
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: “δέσμουν ἐπίσημον” (Gk.), “vinctum insigne” (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 awøtha 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 “prophecy 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 Heffernan (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 Mediaevalia, 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, *AlleEpocEu* (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 Arnemagnæanske 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 swänzska 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); *AlleEpocEu*, 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); *AlleEpocEu*, 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); *AlleEpocEu*, 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 forsmade at kende hannem thii ere de forhaaned oc forsmade aff alle for deriss vantro⁵⁸

[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 forsmade myn lerdøm och bleffue forherdede i deriss ondskaft 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 *AlleEpocEu*, f. 53v [xlvi]; *ChrPed Skr I* 150.

⁵⁹ *AlleEpocEu*, 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·n· 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 *AlleEpocEu*, 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 Christiørn 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 føra 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 føra 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 wræx · 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 wroxx han · oc drogxx 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; *Bonavetrakt* 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 wrækx” [is jeered and mocked], “skwfs ok vændis” [is shoved and turned around], “wrokx” [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 *iupar* [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 blossom 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 hætt longinus forsmade thera grat oc bønne 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 thusand folk standa
 thrættelica mote hanom ⁷⁵
 [The cruel leaders and Pharisees, young and old, many thousands of people stood persistently 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* dōdhenom · ok ræddos at pylatus som hafðhe beuist at han ville gifwa han løsan · skulle atirkalla domin · nøddo en som hæet 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 Literatur 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 amnan stadh nidher
bæther j huseno / oc ther loth han tom
sithia alla oc tith bødth 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 pætars fōtir · nekadhe han · oc vardh vnderlica vidhīr · ok flydde · som honom thikte swa ohūelikit thing · Æn nar han hōrdhe van herra sighia · at han skulle ællighis ække haua lut *medh* honom · vānde han viislica radhit i bætra oc læt sighia sik / Thænk nu vël alla gærningana · oc thu mat vël vndra oppa thet som gōrs / Hōxsta valdit oc ødhmiuktinna mæstare · bōghīr sik · ok lutar sik nidhīr til fiscaranna fōtir · han star nidhīr 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 sittandem twaar oc torkar them *medh* synom eghnom handom / oc kysser allas thera fōther / æn tet gaar ower ødhmiwktena / ath han gōr thet synom fōrradhere 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 væruldēna at prædica : þoþe maria ii iherusalem viþ montem syon : ok gik opta vm kring landet : at vitia þe staþa gesus fodes ok dœptes fastaþe oc predicaþe · iærtigne giorþe ok dœþ 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 passional, 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 Pil Dahlerup, *Dansk litteratur: Middelalder*, vol. 1, 447–75; Pil 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 Nilsdotter’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 Nilsdotter 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*; *SvKyrkobkr*; *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 *Einfühlung* 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 Christiørn 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 lifff 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 død¹¹⁹

[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 *AlleEpocEu*, 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 (*AlleEpocEu*, 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 Jersusalem 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 Christiørn Pedersen's miracle sermon collection, see Jonathan Adams, “Christiørn 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 *AlleEpocEu*, 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 *AlleEpocEu*, 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 *AlleEpocEu*, 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 *AlleEpocEu*, 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 pertransivit” [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 dødzt 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 bedrøf[d>f]d oc wanmektoth 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 pertransibit* / thet ær at eit hwasth sorghenna swerth 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" (< *formæкта* [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 *AlleEpocEu*, f. 118v [cxii]; ChrPed Skr I 351.

135 *AlleEpocEu*, f. 119r [cxiii]; ChrPed Skr I 352. A reader of "eks. 1" [copy 1] in DKB has changed "kwnde" to "kiende" [knew, recognized].

136 *AlleEpocEu*, 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 befohl han sine tienere 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 venscaff 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: "Signadhir 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 werldennæ 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 lata 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 dødth Swa gøræ nu mangæ ledhæ ok forbannædhæ synder mot guth / hwilke han gør mangfalde godhgerningæ medh syndughe 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 kærær 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 dødth 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.]

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 ensamnan 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 sniællø 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 altareno 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 menniskior 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 werdens 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:

þair : þet : hi(a)- : fram : s--(u) : (io)þar : toku | uarn : drotin : ok --Nd- : --N : uiþ- -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 “uiþ- -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 iøder 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 amen” [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 Herschopf, “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* (Περὶ 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 Iudaei: Non occidimus Christum. Etenim propterea eum dederunt iudici 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 Iudaei, occidistis. Unde occidistis? Gladio linguae: acuisitis 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 Augustine, *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 Christiørn 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 *AlleEpocEu*, 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 hannem oc sagde Uii haffue ingen konge vden keyseren Thi fryctede pilatus at de skulde kert hannem for keyseren om han icke ville dømme hannem 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 drøulse mange andre gode menniske 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 *AlleEpocEu*, ff. 117r [cxi] and 120r [cxiii]; *ChrPed Skr* I 345 and 355.

¹⁷⁹ *AlleEpocEu*, f. 119r [cxiiii]; *ChrPed Skr* I 352.

¹⁸⁰ *AlleEpocEu*, 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 korss 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 αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν” [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 vasmectilse 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 **F**ørst træ 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 kors-festir. ok flængdir ok kronadhir Annantidh iærnit medh hulko the ginom stungo mina hændir 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], BUI 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 aldrænæ mæn ij jōdhæ allmughen / hwilke dōdz radh samanlagdhæ mot hannem aff forthænkte ok fulkommen ondskæ” [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 / widærlæ / 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 jōdhænæ 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 intil 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 kænnedom” [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 kænnedom” [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 vdfloth saa ath the thorne ther ind gick at hans welsignede anlede the møthes wedh tynniynghen” [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 wmijlde 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 “vdfloth”) 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 toghe the 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 thetne loynere och swijgere som segh kaller at wære iødes konijng giiffwer 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 finne *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 død 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 megtigeste 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 noger 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.

ffllo 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 dōmdo til skæmmelikasta dōdh
 [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** fōther 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 gōra
 [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 (“miskunsamlīka 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* fōr thæn beska galla drykken som thu drak oc smakade a korseno oc fōr thæn blodhen som nidher flōth i thin mwn aff tōrne krononne / oc fōr iudhanna orena spot / som oc nidher flōt 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 grymlikhet / 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 **O 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 wast mædh slaghin oc støther oc pustadher i ænlitet / oc hæddher mædh knæfallom och helsadher mædh smælike til talan****²²¹

[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” (*iupar*) 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 ynkeliika 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 hærra ihesv christe fôr tith gudelika wal mædh huilko thw wthkôrdhe them thær kôpto oc saldo i mœnstreno Ok fôr qwimona thu frælstæ aff dødhenom som gripin war i hordomenom / oc fôr the idhkelika fœrsator som iudana altidh tik giordho / nar the tik altidh æpther ingo / oc willo tik altidh gripa i thinom ordhom oc gærninggom ok fôr thina gudelika snille oc wisdom mædh hwilkom thu wnkôm 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 iudhanna 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 tórne / oc slogho hoffuodhit mædh rønne / fiöllo 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 hælghasta 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 hard-helica 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 slaghin Ok war ledhír fran annam oc til cayppham / mædh myklom smælek oc obrygdilsom / oc thær mædh grymme oc hwasse tiltalan spordir / 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 drøwile / 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 sōtha 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 æwær-
delikom 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 aterlōsn 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 meenlōs aff falsom witnom kæras Mædh obryghilsom / storom slaghom / oc hwassom gislom mōdhās / pustas / oc sputtas Mædh hwassa naghlomen gynom hānder oc fōter 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 rōwarin / som *mædh* thik korsfæastis Thu thær lifffer 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 dōmdher til dōdhin / riddaromen antwardadher til at korssfæstas Aff them wast thu annantidh wt^(a) fōrdher Oc ather j fōrdher purpur klædhe / kronadher *mædh* torn kronnonne Oc tik til atlōghe war sath en rōø 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* rōnne j hoffwodith Fōrdher 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 · skänkter mædh besko wine blandadho mædh galla Tridia sin aff
klædomen fördher wttandher oppa korsseno Gønom hænder oc føther mædh spikomen
næglider widh korssit / hæddher aff them om tik gingo / oc æmwæl aff androm flerom Tha
tik tørste oppa korsseno / skänkis tik ætikia Mædh nidherbøgdho hoffdhe wpgaff thu thin
anda Stwngin gønom sidhona mædh spiwteno / Nidher takin aff korsseno / jordadher j graff-
winne / 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 dimitio 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 starrkasta 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 sote gudh fore the sorgh ok ængsla Thu hafde aff
 iudanna obrygdilom 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 kænneædhom²³⁹
 [I honour and praise (...) your blessed tongue that taught Jews your holy words and correct teachings.]
 [...] som jwdhom kände 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 ludei 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 multiplicitur 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 hordhe 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 dōma han til dōdh²⁴⁷

[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.