *hans* fadhir galin ok wrædhir / ok bant
genstan syn eghin son ok kastade *han* vti en
brymandhe ogn / *Modherin* piltzsins lop vt oppa
 48 *gathuna* ok ropadhe ok græth ok sagdhe
we / swa længhe *ther* komo / badhe *crisne* mæn
ok iudha / ok spordho ath hwat henne wlthe
 51 *Hon* sagdhe ath *henna* bondhe / brændhe op
thera endha son / ok thy ropadhe *hon* ok græt
swa sara / **Thet** folkit *ther* war saman komyt
 54 slogho op *judhans* porth / ok gingho jn j *hans*
stuffwo / ok funno *pilthin* helan ok hylbryg
dho sithiandhis *jne* j brænnandhe vgnenom /
 57 swa ath *honum* jnthe skadde / **Tha** thoko the
honum *ther* wth / och spordho *honum* til / hwru
han kundhe swa blyffua j *eldhenum* / *Pilthin*
 60 *swarade* ok sagdhe *ther* *jne* j *ognenom* nær mik
war en faghir *jomfru* / wæl klædh *hon* *haffde*
j *syno* skøthe eth karsth *swenbarn* / hwilkit
 63 mik totthe wara *tet* sama som iak tok w *prestins*
handh / *medh* dyæknommyn j *crisna* manna kyrkio j

34 *prestin*] *prestin* [wændhe] B. 43 *gudz*] *gud*[-]z B.

- dagh / ok ther fore vildhe myn fadhir mik
 66 brænna / The sama jomfrun kastadhe wt om
 mik sina kapo / Swa ath eldhin kundhe mik
 inthe skadha / til tess j tokin mik hær wt /
 69 Tha the *crisne* mennene hørdho tet / tha toko
 the then vsla gambla judhan / piltzsins fadhir /
 ok kastadho han vti then sama brymmandhe
 72 eldhin / ok wardh genstan opbrændhir fore
 thera øghom / Nw fore thet jærtেকnit skuldh
 wordho *crisne* swa manghe judha som ther
 75 j stadhenom waro / ok gudz *cristin* almoghe
 stadgadhis j gudz tyænist / tess ytirmer / hwar
 j syno rætuiso liffuirne / ok fingho gudz
 78 vinskaf hær j jorderike / ok æwærdelica glædi
 medh honum j hymerike / Thet sama vnne oss gud fadir
 ok son ok then helghe andhe Amen

Translation

[Exposition:] Now finally, we should remember and note carefully, as the reading says, that Mary found her blessed son Jesus in the church [i. e., temple] after she had been looking for him for three days. This is explained to us as an example that just as she found Jesus there in body, so he lets his blessed body be found even now upon the altar in the hands of the priest. Thus says one of the masters: *Constat in altari carnem de pane creari. Illa caro deus est; qui dubitat reus est.* Certainly it is confirmed by God and true that on the altar the bread becomes a body and that same body is truly our God. Whoever doubts this is committing a crime against God and the Holy Faith. And so that every person shall constantly keep this belief without any doubt and error, Our Lord has proven himself in many miracles to be in body in the hands of the priest. I will now relate one of these [miracles], and with these words finish for this time.

[Exemplum:] It happened in a market town where many pagan Jews lived among Christians and their children – both Christian and Jewish boys – went to school. On Easter Day, a schoolchild, the son of a Jew, was standing in church with some Christian boys when they were receiving the Body of God, and he paid close attention to what was being done with it in order to tell his parents when he came what customs Christian people had in their church. Then he saw that as the priest lifted the Body of God from the altar and gave it to the people, he was holding a young baby boy in his hand, and when people opened their mouths

and the priest carried it to their mouths, it reverted to a host wafer. Now, when he had been amazed by that for some time, he stepped forward among several schoolchildren, his friends, and dared to receive the Body of God with them, and afterwards he went home to his father. His father asked him where he had been. The boy answered that he had been in the Christians' church and together with his "school-brothers" had received the Body of God. Then that wretched Jew, his father, went crazy and became angry and immediately tied up his own son and threw him into a burning oven. The boy's mother ran up the street and shouted and wept and said "woe!" for such a long time that Christian men and Jews arrived and asked what she was howling about. She said that her husband was burning their only son to death and that was why she was shouting and weeping so pitifully. The people who had come broke open the Jew's door and went into his dwelling and found the boy sitting in the burning oven, intact and healthy. They pulled him out and asked him how he could remain so in the fire. The boy answered and said: "There, in the oven near me, was a beautiful well-dressed virgin. She had on her lap a healthy baby boy who seemed to me to be the same one as I received from the hand of the priest with the schoolchildren in the Christians' church today and for which my father wanted to burn me to death. That very same virgin threw her mantle around me so that the fire could not harm me until you pulled me out." When the Christians heard this, they took that wretched old Jew, the boy's father, and threw him into the same burning fire, and he was immediately burnt up before their very eyes. Now, due to this miracle all the Jews who were in that town became Christian and God's Christians were strengthened even more in their service to God, each in his righteous way of life, and received the friendship of God here on earth and eternal joy with him in heaven. May God give us the same. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, amen.

Version 3

Headnotes

- Source:* **A** SKB A 34, f. 9ra9–b16 (c. 1350).
Parallel texts: **B** UUB C 528, f. 9r9–25 (1400–50); **C** SRA E 8900, p. 17:1–18 (1450–70).
Original text: **LegAur** 796.
Editions: **A** *FsvLeg* I 22; **B** *FsvLeg* VJ 33–34; *FsvLeg* PAW II 46–47.

Edition (A SKB A 34)

Af ware fru miraculum ·

- Bituricas hete en staþar þær
 3 timde þæt har skriuas
 · d · xx · viii · are vars hærra vm
 paska lop en iuþa smasuen mæþ
 6 cristnom smasuenom tel kir
 kio · þæn tima cristet folk tok
 van hærra · ok gik tel kirkio
 9 mæþ androm smasuenom · ok
 tok hans faþir sporþe huar han
 hafþe sua lægge varit : han sa
 12 gþe sik haua varit mæþ sinom
 cristno skola cumpanom tel kirkio ·
 ok takit mæþ þøm þera guþ ii
 15 sit liif sua søtan : faþeren ten
 de storan eld ii vgne · ok cas
 taþe sonen vt ii balet bræ
 18 nande · Þy at han gat eigh
 vænt suenen fran cristo guz
 syny · suennen øptø : ok græt sua
 21 at baþe hørþe iuþa : ok cristne ·

1 Af ... miraculum ·] Af ware fru miraculum · above col. by later hand, A, [Annat miraculum] B, m[iraculum] C. **2** Bituricas] B]turicos B, Bituricas C, In ciuitate Bituricensi LegAur; hete] þete A, hethir B, heter C. **3** har] har [-] A, hær B, C; skriuas] skiuas A, scrifwas B, scriuas nw C. **4** · d ... hærra] d xxvii are wars hærra B, nw dxvij wars hærra aare C. **5** vm paska] vm pasca nat B, Om pasca C, in die pasche LegAur; cf. Valter Jansson, Fornsvenska Legendariet: Handskrifter och språk, Nordiska texter och undersökningar, vol. 4 (Stockholm: Hugo Geber, 1934), 65. **6** cristnom] scristnum B, cristnom C. **7–8** tok van] \tok/ war B, tok war C. **8** ok gik] {han} gik/ok\ B, tha gik oc han C; kirkio] kirkio m[-] A, altara B, C, altare LegAur. **10** tok] to[ks] A, thok \som andre/ B, tok gudz likama C, corpus domini cum eisdem percepit LegAur. **11** hafþe ... varit] war swa længe B, haffde swa længe warith C. **13** cristno] |cristno| A, cristnum B, cristno C; skola cumpanom] scola ko[m]panum B, skolakompanom C. **15** søtan] søta A, søtan ok {aldra} søt\ast/an B, søtan C. **16** storan] dighran B, storan C. **17** sonen] sonin B, sin son C. **17–18** vt ... brænande] a balit brinnande B, j brænnande eldh C, in fornacem ardentem LegAur. **19–20** fran ... syny] fra cristno gudz lofwi B, fra ihesu christo C, ~ LegAur. **20** suennen] mannin B, Swemmin C, Mater LegAur; cf. Jansson, Fornsvenska Legendariet: Handskrifter och språk, 48–49; øptø ... græt] øpte oc græt B, greet oc øpte C. **21** baþe ... cristne] cristne {mæn} ok iudha {thet hørðho} B, badhe crisne oc judha thet hørðho C.

- ok como saman ok sagho suenen
 ii brænanda bale · ok eghte brinna
 24 ælla men af elde kænna · ok dro
 gho han vt af eldenom ok spur
 þo huat hanom varþ tel halp ·
 27 ¶ han suaraþe en heþers fru som
 standar ivir cristno altare com
 mik tel halp · hon vænde fran
 30 mik allan lughan mæþ sino
 mantolskøte : alle louaþo vara
 fru · ok castaþo fulan faþur · a ·
 33 branda ok bran æmskyt ii
 asko

Translation

On a miracle of Our Lady

There was a city called Bituricas [Bourges]. What is written here happened there, AD 528. At Easter, a Jewish boy went to church together with some Christian boys at the time when Christians were receiving [the Body of] Our Lord [i. e., taking communion] and went to the church with some other boys and received [it]. And when his father asked where he had been for so long, he said that he had gone to church with his Christian schoolfriends and with them received the body of their god so sweet. The father lit a great fire in the oven and threw his son into the burning pyre because he could not turn the boy from Christ, the Son of God. The boy shouted and wept so that both Jews and Christians heard it and they arrived together and saw the boy in the burning pyre and not burnt or injured by the fire. And they pulled him out of the fire and asked him what had come to his aid. He answered, “A lady of honour who stands above the Chris-

22 ok como] oc \komo/ B, oc komo C; sagho] sag[dhe>ho] B, sag[d]ho C; suenen] smaswenin B, swennin C. 23 ii ... bale] j brinnande bale B, sitia j brennande eldhe C. 24 elde] elde[m/ B, eldenom C. 25 han ... eldenom] smaswenin vt B, smaswennin wt C. 26 huat] hua{r} B, huat C; varþ ... halp] vaþ tel halp A, halp B, wardh til hielpa C. 28 cristno altare] cristno \manna/ altara B, cristna manna altara C. 29 halp] hiælpa B, hielp C; vænde] vepte B, wepte C, propulsavit *LegAur*. 30 allan lughan] lughan allan B, allan lughan C; sino] sinom A, sino B, C. 31–32 vara fru] \gudh oc/ war{a fru} B, wara fru C, ymaginem beate marie *LegAur*. 32–33 fulan ... branda] fulan fadher a branda B, sidhan fadhrin j eldhin C, patrem pueri acceperunt et ipsum in fornacem proiecerunt *LegAur*. 33 æmskyt] jæmskøt B, jamskyt C.

tian altar came to my aid. She turned all the flames from me with her mantle.” Everybody praised Our Lady and threw the vile father onto the fire, and he burnt immediately to ashes.

43 The Jews Who Found and Attacked an Image of Christ

Version 1

Headnotes

- Source:* A LSB T 180, pp. 95a14–96a36 (c. 1450).
Parallel texts: B SKB A 108, pp. 184:17–185:17 (1400–50) – see Version 2 below;
C SKB A 110, ff. 65v13–66r6 (c. 1385) – see Version 3 below.
Original text: Unknown. Cf. *LegAur* 934–35 (see below).
Edition: A SMP VI 119–20.

Edition (A LSB T 180)

- Thet hende i enom køps-
stadh ther manghe iuda
3 bygde i bland cristit folk at
en cristin man gudz tæna-
re foor bort w eno her-
6 berge som han haffde legt
vm arit fore sina pæ-
ninga ok eptir honom
9 legde en jude sama
husit ok foor ther i / tha
blef ther atir i huseno
12 æptir them cristna mannenom
en malad tafla aff gudz
pino korsfestom i ene vra
15 swa ath judin kunne thet
ey swa bradlica skøta
æller faa see Tha kom
18 ther ingangande en annor
jude som ærende haf-

14 korsfestom] korfestom A.

- de til *sin* stalbrodher ok
 21 fik see the malade taff-
 lona vppa vægginne han
 læt som han *thet* ikke skø-
 24 the i thy sinneno vtan
 gik strax til theræ
 høfuitzman ok flerom androm
 27 judom ok badh them gaa *medh* sik
 ok see hwat vantroo then ene
 thera stadbrodher hafde takit
 30 fore at dyrka ok hedra / the
 toko fram the tafflona ok
 spordo honom till hwi han war
 33 *fangin* vth aff thera tro ok
 dyrkade korsfestan gudh som
 vppa the tafflona war mala-
 36 dir / then vsle judin swor
 ok edde sik at han ther wtaff ænkte
 viste the villo honom ey tro
 39 vtan slogo han hardelika ok illa
 ok læsto han i iærn ok hæktitse
 til tess the vildo han døma ok
 42 dræpa æptir thera lagom
 ok ther nest drogo the wt
 sina knifua ok stungo *thet*
 45 korsit ok belætitt som a taff-
 lone var malad *medh* ilsko
 ok wrede ok genstan sprak
 48 wt bloditt a thy korsfesta bilæ-
 teno som en odra æptir hwar-
 jom stynge op i høgt ok blod-
 51 gade tera anlite thera
 hænder oc thera klæde tha
 wordo the vslo judano alla
 54 ille vider oc skyndade sik
 snart bort tædan / nw tha the
 komo wt oppa gatuna tha

48 korsfesta] korfesta A.

- 57 *møtte them mange cristne mæn*
 oc for thy at the swa blodoge
 woro gripo the handh oppa them
- 60 ok menthe *thet* ath the haffdhe
 nokon *cristin man* i hææl slagit
 The judane wordho alla for-
- 63 *færadhe* ok *rædde* ok torde
 ey *annath* æn kændes widh
 sina *gerningh* som torde giort hafde
- 66 oc gingo ater *medh cristno man*
 nomin ok beuisto them the blo-
 doga taflona ok for *thet* jær-
- 69 *teknit* skuldh owir gaffwo the
 sina wantro ok wordo alla
cristne swa manga juda j them
- 72 *stadenom* woro ok gudz tiæ-
 nisto mæn j the helgo tro / Ok
 for thy haffwa gamble pawa
- 75 ok andre *kirkionna formæn*
 radit ther till ath gudz *cristin*
 almoge skulo *gera ælska j*
- 78 *sinom* husom som te plega vistas
 vti j stofwom ok sænga herbergom
 tolika malada taflor aff wars
- 81 *herra pino* oc *dødh* til eth
 dagligit *aminilse* ok ther fore
 læsa sina *bøne pater noster* ok aue
- 84 *maria* ok *annath thet* the kunno
 gudhi til hedher ok æro / ok
 them *thet* gøra haffwa pawane
- 87 *manga giffwit* fæghert ok goth
 afflath fore thera ødmiukt
 ok thera *mødho Thetta ma-*
- 90 *gho* the faa af *warom herra jesu christo*
 eptir them ordom som *han siælwer*
 sagde enom stadz j the helgo læst
- 93 Qui me *confessus fuerit coram hom-*

65 som torde] som A. 78 te] \te/ A. 79 herbergom] herbegom A. 85 gudhi] gudhi [t-] A.

inibus confitebor et ego eum coram patre
 meo Hwa som widher mik
 96 kænnsis iblandh mænniskior j
 iorderike medh dagliko ok gud-
 liko aminnilse j minne tænisth
 99 widh honom vil iak kænmas fore
 minom fædher j hymerike

Translation

It so happened in a market town where many Jews lived among Christian folk, that a Christian man, a servant of God, moved out of accommodation that he had been renting for a year with his money, and after him a Jew rented the same house and moved in. A painted icon of God's Crucifixion of the Passion remained behind in the house after the Christian man in a corner, so that the Jew was not immediately able to spot it or see it.

Then another Jew arrived who had business with his companion and saw the painted picture on the wall. He acted as though he had not seen it but went straight to their leader and several other Jews and asked them to go with him to see what superstition one of their companions had started worshipping and honouring.

They produced the icon and asked him why he had been drawn out from their faith and was worshipping the crucified god who was painted on the icon. The wretched Jew swore and pledged an oath that he knew absolutely nothing about it. They did not want to believe him and beat him harshly and badly and put him in irons and under arrest until they judged and killed him in accordance with their laws. And next, they pulled out their knives and stabbed the cross and the image that was painted on the icon with rage and anger, and immediately blood spurted out from the picture of the Crucifixion like an artery after every stab tore into it and it bloodied their faces, their hands, and their clothes. Then all the wretched Jews had a bad feeling about this and hurried off away from there. Now, when they came out onto the street, many Christian men encountered them and, because they were covered in so much blood, they grabbed them and believed that they had killed some Christian.

The Jews were horrified and afraid and did not dare to do anything but confess their actions, as they had done them, and [they] went back [to the house] with the Christians and showed them the bloodied icon and on account of that miracle

95 widher] wdher A.

they all abandoned their infidelity and became Christians. So many Jews in that city also became servants of God in the Holy Faith.

And for this reason, former popes and other leaders of the Church have advised that the Christian laity should also adore such painted icons of the Lord's Passion and Death in the living rooms and bedrooms of their houses where they usually stay as a daily reminder, and they should say [lit. read] their prayers – Our Father, Hail Mary, and any others that they might know – in praise and honour of God. And many popes have given to those who do this a beautiful and good indulgence for their humility and effort. This they can receive from Our Lord Jesus Christ according to the words that he himself spoke at one point in the Holy Scriptures: *Omnis quicumque confessus fuerit me coram hominibus, et Filius hominis confitebitur illum coram angelis Dei.* [Luke 12:8]. Whosoever shall confess me before men on earth with daily and divine remembrance in my service by him, shall I confess before my father in heaven.

Version 2

Headnotes

Source: **B** SKB A 108, pp. 184:17–185:17 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: **A** LSB T 180, pp. 95a14–96a36 (c. 1450); **C** SKB A 110, ff. 65v13–66r6 (c. 1385).

Original text: **SelTro** 146–47 (no. 27).

Edition: **B** *SjäTrö* K 295–97.

Edition (**B** SKB A 108)

eet miraculum

- The** war een *cristin* man / **Han** hafdhe lekt sik eeth hws / **Ther** bodhe han j
 3 nokor aar / **Han** hafdhe j sinom camara næghilt eeth kors oppa wæggena
 Ther plæghadhe han fore bidhia sina bønir / **Thæntidh** hans ara tal kom
 om kring ffoor han bort vth aff huseno / **Oc** glømde qwart korssit aa
 6 wægginne / **Ther** kom æptir honom een iudhe / ok leghdhe sama husit oc bodhe

2 een] eyn ghut *SelTro*. 2–3 Ther ... aar] to yaren *SelTro*. 4 bidhia ... bønir] to bedene *SelTro*. 5 huseno] huß in eyn ander *SelTro*.

- ther j / **Thet** hænde eentidh swa at then sami iudhen husit hafdhe leygt / bødhen annan iudha til gest / **Mædhan** the sato ofwir bordh / ssagh gestin alla wegna
 9 kring om husit / ffor thy **thet** ær gamalt ordh / glækt ær gesta øgha / oc ææthes glæggare gestin ær werre / Tha fik han se korssit a wægginne och wardh mykyt bedrøfdhir oc wredhir / Tha byriadhe **werdhin** swæria at han
 12 aff thy korsseno enkte wiste **medh** allo / **Gestin** gig bort wredhir oc berætte **thet** androm iudhum som ther waro j stadhenom / The sampnadho sik ok komo
 thit
 alle saman / The toko belætitt oc martladhot swa som *christus* war martladhir
 15 oc pintir / The slogho **thet** til stupo **medh** gislom oc risom / The satto thorn
 krono
 a hufwdhit / The bundo for øghonin oc slogho **thet** a halsin oc sputtadho j ænlititt **Oc** sidharst toko the eeth spyuth oc stungo **thet** gynom sidhona **Genstan**
 fløth
 18 ther vth badhe blodh oc watn swa mykyt ath eeth storth fat wardh fult som
 ther vndi stodh / **Oppa** hwilkit iudhane storlika vndradho / **Oc** toko **thet** blodhit
 oc stænktto **thet** oppa them ther kranke oc syuke waro aff thera hoop / **Oc** the
 wordho
 21 genstan helbryghdho / **Tha** the **thet** sagho / gingo the til een cristin biscop oc
 kendos
 for honom alt **thet** ther war hænt oc giorth / **Ok** loto sik alle døpa Biscoppen
 sænde
 æptir them *cristna* mannenom som korsit atte / **Oc** spordhe hwa **thet** belætitt
 hafdhe
 24 giorth / Han saghdhe at nichodemus giordhe **thet** / **Then** tidh han dødhe befælte
 han **thet** gamaliele / **Oc** gamaliel gaff **thet** zacheo / zacheus / antwardhadhe
thet iacobo / **Oc** iacobus symone / Oc symon beholt **thet** langan tyma / **Ther**
 æptir
 27 tha *iherusalem* war wnnit aff *cristnom* mannom / fførðhis **thet** hith j landitt / Swa
 fin-

8–10 ssagh ... werre] do sach yenne vmme *SelTro*. 11 bedrøfdhir ... wredhir] tornich *SelTro*; byriadhe ... swæria] Do swor yenne *SelTro*. 13 androm ... stadhenom] al den yoden *SelTro*. 13–14 The ... saman] Dar quemen se to deme huß vnde worpen ene vte deme huß *SelTro*. 14–15 martladhir ... pintir] marteleden *SelTro*. 15 medh ... risom] ~ *SelTro*. 16 a halsin] den hals vnde in de wangen *SelTro*. 20 them ... hoop] al ere seken *SelTro*; **Oc** the] **Oc** B. 21 Tha ... sagho] Do *SelTro*. 22 hænt ... giorth] gescheen *SelTro*. 23 korsitt] dat bilde *SelTro*; **thet** belætitt] dat schone bilde *SelTro*. 24 nichodemus] Sunte Nichodemus *SelTro*. 26–27 Ther ... mannom] wente de stad *Jherusalem* vorsturet wart *SelTro*. 27 fførðhis ... landitt] Do nemen de cristenen lude vnde brocten dat cruce hit in dijt lant *SelTro*.

go *thet* mine fforældra / oc hwar ærfdhe *thet* æptir annan / Oc swa kom *thet* til
 miin / **Thetta** skedhe iij hundradha aar æptir wars herra byrdh Judhane wor-
 30 dho *crisne* / Oc loto thera skola wighia til kyrkio **Oc** biscopin tok *thet* hæl-
 gha blodhit oc loth j ampla giordha aff *crystal* / **Oc** j room wighdhis ther til
 een kyrkia / oc ær ther æn j dagh /

Translation

A miracle

There was a Christian man. He had rented a house where he lived for some years. He had nailed a crucifix upon the wall in his chamber before which he usually said his prayers. When his time was up, he moved out of the house and forgot the crucifix on the wall, leaving it behind. After him, a Jew moved in and rented the same house and lived there. One day it so happened that this same Jew who had rented the house invited another Jew to be his dinner guest. While they were sitting at the table, the guest was looking around the house; it is an old saying that “The eye of a guest is keen, and the worse the guest, the keener the eye.”¹ He caught sight of the crucifix on the wall and became very distraught and angry. The host began to swear that he knew absolutely nothing of the crucifix. The guest left in an angry mood and told the other Jews who were in the city. They gathered and all went [to the house]. They took the image and martyred it just as Christ was martyred and tormented. They beat it against a column with whips and twigs. They placed a crown upon its head. They blindfolded it and beat its throat and

28 hwar ... annan] de erueden eren kinderen *SelTro*. 29 iij ... aar] driddehalff hundert yar *SelTro*. 29–30 Judhane ... *crisne*] Do leten sijk alle de yoden dopen *SelTro*. 32 oc ... dagh] dat ys noch dat hilge blot inne beholden *SelTro*.

1 This saying is known from East Norse collections of proverbs. In ODa. as “Hospitis obtutus penetrabilia lustrat acutus | Blwe ære gesthens øwæ” (Peder Låle, [*Parabolæ*] (Copenhagen: Ghemen, 1506), f. e5v). “Blwe” is probably a printer’s mistake for *Glwe* (cf. ODa. *glug*). The 1515 edition of the same book has “Gestenss øge er glwg actigt.” Cf. Matthias Moth’s handwritten dictionary manuscript (*Moths Ordbog*; DKB GKS 769 2^o), s. v. “gest” (f. 119rb): “gestens øie er glûgagtig, dvs. seer sig allevegne omkring.” In the OSw. translations of Peder Låle: “Glugguth ær gæstæ øgha” (UUB Palmskiöldska saml. 405; Axel Kock and Carl af Petersens, eds, *Östnordiska och latinska medeltidsordspråk*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: STUAGNL, 1889–94), 180). The saying is also known from Norw.: “Ringaste gjesten heve gløggaste auga”; Olce.: “Gloggt er gests augat,” and Faroese: “Glogt er gestins eyga.” See Kock and Petersens, eds, *Östnordiska och latinska medeltidsordspråk*, vol. 2, 199. Note that the second part of the saying “oc ææ thes glæggare gestin ær werre” does not appear in the MLG original and appears to be unique to this manuscript.

spat in its face. And finally, they took a spear and stabbed it in the side. Straightaway both blood and water flowed out [cf. John 19:34], so much that a large basin that stood below it was filled. The Jews were greatly amazed by this, and they took the blood and sprinkled it onto those of their group who were ailing and sick, and they were immediately healed. When they saw this, they went to a Christian bishop and confessed to him everything that had happened and been done, and they all had themselves baptised. The bishop sent for the Christian who had owned the crucifix and asked [him] who had made the image. He said that Nicodemus had made it. When he died, he bequeathed it to Gamaliel, and Gamaliel gave it to Zacchaeus, and Zacchaeus passed it on to James, and James to Simon, and Simon kept it for a long time. After Jerusalem was conquered by Christians, it was brought to this country. Then my ancestors obtained it and its was passed down through inheritance, and so it came to me. This happened AD 250.² The Jews became Christians and had they synagogues consecrated [turning them] into churches and the bishop took the holy blood and kept it in a phial made of crystal. And in Rome, a church was consecrated to it, and it remains there to this day.

Version 3

Headnotes

Source: C SKB A 110, ff. 65v13–66r6 (c. 1385).

Parallel texts: A LSB T 180, pp. 95a14–96a36 (c. 1450); B SKB A 108, pp. 184:17–185:17 (1400–50).

Original text: ~

Edition: C Kläs 38–39 (no. 54).

Edition (C SKB A 110)

En syndoghir man widh syriam hafdhe j sino
huse et bilæte som nichodemus hafdhe giort
3 æftir wars herra pino Han foor bort v the

3 wars] wars[h] A.

2 AD 250 is a mistake for AD 750.

- huseno ok til annat ok læt thær atir bi-
 lætit fast widh wæggina **En** judhe bygdhe
 6 sidhan j samu huseno ok bōdh andra iudha til
 gæst **The** sagho bilætiti a wæggine **hulkit**
 han hafdhe ey seet **Andre** judha thwingadho
 9 han *mædh* mangum *plaghum* afwitande han ok sag-
 dho han *thæt* bilætiti dyrka **The** giordho ok
 bilæteno alle the pino som iudha hafdho før-
 12 ra giort *warum hærre* til thæs blodh ok watn
 flōt aff bilætino /- Aff hulko judhane fylto
 en ampul ok lækto *mædh* thy manga siuka
 15 **kristne** mæn fingo sidhan ampulen ok gōm-
 do j sancti salwatoris kyrkio j rom · **Ok** for
thæt iærtiknit ær hōghtidh aff wars hærre
 18 pino i the kyrkionne tiunda daghin j de-
 cembris daghum

Translation

A sinful man in Syria had in his house an image [i. e., icon] that Nicodemus had made after the Passion of Our Lord. He moved away out of the house and to another and left the image behind attached to the wall. A Jew then moved into the same house and invited other Jews as his guests. On the wall they saw the image that he had not seen [himself]. The other Jews tortured him with many torments, reproaching him, and said that he worshipped the image. They also did to the image all the same torments that the Jews had previously done to Our Lord until blood and water flowed out of the image. From which the Jews filled a phial and cured many sick people with it. Christian men then got hold of the phial and kept it in St Saviour's Church in Rome. And on account of this miracle, the Feast of Our Lord's Suffering is held in the church on the tenth day of December.

Latin version: *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*]

Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* is not the direct source of any of the OSw. versions. It has not been possible to find the source of Versions 1 and 3, but Version

10 *thæt bilætiti*] bilætiti *thæt* with markings for transposition, A. 16 sancti] sancta A.

2 is clearly a translation from the MLG *Seelen Trost*. The story recorded in the *Legenda aurea* contains details found in both OSw. versions – not least the dating of the miracle in Version 1 – and has therefore been included here for comparison.

Source: *LegAur* 934–35.

Translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 2, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 171.

Apud Syriam in ciuitate Berith quidam christianus sub annua pensione hospitium habens ymaginem domini crucifixi contra lectuli faciem in pariete affixerat et ibi orationes suas contine faciebat. Post annum uero aliam domum locauit et ymaginem iidem ex obliuione reliquit. Quidam autem Iuesus predictam domum conduxit et die quadam unum de suis contribulibus ad conuiuuium inuitauit. Inter epulas autem ille qui inuitatus fuerit casu circumspiciens ymaginem infixam parieti contuetur et in illum qui se inuitauerat ita fremens cur ymaginem Ihesu Nazareni tenere audeat comminatur. Ille autem cum adhuc predictam ymaginem non uidisset sacramentis quibus poterat affirmabat quod illam de qua dicebat ymaginem penitus ignorabat. Tunc ille placatum se simulans ualefecit ad principes sue gentis abiens Iudeum illum de hoc quod uiderat accusauit. Iudei igitur congregati ad domum eius conueniunt et uisa ymagine illum contumelis diris afficiunt et extra synagogam semiuiuum proiciunt; ymaginem uero pedibus conculantes cuncta in ea dominice passionis obpropria renouarunt. Cum uero latus lancea perforassent, protinus sanguis et aqua ubertim exiuit et suppositum uas impleuit. Stupefacti Iudei sanguinem illum as synagogas detulerunt et omnes infirmi ex ipso inuncti protinus curabantur. Tunc Iudei episcopo terre omnia per ordinem narrauerunt et baptismum et fidem Christi unanimiter susceperunt. Episcopus autem sanguinem illum in ampullis crystallinis et uitreis conseruauit. Christianum etiam illum ad se accersiuit et quis tam pulchram composuerit ymaginem inquisiuit. At ille dixit: “Nychodemus eam composuit, quam moriens Gamalieli, Gamaliel Zacheo, Zacheus Iacobo, Iacobus Symoni dereliquit, sicque in Iherusalem usque ad excidium urbis fuit donec inde a fidelibus in regnum Agrippe delata et inde ad patriam meam deducta a parentibus meis ad me hereditario iure deuenit. Factum est hoc anno domini DCCL. Tunc omnes Iudei synagogas in ecclesias consecrarunt et extunc his mos inoleuit, ut ecclesie consecrentur, quia ante tantum, altaria consecrabantur. Propter istud miraculum oridinauit ecclesia V kal. Decembris memoriam fieri dominice passionis, uel, ut alibi legitur, V kal. Nouembris. Vnde et Rome consecrata est ecclesia in honorem saluatoris ubi ampulla cum illo sanguine reseruatur et sollempne festum tunc agitur.

44 The Life of Judas Iscariot

Version 1

Headnotes

Source: **B** UUB C 528, ff. 50v12–51r7 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: **LegAur** 277–80. The OSw. text diverges somewhat from the *Legenda Aurea* making a direct comparison difficult. For this reason, the Latin text is provided in full after the English translation.

Editions: **B** *FsvLeg* I 243–45; *FsvLeg* PAW II 334–37.

Edition (**B** UUB C 528)

HÆr wiliom wi først sighia aff iudas forradhara **Ok** ther næst
aff *sancto* mathia apostolo · **En** iudhe heth ruben aff ysacar slæcth
3 **Ok** hans kona tibia / ena nat æpter thera naturu bland / sa · cyborea
rædhelikan drøm / ok sagdhe *sinum* bonda · / wara *medh* barns æmne **Ok**
thet munde wardha bansat barn / ok allum judhum til nidherfal · hon fød
6 de son / ok ræddus badhin hion **Ok** wiste ey hwat the aff bansatto barne
skulde göra · wtan lagdhe han innan thætasta car · **Ok** kastadhe wt
j sio / thædhan fløt han lifuandis **Ok** til et øland som kallas scarioth **Ok** hit
9 tis ther / ok fōrdis til conungin · / ok vpfōddis · til han drap conungs son
ok drotningena / thy at han wnderstodh sik siæluan ey wara drōtningana son /
som
han wente / mædhan han vpfōddis kiærlika *medh* hæne / af thy lande fik
12 han scarioths · *nampn* · / lønlika drap han konungsson · ok lønlika kom han wn
dhan / *medh* skatmannum til ierusalem / som fōrdho pylato skatt aff scarioth ·
Ok kom sik til thiænist j pylati hoff **Ok** wardh pylato miokit kær thy
15 at han hafdhe licaste lund pylato · **En** dagh stodh pylatus jnnan sino palacio **Ok**
ju

1 sighial] fighia *B*. 2 ruben] [symeon] \ruben/ *B*. 6 the] \the/ *B*; bansatto] ba[rnadhō>nsatto] *B*. 8 lifuandis] |lifuandis| *B*. 10 drotningena] na added by later hand, *B*; drōtningana] na added by later hand, *B*. 12 han] \han/ *B*. 13 skatt] skat[hlōs>t] *B*. 14 pylato] pyla{to} *B*. 15 han] \han/ *B*; pylato] \pylato/ *B*.

- das nær hanum · **Ok** lyste pylatum til æple / som han saa waxa jnnan næs
 ta trægardhe / Judas lop at hænta thædhan æple · **Symeon** hans fadher war
 18 dhe for hanum som gardhin atte / til iudas slo han til dødth / tho kænde
 hwarghin theranna **Ok** hittis ther symeon dødher **Ok** ængin wiste
 banamannin · wtan wæntu han vara dødhan af bradhūm dødha · thy at ænga te-
 21 dhis wnder eller saar / wtan halsin war brutin aff lidhi / widh howdit · **Pylatus**
 gaff
 judhe symeons hustrv **Ok** hws ok goz / ok ther hon succande syrghde opta /
 spurde han idhkelica hwi hon sørgdhe **Ok** fik wita om siidhe huru hon miste
 sin son / innan
 24 sio · **Oc** bondha bradhōm dødha **Ok** giftis nødhugh · Tha wndherstodh iu
 das sik wara son sinna · konu · **Ok** banaman sins fadhurs / ok wardh illa
 widh sin misfælle · **Han** for medh modhers radhe til ihesum · **Ok** bedhis na-
 27 dher / jhesus giordhe dighra nadhe widh han Scipadhe han tholfta wæral-
 dinna domara / allum syndoghūm til thrøst ok æpterdōme · **Thy** wærrer war
 han sidhan / at han brøt amot nadhum / widh hanum giordhum / them til ræzl
 / som
 30 bryta scriptamall /

Translation

Here I will first talk about Judas the Betrayer and afterwards about St Matthew the Apostle. There was a Jew called Reuben of the tribe of Issachar¹ and his wife Cyborea. One night, after sexual intercourse, Cyborea had a terrible dream and told her husband that she was with child² and that it was going to be a cursed child and the downfall of all Jews. She gave birth to a son and both husband and wife were afraid and did not know what they should do with the cursed child, but they lay him in a tightly sealed vessel and threw him into the sea. From there, he

17 trægardhe] \træ/gardhe B. 20 vara] \vara/ B; af] \af/ B. 21 eller saar] |eller saar| B; lidhi /] {lidhi /} B. 22 succande] succande [\oc/] B. 23 hon sørgdhe] /hon sørgdhe\ B; om siidhe] /om siidhe\ B. 26 ihesum] ihesu{m} B. 27 jhesus] {jhesus} B; tholfta] tho[r>]fta B.

1 A later hand has changed the name Simon (“symeon”) to Reuben (“ruben”) in the manuscript. The *Legenda aurea* informs us that “fuit quidam in Iherusalem nomine Ruben, qui alio nomine dictus est Symon, de tribu Iuda, uel secundum Iernimum de tribu Ysachar” [there was in Jerusalem a man, Reuben by name, who was called Simon, of the tribe of Judah, or, according to Jerome, of the tribe of Issachar].

2 OSw. *barnsæmne* [embryo, foetus].

floated alive and came to an island that is called Iscariot and was found there and taken to the king and raised until he killed the king's and queen's son, because he found out that he himself was not the queen's son as he thought while he was being lovingly raised by her. From this country he received the name Iscariot. He secretly killed the king's son and secretly escaped to Jerusalem with the tax-collectors who were taking the tax from Iscariot to Pilate. And he entered into service in Pilate's court and became much loved by Pilate because he had a very similar manner to Pilate. One day Pilate was standing inside his palace and Judas beside him, and he showed Pilate apples that he saw growing in the orchard close-by. Judas ran there to fetch some apples. Simon [i. e., Reuben], his father, was a guard for the owner of the orchard³ until Judas killed him. But neither of them recognized the other. And Simon was found dead there, and no-one knew who his killer was but thought that he must have died a quick death because no injuries or wounds were visible, except his neck was broken out of joint by his head. Pilate gave Simon's wife, house, and goods to Judas. And as she [i. e., Cyborea] was often sighing [and] grieving, he [Judas] kept asking why she was grieving, and finally he found out that she had lost her son to the sea and her husband to a sudden death and was married against her will. Then Judas realized that he was the son of his wife and the killer of his father, and he felt sickened by his crime. On his mother's advice he went to Jesus and asked for mercy. Jesus was very merciful to him and made him the eighth judge of the world as a consolation and example for all sinners. Unfortunately, he was later the one who sinned against this mercy shown to him as a fright [frightening example] to those who break confession.

Latin version: *Legenda aurea* [*The Golden Legend*]

Source: *LegAur* 277–80.

Translation: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 2, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 167–68.

Legitur enim in quadam hystoria licet apocrypha quod fuit quidam uir in Iherusalem nomine Ruben, qui alio nomine dictus est Symon, de tribu Iuda, uel secundum Ieronimum de tribu Ysachar, qui habuit uxorem, que Cyborea nuncupata est.

³ The OSw. reads “Symeon hans fadher wardhe for hanum som gardhin atte.” Per-Axel Wiktorsson translates this as “Simon, hans far, hindrade honom, som gården ägde” [Simon, his father, hindered him, who owned the orchard], *FsvLeg* PAW IV 97. However, I read “wardhe” here as the preterite form of *væria* [to defend, protect, guard, keep]; cf. OIce. *varði* < *verja*.

Quadam igitur nocte cum sibi mutuo debitum exoluissent, Cyborea obdormiens sompnum uidit quod perterrita cum gemitibus et suspiriis uiro suo retulit dicens: "Videbatur mihi quod filium flagitiosum parerem qui totius gentis nostre perditionis causa existeret." Cui Ruben: "Nefariam, inquit, rem nec relatu dignam profaris et spiritu, ceu puto, pythonico raperis." Cui illa: "Si me concepisse sensero et filium peperero absque dubio non spiritus pythonicus extitit, sed reuelatio certa fuit." Procedente igitur tempore, cum filium peperisset, parentes plurimum timuerunt et quid de eo facerent cogitare ceperunt. Cumque filium abhorrerent occidere nec uellent destructorem sui generis enutrire, ipsum in fiscella positum mari exponunt, quem marini fluctus ad insulam quae Scarioth dicitur propulerunt. Ab illa igitur insula Iudas Scariothis appellatus est. Regina autem loci illius carens liberis ad litus maris causa spatiandi processit et fiscellam a maris fluctibus iactari uidens ipsam aperiri precepit. Inueniensque ibi puerum elegantis forme suspirans ait: "O si solatiis tante subleuarer subolis ne regni mei successore priuarer!" Puerum igitur secreto nutriri fecit et se grauidam simulauit, tandem se filium peperisse mentitur et per totum regnum fama hec celebris diuulgatur. Princeps pro suscepta sobole uehementer exultant et ingenti gaudio plebs letatur. Ipsum igitur secundum magnificentiam regiam educari fecit. Non post multum uero temporis regina de rege concepit et suo tempore filium parturiuit. Cum autem pueri aliquantulum iam creuissent, ad inuicem sepius colludebant et puerum regium Iudas crebris iniuriis molestabat et ad fletum sepius prouocabat. Regina autem hoc moleste ferens et Iudam ad se non pertinere sciens ipsum crebrius uerberabat, sed nec sic a molestia pueri desistebat. Tandem res panditur et Iudas non uerus regine filius, sed inuentus fuisse aperitur; quod Iudas ubi comperit, uehementer erubuit et fratrem suum putatiuum filium regis latenter occidit. Ob hoc capitalem sententiam timens cum tributariis in Iherusalem aufugit seque curie Pylati, tunc presidis, mancipauit. Et, quoniam res similes sibi sunt habiles, Pylatus Iudam suis moribus inuenit congruere et ideo cepit ipsum ualde carum habere. Vniuerse igitur curie Pylati Iudas preficitur et ad eius nutum omnia disponuntur. Quadam igitur die Pylatus de palatio suo in quoddam pomerium aspiciens, illorum pomorum tanto desiderio captus est ut pene deficere uideretur. Erat autem illud pomerium Ruben, patris Iude, sed nec Iudas patrem nec Ruben filium agnoscebat, quia et Ruben ipsum in marinis fluctibus perisse putabat et Iudas quis pater aut que patria sua fuerit penitus ignorabat. Pylatus itaque accersito Iuda ait: "Tanto illorum fructuum captus sum desiderio quod, si hiis frustratus fuero, spiritum exhalabo." Concitus igitur Iudas in pomerium insiliit et uelocius mala carpit. Interea Ruben uenit et Iudam mala sua carpentem inuenit. Fortiter igitur ambo contendunt et iurgia superaddunt, post iurgia surgunt ad uerba et mutuis se iniuriis affecerunt. Tandem Iudas Ruben in ea parte qua ceruix collo connectitur lapide percussit pariter et occidit. Poma igitur sustulit et Pylato quid

acciderit enarravit. Iam die inclinante et nocte superueniente Ruben mortuus inuenitur et subitanea morte preuentus fuisse putatur. Tunc Pylatus omnes facultates Ruben Iude tradidit et Cyborea uxorem Ruben in coniugem Iude dedit. Quadam igitur die dum Cyborea grauiter suspiraret et Iudas uir eius quid haberet diligenter interrogaret, illa respondit: “Heu, infelicissima sum omnium feminarum, quia infantulum meum marinis fluctibus immersi et uirum meum morte preuentum inueni, sed et dolori misere Pylatus addidit et dolorem, qui me mestissimam nuptui tradidit et inuitissimam tibi in coniugium copulauit.” Cumque illa omnia de infantulo enarrasset et Iudas illa que sibi acciderant retulisset, intentum est quod Iudas matrem suam in uxorem duxerit et patrem suum occiderit. Penitentia igitur ductus suadente Cyborea dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum adiit et suorum delictorum ueniam implorauit. Hucusque in predicta hystoria apocrypha legitur; que utrum recitanda sit, lectoris arbitrio relinquatur, licet sit potius relinquenda quam asserenda. Dominus autem suum eum fecit discipulum et de discipulo in suum elegit apostolum. Qui adeo sibi familiaris extitit et dilectus ut eum suum faceret procuratorem quem tamen postmodum pertulit proditorem; portabat enim oculos et ea que Christo dabantur furabantur.

Version 2

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 108, pp. 52:10–55:7 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: **SelTro** 48–51 (no. 22).

Edition: A *SjäTrö* 64–67.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

Mit kæra barn thu skalt thetta

budhordhit en andra ledh forsta / **Thu** skalt wars herra nampn ey for-

3 gifwins oppa thik taka / **Thet** ær / thu skalt ey forgifwins hafwa

crstit nampn / **Wil** thu *crstin* heta oc bæra *crstit* nampn / **Tha** skal thu

1 thetta] thetta A. 4–6 Wil ... geringa] Wultu eyn cristen mynsche heten vnde neyne cristene werk don *SelTro*.

- oc gøra cristelika gerninga / **Oc** thy hwilkin cristin mænniska heter oc
 6 gø ey cristelika gerninga / **The** menniskian / ber gudz nampn forgifwins
 oc fafængelika / **Oc** ær liik iwdase som wan herra forrædh **Oc** war
 tho hans discipulus falslika / **Aff** hans lifwerne wil iak thik nokot sæghia
 9 **I** iherusalem bodhe een man heth ruben / och hans **aff iwdas skarioth**
 hustrv heth cyborea / **Vm** ena nath the saman lagho drømde henne
 een rædhelikin drøm / **Hon** saghdhe sinom man / **Mik** hafwer drømt
 12 een wadhelikin drøm / **Mik** thykte som iak een son hafdhe til werl-
 dinna føth / **Hwilkin medh** sinne snødheth oc ontzsko skulle wardha alle
 ware iudha slækt til nidherfal / **Oc** forderffvilse / **Oc** thy skalt thu for wisso
 15 vita / at hafwer iak barns æmpne vnfangith aff thik j nath / oc war-
 dher thet son / han wardher forbannadher medh allo / **Hon** befan ther æpter
 at hon the sama nattena wardh hafwande wordhen / **Oc** fødde een son
 18 tha tymen kom / **The** ræddos mykyt badhin hioon / **Oc** thordhe thet
 barnith ey behalda / **Vtan** laghdho thet j eeth theth skriin eller kar
 oc satto j hafwit oc læto thet flyta / **Thet** fløth sin wægh til eeth be-
 21 flutit land som kalladhis skariot **Drotningen** aff thy landeno
 hafdhe enkte barn medh sinom herra / **Hon** gig at forlusta sik vth medh
 strandinne / **Oc** fik see hwar skrinit fløth j watneno / **Hon** loth thet vp-
 24 taka oc til sik bæra / oc fan piltin lifwandis ther j liggia / **Hon** tok vp
 barnit oc hafdhe thet for sith eyghit / **Hon** for ther swa hemelika
 oc listelika medh / at engin wiste annat æn ath drotningen hafdhe barn
 27 fangit / **Oc** thet ryktit gig ofwer alt landit aff hulko konungin mykyt
 gladdis / **Oc** the kalladho piltin iudas / **Han** vpfostradhis medh granne ath-
 wakt / **Oc** mykle æro oc storum kærlek / **Thet** lønte han ila ater / **Ther** æpter

6–7 forgifwins ... fafængelika] vorgeues *SelTro*. 8 falslika] fasklika A. 9 I iherusalem] In der stad to Jerusalem *SelTro*. 10 Vm ... lagho] eynes nachtes *SelTro*. 11 een ... drøm] eyn drom *SelTro*; Hon ... man] Den drom segede se erem manne vnde sprak *SelTro*. 13–15 Hwilkin ... vita] dat scholde so bose werden dat van syner bosheit wegene scholde al vnse slechte vordomet werden.” Do antworde er de man vnde sprak: “Swich stille wat bringestu vore! Dat heft eyn drom gewesen dat en was neyn recht bewisinge.” De fruwe sprak: “Dat geue god. So sage ek diij.” *SelTro*. 14 forderffvilse] forderff[vilse/ A. 16 han ... allo] so schaltu dat vor ware wetten dat yd neyn droch heft gewesen sunder eyn war bewisunge.” *SelTro*. 18–19 The ... behalda] Do en dorste se dat kint nicht beholden *SelTro*. 19 skriin ... kar] scrin *SelTro*. 20–21 beflutit land] lande *SelTro*. 21 Drotningen] Drotnigen A. 22 gig ... sik] De scholde ... ghan doch kortewile *SelTro*. 24 fan ... ther] sach dat dar eyn schone kint *SelTro*. 24–27 Hon ... fangit] “O” sprak se “were ik so salich dat ik eyn sulck kint hedde!” Do genk se to vnde legede sijk hemelike vnde sprak se genge swar myt eyner bort vnde segede dat se eyne sone to der werlde bracht hedde *SelTro*. 28–29 Han ... ater] Vnde do van deme kinde de mere quemen vt do wart de konningk gevrauwet vnde al dat lant. Dat kint wart vp getogen myt groten eren *SelTro*.

- 30 hænde *thet swa* / at drotningin wardh aff konungenom hafwande / **Oc** føddø
 een som til *werldinna* / **Tha** the piltane vpwexto til saman / **Oc** leкто
 idhelika mellan siin / **Tha** slogh iudas konungxsins son / **Oc** giordhe
 33 **honom** mykyt forthreth swa at han opta kom gratande til sinna modher /
Ffore hwilkit drotningen tilbyriadhe at hata / iwdas / oc forweth **honom** *thet* han
 war eeth hitto barn / **Oc** swa kom *thet* vth at alle fingo wita at iwdas war
 36 ekki konungxsins son / **Thentidh** iwdas *thet* hørðhe / blygdhis han oc *skemdis* /
Oc ther æpter myrdhe han hemelika konungxsins son / **Oc** kom sik lønlika
 borth aff landeno til *ihusalem* / **Ther** bodhe hans rætte fadher oc modher / **Tho**
 39 wiste han enkte aff them / **Oc** enkte the aff **honom** / **Aff** the landeno scharioth
 fik han sith widhernampn / **Thy** kalladhis han iwdas scharioth / **Han** kom
 sik j thiænist *medh* pylato oc wardh hans swen / **Thentidh** pylatus saa
 42 hans sidhy oc athæfwe prøffte han wel / **han** wara sin gadhing / **Ffor** thy
 then ene war swa argher skalk som then andre / oc thy komo the wel
 badhe til saman / **Een** dagh stodh pylatus j syno palacio oc iudas nær **honom**
 45 **Oc** sagh j een trægardh fagher æple waxa / at *hwilkom* **honom** mykyt lyste
Oc then trægardhin oc æplin hørðho ruben til som war iudasa fadher /
Judas saghdhe til *pylatum* **Jak** wil hænta thik aff them æplom / **Han** lop
 48 thith oc wilde taka æplin / **Oc** hans fadher ruben wilde them wæria / **The** bør-
 iadho til at kifwa swa længe *thet* iudas greep een sten oc slogh ruben j huf-
 wdhit at han fiol genstan dødher nidher / **Judas** tok æplin **Oc** bar them *pylatus* /
 51 **ther** æpter / kom hustrvn oc fan sin man liggiande ther dødhan / oc wiste ey hu-
 ru *thet* war til komith æller hwa *thet* haffdhe giorth / **Oc** thy græth hon och
 sørghdhe ofwer alla matto / **Nokot** ther æpter gaff *pylatus* iudase badhe gardh
 54 oc godz som ruben atte / **Oc** nødhghadhe hustrvna taka sik han til bonda / **Een-**
 tidh lagho the badhin oppa sinne sæng / **Oc** hustrvn boriadhe sarlika sukka
 som hon opta oc idhelika giordhe / **Tha** spordhe iwdas hwat henne war
 57 hwi hon altidh war drøffdh oc sieldan gladh / **Hon** swaradhe **Jak** sør-
 ghir oc sukkar mina ysæld oc onda lykko / **Jak** ær the vslasta qwinna ther
 nokon tyma war fød / **Jak** matte kasta mit eyghit barn j mæriþ / oc iak
 60 weth ey hwat aff thy ær wordhit / **Oc** nu fan iak min kæra hosbonða
 dødhan / **Oc** weth ey huru *thet* ær tilkomit / **Oc** ther ofwer hafwer *pylatus*

31–32 leкто idhelika] speleden *SelTro*. 32 konungxsins] konugxsins A. 36 blygdhis ... skemdis] schemede he sijk *SelTro*. 39 Aff ... scharioth] ~ *SelTro*. 45 sagh] sach vte eynem venstere *SelTro*. 47 Han ... æplin] Do stech he in den bomgarden vnde brak der appelle *SelTro*. 48 wilde them wæria] quam vt vnde wolde eme dat keren *SelTro*. 51–52 huru ... giorth] wo eme geschein was *SelTro*. 52–53 **Oc** matto] vnde bedrouede sijk sere *SelTro*. 56 som ... giordhe] ~ *SelTro*. 57 hwi ... gladh] ~ *SelTro*; swaradhe] sprak *SelTro*. 58 oc onda lykko] ~ *SelTro*; the ... qwinna] der vngeluckegesten eyn *SelTro*. 60 nu] ~ *SelTro*.

- meer mik bedrøfft / **Oc** hafwer mik til throughat at taka man moth mi-
 63 nom wilia / **Thentidh** iudas *thetta* hørðhe / bōriadhe han spōria huru
 lango *thet* war at hon kastadhe barnith j mæriþ / **Oc** spordhe swa
 længe at the wisselika befunno *thet* iwdas hafðhe sin fadher dræpit **Oc**
 66 takit sina modher til hustrv / **Han** foor ther æpter *medh* sinna modhers radhe
 til *ihesum cristum* wan kæraste herra / oc beddis aff honom nadhe / War herra
 vntfik
 han til sin *discipulum* / **Oc** forgaff honom alla sina synder / **Oc** war honom swa
 he-
 69 melikin at war herra giordhe han til een skaffara / **Oc** han bar then pun-
 gen ther pæningane waro vth j som gafwos *warum* herra oc hans *discipulis*
Oc ænthothwarist huru wel war herra throdhe honom / **War** han æ falsker
 72 oc otro / **Oc** stal hwan tyonda pæning aff allo thy honom war fangith / **Een-**
 tidh kom *sancta Maria* magdalena til wan herra / ok bar *medh* sik ædhla dyyr
 smørilse / hwilkin wel waro wærdh thry hundradha pæninga / **Oc** smor-
 75 dhe wars herra hofwdh oc hans *føter* / æpter thy man plæghar j them *landum*
 gōra / fore offmykyn hita som ther ær / **Tha** iudas sagh at saluan eller
 smørilsen war all vthguten / wardh han wredher / ffor thy hafðhe
 78 the salfwan varit saldh ok komit j hans hænder / **Tha** hafðhe han fangit stiæla
 ther
 aff hwan tyonda pæning / **Oc** swa hafðhe han fangit xxx pæninga / **Oc**
 thy thenkte han aa / huru han matte sik then skadhan bōta / **Oc** gig til
 81 iudhanna **Oc** saalde wan herra for xxx pæninga / **Ther** æpter thentidh war
 herra leddis til dōdhin / angradhe honom *thet* / **Oc** took the xxx pæningana / oc
 bar
 them ater iudhomen oc kastadhe them for *thera* *føter* / **Oc** ful j wanhop oc
 84 hængde sik sielfwer / **Oc** swa fik han fore sina falskheth een ondan ænda
Thy mit kæra barn / hafwer *thu cristit nampn* / *tha* stath oc ther æpter / at *thu*
 hafwer

62 til ... man] eynen man gegeuen *SelTro*. 64 kastadhe] satte *SelTro*. 67 kæraste] ~ *SelTro*; War herra] vnse leue here *SelTro*. 73 til ... herra] ~ *SelTro*. 74-75 **Oc** ... *føter*] De wolde Judas vorkoft hebben vnde were se eme to der hant gekomen so wolde he yo den dridden penningk vorstolen hebben so hedden eme to geboret drittich penninge. Do genk Maria Magdalena to vnde ghot de duren saluen vnseme heren vppe syn houet vnde saluede vnseme heren sin houet mede vnde syne vote *SelTro*, cf. n. 77-79 below. 76-77 saluan ... smørilsen] de salue *SelTro*. 77-79 wredher ... pæninga] ~ *SelTro*, cf. n. 74 above. 78 varit ... ok] |varit saldh ok| A. 79-80 **Oc** thy ... bōta] vnde wolde synes schaden nakomen *SelTro*. 84 fore ... ænda] synen ende want he eyn valsche cristen mynsche was. He hadde den namen vnde nicht de werk *SelTro*. 85 **Thy** ... barn] Kynt leue lat dij dijt eyn lere wesen *SelTro*.

cristelika gerninga / Man finder munga onda mænniskior / som wær gøra æn iudas

- 87 *giordhe / Judas begif synd oppa sina forældra owiterlika / Mange onde cristne bega synd oppa sina forældra badhe medh with oc wilia / Judas salde wan herra for xxx pæninga / Mang ond cristin mænniskia / sæl han wel for eeth skerff eller*
 90 *for eena snødha synd / Oc thera mænniskia pynor wardha størra j hælfwite æn iudase*

Translation

My dear child, you shall understand this commandment in a different way. You shall not take Our Lord's name in vain; that is, you shall not use the name of Christ in vain. If you want to be called a Christian and have a Christian name, then you must also do Christian works. And those that call themselves Christians and do not do Christian works, these people wear God's name in vain and to no purpose, and they are like Judas who betrayed Our Lord and was falsely his disciple. I want to tell you something about his life.

On Judas Iscariot

There lived in Jerusalem a man called Reuben and his wife called Cyborea. One night whilst they lay together, she had a terrifying dream. She told her husband, "I have had a bad dream. I thought that I had born into the world a son who with his cunning and wickedness was to be the downfall and destruction of our Jewish people. And so you should know for sure that if I have conceived a child⁴ tonight with you and it is a son, he will be cursed by everyone." She later discovered that she had conceived that very night, and when the time came she gave birth to a son. Both the husband and wife were very afraid and did not dare to keep the child, but laid it in a box or vessel, put it in the sea, and let it float off. It floated on its way to a country surrounded by water called Iscariot. The queen of that country did not have any children with her lord. She was strolling along the shore for pleasure and caught sight of where the box was floating in the water. She had it pulled out and brought to her and found the boy lying inside alive. She picked up the child and kept it as her own. She behaved so secretly and cunningly that

86 mænniskior] lude de cristen synt *SelTro*. **87** onde] ~ *SelTro*. **88** badhe ... wilia] witliken *SelTro*; salde] gaff *SelTro*. **89** Mang ... mænniskia] mannich mynsche *SelTro*. **90** j hælfwite] ~ *SelTro*.

4 OSw. *barnsæmne* [embryo, foetus].

no-one knew any different than that the queen had had the child herself. And that news travelled across the whole country which pleased the king. And they called the child Judas. He was brought up with meticulous care and much honour and great love. He repaid this badly.

Later, it so happened that the queen was made pregnant by the king and bore a son into the world. The boys [i. e., Judas and the king's son] grew up together and played together constantly. Then Judas hit the king's son and hurt him so much that he often came crying to his mother for which reason the queen started to hate Judas and reproached him [saying] that he was a foundling. And so it came out that everyone got to know that Judas was not the king's son. When Judas heard this, he was embarrassed and ashamed. And then he secretly murdered the king's son and escaped undetected from the country to Jerusalem where his real father and mother were living, although he knew nothing of them and they nothing of him. From that country he got the byname Iscariot and so he was called Judas Iscariot.

He entered into service within Pilate's household and became his attendant. When Pilate saw his habits and behaviour, he recognized that he was suitable because the one was just as wretched a rogue as the other and that is why they got on well together. One day, Pilate was standing in his palace with Judas beside him and saw some beautiful apples that he greatly desired growing in an orchard. And this orchard and the apples belonged to Reuben who was Judas's father. Judas said to Pilate, "I'll fetch you some of these apples!" He ran there and wanted to take the apples and his father Reuben wanted to protect them. They started fighting until Judas picked up a rock and hit Reuben on the head so that he immediately fell down dead. Judas took the apples and carried them to Pilate. After this, the wife arrived and found her husband lying there dead and did not know how it had happened or who had done it, and so she wept and grieved greatly.

Sometime afterwards, Pilate gave Judas both the orchard and goods that Reuben owned and forced the wife to take him [Judas] as her husband. One time they were lying upon their bed and the wife began to sigh bitterly as she did often and repeatedly. So Judas asked what was wrong with her [and] why she was always depressed and seldom happy. She replied, "I'm grieving and sighing about my misery and bad fortune. I'm the most wretched woman who was ever born! I had to throw my own child into the sea, and I don't know what came of him. And now I found my dear husband dead and don't know how it happened. And on top of that, Pilate has caused me greater distress and he has forced me to take a husband against my will." When Judas heard this, he began asking how long ago it was that she threw the child into the sea, and he asked for such a long time that they realized for certain that Judas had killed his father and taken his mother as his wife. On his mother's advice, he then went to our most dear Lord,

Jesus Christ, and asked him for mercy. Our Lord received him as a disciple and forgave him all his sins and was on such intimate terms with him that Our Lord appointed him keeper of the common purse and he carried the purse in which the money given to Our Lord and his disciples was kept. And no matter how well Our Lord believed him, he was always false and unfaithful, and he stole every tenth penny of everything that he received.

One day, St Mary Magdalene came to Our Lord and was carrying precious, expensive ointment that must have been worth three hundred pennies. [John 12:3–5] And she anointed Our Lord's head and feet as is their custom in those countries where it is exceedingly hot. When Judas saw that the unguent or ointment had all been poured out, he became angry because he would have sold the unguent had it come into his hands. Then, he would have stolen every tenth penny and in this way have collected thirty pennies, and so he thought how he could make good that loss. And he went to the Jews and sold Our Lord for thirty pennies. [Matthew 26:15] After Our Lord was led to his death, he regretted this and took the thirty pennies and carried them back to the Jews and threw them at their feet and fell into despair and hanged himself. And so, for his falseness he received an evil end.

My dear child, if you have a Christian name, aspire accordingly to do Christian works. There are many bad people who are doing worse things than Judas did. Judas sinned against his parents unwittingly. Many bad Christians sin against their parents both wittingly and willingly! Judas sold Our Lord for thirty pennies. Many bad Christians sell him for a farthing or for an evil sin, and these people's torments will be greater in hell than Judas's.

45 The Little Jewish Girl Rachel Who Joined a Nunnery

Headnotes

- Source:** A LSB B 70 a, ff. 26rb–29ra (c. 1525).
- Parallel texts:** ~
- Original text:** MEMST 236–40 (lib. II, cap. 29). Thomas de Cantimpré’s work is sometimes known as *Bonum universale de apibus*. The OSw. text diverges somewhat from the original making a direct comparison difficult. For this reason, de Cantimpré’s version is provided in full after the English translation.
- Editions:** A Johan Ernst Rietz, ed., *Helgona-sagor: Efter 2:ne pergamentshandskrifter från Vadstena-kloster första gången utgifna*, *Scriptores suecici medii aevi cultum culturamque respicientes*, vol. 2 (Lund: Typis Berlingianis, 1845), 12–19; *FsvLeg I* 433–42.

Edition (A LSB B 70 a)

Hær æpther

skriffuas aff the hælge iomffrunne sancte

- 3 raket / huilke iomffru gudz modher siælf
wændhe henna nampn oc kalladhe henne
EN wærdogher oc katerinam
- 6 mykyt myndogher doctor i the
hælge skriff / sigher sik haffua
seet ena closter iomffru i brabantia aff sancti
- 9 bernardi ordon / huilken omwændh war
fran jwdhomen oc til cristna tro / oc sy-
nes thet giorth wara medh iomffru maria til
- 12 hiælp oc store miskundh / Tæssen iomffrun
rachel / war æn hedhen / oc war ey æn
fulkomlika v aara gamwl / oc war i sinna
- 15 fœrældhra hws / begynnadhe hon mæ-
kia lônleka i sith hiæta / at folket

1 Written in top margin: **Sancta rachel A.**

- sik i mællan haffdho en aat skelnat
 18 swa matto at somlike kalladhos
 cristne / oc somlike jwdha / her wndra-
 dhe litla pikan oppa mykyt / æpther
 21 thet hon kwnne mærkia / at sadhana
 ænlethe haffde then cristne som jwdhen
 oc saadana mal then ene som then
 24 andhre / Saadana lønlika tanka
 haffdhe thet barnet jme medh sik siælu
 i hiærtat / oc enghom thet oppenbaradhe
 27 før æn hon aldrough war / tha oppenba
 radhe hon thetta oc alt annat hær æp-
 ther følgher sinom skrifftha fadher / **Oc**
 30 han ær thæn samme som thetta första sin
 skreff / **Oc** ær thetta eth wndherliket
 ærandhe / at swa klent eth barn skul-
 33 le swadana ærandhe røra i
 sit hiærta / oc som hon siælf
 oppenbaradhe / tykte henne
 36 altidh hwgnelekare wara / høra
 oc næmpna cristit nampn æn jwdha
 oc enkannelika / lwstades hon høra ma-
 39 rie nampn / oc tok hon førtænskuld / løn
 lika offta brødh oc maat / oc pæning
 ga / fadhrenom oc modhrenne owetan-
 42 des / oc gaff lønlika fatiko folke / som
 plægadho næmpna maria / tha the
 takkadho før almosona / swa sighian
 45 dis haffuen maria løn / maria før-
 gelle idher idhan kærlek / oc war thet
 stor snille / at swa wnght barn kwnne
 48 her medh swa hemeleka fara / at enghen
 wart thæs warsse / æpther thet at wng
 barn plæggha ekki dølia / hwat i hiær
 51 tat ær / hælst før fadher oc modher /
 hær æpther foro fadher oc modher aff

33 le] A hole in MS before these letters, A. 34 sit] A hole in MS before this word, A. 35 oppen-
 baradhe] A small hole in MS before this word, A. 45 dis] A small hole in MS after these letters, A.

- kolne / oc til brabanciam / til en stadh som
 54 kallas lowania / oc rachel foldhe them
I them stadhenom lowania bodhe en
 enkanneliken godher rætvis / oc wæl
 57 leffwandes præster han kalladhes rey-
 nerus han haffde oc ena rætvisa /
 oc gudelika føresio / som kwnne læra
 60 wnghom barnom book / som sidhwænia
 ær i stædherna / Til thæs præstens hws
 kommo daghlika mangh wngh barn
 63 bæggia køns badhe cristne oc jwdha /
Tha rachel hørde sakena / før huilka
 the tith gingho / tha bedhes hon loff aff
 66 sinne modher / at hon matte følia flerom /
 thy at førælrannas hws war ther ey
 lankt fraa / hon fik loff / oc war ganz-
 69 ska wælwiliogh / at søkia then presten
Oc then godhe før næmpndhe klærken
 reynerus / tha han mærkte at rachel
 72 war swa idhen / oc wakandhe i sin æ-
 ærandhe / kalladhe han herne en dagh
 lønlika affsidhes i eth rwm si-
 75 ghiandes til henna / **O** mith kæra
 barn jomffru rachel / hwat ey wilt thu
 wardha cristen mænniskia / rachel swa-
 78 radhe / **O** kære herra / aff alt mith
 hiæarta / astwndhar iak wardha cristen /
 oc haffde iak then mik wndherwisa
 81 kwnne alt thet som til høre / wardha oc
 wara en san cristen mænniskia tha pres-
 ten thetta hørdhe / wart han gladher
 84 aff alle siæl oc hiæarta / oc før thy at
 han war en gudeliken oc hælogher man
 kændhe han i sinne siæl en wndherleken
 87 rørilse aff then hælga anda / aff huilko
 han førnam / at gudz nadh war i the
 pighonne / oc nakot gudeliket skulle

74 eth] A small hole in the ms after this word, A. 81 Written in top margin: **Sancta rachel A.**

- 90 framledis i *henne* oppenbaras / æn tho
 at han wiste ekki huat *thet* wara skul
 le / **Oc** *begymnadhe* *presten* strax opptæl
 93 ia *crístna* tro før *rachel* / aff *wærlde*nnas
 opphoff / alla the *hælg*a skriff / som tek
 nadho ihesu *crísti* tilqwæmdh / hans pino
 96 oc *dødh* / opstandilse / oc opfærdh til *hym*
 bla / oc *annor* stykke / som røra oppa the
*hælg*a tro grwndh oc stadhfæstilse / **Oc**
 99 *rachel* aff gudz nadh wnderstodh snar-
 lika / alla wt tydhning i the *hælg*e skriff
 swa at *presten* haffde ey behoff offtha
 102 *sighia* *thet* *samma* / huilket siælsynt tyk-
 tes wara / i ene klene *persone* / som ey al-
 droghare war æn vij aar / **Thenna** lær-
 105 dom giordhe klærken *reynerus* / halfft
 annat aar / lønlaka / **Oc** ær *thet* stort widh
 wnder / at *rachel* kwnne aldrih mæt
 108 tas aff gudz ordha hørslø / swa oc før
 thy at ey at enast *presten* siælfuer / wtan
 iæmwæl hans gudelika tiænirska /
 111 som kalladhes *martha* / lærdhe *henne* id-
 kelika / oc *hon* kwnne ekki wardha trøt
 nath ællar dagh / hwat kan man meer
 114 *sighia* / **Thetta** kwnne ekki nw længher
 bliffua dolt / **Thy** at førældrane / fadher
 oc modher / kwnno gørlika mærkia at
 117 *rachel* haffde faat fræmmandha oc
 siælsyna tanka / **Oc** giordhe her om
 radh *medh* *sinom* sambrødhrom androm jw
 120 dhom / hwat wardha skulle *medh* *rachel*
 oc wordho the alle samdræktoghe
 at fadhren skulle sændha sina dotter
 123 til en stadh ower ryneth liggjandis
 oc skepa *henne* brudgomma ællar ri-
 kan fæste man / huilken *henne* bewa-
 126 ra skulle / æn thy at *hon* war wng /

ther til likkawæl / før wadha skuldh
 at swa wngþ mænniskia skulle ekki
 129 wardha swiken aff cristno folke / som
 jwdhane troo / **Thetta** radhet fik rach-
 el lønlika wndhersta / oc kom sik lønle
 132 ka til presten / kwngørandhes honom *medh*
 gratandhe tharom / hwat *hennas* fadher
medh andhrom jwdhom haffde owerlakt / oc
 135 sagdhe ythermer til præsten / wtan iak
 i tæsse tilstwndandhe nat wardher *crist-*
nat tha bliffwer iak æwerdhelika før-
 138 tappat / **Tha** presten *thet* hørðhe / bødh
 han pighonne / at hon æpther sinne sidh-
 wænio / skulle bitidha ællar ganz-
 141 ska arla ather til honom *komma* / huil-
 kit hon otwækelika loffuadhe sik
 gøra skola / **Om** qwællen nar rachel
 144 war hema stadh i hwset / sagdhe hon
 til *sinna* modher / kærasta modher wn-
 nen mik / at iak i tæsse nath maa lig-
 147 gia alena ællar ensam / modhren ne-
 kadhe *henne* *thet* / tha badh rachel *annan-*
tidh mykyt ødhmywklika oc jñnerle
 150 ka / om *samma* sakena / tha hørðhe modhren
hennas bøn / togh swa / at hon redha skul
 le sina sængh *medh* eth ørnegat widh
 153 modhrenna føther / **Tha** lagdhe litla
 pikan sik til *sømpn* / æpther modhrennas
 wilia / oc soff søtelika maxsan alla
 156 nattena / forglømandes allaledhes
 hwat hon *prestenom* loffwadhe / **Tha** kom
 æroffulla ihesu *cristi* modher maria til
 159 sænghenna / haffuandhes whitastan
 klædhebonat / whitare æn snyon /
 oc en wænastan skinande wandh i
 162 handenne / oc taladhe til pighonna /
 sighiandis / katerina stat opp oc

131–32 lønleka] lønkeka A. 151 Written in top margin: **sancta rachel A.**

- 165 gher staar tik føre / Tha pighan thetta
 saa / tykte henne at hon tok æpther wan-
 dhen / oc fiøl siælff nidher oppa gulff
 168 wet aff sængherne / oc gaff opp eth
 stoort roop swa at modhren wakna-
 dhe / oc spøriandes hwi hon swa ro-
 171 padhe / dottren swaradhe enkte w-
 than hwiskadhe sakta før mwnnen
 widher sik siælffwa / **Oc** æpther gudz
 174 wilia bleff modhren strax soffwan-
 dhe / oc dottren skyndadhe sik snar
 lika til presten oc fan honom i førelag-
 177 dhom stadh / **Oc** presten anamadhe
 henne medh glædhi / førandhes henne ena
 halffua milo fran stadhen / lowaniam
 180 til eth *sancti* bernardi ordinis iomffrw
 closter / kwngørandes abbatissam oc conuen-
 tonne sakena / hwi han ther kommen war
 183 medh iomffrwne / aff hwilko the my-
 kyt gladha wordho / **Oc** døppte han
 ællar cristnadhe ther jomffrwna rachel
 186 widh thet nampnet som siælff iomffrw
 maria henne gaff / som ær katerina / oc
 klædhe henne iæmskøt i *sancti* bernardi
 189 ordinis hælga klædhebonat / tilfø-
 giandhis henne / systrannas samqwæmdh
Æn the soffwo ekki som snarlika fadh
 192 renom / oc andhrom i the slækterne / kwn-
 giordho / hwat giort war / oc wordho
 fadhren medh jwdhomen mykyt før-
 195 færadha / oc maxsan sywke aff
 hiærtans sorgh aff thetta ærandet
 klagandhes sik før landz herran / som
 198 war en mækta hærtoghe / oc før
 biskoppen aff leodio / giffuandes
 them mykyt gull / oppa thet at the
 201 matto faa sina dotter hem i sin hws
 til thæs hon wordhe lagha aara
 gammwl / thet ær xij aar æpther jwdha

- 204 *sidhwænio / menandhes wæl kwnna*
omwændha hennas wilia fran cristne
tro i them fæm aren / manghe waro
- 207 *the som styrkto her til før gaffwor*
skuld ¶ Them prestenom som cristnadhe
katerinam / giordho jwdhane stoor
- 210 *drøffuilse / æn han flydhe jmerlika*
i sinom gudelika bonom til ihesum cristum
oc hans millasta modher mariam /
- 213 *huilken honom kom oppa tæssa sake-*
na / jwdhane kærdho oppa thenna før-
næmpndha præsten reynerum / før hæl-
- 216 *ga fadher pawan onorius / sighiandis*
presten haffwa brutit theras priuilegia
lokkandes theras barn aff theras hw-
- 219 *som oc cristnat / før lagliken aldher / pa*
wen skreff biskoppen til aff leodio at
han skulle aff pawans dom gøra ræt-
- 222 *wisan dom them i mællom ¶ Syster kate-*
rinam fik wetha hwat drøffuilse prestenom
førestodh / badh hon jnerlika iomffru
- 225 *maria / at hon wili wærdoghas komma her*
til medh sinne nadh / oc sændhe strax bodh
til presten æpther iomffru maria jnskyu-
- 228 *tilsom / som troandhes ær / oc badh han*
haffua sik medh / før alla doma / ther han
stæmdher wardher / oc war thetta eth siæl-
- 231 *synt widhwndher aff enne klene iomfru*
æn medh thet snarasta sakt / reynerus giordhe
som syster katerina honom radhe / oc kommo ba-
- 234 *dhen til stæmpno stadhen leodium / hwar bis-*
koppen haffdhe samman kallat ena mær-
kelika samqwæmdh / prelatha / doctores
- 237 *oc laghakloka mæn / badhe andelika*
oc wærldzlika / oc en storan mogha medh jw-
dhom / tha fram ropadhes præsten / reynerus

221 *Written in top margin: sancta rachel A.* 227 *presten]* *A small hole in MS after this word,*
 A. 229 *doma]* *A small hole in MS between o and m, A.*

- 240 før rætten / han gik fram før domen / oc sys-
 ter katerina gik hart nær klærken / oc
 begynnadhe først tala / oc taladhe gudhe-
 243 lika om the hælga tro / *medh* san skæl / oc
 bewisnigh aff the hælge skriff / swa be-
 skedhelika oc sammelika oc wisleka / at
 246 enghen dirffdes driffwa *hemmas* ordh til
 rygga / oc dreff hon jwdhana tilbaka
medh theras wantro / *gørandhes* them
 249 stora blygdh / **Alla** cristne ther nær
 warandhes / opplyffto sin ænlite i hy-
 melen / loffuandes gudh / oc sagdho
 252 alle *medh* en mwn / wisseleka talar then
 hælge ande i the systrenne / haa kan
 wiislekare tala æn hon nw talat haffuer
 255 **Æ**n jwdhane konno *henne* enkte swara /
 wtan stodho gratandhes oc tywtan-
 dhes i hymellen *som* en wargha hoper
 258 oc war theras roop oc toth swa høkt
 at the hørddhos til *sancti* lamberti kirkio
 hwilken ganzska lankt ligher fran dom-
 261 kyrkionne i leodio / her æpther waro jw-
 dhane fridhsamme i thu aar / rædhan-
 des at om katerina skulle nakot yther
 264 mera komma til disputeran / tha wor-
 dho manghe wisselika aff jwdhomen
 fran wændhe theras willo / **Oc** betænk
 267 to sik om eth lønliket swek ællar før
 rædilse / i swadana matto her æpther føl-
 gher ¶ **I** them thimanom war i blandh jw-
 270 dhana en wænaste wngher man / hwil-
 kom jwdhane gaffuo ena stora swmmo
 gull at *han* skulle swika hælga iomffru-
 273 na syster katerinam / **Thenne** wnghe man
 nen kom sik til clostrit / hwar iomffrun
 war / sighiandis sik *henne* wara nær skyl-
 276 dher / ællar *henna* næsta frændhe / oc sag-

265 aff] A small hole in MS after this word, A.

dhe sik wara mykyt gladhan aff thy
 at hon haffde widhertakit *crístne* troo
 279 oc wnfanghit *crístelik* dōpílse / oc bedhes
 thy ødhmywklika i ihesu nampn at war-
 dha *crísten* / oc dōpas *medh* *crístnom* æn han
 282 giordhe alt *thetta* skrømtelika / oc ekki
 rætfærdelika / **Sidhan** bedhes han
 nakon then *som* *honom* *kwnne* læra grwn-
 285 dhen i the hælge *crístne* troo / *honom*
 tilskepadhes godha gudelike mæn
 oc han lærdhe aff them mykyt goth
 288 oc tho alt *fafænglika* / thy at hans
 akt war ey rætfærdhog / **Tha** badh
 han ødhmyuklika / at hans kæra fræn-
 291 ka katerina / matte til *honom* *komma* / han
 sagdhe sik *henne* *kwnna* bæst wndhersta
Tha katerina fik wetha hans begæ
 294 rilse / *nekadhe* *hon* *allaledhes* *wilia*
 til *honom* *gaa* / *henne* wart budhit wn-
 dher gudz lydhno / oc sagdhe *hon* æn
 297 tha ne / skrefftefadhren *hennas* straff
 fadhe *henne* før olydhnona / **Tha** *kwn-*
giordhe *hon* i sin skrifftemal / at *henne*
 300 wart oppenbarat aff them hælga
 anda lönlika / at then wnghe man
 nen tok dōpelsen skrømtelika oc
 303 ekki rætfærdelika / oc thy lydde *hon*
 ekki *sinom* *førmanne* wetandhes gudhz
wilia / **Tha** *jwdhane* hørðho then wn-
 306 gha mannen haffua enghen framgang
medh sith swik / wændho the igæn aff sinne
 wranghe akt / enkte meer hælga
 309 *iomffrwna* omakandis / oc wnghe
 mannen bleff i sinne willo / *som* *iomffrunne*
 oppenbaradhes aff gudhi / **Æn** hwru
 312 *sancta* katerina sik ther æpther øwadhe
 i hælgom oc dygdhelikom gærnighom

301 lönlika] A small hole in MS between n and l, A.

- thet* kan man aldhregh allaledhes
 315 fulkomlika sighia ællar skriffua / thy
 at i allas *henna* aathæffwom syntes ey
 annat æn hælloghet / i allo godho war
 318 hon framhallog / gudz kærleker bleff
 i *henne* altidh brinnandhes wtan slio-
 het / ødhmyukten otrøth / twlomodhet
 321 liffuandes oc redhoboeth / lydhnan
 wakandes wtan førswmilse / hon
 war som en krydda gardher / i sik haff
 324 wandes alzskona blomster oc yrther
 swa haffde hon sannelika alla dygdher
 i sik ¶ **N**ar tæssen hælga *iomffrun* / *syster*
 327 *katerina* / saa at wælborna *qwinnor*
 kommo til clostrit søkiandis sina fræn-
 kor ællar døtter / them hoxswalandes
 330 *medh* hwgnelikom ordhom / ællar *medh*
 likamlikom gaffwom / aff hwilko hon saa
 systrana mykyt wardha gladha / tænk-
 333 te hon *medh* sik / til hwem skalt thu gaa
thet thu matte hogxswalas **O**c swara
 dhe sik siælfue sighiandis / *Sannelika*
 336 iak weth wæl hwar iak faar hogxswa
 lilse / oc gik strax til eth wænasta
iomffru maria belæte ther i clostreno /
 339 oc saa til belætet / *medh* blidho ænlite
 sighiandis / heel maria ful *medh* nadh
O aldra millasta modher maria / iak
 342 bidher tik jønnerlika at thu wærdoghas
 miskwænna mik / iak seer hwru mina
 samsystra wardha søkta oc margh
 345 fallelika hogxswaladha aff sinom før-
 ældrom / *wenom* oc frændhom / æn iak
 fatik haffuer enghen til hugnat i wærz-
 348 like matto / oc thy flyr iak til tik / wærd-
 dogasta modher / swa som til mina frw / oc
 millasta frænko / *medh* trofast hiæta /
 351 oc trygdh hopp / war thy thu min enas
 ta oc lyoffuasta hwgxswalirska / oc
 beskærmerska / o hægasta frw / thine

- 354 hōxste wærdoghet hōffuis ekki fōr-
 sma tith egit kōth oc blodh / Iak fa-
 tik ær en owerdogh jwdhinna / oc kommen
- 357 aff jwdha slækt / oc tho ey wtan syndh
 æn thu millasta modher oc iomffru ma-
 ria æst oc afflat oc fōdh aff samma slæ
- 360 ktet / som skinandes roos / aff hwasso
 tōrne / som wænasta lilia aff strangom
 tiistil / wtan alzskona syndelika smitto
- 363 Thy bidher iak tik at thu wærdoghas
 wara min hugnadher i tæsse wærldh /
 huat andeliken sōtme æptherfōlgdhe i
- 366 iomffrunnas siæl / aat swadana widhertaal
 medh iomffru marie / thet kan enghen begripa /
 enkte porta taal kan liknas widher thet
- 369 talet / som katerina haffde medh hymeri
 kis drotnigh marie / henne wari loff oc
 hedher oc æra æwerdelika

Translation

Below is written about the holy maid¹ Saint Rachel, whose name the Virgin Mother of God changed and called her Catherine. A worthy and very authoritative scholar in Holy Scripture says that he himself saw a young nun in Brabant of the Order of St Bernard who was a convert from Judaism to the Christian faith and appeared to have done so [i. e., converted] with the help and mercy of the Virgin Mary.

This maid, Rachel, was a pagan and had not yet had her fifth birthday and was in her parents' house when she began to feel secretly² in her heart that there was a difference between people, so that some were called Christians and some Jews. The small girl was much bemused by this as she could see that the Christian had the same face as the Jew, that the one had the same language as the other. The child had such secrets thoughts within herself in her heart and she did not dis-

365 *Written in top margin: sancta elyzabeth A.*

1 OSw. *jungfru*: 'young lady'; 'young, unmarried woman'; 'girl,' 'maiden,' 'maid'; 'virgin,' 'chaste woman.'

2 The adjective *lōniker* and adverb *lōnika* occur some nine times and underscore how much of the story takes place "in secret."

close them to anyone until she had reached maturity, after which she revealed this and everything else that follows to her father confessor – he is the same man who first wrote this down. And it is a wonderful thing that so small a child should have such things moving in her heart. And, as she herself disclosed, it always seemed more joyful to her to hear and say a Christian name than a Jewish one, and she particularly enjoyed hearing Mary’s name. And for this reason, she would often secretly take bread and food and money without her father and mother knowing and secretly give it to poor folk who would usually name Mary when they said thanks for the alms, saying “Be rewarded by Mary! May Mary repay you for your love!” And it was a great art that such a young child could keep this so secret that no-one suspected it, because young children do not usually conceal what is in their hearts, especially from their father and mother.

Then the father and mother left Cologne and went to Brabant to a city called Leuven [Louvain] and Rachel accompanied them. In the city of Leuven there lived a particularly good, righteous, and virtuous priest. He was called Reynerus. He also had a righteous and godly foresight that was to teach young children literacy as is custom in the cities. Many young children – of both sexes, both Christian and Jewish – came to the priest’s house every day. When Rachel heard why they were going there, she asked for her mother’s permission to accompany several others as her parents’ house was not far away. She was given permission and quite voluntarily visited the priest. And when the good aforementioned cleric, Reynerus, noticed that Rachel was so keen and attentive in her cause, he one day called her secretly to one side into a room, saying to her, “Oh, my dear child! Young maid Rachel! Why do you not want to be a Christian?” Rachel replied, “Oh, dear lord! With all my heart I long to become Christian and if only I could learn all that is needed to become and be a true Christian person!” When the priest heard this, he was overjoyed in his soul and heart, and because he was a godly and holy man, he felt a wonderful movement of the Holy Spirit in his soul, by which he knew that the grace of God was in the girl and that something godly would henceforth be revealed within her although he did not know what it might be. And the priest immediately began to enumerate the [points of the] Christian faith to Rachel: the beginning of the world, all the Holy Scriptures that pointed to the coming of Jesus Christ, his passion and death, resurrection and ascension to heaven, and other points that concern the foundation and confirmation of the Holy Faith. And by the mercy of God, Rachel quickly understood the entire exposition of the Holy Faith so that the priest did not often have to repeat the same thing which was thought to be unusual in a small person who was no older than six and a half years.

The cleric Reynerus undertook this teaching in secret for a year and a half and it is a great wonder that Rachel could never be satiated by hearing the word of God, so that not only the priest himself, but also his godly servant-woman, who was

called Martha, taught her enthusiastically – and she could never grow tired, night or day. What more can we say? This could not be kept hidden any longer because the parents – father and mother – could clearly see that Rachel had acquired strange and unusual thoughts and they conferred with their companions – other Jews – about what should be done with Rachel, and they were all in agreement that the father should send his daughter to a city located across the Rhine and arrange a bridegroom or rich fiancé for her who would keep her even though she was young for this all the same, because of the danger that such a young person should be tricked by Christians as the Jews believe. Rachel secretly got wind of this counsel and went in secret to the priest and, crying tears, informed him of what her father together with the other Jews had decided, and moreover she said to the priest, “Unless I become Christian this very night, then I shall be lost for all eternity!” When the priest heard this, he ordered the girl to return to him in good time or quite early as was usually her habit which she promised to do without any doubt.

In the evening, when Rachel was at home, she said to her mother, “Dearest mother! Allow me to be alone or by myself this evening.” The mother refused. Then, for a second time, Rachel asked very humbly and fervently for the same thing. When the mother heard her request, she said that she was to make her bed with a pillow at her mother’s feet. Then the little girl lay down to sleep in accordance with her mother’s wishes and slept sweetly almost the entire night, completely forgetting what she had promised the priest. Then the honourable mother of Jesus Christ, Mary, came to her bed wearing an incredibly white dress, whiter than snow; and [holding] a beautiful, shining wand in her hand, and she spoke to the girl, saying, “Catherine, get up and start walking along your road, because there is a long road ahead of you!” When the girl saw this, it seemed as though she reached out for the wand, and she fell down onto the floor next to the bed and shouted so loudly that her mother woke up and asked her why she had shouted. The daughter replied saying nothing but whispered quietly to herself. And in accordance with God’s will the mother immediately fell back asleep, and the daughter quickly hurried to the priest and found him at the prearranged place. And the priest received her with joy and led her half a mile from the city of Leuven to a nunnery of the Order of St Bernard informing the abbess and convent about the matter – why he had come there with the virgin – which pleased them greatly. And he baptized or christened the virgin Rachel there with the name that the Virgin Mary herself had provided, that is Catherine, and immediately dressed her in the habit of the Order of St Bernard and joined her to the sisters’ convent.

And they no sooner slept than the father and others in the family found out what had happened. And the father and Jews were horrified and almost ill with heartache by what had happened, and they complained to the lord of the land

who was a mighty duke, and to the bishop of Liège, giving them much gold so that they might get their daughter home to their house until she was of legal age, that is twelve years according to Jewish custom. They were of the opinion that they could turn her desire away from the Christian faith during those five years. There were many who supported this with gifts.

The Jews caused the priest who had christened Catherine much grief, and in his divine prayers he fervently sought refuge with Jesus Christ and his most mild mother Mary who had led him to this case. The Jews complained to the Holy Father, Pope Honorius, about this aforementioned priest, Reynerus, saying that the priest had broken their privileges by luring their children from their houses and christening them before the legal age. The pope wrote to the bishop of Liège saying that he should make a just judgement in the pope's name between them.

Sister Catherine heard what grief the priest found himself in. She prayed fervently to the Virgin Mary that she would deign to come with her grace, and, inspired by the Virgin Mary (which is believable), she immediately sent a message to the priest, and asked him to address all the charges where he was summoned, and this was a rare wonder for a small virgin, but as soon as it was said, Reynerus did as Sister Catherine advised him and they both went to Liège, the city where they had been summoned, where the bishop had called a special gathering of prelates, theologians, and legal experts, both religious and secular, and a great crowd of Jews. Then the priest Reynerus was called before the court. He went before the judges and Sister Catherine walked right next to the cleric and she began to speak first. And she spoke godly about the Holy Faith with true clarity and demonstration from the Holy Scriptures, so humbly and truly and wisely that no-one dared throw her words back at her. And she repelled the Jews with their delusion, making them greatly embarrassed. All those Christians who were present lifted their faces heavenwards, praising God, and all said with one voice, "The Holy Spirit is definitely speaking within this sister. Who can speak more wisely than she has now spoken?" And the Jews were unable to reply to her but stood crying and howling at the sky like a pack of wolves, and their crying and howling was so loud that they could be heard in the Church of St Lambert which is quite a long way away from the cathedral in Liège.

After this the Jews were peaceful for two years, afraid that if Catherine was again to come to dispute, then many of the Jews would certainly be turned from their delusion, and they thought of a secret betrayal or treachery as follows. At that time there was among the Jews an extremely handsome young man to whom the Jews gave a large amount of gold that he should deceive the holy virgin, Sister Catherine. This young man arrived at the nunnery where the virgin was and said that he was closely related to her close family and said that he was very happy that she had taken the Christian faith and embraced Christian baptism

and humbly asked in the name of Jesus to become a Christian and be baptized a Christian, but he did all this pretending and not righteously. Then he asked that someone might be able to teach him the foundation of the Christian faith. Good godly men were brought to him, and he learnt much good from them, though all in vain, because his intention was not righteous. Then he humbly asked that his dear relative Catherine might come to him. He said that he could best understand her. When Catherine got to hear of his wish, she outright refused to go to him. She had been commanded to obey God and still refused even if her father confessor would punish her for disobedience. Then she disclosed in her confession that the Holy Spirit had secretly revealed to her that the young man had taken baptism as a pretence and not righteously, and so, knowing God's will, she did not obey her guardian. When the Jews heard that the young man had not been successful in his deception, they were again repelled from their evil intention, no longer troubling the holy virgin, and the young man remained in his delusion just as had been revealed to the virgin by God.

And it will never be possible to say or write entirely in full how Saint Catherine practised her holy and virtuous deeds after this, because there appeared nothing but holiness in all her actions. She was persevering in all goodness. God's love was always burning within her without lethargy, her humility tireless, her patience and readiness alive, observing obedience without neglect. She was like a herb garden that contained all kinds of flowers and herbs; so, she truly contained all virtues within her.

When this holy virgin, Saint Catherine, saw that noble women came to the nunnery seeking their relatives or daughters, consoling them with words of comfort or with material gifts, from which she saw that the sisters were very pleased, she thought to herself, "To whom shall you go when you need comforting?" And she answered herself, saying, "Truly, I know well where I receive comfort!" and she went straight to a very beautiful image of the Virgin Mary there in the nunnery and looked at the image and said with a blissful face, "Hail Mary, full of grace! O Mother Mary most mild, I pray fervently to you that you will deign to have mercy upon me. I see how my sisters are sought and, in many cases, comforted by their parents, friends, and relatives. And poor me, I have no-one in this world for joy, and so I seek refuge with you, most worthy mother, as if to my lady and most mild relative with a faithful heart and secure hope, as if you were my only and most beloved consoler and protector! O holy lady! Your very high position does not befit the contempt of your own flesh and blood. Poor me, I am an unworthy Jewess and come from a Jewish family and not even without sin, but you, Mother most mild and Virgin Mary, are also bred and born of this same family, like a shining rose among sharp thorns, like a very beautiful lily among unyielding thistles, without any sort of sinful blemish. So, I ask you to deign to be my comfort in this world."

What spiritual comfort was to follow in the virgin's soul from such a conversation with the Virgin Mary no-one can grasp: no conversation at the nunnery gate can be compared with the conversation that Catherine had with Mary, the queen of heaven, may she be praised and respected and honoured for eternity!

Latin Version: *Miraculorum et exemplorum memorabilium sui temporis* [(A Book) of Miracles or Memorable Tales of his Age]

Source: MEMST 236–40.

De Rachele Judæa, facta moniali in Parco iuxta Louanium.

Vidi in Brabantiae partibus Cisterciensis ordinis monialem de Iudaismo conuersam in quo opus diuæ Mariæ matris Christi gloriositatis excellebat. Annorum non plenè quinque, in domo parentum Iudeorum aduertere cœpit animo: cur distinctio nominum fieret Iudeorum pariter et Christianorum, cum vnus vultus atque loquelæ homines essent vriusque gentis. Mira talis puellæ discretio. Inhærebat tamen, vt postmodum mihi retulit, auidius audienti, magis Christianum nomen, quàm Iudaicum. Et specialiter beatæ Mariæ nomen lætabatur audire, cum Christiani aliquid inuicem petere vel iurare solerent. Furabatur autem sub vtraque assella panem de mensa parentum, & pueris occulte mendicis partiebatur, vt regratiando sibi Mariæ nomen audiret. In his ergo de tempore in tempus mirè proficiens, ita sagaciter latitabat, vt neuter parentum aliquid super cogitatu filiæ aduertere posset vel audire. Contigit autem vt parentes eius à Colonia in Louanium Brabantiae opidum cum filia deuenirent. Vbi cum successu temporis in domum cuiusdam præclari presbyteri, magistri Reineri nomine, puella cum Christianis pueris aduenisset, & eam ex nomine nouisset presbyter, eamque venire libentius ad se frequentius aduertisset, interrogauit eam, dicens: Visne Rachel carissima Christiana fieri? Et illa, volo, inquit, dummodo erudias me quid sit fieri Christianam. Tunc presbyter, vt vir sanctus mirè gauisus, in spiritu sentiebat de puella futurum nescio quid diuinum, Et incipiens à constitutione mundi, cœpit illi scripturas exponere per quas fides Christi, vel ipse Christus significari poterat, vel ostendi. Quarum expositiones, vt mihi ipsamet dixit, ita integro sensu in illa ætate sex annorum tunc & dimidij discretione spiritus intellexit, vt raro oporteret presbyterum rationem aliquam iterare. Hæc eruditio ferè per annum dimidium per durauit, occulto aditu per quem furtiuè & oportunè raptam puellam edocebat. Et vide admirationis insigne prodigium, Nunquam Rachel auditu verbi Dei satiari poterat, vel lassari, cum tamen presbyter & Martha ministra eius, mulier religiosa & prudens valde, ambo frequenter lassari sibi inuicem succederent in docendo. Quid plura? Mox vt parentes in filia cœperunt aduertere cogitatum, conuenien-

tibus Iudæis pluribus conuenerunt in hoc, vt missam filiam de Louanio vltra Rhenum sponso traderent arctius conseruandam. Quod vbi puella cognouit, presbytero cum lacrymis indicauit, vt si illam eadem nocte non raperet, & Christianam efficeret, perdita esset in perpetuum & confusa. Quod audiens presbyter, puellæ præcipit, vt ad solitum aditum summo manè veniret. Quod cum incunctanter annueret, vespere matri suæ dixit. Sola mater hac nocte iacere volo, Quod cum simplex puellula dixisset: & diutius mater renuisset, *consensit tandem, eidem super ceruical ad pedes suos lectulum præcipiens præparari. Iacente ergo puellula vsque ad mane, & obliuiscente penitus quod presbytero precedenti nocte promiserat, astitit illi gloriosissima mater Dei Maria in habitu candido super niuem: Et offerens illi virgam splendidam quam gestabat, dixit: Surge Catherina & iter accipe, grandis enim tibi restat via. Hæc illa dicente, Rachel credens virgam apprehendere, de lecto cecidit & exclamauit: cuius clamore mater excitata, & quærente clamoris causam, filiaque cautius dissimulante, mater protinus obdormiuit: & Rachel surgens, ad conductum locum presbyterum mox inuenit. Qui lætus assumpsit eam, & venit ad monasterium quod Parcus dominarum dicitur: quod erat ad leucam dimidiam dictæ villæ, & gaudentibus cunctis baptizauit illam, nomen Catherinæ imponens ei, quo vocata prius fuerat à matre Christi: statimque habitu ordinis induit baptizatam. Nec mora, vt audiuit pater & amici eius quod gestum est, consternati sunt, & per duces omnium terræ, & per Episcopum Leodiensem, tandemque per Papam Honorium datis maximis pecunijs laborauerunt, vt infra ætatem legitimam filia ablata parentibus redderetur. Quæ si in domo parentum vsque ad duodennem ætatem perseueraret in fide suscepta: tunc iustè Christiano nomini reddi posset: cogitantes nequissimè medio tempore infantilem animum faciliter posse deflectere, vt ad natiua parentum vota rediret. Horum fraudulenta conanima, proh dolor, multi magni & litterati viri, pecunia suscepta fouebant, pro quo presbyter supradictus non modicè tribulatus, solum Christum & matrem eius, quæ auctrix fuerat facti huius, multis lachrymis inuocabat. Mira res, & vsque in præsens cunctis seculis inaudita. Petijt à presbytero ad onem citationem, & iudicem se puella deduci. Forsitan, inquit, iudices flectentur ætate, & ad mei piaculum mouebuntur. Et factum est vt petiuit & dixit. Vt enim die quadam apud Leodium venit coram Episcopo, clericis, & magnatibus, diuersos aduocatos & iudices, tam constanti, quàm veridica ratione confudit & mouit; vt voces vlulantium & clamantium cum lacrymis præ stupore in Ecclesia sancti Lamberti à locis distantissimis audirentur: ita vt omnes manifestè dicerent & viderent, in tam exili ætate diuini spiritus sapientiam præualere. Hinc post annos duos à lite iuris cessatum est, & aliud deceptionis tendiculum præparatur. Iuuenis elegantis formæ Iudæus, conductus ad hoc, venit ad monasterium supradictum, in quo puella erat, & stimulado animo baptisma suscepit. Qui cum se fingeret miro modo, quærebat vt puellæ, quasi cognatæ suæ, eruditionis gratia loqui posset:*

dicebat enim; plus super omnium sermonibus mihi cognatæ verbum salubritis imprimetur: illa tamen, vt mihi retulit, interius discernebat fictum ad fidem iuuenem accessisse, & ideo nec prece, nec precio, nec vlla obedientia flecti potuit, vt solum verbum iuueni loqueretur. Hæc vt viderunt Iudæi, cessauerunt ab illa: iuuenis autem ad vomitum est reuersus. hanc postea tanta gratia potiri vidimus, vt nihil ea serenius videri posset. Cumque nobilium monialium parentes cum multa ambitione venirent videre filias, vel cognatas: hæc coram imagine beatę virginis veniebat, & gratioso vultu dicebat: Alię sorores nostræ moniales à matribus & amicis solatium habent, & gaudium: ego autem paupercula, pupilla, & indigena, ad te dominam, vt cognatam mean fidenter accedo: tu sola pro omnibus esto mihi refugium & solamen. Et hæc dicentem, quis dubitet eam à misericordissima pietatis matre solatio defraudari. Non te decet ô domina tuam carnem, tuum sanguinem spernere, de cuius genere, vt rosa de spinis orta es, lilium de tribulis generatum.

46 The Merchant's Surety

Headnotes

Source: A LSB T 180, pp. 25a24–26a47 (c. 1450).
Parallel text: ~
Original text: ~
Edition: A SMP VI 43–44.

Edition (A LSB T 180)

Swa le

som wi af mangom iærtek-

- 3 *nom* som han hafuer giort *medh* si-
nom troligom tiænarom thet
hende ij ein sin swa at ein
6 fatiker kristin man ij einom
køpstad han beidis ein storan
hoop pænninga til lans af
9 einom heidnom iuda / oc vilde
ther *medh* køpslaga oc koma
siig til barning / tha bad thenne
12 iuden faa sik panth vm
han vilde hans pænninga haf-
ua thenne *crisne* mannen sag-
15 de sig eingen panth honom at
kunna faa tha bad iuden *honom*
gaa *medh* sik til *crisna* man-
18 na *kirkio* oc bidia thet barnit
ihesum som maria belæte hafuer ij
sinom famne / at lofua fore
21 the pænninga / thæ vilde han
honom lana swa mykit han
betorfte tha gingo the ba-
24 de til *kirkione* oc thenne *crisne*

18 *kirkio*] *kkio* A.

mannen fiel oppa sin kne oc
 bad sina bøner oc stod op til
 27 bælætiit oc talade til thy *som*
 thet hafde warit liifwandis
 oc bad lofua fore sik fore the
 30 pænninga oc ther *medh* lagde han
 sina hand oppa bælætid oc
 swor iudanom ein eidh at
 33 han vilde gifua honom the
 pænninga ij geen ijnnan try
 aar a einom vissom dag eptir
 36 thera samtykkio bægias
 oc ther *medh* loot iuden sik
 nøgia ij thet sinnid oc len-
 39 the them *crisna* mannenom
 ein storan pænninga hoop
medh huilko han siglde wtlen-
 42 dis oc køpslagæde swa at
 han vart ein riker man
 Nw hende thet oc swa / at
 45 ta then thimen kom at iuden
 skulde hafua sina pænninga
 ij geen / tha war then *crisne*
 48 mannen stader ij einom køpstad
 longh heman fran sik oc
 laa byrfasther oc konde ein-
 51 galeidis hem koma *som* han *ger-*
 na vilde / ther fore syrgdhe
 han mykit oc bædrøfdis
 54 at the løptin skulde ey tro-
 liga wara haldin oppa
 then daghen *som* han hafde lofuat
 57 tha *medh* eino stadoge hope fylthe han
 vthi eit skrin swa manga pænninga
som han war skyllogher oc gik til stran-
 60 dhinne oc fiol oppa sin kne oc sagde
 swa O herre gud her æro nw the pæ-

38 sinnid] sin[->n]id A.

ninga rædho / oc ek kan thes ey
 63 bekoma at halda mina lofwan
 oc thina skada løysa oc mik hopas
 at tw forma *thet* bæther en ek / for
 66 thy thu ær alzmæktogher / oc ther
medh sætte han *thet* skrinit ther ij va-
 thnit oc gik swa borth sin wegh
 69 Ta hende *thet* oc swa eptir gudz
 vilia at then same iuden kom gan-
 gande til stranderne oc venthe
 72 fastth køpmannin ij gen / tha fik
 han see *thet* skrinit flytande ther
 vid strandene huilkit han tok op
 75 oc bar hem oc lagde *thet* vndher
 sina sængh oc wndrade storliga
 hwadan *thet* war komith Nw
 78 ey langt ther eptir kom køpman-
 nen heim oc iuden war ey sein
 til at kræfwia honom sina pæ-
 81 ningha / tha sagde then *crisne* man-
 nen / ek veit ey annat sannaren
 en thu hafuer thina pæninga
 84 Juden sagde strax ney / tha bad
 then *crisne* mannen honom gaa
medh sik til kirkione / som the oc ba-
 87 dhe giorde tha fiol ather then
crisne mannen oppa sin kne oc
 bad wan herra ødmykliga vm
 90 sina nadher at han skulde ey
 ythermeir varda manadher
 eller til taladher vm the pænin-
 93 gana / tha swarade vars herra
 bælæte oc talade til iudan
 oc sagde at han hafde the
 96 pæninga allaræidho fangit
 ij eino skrine som han tok vid
 strandena / oc gømde vndher

90 ey] [y>e]y A.

- 99 *sinne sængh / tha ijuden thetta*
vndrit hørde oc saa tha kæn-
dis han thet oc loth sik ther eptir
- 102 *crisna oc tiente gudi swa lenge*
han liifde

Translation

Then we read about the many miracles that he [i. e., Jesus Christ] performed with his servants. It once happened that a poor man in a city asked to borrow a large sum of money from a pagan Jew and wanted to use it for trading and to provide for himself. Then the Jew asked to receive a pledge [surety] if he wanted to have his money. This Christian man said that he had no surety that he could give him. Then the Jew asked him to go with him to the Christians' church and pray to the child Jesus who the picture of Mary has in her arms, to make a promise about the money, then he would lend him as much as he needed. Then they both went to the church and this Christian man fell upon his knees and prayed his prayers and stood up before the picture and spoke to it as if it were alive and asked it to guarantee the money, and with that he placed his hand upon the image and swore an oath to the Jew that he would give him his money back within three years on a certain day agreed upon by them both. And with that, the Jew was satisfied at that time and lent the Christian man a large sum of money with which he sailed overseas and traded so that he became a rich man.

Now it also so happened that when the time came when the Jew should get his money back, the Christian man was located in a city a long way from home and was waiting for a fair wind¹ and could in no way return home as he wished. For this reason, he was very sad and upset that the promises would not be kept faithfully. On the day that he had promised, with a steadfast hope, he filled a chest with as much money as he was indebted and went to the shore and fell upon his knees and said thus: "O Lord God, the money is here ready now and yet I am not able to keep my promise and be free from your punishment. And I hope that you are more capable than I, because you are almighty!" And with that he placed the chest into the water and walked away.

And then it so happened in accordance with God's will that the very same Jew came walking along the shore and was still waiting for the merchant to return when he caught sight of the chest floating there by the shore. He picked it up and

¹ OSw. "byrfaster": cf. OIce. *byrr* [fair wind] + *fastr* [stuck to the spot].

carried it home and placed it under his bed and was greatly puzzled by where it could have come from.

Now, not long after this, the merchant came home, and the Jew was not slow in demanding his money from him. Then the Christian man said, "I know nothing truer than that you have your money!" The Jew immediately said no. Then the Christian man asked him to go with him to the church, which they also both did. Then the Christian man fell to his knees and humbly asked Our Lord for his mercy that he never more be challenged or accosted for the money. Then the image of Our Lord answered and spoke to the Jew and said that he already received the money in a chest that he picked up at the shore and hid under his bed. When the Jew heard and saw this wonder, he admitted this and then had himself christened and served God as long as he lived.

47 The Pilgrims' Guide to the Holy Land

Headnotes

- Source:* A DAS AM 792 4^o, ff. 188ra1–193vb26 (c. 1450–1500).
Parallel text: ~
Original text: ~
Editions: A *VejlPilgr* 209–20; Carl Joakim Brandt, *Gammeldansk Læsebog: En Håndbog i vor ældre Literatur på Modersmålet*, vol. 1: *Til Bogtrykkerkunstens Indførelse* (Copenhagen: C. G. Iversen, 1857), 306–07 (excerpt).

Edition (A DAS AM 792 4^o)

- Thettæ æræ the
stædhe som pe-
3 regrime skule sø-
ghe for af løsn af theræ
synder ·J· thet helliæ land
6 huaræ som kors staar
screuet ther ær af løsn
af alle synder ·J· thee an-
9 dræ stædhe giues af vii
aar ogh vii karener och
xl daue For owæn geru-
12 salem ær eet hospital mi-
get stoort; ther skulæ pe-
regrime in gangæ ogh
15 gialdæ theræ tol Jtem
sidhen skulæ the in gan-
gæ i gerusalem til eet
18 hospital ther skulæ thee
æde drikke ogh sowæ
til een tidh gra brødher
21 boo a syons biergh ogh
engæ andræ clærke æl-
ler prester æræ ·J· alt thet
24 helliæ land Thee brø-

- dhræ skulæ op wekkæ
 peregrimen før æn dauen
 27 op gaar **O**gh før pere-
 grime thæthen gangæ
 skulæ thee giælde som
 30 sydh ær the brødhræ
 skulæ ledhe peregrime
 til templæt først vd
 33 wortes **J** sennæn for
 vden with kirkedørren
 skulæ peregrime gøræ
 36 een stakketh bøøn **J**tem
 hoos templæt genesten
 ære iiii capellæ af them
 39 ær een war fruæs then
 annen sancte iohannis baptiste
 then tredie alle enghls
 42 then fiardher marie mag-
 dalene ·**J**· thesæ stædhe
 ogh alle andre som pere-
 45 grime nw pleyæ at le-
 dhes skulæ the skøt gø-
 ræ theræ bønær for thi
 48 at mange wodhe æra a-
 ferdhe serlestes at the
 skulæ ey lidhe noger skend
 51 skap af hedninge **M**yt
 i mellen templet ogh the
 firæ capelle ensæ til li-
 54 ghe rum ensæ xxx fø-
 der **T**yl sinnæn ær then
 stædh som iudei toghæ
 57 korssæt aff ihesu for
 innæn **C**aluarie biargh
Jtem sidhen skulæ pere-
 60 grime ledhes af thee
 brødræ nedher ad sta-

58 biargh] Possibly bi[a]rgh A.

- dhen til øster Ensæ eet
 63 steenkast til fiar ther
 er then stædh som ihesus
 hwiltæ lidet ther han
 66 bar korset Jtem naggæt
 sa ther vt fran ær
 then stedh som the nø-
 69 dæ symonem at bæra
 korset eftær ihesum
 J then samme stedh sto-
 72 dhe the quinner som græ-
 dhæ ihesu pine tyl hwem
 ihesus saudhe græder
 75 ikke ower migh græder
 ower edher selwe *et cetera*
 thesæ stædhe som thet
 78 skedhe i waræ tha for
 vden stassens portæ tho
 hwer men at the ære
 81 nw for innen Somme
 wenthe ogh siæ ad geru-
 salems stadh war til fo-
 84 ren bigd i een annen
 stedh een han nw staar
 bigd ogh taghe the oord
 87 vd af lesten som ihesus
 saudhe thynæ fiændæ
 skulæ ey ladhe een steen
 90 bliuæ ower een annen
 Jegh siær han staar nw
 j then samme stedh som
 93 han tha stoodh ogh thet
 prøwer iach saa forthi
 at salomonis temple
 96 staar en j daw J then
 samme stedh som tha
 ogh then gyldenæ port

67 ær] ær followed by a minim A.

- 99 sancte staffens poort
 probatica piscina pyla-
 tes hws ogh mange an-
 102 dre thilige ting som
 hwer man see ma Men
 syons birgh wor tha
 105 for ynnen muren ogh
 thet ær nw for vden
 anne hws Cayphe hws
 108 marie ihesu modhers
 hws j hwilket hwn op
 gaff syyn benediete ond
 111 ogh mange andree hws
 ogh stædhe hwelke mestæ
 deel nw ødhe ogh far-
 114 derwethe æræ fra syons
 biergh waræ ogh tha
 ynnen muren ogh nw
 117 vden Then deel eer far-
 gangen som pleyær /
 sommæ stedhe at bigges
 120 ogh somæ stædhe at far-
 driues som aræn freem
 gaa Men som man ma
 123 see ey kunnæ stadhen
 gerusalem widhes och
 ey bigges annen stedh
 126 een som han wor skik-
 ket af æræstæ Men til
 templet som then helliæ
 129 graf ær / ær han wider
 ogh meræ giordh / ogh
 engenstæd ammen stedh
 132 forthi ad a then sydhe
 som salomonis temple
 ær ogh andree foræ saude

109 hwn] hvm A. **110** benediete] *Possibly* benedicte A. **121** freem] freemn (?) A. **126–27** skik-
 ket] skik-|let A. **134** andree] *Possibly* andr[e] A; saude] sande A.

- 135 stædhe ther kunnæ han
 ikke hauet wiidhs foræ
 dalaæ so som æræ iosæ
 138 phat ogh syloæ ogh for
 thi beholder han æn syn
 førstæ stædh Fremdeles
 141 j talen ær thet hwar lund
 maria ihesu modher be-
 drowet stood til heuræ
 144 weyn øuermer somighet
 som xx føder forthi
 hun kunnæ ey nærmer
 147 komma for bong ther ful-
 gde ihesum then time hun saa
 ihesum syn signethe søn
 150 bære korset ogh han saa
 hennæ Tha gic drøwel-
 sens swerdh gømme
 153 hennæ hiartæ som gam-
 le symeon hafdhe herne
 saudh for then skyld
 156 staar ther een heder-
 ligh kyrke j then stædh
 altidh luct af hedhnin-
 159 ge Jtem so ær thethen
 een stoor skedhning
 Ense eet arbørste skud
 162 ther ær then engæ fra-
 teres hws til hōwræ
 weyn Jtem sythen ænsæ
 165 then sammæ skeningh
 er pylates hws til then
 wenstræ weyn ogh thet
 168 hws ær mighet dyrligt
 giort ogh bescreuet ogh

135 kunnæ] quinnæ A. 136 ikke] ilke A. 144 weyn] wen A; somighet] somighe A. 147–48 ful-
 gde] ful-]ge A. 154 hafdhe] haf\d/he A. 158 luct] liut A.

- thet ær ænsæ een half
 171 fiærding fra caluarie
 stedh vd af hwilket
cristus bar syt kors **J**tem
 174 ydermærae ensæ til halt
 so mighet rum er hero-
 dis hws til hwilket
 177 *cristus* war send af py-
 lates a then winstre
 weyn ther hos a then
 180 hōwra weyn ær tem-
 plum salomonis ogh pro-
 batica piscine **T**hær ær
 183 ioachims hws j hwil-
 ket maria ihesus modher
 war føød **J**tem ther
 186 ikke lant fran ær sco-
 len som man boogh
Jtem hoos salomonis
 189 templæ i stadhssens
 mur ær then gylde-
 næ poort gømen hvil-
 192 ken ihesus infoo a pal-
 mæ søndau hwilket
 luct bliuer til yderstæ
 195 dau af hedhningæ
Jtem inwortes ær *sancte*
 staffens poort hwilkyn
 198 sa kallæs forthi at Ju-
 dhæ mōdæ hanum ther-
 ræ ogh wd wortes en-
 201 sa til eet steens kast
 ther beydhæ han synæ
 knæ ogh baad for thee
 204 hanum steendæ ogh an-

172 hwilket] hwillet A. 175 rum] Eum A, cf. l. 360. 191–92 hvilken] hvil-[len A. 194 luct] luit
 A. 199 mōdæ] mōdær A. 204–05 anuordhet] anuordhetdhet A.

uordhet gwd syn syæl
 Jtem sidhen innermeræ
 207 j stædh ær iosaphat
 dal a hander øster sa
 ydermere ær cedrons
 210 strøøm Jtem een stoor
 kyrke hvylden saraceni
 likkæ tho huer men at
 213 hwn ær graa brødhre
 giuen af pauen i hwil-
 ken søghes war fruæ
 216 graf Jtem af then stædh
 som *sancte* Staffen war
 steender gonger man
 219 op til **O**liue biergh ·J·
 vp gongen til øster sa
 lankt som eet armbørst
 222 skiuder ær yrtægær-
 dhen ·J· huilken the to-
 ghe hand a jhesu fonge-
 225 dhe ogh bunde Jtem
 noghet owermeræ ær
 then stædh som hans
 228 discipuli sofnedhæ mæ-
 dhen han baadh synæ
 bøner Jtem fremde-
 231 les til synder ensæ een
 steens kast ær een hu-
 læ J· iordhen al stee-
 234 negh j hwilken ihesus
 intræt thredhiæ synnæ
 ogh baadh til syn hel-
 237 liæ fadher ogh swetes
 bloodh Jtem ogh thæ-
 re noghit owermeræ
 240 a høræ weyn ar then

221 armbørst] armbø\|r/st A. 228 sofnedhæ] fofnedhæ A.

stædh som sanctus tho-
 mas fyk war fruæ sno-
 243 or then tidh hun op
 tooghs til hymelæn
 ogh noghit owermeræ
 246 i stædh ær then stædh
 som ihesus græt ower ge-
 rusalem ogh saudhe
 249 om tu hafdhe kent huad
 thigh skal ower gaa
Jtem at then same wey
 252 a heuræ weyn til øster
 ær then stædh som en-
 gelen fōrdhe war fruæ
 255 palm **J**tem øwerst a
 biergh ensæ eet steens
 kast til winster vden
 258 veyn ær then stædh
 som kalles galilea ther
 som *cristus* obenbaredes
 261 sinæ discipulis efter
 hans vp standelesæ **J**tem
 fra then stædh ræt vd
 264 a hander sōnder øwerst
 a oliueti biergh ensæ
 eet got amborstæ skut
 267 ær een stoor kyrkæ och
 hans food spor som han
 op foor til hemelen **J**tem
 270 a thet biergh ma man
 see iordens floodh och
 thet dōthæ haf æn thoch
 273 the æræ fæm milæ thæ-
 dhen **J**tem atter thæ-
 dhen i synder bort eet

242–43 snoor] *On this reading, see Simon Skovgaard Boeck, “U eller n?,” in From Text to Artefact: Studies in Honour of Anne Mette Hansen, ed. Katarzyna Anna Kapitan, Beeke Stegmann, and Seán D. Vrieland (Leeds: Kismet Press, 2019), 171–73. 255 øwerst] owert A.*

- 276 armborstæ skut ær een
kyrki som apolstælæ dic-
tædhæ **Credo** frem at
- 279 then samme gang er een
kyrki som *cristus* kæn-
dhæ apostolæ at bedhe
- 282 och læsa **Pater** noster
Jtem fremdeles som
man faær nedhær at
- 285 bierghet ensæ een ste-
ens kast ær then stæd
som war fruæ hwiltæ
- 288 sik then tiidh hun
thrættes som hun dauli-
ghe daus søktæ thessæ
- 291 foræ saudæ stædhe **J**tem
fremdeles neydher at
bierghet ensæ til twig-
- 294 gæ stenæ kast i nøør ær
een kyrke ther som
sanctus iacobus ther he-
- 297 der mindræ han fiældhæ
sigh then timæ som *ihesus*
leedh syn død ogh *ihesus*
- 300 obenbareth sigh *hannum* then
daw han op stoodh ogh
ther ær han och iordheth
- 303 **T**her hoos ær sacharie
graff ogh so ær enden
a iosaphat dal **Nota**
- 306 hoos sancte iacobs kyr-
ke nedhre a oliueti bier-
gh ær ensæ een capellæ
- 309 vt huggen i een steen
och wen ær han skip-

284 faær] saær A. 288 hun] hun [thæ] A. 300 sigh] ~ A. 305 In the right-hand margin: *Nota* and a right hand (manicula) pointing with two fingers, A. 310 In the right-hand margin: a right hand (manicula) pointing with two fingers, A. 310–11 skipdher] ski[l>p]-|dher A.

dher ænsæ een hat / af
 312 andre steenæ / och ther
 siær man at josaphat
 koning war iordhet
 315 och ther af hauer da-
 len then naun / ogh som-
 mæ siæ pharaos dater
 318 koning salomonis
 drødning ligger ther
Jtem fremdeles sa ær
 321 syloe dal thædhen ogh
 in i byæn til *thet* biergh
 som byen staar bigd a
 324 **J**tem til synder a then
 høræ hand i stadh ær
 war fruæ keldæ som so he-
 327 der for thi at war fruæ
 thoo sin signede søns
 clude ther then tith hun
 330 skulde offre hanum i møn-
 stret **F**remdeles somiget
 som en steens kast a
 333 then same hand er na-
 tatoria syloe *thet* heder
 ogh so for thi at iodhe
 336 thoe them ogh *summæ*
 ther i *thet* wædn ther
 er behendelige bigd *thet*
 339 er skicket fyrekant med
 mange huelninger owen
 til ær *thet* wit somigeth
 342 som firæ synnæ tywæ
 føder
 i længhen ogh bredhen
 345 **J**nwortes til østar ther

314 iordhet] iordhedis A. 326 som] ~ A. 328 thoo] Possibly theo A. 334 syloe] sy[w>lo]e
 A. 339 skicket] ski[l>k]ket A. 343 føder] føder [æller tolf nydher] A.

er wandnnæt sanket
 thet er i brædhen ensæ
 348 ti føder æller tolof
 nydher til wadnnæt
 ær otæ traper ogh thet
 351 wadn løber af war
 fruæ keelde **J**tem frem-
 deles fra then stædh
 354 somighet som een steens
 kast foræ stadhen ie-
 rusalem ær then stædh
 357 som the sauedhe ysayam
 prophete *met* een træ sau
Jtem fremdeles til sa
 360 miget ruum ær alchel-
 demach then ager ther
 køptes *met* thee peningæ
 363 ihesus war sold foræ
Ther hos eer een stæ-
 dh i stenæ miget diwb
 366 **J** hwilken *sanctus* petrus
 ogh nonghene andræ
 gudhs discipuli skiul-
 369 dæ them mædhen ihesus
 leedh sin døøth **J**tem
 fremdeles til wester
 372 somighet ense tw arm-
 borstæ scud foræ sta-
 dhen ær then stædh
 375 som iødher wilde haue
 taghet war fruæs li-
 gheme then thidh han
 378 bars til grauæ
Jtem so fremdeles attær
 tw armbørste scud ær
 381 anne hws ogh ther ær
 een kyrkæ i hwilken

350 ær] æt A. 353 then] then [sl] A. 360 ruum] Euum A, cf. l. 175. 364 een] een [sl] A.

then steen ær hōwe altar
 384 som ower war hæras
 graf laa han ær otte fø-
 dher longer fem fødher
 387 breedh ogh half annen
 fod thiøk **J**tem fremde-
 les at then same wey
 390 ær Cayphas hws eet
 buæ scud lanct **J** hwil-
 ket iodhæ sæthæ ihesum
 393 til om morwenen then
 thidh the waræ mōdhe
Jtem nw i gen til øster
 396 ense een steens kast ær
 then stedh som *sanctus iohan-*
nes ewangelista war
 399 fruæ gømeræ idhelege
 saudhæ messæ for war
 fruæ **J**tem ther vd fra-
 402 an ense til xx fødheres
 længæ ær then stedh som
 war fruæ gaf op sin
 405 singnedhe and **J**tem
 fremdeles i then same
 wey til øster ense til xl
 408 fiæd ær then stedh som
sanctus mathias war vd
 wold apostele i then
 411 stedh som iudas fare-
 dheræ før war ogh vij
 messe diegne af hwil-
 414 kæ syw *sancte* staffn war
 steend i hæl ogh iaco-
 bus then mindræ war
 417 skikketh biscop ower ie-
 rusalem **J**tem so fremde-
 les ær a syons biergh ogh

387 annen] amnen A. 417–18 ierusalem] ierasalem A. 419 a] ~ A.

- 420 een kyrkæ ogh then kyr-
 kæ ær **T**hen stædh som
 war fruæ giordhe sinæ
 423 bønner son hwn hwer dau
 søktæ the føræ scrif-
 næ stedhe a syons biergh
 426 **J**tem ther vd fran xxx
 føders lengæ a wenstræ
 weyn **E**r then stædh som
 429 *cristus* predikedhe for sin
 singhnedhe modher ogh
 x· fiæd vd fran ær then
 432 stædh som hwn sad ogh
 høørdhe hans benedidhe
 oordh **J**tem a then sa-
 435 me stedh forwittæ ihesus
 sine discipuli theræ vtro-
 heed a hans op farelses
 438 dau **J**tem a then annen
 weyn korken nordhen
 er then steedh som the
 441 stektæ theræs pascalle
 lamb **H**ær eer nw at
 talæ om syons biergh
 444 thet ær alt hellit hoo
 kan thenke een hellie-
 ræ stedh ihesus war sig-
 447 nedhe herra endedhe
 ther *thet* gamle testament
 och begynnedhe *thet* ny
 450 han endedhe *thet* gamle
 then tiidh han aad pas-
 cale lamet *met* sine di-
 453 scipulis ogh ther efter
 til *thet* ny testamentes
 bygynnelse gaf han them

422 sinæ] sin A. 430 singhnedhe] singh\n/edhe A. 431 x·] x·[s] A. 432 hwn] *Preceded by a long downstroke, the beginning of a letter, A.* 447 endedhe] ededhe A.

- 456 syt signedhe legæmæ
 at æde ogh syt bloodh
 at drikkæ til eet Ewin-
 459 nelit amynnæ Then
 stedh som thænnæ dyræ
 gærningh skedhe ær ther
 462 j een kyrkæ ther som
 høwe alteræ ær ogh
 ther vd fran x fedæs
 465 lengæ ær eet annet alte-
 ræ til lighe heligh heet
 som ihesus war segnedhe
 468 mesteræ thoo sine disci-
 pele føder ogh thee al-
 tæræ æræ bodhe widhe
 471 til een Ewinne
 lygh amynna Ower-
 meræ ær then stedh som
 474 apostele vndfinghe then
 helliæ and pa piensæ
 dau nedher j omgongen
 477 ær een Capelle i then
 stedh som ihesus kom
 in til discipele ogh dør-
 480 rene bleue luctæ ther
 the sade samen for iødhe
 resle ogh ther er ogh
 483 sa stoor helligheet som
 i thee stedhe som forscrifne
 æræ ogh i then samæ
 486 stedh thedhe han sigh
 attær ottende dawen
 ogh beuiste them sine
 489 saar ogh lood *sancte* tho-
 mes tæghe them ogh
 stadh festæ them fulle-

465 annet] anne A. 471 een] een [Ewiml] A. 474 vndfinghe] vdfinghe A. 484 forscrifne]
 foren A.

- 492 leghe i troæn i then
 same capell myt i al-
 teret ær eet stykke af
 495 then stolpe som iesus
 war til bunden then
 time the hannum hwd-
 498 strughe **J**tem in i clos-
 steræt ær konig dauids
 graf ogh koningh sale-
 501 mands graf ogh andræ
 koning graue **J**tem
 then foræ saudhe stadh
 504 syons biergh ær alt
 hellyt for ret werskyld
Ther boo thee graa
 507 brødheræ ikke færræ
 j tal æn firæ ogh tiwæ
 siælden færræ godhe
 510 gamle brødhræ gud-
 heleghe ogh erlege ey
 bøørn aller folæ **J**tem
 513 første peregrimæ haue
 thessæ stædhe beseet
 tha skal messæ heit-
 516 tidhelege siæs i then
 stædh som ihesus od næd-
 wordh *met* sine discipu-
 519 lis ogh i andræ stedhe
 sa wel a peregrims prester
 som af theras eynæ
 522 brødhre første thet ær
 syst tha skullæ peregrime
 sankes in i thera clo-
 525 ster **J**tem ther efter
 skule peregrime i gen
 kome til eet hospita-
 528 le i nøør i hwilken

wey a wynstre weyn
 tuigge steenæ kasths
 531 lant ær een mettych
 stoor kyrkæ *sancte iacobs*
 then meræ i then stedh
 534 som han war hals
 huggen ogh iordhet
 ogh i stedh i weyen er
 537 then stedh som cristus
 møttæ thee three ma-
 riær ogh saudhe heel
 540 edher ogh ther udfran
 ensæ tuiggæ armbørste
 skud ær hospitalet
 543 **Thetæ** ær thet ærstæ
 peregrimes trech om
 the wille tha muæ the
 546 *thet* fulkomme j too dawæ
Jtem then tiidh thet
 komer tha til aften
 549 ogh templet som then
 helliæ graf ær ·J· lades
 vp af saracenis tha skal
 552 hwer peregrim giuæ fem
 ducata til ingang vden
 vm ther ær nogher
 555 gra brodher ny komen
 han skal giuæ iij duca-
 tæ vm han skal engen
 558 steedh annen stedh giuæ
 penninghe een ther
 allæ andræ skullæ
 561 fult vt lægæ **J**tem
 womman gar in ·J·
 templet fra søndher ret
 564 vd ogh sa til dørren en-

531 mettych] Possibly mettych A. 555 gra] [d] gra A. 560 skullæ] skullæ [f] A. 562 ·J·] ·J· tem- A.

sæ xvi føder til siær
 ligger een malmer ste-
 567 en sorter viij føder long
 ogh tuiggæ fiæde breedh
 pa hannum smorde thee
 570 jesu leghyme iosep ogh
 nicodemus och weue-
 dhe thet i linet Jtem
 573 lidet yndermeræ a win-
 stre weyn i templet
 ense xxx fiæd til siæ
 576 staar then helliæ graf
 Thet temple som ower
 then helliæ graf ær thet
 579 ær circhils trijnt ogh
 owerst a ær thet obet
 men om ogh om ær thet
 582 lukt ogh hauer eykntæ
 winduæ men af then
 bigning ær bigd een
 585 annen bigning som een
 annæn kyrkæ lengræ
 men ikke widhere men
 588 huor fauert ogh huor
 kostælict thet bigd war
 af op hoof thet kan ey
 591 fulsyas num thi wær
 thet er alt ødhelaut
 af hedhningæ huat
 594 merkilich feyrende ther
 war ogh them behauæ-
 dhe hennæ hauæ the
 597 bort tæghet Jtem hoos
 grauen skulæ peregrime
 nouet sa bidhæ then ca-
 600 pellæ skulæ thi graa

569 smorde] smode A. 574 weyn] weyn eet A. 589 kostælict] kostulut A. 593 huat] *In the bottom margin below this word: a left hand (manicula) pointing with two fingers, A.* 600 thi] thi [g] A.

brødhre vp lade og lyk-
 kæ; ther ma enggen hed
 603 ning in Thesse lundæ
 skullæ peregrime in gaa
 ogh see først skulæ
 606 thi ingangæ een wel
 skikketh dør til een
 might liden capellæ
 609 myt i then capelle staar
 een trinder steen høwer
 ensa half femtæ foodh
 612 fore grauens dør firæ
 fiæde lanct Dørrren
 in til then helliæ graf
 615 Er til heuhedh iiii fiæd
 ogh ii fiæd widh Jnuor-
 tes ær han long otæ
 618 fiæd widh vj fejæd heu
 ti feiæd a then heuræ
 weyn i then helliæ grafs
 621 capelle ær een steen
 tuiggæ feiæd long ogh tuig-
 gæ fiæd breedh J
 624 wdgangan af then hel-
 liæ graf ensæ til tiuæ
 fiæd ær then stedh som
 627 ihesus vppenbaredhes
 marie magdalene ense
 een yrte meister ogh
 630 ther vdfran ottæ fiæd
 firæ trappæ høt ær een
 fauer capelle war fru-
 633 æs i then stedh som war
 herræ vppenbaredhes
 syn signethe modher
 636 efter siin vpstandelsæ ogh

607 skikketh] skikleth A. 614 then] then[ti] A. 615 heuhedh] heuhe[n]dh A. 616 widh] wdh
 A. 622 long] ~ A.

hoos alteret genesten
 i muren staar eet stikkæ
 639 af then stolpæ som han
 war hudhstrugen til
 for vden then capellæ
 642 fremdeles i omgongen
 til øster ey aldeles bagh
 høue altere ær eet al-
 645 tæræ i then stedh som
 the bytæ ihesu clædher
J then altaræ eer een
 648 deel af then samæ stol-
 pe til hwilken han war
 hudhstrugen hauendes
 651 thorn crunæ a sit houedh
Ræt bagh høwl alte-
 ra eer een capelle
 654 i *sancte* elene æræ ther
 som hun stood then
 tiidh thet helliæ kors
 657 the tre naulæ spiudet
 ogh crunen ware vp
 howedhe thædhen ge-
 660 nesten a wenstra weyn
 inwortes ense føræ tiwæ
 ogh sex trapper nedher
 663 at gaa eer then stedh
 som alle thessæ foræ
 saude stikke waræ
 666 gømdæ **Fremdeles**
 af then same stedh om
 omgongen i then venstre
 669 sidhe ense tre ogh tiua
 trapper høet stiær man
 vp til caluarie biergh
 672 ther skal man scudhe

638 stikkæ] stiklæ A. 652 Ræt] Eæt A. 659 howedhe] Possibly hewedhe A. 668 venstre]
 venstr/e\ A.

ogh actæ thet hul i hwil-
 ket korseth stoodh ogh
 675 *cristus* heyghndæ ther
 a thet hul ær trint
 ogh een span wit owen
 678 men saa wiit ær thet
 ikkæ nædhæn thet
 ær tuiggæ føder diupt
 681 ther hos ma man wel
 se hworæ steenen refne-
 de ther gud leed sin døødh
 684 ogh a huer weyn ær
 eet alteræ ogh thet
 thredhie ær a hōuræ ve-
 687 yn ther som var fruæ
 stoodh bedrøweth met
 andræ quinnæ Jtem ensæ
 690 man gaar nidher til ko-
 ret ther ær then hulæ
 war herræ teghnedhe
 693 met siin finger ogh sau-
 dhe her ær myt i wærel-
 dhe siæn siær han at ther
 696 war wel mange handæ
 ting mer at tale om ther
 han wilde ey at thennæ
 699 synnæ bescriue Then
 time peregrime hauæ
 alle thessæ tingh beseet
 702 ogh skwd meth gudhe-
 leghe bøner ogh sang
 ogh læsen tha skule per-
 705 egrime al natæn søghe
 thesse stædhe i templet
 sa oftæ som theræ gudh
 708 fritelsæ siær til Peregri-

677 owen] woen A. 679 ikkæ] [ill] ikkæ A. 692 Nota written in the left margin, A. 694 Nota written in the left margin, A.

me the *prester* æræ the
 skule sa skikke them
 711 at sa braat som *minnat*
 ær gongen tha skule
 the wæræ redhe at
 714 siæ messæ som the brø-
 dhre ther bo haue
 makt a pauen ther a
 717 *Somme* prester holde mes-
 sæ a grauen *somme* a cal-
 uarie biergh *met* stoor
 720 gudh frytelsæ som wel
 sømer / the en dau holdæ
 een weyn the holdæ
 723 annen dauen *annen* weyn
 The *peregrime* ikke
 æræ prester the skulæ
 726 sa skikke them at tha-
 ghæ gudhs lighemæ
 førstæ dau æller *annen*
 729 til første mæssæ ællær
 annen Jtem om prim ti-
 me daus tha kome sa-
 732 raceni ogh lade *templet*
 vp ogh *peregrime* telliæs
 vd / ogh the gonge heem
 735 til hospitalet ogh æde
 ogh drikkæ atter at
 aften skule the i geen
 738 kome til *templet* ogh
 bliuæ ther attær til mor-
 ghen ogh gøræ theræ
 741 gudhfritelsæ huat the
 mest kunæ

714–15 brødhre] brødhre [-] A. 721 en dau] andæn A. 724 peregrime] peregrime [ill] A.

Translation

These are the places that pilgrims visit¹ in the Holy Land for the absolution of their sins. Wherever a cross is written there is absolution of all sins;² in the other places, [an indulgence(?)] of seven years and seven forty-day fasts and forty days is given.

There is a very large hospice above Jerusalem where pilgrims go and pay their fees. Moreover, they then go into Jerusalem to a hospice; there they eat, drink and sleep for a time. The Greyfriars [Franciscans] live on Mount Zion, and there are no other clerics or priests in all the Holy Land. The friars wake the pilgrims up before daylight, and before they leave, they pay as is the custom. The friars lead the pilgrims to the Temple.

First, outside in the south, beyond the church door, the pilgrims say a short prayer. Moreover, in the Temple there are straightaway four chapels; the first one is Our Lady's, the second St John the Baptist's, the third All Angels', and the fourth is Mary Magdalene's. In these and all other places that the pilgrims are now usually taken, they say their prayers quickly because there are many dangers on the journey, particularly so that they do suffer any harm at the hands of the pagans [Muslims]. At about the same distance between the Temple and the four chapels, about thirty feet to the south, is the place where the Jews took the Cross from Jesus at Mount Calvary. Moreover, the pilgrims are then led by the friars down towards the city in the east; about a stone's throw³ to the south is the place where Jesus briefly rested when he was carrying the Cross. Moreover, some [distance] from there is the place where they forced Simon [of Cyrene] to carry the Cross for Jesus. At the same spot stood the women who were weeping about Jesus' suffering, to whom Jesus said: "Do not weep for me, weep for yourselves!" and so on. [Luke 23:28] These places where these things happened were then outside of the city gates, even though they are now inside.

Some people think and say that the City of Jerusalem was previously built in another place than where it now stands built, and [they] take the words from

1 The ODan. text is written in the future tense (with the auxiliary *skulle*).

2 There are no crosses written in the extant manuscript.

3 Measuring distance in and around Jerusalem with phrases such as "a stone's throw away" and "a crossbow-shot away" is common in medieval descriptions of urban space. See, e.g., Konrad Grünemberg's account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in K-BLB Cod. St. Peter pap. 32: "zwen oder dreig Armbrost schutz" (f. 27v) [two or three crossbow-shots (away)] and "von Sant Staffans port hin vmb zu der rechten hand vff zwen gut Stainwurf / ist die obgenant guldin bort" (f. 38v) [To the right from St Stephen's Gate a good two stone's throw away is the aforementioned Golden Gate.]

Scripture that Jesus said: “Your enemies will not leave one stone on another.” [Luke 19:44] I say that it is now located in the same place as it was then; and I can show this because Solomon’s Temple now stands in the same place as then, as also [do] the Golden Gate, St Stephen’s Gate [Lions’ Gate], the Pool of Bethesda [*Piscina probatica*; John 5:2], Pilate’s house, and many other such things that every person can see. However, Mount Zion was then inside the [city] wall, and it is now outside; Anne’s house, Caiaphas’s house, Mary the mother of Jesus’ house in which she gave up her blessed spirit, and many other houses and places that for the most part are today deserted or destroyed, were upon [or below(?)]⁴ Mount Zion and then inside the [city] wall and now outside. This part is lost where some places are usually built on and some places are destroyed as the years pass. But as you can see, the City of Jerusalem could not be extended nor built in any another place than where it was created from the beginning. But at the Temple, where the Holy Sepulchre is, it has spread and more [has been] done, and nowhere in any another place because on the side where Solomon’s Temple and other aforementioned places are, it could not have been extended because of the valleys that are Josaphat and Siloam and so it still keeps its first location.

Furthermore for mentioning is where Mary, Jesus’ mother, sorrowfully stood to the right more than about twenty feet away because she was unable to come any closer because of the commotion that accompanied Jesus. When she saw Jesus, her blessed son, carrying the Cross and he saw her, the sword of sorrow pierced her heart just as old Simeon had told her. [Luke 2:35] For this reason there is a magnificent church in that place, permanently closed by the pagans [Muslims]. Moreover, a good shot [of an arrow] [or] about a shot of a crossbow from there is the house of the young friars on the right-hand side. Moreover, then, about the same shot [away], is Pilate’s house on the left-hand side, and that house has been made very magnificent and described, and it is about half a quarter[?] from the site of Calvary, from where [Pilate’s house] Christ carried his cross. Moreover, about half the distance away on the left-hand side is Herod’s house to which Christ was sent by Pilate. On the right-hand side next to this is Solomon’s Temple and the Pool of Bethesda. This is Joachim’s house in which Mary, Jesus’ mother, was born. Moreover, not far from there is the school where book [...]⁵ Moreover, next to the Temple of Solomon in the city wall is the Golden Gate through which Jesus entered on Palm Sunday which has been closed until Doomsday by the pagans [Muslims]. Moreover, inside is St Stephen’s Gate which is so called because the Jews came across him there, and outside about a stone’s throw away he bent his knees and

⁴ The ODa. reads “fra” [from] and is likely a scribal error for *a* [upon] or *fore* [below, in front of].

⁵ Something seems to have been missed out here.

prayed for those who were stoning him, and God received his soul. Moreover, then inside the place is the Valley of Josaphat; further to the east is the Cedron [Kidron] stream. Moreover, a great church that the Saracens have closed, even though it was given to the Greyfriars by the Pope in which can be found the tomb of Our Lady. Moreover, from that place where St Stephen was stoned, you ascend the Mount of Olives. On the way up to the east as far as a crossbow shoots, there is the Garden in which they seized, captured, and bound Jesus. Moreover, somewhat further up is the place where his disciples were sleeping while he was saying his prayers. Moreover, further to the south about a stone's throw away there is a cave entirely of rock in the ground into which Jesus stepped three times and prayed to his holy father and sweated blood. [Luke 22:44] Moreover, somewhat further up on the right-hand side is the place where St Thomas received her [i. e., the Virgin Mary's] girdle,⁶ when she was assumed into heaven; and somewhat further up from that place is the place where Jesus wept for Jerusalem and said: "If you had known, what shall come over you!" [Luke 19:42] Moreover, on the same road on the right-hand side to the east is the place where the angel brought Our Lady a palm. Furthermore, on top of the Mount of Olives about a stone's throw to the left beyond the road is the place called Galilee where Christ appeared to his disciples after his resurrection. Moreover, from that place heading directly south on the Mount of Olives about a good crossbow shot away there is a great church and his [Jesus'] footprints where he ascended to heaven. Moreover, from on top of the mountain you can see the River Jordan and the Dead Sea even though they are five miles [approx. 35 km] from there. Moreover, also from there a crossbow shot to the south is a church where the Apostles composed the *Credo* [The Apostles' Creed or *Symbolum Apostolorum*]. Further in the same direction is a church where Jesus taught his disciples to pray and read the *Pater Noster* [Lord's Prayer]. Moreover, as you go straight down from the mountain, about a stone's throw away, there is the spot where Our Lady rested when she became tired when she was making daily visits to the aforementioned places. Moreover, straight down from the mountain, about two stone-throws to the north there is a church where St James who is called the Less hid when Jesus was suffering his death and Jesus appeared to him on the day he rose, and he is also buried there. Next to this is the tomb of Zechariah, and then comes the end in the Valley of Josaphat. *Nota.* Next to St James's church down from the Mount of Olives, there is a chapel cut out of the rock and outside it is shaped like a hat from other stones, and there you see where King Jehoshaphat is buried and the valley has taken its name from this and some say that Pharaoh's

⁶ That is a knotted cord used as a belt (ODA. *snor*). On Mary's belt, see Text 24: *The Disputation and the Miracle* and vol. 1, p. 353.

daughter, the queen of King Solomon, is lying there. Moreover, then the Valley of Siloam goes from there and into the city to the mountain that the city is built on. Moreover, to the south on the right-hand side in the city is Our Lady's spring which is so called because Our Lady washed her blessed son's clothes there when she was to present him in the Temple. Moreover, as far as a stone's throw away on the same side there is the Pool of Siloam; it is also called this because the Jews and some [others] washed themselves in it. The pool there is strikingly built; it is formed as a square with many vaulted arches. Above it is as wide as eighty feet in length and breadth. The water is collected inside to the east; it is in breadth about ten or twelve feet. There are eight steps down to the water, and the water runs from Our Lady's spring. Moreover, as much as a stone's throw further on from this place before the City of Jerusalem is the place where they sawed the prophet Isaiah with a wooden saw.⁷ Moreover, about the same distance further on is Akeldama [the potter's field], the field that was bought with the money Jesus was sold for. Next to this is a spot very deep in the rock in which St Peter and some other of God's disciples hid while Jesus was suffering his death. Moreover, about two crossbow shots further to the west before the city is the place where the Jews wanted to have Our Lady's corpse seized when she was being carried to her tomb. Moreover, two crossbow shots further on is Anne's house, and there is a church there in which the stone that was on top of Our Lord's tomb is the high altar; it is eight feet long, five feet wide, and one and a half feet thick. Moreover, further along the same road is Caiaphas's house, one bow shot long, in which the Jews, having become tired, bound Jesus until morning. Moreover, now again to the east about a stone's throw away is the place where St John the Evangelist, keeper of Our Lady, fervently said mass for Our Lady. Moreover, about twenty feet from there is the place where Our Lady gave up her blessed spirit. Moreover, about forty feet further along the same road to the east is the place where St Matthew was chosen as the apostle in the place where Judas the betrayer had been previously and seven deacons for mass [were chosen], of which seven St Stephen was stoned to death, and James the Less [i. e., the Just] was made bishop of Jerusalem. Moreover, then further on Mount Zion there is also a church, and the church is the place where Our Lady said her prayers when she visited the aforementioned sites on Mount Zion every day. Moreover, at a length of twenty feet from there on the left-hand side is the place where Christ preached for his blessed mother, and ten feet from there is the place where she was sitting and heard his blessed words. Moreover, at the same place where Jesus blamed his disciples for their disbelief about his day of resur-

⁷ The story of Isaiah being sawn in half is originally Talmudic (Yevamot 49b) and becomes part of the apocryphal Christian tradition in late antiquity.

rection. Moreover, on the other side of the church to the north is the place where they roasted their paschal lamb.

Now Mount Zion will be described. It is entirely holy; who can think of a more holy place? At this place, Jesus, Our Blessed Lord, ended the Old Testament and began the New. He ended the Old when he ate the paschal lamb with his disciples, and afterwards as the beginning of the New Testament he gave them his blessed body to eat and his blood to drink as an eternal reminder. The place where this precious act took place is there in a church where the high altar is; and a length of ten feet from there is another altar, just as holy, where Jesus, Our Blessed Teacher, washed his disciples' feet, and these altars are both open for an eternal memory. Furthermore, there is the place where the Apostles received the Holy Spirit on Pentecost. Down in the circular corridor there is a chapel in the place where Jesus came in to the disciples and the doors were closed, where they sat together for fear of the Jews. And there is also such great holiness in the places that are mentioned above. And in the same place he appeared again on the eighth day and showed them his wounds and had St Thomas touch them and fully strengthen them in the faith. In the same chapel in the middle of the altar there is a piece of the column that Jesus was tied to when they scourged him. Moreover, inside the monastery is King David's tomb and King Solomon's tomb and other royal tombs. Moreover, the aforementioned place, Mount Zion, is entirely holy for just merit. The Greyfriars live there, no fewer than twenty-four in number, rarely fewer, good old friars, God-fearing and honest, not children or foals. Moreover, once pilgrims have seen these places, then mass is to be held ceremoniously in the place where Jesus ate supper with his disciples and in other places, both by the pilgrims' priests as well as by their own friars. Once this is finished, then the pilgrims are to gather in their monastery [i. e., Franciscans' house]. Moreover, the pilgrims are then again to come to a hospice in the north on the road of which, two stone-throws away on the left-hand side, there is an extremely large church, St James the Greater's, at the spot where he was beheaded and buried, and one spot on the road is where Christ met the three Marys and said: "Hail!" and from there about two crossbow shots away is the hospice. – This is the pilgrims' first procession; if they want to, then they can complete it over two days.

Moreover, when evening falls and the Temple in which is the Holy Sepulchre is opened by the Saracens, then every pilgrim is to pay five ducats for entry unless he is a newly arrived Greyfriar, he is to pay two and a half ducats when he is to give money there and nowhere else; everyone else shall pay in full. Moreover, where you enter the Temple right from the south and then to the door about sixteen feet to the south, there is a marble stone, black, eight feet long and two feet wide. On this Joseph and Nicodemus anointed Jesus' corpse and wrapped it in linen. Moreover, a little further inside the Temple on the left-hand side some thirty feet to the

south is the Holy Sepulchre. The Temple that stands above the Holy Sepulchre, is in the shape of a circle and at the very top it is open, but it is also as if it is closed and has no windows, but from that building was built another building as another church, longer but not wider; but just how beautifully and how magnificently it was built from the beginning cannot be described in full, but unfortunately it was completely destroyed by the pagans [Muslims]; what a strange celebration it was and how it pleased them [that] they have removed it [the original church].⁸ Moreover, pilgrims are to pray for a while by the tomb. The Greyfriars are to open and close the chapel: no pagan may enter. This is the way in which pilgrims are to enter and see: First, they are to enter a well-made door into a very small chapel. In the middle of the chapel is a round stone, about four and a half feet high, four feet away from the door to the tomb. The door into the Holy Sepulchre is three feet in height and two feet wide. Inside it is eight feet long, six feet wide, and ten feet high. On the right-hand side inside the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre there is a stone, two feet long and two feet wide. About ten feet from the exit out of the Holy Sepulchre is the place where Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene like a gardener. [John 20:11–18] And eight feet from there, four steps up, there is a beautiful chapel of Our Lady in the place where Our Lord appeared to his blessed mother after his resurrection. And right by the altar in the wall there is a piece of the column at which he was scourged. Outside the chapel further along the circular corridor to the east, not quite behind the high altar, there is an altar at the place where they divided Jesus' clothes. In the altar there is a part of the same column at which he was scourged while wearing the crown of thorns upon his head. Right behind the high altar there is a chapel in honour of St Helena where she was standing when the Holy Cross, the three nails, the spear, and the crown were lifted up. From there, inside, directly on the left-hand side, going down about forty-six steps, there is the place where all the aforementioned items were hidden. Further on from this same place in the circular corridor on the left side about twenty-three steps high you climb up to Mount Calvary. There you are to observe and contemplate the hole in which the cross stood and upon which Christ hung. The hole is round and a hand-span wide at the top, but it is not so wide at the bottom; it is two feet deep. Next to this you can easily see where the rock was rent when God suffered his death, and on every side, there is an altar, and the third one is on the right-hand side where Our Lady stood mournfully with the other women. Moreover, as you go down into the choir, there is the cave that Our Lord drew with his finger and said: "Here is my [share] in the world." Then he says that there were certainly many other things to talk about that he did not want to describe on that occasion.

⁸ The original church at the site was destroyed in 1009 by the caliph Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (985–1021) as part of his campaign against sites of Christian worship.

When the pilgrims have viewed and looked at all these things with godly prayers and song and reading, then the pilgrims are to visit these places in the Temple throughout the whole night, as often as their devotion to God dictates. Pilgrims who are priests are to arrange matters so that as soon as midnight has passed, they are ready to say mass like the friars who live there have received the power to do from the Pope. Some priests conduct mass on the Tomb, some on Mount Calvary with great devotion as is fitting. Those who conduct [mass] one place the one day, conduct [it] another place another day. The pilgrims who are not priests are to arrange matters so as to receive the Body of God [i. e., the Eucharist] on the first or second day at the first or second mass. Moreover, at the Hour of Prime [i. e., the first hour of daylight], the Saracens arrive and open the Temple and the pilgrims are counted out, and they return to the hospital and eat and drink again. In the evening they are again to come to the Temple and remain there until morning and perform their devotion as best they can.

48 The Punishment of the Jews

Headnotes

Source: **D** SKB A 108, pp. 228:1–232:9 (1400–50).

Parallel text: ~

Original text: **SelTro** 182–85 (no. 15). In many places the OSw. and MLG versions are identical, but the OSw. text has several expansions here, and there are too many to make a comparative apparatus of use. The MLG text is therefore reproduced in full below.

Editions: **D** *SjäTrö* 268–72; *SjäTrö* K 362–68.

Edition (**D** SKB A 108)

Thentidh pylatus hafdhe wan herra til dødhin dømpt oc latit han dræpa rædis han storlika for keysarins wredhe Thy vtshænde han een mærkelikin
3 man heth albanus til room at orsaka han for keysarenom oc gøra han
oskyldoghan
for ihesu *christi* dødth / **Th**etta budhit wart j wæghenom skipbruta / widh eet
land heter
galicia J thy landeno war swa sidher / **A**t alle the ther wrdho skipbruta / waro
6 thes herrans eyghne / som landit hafdhe / **J** them tyma war een herra heth
vespacionus
ofwer landit radhande / **A**lbanus fōrdher for herran / spordhis aff honom
hwadhan han
war / Han swaradhe sik wara aff *ihusalem* / j iudha land / vespacionus
saghde / tha
9 est thu aff *thet* land / ther wise mestara æro / oc godhe lækiara / Thu skalt gøra
mik helbryghdho / aff minne sooth / **H**an hafdhe j *sinom* næsom ena handa
madhka / som kallas a thydhyst maal vespel / The flughu badhe in oc vth /
12 *thet* kunde honom engin bōta **A**lbanus swaradhe **J**ak ær engin lækiare / thy kan
iak
thik ikke lækia / **T**hen som gør blinda seande / halta gangande / oc dødha
lifwan-
de / han ær then lækiare / ther thik forma gøra til ræka / om thu wilt stadhlika

5 wrdho] wr[->d]ho D. 8 vespacionus] vesp\|a|cianus D. 10 helbryghdho] helb\|r|yghdho D.

- 15 oppa han thro / **W**espacianus saghdhe hwa ær then **A**lbanus swaradhe thet ær
 ihesus
 aff nazareth / then som iudhane læto korsfesta / thro oppa han / tha faar thu
 fullelika thina helso / **V**espacianus saghdhe / **O**ppa honom thror iak som
 dødhum
- 18 gaff liiff / **H**an ær oc mæktogher min sykdom bōta / **G**enstan fullo mathka-
 ne vth aff hans næsom / oc hofdhe / **T**ha saghdhe **v**æspacianus / nu weth iak
 visselika / at han ær gudz son / **J**ak skal her æpter hans dōdh ofwer iudhana
- 21 hempna / **O**c foor til room / oc fik loff aff tyberio / at foderfwa gudz o-
 wini iudhana / **H**an sampnadhe saman j flere aar / badhe folk oc wakh / til
 thes / nero wart keysare æpter tyberium / oc fik budh aff honom / at fordarfwa
- 24 iudha / thy at the waro romarum falske oc onde / **W**æspacianus foor aff room
 medh mykle makt / oc kom for stadhin iherusalem pasca nath / Tha waro alle
 iudha-
 ne saman kompne til høgthidhinna / **E**y lankt til førena / wordho cristne men
- 27 ther waro forwaradhe / aff them hælgha anda / oc foro alle bort / før æn
Væspacianus kom / oc waro medh godhum fridh / annan wæghin iordanem /
 mædhan
 gudz hemd gik offwer hans owini / **J**herusalem war swa starklika bygdir / ath
- 30 the kundo han ekki medh storm winna / Thy læth væspacianus byggia krink
 om allan stadhin / oc wilde them vthswælda / **O**c foor siælfwer oc belaghdhe
 een annan stadh / heth iotapata / oc stormadho til stadhin / **O**c the wardho
- 33 sik manlika / **T**he hafdho een froman wisan iudha til hōfwidzman heth iosephus
 tha han vnderstodh / at han kunde ey stadhin behalda / oc the formatto sik
 ekki wæria / **T**ok han medh sik ·ix· iudha / oc gik j een iordhkællara / oc
 wurdho
- 36 thes ofwer eno / at the wildo hælder dōø aff hunger / æn giffwa sik
 hedhningom / och
 wardha thera eyghne / **T**he gōmdo sik nokra dagha / til hungren tok them
 thwinga / Tha wart them til radha / at the wildo sik siælfwe inbyrdhis
- 39 dræpa / thæn ena æpter then andra / **O**c wildo swa offra gudhy sit offer / **T**he
 badho iosephum wara thæn første / æn han swaradhe / at the wildo ther om
 lota / hwa then første skulde wara / **H**loten gik vm kring / fførst oppa een
- 42 oc swa oppa annan / til thes the waro alle dræpne / vtan iosephus oc een medh
 honom / **T**ha grep iosephus swærdhit / oc saghdhe til sin kompan / vthwæl nu
 sielfwer / hwat thu wilt hæller liiffwa eller oc dōø / **H**an swaradhe / at han
 hælder

- 45 wilde lifwa / **Tha** gingo the badhe vth aff kællarenom / oc stadhin war wun-
 nen / **Æn** iosephus nøth ther hielp til / at han kom for wæspacianum / och
 saghdhe til honom / **Herra** iak wil idher miin tidhande sighia / **Keysarin** aff room
 48 ær dødher / **Oc** alt romara radh / hafwer idher til keysara walt / **Wæspacianus**
 saghdhe / esth thu propheta / **Hwi** foresaghdhe thu ey thino folke / oc thessom
 stadhenom / at iak wilde them winna **Josephus swaradhe** / **ff**yritighi daga før
 51 æn nokor wiste / at j skuldin koma / saghdhe iak **thet** iudhomen / som them
 nu ofwer gaar / **Oc** rædh iak them / giffwa badhe stædher oc land / vnder ro-
 mara wald / vnder thes / komo ssændebudhin aff room / til wæspacianum /
 54 oc baro honom vis budh oc breff / aff romara radh / at han war til keysara
 walder / **Tha** gaff wæspacianus iosepho sin vinskap / **Oc** skipadhe sin son
 tytum /
 til forman for hærin / oc badh han liggia for **iherusalem** / til stadhin wordhe
 57 wunnen / **Oc** sielfwer **ff**or han til room / at taka widh keysara **Crono** / **Hans**
 son / tytus / wardh aff thy swa gladhir at hans fadher war til keysara
 walder at han aff offstore glædhy fik ena starka sooth / oc hans sinor kromp-
 60 nadhe / oc engin lækiare wiste hwat honom wlte **Josephus** war een
 wiis man oc ranssakadhe sottenna sak oc tyma / **Oc** forstodh **thet** sannasta at
 han
 hafdhe sin sykdom aff **ofwerwættis** glædhy fangit **Oc** prøfte han wel at the
 63 soth han hafdhe aff frøgdh oc glædhi fangit skulde **medh** drøfwilse fordrif-
 was / **Oc** thy spordhe iosephus om ther war nokor then man som tytus war
 fulkomplika wredher / **Tha** wardh honom sakt at ther war een herraman som
 aldre
 66 matte koma for hans øghon / **Josephus** gig til tytum oc saghdhe / **Herra** wilt
 thu aff thinom sykdom fanga bøter / **Tha** lofwa mik **thet** at thu warj widh
 bordh j dagh hwarior manne blidher / oc engom wredher / **Tytus** lofwa-
 69 dhe honom **thet** a sina thro / **Thentidh** the gingo til bordh tok iosephus then
 mannen tytus gat eey seeth oc satte han ner sik widh bordh gen moth tyto
Tha fik tytus aff hans syn swa starka stridh j sith hiæarta aff drøfwilsom
 72 oc wredhe at alle hans limi skulfwo / **Oc** swa myklo hardhare war stri-
 dhin at han ey wilde synas wredher mot sinne loffwan / **Ther medh** temprad-
 his hans ofwermatto glædhy / **oc** han fik both aff sinne soot / **oc** gaff
 75 sinom owin sin winskap / **Oc** iosepho giordhe han hedher oc æro / **Tytus**
 laagh tw aar for **iherusalem** / **Oc** wardh swa stoor hunger oc swlt j stadhenom
 at son oc fadher / dotter oc modher rifwos om fødho / **oc** hwar rykte mat
 78 fran annars munne / **Iløse** mæn slogho sik saman / oc gingo hws fran huse

59 hans] han D. 60 een] een [witnman] D. 62 ofwerwættis] ofwerwættis D.

- oc toko hwat the funno / **V**nge men oc starke gingo a gatumen som gasta /
 til the fullo aff wanmakt dødhe nidher / **T**he som andra iordhadho fullo
 81 aff sylth dødhe ofwer them j grafwena / **I**lædher belte oc sko sulur thet
 war iudha fødha / **S**idhan the gato ey tholt oc lifwat widh onda lukt
 som aff dødhum kroppum gik / **K**astadho the liken ofwer muren til gropen
 84 munde nær fyllas / **J** them thyma war een riik frv j iherusalem heth maria /
Judha brutu op hws ofwer henne / **Æ** mædhan ther war nokot til fødho /
 oc lefdho hæne enkte vm sidhe / **v**tan hæna barn som j waggo laa /
 87 Hon tok barnit j sin fampn oc saghde **O** thu vsælt barn hwa skal thik
 nu fødha mædhan iak thiin vsla modher swælder / **M**un ey bætra wara
 at thu wari før min fødha / æn røfwara røfwa thik æpter mik dødha /
 90 ffødh mik mit kæra barn mædhan iak giter ey føth thik længer / **J** thessom
 iæmber oc hunger war thinna vsla modher mater / **o**c lat mik swa længe lif-
 wa at iak maghe thik dødhan oc mik mætta grata / **T**ha hon hafde thetta
 93 sakt drap hon sit eyghit barn / oc skar thet sunder j stykke / oc steker ther aff
 eeth
 stykke oc flere gømir hon til annan tyma / **A**lt war sænder at hon war ila mæt /
 oc the bouane komo løpande som wani waro førra / oc brutu dør offwer henne
 96 oc badho gifwa sik æta / **f**for thy the kændo røkin aff stekinne / **T**ha swaradhe
 modhrin **J**aa iak hafwer een deel sielf ætit / oc mestadelin hafwer iak idher
 gømt
Oc togh fram eth stykke aff barneno / **T**ha the thet sagho wordho the vndarlika
 99 widher / Hon saghde / ætin diærflika / ther aat iak aff / thet ær mit eyghit barn
Tha stygdos the ther widher oc gingo borth / **S**liik drøfwilse oc widhermødha
 skedhe ther nogh j stadhenom **T**hridhia are æpter at iherusalem war belaghdher
 wan
 102 tytus stadhin / oc læth han nidher bryta allan j grwnd / **O**c iudhane worddho
 fang-
 ne dræpne oc slaghe / **O**c swa som war herra war salder for xxx pæniga swa
 læt
 tytus sælia xxx iudha for een pæning **S**yu thousand oc niotighy thousand iudha
 105 saaldos til thrældom j them tyma **O**c ælofwo sinnom hundradha thousand for
 foros aff swærdh oc hunger / **T**her æpter fik tytus see een thiokkan mwr oc bødth
 han gynom bryta / **T**ha the haffdho ther eeth hol j gynom brutit / ffunno the ther
 inne
 108 een gamblan grahærotton man sithiande / **medh** sidho skægge innemuradhan /
The spordho hwan han war / **H**an swaradhe oc saghde sik wara ioseph aff

- arimathia som wan herra tok nidher aff korsseno / oc han iordhadhe / **Oc** ther
 111 fore inne muradho iudhane han / oc saghdhe sik ther inne hafwa sitit j xl aar
 oc lifwat widh ængla fōdho **Tho scrifwer** nichodemus / at tha war herra war
 vpstan-
 din aff dōdha tedhis war herra ioseph inneluktum / oc løste han oc ledde han til
 ari-
 114 mathiam **Oc** ther æpter tha han byriadhe predika rætta thro / wart han annat sin
 fangadher aff iudhomen oc inne muradher / **oc** swa wardh han tyswar vttakin
 fførsta sin aff warum herra / oc annat sin aff tyto / **Thentidh** tytus hafdhe nidhir
 117 brutit oc fordarfwat iherusalem **ffor** han ater heem til room / **Thenne** sami tytus
 war
 swa milder oc dondis at han gaff fatiko folke thet han hafdhe rōfwat aff them
 armo iudhomen / **Hwan** qwæld han gik j sæng bethænkte han ofwer huru han
 120 then daghin hafdhe framleeth / **Oc** fan han thet at han hafdhe enkte fatiko
 folke gifwit tha saghdhe han / thænna daghin hafwer iak ila liffwat / llan-
 gan tyma ther æpter wildo somlike iudha ater byggia stadhin iherusalem /
 fførsta
 123 daghin funno the iordhena **ffulla medh** dag / oc daggin war all fallin j kors
 tha wurdho the forffæradhe oc wændo ater / **The** komo ater annan daghin tha
 wor-
 dho all thera klædhe besprængd *medh* korsom oc the waro all aff blodh the
 126 wændo oc tha ater / **Thridhia** daghin komo the j gen tha vpgik elder aff iordhin-
 ne oc vpbrænde them alla ther waro kompne **Sidhan** thordho the enkte
 meer til bygning gōra ¶ **Swa** wurdho iudhane plagadhe for thet mordh
 129 the giordho oppa wan herra

Translation

When Pilate had sentenced Our Lord to death and had him killed, he was extremely afraid of the emperor's anger. Therefore, he despatched an outstanding man called Alban to Rome to assure the emperor of his [Pilate's] innocence and make him blameless for the death of Jesus Christ. *En route*, this messenger was shipwrecked off a country called Galicia.¹ In this land, it was the custom that all those who were shipwrecked were the property of the lord who possessed the

114 annat] *anna D.*

¹ "Galicia" is probably a scribal error for Galatia, the province on the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire.

country. At the time, a lord called Vespasian ruled over the country. Led before the lord, Alban was asked by him where he came from. He answered that he was from Jerusalem, in Judea.² Vespasian said, “Then you are from that country where there are wise teachers and good doctors. You shall cure me of my disease!” He has in his nose a kind of insect³ that in German is called a *wispel* [wasp]. They flew both in and out [of his nose]. No-one could cure him of it. Alban answered, “I am no doctor, so I cannot heal you. He who makes the blind see, the lame walk, and the dead live, he is the doctor who can make you healthy if you will firmly believe in him.” Vespasian said, “Who is it?” Alban answered, “It is Jesus of Nazareth whom the Jews had crucified. Believe in him, then you will have your health fully restored.” Vespasian said, “I believe in the one who gave life to the dead: he is also capable of curing my illness!” Immediately, the insects fell out of his nose and head. Then Vespasian said, “Now I know for sure that he is the Son of God. Now after his death, I shall take revenge upon the Jews!” And [he] went to Rome and received permission from Tiberius to annihilate God’s enemies, the Jews.

Over the course of several years, he collected both people and weapons for this purpose, because they were false and evil in the Romans’ view. Vespasian travelled from Rome with a great force and arrived at the city of Jerusalem on the night of *Pascha* [Passover/Easter]. All the Jews were then gathered for the holiday. Not long before, the Christians who were there were warned by the Holy Spirit, and they all left before Vespasian arrived and were in good peace [i. e., safety] on the other side of the Jordan while God’s revenge descended upon his enemies.

Jerusalem was so strongly built that they could not take it by storm, so Vespasian had built [a camp] around the whole city and wanted to starve them out. And [he] himself went and besieged another city called Yodfat, and [they] stormed the city and they defended themselves bravely. They had a pious, wise Jew for a leader called Joseph. When he realized that he could not keep hold of the city and they were not able to defend it, he took nine Jews with him and went into an underground cellar, and they all agreed that they would rather die of hunger than give in to the pagans and become their property. They hid for several days until hunger began to torment them. Then they decided that they would kill themselves, the one after the other, and would thus sacrifice their offering to God. They asked Joseph to be the first, but he replied that they should draw lots for who was going to be the first. The lots were passed around, first to the one, and then to the other, until they were all killed except for Joseph and one man alongside him. Then Joseph grabbed the sword and said to his companion, “Now choose for yourself

2 OSw. “iudha land” [lit. Jew-land, land of (the) Jews].

3 OSw. *mąpker* means both ‘worm’ or ‘maggot’ and more generally a ‘small insect.’

whether you would rather live or die as well!” He replied that he would rather live. Then they both left the cellar, and the city was conquered. But Joseph managed to get help to come before Vespasian and said to him, “Lord, I want to tell you my tidings. The emperor of Rome is dead, and the Roman Senate has unanimously elected you emperor.” Vespasian said, “Are you a prophet? Why did you not prophesy to your people and this city that I would conquer them?” Joseph replied, “Forty days before anyone knew that you would come, I told the Jews who are now being afflicted and advised them to place both cities and country under the control of the Romans.” During this, messengers arrived from Rome for Vespasian and carried certain messages and letters for him from the Roman Senate that he was elected emperor. So, Vespasian extended his friendship to Joseph and made his son Titus the commander of the army and asked him to besiege Jerusalem until the city was won. And he himself travelled to Rome to receive the imperial crown.

His son, Titus, was so happy that his father had been elected emperor that he was struck down by a severe illness from too great joy, and his tendons cramped up, and no doctor knew what was wrong with him. Joseph was a wise man and investigated the cause and timing of the disease and understood the very truth that he had acquired the illness from excessive joy and explained to him that the illness he had acquired through joy and happiness should be driven out with sorrow. And so, Joseph asked whether there was any man who made Titus extremely angry. Then he was told that there was a nobleman who must never come within his sight. Joseph went to Titus and said, “Lord, do you wish to be cured of your illness? Then promise me that at the dinner-table today you will be kind towards every man and be angry towards no-one.” Titus promised him this upon his faith. When they went to table, Joseph took the man whom Titus could not look at and seated him at the table right opposite Titus. Then, at the very sight of him, Titus experienced such great conflicts within his heart from sorrow and anger that all his limbs shook, and so much greater was the conflict because he did not want to seem angry counter to his promise. With this, his excessive joy was tempered, and he was cured from his illness. And [he] extended friendship to his enemy and gave honour and praise to Joseph.

Titus besieged Jerusalem for two years, and there was such great hunger and starvation in the city that son and father, daughter and mother fought over food, and each tore food from the other’s mouth. Vagrant men joined up together and went from house to house and took whatever they found. Young and strong men walked the streets like ghosts until they fell down dead from weakness. Those who buried the others fell down dead from starvation onto the those in the grave. Leather belts and the soles of shoes – that was the Jews’ food. As they could not cope or live with the terrible stench of the dead bodies, they threw the corpses over the [city-]wall until the moat had almost been filled.

At that time there as a rich lady in Jerusalem called Mary. Jews broke into her house with her in it as long as there was any food, and in the end, they left her nothing but her child who was lying in a cradle. She took the child into her embrace and said, “O you wretched child! Who is going to feed you while I, your wretched mother, starve? Wouldn’t it be better for you to be my food than for the robbers to steal you after my death? Feed me, my dear child, as I can no longer feed you! In this misery and hunger, be food for your mother and let me live long enough that I can weep about you, dead, and me, full.” After having spoken like this, she killed her own child and cut him into pieces, roasted a piece of him, and hid several [bits more] for another time.

Everything happened at once: she became wickedly full and the rogues arrived running as was their habit previously and broke open the door with her inside and asked her to give [them] something to eat, because they noticed the smoke from the roast. Then the mother replied, “Yes, I have eaten a piece myself and most of it I have put to one side for you.” And she picked up a piece of the child. When they saw this, they were mystified. She said, “Eat bravely! I ate of what is my own child!” They were repulsed by this and left. Plenty of such misery and hardship happened in the city.

In the third year after Jerusalem was besieged, Titus won the city and had it all razed to the ground. And the Jews were captured, killed, and beaten. And just like Our Lord was sold for thirty pennies, so Titus had thirty Jews sold for a penny. 97,000 Jews were sold into slavery at that time, and 110,000 met their end by the sword or hunger.

After this, Titus saw a thick wall and ordered it to be broken through. When they had broken a hole through it, they found an old grey-haired man with sidelocks sitting immured inside. They asked who he was. He answered and said that he was Joseph of Arimathea who took Our Lord down from the Cross and buried him and for which reason, the Jews had walled him in. And [he] said that he had been sitting inside for forty years and living on angel food. Yet Nicodemus writes that when Our Lord had risen from the dead, Joseph locked inside appeared to Our Lord, and he freed him and led him to Arimathea. And after this, when he began preaching the true [lit. right] faith, he was captured by the Jews for a second time and walled in. And so he was released twice: the first time by Our Lord, and the second time by Titus.

When Titus had torn down and destroyed Jerusalem, he travelled back to Rome. This very Titus was so kind and distinguished that he gave to the poor what he had plundered from the miserable Jews. Every evening, when he went to bed, he thought about how he had conducted himself during the day. And if he found that he had not given anything to the poor, then he said, “I have lived this day badly.”

For a long time afterwards, some Jews wanted to rebuild the city of Jerusalem. On the first day, they found the earth covered in dew and the dew had fallen in [the shape of] crosses. They were then terrified and returned [to where they came from]. They came back on the second day, and then all their clothes were splattered with crosses, and they were made of blood. They then returned again [to where they came from]. They came back again on the third day. Then fire rose from the earth and incinerated all those who had come. Since then, they have not dared to do any more building.

Thus were the Jews punished for the murder they committed of Our Lord.

Middle Low German version (*Selen Troyst*)

Source: *SelTro* 182–85 (no. 15)

Do Pylatus vnsen leuen heren to deme dode hadde gebracht, do hadde he angst vor den keyser van Rome. Do sande he eynen boden vt to Rome, de hette Albanus, dat he ene scholde vntschuldigen. De bode quam to eyneme lande, dat heit Galicien, dar wart he schepbrokich. Dar was eyn sede, dat al de yenne, de dar schepbrokich worden, de weren des heren egen, de to deme lande horde, de hette Vespasianus. Do wart Albanus gebracht vor Vespasianus. Do vragede he ene, van wenne he were. He sprak, dat he were van Iherusalem. Do sprak Vespasianus: “Du bist van eyneme lande, dar wise arceten syn. Du schalt my gesunt maken van myner suke.” He hadde de wespen in der nesen, de vloegen vt vnde in; des en kunde eme neimant boten. Do sprak Albanus: “Ik en byn neyn arcete, ik en kan dij nicht gesunt maken. Wan de yenne, de de blinden seende maket vnde lamen ghande vnde doden leuendich, de mach dij wol gesunt maken, wultu an en gelouen.” Do sprak Vespasianus: “We ys de?” “Dat ys,” sprak he, “Jhesus van Nazareth, den de yoden hebben laten doden. Gheloue an en, so werstu gesunt van dyner suke.” Do sprak Vespasianus: “Ik geloue, dat de yenne, de de doden leit vpstan, de mach my ock wol gesunt maken.” To hant vellen eme de wespen vte der nesen. Do sprak Vespasianus: “Nu wet ik dat vorware wol, dat he godes sone was. Nu wil ik synen dod wreken ouer de yoden. Dar toch he to deme keyser vnde bat en, dat he sijk moste wreken ouer de yoden. De keyser gaff eme orloff.

Do toch he hen myt groter macht vnde quam vor de stad in pasche nacht, do de yoden al gesament weren in der stad, vnde belegede se in der stad to Jherusalem. Nicht lange dar vore do worden de cristenen gewarnet, de dar weren, van deme hilgen geiste vnde weren altomale vtgevaren.

Do was de stad so vaste buwet, dat he se nicht gewynnen kunde myt storme. Do bebuwede he se al vmme vnde wolde se vt smechten. Do toch he vor eyne

andere stad, de heit Yonapara, de began he to stormen. Dar was eyn houet man, de hette Josephus, de werde sijk vromelijk. Do he sach, dat he de stad nicht beholden mochte, do nam he to sijk eluen yoden vnde gengk in eynen keller vnde beslot sijk vnde spreken, se wolden leuer dar hunger steruen, wan dat se der heyden egen worden. Do worden se des to rade, dat se sijk suluen wolden doden, de eyne na dem anderen vnde wolden gode so ere blot offeren vnde wolden, dat Yosephus, de houet man, de erste scholde syn. Josephus was eyn wis man vnde dachte, dat yd gode nicht anneme were, vnde segede, se wolden dat lot werpen, we de erste wesen scholde. Dar nam dat lot den eynen na dem anderen also lange, wente er teyne worden hen gesat. Do was Josephus sulff ander. Do grep Josephus dat swert vnde wolde synen kumpan geslagen hebben vnde sprak to syneme kumpane: “Kus wat du wult. Wultu leuer leuen edder steruen?” Do sprak yenne, he wolde leuer leuen. Also bleuen de twe leuendich. Do gengen se vte deme kelre, vnde de stad wart gewonnen. Dar genot Josephus frunde hulpe, dat he quam vore Vespasianus vnde sprak: “Here, ik wil dij nyge mere seggen: De keyser van Rome ys dot, vnde de Romer hebben dij to keyser koren. “Do sprak Vespasianus: “Bistu eyn prophete, warumme en segedestu desser stad nicht touoren, dat ik se wynnyn wolde.” Do sprak Yosephus: “Ik hadde er dat wol to voren gheseghet ouer vertich daghen.” Vnder des quemen de boden van Rome vnde brochten eme de bodeschup, dat he koren were to keysere. Do toch he hen to Rome vnde leit synen sone Titus liggen vor der stad to Jherusalem.

Do wart Titus so sere gefrauwet darumme, dat syn vader to keyser was gekoren, dat he van groter vraude seik wart, vnde syne senen an synen benen krumpen to samne, dat he lam wart. Do nekunde neyn arste wetten, war van de suke were. Do prouede dat Josephus wol, dat yd was van groter vraude vnde van leyue, vnde dachte also, dat de suke, de em van vrauden was tokomen, de mostemen myt droffnisse vordriuen. Do was dar eyn knape, deme was Titus so hat, dat he ene myt den ogen nicht anseen mochte. Den brochte he vor Titus vnde satte ene tegen em ouer de taflen. Do Titus den knapen an sach, do wart he so tornich vnde so drouich, dat eme al syne lede begunden to beuen, vnde alle de suke, de he hadde van vraude, de vorgengk eme van drofnisse vnde wart gesunt. Dar na gaff he deme knapen syne hulde wedder.

Dar lach Tytus vor der stad wol twe jar. Dar was so grot hunger, dat de olderen eren kinderen, vnde de kindere eren olderen dat brot vt der hant nemen vnde ock vte den tenen breken. De lude vreten ere schoreymen van hungere. De de doden begrouen, de storuen hunger ouer der kulen vnde vellen mede in de kulen. De bouen worpen sijk to samne vnde leipen van eyneme huß in dat andere vnde nemen, wat dar was.

Dar was eyn eddele fruwe, de hadde eyn kint vnde en hadde eme nicht to geuene, wente de bouen hadden er allet dat genomen, dat se hadde. Do nam se

dat kint in de hant vnde sprak to eme: “O, du vngeluckige kint eyner vngeluckigen moder! Wat schal ik myt dij ane ghan in desseme jamerliken hungere, in desser yamerliker not! Du most werden eyner vngeluckich spise dyner vngeluckigen moder.” Myt den worden so nam se dat kint vnde worgedet vnde heu yd halff vntwei vnde sodet vnde ates eyner deil, dat andere hudde se vp.

Do quemen de bouen lopen in dat hus vnde spreken, se hedden geroken versch vlesch. “Ya,” sprak se, “ik hebbe juwe deil beholden” vnde toch dat kint hir vore. Do se dat segen, do vnder quemen se des sere. Do sprak de fruwe: “Etet konlike, dijt ys myn kint; ik hebbe dar van gegeten. Wil gij des nicht getruwen, so wil ik dat eyne deil eten myt dem anderen.” Des yameres geschach dar vele in der stad.

To lest wart de stad ghewunnen vnde altomale vorsturet, vnde de yoden worden geuangen vnde gemordet. Dar worden vorkoft vele yoden vnde worden yo dryttich gegeuen vor eyner penningk, wente se vnsen leuen heren hadden gekoft vor drittich penninge. De yoden, de dar vorkoft worden, der weren seuen vnde seuentich dusent. De dar dot bleuen, der weren eluenwarue hondert dusent.

Do vunden se ene dicke muren, de wolden se dore breken. Do se dar eyner hol in gebroken hadden, do vunden se dar eyner man inne sittene, de was olt vnde grauwe vnde hadde eyner langen bart. Do vrageden se, we he were. Do sprak he, dat he were Joseph van Arymathia, de vnsen leuen heren van deme cruce nam vnde begroff. Den hadden de yoden dar inne bemuret, do he vnsen leuen heren begrauen hadde. In der suluen nacht, do vnse leue here van dode vp stunt, do openbarde he sijk eme vnde vorden hen to Arymathia. Dar na, do he den rechten gelouen predekede, do begrepen en de yoden vnde bemureden en auer dar inne. Dar hadde he do mannich jar gheseten, vnde god hadde en gespiset myt der hemelschen spise.

Do Tytus de stad vordelget hadde, do toch he to huß. Desse Titus was so bederue vnde barmhertich vnde so mylde, dat he allet dat vorgaff armen luden, dat he hebben mochte. Des auendes, wan he to bedde scholde ghan, so dachte he, wo he den dach hedde to bracht. Beuant he dat, dat he in deme daghe nicht gudes dan hadde noch nicht vorgeuen armen luden, so sprak he: “Och leider, dessen dach hebbe ik vorlorn.”

Dar na quemen ichteswelke yoden wedder vnde wolden de stad wedder buwen. Eynes morgens, do se vp de stede quemen, do vunden se de stede al myt cruce bespriet, de cruce weren van douwe. Do worden se vorueret vnde karden wedder. Des anderen morgens quemen se wedder. Do worden ere cledere myt cruce altomale besprenget, de cruce weren van blode. Do karden se auer wedder. Des dridden auendes quemen se wedder. Do vor vte der erden vur vnde vorbrande se alle. Also buweden se de stad nicht mer wedder. Dar na quemen cristene lude vnde buweden se wedder. – Also worden de yoden geplaget vmme den mord, den se begengen an vnsem heren Ihesu Christi.

49 The Stoning of St Stephen

Version 1

Headnotes

Source: **A** *AlleEpocEu*, ff. 33v4–34v7 (1515).
Parallel texts: **B** *AlleEpocEu* (1518), ff. xxvi.v28–xxvii.v21.
Original text: Acts 6–7.
Edition: **A** *ChrPed Skr* I 87–90.

Edition (**A** *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia...* [1515])

Sancte Staffenss leffnid oc legende

Sancte Staffen vor i aff de syw messedegne som vaare vduall
3 de oc tilsatte aff Apostlene at skicke och bestille huad dem be-
hoff giordiss Thi at den tiid vor herriss disciple bleffue man-
ge til hobe da knwrrede oc murrede somme aff hedninge som
6 om vende vaare til den christelige tro mod iøderne som oc om-
wende vaare til troen Thi at enkerne oc vidwerne forsmaa-
diss i deriss daglige tieniste Dette maa vnderstondiss i twende maade
9 Først at samme enker ey waare tel stedde oc gøre apostlene oc disciplene nogen
tieniste Eller ath de hagde for swar twnge aff daglig vmage och arbejde thi
Apostlene hagde befaled dem at skicke huad som behoff giordiss paa det at de
12 kunde selffue dess ydermere haffue aarsage til at Predicke oc lære andre gwdz
vilge oc bud ord Den tiid Apostlene fornumme denne twedract oc knwt som
var i blant dem for viduerne hagde for megen tunge Da kallede de alle disci-
15 plene til hobe oc sagde Det er icke retferdigt eller tilbørligt at wi skulle offuer
giffue at predicke oc lære andre gwdz ord Oc skicke mad oc øll oc andet som
gørss behoff til legemenss føde Thi at sielenss aandelige lerdom er bedre en le-
18 gemenss føde Lader oss fordi vduelge syu som opfullede ere met den helliandz
naade oc visdom Oc befale dem at skicke hwad behoff gøriss Eller at de ere
deriss forstandere som saadant bestille skulle dem til letsködelse och hielp Och
21 wii ville predicke och bede til gud det meste wii kwnde Disse ord behagde alle

3–4 behoff] bohoff B.

vel och de samtyckede alle ath saa ske skulle thii vdwalde Apostlene syw aff
 vor herriss disciple Aff hwilke denne verdige herre Sancte Staffen vor den
 24 første Oc lagde Apostlene deriss hender paa deriss hoffuit oc leesde offuer dem
 Sancte Staffen vor opfuld *met* den helliand oc giorde vnderlige oc store Jer-
 tegen eblant folked, thii finge Iøderne stor awind til hannwm. Och offuer-
 27 tenckte hworlediss de kunde offuerwinde hannem i trende honde maade Først
 met dybe spørssmaall Siden met falske vidende oc saa met swar pine oc død
 Der vor nogre aff Iøde tempelen som kallediss libertiner de begynde først at
 30 disputere mod hannum om den hellige cristelige tro oc sette hannwm mange
 sware artickle och puncte faare Der wor och mange andre iøder aff atskil-
 lelighe land som wor Alexandrien Cilicie oc Asia at trette oc kiffue mod
 33 hannwm met atskillelige treske och ny fund mod den hellighe tro Men han
 offuer vand dem alle sammen met den helliandz naade och visdom som han
 vor opfuldet met Den tiid de kunde icke offuer vinde hannum her meth. da
 36 framledde de nogre falske vidende modh hannwm som gaffue hannwm fire
 haande sag først ath han skulle haffue bespotted gud och Moysen. deriss low
 oc deriss tempel Der han kom paa dommen Da saage de alle som der waa-
 39 re at hanss ansict vor klart och skynnende som et engle ansict Da spurde Iø-
 de presterness høffding och dommere om det saa wor som samme vidende sag-
 de mod hannum Da giorde Sancte Staffen skellighe sin aarsage ath han
 42 icke det giort hagde oc sagde mod den første artickell Den alsommectiste och
 eniste gud vere loffuit oc benedidet aff alle creatur nw oc til ewig tiid som er
 vdødelig vsynlig oc herre oc konge offuer hiemmell oc iord och alt den ting som
 45 til er Mod den anden artickel loffuede han Moysen Oc sagde aff de vnder-
 lige Iertegen som han hagde giort i ørken Oc ath han ofte hagde talet met
 gud personlige oc hagde fordi brendene kerlighed till hannum Siden aarsa-
 48 gede han sig met trende honde skeel at han icke hagde fortaled deriss low først
 thii ath gud hagde giffuit dem den Siden for hanss skyld som lærde och vn-
 deruisde dem *samme* lou som vor Moises I tredie maade for samme low gaff
 51 dem som hende hwlle oc fulkommede den euige salighed Saa bewisde han sa-
 melediss at han icke fortaled hagde deriss tempell Thii det vor obenbared oc
 buded aff gud i en aandelig sywn at det byggiss skulle Siden hagde moises
 54 det fulkommed gud till ere Nw de formercthe at de icke kunde offuer vinde
 hannem i disse maade da offuer lagde de huorlediss de kunde pine hannwm til
 døde Den tiidh Sancte Staffen dette fornam da ville han fulkomme gudz
 57 bud ord Och underwise och lære dem deriss sielss salighed Thi straffede han
 dem met broderlig kerlighed at de skulle offuer giffuit oc vdslwct den had oc
 awind som de hagde i deriss hierter oc hw. Oc sagde hworlediss deriss forfedre
 60 hagde stonedet mod Profeterness och andre hellige menss lerdom som de hagde
 spaat oc sagt aff wor herriss tilkommelse oc forsmaad den helliandz naade oc

stondet emod gudz lerdøm Och siden slaget dem i hiell Saa gøre i nw och i
 63 ville icke høre gudz budord eller leffue effter dem i stonde emod den hellianz
 naade oc gudz visdom Oc i ville i hiel sla oc dræbe dem som eder ville lære den
 rette vey til den ewige salighed De vaare saa forblindede i deriss forbandede
 66 ondscaff ath de engelediss ville offuergiffue samme awind som de hagde till
 hannwm Men de bleffue mer hadskere och vrede paa hannum Och bede de-
 riss tender til hobe och gnidslede met dem til tegen ath de ville heffne dem paa
 69 hanss krop meth swar pine Thii sagde Sancte Staffen Ieg seer gwdz søn
 i Hiemmerige stondendiss hoss gwdh faderss høgge som er redebon til at
 hielpe och frelse migh Och ath fordome myne w venner En dog ath han
 72 hagde nw sagt dem ath de rædiss skwllle gudz heffn och vrede det hialp alli-
 gewell inthet Thii sagde han igen Iegh seer hiemlene obne och gwdz søn i
 hanss stat och maiestat hoss gwd faderss høgge hand Saa ropte de oc skraa-
 75 lede ath de ey høre skulle hwad hand sagde Och der meth grebe de hannwm
 och lidden aff staden ath de ville stene hannum der i hiell De falske vidende
 som effter iøde lowen skulle kaste de første stene paa hannwm de lagde deriss
 78 kiortle oc kaaber aff dem at de skulle dess bedre kunde kaste oc Sancte Pouild
 som paa den tiid kallediss sauluss han tog alle deriss kleder vare som kaste til
 hannum Saa fald Sancte Staffen paa knæ oc ropte op i hiemmelene oc sagde
 81 O herre Ihesu Criste anamme min siel och forlad dem deriss synderss thii ath de
 icke vide huad de gøre oc der med døde hand oc vor herre anammede hanss siel
 Dette skede det samme aar vor herre for til hiemmelss den tredie dag i høstmaa
 84 ned Sanctus gamaliel Iordede hannwm siden i sin Ager oc Sanctus Ni-
 codemus halp hannum der til oc de græde baade ganske suarlige offuer hannum

Translation

The life and legend of St Stephen

St Stephen was one of the seven deacons¹ who were chosen and appointed by the Apostles to carry out and undertake whatever was needed of them. As Our Lord's disciples had greatly accumulated in number at that time, some of the pagans who had converted to the Christian faith [Hellenistic Jews] growled and murmured against those Jews who had also converted to the faith [Hebraic Jews] because the widows were being neglected in their daily ministrations. This must

74 hand] hand sagde A, hond B. 78 kiortle] k ortle B.

1 ODa. *missedjajn* [deacon]; cf. ChrPed Voc: "diaconus ... messedejn."

be understood in two ways. First, that these same widows were not present and serving the Apostles and disciples. Or that they had too heavy a burden with daily tasks and work, because the Apostles had ordered them to carry out whatever was needed of them so that they themselves could have a greater excuse to preach and teach others about God's will and commandments.

When the Apostles became aware of this disagreement and gall that was amongst them on account of the widows, they felt very burdened. So, they called all the disciples together and said, "It is not just or appropriate that we should stop preaching and teaching others the word of God and [instead] minister food and beer and all that is necessary to feed the body. Therefore, let's choose seven who are full of the Holy Spirit's mercy and wisdom, and command them to carry out whatever is needed or are the wardens of those who should carry out such things to alleviate and help them. And we will preach and pray to God as much as we can." These words pleased everybody and they all agreed that this should happen. So, the Apostles chose seven of Our Lord's disciples of whom the worthy lord St Stephen was the first. And the Apostles lay their hands on their heads and recited over them.

St Stephen was filled with the Holy Spirit and performed wonderful and great miracles amongst the people, so the Jews harboured great envy towards him and plotted how they could defeat him in three ways. First, with deep questions. Then with false witnesses, and then with harsh torture and death. There were some from the temple of the Jews who were called Libertines. They began first to dispute with him about the holy Christian faith and put many difficult articles and points to him. There were also many other Jews from various countries, which were Alexandria, Cilicia, and Asia to contend and lock horns with him using various astute and new discoveries against the Holy Faith. But he defeated them all with the grace and wisdom of the Holy Spirit with which he was filled. When they could not defeat him, they presented some false witnesses against him who laid out four cases against him. First, that he was said to have blasphemed against God and [2. against] Moses, [3. against] their law and [4. against] their temple.

When he came to the court, everybody saw that his face was clear and shining like the face of an angel. Then the Jews' high priest and judge asked whether what these same witnesses spoke against him was so. St Stephen made his argument clear that he had not done so and opposed the first article. The mightiest and only God be praised and blessed by all creatures, now and forever, that are immortal, invisible and lord and king over heaven and earth and all things that exist. Against the second article, he praised Moses and spoke of the wondrous miracles he had performed in the desert, and that he had often spoken to God in person and for this he had a burning love of him. Then he defended himself with three reasons why he had not slandered their law. First, because God had given

it to them. Then, for his [i. e., God's] sake he taught and instructed them in the same law that was Moses'. Third, on account of this very law those who kept and fulfilled it were given eternal salvation. Then he proved in the same way that he had not slandered their temple because it was revealed and commanded by God in a divine vision that it should be built. Moses had since fulfilled this in honour of God.

Now they realized that they were not able to defeat him in these ways, so they plotted how they could torture him to death. When St Stephen became aware of this, he wanted to fulfil the word of God and teach and instruct them about their souls' salvation. So, he reprimanded them with brotherly love, that they should surrender and extinguish the hatred and envy that they had in their hearts and minds. And he said how their forefathers had opposed the teachings of the Prophets and other holy men, who had prophesied and spoken of Our Lord's coming, and disdained the grace of the Holy Spirit and opposed the teachings of God and then killed them. "That's what you're doing now, and you won't hear God's commandments or live by them. You oppose the grace of the Holy Spirit and God's wisdom. And you will kill and murder those who want to teach you the right way to the eternal salvation." They were so blinded in their accursed wickedness that they in no way would renounce the envy that they had towards him. But they became more hateful and angry at him and clenched their teeth together and gnashed them as a sign that they wished to avenge themselves on his body with harsh torture.

So, St Stephen said, "I see the Son of God in the Kingdom of Heaven standing on the right hand of God the Father who is ready to help and save me and to rebuke my enemies." Even though he had now told them that they should fear God's vengeance and anger, it did not help anyway at all. So, he said again, "I see the heavens open and the Son of God in his greatness and majesty on the right hand of God the Father." Then they shouted and shrieked that they would not listen to what he was saying. And with that they grabbed him and led him out of the town as they wanted to stone him to death. The false witnesses, who according to the law of the Jews should cast the first stones at him, took off their tunics and capes so they could throw even better. And St Paul, who at the time was called Saul, gathered up all the clothes of those who were to throw [stones] at him. Then St Stephen fell to his knees and cried up into the heavens and said, "O Lord Jesus Christ, receive my soul and forgive them their sins, for they know not what they do!" [cf. Luke 23:34] And with that he died, and Our Lord received his soul.

This happened the same year that Our Lord rose to heaven on the third day of August. St Gamaliel then buried him in his field and St Nicodemus helped him with this and they both wept very much over him.

Version 2

Headnotes

- Source:* A UUB C 56, pp. 643:19–644:21 (fifteenth century).
Parallel texts: B UUB C 56, pp. 668:5–669:6 (fifteenth century).
Original text: Acts 6–7.
Editions: A SMP III 460; B SMP III 478–79.

Edition (A UUB C 56)

- De sancto stephano
 Stephanus plenus gracia et fortitudine Then
 3 hælge scriffth sigher os aff then hælge
 man sancte stephano saa / ath sydhen ihesus christus
 wpstandhen war aff dødæ · och foor wp til
 6 himælæn · tha waræ allæ appostolæ sammæn sank-
 kædhæ · och the wolde wdh siw diegnæ · ther
 theræs kosth scwlde rydhæ Och een aff them
 9 war sanctus stephanus : han ey ath enastæ theræs
 kosth opte faræ saa · vdhen predichædhæ sta-
 dhælighæ gwds ordh Tha komæ sammæn
 12 thee wtro jøde ath / dispwteræ cum stephano
 · och medh then hælige andz giffth · tha ower wan
 han them alle samæn · Och tha giorde war
 15 herræ medh sancto stephano eth dyrth ierteghne · ath
 alle ther waræ soghe hans anlødhe skynæ
 som een gwdz ængæl aff hymærigæ Tha sag
 18 dæ sanctus stephanus til jøde / jach seer himærich
 opeth · och ihesum marie søøn · som jach predichedhæ
 aff Stande aa gwddhz faders hōgræ hondh
 21 · tha worde iōdhær wredhæ meer æn før
 · och droge hanum aff stadhen · och finge the
 ræs klæde een wng h iōde til gōme som

1 De ... stephano] ~ B. 2 Stephanus] tephanus A, tephanus B. 4 stephano] stapan B. 12 cum] medh B. 14 alle samæn] alla B. 16 ther] the ther B. 18 stephanus] stapan B. 19 predichedhæ] predicar B. 21 worde ... wredhæ] wreddis jōdhena B.

- 24 heth saulus · och stende hanum til døde Tha
fiol *sanctus stephanus* wppa sine knæ · och badh *ihesum*
christum tagæ sin siæl · och forlade iøde thet
- 27 thee giorde wedher hanum j then same stwndh
thogh *ihesus christus* hans siæl · och førde henne til
himerigæs *medh* meghen priis Amen

Translation

On St Stephen

Stephanus, plenus gratia et fortitudinae [Stephen, full of grace and fortitude, Acts 6:8]. The Holy Scripture tells us about a holy man, St Stephen. After Jesus Christ was risen from the dead and ascended to heaven, all the Apostles were gathered together, and they chose seven deacons who should prepare their food, and one of them was St Stephen. Often, he did not just attend to their food, but also constantly preached God's words. Then the unfaithful Jews arrived together to dispute with Stephen. And then Our Lord caused a precious miracle [to happen] for St Stephen: all those who were present saw his face shine like one of God's angels from heaven. Then St Stephen said to the Jews, "I see heaven open and Jesus, son of Mary, whom I preached about, standing on the right hand of God." Then all the Jews became angrier than before and dragged him from the city and a young Jew called Saul got their clothes to look after, and they stoned him to death. Then, St Stephen fell to his knees and asked Jesus Christ to receive his soul and to forgive the Jews what they were doing against him. At that very moment Jesus took his soul and carried it to heaven with much honour. Amen.

25 *stephanus*] *staphen B.*

50 The Three Young Men in the Oven

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 108, pp. 7:6–8:21 (1400–50).

Parallel texts: B UUB C 529, pp. 7–9 (c. 1425).

Original text: **SelTro** 7–9 (no. 2a); Daniel 3.

Editions: A *SjäTrö* 10–12; B *SjæTrø* 10–12.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

oc først af anania azaria oc misael

Nabogodonosor babilonie konunger kom til iherusalem / wan stadhin oc fangadhe

- 3 konungin ok munga welborna men medh honom / han læt aldra skønasta smapilta
føra aff iherusalem til babiloniam oc hafdhe them j synom gardh / han fik them een
mestara heth malazar som them skulde læra badhe maal oc høfwiska sidhy
- 6 J bland the piltana waro thesse fyre / Daniel / Ananias / Azarias / oc misael hwilkom gudh gaf swa stora nadh oc wisdom at the waro wisare æn alle the mestara som waro j them landum / the wildo ey æta hedhninganna mat / thy
- 9 sagdho the til thera mestara / wi ærum af iwdhiske slekt oc ætom ey then mat som j hedhninga plæghin koka eller redha / thy giff oss ærtir oc bønor oc grøt oc watn ther til / tha latum wi oss wel nøghia / Thera mestare swaradhe / thet thør
- 12 iak ekki gøra / ffor thy findir konungin idher maghrare æn annor barn tha faar iak hans ohyllyst oc wredhe / oc magh swa for idhra skuld fa badhe

1 anania] **anania[s]** A; **azaria]** **azaria[s]** A. **2–3** oc ... honom] vnde venk de allerschonesten kindere, de dar weren *SelTro*. **4–8** oc ... landum] vnde let se leren. Do weren dar vere mede, den god gaff so groten syn, dat se wiser weren dan alle de meystere, de in deme lande weren. De kindere were geheten: Daniel, Ananias, Azarias, Misael *SelTro*. **5** høfwiska sidhy] hedhna sidhir B. **9** mestara] mestere, de hete Malazar *SelTro*. **10** koka ... redha] redha B, koken *SelTro*; grøt] linsen *SelTro*. **11** watn ... til] watn til dryk B. **12** maghrare] ømbligare B. **13** tha ... wredhe] dat he sijk vppe mi torne *SelTro*.

- skam oc skadha / The saghdho / kære mestare fforsøk medh oss j tio dagha wi
hopoms
- 15 thet kan oss enkte skadha / han giordhe swa oc gaff them enkte annat æn thet
the beddos / Tha tio dagha waro framlidhne waro the mykykt skønare oc fæghre
æn the andro barnin ther hwar dagh fingo aff konungxsins kræselika mat oc
dryk
- 18 **Oc** for thy at the ræddos gudh oc hedhradho han oc hioldo han ensampnan for
thera gudh / gaff han them swa storan wisdom oc snille at engin j them landom
war
thera like **Then** sami konungin nabogodonsor læth gøra eeth affgudh aff gvll
thet
- 21 war stort oc stodh oppa markinne a ene studh som war sextighi alna høgh
oc siex alna bredh / han bødth allom badhe rikom oc fatikom j sino rike thit
koma
oc bidhia til afgudhit oc hedhra thet medh offer ok knæfallum / hwilkin thet ey
wilde
- 24 gøra han skulle sith liiff ænda j enom glødhetum vghne / **Thentidh** mange wa-
ro saman kompne oc fulkompnadhe konungxsins bodh / wart konungenom
beræt at the
thri iwdhiske piltane **Ananias** / **Azarias** oc misael wildo ey hedhra hans gudh
- 27 oc ey bøghia thera knæ for honom / **Tha** war daniel ey hema / konungin loth
them for
sik koma / oc spordhe hwi the hans budh forsmadho / oc saghdhe at han wilde
them j glødtheta vgnen lata kasta / The swaradho / War gudh then wi hedhrum
oc til
- 30 bidhiom formagh wel vm honom thet thekkis oss aff them eldenom frælsa / tha
vp-
fyltis konungin medh grymhet oc wredhe oc læth elda vghnen syu stunder mykit
he-

14–15 wi ... skadha] vnde bese dan vnse antlat *SelTro*. 16 Tha ... framlidhne] Do *SelTro*. 17 konungxsins ... dryk] konungxsins kræsliga mat oc dryk sina fōdho *B*, des konninges spise *SelTro*. 18 oc hedhradho han] ~ *SelTro*. 18–19 hioldo ... gudh] dyrkatho ingin annan gudh *B*. 19 wisdom ... snille] wisheit *SelTro*; engin ... landom] neyn man *SelTro*. 21 oppa ... studh] vp eyner sule *SelTro*; sextighi] thrysins tiwo *B*. 22 oc ... bredh] ~ *SelTro*; allom ... rike] alle sin lant *SelTro*. 23 bidhia ... knæfallum] hedhra oc bithia til thæt afgudhit, oc hedhra thæt mæth offir oc knæfal *B*, dat bilde scholden anropen *SelTro*. 24–25 Thentidh ... bodh] Do *SelTro*. 25 beræt] sakt *B*. 26–27 wildo ... hema] dat bilde nicht anropen *SelTro*. 28 forsmadho] nicht holden wolden vnde synen god nicht anbeden *SelTro*. 29 vgnen] vgnen *A*; kasta] steken *SelTro*. 30–31 tha ... wredhe] Do wart de konningk tornich *SelTro*. 31 syu stunder] i siw tima *B*.

- tare æn han war fœrra Oc læth them ther in kasta / **Genstan** kom gudz ængil til
 33 them j vghnen oc wardhe them for hytanom / oc vthslogh lughan bradhlika aff
 vghnenom ok brænde manga konungxsins thiænara som kringom vghnen
 stodho / *Æn*
 piltomen j vghnenom giordhe eldin engin skadha / the sato j vghnenom vtan
 meen
 36 oc sungo twenne gudz loff *medh* glædhy / **Then** ene loffsanging byrias swa /
Benedictus es
domine deus patrum nostrorum / then sangin plæghar man sionga vm
 løgherdaghana quator
temporum / Then andre sangen bœrias swa **Benedicite** omnia opera domini
domino et cetera then plæghar
 39 man syonga j ottosangenom alla hælgho dagha / **J** honom manas all creatwr oc
 al skapat
 thing til at lofwa oc welsighna gudh / tha bœriadhe konungen storlika vndra
 oc saghdhe til them nær honom stodho / Huru kan *thetta* nokontidh skee / **Jak**
 seer
 42 fyra j vghneom / oc ther kastadhos ey in vtan thre / oc then fiærdhe ær
 skipadher
 swa som gudz son / **Konungin** gig til vghnen oc saghdhe swa til them / gangin
 her
 vth j thes stora oc mektogha gudhins thiænara / **The** vthingo aff vghnenom
 45 oskadde aff eldenom badhe til thera klædhe oc liiff / **ffor** holkit konungin
 wælsigh-
 nadhe wan gudh / **Oc** bœdh widh liiff oc goodz ofwer alt sit rike at engin skulde
 om iwdhanna gudh ohøfwelika tala / **Oc** saghdhe at engin war annar tholkin
 48 gudh som iwdhanna gudh til hielpa / **Oc** thessa thre pilta giordhe han j siin
 rike til stora herra

32 **Genstan** ... ængil] Dar quam de hilge engel to *SelTro*. 33 lughan bradhlika] lughan *B*. 34 manga ... thiænara] de knechte *SelTro*. 35 giordhe ... meen] the voro vtan alt meen *B*, ne hinderde nictes nicht. Dar seten se in dem ouene vnde loueden vnde benediden vnsen heren *SelTro*. 36 *medh* glædhy] ~ *SelTro*; loffsanging] songin *B*; **Benedictus** es] **Benedictus** *A*, benedictus es *B*. 38 sangen] laafsongin *B*. 39 syonga] læsa *B*; al skapat] skabath *B*. 39–40 **J** ... gudh] *There are MLG translations of the songs in their entirety in SelTro*. 41 nær honom] hoos honum *B*; Huru ... skee] **Hwro** mun *thætta* vara *B*. 41–42 **Jak** ... thre] Ik hadde juw geheten, dat gij de dre scholden werpen in den ouen, nu se ik dar vere *SelTro*. 43 swa til them] swa *B*. 44 j ... thiænara] j thæn stora voldogha gudhsins nafn, iac see i ærin hans thiænara *B*, gij knechte des groten godes *SelTro*. 46 wan gudh] gudh *B*. 46–48 **Oc** ... hielpa] ~ *SelTro*.

Translation

And first about Ananias, Azarias, and Misael¹

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylonia, came to Jerusalem, conquered the city, and he took the king captive along with many honourable men. He had the most handsome young boys taken from Jerusalem to Babylonia and kept them in his court. He got a teacher for them called Melzar who was to teach them both language and court customs. Among the boys were these four: Daniel, Ananias, Azarias and Misael, to whom God granted such great grace and wisdom that they were wiser than all the scholars who were in the land. They did not want to eat the pagans' food, so they said to their teacher, "We are Jews and we do not eat the [sort of] food that you pagans are in the habit of cooking and preparing. So give us peas and beans and porridge with water, then we will be quite satisfied." Their teacher answered, "I do not dare do this, because the king will find you thinner than the other children, and I'll receive his disfavour and anger, and for your sakes receive shame and injury!" They said, "Dear teacher, try this with us for ten days. We hope that it will not harm us." He did so and gave them nothing other than what they asked for. When ten days had passed, they were much more handsome and fair than the other children who had received the king's special food and drink every day. And because they feared God and praised him and kept him alone as their God, he gave them great wisdom and knowledge so no-one in the country was their match.

The same king, Nebuchadnezzar, had made an idol of gold. It was large and stood on a field on a column that was sixty cubits high and six cubits wide. He ordered everyone, both rich and poor, in his kingdom to come and pray to the idol and praise it with offerings and prostrations. Whoever refused to do so would end his life in a glowing oven. When many people had come and fulfilled the king's command, the king was told that the three Jewish boys, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, did not wish to praise his god and bend their knees before him. Daniel was not at home at the time. The king had them brought before him and asked why they mocked his order and said that he was going to cast them into the glowing hot oven. They answered, "Our God, whom we praise and to whom we pray, is capable, if he so wishes, to save us from the fire." Then the king was filled with cruelty and anger and had the oven made seven times hotter than it was before, and he had them thrown in. Straightaway, God's angel came to them in the oven and protected them from the heat and suddenly pushed the flames out of the

¹ Ananias: Sidrach/Shadrach/Hananiah, Misael: Meshach/Mishael, and Azarias: Abednego/Azariah.

oven and burnt many of the king's servants who were standing around the oven. But the fire caused no harm to the boys in the oven. They sat in the oven without injury and joyfully sang two songs of praise to God. The one song begins thus: *Benedictus es, Domine Deus patrum nostrorum.*² That song is usually sung on Saturdays during Ember Days. The other song begins like this: *Benedicite, omnia opera Domini, Domino,* and so on.³ It is usually sung at Evensong on all the Feast Days. In it, all creatures and created things are exhorted to praise and bless God. Then the king really began to wonder and said to those nearby, "How can this ever happen? I see four people in the oven and yet there were but three thrown in, and the fourth is in the image of the Son of God." The king walked over to the oven and said to them, "Come out, you servants of the greatest and most powerful god!" They walked out of the oven, both their clothes and mortality unharmed by the fire, on account of which the king blessed our God and ordered throughout his kingdom that no-one speak degradingly about the Jews' god upon pain of death or confiscation of property, and he said that no other god was as helpful as the Jews' god, and he made these three boys great lords in his kingdom.

² 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, the God of our fathers.' Daniel 3:52.

³ 'O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord.' Daniel 3:57.

51 The Virgin Mary Releases and Converts a Jewish Prisoner

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 110, f. 92r16–v6 (c. 1385).

Parallel texts: ~

Original text: ~

Edition: A Kläs 80 (no. 116).

Edition (A SKB A 110)

- En iudhe thwingadhiss ok swæltis j fan
gilsom · han tok thænkia vm sidhe huru
3 han hafdhe hørt aff kristnom mannom at iomfru
maria guz modhir hiælpir allom nødstaddum
Ok tha han swa thænkte tho ey bidhiande
6 hona hiælpa sik syntis miskunna modhir
maria hanom ok løste han aff bandom
ok læt han ga lidhughan judhin spurdhe
9 hwat fru hon war mædhan hon giordhe
swa mykla miskun medh hanum **Hon** sagdhe
sik wara mariam ihesu *christi* modhor / ok tedhe hanom
12 hælwitis pino som judhomin æru redda / ok vt
thydde hanom the hælgho *script* **Ok** lowadhe
them æwerdhelika æro som stadhlika tro a hæn-
15 na son Judhin trodhe ok wardh kristen ok
wænde manga andra til kristindom

Translation

A Jew was being tortured and starved in prison. At length, he began thinking how he had heard from Christians that the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, helps all who are in need. And while he was thus thinking, but not praying to her to help

4 allom] all[->o]m A.

him, the mother of mercy, Mary, appeared and released him from his fetters and let him go free. The Jew asked what lady she was as she was acting so compassionately towards him. She said she was Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, and showed him the torments of hell that are ready for the Jews and explained the Holy Scripture to him and promised eternal life to those who unshakeably believed in her son. The Jew believed and became Christian and converted many others to Christianity.

52 Theophilus and the Devil

Headnotes

Source: **A** SKB A 34, ff. 11va15–12ra19 (c. 1350).

Parallel texts: **B** UUB C 528, f. 11r12–v7 (1400–50); **C** SRA E 8900, pp. 21:24–22:23 (1450–70).

Original text: **LegAur** 912–13.

Editions: **A** *FsvLeg* I 28–29; *FsvLeg* VJ 43–45; *FsvLeg* PAW II 59–60 [mistake in transcription]; George Webbe Dasent, *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low German and Other Tongues from M.S.S in the Royal Library Stockholm* (London: William Pickering, 1845), 29.

Edition (A SKB A 34)

miraculum ·

En provastar

- 3 var ii cicilia · d · xx · xv ·
· ii · ari vars hærra · ok ræþ
allom biscops æmbitum sua
6 væl at æfte biscopen dōþan
vildo han alle biscop vælia ·
han hæþ þeophilus · han viþar
9 saghþe biscops vald · ok sag
þe sik lata nøghia at þøm sys
lom ok skiplsom · han fõrra
12 hafþe · ok læt annan liouare
biscop varþa ¶ þæn biscopar
varþ hafþe þeophilum min

1 miraculum ·] ~ A, B, [**miraculum** · | **Theophilus**] C. **3** cicilia] cicilia {rike} B, cecilia C. **3–4** · d · xx · xv · ii ·] · d · °xxxvij B, xxxvij C. **4** ari ... hærra] wars hærra are B, wars hærra aare C. **5** sua] ok swa B, swa C. **6** væl] væl ok vitherlika B, væl ok witherlika C, prudenter *LegAur*. **7** vildo ... alle] Vildo han alle B, willo alle han C; biscop] til biscop[s] B, til biscop C. **10** nøghia] nøghia[s] B, nøgia C. **11** han fõrra] som han fõr B, som han fõr |:C] C. **12** annan] annan B, en annan C. **13–14** þæn ... varþ] Thæn |som vardh| biscooper B, Thæn sidhan wardh biscooper C. **14** hafþe] hafðhe B, han haffde C. **14–15** mindre man] minna kiæran B, fore mindre man C.

- 15 dre man · ok rænte han sins
 æmbitis ok prouento ¶ þeo
 philus tok eigh sik bætra raþ
 18 ii harme · vtan en iuþa diæ
 wls anbuþ · tok han þær tel ·
 at han mate sin heþar ok
 21 vald atar vinna · ¶ Juþen com
 þøm saman diavulin ok þe
 ophilum · oc at þeophilus
 24 viþar sagþe guþ ok guz mo
 þor · ok cristo trolouan · ok
 skref þær iuir bref mæþ sino
 27 bloþe · ok satte firi sit insigle ·
 ok fik diæflenom insighlat ·
 ok varþ hans man vsal man ·
 30 ¶ Annan dagh þæn næsta þa
 læt biscopen kalla þeophilum ·
 ok varþar hans bæste ven · ok
 33 giuar hanom atar heþar ok
 vald som han før hafþe ¶ þeo
 philus skæmmes viþ sin vaþa :
 36 ok ætar sik allan innan viþ
 angar · ok vil eigh slæppa sit

15–16 han ... prouento] aff hanum si[ns>t] æmbit[is>e] ¶ Ok prouento *B*, aff honum hans æmbite oc syslo *C*. 17 sik] ~ *B*, *C*. 17–19 bætra ...tel] bætra radh ij harme æn wardh diæfwls anbudh : Thær til *B*, bætre til radh j storom harm vtan gik til radz mædh enom judha thær en dieffwls man war oc badh honum hiælpa sik til dieffwlin *C*; cf. Valter Jansson, Fornsvenska legendariet: Handskrifter och språk, *Nordiska texter och undersökningar*, vol. 4 (Stockholm: Hugo Geber, 1934), 65. 21 vinna] vinna *B*, faa *C*; Juþen] \en/ Judh[in(?)>e] *B*, Judhen *C*. 21–23 com ...oc] kom thøm badha saman : / Diæfwlin oc theophilum *B*, kom dieffwlin oc theophilum badha saman / the taladhos swa længe *C*, Ille igitur dyabolum aduocauit et aduocatus concitus uenit *LegAur*. 23 at] [at] *B*, at *C*. 25 cristo] cristne *B*, criske *C*, christianae *LegAur*. 26 iuir bref] breff ifwir *B*, offwir breff *C*. 27 bloþe] bloþe/ *A*, blodhe · *B*, blodhe : *C*; satte] [sagdhe > satte] *B*, satte *C*; firi] firi *B*, fore *C*. 28 diæflenom insighlat] diæfwlinom breffwit insighlat *B*, diefflenom breffwit incigladh *C*, sigillatum demoni tradidit *LegAur*. 29 vsal man] vsal {dare} *B*, ~ *C*, *LegAur*. 30 dagh] dagh *B*, daghin *C*; þæn ... þa] then næsta *B*, thær næst ephthir *C*. 31 læt] lætir *B*, leth *C*. 32 varþar] wardher *B*, wardh *C*. 33 giuar] gifwer *B*, gaff *C*. 33–34 heþar ... vald] hedher oc æro ok wald *B*, waldh · oc hedher *C*, dignitatem officii *LegAur*. 34–35 þeophilus] þeopilus *A*, Theophilus *B*, Theophilus *C*. 35 skæmmes] kænnis *B*, kændis *C*, ingemuit *LegAur*; cf. Jansson, Fornsvenska legendariet, 50. 36 ætar] æther *B*, aat *C*; viþ] aff *B*, *C*. 37 vil] vil *B*, wille *C*; slæppa] slæppæ *B*, afflatha *C*, ~ *LegAur*.

- hop oc trøst tel ihesum *christum* · vtan
 39 kalla hans mildo moþor af allo hiærta
 sik tel hialp · ok tel raþa ok
 tel raþa ¶ Maria var hanom
 42 brat tel bota : teþes hanom
 værþogh o værþoghom · ræþ
 hanom ok trøste viþar sigh
 45 ia diæwlen · ok læna sic atar
 ihesu *christo* vndi cristno tro ¶
 han giørþe gerna som hon
 48 hanom ræþ ok bøþ gøra · ok
 rædes þo æn vm breuet sua
 darleka scriuat : ok vt gi
 51 vit : tel var fru teþes ha
 nom annan tima · ok fik ha
 nom breuet atar takit af
 54 diævelenom · tel visso at hans
 vaþe ok vande var løstar ·
 Þeophilus vacnaþe fæghin oc
 57 takade guz moþor : ok las breuet
 sialuar firi biscope ok allo
 folke · ok bløte manght
 60 hiærta tel guz lof ❖ ok guz
 moþor · ok do þriþia daghen
 ·i· guz friþi

39 kalla] callar *B*, kallar *C*; hiærta] allo {hærta} *A*, allo {hiærta} *B*, allo hierta *C*, mentis deuotione *LegAur*. 40–41 hialp ... raþa] hiælp oc {trøst} *B*, nadha oc radha *C*, adiutorium *LegAur*. 42 teþes] tedhis *B*, oc teddis *C*. 43 ræþ] oc rædh *B*, oc redh *C*. 44 ok trøste] oc trøste *B*, ~ *C*, *LegAur*. 44–45 viþar sighia] at widhersighia *B*, widhersighia *C*. 45 diæwlen] diæfwlin *B*, diefflenom *C*; læna] lofwa *B*, loffua *C*, confiteri fecit *LegAur*. 46 cristno tro] cristno troo *B*, crisna tro *C*, christianitatis propositum *LegAur*. 48 hanom ... bøþ] rædh oc bødþ *B*, rædh oc bødþ honum *C*; gøra] ~ *B*, at gøra *C*. 49 þo æn] æn tho *B*, tho æn *C*. 49–50 sua darleka] som swa darlika [var/ *B*, som swa darlika war *C*. 50–51 vt givit] vt[t] givin *A*, vt gifwit *B*, wtgiffuit *C*. 51 tel] thil *B*, til · thæs *C*. 51–52 hanom] hanum *B*, honum ater *C*. 53 breuet ... takit] brefuit atir takit *B*, breff- j gen takith *C*. 54 visso] visso oc trøst *B*, visso *C*. 55 løstar] lø{s}ter *B*, løster *C*. 56 Þeophilus] Þepphilus *A*, theophilus *B*, Theophilus *C*. 56–57 vacnaþe ... takade] vacnaþe fæghin oc takde *A*, thakkar fæghin *B*, waknadhe fæghin och loffuodhe *C*, retulit et cunctis admirantibus et uirginem gloriosam laudantibus *LegAur*. 58 firi biscope] for biscopenom *B*, fore biscopenom *C*. 59 folke] folkeno *B*, folke *C*; bløte manght] bløtte mang *B*, *C*. 60 guz] tara ok grat / Oc guz *B*, gudz *C*. 61 moþor] modher\s/ *B*, modhers *C*; do] \do/ *A*, do *B,C*; daghen] dagh *B*, daghin *C*.

Translation

A miracle

In AD 537, there was an archdeacon in Sicily and he ran all the bishop's affairs so well that after the bishop's death, everyone wanted to elect him bishop. He was called Theophilus. He turned down the authority [i. e., office] of bishop and said that he was satisfied with the tasks and position that he already had and would prefer another to become bishop. The one who became bishop held Theophilus in lower regard and took away his office and daily rations. In his distress, Theophilus did not take better advice but turn to a Jew, a tool of the devil, so that he could regain his honour and authority. The Jew got the devil and Theophilus together and Theophilus renounced God and the mother of God and the confession of Christ, and [he] then wrote a letter about this in his blood and set upon it his seal and got the devil to set his seal upon it, and [Theophilus] became his man, a miserable man.

The next day, the bishop had Theophilus called to him and became his best friend and gave him back the honour and authority that he had previously enjoyed. Theophilus was ashamed by his calamity and was eaten up inside by remorse and did not want to lose his hope and consolation in Jesus Christ but called upon his mild mother with all his heart to come to his aid with mercy and advice. Mary was at his aid immediately, [she] appeared to him, the worthy to the worthless. [She] advised and comforted him to renounce the devil and return to Jesus Christ under the Christian faith. He happily did as she advised and asked him to do, and he was nonetheless afraid of the so foolishly written and published letter, until Our Lady appeared to him a second time and gave him the letter, returned by the devil, as proof that his calamity and difficulty were solved. Theophilus woke up happy and thanked God's mother and read the letter himself aloud to the bishop and all the people and many a heart was moved to the praise of God and God's mother. And he died on the third day in the peace of God.

53 Well poisoning

Letter A

Headnotes

Source: A SLUB Mscr. Dresd. A 59, f. 231ra1–vb25 (c. 1434).

Editions: A *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, Neue Folge, 7. Jahrgang, no. 9 (1860): cols 313–16; *Codex Diplomaticus Lubecensis. Lübeckisches Urkundebuch. 1ste Abtheilung. Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*, vol. 3: *Urkunden bis 1350*, ed. Carl Friedrich Wehrmann (Lübeck: Der Verein für Lübeckische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde · Ferdinand Grautoff, 1871), 103–05 (no. 110a); *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 10: *1346–1350 – Nachträge zu Band I–X*, ed. Georg Christian Friedrich Lisch (Schwerin: Der Verein für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde · Die Stillersche Hofbuchhandlung, 1877), 406–08 (no. 7098).

Edition (A Dresd. A 59)

Ingenuo *principi ac preexcellenti domino*
Ottonj duci in luneborch Consules

- 3 ciuitatis lubek *cum honoris continuo*
incremento ad queuis seruiciorum ge-
nera *continuo se paratos* *Insinuamus*
6 *vestre preexcellenti nobilitati quod nuper*
quendam malefactorem nomine
keyenort in *nostra ciuitate capti-*
9 *uauimus quj dum propter sua maleficia*
deberet interimi manifesto fa-
tebatur quod intoxicacionis maleficium
12 *in diuersis locis a prucia inchoando*
vsque ad nostram ciuitatem lubek ex
perswasione iudeorum exercuisset
15 *pro quo solummodo asseruit se tres*

2 in] ~ A. 10 interimi] interemi A.

solidos grossorum a quodam iudeo sub-
 leuasse Eciam quedam mulier no-
 18 biscum deprehensa et sepulta mani-
 feste fatebatur quod tractatus habuis-
 set cum veneno facto de vermibus
 21 quos dixerat se personaliter cum eius
 domino nutriuisse et cum hoc tractasset
 puerum mortuum sub fimo fossum
 24 de quo eciam venenum confecisse vo-
 luisset et cum vtroque veneno totam
 gentem quam attingere in diuersis
 27 partibus potuisset intoxicasse preterea
 Consules ciuitatum Sundis Rostok
 wismer congregati sunt propter aggrauaciones
 30 necessitatum et plagarum ipsis et com-
 muni populo racione intoxicacionis ex
 operatione iudeorum crudelium et quorundam
 33 maliciosorum christianorum incumbentes
 mutuo inter se conuenientes vbi duo
 sedentes in vinculis aperte absque actione
 36 qualibet aut tormentacionum penis fa-
 tebantur coram consulibus ciuitatum predictarum
 quod quidam Iudei nomine Mosseke et dauid
 39 dedissent eis paucam pecunie sum-
 mam et cuilibet eorum partem suam cum vene-
 ficio per se altero eorum nesciente ob hoc
 42 ut deberent vndique sanitatem cum predicto
 veneficio intoxicare et hoc asserue-
 runt pro tota eorum possibilitate se fe-
 45 cisse circumquaque in terra Slauię et locis
 singulis que attingere potuerunt Et
 super addidit unus ex eisdem duobus quod
 48 predictus Mosseke momordisset sibi mag-
 num vlnus super suum caput veneno sibi
 presentato quod vlnus manifeste ostendebat
 51 et huiusmodi morsu sibi facto dixit se

29 sunt propter] ~ A. 35–36 absque ... tormentacionum] absque aut aliqua tormentacionum
 A. 42 sanitatem] Possibly an error for christianitatem A. 45 et] in A. 51 morsu] morso A.

beniuolum fuisse ad extoxicandum
 totam christianitatem si potuisset et hoc alter
 54 eciam approbavit sibi ex quibusdam verbis
 sibi allocutis fuisse iniunctum sed ipse non
 fuit morsus preterea consules godlan-
 57 die quandam notulam nobis nuper sub
 eorum sigillo destinabant sonantem in
 hec verba Notandum quod quidam combustus
 60 erat godlandie in profesto sanctorum processu
 et martiniani nomine Tidericus qui coram
 aduocatis dum morte dampnabatur et cum
 63 igni debuit apponj coram omni populo fate-
 batur quod seruiuit equitando in terra Saxonie
 cum quodam advocato nomine volkersum
 66 prope hyldensem circa quem erat multum bene
 acceptus ita quod quidquid egit seu dimisit
 inviolatum hoc vtique permansit Tandem
 69 venit ad vnam ciuitatem nomine Dasle
 ad quendam Judeum nomine aaron filium
 salomonis divitis de honouere qui cum ipso
 72 concordauit et dedit illi xxx marcas
 puri argenti cum cccis bursiculis cum
 veneficiis et intoxicacionibus cum
 75 quibus christianitatem ut fecit destruere
 deberet Et sic declinauit ab eo
 ad ciuitates videlicet hannoueram pat-
 78 tensem gronowe peyne bokelem
 tzerstede hyldensem et ibidem in
 ciuitatibus omnes fontes et puteos
 81 ac in villis circumquaue quo transiit in
 toxicauit veneficiis supradictis et
 cum populus incepit communiter mori versus lu-
 84 beke fugam cepit et in via illa dictas
 xxx marcas totaliter detesse-
 raut Et cum venit lubek in hos-
 87 picio hermannj sassen suj hospitis quidam

52 extoxicandum] Possibly an error for intoxicandum A. 85 marcas totaliter] marcas [tota] totaliter A.

iudeus nomine moyses sibi occurrebat
 cuj narrauit *omnia ante dicta et ille*
 90 moyses ipsi Tiderico x marcas lubecenses
 cum quadam pixide cum veneficiis
 condonauit *et sic de lubek versus vro-*
 93 wenborch in terra prucie transueli
 ficauit ibi *circa xl homines uel plures*
 tradidit morti *et inde versus Me-*
 96 mele vbi iterum *circa xl capita inter-*
 fecit Et *deinde versus hasseputte*
 vbi *xl homines uel plures moriebantur*
 99 de *predictis Deinde versus goldinge*
 vbi *xl . et in piltena xl homines et vltra*
 In *winda quot capita interfecit nes-*
 102 *ciuit propter ipsorum pluralitatem exceptis*
curionibus mortuis et interfectis de
eodem ibi predictum ad littora fodit
 105 *et ibi remansit Sed quia ex huiusmodi opera-*
cionibus maledictis maliciorum iudeorum
heu ut apparet periculum irrecuperabile
 108 *et destructio existit toti christianitati*
petimus omni diligencia qua valemus
cordintime vestram nobilitatis dominacionem
 111 *quatenus premissa omnia cordi vestro impri-*
matis miseriam et necessitatis molem
qua christianitas est dolenter aggraua-
 114 *ta benigne inspicientes ordinan-*
do amore dei et iusticie vestre proprie
anime in salutem ut iudei in vestris terri-
 117 *toriis existentes ex quo indifferenter*
sunt emuli Christi et totius christianitatis
odiosi persecutores destruantur iudicio
 120 *vestro mediante Nam timendum quod morta-*
litis aggrauacio qua populus et christia-
nitas vndique ex consiliis iudeorum cru-

91 quadam] quodam A. **95** tradidit] ibi traditis A. **104** predictum ... fodit] Possibly an error for predictum argentum ad littus infodit A. **105** Sed] Possibly videlicet A. **108** destructio existit] destructionem sistit A. **122–23** cruciatur] cruciatus A.

- 123 *ciatur non cesset quamdiu ipsi iudei*
sub protectione aliquorum principum et
dominorum illesi possint residere et mu-
 126 *nera eorum pro huiusmodi operacionibus malicio-*
sis exercendis erogare Cristus vos con-
seruet Responsum primum de premissis nobis
 129 *petimus reformari Scriptum nostro sub si-*
gillo Eciam consules thurunenses scripse-
runt nobis de pluribus iudeis baptizatis
 132 *in ciuitate eorum deprehensis et omnes*
recognouissent quod huiusmodi operacio in-
toxicacionis totaliter a iudeis ortum
 135 *habet processum*

Translation

To the noble prince and most excellent lord, Duke Otto III of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the city councillors of Lübeck make themselves available with continued increasing honour for all kinds of service.

We are making known to you, your highness, that we have recently taken a certain evildoer by the name of Keyenort captive in our city who, on account of his evil deeds, is to be killed, having publicly admitted that, [having been] put to work by the persuasion of the Jews, he had committed the crime of poisoning in different places beginning from Prussia as far as to our city of Lübeck, for which he only claimed three groats paid by a certain Jew.

And also, we have apprehended and buried alive a certain woman who had publicly admitted to having a treatment made from the venom of snakes that she said she was rearing personally with her husband, and she pulled out a dead boy buried under a dung-heap from whom she also intended to prepare poison, and by both poisons they would be able to poison all the people they could reach in different areas.

Furthermore, the councillors of the cities of Stralsund, Rostock, Wismar have met in the face of the burdens, demands, and injuries to themselves and the common people on account of the poisonings at the hands of the cruel Jews and certain malicious Christians, applying themselves to the case in mutual

123 *quamdiu*] *quam diu* A. 128 *Responsum primum*] *Possibly an error for Responsum vestrum* A.

agreement now that two persons sitting in chains have openly confessed without any action or torture in the presence of the aforementioned city councillors that certain Jews by the names of Mosseke and David gave them a small sum of money together with their share of poison, about which one of them did not know, so that they might poison Christendom¹ everywhere with the aforementioned poison and they maintained that they had done this as far as possible in the surrounding area in the West Slavic land² and in each of the places that they were able to reach. And one of the two added that the aforementioned Mosseke bit him [and made] a large wound on his head when he was handed the poison, a wound that he displayed clearly, and he said that having received such a wound he had been willing to poison all Christendom if he could; and the other man also agreed that he had received the same order by means of some words that were spoken to him, but he was not himself bitten.

Furthermore, the councillors on Gotland recently wrote a note to us secured under their seal that read thus: It should be noted that on the day before St Processus and Martinian's Day [1 July 1350], a certain man called Tidericus [Dietrich/Diderik] on Gotland was burnt, who in front of legal counsellors had been sentenced to death. And with the fire about to be lit in the presence of all the people, he admitted that he had served in the cavalry in Lower Saxony with a certain *advocatus*³ called Volkersum near Hildesheim, by whom he was very well received so that whatever he did or did not do, he remained untouched. At last, he came to a city called Dassel to a certain Jew called Aaron, son of Salomon the Wealthy of Hannover, who made an agreement with him and gave him thirty marks of pure silver with three hundred small pouches⁴ of poisons and potions with which he was to destroy Christianity. And thus, he left him for the cities of Hannover, Pattensen, Gronau, Peine, Bockenem, Sarstedt, and Hildesheim, and

1 The original Lat. reads “*vndique sanitatem cum predicto veneficio intoxicare*” [they might poison the health everywhere with the aforementioned poison]. However, it is possible that “*sanitatem*” is a mistake for *Christianitatem* [Christendom]. Cf. “*ad extoxicandum totam christianitatem*” [to poison all Christendom] in the following sentence.

2 The original Lat. has “*terra Slauiæ*.” The term is sometimes used to denote the region just around Szczecin/Stettin. See August Freiherrn von Haxthausen, *Die ländliche Verfassung in den einzelnen Provinzen der preußischen Monarchie*, vol. 1 (Königsberg [Kaliningrad]: Gebrüder Bornträger, 1839), 190.

3 An *advocatus* (or MLG *voget*) was either 1) an official delegated to perform some of the responsibilities of an institution or of a secular ruler; or 2) an administrative officer (cf. bailiff).

4 I have read the Latin as “*cccis liii saculis*” [300 small pouches]. This reading seems more likely to me than “*cccis liii saculis*” [354 small bags], which is what Herschel has apparently read here: “354 Beuteln” [354 bags] in Herschel, “Ueber den schwarzen Tod und die Judenverfolgungen,” 219.

in these cities and the villages of the surrounding area he passed through he poisoned all the springs and wells with the aforementioned poison, and when the inhabitants began to die, he fled to Lübeck, and along his route he gambled away all of the aforementioned thirty marks. When he arrived in Lübeck, he took up quarters in the house of Hermann Sasse where he met with a certain Jew called Moyses to whom he told all the aforementioned things. And this Moyses gave Tidericus ten Lübeck marks together with a small box containing poison. And then he sailed across to Frauenburg [Frombork] in Prussia where he brought death upon about forty people or more, and then towards Memel [Klaipėda] where again he killed about forty people, and then towards Hasenpöth [Aizpute] where forty or more people were killed by the aforementioned [poison]. Then towards Goldingen [Kuldīga] where he killed forty people, and Pilten [Piltene] forty people, and finally in Windau [Ventspils] – he did not know how many he killed because of their numbers, except that Courlanders died and were killed by the very same poison. Here he buried the money⁵ on the shore and there it remains.

But because it appears from this kind of abusive work by the malicious Jews that there exists incorrigible danger and destruction to all Christianity, we ask your lordship, from the heart and with all the diligence that we can, that you press the aforementioned into your heart and that you regard with goodwill the misery and great difficulties by which Christendom is painfully oppressed, out of love of God and justice and of salvation for your own soul, by making arrangements by means of your courts, so that the Jews who live in your lands, because they are without exception opponents of Christ and odious persecutors of the whole of Christendom, are destroyed. Because it is to be feared that the onslaught of death, by which the people and Christendom are everywhere being tortured by the Jews' plans, will not cease as long as the Jews themselves, unharmed under the protection of princes and lords, are able to reside and distribute gifts in order to carry out such evil actions.

May Christ protect you.

We ask that your answer to the aforementioned be amended[?].

Written under our seal.

The councillors of Thorn [Toruń] also wrote to us about many baptized Jews who were captured in their town, and they all recalled that this kind of poisoning enterprise has its origins entirely in the Jews.

⁵ It may be poison rather than money that Tidericus buried. However, the allusion is probably to Judas dumping the payment for his treachery in the Temple (Matthew 27:5).

Letter B

Source: A Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Mscr. Dresd. A 59, ff. 231vb26–232rb36 (c. 1434).

Editions: A *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, Neue Folge, 7. Jahrgang, no. 10 (1860): cols 356–57; *Codex Diplomaticus Lubecensis. Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch. 1ste Abtheilung. Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*, vol. 3: *Urkunden bis 1350*, ed. Carl Friedrich Wehrmann (Lübeck: Ferdinand Grautoff, 1871), 105–06 (no. 110b).

Edition (A Dresd. A 59)

- Uniuersis presencia visuris seu audi
 turis Consules in Rostok sincere
 3 dilectionis constanciam cum prompto famulatu
 Noueritis nos literas clausas honestorum
 virorum dominorum consulum ciuitatis wisbicensis
 6 terre godlandie et sigillo eorum sigil
 latas recepissee in hec verba Honorabilibus
 et discretis viris dominis proconsulibus et con
 9 sulibus ciuitatis Rostok amicis eorum
 specialibus proconsules et consules ciuitatis
 wisbicensis terre godlandie obsequiosam
 12 in omnibus voluntatem Nouerit vestra discretio
 gloriosa nos nouem maleficos seu
 intoxicatores et proditores totius christi
 15 anitatis a pascha hucvsque nobiscum
 deprehendisse inter quos vnus erat
 organista qui coram communi populo in
 18 vltimo sue vite et etiam prius non coactus
 lucide fatebatur quod omnes puteos in
 ciuitatibus Stocholm Arosie Ar
 21 boga et singulas paludes aquas stan
 tes puteos alios quo transiit sweciam
 circumquaque suis veneficiis intoxica

8 proconsulibus] preconsulibus A. 10 proconsules] preconsoles A. 13 gloriosa] Possibly an error for graciosa A. 15 hucvsque] huc vsque A.

- 24 uit ipsiusque veneficij magnam partem
cum ipso et post ipsum invenimus quod penitus
et non immerito est destructum Eciam
- 27 dixit idem in extremis suis cum ignj
debuit apponj quod actu nobiscum
puluerem quendam coxerat et tempera
- 30 uerat de quo vnus hominum in tota terra
godlandie si vixisset ad vnus annj circu
lum viuus non debuit remansisse
- 33 suis duntaxat exceptis Ceterum ibidem
recognouit quod plurimj essent de sua
societate quj se pro diuitibus mer
- 36 catoribus et quibuscunque aliis per totum
mundum officiis reputant et per plu
rimos reputantur et vadunt cum cin
- 39 gulis argenteis et omnes tales ince
dunt quasi deliri et aliquoliter insen
sati eciam tales quodam signo greco
- 42 uel hebrayco sunt signati vltima
tim dixit nescio plura vobis
dicere sed tota christianitas est per iude
- 45 os et pessimos nos intoxicata
Ceterum percipitur quod inter predictos nouem
duo fuerunt qui se pro sacerdotibus re
- 48 putauerunt quj deteriora omnibus pre
fatis fatebantur Sed cum debuit
ponj ad ignem dixit singulariter
- 51 vnus horum Tota christianitas perdita
est nisi diuinitus medicetur quia vobis
cauere debetis pro sacerdotibus et religiosis
- 54 aliis quibuscunque Idem fatebatur quod feria
secunda penthecostes cum missam celebraret
in ecclesia sancti Olauj nobiscum mapu
- 57 lam quam ad hoc officium peragendo ha
buit veneficiis intoxicauit ita
ut omnes in offertorio ipsam osculantes
- 60 tertia die fuerunt mortuj aut quarta

29 quendam] quedam A. 38–39 cingulis] singulis A. 46 percipitur] percipit A. 54 quod] ~ A.

et similiter omnes ipsos visitantes Quare
 scientes quod plebanus ejusdem ecclesie et tres
 63 alij sacerdotes et plurimj alij nostri con-
 ciues breviter sunt mortuj de eodem
 et commorantes omnes et conversantes mo-
 66 riebantur cum eisdem et ut dixerunt
 experti sumus proch dolor hoc in toto
 Jgitur secundum sua premissa facta et fassa ut
 69 permittitur exigentiam suj meriti susce-
 perunt Sagacitatem igitur vestram petimus
 prece multa quatenus ciuitatibus et uillis
 72 circumquaque circa vos situatis solli-
 cite nuncietis Et si aliqua christianitati
 seu nobis nociua perceperitis nos pre-
 75 cautos vtique habeatis quod vobis
 similiter facere non negemus Dominus vos
 conseruet nobis fideliter precepturi
 78 Nos igitur consules in Rostok volentes
 acquiescere petitionibus consulum wisbicensium
 propter commune bonum terre premissa
 81 vobis notificamus secreto nostro sigillo
 tergotenus communita ut eo melius
 quantum poteritis et deus annuerit vobis
 84 poteritis precauere et aliis quibus volueritis
 intimare Datum per copiam
Et facta sunt hec circa annos dominj
 87 M^o ccc^o quinquagesimo.

67 proch dolor] prochdolor A. 70 vestram] vestra[a>m] A. 78 in] ~ A. 80 commune] com-
 munem A. 84 volueritis] valueritis A. 85–87 Datum ... quinquagesimo] In Codex Diplomati-
 cus Lubecensis, 106n4, Carl F. Wehrmann writes: “Der ursprüngliche Schluss des zweiten Briefes
 scheint zu fehlen, wie der des ersten. Die obigen Schlussworte gehören demnach wohl einem
 späteren Transsumpte beider Briefe an” [The original conclusion in the second letter seems to be
 missing. The concluding words above belong to a later transumpt of both letters].

Translation

To all those who see or hear this, the councillors of Rostock [send] their sincere and constant love with their prompt service.

You should know that we have received a closed letter from honest lords, the city councillors of Visby on Gotland, and signed with their seal, saying:

“To the honourable and distinguished mayors and city councillors of Rostock from their special friends, the mayors and city councillors of Visby on Gotland [send] their obsequious goodwill in all respects.

May you glorious, distinguished men know that from Easter until now we have here caught nine criminals or poisoners and traitors to all Christianity, among whom was the organizer/organ player⁶ who in front of a crowd of people at the last moment of his life, and until then without coercion, confessed clearly that he had spread his poisons everywhere in all the wells in Stockholm, Västerås, and Arboga and in all the pools of water, ponds, and different wells as he passed through Sweden. And on his person and where he had been,⁷ we found a large amount of the poison, which has now been completely destroyed and not without reason. And furthermore, the same man said in his last breath as he was about to be put onto the fire that he had actually tempered and mixed a powder in our city by which, if he had lived one year more, not one man in all of Gotland would have remained alive, his kind being the only exception.

Furthermore, at that very moment he admitted that throughout the world there are many belonging to his company who claim to be rich merchants and all kinds of different professionals and who are considered such by many people. They wear silver belts, and they are all insane or mad in some way or other, and they are also marked by a Greek or Hebrew symbol.⁸ Finally, he said, ‘I don’t know what more to tell you than Christianity as a whole has been poisoned by the Jews and the worst of us!’

Furthermore, it became clear that among the aforementioned nine [criminals] there were two who claimed to be priests, who confessed to even worse things than all the aforementioned. But as he was about to be put onto the fire, one of them in particular said, ‘All Christianity is doomed unless healed [i. e., saved]

⁶ The Lat. reads “organista,” which is usually understood to mean ‘organ player’ or ‘organ builder.’ The translation as ‘organizer’ here follows Ulrich Simon’s interpretation. For discussion, see vol. 1, p. 509.

⁷ The Lat. reads “*et post ipsum*” [and after him], i. e., ‘and where he had been’ or even ‘and after his death.’

⁸ From the Lat. “*signo greco uel hebrayco sunt signati*” [they are marked/distinguished by a Greek or Hebrew sign/symbol/token]. See vol. 1, pp. 511–13.

by divine intervention! So, you should beware priests and clergy of all kinds! Then he confessed that on Whit Monday while he was celebrating mass in our Church of St Olav, he soaked the maniple, which he had in order to carry out the office, in poison⁹ so that everyone who kissed it to celebrate the offertory died two or three days later, as did all of those who visited them. From which cause, we know that the rector of the church and three other priests and many others of our compatriots¹⁰ were dead shortly afterwards, and that everyone who stayed with them and everyone who visited them died alongside them. And we have – alas! – experienced it all just like they said. So, they received their just deserts in accordance with their aforementioned deeds and confessions.

We ask for your sagacity with much prayer that you carefully pass on this news to those towns and villages that are located in your areas; and if you notice anything that is harmful to Christendom or us, that you shall warn us unconditionally; and we will not refuse to do the same for you. May God protect you [as long as / so that(?)] you faithfully warn us.”¹¹

We, the councillors of Rostock, for the common good of the country want to approve the requests of the councillors of Visby, and we send you this message with our privy seal on the back, so that as best as you can and as God wills you are able to protect yourselves and give this message to any others as you wish.

Given as a copy and all these things happened around the year of Our Lord 1350.

⁹ From Lat. “*mapulam [...] veneficiis intoxicavit*” [maniple (...) poisoned with potions/poisons].

¹⁰ From Lat. “*plurimj alij nostri*” [many others of us].

¹¹ From Lat. “*nobis fideliter precepturi*” [faithfully warn/command/rule us].

54 Yael

Headnotes

Source: A SKB A 108, p. 217:2–15 (1400–50).

Parallel text: ~

Original text: **SelTro** 174 (no. 5).

Editions: A *SjäTrö* 256; *SjäTrö* K 345.

Edition (A SKB A 108)

Man finder oc scrifwat eeth annat thesso likt

Thet war een heet zisara / han stridde oc oppa iudhana oc byriadhe

- 3 hæria thera land / Han giordhe manga **Æ**nkior oc fadherløs barn /
Manga rika giordhe han fatika / oc otalika læth han myrdha oc dræpa /
Thentidh komo iudhane saman / oc striddo mot honom / oc zisara
6 tapadhe stridhena / **H**an sprang aff sinom waghñ oc grep fluctena
Han kom thrøtter til ena qwinno hws heeth iael / oc badh gifwa
sik drikka / **T**ha han hafdhe drukkit wilde han sik hwila / oc laghdhe
9 sik nidher at sofwa / **J**ael tok mædhan han soff een langan iærñ-
spiik oc een storan hamar **o**c satte spikin oppa hans thynning oc slogh
honom then spikin gynom hans hofwdh oc næghilde hofwdhit widh
12 iordhena / litit æpte komo hans fianda som honum søkto oc furno
han ther dødhan liggiane / **S**wa tok han aff ene qwinno sin ænda ther
manga froma men hafdhe latit dræpa

Translation

Another [tale] similar to that [of Judith] is also found written.

There was a man called Sisera. He waged war against the Jews and started to harry their land. He created many widows and orphans. He made many rich people poor

2–3 han ... land] De herede dat yodessche lant *SelTro*. 3 Han] vnde *SelTro*. 4 Manga ... fatika] ~ *SelTro*; otalika] vele *SelTro*. 4–5 læth ... dræpa] mordede *SelTro*. 5 saman] ~ *SelTro*. 6 Han] vnde *SelTro*. 7 Han] vnde *SelTro*; kom thrøtter] ~ *SelTro*; hws] hws hws A; iael] ia[h]el A. 8 drikka] drinken. Dar gaff se eme melk drinken *SelTro*. 8–9 oc ... sofwa] ~ *SelTro*. 9 Jael] Ja[h]el A. 11 hofwdhit] en *SelTro*. 12 litit æpte] Dar na *SelTro*. 13 dødhan] ~ *SelTro*. 13–14 aff ... dræpa] synen ende *SelTro*.

and had countless people murdered and killed. Then the Jews gathered together and fought against him, and Sisera lost the battle. He jumped from his chariot and fled. Weary, he came to the house of a woman called Yael [or: Jael, Jahel] and asked her for something to drink. When he had drunk, he wanted to rest and lay down to sleep. While he was sleeping, Yael took a long iron spike¹ and a large hammer and placed the spike against his temple and struck the spike through his head and nailed his head to the ground. Shortly afterwards his enemies who were looking for him arrived and found him lying there dead. Thus, he who had many pious men killed met his end at the hands of a woman.

¹ That is a 'tent pin' (Judges 4:21: "יתד האהל" *JPS*; "clavus tabernaculi" *Vulg.*). In the OSw. Bible translation, we read: "þa togh iahel abers hwstru dōra spiken / medh hwilken tiælsens dør plæghadis til stængias oc ther medh togh hon en storan iærn / hammar oc gik lønligha medh tysto in ther som hærgreffwen sysara sik hwilte · oc satte spiken vppa manzens tynningh / oc sloo til starkligha medh jærn hammaren / oc jnfæste spiken j hiærnan nidher til iordhena / oc swa tilføgde sysara sømpnenom dødhen" (SKB A 1, f. 171v, *SMB* II 80) [Then Yael, Heber's wife, took the door-spike with which the door to the tent was usually held closed and with that she picked up an iron hammer and walked secretly in silence into (the place) where the general Sisera was resting. And (she) placed the spike upon his temple and struck (it) hard with the iron hammer and the spike fastened his brain down to the ground. And so Sisera added death to his sleep.]

List of Works

ABrade

Title: *Anna Brades Bønnebog* (ODa.)
Description: Anne Brade's prayer book from 1497.
Source: DKB Thott 553 4^o (1497).
Edition: *BønneB* II 21–283.

AlleEpocEu

Title: *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (ODa.)
Description: Christiern Pedersen's *Book of Miracle Sermons* (Danish: *Jærtegnspostillen*).
Source: Christiern Pedersen, *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia som lesiss alle Søndage om aared, sameledis lule dag Paaske dagh, Pingetz dag. meth deriss vdydning oc glose oc eth lertegen till huer dag meth flere artickle som alle menniske nyttelige ere* (Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius [*Josse Bade*], 1515) [LN 208]. There are two foliations in use: the modern, correct foliation, which comes first, and the original, incorrect foliation, which is placed afterwards in square brackets.
Edition: The winter part in *ChrPed Skr I* and the summer part in *ChrPed Skr II* 1–270.

AlleEpocEu (1518)

Title: *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (ODa.)
Description: Christiern Pedersen's *Book of Miracle Sermons* (Danish: *Jærtegnspostillen*).
Source: Christiern Pedersen, *Alle Epistler och Euangelia som lesiss alle Søndage om aared. met deriss vdydninger oc gloser. Item lule dag. Paaske dag. Pingetz dag. Nw nyglige corrigerede oc satte met flere Artickle som alle menniske nyttelige ere*, ed. Henrik Smith (Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1518) [LN 209].
Edition: ~

AnnalesFratMin

Title: *Annales fratrum minorum Visbyensium* (Lat.)
Description: The diary of the Franciscan Monastery in Visby, Gotland, from 686 until 1525.
Source: SKB B 99 (1300–1549).
Edition: "Diarium Minoritarum Wisbyensium ab anno 686 ad annum 1525," in *Annales suecici medii aevi*, ed. Göte Paulsson, Bibliotheca historica Lundensis, vol. 32 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1974), 32–39; Evert Melefors and Eva Odelman, eds,

Visbyfranciskanernas bok: handskriften B 99 i Kungliga biblioteket, Arkiv på Gotland, vol. 5 (Visby: Gotlands kommunarkiv, 2008).

Beskærm

- Title: *Hvem kirken benægter sin beskærmelse* (ODa.)
 Description: List of those who are forbidden asylum and the protection of the Church; rubric: “Tesse effterschreffne forbywder then helghe kerke syn hegn oc beskermelse”.
 Source: DAS AM 683 a 4^o, f. 3v (c. 1500).
 Edition: “Hvem kirken benægter sin beskærmelse,” in *Fragmenter af gammeldanske Haandskrifter*, ed. Paul Diderichsen (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 1931–37), 179.

BonavBetrakt

- Title: *Bonaventuras Betragtelse* (OSw.)
 Description: Translation of Pseudo-Bonaventure’s *Meditationes vitae Christi*.
 Source: LUB Mh 20 (c. 1420); SKB A 49 (1400–1500); SKB A 3 (1502).
 Edition: Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Bonaventuras Betragtelse öfver Christi Lefverne. Legenden om Gregorius af Armenien*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 15 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1860).

BonavMedit

- Title: *Bonaventuras Meditationes* (ODa.)
 Description: Translation (via OSw.) of Pseudo-Bonaventure’s *Meditationes vitae Christi*.
 Source: SKB A 31 (c. 1500).
 Edition: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, ed., *Bonaventura: Tre skrifter i gammeldansk oversættelse. Duplikeret til brug for Ordbog over det ældre danske Sprog* (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1968).

Bonda

- Title: Peder Månsson’s *Bondakunst* (OSw.)
 Description: The text is largely based on Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella’s *De re rustica*.
 Source: SKB X 502 (1516/19).
 Edition: John Granlund, ed., *Peder Månssons Bondakunst jämte parallelltexter*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 75 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1983).

BønneB II

- Title: *Middelalderens danske Bønnebøger*, vol. 2 (ODa.)
 Description: 21–283: see *ABrade*.
 287–330: see *BønneB AM 418,12*.
 Edition: Karl Martin Nielsen, ed., *Middelalderens danske Bønnebøger*, vol. 2
 (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1949).

BønneB III

- Title: *Middelalderens danske Bønnebøger*, vol. 3 (ODa.)
 Description: 3–175: see *BønneB AM 75,8*.
 179–473: see *VisdSp*.
 Edition: Karl Martin Nielsen, ed., *Middelalderens danske Bønnebøger*, vol. 3
 (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1957).

BønneB IV

- Title: *Middelalderens danske Bønnebøger*, vol. 4 (ODa.)
 Description: 155–214: see *Mlssd*.
 242–81: see *MLauridsd*.
 Edition: Karl Martin Nielsen, ed., *Middelalderens danske Bønnebøger*, vol. 4
 (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1963).

BønneB AM 75,8

- Title: *Bønnebog i AM 75 8^o* (ODa.)
 Description: Prayer book from c. 1500.
 Source: DAS AM 75 8^o (c. 1500).
 Edition: *BønneB III* 3–175.

BønneB AM 418,12

- Title: *Bønnebog i AM 418 12^o* (ODa.)
 Description: Prayer book from c. 1500.
 Source: DAS AM 418 12^o (c. 1500).
 Edition: *BønneB II* 287–330.

BU I

Title: *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser: Bok I* (OSw.)
 Description: OSw. version of Book 1 of St Birgitta of Sweden's *Revelations*.
 Source: SKB A 33 (c. 1450).
 Edition: Birgitta Birgersdotter, *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser efter gamla handskrifter: Första boken*, ed. Gustaf E. Klemming, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 14, no. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1857–58), 1–210.

BU II

Title: *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser: Bok II* (OSw.)
 Description: OSw. version of Book 2 of St Birgitta of Sweden's *Revelations*.
 Source: SKB A 33 (c. 1450).
 Edition: Birgitta Birgersdotter, *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser efter gamla handskrifter: Andra boken*, ed. Gustaf E. Klemming, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 14, no. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1857–58), 211–304.

BU IV

Title: *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser: Bok IV* (OSw.)
 Description: OSw. version of Book 4 of St Birgitta of Sweden's *Revelations*.
 Source: SKB A 5 a (1420–40).
 Edition: Birgitta Birgersdotter, *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser efter gamla handskrifter: Fjerde boken*, ed. Gustaf E. Klemming, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 14, no. 2 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1860), 1–270.

BU VII

Title: *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser: Bok VII* (OSw.)
 Description: OSw. version of Book 7 of St Birgitta of Sweden's *Revelations*.
 Source: SKB A 5 a (1420–40).
 Edition: Birgitta Birgersdotter, *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser efter gamla handskrifter: Sjunde boken*, ed. Gustaf E. Klemming, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 14, no. 3 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1861), 235–95.
 See also: Birgitta Birgersdotter, *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser. Bok 7 efter Cod. Ups. C 61: diplomatisk utgåva med kommenterande inledning*, ed. Inger Lindell, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 84 (Uppsala: Almqvist och Wiksell, 2000).

ChrOpst

- Title: *Christi Opstandelse* (ODa.)
 Description: A fragment of a poem about the Resurrection.
 Source: SKB *A115 (c. 1325).
 Edition: Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen, ed., *Et gammeldansk Digt om Christi Opstandelse, efter Fragment Stockh. *A115 (c. 1325)*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser, vol. 35, no. 1 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1955).

ChrPed Skr I

- Title: *Christiern Pedersen's Danske Skrifter*, vol. 1 (ODa.)
 Description: See *AlleEpoCEu*.
 Source: *Christiern Pedersen, Alle Epistler oc Euangelia som lesiss alle Søndage om aared, sameledis lule dag Paaske dagh, Pingetz dag. meth deriss vdydning oc glose oc eth lertegen till huer dag meth flere artickle som alle menniske nyttelige ere* (Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1515) [LN 208].
 Edition: Carl Joakim Brandt and Rasmus Theodor Fenger, eds, *Christiern Pedersens Danske Skrifter*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandling, 1850).

ChrPed Skr II

- Title: *Christiern Pedersen's Danske Skrifter*, vol. 2 (ODa.)
 Description: 1–270: see *AlleEpoCEu*.
 280–414; see *VorFrT*.
 419–76; see *Messe*.
 Edition: Carl Joakim Brandt and Rasmus Theodor Fenger, eds, *Christiern Pedersens Danske Skrifter*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandling, 1851).

ChrPed Skr V

- Title: *Christiern Pedersen's Danske Skrifter*, vol. 5 (ODa.)
 Description: 1–128: *Kejser Karl Magnus*.
 129–314: *Kong Olger Danske*.
 315–517: *Danske Krøniker*.
 Edition: Carl Joakim Brandt and Rasmus Theodor Fenger, eds, *Christiern Pedersens Danske Skrifter*, vol. 5 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandling, 1856).

ChrPed Voc

- Title: Christiern Pedersen's *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum* (ODa.)
- Description: An early Latin–Danish dictionary based on Ambrosius Calepinus's *Dictionarium*.
- Source: Christiern Pedersen, *Uocabularium ad vsum dacorum ordine litterario cum eorum vulgari interpretatione diligenter et fideliter collectum* (Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius [Josse Bade], 1510) [LN 216].
- Edition: Christiern Pedersen, *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum*, ed. Inger Bom and Niels Haastrup, Det 16. århundredes danske vokabularier, vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 1973).

CronGuth

- Title: *Cronica Guthilandorum* (OSw.)
- Description: An account of the history of Gotland by the Gotland-born cleric Hans Nielssøn Strelew (1580s–1656).
- Source: Hans Nielsson Strelew, *Cronica Guthilandorum. Den Guthilandiske Cronica. Huor udi beskriufuis / huorledis Guthiland er opsøgt oc paafundet ... saa meget som hafuer været at sancke oc udsøge* (Copenhagen: Melchior Martzan, 1633).

DagSjT

- Title: *Dagens sju tidegärder* (OSw.)
- Description: Translations of the Seven Hours of the Day together with the Apostolic Creed and the Twelve Steps of Humility.
- Source: SKB A 54, ff. 52r–53v (1410–1500 [1431–69]).
- Edition: Robert Geete, ed., *Skrifter till uppbyggelse från medeltiden: En samling af utläggningar på svenska öfver kyrkans lärobegrepp, sakrament, ceremonier, botdisciplin m. m. Efter gamla handskrifter*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 36 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1902), 213–31.

DanTeachM

- Title: *A Danish Teacher's Manual of the Mid-Fifteenth Century* (ODa.)
- Description: The Book of Lucidarius and a variety of shorter texts including *Pseudo-Matthaei evangelium* [*The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*], the Vision of the Elizabeth of Schönau, and several songs.
- Source: DAS AM 76 8^o (c. 1450–1500).
- Edition: Sigurd Kroon et al., eds, *A Danish Teacher's Manual of the Mid-Fifteenth Century: Codex AM 76, 8^o*, vol 1: *Transcription and Facsimile*, Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps societeten i Lund, vol. 85 (Lund: Lund University Press, 1993).

DePassDom

- Title: *De Passione Domini (NKS 129)* (ODa.)
- Description: Jon Mortensen's handwritten copy of a now lost Ghemen print of a devotional work describing the Passion. The text is identical to that in DAS AM 21 4^o, ff. 184r–192r.
- Source: DKB NKS 129 4^o, ff. 8v–16v: “Modus confitendi utilis valde sua peccata in specie secundum singulos peccandi modos confiteri volentibus. Paa gammel Dansk. Ex impresso in 4to sine mentione loci vel anni.”
- Edition: Christian Bruun, ed., *Modus confitendi: De passione Domini. Et tabt dansk Skrift fra ca. 1500* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1866).

EHolgersd

- Title: *Else Holgersdatters Tidebog* (ODa.)
- Description: Else Holgersdatter's Book of Hours.
- Source: DKB GKS 1613 4^o (1500–25).
- Edition: *BønneB* IV 1–92.

EnYnkH

- Title: *Sjælens og Kroppens Trætte* (ODa.)
- Description: An edifying text for the sick and dying in the form of a dialogue between the soul and the body.
- Source: *Her begyndes en ynkelige historie aff een fortabede siel Ther gjorde stoor kæremoll paa kroppen Ath hon war fordømth tijl helwidis pijn* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, 1510) [LN 119].
- Edition: *SjKrTræt*.

FemMos

- Title: *De fem Moseböcker* (OSw.).
- Description: The OSw. Pentateuch Paraphrase (ff. 5ra–148ra).
- Source: SKB A 1, ff. 1ra–148ra (1526).
- Edition: Olof Thorell, ed., *Fem Moseböcker på fornsvenska enligt Cod. Holm. A 1*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 60 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955–59).

FsvLeg I

- Title: *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 1 (OSw.)
- Description: A legendary based largely on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*.
- Source: Int.al.: SKB A 34 (c. 1350), UUB C 528 (1400–50), SRA E 8900 (1450–70), LSB B 70 a (c. 1525).
- Edition: George Stephens, ed., *Ett forn-svenskt legendarium: innehållande medeltids kloster-sagor om helgon, påfvar och kejsare ifrån det I:sta till det XIII:de århundradet. Efter gamla Handskrifter. Första bandet*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 7, no. 1 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1847–51).

FsvLeg II

- Title: *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 2 (OSw.)
- Description: A legendary based largely on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*.
- Source: Int.al.: SKB A 34 (c. 1350), UUB C 528 (1400–50), SRA E 8900 (1450–70), LSB B 70 a (c. 1525).
- Edition: George Stephens, ed., *Ett forn-svenskt legendarium: innehållande medeltids kloster-sagor om helgon, påfvar och kejsare ifrån det I:sta till det XIII:de århundradet. Efter gamla Handskrifter. Andra bandet*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 7, no. 2 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1851–58).

FsvLeg III

- Title: *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 3 (OSw.)
- Description: A legendary based largely on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*.
- Source: Int.al.: SKB A 34 (c. 1350), UUB C 528 (1400–50), SRA E 8900 (1450–70), LSB B 70 a (c. 1525).
- Edition: George Stephens and Fredrik A. Dahlgren, eds, *Ett forn-svenskt legendarium: innehållande medeltids kloster-sagor om helgon, påfvar och kejsare ifrån det I:sta till det XIII:de århundradet. Efter gamla Handskrifter. Tredje bandet*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 7, no. 3 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1874).

FsvLeg PAW I

- Title: *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 1, ed. Per-Axel Wiktorsson (OSw.)
- Description: A legendary based largely on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. Introduction and indices.
- Source: Int.al.: SKB A 34 (c. 1350), UUB C 528 (1400–50), SRA E 8900 (1450–70).
- Edition: Per-Axel Wiktorsson, ed., *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 1, Skara stiftshistoriska sällskaps skriftserie, vol. 10, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 102 (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2020).

FsvLeg PAW II

- Title: *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 2, ed. Per-Axel Wiktorsson (OSw.)
 Description: A legendary based largely on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. Text edition.
 Source: Int.al.: SKB A 34 (c. 1350), UUB C 528 (1400–50), SRA E 8900 (1450–70).
 Edition: Per-Axel Wiktorsson, ed., *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 2, Skara stiftshistoriska sällskaps skriftserie, vol. 100, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 102 (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2020).

FsvLeg PAW III

- Title: *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 3, ed. Per-Axel Wiktorsson (OSw.)
 Description: A legendary based largely on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. Text edition.
 Source: Int.al.: SKB A 34 (c. 1350), UUB C 528 (1400–50), SRA E 8900 (1450–70).
 Edition: Per-Axel Wiktorsson, ed., *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 3, Skara stiftshistoriska sällskaps skriftserie, vol. 100, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 102 (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2020).

FsvLeg PAW IV

- Title: *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 4, ed. Per-Axel Wiktorsson (OSw.)
 Description: A legendary based largely on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. Translation into modern Swedish.
 Source: Int.al.: SKB A 34 (c. 1350), UUB C 528 (1400–50), SRA E 8900 (1450–70).
 Edition: Per-Axel Wiktorsson, ed., *Fornsvenska legendariet*, vol. 4, Skara stiftshistoriska sällskaps skriftserie, vol. 100, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 102 (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2020).

FsvLeg VJ

- Title: *Fornsvenskt legendarium*, ed. Valter Jansson (OSw.)
 Description: A legendary based largely on Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*.
 Source: SKB A 34 (c. 1350).
 Edition: Valter Jansson, ed., *Fornsvenska legendariet*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 55 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1938).

GdaLæseb

Title: *Gammeldansk Læsebog* (ODa.)
 Description: A modern anthology of Old Danish texts.
 Edition: Nelly Uldaler and Gerd Wellejus, eds, *Gammeldansk Læsebog* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1968).

GldBib M

Title: *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse*, ed. Christian Molbech (ODa.)
 Description: The Old Danish Bible Translation: Genesis–Ruth.
 Source: DKB Thott 8 2^o, ff. 1ra–211va (1475–50).
 Edition: Christian Molbech, ed., *Den ældste danske Bibel-Oversættelse eller det Gamle Testamentes otte første Bøger, fordanskede efter Vulgata. Første Gang udgivne, efter et Haandskrift fra det femtende Aarhundrede i det store Kongelige Bibliothek, med Anmærkninger og et dansk-latinsk Glossarium* (Copenhagen: Seidelin, 1828).

GldBib I

Title: *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse*, vol. 1 (ODa.)
 Description: The Old Danish Bible Translation: 1 Samuel (“første konnyngens boogh”).
 Source: DKB Thott 8 2^o, ff. 211va–238vb (1475–50).
 Edition: *Gammeldansk Bibeloversættelse: Den utrykte del I. Duplikeret til brug for Ordbog over det ældre danske Sprog* (Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1968).

GldBib II

Title: *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse*, vol. 2 (ODa.)
 Description: The Old Danish Bible Translation: 2 Samuel (“thæn annæn konnynges boogh”).
 Source: DKB Thott 8 2^o, ff. 238vb–264va (1475–50).
 Edition: *Gammeldansk Bibeloversættelse: Den utrykte del II. Duplikeret til brug for Ordbog over det ældre danske Sprog* (Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1969).

GldBib III

Title: *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse*, vol. 3 (ODa.)
 Description: The Old Danish Bible Translation: 1 Kings (“thæn thrydhie konnyngs · bogh”).
 Source: DKB Thott 8 2^o, ff. 264va–294rb (1475–50).
 Edition: *Gammeldansk Bibeloversættelse: Den utrykte del III. Duplikeret til brug for Ordbog over det ældre danske Sprog* (Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1969).

GldBib IV

Title: *Den Gammeldanske Bibeloversættelse*, vol. 4 (ODa.)
 Description: The Old Danish Bible Translation: 2 Kings 1–23:18 (“thæn fierdhe bogh”).
 Source: DKB Thott 8 2^o, ff. 294rb–329rb (1475–50).
 Edition: *Gammeldansk Bibeloversættelse: Den utrykte del IV. Duplikeret til brug for Ordbog over det ældre danske Sprog* (Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1969).

Gregorius

Title: *Gregorius av Armenien* (OSw.)
 Description: Translation of Symeon the Metaphrast’s legend of St Gregory of Armenia.
 Source: SKB A 49, ff. 63r–102v (1400–1500).
 Edition: “Tillägg af Legendan om Gregorius af Armenien : i fullständigt ehuru något yngre skick. Efter Kongl. Bibliothekets pappershandskrift, från medlet af 1400-talet, med gammalt märke (Antiquitets-Arkivets) A 39 [*error for A 49*],” in *Bonaventuras Beträktelser öfver Christi Lefverne. Legendan om Gregorius af Armenien*, ed. Gustaf E. Klemming, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 15 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1860), 350–419.

GVB

Title: *Gustav Vasas Bibel* (Sw.)
 Description: An early modern Swedish (Lutheran) translation of the Bible.
 Source: *Biblia, Thet är: All then Helgha Scrifft på Swensko* (Uppsala: Jürgen Richolff, 1541).

HanTau FemMB

- Title: Hans Tausen's *Fem Mosebøger* (Da.)
 Description: An early modern Danish (Lutheran) translation of the Pentateuch.
 Source: *Det Gamle Testamente / Med tro oc flijt fordansket aff M. Hans Tauseen / Predicker wdi Kiøbenhaffn* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotter, 1535).
 Edition: Bjørn Kornerup, ed., *Hans Tausens Oversættelse af de fem Mosebøger. [Facsimiletryk]* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard · Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1932).

HellKv

- Title: *De Hellige Kvinder* (ODa.)
 Description: A book of hagiographic materials translated from Latin at the Birgittine monastery in Mariager, Jutland.
 Source: SKB K 4 (1488).
 Edition: Carl Joakim Brandt, ed., *De hellige Kvinder: En Legende-Samling*, Skrifter udg. af Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie (Copenhagen: Gad, 1859).

HrMich

- Title: *Herr Michaels Rimværker* (ODa.)
 Description: Three religious poems composed by Michael Nicholai(?), priest in St Alban's Church, Odense, in 1496.
 Source: *De creatione rerum* (Copenhagen: Poul Ræff, 1514) [LN 175]; *De vita hominis* (Copenhagen: Poul Ræff, 1514) [LN 176]; *Expositio pulcherrima super rosario beate marie virginis* (Copenhagen: Poul Ræff, 1515) [LN 177].
 Edition: Christian Molbech, ed., *Præsten i Odense Herr Michaels tre danske Riimværker fra A. 1496: Om Jomfru Mariæ Rosenkrands, Om Skabelsen, Og om det menneskelige Levnet. Efter den kiøbenhavnske Udgave af 1516 paa ny udgivne, med Oplysninger og Ordforklaringer* (Copenhagen: Samfundet for den danske Litteraturs Fremme, 1836).

JesuBarndB

- Title: *Jesu Barndoms Bog* (ODa.)
 Description: A devotional work describing Jesus' family and his life as a child and teenager.
 Source: *Hær begynnes aff Joachim oc aff sancta Anna oc aff hwat slæct the ære fodh oc aff theris leffnet Oc saa aff Jomfrw marie leffnet oc aff wors herre ihesu barndom* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, c. 1508) [LN 21].
 Edition: Jacob Peter Jacobsen and Richard Jacob Paulli, eds, *Danske Folkebøger fra 16. og 17. Århundrede*, vol 1 (Copenhagen: s. n., 1915), 29–105.

JesuPassV

- Title:** *Jesu Passionsvandring* (ODa.)
- Description:** A devotional work describing the Passion.
- Source:** *Hær begynnes the fæmthen stæder som wor herre tolde syn pyne paa oc hoo som the betencker hwer daw i sith hierthe then forthiener stor affladh* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, 1509) [LN 259].
- Edition:** Hans Osterfeld Lange, ed., *Jesu Passionsvandring. Opbyggelseskraft trykt i København 1509 af Gotfred af Ghemen. Faksimiletryk* (Århus: Aarhus Stiftsbogtrykkeri, 1915).

Karlskr

- Title:** *Karlskrönikan* (OSw.)
- Description:** A verse chronicle in Swedish, written at the behest of the Swedish king Karl Knutsson Bonde, that relates the story of the Swedish nobility from 1390 until 1452.
- Source:** SKB D 6, pp. 3–252 (1430–52); SKB D 2, ff. 53r–141r (1400–1500).
- Edition:** Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Svenska medeltidens rim-krönikor: Andra delen. Nya eller Karls-Krönikan. Början af Unions-Striderna samt Karl Knutssons Regering. 1389–1452. Efter en original-handskrift*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 17, no. 2 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1866).

Kläs

- Title:** *Klosterläsning* (OSw.)
- Description:** A collection of religious texts dating from c. 1385 and probably originating at Vadstena monastery.
- Source:** SKB A 110 (c. 1385).
- Edition:** Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Klosterläsning: Järteckensbok, Apostla gerningar, Helga manna lefverne, legender, Nichodemi evangelium. Efter gammal handskrift*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 22 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1877–78).

KlosterB

- Title:** *En Klosterbog* (ODa.)
- Description:** The Book of Lucidarius and a variety of shorter texts including *Pseudo-Matthaei evangelium* [*The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*], the Vision of the Elizabeth of Schönau, and several songs.
- Source:** DAS AM 76 8^o (1450–1500).
- Edition:** Marius Kristensen, ed., *En Klosterbog fra Middelalderens Slutning (AM 76, 8)*, Samfund til Udgivelse af Gammel Nordisk Litteratur, vol. 54 (Copenhagen: Jørgensen, 1933).
- See also:** *DanTeachM*.

KonA1

Title: *Konung Alexander* (OSw.)
 Description: The romance of King Alexander in verse.
 Source: SKB D 4, ff. 110r–199v (1400–50).
 Edition: Gustaf E. Klemming and Johann A. Ahlstrand, eds, *Konung Alexander: En medeltids dikt från latinet vänd i svenska rim omkring år 1380 på föranstaltande af riksdrotset Bo Jonsson Grip. Efter den enda kända handskriften*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 12 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1855–62).

Lægeb. [Harp.?] A

Title: *Lægebog, A* (ODa.)
 Description: Medical handbook, possibly by Henrik Harpestræng.
 Source: DKB Thott 710 4^o, ff. 27v–33r, 38r–41v (1450–1500).
 Edition: *Lægebøger – Bondepraktika – Griseldis: Duplikeret til brug for Ordbog over det ældre danske Sprog* (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1970), 1–146.

Lægeb. [Harp.?] B

Title: *Lægebog, B* (ODa.)
 Description: Medical handbook, possibly by Henrik Harpestræng.
 Source: UUB D 600, pp. 196–230 (1450–1500).
 Edition: *Lægebøger – Bondepraktika – Griseldis: Duplikeret til brug for Ordbog over det ældre danske Sprog* (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1970), 1–146.

Lægeb. [Harp.?] C

Title: *Lægebog, C* (ODa.)
 Description: Medical handbook, possibly by Henrik Harpestræng.
 Source: DKB NKS 314 b 4^o, ff. C2r–F4r (c. 1500).
 Edition: *Lægebøger – Bondepraktika – Griseldis: Duplikeret til brug for Ordbog over det ældre danske Sprog* (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1970), 1–146.

LegAur

- Title: Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea* (Lat.)
 Description: A collection of saints' legends (*The Golden Legend*, 1263–73).
 Edition: Iacopo da Varazze [Jacobus de Voragine], *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, 2nd edn, *Millennio Medievale*, vol. 6 (Florence: SISMEL, 1999) [2 vols paginated as one].

Mandev

- Title: *Mandevilles Rejse* (ODa.)
 Description: *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* in ODa. translated from Latin.
 Source: SKB M 307 (1459).
 Edition: Marcus Lorenzen, ed., *Mandevilles Rejse i gammeldansk Oversættelse tillige med En Vejleder for Pilgrimme* (Copenhagen: S. L. Møller, 1882), 1–206.

MariagerLeg

- Title: *Mariager Legendehåndskrift* (ODa.)
 Description: An ODa. legendary from the Birgittine Abbey in Mariager.
 Source: DKB GKS 1586 4^o (1488).
 Edition: Gunnar Knudsen, ed., *Mariager Legende-Haandskrift* (Copenhagen: Møller, 1917–30).

Mariakl

- Title: *Mariaklagen* (ODa.)
 Description: A Marian plaint written using runes.
 Source: SKB A 120 (c. 1325).
 Edition: Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen and Aage Rohmann, eds, *Mariaklagen efter et runeskrevet Haandskrift-Fragment i Stockholms kgl. Bibliotek* (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1929).

MEMST

- Title: *Miraculorum et exemplorum memorabilium sui temporis* (Lat.)
 Description: A collection of miracles and exempla, also known as *Bonum universale de apibus*, from c. 1259 that includes the tale of Rachel, the Jewish girl who converted to Christianity.
 Source: Thomas de Cantimpré, *Miraculorum et exemplorum memorabilium sui temporis*, ed. George Colvenerius (Douai: Bellerus, 1597).

Messe

Title: *Bog om Messen* (ODa.)
 Description: Christiern Pedersen's *Book on How to Attend Mass*.
 Source: Christiern Pedersen, *I denne bog leriss at høre messe* (Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius [*Josse Bade*], 1514) [LN 206].
 Edition: ChrPed Skr II 419–76.

MidDaL

Title: *En Middelalderlig Dansk Lægebog* (ODa.)
 Description: A medical handbook.
 Source: DKB Thott 249 8^o (1400–50).
 Edition: Poul Hauberg, ed., *En Middelalderlig Dansk Lægebog* (Copenhagen: Henrik Koppel, 1927).

Mlssd

Title: *Marine Issdatters Bønnebog* (ODa.)
 Description: Marine Issdatter's prayer book.
 Source: DK GKS 1614 4^o (1475–1500).
 Edition: *BønneB* IV 155–214.

MLauridsd

Title: *Marine Lauridsdatters Bønnebog* (ODa.)
 Description: Marine Lauridsdatter's prayer book.
 Source: DAS AM 423 12^o (1500–1600).
 Edition: *BønneB* IV 242–81.

OpbygSkr

Title: *Opbyggelige Skrifter* (ODa.)
 Description: A prayer book and breviary.
 Source: SKB A 29 (c. 1500).
 Edition: Unpublished working transcription for *Gammeldansk Ordbog* at Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab.

Pass [AM]

- Title: *Gammeldansk passionstraktat efter DAS AM 72 8^o* (ODa.)
 Description: An ODa. Passion treatise.
 Source: DAS AM 72 8^o (1475–1500).
 Edition: *Gammeldansk passionstraktat. Duplikeret til brug for Ordbog over det ældre danske sprog* (Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1968).

Patrologia Graeca

- Title: *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca* (Gk.)
 Description: An edited collection of writings by the Church Fathers and others in Greek.
 Edition: *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, 161 vols (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1857–66).

Patrologia Latina

- Title: *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina* (Lat.)
 Description: An edited collection of writings by the Church Fathers and others in Latin.
 Edition: *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1841–55).

PLaale [Gh. 1506]

- Title: Peder Laale, *Parabolaes* (Lat., ODa.).
 Description: A collection of proverbs in ODa. and Latin by Peder Laale (fl. second half of fourteenth century).
 Source: Peder Laale, *Parabolaes* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, 1506) [LN 120].
 Edition: Iver Kjær and Erik Petersen, eds, *Danmarks gamle Ordsprog*, vol. 1, no. 1: *Peder Låles Ordsprog* (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1979), 25–169.

Post

- Title: *Den skånske Postil fra Bökkaskogh* (ODa.)
 Description: A sermon collection from the Premonstratensian monastery in Bækkeskov/ Bäckaskog, Skåne, that contains nearly a hundred sermons covering a large part of the liturgical calendar.
 Source: UUB C 56 (1400–1500).
 Edition: *SMP III*.

ProGal

- Title: *Prologus Galeatus* Sancti Hieronymi in Libro Regum (Lat.).
 Description: Jerome's Helmeted Preface to the First Book of Kings (1 Samuel).
 Source: *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*.
 Edition: "Prologus Sancti Hieronymi in Libro Regum," in *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem iussu PII PP. XXI ... Liber Samuhelis ex interpretatione Sancti Hieronymi cum praefatione et variis capitulorum seriebus* (Vatican: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1945), 3–11.

Rimkr. I

- Title: *Den danske Rimkrønike i Ghemen-trykket 1495* (ODa.)
 Description: The ODa. *Rhymed Chronicle* printed in 1495 by Gotfred af Ghemen.
 Source: *Hær begynner then danskæ Kronnickæ well offuerseet oc ræth* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, 1495) [LN 232].
 Edition: Helge Toldberg, ed., *Den danske Rimkrønike*, vol. 1: *Ghementrykket 1495 med variantapparat* (Copenhagen: Schultz, 1961).

SelTro

- Title: *Der Selen Troyst* (MLG)
 Description: The MLG *Consolation of the Soul*.
 Source: SKB Thott 48 2^o (1473).
 Edition: Margarete Schmitt, ed., *Der Große Seelentrost: Ein niederdeutsches Erbauungsbuch des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, *Niederdeutsche Studien*, vol. 5 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1959).

SermSac

- Title: *Sermones sacri Svecice* (OSw.)
 Description: An OSw. sermon collection.
 Source: DAS AM 787 4^o (1450–1500).
 Edition: Roger Andersson, ed., *Sermones sacri Svecice: The Sermon Collection in Cod. AM 787 4^o*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 86 (Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, 2006).
 See also: *SMP* I.

SjæTrø

- Title: *Sjælens Trøst* (ODa.)
- Description: An ODa. translation via Swedish of MLG *Der Selen Troyst (Consolation of the Soul)*.
- Source: UUB C 529 and SKB A 109 (c. 1425).
- Edition: Niels Nielsen, ed., *Sjælens Trøst ("Siæla Trøst") (Cod. Ups. C 529 og Cod. Holm A 109)*, 2 vols, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vol. 316 (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1937–52).

SjäTrö

- Title: *Själens tröst* (OSw.)
- Description: An OSw. translation of MLG *Der Selen Troyst (Consolation of the Soul)*.
- Source: SKB A 108 (1450–1500).
- Edition: Samuel Henning, ed., *Siælinna thrøst: Første delin aff the bokinne / som kallas Siælinna thrøst. Efter cod. Holm. A 108 (f. d. cod. Ängsö)*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 59 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954).

SjäTrö K

- Title: *Själens tröst efter Klemming* (OSw.)
- Description: An edition by Klemming of the OSw. translation of MLG *Der Selen Troyst (Consolation of the Soul)*.
- Source: SKB A 108 (1450–1500).
- Edition: Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Själens tröst: Tio Guds bud förklarade genom legender, berättelser och exempel efter en gammal handskrift*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 19 (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söner, 1871–73).

SjKrTræt

- Title: *Sjælens og Kroppens Trætte* (ODa.)
- Description: An edifying text for the sick and dying in the form of a dialogue between the soul and the body.
- Source: *Her begyndes en ynkelige historie aff een fortabede siel Ther gjorde stoor kæremoll paa kroppen Ath hon war fordømth tijl helwidis pijnne* (Copenhagen: Gotfred af Ghemen, 1510) [LN 119].
- Edition: Poul Lindegård Hjorth, ed., *Sjælens og Kroppens Trætte og Ars Moriendi*, UJDS Skrifter, vol. 440 (Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, 1971).

Skråer

- Title: *Skråer* (ODa.)
 Description: A collection of rules and regulations from guilds in medieval Denmark.
 Source: Various manuscripts (c. 1200–1515).
 Edition: Camillus Nyrop, ed., *Danmarks Gilde- og Lavsskraaer fra Middelalderen*, 2 vols (Copenhagen: Gad, 1895–1904).

SkrUppM

- Title: *Skrifter till uppbyggelse från medeltiden* (OSw.)
 Description: Medieval writings for edification by int.al. Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, St Louis, and Ingeborg Gertsdotter.
 Source: SBB-PK Berol. Theol. Lat. 71 8^o (c. 1470–80); DAS AM 792 4^o (c. 1475–1500); SKB A 3 (1502), A 4 (1476–1519), A 9 (1498–1502), A 10 (c. 1500–25), A 29 (c. 1500), A 49 (1400–1500), A 54 (1410–1500); UUB C 22 (1300–1500), C 47 (c. 1500), C 50 (1450–1500), C 181 (1450–1500).
 Edition: Robert Geete, ed., *Skrifter till uppbyggelse från medeltiden: en samling af moralteologiska traktater på svenska, författade af bl. a. Bonaventura, Thomas af Aquino, Ludvig den Helige, Vadstena-Abbedissan Ingeborg Gertsdotter*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 36 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1904–05).

SMB I

- Title: *Svenska medeltidens bibel-arbeten*, vol. 1 (OSw.)
 Description: OSw. Bible translation (vol. 1): Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, “Afslutande bibliskt-filosofiska spørsmål: ‘Nw spørjom wi først / æn the gamblo moysi lagh waro godh.’”
 Source: DKB Thott 4 4^o (1430–40).
 Edition: Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Svenska medeltidens bibel-arbeten. Efter gamla handskrifter*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 9, no. 1 (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söner, 1848–55).

SMB II

- Title: *Svenska medeltidens bibel-arbeten*, vol. 2 (OSw.)
 Description: OSw. Bible translation (vol. 2): Joshua, Judges, Judith, Esther, Ruth, 1–2 Maccabees, Revelation of St John.
 Source: SKB A 1, ff. 148ra–253vb (1526).
 Edition: Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Svenska medeltidens bibel-arbeten. Efter gamla handskrifter*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 9, no. 2 (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söner, 1853–55).

SMP I

Title: *Svenska medeltidspostillor*, vol. 1 (OSw.)
 Description: An OSw. sermon collection.
 Source: DAS AM 787 2^o (1400–1500).
 Edition: Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Svenska medeltids-postillor efter gamla handskrifter, første delen*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 23, no. 1 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1879).

SMP II

Title: *Svenska medeltidspostillor*, vol. 2 (OSw.)
 Description: An OSw. sermon collection.
 Source: SKB A 27 (1450–1500).
 Edition: Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Svenska medeltids-postillor efter gamla handskrifter, andra delen*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 23, no. 2 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1880).

SMP III

Title: *Svenska medeltidspostillor*, vol. 3 (ODa.)
 Description: An ODa. sermon collection.
 Source: UUB C 56 (1400–1500).
 Edition: Gustaf E. Klemming, ed., *Svenska medeltids-postillor efter gamla handskrifter, tredje delen*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 23, no. 3 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1893).

SMP IV

Title: *Svenska medeltidspostillor*, vol. 4 (OSw.)
 Description: An OSw. sermon collection.
 Source: UUB C 35 (1475–1500).
 Edition: Robert Geete, ed., *Svenska medeltids-postillor efter gamla handskrifter, fjärde delen*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 23, no. 4 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1905–06).

SMP V

Title: *Svenska medeltidspostillor*, vol. 5 (OSw.)
 Description: An OSw. sermon collection.
 Source: LSB T 181 (1475–1500).
 Edition: Robert Geete, ed., *Svenska medeltids-postillor efter gamla handskrifter, femte delen*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 23, no. 5 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1909–10).

SMP VI

Title: *Svenska medeltidspostillor*, vol. 6 (OSw.)
 Description: An OSw. sermon collection.
 Source: LSB T 180, pp. 1–108 (1400–1500).
 Edition: Bertil Ejder, ed., *Svenska medeltids-postillor efter gamla handskrifter, delarna 6 och 7*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 23, no. 6 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1974), 1–132.

SMP VII

Title: *Svenska medeltidspostillor*, vol. 7 (OSw.)
 Description: An OSw. sermon collection.
 Source: LSB T 180, pp. 141–194 (1400–1500).
 Edition: Bertil Ejder, ed., *Svenska medeltids-postillor efter gamla handskrifter, delarna 6 och 7*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 23, no. 7 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1974), 133–65.

SMP VIII

Title: *Svenska medeltidspostillor*, vol. 8 (ODa.)
 Description: An ODa. sermon collection.
 Source: DKB GKS 1390 4^o (1450–1500).
 Edition: Bertil Ejder, ed., *Svenska medeltids-postillor efter gamla handskrifter, del 8*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 23, no. 8 (Lund: Bloms Boktryckeri, 1983). Cf. Carl Joakim Brandt, ed., *Dansk Klosterlæsning fra Middelalderen*, vol. 2: *Kirkeårets Søndags-Evangelier med Udlæggelse fra Advent til Langfredag*, Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1858–65).

SøndEv 170–93

Title: *Kirkeårets Søndags-Evangelier* (ODa.)
 Description: An ODa. sermon collection.
 Source: DKB GKS 1390 4^o, ff. 167r–176r (1450–1500).
 Edition: Carl Joakim Brandt, ed., *Dansk Klosterlæsning fra Middelalderen*, vol. 2: *Kirkeårets Søndags-Evangelier med Udlæggelse fra Advent til Langfredag*, Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1858–65) 170–93.

SpeVir

- Title: *Speculum virginum* (OSw.)
 Description: A didactic treatise on monastic life for women.
 Source: SKB A 8 (1473–86 or later).
 Edition: Robert Geete, ed., *Speculum virginum: Jungfruspegel. Öfvers. från latinet af Mathias Laurentii, munk i Vadstena, Efter den kända handskriften*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 31 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & söner, 1897–98).

Suso ODa.

- Title: *Susos gudelige Visdomsbog* (ODa.)
 Description: An ODa. translation of Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*.
 Source: DAS AM 783 4^o, ff. 1r–145v (c. 1500).
 Edition: Carl Joakim Brandt, ed., *Dansk Klosterlæsning fra Middelalderen*, vol. 1: *Susos gudelige Visdomsbog* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie, 1865).

Suso OSw.

- Title: *Susos Gudelige snilles väckare* (OSw.)
 Description: An OSw. translation of Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*.
 Source: SKB A 4 (1476–1519).
 Edition: Richard Bergström, ed., *Susos gudelige snilles väckare*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 18 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1868–70).

SvBM

- Title: *Svenska böner från medeltiden* (OSw.)
 Description: A collection of OSw. prayers.
 Source: Twenty-six different manuscripts. See *SvBM* vii–xciii.
 Edition: Robert Geete, ed., *Svenska böner från medeltiden. Efter gamla handskrifter*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 38 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1907–09).

Svjpost

- Title: *Svensk Järteckens Postilla* (OSw.)
 Description: Fifteenth-century miracle sermon collection.
 Source: SKB A 111 (1400–1500).
 Edition: Johan Ernst Rietz, ed., *Svensk Järteckens Postilla. Efter en gammal handskrift från Norrige första gången utgifven*, *Scriptores suecici medii ævi cultum culturæ amque respicientes*, vol. 3 (Lund: Berlingska, 1850).

SvKyrkobr

- Title: *Svenska Kyrkobruk under medeltiden* (OSw.)
 Description: Various liturgical texts.
 Source: DAS AM 422 12^o (1450–1500); LSB Saml. 1 a (c. 1500); SKB A 3 (1502), A 9 (1498–1502), A 10 (c. 1500–25), A 49 (1400–1500), A 58 (1487–91), A 80 (1518–32), A 122 (1475–1500), D 4 (1400–30 [1420–45]), Rålamb 44 2^o (1400–1500); SRA E 8822 (c. 1450); UUB C 19 (1300–1500), C 50 (1450–1500), C 74 (1400–1500), C 195 (1479–84), C 213 (1458), C 321 (1475–1500), C 381 (1300–1400).
 Edition: Robert Geete, ed., *Svenska Kyrkobruk under medeltiden: en samling af utläggningar på svenska öfver kyrkans lärobegrepp, sakrament, ceremonier, botdisciplin m.m. Efter gamla handskrifter*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 33 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1900).

Sydr

- Title: *Sydrak* (ODa.)
 Description: *The Book of Sydrach the Philosopher*, a scientific work written as a dialogue.
 Source: DKB NKS 236 4^o (1450–1500).
 Edition: Gunnar Knudsen, ed., *Sydrak: Efter Haandskriftet Ny kgl. Saml. 236 4^o*, Universitets-Jubilæets danske Samfund, vols 251, 267, 294 (Copenhagen: Thiele: 1921–32).

Tung

- Title: *Tungulus* (OSw.)
 Description: The vision of the Underworld seen by the knight Tungulus (Tnugdalus) during the three days and nights he was unconscious.
 Source: SKB D 3 (c. 1488); SKB D 4 a (c. 1448, 1449–1463).
 Edition: George Stephens and J. A. Ahlstrand, eds, *S. Patriks-sagan, innehållande S. Patrik och hans järtecken, Nicolaus i S. Patriks skärseld och Tungulus. Efter gamla handskrifter*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1844).

VadstNB

- Title: *En Vadstena-nunnas bönbok* (OSw.)
 Description: Old Swedish prayer book.
 Source: DAS AM 422 12^o (1450–1500).
 Edition: Johan Ernst Rietz, ed., *En Wadstena-nunnas bönbok* (Lund: Acad. boktr., 1842).

VejlPilgr

Title: *Vejlede for Pilgrimme* (ODa.)
 Description: A pilgrims' guide to the Holy Land.
 Source: DAS AM 792 4^o, ff. 188ra1–193vb26 (1475–1500).
 Edition: Marcus Lorenzen, ed., *Mandevilles Rejse i gammeldansk Oversættelse tillige med En Vejlede for Pilgrimme* (Copenhagen: S. L. Møller, 1882), 207–25.

VisdSp

Title: *Visdoms Spejl* (ODa.)
 Description: Prayer book from 1500–25.
 Source: DAS AM 82 4^o (1500–1600).
 Edition: *BønneB* III 179–473.

VorFrT

Title: *Vor froe tider* (ODa.)
 Description: Christiern Pedersen's *Our Lady's Book of Hours*.
 Source: Christiern Pedersen, *Her effter begyndiss vor froe tider* (Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius [Josse Bade], 1514) [LN 212].
 Edition: ChrPed Skr II 280–414.

Vulg.

Title: *Biblia sacra*, trans. Jerome.
 Edition: *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem, ad codicum fidem...*, ed. Francis Aidan Gasquet (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1926).

WHPinobok

Title: *Wars Herra Pino bok* (OSw.)
 Description: A collection of religious readings from Vadstena Monastery, including Passion narratives and Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes vitae Christi*.
 Source: SKB A 3 (1502).
 Edition: Jonas Carlquist, ed., *Wars Herra Pino bok. Vadstenasystrarnas bordläsningar enligt Cod. Holm. A 3*, SSFS ser. 1, vol. 87 (Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, 2006).

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Norway, Bergen

BUB: Hannaas 66.

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