

“WHY HAVE YOU COME?” EMOTIONALITY AND JEWISH-CHRISTIAN
SAMENESS IN AN OLD ICELANDIC *THEOPHILUS* FRAGMENT (AM 655 XIX)

“POR QUE VOCÊ VEIO?” EMOCIONALIDADE E SEMELHANÇAS JUDAICO-
CRISTÃS NO ANTIGO FRAGMENTO ISLANDÊS *THEOPHILUS* (AM 655 XIX)

Colin Fisher¹

Abstract: This article examines a potential function of Jews in Old Norse literature by examining a fragmented version of the *Theophilus* legend as preserved in AM 655 XIX. Rather than focusing on Jews as merely othered by medieval Christians or made absent by their communal nonpresence in medieval Iceland, I follow Adrienne Williams Boyarin in emphasizing the importance of sameness in medieval Christian thinking about Jews. I demonstrate that the emotive qualities of even the fragmented legend evoke a presence and a sameness between the text’s Jew, the titular Christian Theophilus, and the Christian audience. This article shows that, though medieval Iceland did not have a “real” Jewish community, Iceland reproduced and maintained typical medieval Christian attitudes towards Jews that underlined sameness as key to both the cross-religious relationship and Christian self-identity at large.

Keywords: Hagiography, Jews, emotions, *Maríu saga*

Resumo: Este artigo examina uma possível função da presença de judeus na literatura nórdica antiga através da análise de uma versão fragmentada da lenda de *Theophilus*, como preservada no manuscrito AM 665 XIX. Ao invés de me focar nos judeus como meramente alterizados por cristãos medievais, ou tornados ausentes pela sua não-presença enquanto comunidade na Islândia medieval, seguirei Adrienne Williams Boyarin ao enfatizar a importância da semelhança (“sameness”) no pensamento cristão medieval sobre judeus. Demonstrarei que as qualidades emotivas desta lenda, mesmo fragmentada, evocam uma presença, e uma semelhança entre o demonólogo judeu do texto, o cristão (e epónimo) Teófilo, e o público-alvo cristão. O artigo demonstra que, embora a Islândia medieval não tivesse uma comunidade judaica, a Islândia reproduziu e manteve atitudes cristãs medievais típicas relativamente a judeus, que realçam a semelhança como chave para as relações inter-religiosas e para a autoidentificação cristã no geral.

Palavras-chave: hagiografia, judeus, emoções, *Maríu saga*

¹ Colin Fisher is a doctoral student in Icelandic literature at Háskóli Íslands under the supervision of Jan Alexander van Nahl. Their work focuses on Jews and paranormal figures in twelfth and thirteenth century Icelandic literature. They can be reached at cjm3@hi.is. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-4496-3751>

Introduction

The Jew as an entity in Old Norse literature is frequently and necessarily parsed as an absent figure. However, recent research into the phenomenon of the absent Jew in medieval literature as a whole has been qualified by the problematization of the absence/presence dichotomy. Notably, Adrienne Williams Boyarin has preferred a model that responds to the anxious “sameness” between Christians and their perceptions of Jews (Williams Boyarin, 2021, p. 3). This “sameness” disrupts the traditional boundaries of “absence” and “presence.” While Williams Boyarin is ultimately interested in Jewish-Christian relational identities in the context of real contact in medieval England, the expansion of the concept of absence to encompass the theme of similarity provides a fertile analytical framework, even for material produced far from any living Jewish community. Emotively evoking the Jew as a theoretical relation in a space where “Jew” was not a realis category or social concern *still* creates an emotional response in the Christian audience, one that emphasizes a relationship between the Christian audience and the Jew as a literary figure. To explore that theme in Old Norse literature, I examine the oldest extant Old Icelandic version of the popular *Theophilus* legend. I have intentionally chosen to focus on the fragmented text of AM 655 XIX 4to rather than the later, more complete Old Icelandic versions of the miracle to illustrate the pervasiveness of sameness. In emphasizing the text of this short fragment, I demonstrate that medieval Icelandic literary culture was partaking in common contemporary discourses of fearful Jewish-Christian sameness to construct identity. Though this identity-building sameness utilized different aspects of contemporary society in its expression, its methods were dependent on the evocation of emotion.

An empty shelf?

The paucity of secondary literature concerning Jews in Old Norse literature is an artefact borne from historical trends rather than a reflection of the corpus. It is estimated that the material in Old Norse that deals directly with antisemitism is in excess of thirty thousand words, though this number can certainly be expanded (Cole, 2020, p. 49). What little research there has been on Jews in Old Norse literature has tended to focus on the quality of absence. This is perhaps an inevitability borne from reality: there was no living Jewish community in Iceland or indeed in the continental Nordic region until well after the medieval period.

Medieval Iceland can serve as a particularly interesting laboratory for what Jonathan Adams summed up as “the hermeneutic, imaginary, paper, protean, spectral, theological, and virtual Jew” (Adams, 2023, p. 10). The *totality* of this absence potentially blunts the Jew as observed into an entity that is disconnected from rhetorical intention. Cole has suggested that, to an audience of medieval Icelanders unfamiliar with a living community, the more symbolic representations of Jews would have been understood more literally, creating an otherized entity with attributes that separated it from the more visible religiously othered Muslims and pagans (Cole, 2014, p. 352). Adams (2023, pp. 10-11) characterizes the bulk of study into the “imaginary Jew” as a post-presence phenomenon. Post-contact anxieties are of course not a major consideration of the Nordic situation in the Middle Ages, but the potentiality and anticipatory nature of Christian theological treatment of Jews were. The unreal presence of Jews in medieval literature is perhaps best expressed as a form of *hauntology*, where a nonpresent phenomenon “haunts” a narrative or situation. Mark Fisher splits the acute absences in hauntology into a no longer/not yet pair. The situation or entity that is no longer still engenders a traumatic “compulsion to repeat,” while the entity that does not exist yet foments a sense of anticipation (Fisher, 2012, p. 19). England, after the 1290 expulsion of the Jews, was haunted by the specter of the no-longer, repeating Fisher’s “fatal pattern” by producing and reproducing imagery of the exiled. Discursive treatment of Jews in places where there was never a community presence could afford to be more diverse than places with a former, exiled community (Adams, 2023, p. 12). Pre-Hastings England did not have a Jewish community. Nor did, presumably, the North Sea littoral homelands of the Angles and Saxons. Even so, *Beowulf*’s Grendel can be read as related to Jews or a coded Jew through his cursed bloodline, his alienation from God, his persecution of the Christian hero, and his physical monstrosity (Wells, 2023, p. 78). Absent Jews traveled between doctrinal and secular literature for purposes other than the strictly theological. Richard Cole in particular has demonstrated that the Jews of Old Norse literature were not simply doctrinal considerations to be examined as parcel of the religion, but multifunctional entities that could be utilized to illustrate differences in race and heritage (Cole, 2015, pp. 246-247). Coded Jews can also appear in places where their presence is not expected, such as in Cole’s suggestion that Snorri Sturluson borrowed the language of the Red Jews legend for a scene in the *Prose Edda*’s Ragnarok sequence (2017, pp. 261-264).

Fisher's anticipatory hauntology tends to the incitement of future violence, which, again, seems to be irrelevant, absent living medieval Icelandic Jews to persecute. But this future violence is implicit to medieval Christian theology. It can be evoked irrespective of demographics. To use a Norse example, the eschatological dialogues in the Old Icelandic translation of the *Elucidarius* delineate violence against two "types" of Jews:

Discipulus: Høerer farasc ðn dome.

Magister: Þer es for utan log misgerþo sem heipner eþa gv-þingar es efster pisl cristz voro. þuiat ef-ster pisl hans, es enom fornologom iafnat [...]

Discipulus: Huerer farasc ídome.

Magister: Gy-þingar þeir es misgerþo flogom forer pisl christi [...] við þa es melt fareþ er fra mer bolva-þer ield eilifan.

Disciple: Who will perish without Judgment?

Master: Those who sinned outside the law (Rom. 2:12), or the Jews who lived after the passion, of Christ. For after His passion, observation of the old laws is tantamount to idolatry [...]

Disciple: Who will perish in the Judgement?

Master: The Jews who sinned under the law before the passion of Christ [...] To them will be said, Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire. (Scherabon Firchow, 1992, pp. 90-91).²

The Old Norse Jew, removed from the reality of exile, would seem to haunt purely as a fantasy of potentiality. However, the allegory of eschatological potentiality can be made more present by the structuring and emotional weight of the associated text. Apocalypse was not a hypothetical or a long-term consideration for medieval Christians, but a sure, or even present, event, looming just over the horizon. Jews were a necessary fulcrum of the apocalypse, either as instigator or early sign, and were wielded by God as an agent of Christendom's destruction, mimicking how they killed Christ (Gow, 1995, p. 48). The violence against Jews itself requires Jews, for the purpose of enacting even more violence against Jews.

² This section corresponds to the Latin:

D. Qui sunt qui sine iudico pereunt?

M. Qui "sine lege peccaverunt," pagani scilicet et illi Judaei qui fuerunt post passionem Christi. Nam post suam passionem legis observation reputatur idolatriae superstitio [...]

D. Qui iudicantur et pereunt?

M. Judaei qui anti adventum Christi sub lege peccaverunt [...] His dicitur: "Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum." (Scherabon Firchow and Grimstad, 1989, pp. 133-134)

I leave these lines untranslated, as their correspondence with the Old Icelandic is virtually perfect.

This anticipated future violence, embedded within Christian doctrine, is as “real” as the event it supports.

The weight provided by a literally absent figure obscured real-world contact. Familiarity with living Jews, and the presence thereof, did not force that presence to matter. In a court case that began in 1230, Christians and Jews in Norwich attempted to ascertain the heritage and thus possession of a foundling boy by examining his genitals. The key, obvious marker of Christian-Jewish differentiation, the one laid down by God in Genesis and overcome by Christ’s sacrifice leaving Christians with a “circumcised heart,” remained unclear, even in the face of multiple examinations. The Christian authorities in the case eventually declared the boy a Christian *because* of the wounds of circumcision that would at first glance identify him as Jewish: the “Jew-like” injuries to the boy’s person were proof of his similarity to the crucified Christ (Williams Boyarin, 2021, pp. 21-25). The Jewish-Christian boy underwent haunting traumatic repetition to remake him into a Christian. Absence and presence are both haunted by the nonexistent, but the nonexistent is embodied within the real.

Theophilus

The *Theophilus* legend was a popular Christian subject across medieval Europe. The original, in Greek, is usually attributed to the sixth-century Eustachyus of Adana. A ninth-century translation into Latin by Paulus Diaconus became the base for at least fifty extant medieval versions, half in various vernaculars (de Coinci, 2022, p. 5). The basic layout of the legend is as follows: Theophilus, a good and humble man, refuses a promotion to the bishopric after the death of the previous occupant, fearing the seat will make him vain. This backfires on him when the scheming new bishop strips him of both his office and his respect. Impoverished, humiliated, and desperate, he approaches a sorcerer, frequently (but not exclusively) Jewish, who presents him to the Devil. Theophilus signs away his faith in exchange for the return of his former status, but quickly regrets his sin and prays to the Virgin Mary to repent. He wins her help through a prolonged period of prayer and fasting. The devil loses his grip on Theophilus’ soul, sometimes having the original contract physically stolen from him by Mary. Theophilus dies, glad to be a Christian.

The story exists in both verse and prose forms, with the prose texts most often appearing in Marian miracle collections (Root, 2017, pp. 1-3). C. R. Unger collected nine mostly

complete Old Norse versions, primarily from the fourteenth century, in four recensions. The earliest extant Old Icelandic *Theophilus* is a fragment, AM 655 XIX 4to, from the first half of the thirteenth century, consisting of two leaves. Old Icelandic *Theophilus* tales commonly draw from the Latin text by Paulus Diaconus, probably as preserved in the twelfth-century English manuscript Cleopatra C x. fol. 104-109 (Jorgensen, 1994, p. 396). The AM 655 XIX fragment does not appear to be a direct Latin translation and is presumed to be based on a lost Old Icelandic version. This lost text was at least a partial source for the fifteenth-century Holm perg. 1 4to version, as well as (more theoretically) the version in AM 634-635 (Jorgensen, 1994, pp. 400-402). The text in AM 655 XIX 4to takes the usual route of having the demonologist be Jewish. It preserves Theophilus' initial meeting with the Jew, their journey to meet the devil, and then, due to a lacuna of at least one leaf, jumps to his attempts to pray to the Virgin Mary for forgiveness. The story cuts off mid-vision, where Mary is reassuring Theophilus of her mercy. Comparison with the Holm perg. 1 4to and AM 634-635 versions indicates that the fragment in its full form possibly ended with Theophilus' death and subsequent burial in a Marian church, where he awaits resurrection (Unger 1871, pp. 421, 1104). The versions in AM 234 fol, AM 323 fol, and AM 633 4to leave Theophilus unburied but have him accepting the Eucharist before his death (p. 69). The circulation of the miracle into Iceland is testament to both its enduring popularity and Medieval Iceland's connections with broader European trends in literature.

Old Norse emotions

At first glance, investigating the emotive qualities of the Theophilus legend in the Icelandic context run into several problems. The first is the size of the lacuna. The loss of pages from AM 655 XIX 4to removes most of the key happenings in the legend, an objective issue made worse by the systemic marginalization of poorly preserved manuscripts. Joanne Shortt Butler has argued that frustration with the incomplete and poorly preserved manuscripts of *Heiðarvíga saga* has contributed to its treatment as an inferior piece of literature (2020, pp. 148). The second is a more stylistic problem. In comparison to contemporary *Theophilus* texts in other vernaculars, AM 655 XIX 4to reads as rather bloodless. Jorgensen calls it "dry [and] wooden," and speculates that the relative floridity of later Old Icelandic versions speak to an evolving acceptance of personalized stylistic flourishes (1994, pp. 404-405). The efflorescence

might also be a feature of the tale's own popularity: writers were beginning to compose their own versions, detached from the earlier Latin sources, by the tenth century (Root, 2017, p. 4). Old Icelandic literature in general is known for its direct and unadorned style, such that nationalist interpreters of the material praised the masculine terseness of the *Íslendingasögur* while dismissing the foreign, feminine, more emotive romances (Ríkhardsdóttir, 2017, p. 19). A more nuanced understanding of emotionality has been teased out of the Old Icelandic evidence, and the past decade has seen an intense interest in emotions in Old Norse literature. It is true that Old Norse prose romances can feel stripped of the intense bathos of their Old French sources, but this comparison is beholden to the idea that there must be a universal code for expressing emotion. Just as their parent texts, Norse adaptations are encoded with complex emotional cues that the audience certainly would have recognized. Carolyne Larrington finds an excellent example of this regarding the translation of Chretien de Troyes' *Le Conte de Graal* into the Old Norse *Parcevals saga*. The Old Norse version is briefer, subtracting open displays of kissing and weeping in favor of what Larrington calls "a quietly observational tone." At the same time, the text adds the rather intense Norse literary convention that women could die of a broken heart, a possibility absent in the original (Larrington 2015, p. 77-78). The *Íslendingasögur* themselves should not be dismissed as laconic: Larrington, following Gísli Sigurðsson's assertion that the sagas of East Iceland were indebted to a local oral tradition that would have been familiar to their intended audience, argues that this localized tradition brought with it a localized, recognizable matrix of emotionality that would have been particularly affective for a contemporaneous audience (2023, p. 48). Most recently, Brynja Þorgeirsdóttir has shown that the placement of skaldic verse in sagas is part of a complex emotional code where the stanzas, the lexical terms, and the prose text interact in evocative ways (Þorgeirsdóttir, 2025, pp. 167-168). The ability for a text as intentionally immutable and opaque as a skaldic verse to be (re)purposed into emotional coding demonstrates that, while medieval Icelandic tastes do not follow the same emotive scripts as other contemporary vernacular texts, emotive scripting is certainly present, and the emotions scripted can be as deep as in more florid vernaculars. Besides these cultural adaptations, Old Icelandic, for all its laconic reputation, can be bold with its emotional presentation. In the second leaf of AM 655 XIX 4to, a repentant Theophilus declares that he will beg the Virgin to show him mercy "af avllo hiarta oc ollom alhuga" ("with all my heart and soul") and fears that "elldr comi af himni

oc brenne mic" ("fire will come from heaven and burn me") (Unger 1871, pp. XXXI-XXXII). The assumed "woodenness" of AM 655 XIX 4to does not de facto blunt the emotive potentiality for its intended audience.

Terror and blood: evoking the Jew

Emotive use of Jews in medieval Christian texts frequently tended towards violent imagery. Bale characterizes medieval images of Jews as moving between "poles of pain and terror," where they are either the tortured or the torturers (Bale, 2010, p. 26). The tortured Jewish body was a good didactic on multiple fronts, chief of which was its association with the tortured Christ. For a body to be Christlike, it must remain, at the very least, "Jew-ish" (Williams Boyarin, 2021, p. 31). The in-media torture of even a malevolent Jew was a stark reminder of the end of days: every time a Jew is persecuted, they both recall Christ and demonstrate what Williams Boyarin calls the "eschatological hope" that the Jew can be transformed into a Christian (2021, p. 38). These "poles of pain and terror" displayed in medieval literature were not navigated by the singular reader at a desk, but by an individual navigating a much more physical mode of interaction. Both the labor of writing and the labor of reading in the Middle Ages engaged the whole body (Ong, 2002, p. 94). It also tended to be more performative, with the reader having an audience. Bale therefore argues that the emotions described or evoked in and by the text are by necessity more embodied through the physical engagement with the text. Bale likens the "affectiveness" of violence in medieval texts to the reactions a modern person would have to a horror movie (Bale, 2010, pp. 17-19). Horror movies indeed work on a similar multisensory model. Emotive and physiological reactions to multimedia stimuli break down the distinctions between the media and the body experiencing the stimuli, as well as blurring the distinction between the real and unreal (Shaviro, 1993, 254-255). In other words, if the text evokes both an emotional and physiological response from a reader/audience, it further blurs the distinction between absent/present when the text concerns an otherized locus of anxiety. The anticipatory haunting is weighed down and embodied into a figure that straddles the boundaries between real and unreal. The torturing Jew murdering the innocent William of Norwich did not really exist, but, to a medieval Christian encountering a blood libel text, it *felt* like he did. At the same time, elaborate accusations of persecutory violence by Jews should not be taken as the foundational cause of

violence against real Jewish communities. Rather, they were symptoms, part of a larger, older, and more complex continuum of antisemitic sentiment (Bennett, 2005, p. 311). Incitement to violence clarified or popularized by a given text was often truly driven by external factors; for example, Jeffrey J. Cohen has argued that the story of the martyrdom of William of Norwich synthesized the uneasy side-by-side of Norwich Saxons and the newly arrived Anglo-Normans into a more coherent whole, providing a stable group identity that could then pivot to resist the Jews in their midst (2004, p. 62). Though there were limits on how far highly emotive texts could drive real-life behaviors, the evocation and embodiment of extremely heightened emotions of violence and persecution communicated and solidified negative Christian attitudes towards Jews.

The Old Norse corpus engages in the heightened emotionality of the Jew across what can for brevity's sake be called a plethora of genres, and for a variety of reasons. The thirteenth-century *Veraldar saga*, a chronicle compiled in Iceland from several sources, takes a mostly flat historian's tone as it records the history of the world through six ages. The composer of *Veraldar saga* seems to have been quite conversant in some of the antisemitic rhetoric of the day. *Veraldar saga* shows some connection to *Rómverjar saga*, and the *Chronicles* of Bede and Isidore seem to have been structural inspirations, but the material it reports "was common knowledge among learned people" (Würth, 2007, p. 168). A passage from the section on the Fourth Age is striking in its venom:

Þa er vpp leiþ a efi Gyþinga vxo blot oc adrir osidir i Ierosalem af konungum ok ollom Gyðinga lið svo at þeir blotuðv þornom sinom til diofla þacka. En goð sendi spamenn sina Ysaiam ok Ieremiam ok marga aðra at avita þioðina um osiðu ok sægia þeim at hefnd havrð mundi yfir þa koma ef þeir hyrfi eigi af. Gyþingar rako fionum alla Gvðs vini þa er hans erindi boðvðo. (Benediktsson, 1944, pp. 35-36).

Then as the Age of the Jews continued, sacrifice and other bad customs waxed in Jerusalem because of kings and the whole Jewish people so that they sacrificed their children to please devils, but God sent His prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah and many others to teach the people of evil custom and to tell them that there would be strict recompense towards them if they did not cease. The Jews spat hatred on all of God's friends when they brought his word.

The vitriolic nature of the final sentence is in sharp contrast to the rest of the saga's cool detachment. The Biblical context makes the venom even stranger: the charges cast against the sinning people of Israel in the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah are numerous, but do not include an accusation of child sacrifice. Explicit accusations of Israel practicing child sacrifice in times

of sinning against the Lord are present in the Hebrew Bible, with perhaps the most explicit being 2 Kings 17:17, but the Biblical accusations are set earlier than *Veraldar saga's* Fourth Age. It seems that, rather than following the strict example of the Biblical narrative, the composer of *Veraldar saga* is interacting with contemporary blood libels by levying a charge of human sacrifice specifically in the Age of the Jews. Spitting on the Word of God appears in the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and Matthew, when Christ is mocked on his way to the crucifixion (Mark 15:19, Luke Matthew 26:27). The then-emergent libel of host desecration comes into play, as the Jew spitting on the Eucharist is another example of the mocking of the body of God (Stacey, 1998, p. 13). Compounding the strange sharpness of this passage is the saga's actual treatment of the death of Christ, which is dispensed with in one sentence: "A hans dagvǫm var Iesvs Chrístr krosfestur" (During his days [the reign of Emperor Tiberius], Christ was crucified) (Benediktsson, 1944, p. 52). The Roman emperors after Christ are gently reproached for their treatment of Jews even after the Passion, but they are not mentioned again after their oppressions at the hands of Hadrian. Image of unexpected intensity comes at the death of King Herod I: "hann lét drepa börn í Bedleem ok valla litlu síðarr mavdkum í hel" ("he let children be killed in Bethlehem and shortly afterwards was devoured by maggots in Hell") (Benediktsson, 1944, p. 51). Herod is described elsewhere as "grimur ok illa," but his persecutions are specifically directed towards the Jews. The Jews of the Old Testament are framed in highly emotive language as persecutors, and the Jews of Jesus' childhood as the persecuted. This seemingly contradictory situation is easily legible as Christians-as-Jews-as-Christians: the prophets, precursors to Christ, are rejected by persecutors, but the Jewish babies existing as sacrificial victims in the same moment as Christ the Jewish child are His semantic siblings. The burgeoning popularity of blood libel tales both reinforced and was reinforced by the cult of the Holy Innocents: the murdered Jewish child is mourned as a potential or equivalent Christian (Rose, 2015, pp. 129-130).

Positive persecutory fantasy is a common feature of *Gyðinga saga* (c. 1250), which appropriates the Books of the Maccabees for this purpose:

Eptir þessu skylldu höfðingjar miok leita. ok sua eptir konum þeim er veittu skurdar skirn bornum sinum. þa skyllði þær kuelía til bana. enn sueín börnín festa upp at hári fyrir hussdurum. ok hanga þar til þess er þeir dæi. Þeir varo sumir er helldr villdu dauda þola. enn bregða af Guds bod ordum. ok varo þeir allír sárligha. kualdir til dauda. J þenna tíma sendi antiochus kongr til íudee. éinn mann sua grimman at

Þingum eirdi þeim er ægi uilldu heidinn sid hallda. Konur íj. varo leiddar fyrir hann. þær er veitt höfðu umskurðar skírn börnum sinum. hann let færa þær af klæðum ok beria þær med lurkum. þar til at blod fell um þær allar. Börnín liet hann binda undir briost þeim sua fast at þau kafna þar ok springa. Sidan varo þær dregnar um stræti nôcktar. ok um sidír hrundit ofan af turni einum. ok sua deyddar. (Wolf, 1995, pp. 8-9).

The rulers [installed by Anthiochus] were commanded to search for the woman who had performed the rite of circumcision on their children, so that they should be tortured to death, and the male children fastened by their hair before the doors of the houses and hung there until they died. There were some who would rather die than to forsake God's message, and they were all painfully tortured to death. At that time, King Anthiochus sent to the Jews one man so vile that he spared no one who did not want to uphold the heathen customs. Two women were led before him who had allowed the circumcision of their children. He had it so they were stripped and beaten with cudgels til they were all bloody. He had the children bound under the breast so tightly that they suffocate there and die. Then they [the women] were dragged through the streets and were hung off the sides of a tower, dead.

This is much more gruesome than the equivalent passage in First Maccabees. While the families are executed for disobeying the law on circumcision, the creative punishments are limited to "they hung the infants from their mothers' necks" (First Maccabees 1:60-61). No mention is made of the victims' blood, the appearance of which is inherently linked to the body of Christ (Bildhauer, 2006, p. 164). The presence of this extreme violence meted out to the innocent is at once paschal and hagiographic. As stated before, the murder of the Jewish infants orients them as both potential Christians and synonymous to the tortured Christ. The addition of an evil subordinate carrying out the royal will is an echo of a perhaps less reticent Pontius Pilate. All four accounts of the Crucifixion in the Gospels mention that Jesus was flogged (John 19:1), stripped (Luke 23:23), or both (Matthew 27:26-28, Mark 15:15, 24). Dragging the bodies through the streets mimics Jesus' humiliating procession through the streets carrying the cross. Besides the obvious Marian parallel as the mothers of martyred children, the adult women (and, presumably, men) executed for adhering to the law are echoes of the early Christian martyrs. The torture of the martyr is both a type of purification and an imitation of Christ (Straw, 2000, pp. 33-34). Medieval hagiography, and especially martyr hagiography, was formulaic. Torture must be present, but torture must be accompanied by its failure. This failure is often expressed as the saint demanding worse tortures, or even making fun of their martyrdom (Tracy, 2012, pp. 32, 63). While the women do not, as the Christian martyrs do, have a chance to heckle their tormenters, the torture of the faithful fails on a larger scale by inspiring Mathathias and his sons to revolt (Wolf, 1995, pp. 14-15). The persecution of

the Jewish mothers Christianizes them twofold by making them martyr-saints, who in turn are earthly representatives of Christ.

A more explicit role-switching of individual Christians and Jews in emotive situations underpins the “good Jew” of *Nikuláss saga erkibyskups*. A Jewish merchant is swindled by a Christian who is then hit by a cart and killed, spilling the gold he stole on the street. The Jew, amazed that he has been repaid, takes the Christian’s body to the church of Saint Nikúlas, falls on his knees before the altar, and promises to convert if the Christian is brought back to life. The Christian rises, and the Jew is so overwhelmed by this miracle that he converts on the spot and is ever after “uinr gyþf oc gofgaþi nicolaum” (a friend of God and the servant of Nikulás) (Morgenstern, 1893, p. 4). The “miser Jew” became a staple of antisemitic material of the High Middle Ages as both an anxious embodiment of the disruption caused by the Jew as integrated into the Christian economy and as a representative of the temptations of the material world (Worrall, Kramer, & Grant, 2023, p. 225). The conversion at the foot of Saint Nikulás’ altar nullifies this worldly temptation while mitigating the uncomfortable presence of a merchant that competes using a separate legal framework. The Jew’s positive qualities are clear foreshadowing, underlining his potential as an imminent Christian and reaching an emotional climax at his miraculous conversion: the moment of becoming embodies the transition between Jew and Christian. The positive, or at least persecuted, identification of Jews-as-Christians reflects the acceptance in Old Icelandic literature of a relationality, embodied by highly emotive language both positive and negative. The Jew *is* the Christian: this can be either a threat or a promise.

Feeling the same in AM 655 XIX 4to

I have here identified three emotionally charged situations in AM 655 XIX 4to, all of which illustrate an implicit sameness between Theophilus and the Jew. These moments of sameness are not just a function of identity discourse. Parallelism between Theophilus and the Jew is a core component of the basic legend. Adrienne Williams Boyarin sees the Jew, Theophilus, and the Virgin Mary as interacting in a shifting space where they both reflect and foil each other (2010, p. 55). Root, in agreeing, sees the Jew as a cautionary tale for clerics, the embodiment of the corruption and temptation endemic in their office (Root, 2017, p. 74). Root also sees this identification with the Jew as typically the destruction of Theophilus’ individual

self, a negation brought by his distance from God – Theophilus fears becoming him (pp. 71-72). What Theophilus risks, in other words, is the apocalyptic deletion due to the Jews in the end times and a permanent separation from God. Such a dramatic situation requires dramatics of emotion.

The three examples I have here span multiple spheres of identity and society. The first, Theophilus' expression of emotion when he comes to meet the Jew, has the emotionality illustrating a fraught mental and physical sameness. The second, the fragment's use of emotional rituals both parodic and non-parodic, places the sameness in a social framework of obligation. The third, the call to inappropriately *prevent* an emotion, makes Theophilus into a contorted mirror of religious figures while embodying him as a Jew. The multifaceted nature of medieval antisemitic legends allows a complex warping of identity through body, society, and religion.

A melancholy Cain?

According to the general layout of the tale, the initial encounter between the Jewish demonologist and Theophilus should take place after Theophilus' humiliation at the hands of his bishop. In AM 655 XIX 4to, this encounter begins the fragment. The Jewish demonologist is "ebrescr maþr fiolkannigr oc fiannða arr" ("a Hebrew man, skilled in magic and the servant of demons"), and he beholds the wretched man in his house as Theophilus falls on the ground ("fell til fóta") and begs him for help with "mikla ógleði" ("much melancholy"). The Jew tells him to come back the next night, and Theophilus goes home and rejoices (*fagnaði*) (Unger, 1871, p. XXXI).

Theophilus is alone with the Jew, which in and of itself is dangerous. Jews were considered to be inherently polluting, as they represent a threat to the body of Christendom (Price, 2013, p. 187). What the Jew has infected him with first is a dark mood. I have here translated *ógleði* as "melancholy" rather than the more literal "unhappiness" to encapsulate the broader range of emotions implied by the Old Icelandic term, the humoral meaning of the word, and the implications posed by a Jew present in the scene. *Ógleði/úgleði* in Old Icelandic literature incorporates more violence or anger than "unhappiness"; it is associated with loss of ability. In *Morkinskinna*, King Sigurðr Magnússon's *ógleði* is a product of an ominous nightmare where he is seemingly rejected by God. The emotion disrupts his ability to speak,

rule, and even eat (Jónsson, 1932, p. 357). Egill Skallagrímsson's experiences of *ógleði* also cause mutism, first after excessive mourning over death of his brother mixes with his overbearing longing for a wife, and then when he is cheated out of his money by King Hákon's stewards (Norðal, 1933, pp. 148, 214). A bout of *ógleði* after Egill's father's death is the product of sorcery. The emotion is strengthened by the onset of winter, and the actions springing from it leads to him being captured by Eiríkr blóðöx (Norðal, 1933, p. 177). In *Bandamanna saga*, after Óspakr murders Svala's husband in a rage, he is found dead in a cave next to a tar-black basin of blood. This blood is a visual indicator of emotion, legible as a bowl of the physical liquids informing Óspakr's violence (Þorgeirsdóttir, 2018, p. 50). Besides the expanded semantic boundaries of the term, melancholy takes a special role in medieval antisemitic discourse. The character of the "melancholy Jew" was most popular in the later Middle Ages, a product of the growing association between Jews and Saturn, governor of the Saturnine temperament (Zafran, 1979, pp. 17-18, 21). Even so, association between Jews and an inherent overdose of melancholy (in the humoral sense) appears by the eleventh century. This literal oversupply of black bile connects to the widespread belief that Jewish men were so unmanly that they menstruated (Maor, Roguin, & Roguin, 2021, p. 2). Melancholy is feminizing in that it engenders idleness, a trait often assigned to Jews (Resnick, 2012, p. 187) Theophilus' attempt to reclaim his former status through devil-dealing rather than prayer is certainly the path of least resistance. As a primary feature, melancholy could cause deep depression. Melancholic individuals could be more susceptible to illness, and melancholy was particularly associated with leprosy. They were also visibly marked by their complexions (Resnick, 2012, pp. 177-178). Jews were seen as also having visibly different complexions by the twelfth century, often for their melancholy (p. 268). If Theophilus was meant to have a melancholy complexion, he loses it at the point of his salvation. AM 655 XIX 4to ends before giving any details of Theophilus' death, but the version in the *Maríu saga* manuscripts AM 234 fol, AM 232 fol, and AM 633 4to agree that Theophilus' countenance becomes "miklu bjartari ok skírleitari en aðrir menn" ("much brighter and purer than other men") before his passing (Unger, 1871, p. 69). This brightening of the countenance has another mirror, in that Jews were supposed to turn beautiful in the Messianic Age (Resnick, 2012, p. 294). Theophilus' drop to the floor as he cries out is also potentially relevant. Since the fourth century, theologians had the idea that the mark of Cain took the form of endless fear, groaning, and trembling (Mellinkoff, 1981, p. 18). These traits

became attached to Jews, with Bede (d. 735) being the earliest extant writer to combine the descendants of Cain with his physical punishment (p. 46). Bruno of Asti and Hugh of St. Victor associate the Jew's trembling with negative emotions *caused* by the cursing rather than the curse itself (p. 48). While I believe the state of *being* on his knees is more to do with ironic supplication (explored in the next section), the *act* of falling can be read as synonymous to the Cain/Jew's trembling, especially as it is paired with the despair and antisociality caused by melancholy (Resnick, 2012, p. 186). The trembling, groaning, and fear that should be present in the Jew has been passed on to Theophilus. Collapsing while expressing *ógleði* inveighs Theophilus with the physical wretchedness of the Jewish body and temperament, as well as the spiritual wretchedness of the mark of Cain. By the emotion carried in his mood, his request, his physicality, and (potentially) his appearance, Theophilus has become the Jew.

On your knees

The rituals of feudal homage are performances of emotion. Root calls the homage ritual key to a participant's relationship with "the world around him, [...] the wider social world, religious orders, [...] higher powers in and outside of this world, and [...] with the lower powers of temptation." (2017, p. 15). These performances are formulaic. The formula "fell[r] til fóta" in the Old Norse contexts appears mostly in the saints' sagas. AM 634-635 and Holm perg. 4to use it twice, first for Theophilus begging his archbishop to relieve him of his new election as bishop, then, as seen above, for Theophilus begging the demonologist to help him (Unger, 1871, pp. 1091-1092) In Holm 1 4to, AM 240 V, and AM 240 IX, Theophilus is "til iardar fallande" ("falling to the ground") before the Jew (p. 407). Versions in other vernaculars contemporaneous with AM 655 XIX also emphasize falling to one's knees. In an Old French verse version by Gautier de Coinci (d. 1236), Theophilus "throws himself right away at the archbishop's feet" (de Coinci, 2022, p. 43). William of Adgar (c. 1200) has him kneeling for the same purpose (2012, p. 528), though the Theophilus in an early fourteenth century Middle High German version merely announces to the electors that he is too busy for such a taxing role (Jacobs et al., 2021, p. 105). The Icelandic and French versions emphasize falling to one's knees to create a parallel between the archbishop and the Jew, in mirror form. Theophilus, in grief, kneels at the archbishop's feet to maintain his humility but undergoes a trial of privation: Theophilus, in grief, kneels at the Jew's feet to regain his creature comforts, but loses his soul

in the process. A kneeling Theophilus is a common part of visual depictions (Root, 2017, p. 29). “Fell til fóta” does not appear again in the fragment, but Theophilus undergoes another ritual of physical supplication to repent for his sins:

Síþan toc hann travst oc þroggleik oc fór til musteris ennar sælo guþs moþor Mario oc uar þar a þenom oc uokom oc fastaði .xl. daga oc natta samfast oc gret i sífello oc bað sæ guþ miskunnar. (Unger, 1871, p. XXXII.)

Then he reached for trust and safety and went to the church of God’s mother Mary and was there in prayer and vigil and fasted continuously forty days and nights and wept perpetually and begged God’s pardon.

The forty days spent in front of the altar of Mary reference Christ’s forty days in the wilderness, which in turn reference the forty years the Hebrews spent wandering the desert. Both Biblical images yet again cast Theophilus as a Jew, though one whose lengthy repentance has the cathartic rebirth into a life without sin. In the meantime, he is on his knees. Rituals of repentance in medieval Icelandic literature take on heavily emotive physicality. Medieval handbooks for penitents advise, among other things, forcing oneself to stay in painful positions for extended periods of time, including kneeling (Kaneva, 2019, p. 57). Remorse is coded in Old Icelandic literature with extreme physical symptoms: fainting, illness, and pain in the eyes are all seen as a penetrative invasion of a body either weakened by sin or weak enough to be disposed to it (Kaneva, 2019, pp. 52-53). The debasement brought by the pain of remorse features yet another mirror. Rather than kneeling at the feet of the archbishop, the Jew, or the Devil, Theophilus is finally kneeling at the feet of the Virgin, reconsecrating his oath as he weeps.

The oath offered when Theophilus throws himself at the Jew’s feet clearly parodies both the obedience promised to God and indicative to the oath given to the Devil. Though the specifics of the encounter with the Devil are lost in the lacuna, Theophilus falling to his feet in front of the Jewish demonologist is an act of humiliating subservience that, through the interlocutor, serves the same purpose. As in penitence, there is an important physicality in the rituals of medieval obeisance. Pre-Christian, or at least pre-courtly, Norse rituals of subservience and oath-taking involved swearing on objects, namely swords, shields, and rings. Swearing on physical objects survived the conversion, but the core aspects of oath-

taking had become more dependent on other traditions from the church and the continent (Riisoy, 2015, p. 144). The ritual of pledging vassalage as reported in the late thirteenth-century *Hirdskraa* ends with the servant falling on his knees before the king. Grégory Cattaneo calls the *Hirdskraa* ritual “a clear adaptation of the homage ritual of feudal Europe,” where the subservient person would bow or kneel (Cattaneo, 2010, pp. 26-27). Cattaneo considers the importation of the continental homage ritual to postdate the composition of AM 655 XIX 4to, only appearing in force in Iceland after an intensification of Norwegian courtly influence (2010, pp. 33-34). Though the exact details of the homage ritual *as performed* could be later developments, the concept of an homage ritual as paralleling Christian ritual certainly had appeared in the literature before then. The Jews in medieval literature frequently partake in sacrilegious parodies of Christian ritual and are often accused of stealing precious sacramental objects to defile them (Price, 2013, p. 179). Oaths sworn to Jews by Christians engendered a discomfort, not just because of the subservience or the resentment of the financial obligation, but because the very act of showing deference to a Jew was a religious violation. Bale calls accepting the oath sworn by a Jew as a humiliating “recrucifixion” that forces an unnatural subservience to the sinister persecutor (Bale, 2010, p. 62). The Jewish demonologist facilitating this sinful contract becomes the Jews who killed Christ, who himself is Jewish and represented parodically in Theophilus, who will later die (but joyfully!) for his own sins. This ouroboros of interconnected identities depends on rituals of emotionality that have been performed either incorrectly or for an incorrect purpose.

Fear thou not

After his quest to find a sorcerer succeeds, Theophilus returns to the Jew and accompanies him to the devil’s court. In the fragment, this scene is curiously displaced from a specific space. In AM 634-5 the Jewish demonologist leads Theophilus “vt af borginni” (out of the city) (Unger, 1871, p. 1092). The demonologist in the version by Gautier de Coinci leads Theophilus out of the city into a “dark and obscure” night, after the narrator calls their ultimate destination “a school / where he will be evilly schooled” (de Coinci, 2022, pp. 51-53). Adgar takes him out of the city to “an amphitheater” (Adgar, 2012, p. 531). A journey away from the city is not present in every version of the story, as the Middle High German *Theophilus* keeps Theophilus in the Jew’s apartments to sell his soul, but the Jewish demonologist there only

summons a single devil rather than the full, white-clad cohort present in the second space (Jacobs et al., 2021, p. 107). Movement away from the safe confines of the city and into the wicked dark physicalizes the act of the sinner falling away from God. Following the Jew tears Theophilus away from the safe and holy community of Christ, whether he is on his way to attend a black mass or locked in the apartment with one other person (de Coinci, 2021, p. 11). Following the Jew switches the blessed authority of the bishop for the satanic authority of the demonologist and is, of course, terrifying:

Þa toc gyþingr i hönd honom oc leiddi hann eftir ser oc melte uíþ hann. Hvatki er þu eða heyrir eða ser. Þa scalltu eigi hręþazc. Oc eigi cross marc scall tu geyra i þessi fjr.

Then the Jew took him by the hand and led him after himself and said to him, “Whatever it is you hear or see, you shall not be afraid, and you shouldn’t make the sign of the cross on this journey.” (Unger, 1871, p. XXXI).

The parodic nature of this passage is clear. Angelic apparitions in the Gospels come with exhortations not to be afraid. The angels that visit Zechariah, Mary, and the Bethlehem shepherds in the Gospel of Luke repeat this message as a key part of the Annunciation; the Gospel of Luke is itself addressed to a Theophilus. Theophilus again becomes a parodic Mary, operating in a mirrored and corrupted version of the Bible, pregnant with sin. While the angels soothe, the command not to fear in the mouth of the Jew is impossible for a good Christian to obey. The awestruck, righteous – and soothed – fear in the face of an almighty God becomes assured indifference in the face of embodied sin as Theophilus is brought in front of the devil and his servants. The demonic servants being clad in white is a common feature of Theophilus legends: de Coinci’s host wear “blans mantiau” (white cloaks) as they carry Satan in on a litter (de Coinci, 2022, p. 54). The Lucian themes evoked by the parodic angelic command transforming Theophilus into a pseudo-Mary may be seen to continue, as the white-clad demons recall the white-clad young men appearing before the Women from Galilee before Christ’s empty tomb (Luke 24:1). Lazar sees the white-clad servants as part of a symbolic complex that treats the enthroned devil as an unapproachable Eastern king, so powerful that he can only be approached by wicked intermediaries: like the enthroned God, but firmly embodied in the world rather than transcendental, and with none of the positivity granted by the evocation of a Byzantine emperor or a Prester John (Lazar, 1972, p. 36). In the Old Icelandic

context, *hvítr* can be used as a neutral descriptor, or it can be applied as a derogative to, specifically, cowardly and weak men (Morey Sturtevant, 1952, p. 120). Instead of being awed and then reassured by white-clad servants of God, as befits a Marian allegorical figure, Theophilus is supposed to be neutral and cooperative before the cowardly creatures holding torches front of the agent of his soul's destruction. I have said before that trembling and fear can mark the relationship between Jews and their ancestor Cain. Theophilus' lack of fear here is not so much the denial of the Mark of Cain as it is illustrative of both humiliating submission and extreme credulity. The lack of fear is yet another inappropriate expression of subservience, as is, contradictorily, the Jew once again taking his hand and dragging him in front of the Devil. Once again, the physical action of submission evokes humiliation of the Christian when the operation should be the other way: Theophilus *should*, in the role of Mary, be escorting the Jew away from the Devil and into service to God, just as Mary brought the instrument of salvation into the world. A demand to reject the proper emotion also pushes him into the role of the "credulous Jew." Medieval theology held that the Jews do not understand the holy books given to them by God, and that they have been inadequate shepherds of His word, because they are innately incapable of rational thought (Resnick, 2012, pp. 43). Pauline supercession doctrine makes a firm distinction between the Laws of Moses, which are as literal as the stones they are carved on, and the new Law of the living Christ, which are symbolic and set on the Christian's heart (Lavezzo, 2016, p. 29). The Jew's inherent melancholy can cause delusions and irrationality (Resnick, 2012, p. 186). The twelfth-century theologian Richard of Saint Victor considered it neither necessary nor prudent to address the arguments of the Jews, as they are so logically flawed. Richard believed the ambiguity of the language of the Prophet Isaiah was too difficult for Jews to parse; if they had had the ability, they would not have killed Christ (Van Liere, 2015, pp. 360, 363). The Jewish demonologist, in *not* fearing the Devil, and in demanding that Theophilus not fear, forces them to share the state of murderous, irrational ignorance that separates the Jews from God.

Conclusions – more than ghosts

The AM 655 XIX 4to *Theophilus* fragment shows that the Jew was a close enough figure to the medieval Icelandic Christian to act as not just as a didactic but a kindred spirit. Though Theophilus ultimately shies away from the prospect of a future where the Jew's sameness

becomes total, those qualities are inherent within him and carry the potential of both Christ and a Christ-killer. Bound and made real by emotion, the Old Icelandic Jew is just as vital and multifaceted as the Jew in other medieval literatures. The irrelevancy of the absence both in-text and in-community illustrates there is no absence at all. For the medieval Christian, the key relationship between the Christian and the Jew was their confused, conflicted, othering similarity, a similarity that haunts both neutral interaction and intentional sin. Through humoral science, contract law, and the imitation of religious figures, medieval Icelandic Christians arranged Jews within the boundaries of their own emotive structures. In doing so, medieval Iceland joined in with the rest of Christian Europe in the construction of an ambiguous, relational Jewish-Christian identity, repeating the same “fatal pattern” that continues to haunt through the centuries.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Jerry Root for his kindness in providing me with copies of his William of Adgar and Gautier de Coinci translations, and Miguel Andrade for helping me with translating the abstract.

Bibliographic references

Primary Sources

ADGAR, William, trans. Jerry Root. “William Adgar: *The Miracle of Théophile* (Miracle 26).” In BENOIT, Jean-Louis (Ed.). *Adgar: Le Gracial, Miracles de la Vierge*. Turnhout: Jean-Louis Benoit, 2012, pp. 513-554.

BENEDIKTSSON, Jakob (Ed). *Veraldar Saga: Udgivet for samfund til udgivelse af gammel Nordisk Litteratur*. Copenhagen: 2002.

Egils saga. SIGURÐUR Nordal (Ed). In: EINAR Ól. Sveinsson, *Íslenzk Fornrit II*. Reykjavík: Einar Ól. Sveinsson, 1933.

Gyðinga saga. Kirsten WOLF. (Ed). Reykjavík: 1995.

JACOBS, Jef, Kenny Louwen, Bard Veldhoen and Barend Verkerk (Eds.). *Middle High German Legends in English Translation*. Leiden: 2021.

MORGENSTERN, Gustav (Ed.). *Arnarnagnæanische Fragmente (Cod. Am. 655 4to III-VIII, 238 fol. II, 921 4to IV 1.2): Ein Supplement zu den Heilagra manna sögur*. Leipzig, Copenhagen: 1893.

Morkinskinna. Copenhagen: Finnur JÓNSSON (Ed.), 1932.

UNGER, C. R. *Mariu saga: Legender om jomfru Maria og hendes jertegn*. Christiana: 1871.

Van LIERE, Frans and HARKINS, Franklin T. (Eds.). *Interpretation of Scripture: Practice: A Selection of Works of Hugh, Andrew, Richard, and Leonius of St Victor, and of Robert of Melun, Peter Comestor and Maurice of Sully*. Turnhout, Belgium: 2015.

DE COINCI, Gautier. *The Miracle of Theophilus by Gautier de Coinci*. Kalamazoo: Jerry Root (Ed.), 2022.

SCHERABON FIRCHOW, Evelyn. *The Old Norse Elucidarius: Original Text and English Translation*. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1992.

SCHERABON FIRCHOW, Evelyn, and GRIMSTAD, Kaaren (Eds.). *Elucidarius in Old Norse Translation*. Reykjavík: 1989.

Secondary Sources

ADAMS, Jonathan. *Jews in East Norse Literature: A Study of Othering in Medieval Denmark and Sweden*. Berlin & Boston: 2023.

BENNETT, Gillian. "William of Norwich and the Expulsion of the Jews." *Folklore*, 2005, 116, pp. 311-314.

BALE, Anthony. *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages*. London: 2010.

BRYNJA Þorgeirsdóttir. "Humoral Theory in the Medieval North: An Old Norse Translation of *Epistula Vindiciani* in *Hauksbók*." *Gripla*, 2018. 29, pp. 35-66.

BRYNJA Þorgeirsdóttir. "Sensibilities in Saga *Prosimetrum*." In BRYNJA Þorgeirsdóttir, GROPPER, Stefanie, QUINN, Judy, and WILSON, Alexander (Eds.). *The Prosimetrum of the Íslendingasögur*. Berlin & Boston: Brynja Þorgeirsdóttir, Stefanie Gropper, Judy Quinn, and Alexander Wilson, 2025, pp. 141-168.

BILDHAUER, Bettina. *Medieval Blood*. Cardiff: 2006.

CATTANEO, Grégory. "The Oath of Fidelity in Iceland: A Tie of Feudal Allegiance." *Scandinavian Studies*, 2010. 81, 1, pp. 21-36.

- COHEN, Jeffrey Jerome. "The Flow of Blood in Medieval Norwich." *Speculum*, 2004. 97, 1, pp. 26-65.
- COLE, Richard. "Kyn/fólk/Þjóð/Ætt: Proto-Racial Thinking and its Application to Jews in Old Norse Literature." In ADAMS, Jonathan & HEß, Cordelia (Eds.). *Fear and Loathing in the North: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Scandinavia and the Baltic Region*. Berlin & Boston: Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, 2015, pp. 239-271.
- COLE, Richard. "One or Several Jews? The Jewish massed body in Old Norse Literature." *postmedieval*, 2014. 5, pp. 348-358.
- COLE, Richard. "Snorri and the Jews." In HERMANN, Pernille, MITCHELL, Stephen A., SCHJØDT, Jens Peter, and ROSE, Amber (Eds.). *Old Norse Mythology – Comparative Perspectives*. Cambridge & London: Pernille Hermann, Stephen A. Mitchell, Jens Peter Schødjt, and Amber Rose, 2017, pp. 243-268.
- COLE, Richard. "William of Norwich in Iceland: Antisemitism Studies between Middle English and Old Norse." In ADAMS, Jonathan & HEß, Cordelia (Eds.). *Antisemitism in the North: History and State of Research*. Berlin & Boston: Jonathan Adams and Cordelia Heß, 2020, pp. 41-68.
- FISHER, Mark. "What is Hauntology?" *Film Quarterly*, 2012. 66, 1, pp. 16-24.
- GOW, Andrew Colin. *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in and Apocalyptic Age, 1200-1600*. New York & Köln: 1995.
- JORGENSEN, Peter A. "Four Literary Styles in Three Centuries: The Old Icelandic Theophilus Legend." In *Samtíðarsögur: Níunda Alþjóðlega Fornsgagnþingið*. Akureyri: 1994, pp. 395-407.
- KANEVA, Kirsi. "The Practice of Repentance in Medieval Iceland: Indigenous Ideas and Christian Influences." *Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Vuosikirja*, 2019. 108, pp. 41-72.
- LARRINGTON, Carolyne. "Learning to Feel in the Old Norse Camelot?" *Scandinavian Studies*, 2015. 87, 1, pp. 74-94.
- LARRINGTON, Carolyne. "'Pá fær Þorbirni svá mjök at hann grætr": Emotionality in the Sagas of East Iceland." In: SEBO, Erin, FIRTH, Matthew, and ANLEZARK, Daniel (Eds.). *Emotional Alterity in the Medieval North Sea World*. Cham: Erin Sebo, Matthew Firth, and Daniel Anzelark. 2023, pp. 43-67.
- LAVEZZO, Kathy. *The Accommodated Jew: English Antisemitism from Bede to Milton*. Ithaca and London: 2016.

- LAZAR, Moshe. "Theophilus: Servant of Two Masters: The Pre-Faustian Them of Despair and Revolt." *MLN*, 1972. 6, pp. 31-50.
- MAOR, Noga Roguin, Ariel Roguin, and Nathan Roguin. "Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menstruation." *Rambam Maimonides Medical Journal*, 2021. 12, 4, pp. 1-6. doi:10.5041/RMMJ.10454
- MELLINKOFF, Ruth. *The Mark of Cain*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: 1981.
- MOREY STURTEVANT, Albert. "The Contemptuous Sense of the Old Norse Adjective Hvítr 'White, Fair.'" *Scandinavian Studies*, 1952. 24, 3, pp. 119-121.
- PRICE, Merrall Llewelyn. "Medieval Antisemitism and Excremental Libel." In UTTERBACK, Kristine, and PRICE, Merrall Llewelyn (Eds.). *Jews in Medieval Christendom: Slay Them Not*. Leiden: Kristine Utterback and Merrall Llewelyn Price. 2013, pp. 177-187.
- RESNICK, Irven M. *Marks of Distinction: Christian Perceptions of Jews in the High Middle Ages*. Washington, D.C.: 2012.
- RIISØY, Anne Irene. "Performing Oaths in Eddic Poetry: Viking Age Fact or Medieval Fiction?" *Journal of the North Atlantic*, 2015. 8, pp. 141-156.
- ROSE, E. M. *The Murder of William of Norwich: The Origins of the Blood Libel in Medieval Europe*. Oxford: 2015.
- ROOT, Jerry. *The Theophilus Legend in Medieval Text and Image*. Cambridge: 2017.
- SHAVIRO, Steve. *The Cinematic Body*. Minneapolis & London: 1993.
- SIF Ríkhardsóttir. *Emotion in Old Norse Literature: Translations, Voices, Contexts*. Cambridge: 2017.
- STRAW, Carole. "Settling Scores: Eschatology in the Church of the Martyrs." In WALKER BYNUM, Caroline and FREEDMAN, Paul (Eds.). *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman, 2000, pp. 21-40.
- STACEY, Robert C. "From Ritual Crucifixion to Host Desecration: Jews and the Body of Christ." *Jewish History*, 1998. 12, 1, pp. 11-28.
- TRACY, Larissa. *Torture and Brutality in Medieval Literature: Negotiations of National Identity*. Cambridge, UK and Rochester, NY: 2012.
- WELLS, Haley. "From Homilies to Little Saint Hugh: Antisemitism in Medieval Literature." *Vulcan Historical Review*, 2023. 27, pp. 75-89.

- WILLIAMS BOYARIN, Adrienne. *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends*. Cambridge: 2010.
- WILLIAMS BOYARIN, Adrienne. *The Christian Jew and the Unmarked Jewess: The Polemics of Sameness in Medieval English Anti-Judaism*. Philadelphia: 2021.
- WORRALL, Elliot, Rutger Kramer, and Tom Grant. "A Piece without a Puzzle? A Fragment of *Nikuláss saga erkibiskups* in Oslo, NRA 69 – Text, Translation and Commentary." *Medieval Worlds*, 2013. 19, pp. 216-240.
- WÜRTH, Stefanie. "Historiography and Pseudo-History." In MCTURK, Rory (Ed.). *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*. Malden: Rory McTurk, 2007, pp. 155-172.
- ZAFRAN, Eric. "Saturn and the Jews." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1979. 42, pp. 16-27.