Eszter Losonczi

THE VISUAL PATTERNS OF THE WANDERING JEW IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

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Central European University
Budapest
May 2012

The Visual Patterns of the Wandering Jew in the Late Middle Ages

by

Eszter Losonczi

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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I, the undersigned, **Eszter Losonczi**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 16 May 2012

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Signature

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to show the patterns of the Wandering Jew in the pictorial sources. Besides the definition of the attributes of this figure, I will draw up the visual evaluation of this character between the thirteenth and sixteenth century, and categorize the different instances.

I will introduce Buddhist, Jewish, Christian sources, which can be regarded as the potential antecedents of the legend. I will introduce and analyze the medieval written sources of the legend of the Wandering Jew. I will compare them with the pictorial examples, and try to establish potential relationship between them. I will also attempt to find the reason of the appearance of those elements in the pictorial tradition, which cannot be originated from the components of the textual tradition.

My aim is to prove that some images of the Wandering Jew show strong connection with the representations of medieval pilgrims. I will show those textual and pictorial components which lead to this conclusion and also explain the reason of them.

Reviewing Sources from the Secondary Literature

There are three main areas of secondary literature related to my topic: works about the textual tradition of the legend of the Wandering Jew, essays about the pictorial examples, and writings about the concept of exile and the potential antecedents in Jewish, and Christian writings. These different aspects are not discussed together, hence my goal, and my contribution, is to synthesize the results of these different fields.

The first publications about the collection and analysis of the textual sources of the legend are from the second part of the nineteenth century. Although the topic has been

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popular and re-examined since then, the first detailed basic overview about the origin and the examples of the legend was published only in 1965. George Kumar Anderson introduces almost all the known sources – from the earliest thirteenth-century versions to the latest from the twentieth century – and the history of the scholarship devoted to it. He introduces the possible biblical and folk origins of the story; he presents the different sources chronologically and geographically, analyzes and compares them. He draws the hypothetical route of the spread of the legend, too. He does not quote full sources, only details or summary of the texts and his footnotes and references are sometimes in error. In addition, his book is elementary related to the textual tradition of the legend. It contains only basic information and short descriptions of the sources. He defines the characteristics of the Wandering Jew in the textual tradition.[1]

Another crucial work about interpretations of the different texts was published in 1986; Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes selected essays which represent diverse approaches and perspectives on the legend. These essays introduce historical, philological, and psychological aspects of the legend.[2] The quality of these works is unbalanced, but the volume contains two important essays related to my topic. R. Edelman draws a potential connection between the Christian legend and Jewish writings[3] and P. B. Bagatti introduces Franciscan sources about pilgrimages to the Holy Land which refer to certain elements of the legend.[4]

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[1] George K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew*, 2nd ed. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1970)
[2] Galit Hassan-Rokem, Alan Dundes, ed., *The Wandering Jew. Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).
[3] R. Edelman, "Ahasuerus, The Wandering Jew Origin and Background," 2nd ed., in: Hasan-Rokem and Dundes, ed., *The Wandering Jew*, 1-10.
[4] P. B. Bagatti, "The Legend of the Wandering Jew: A Franciscan Headache," 2nd ed., in: Hasan-Rokem and Dundes, ed., *The Wandering Jew*, 39-49.

The work edited by Esther Fintz Menascé about the topic was published in 1993. The essay of Virginia Bezzola gives a detailed overview about the medieval sources of the legend.[5]

There are several works about the imagery of the Jews in the Middle Ages which analyze the sign(s) of otherness in the visual sources.[6] These books do not speak about the pictorial representation of the Wandering Jew, but give a detailed examination of how a medieval Jew is portrayed, which is often typical of the Wandering Jew examples, too. The first article about the examination of the pictorial instances was written by Diane Wolfthal and published in 1985. In her short article, Wolfthal introduces pictorial examples of the legend. However, she does not give a clear explanation about the basis for collecting these images; the only common feature among them is that each figure seems to be a wanderer. Wolfthal introduces the main elements of the written sources, but she does not try to analyze the different types of "Wandering Jew images" based on the differences in the textual sources, nor does she examine these images in a broader art historical aspect.[7] These examples are still the "official" and accepted instances of the pictorial tradition until today. A. J. van Run evaluates a few of them in his article about the same topic,[8] and they also appear in later publications.[9]

A huge exhibition about the pictorial and textual examples of the Wandering Jew was mounted in Paris in 2001-2002. Even though the articles about medieval textual sources in

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[5] Virginia Bezzola "L'Ebreo Errante: Origini (Cartaphilus), variazioni soprattutto in Italia (Buttadeo), affermazione nella Germania del Seicento (Ahasverus)," in *L'Ebreo Errante. Metamorfosi du un mito*. Quaderni di Acme 21, ed. Esther Fintz Menascé (Milan: Cisalpino. Istituto Editoriale Universitaro, 1993), 25-58.
[6] Bernhard Blumenkrantz, *Juden und Judentum in der mittelalterlichen Kunst* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1963); Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)
[7] Diane Wolfthal, "The Wandering Jew: Some Medieval and Renaissance Depictions," in, *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip: Art Historian and Detective*, ed. William W. Clark, Colin Eisler (New York: Abaris Books, 1985), 217-227.
[8] A. J. Run, "*Bene Barbatus*. Over de oudste Eeuwige Jood in de beeldende kunst," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 38 (1988): 292-301.
[9] Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die Juden in der Kunst Europas. Ein historischer Bildatlas* (Freiburg: Herder, 1996), 303-308.; Richard I. Cohen, Laurence Sigal-Klagsbald, eds., *Le juif errant: un témoin du temps* [Exhibition catalogue] (Paris: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire du Judaïsme, 2001)

the exhibition catalogue do not give further examples beyond the previous research, the interpretation of the legend is widened with some new details, and likings are suggested between textual and pictorial traditions[10]

The concept of the exile in the Hebrew Bible and in the Second Temple and Talmudic Periods is a popular topic among scholars.[11] There are several explanations of it, and it seems that it had a great impact in Christian writings too. Besides the concept of the collective exile, one can find parallel with individuals, who show similarities with the elements of the Wandering Jew. Cain[12], Enoch[13], Elijah[14], Malchus[15] and Saint John[16] the Evangelist often appear as potential parallel, but there are non-biblical characters which can be regarded as antecedents.

[10] Richard I. Cohen and Sigal-Klagsbald, ed., *Le juif errant.* Related to my reseach field the catalogue contains two important essays: Laurence Sigal-Klagsbald, "Au-delà du miroir figures bibliques du Juif errant," 33-43.; Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La genèse médiévale de la légende et de l'Iconographie du Juif errant," 2nd ed. 55-75.

[11] Arnold M. Eisen, *Galut. Modern Jewish Reflection on Homelessness and Homecoming* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Robert P. Caroll, "Deportation and Diasporic Discourses in the Prophetic Literature," in *Exile. Old Testament and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (Brill: Leiden, 1997), 63-85; Isaiah M. Gafni, *Land, Center and Diaspora. Jewish Constructs in Late Antiquity*. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 21 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 19-40; Ehud Ben Zvi, "Total Exile, Empty Land and the General Intellectual Discourse in Yehud," in *The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and its Historical Contexts*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi, Christoph Levin (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010); Carsten Wilke, "Decimal Diaspora: Ten Exiles and a Medieval Construction of Jewish History." Paper presented at the Third international Muhu Workshop, Flight and Emigration in Medieval Space and Mind", Gryka e Valbones, August, 2011, forthcoming.

[12] Diane Wolfthal, *The Wandering Jew*, 217-227; Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987)

[13] Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews.* Volume 1 *From the Creation to Jacob*, 3rd ed. with a new foreword by James L. Kugel (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998); Sigal-Klagsbald, *Au-delà du miroir*, 33-43.

[14] Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews.* Volume 4 *From Joshua to Esther*, 3rd ed. with a new foreword by James L. Kugel (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998); Sigal-Klagsbald, *Au-delà du miroir*, 33-43.

[15] Leonhard Neubar, "Zur Geschichte der Sage vom ewigen Juden," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 22 (1912): 35-36. Anderson, *The Legend*, 12-13.

[16] Anderson, *The Legend*, 13-15.

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CHAPTER 1

ANTECEDENTS OF THE LEGEND OF THE WANDERING JEW

A number of legends spread in the oral tradition in the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean during the first centuries of the Christianity. These extra-scriptural stories are about the known and less-known participants of the life or Passion of Christ.[17] According to Angelo Solomon Rappoport: "People were anxious to know more about the earthly life of Christ, and their imagination was kindled by the actions of those who played a part in the drama of the Passion, such as Judas, Pilate, Longinus, the two thieves, Joseph of Arimathea, and Veronica."[18] The legend of the Wandering Jew is one of these apocryphal stories. This is the tale of a man, who, when Christ was carrying the Cross to the Mount of Calvary and wanted to rest for a moment in front of or on the doorstep of this man's house, drove Christ away – with or without physical contact – and shouted at him: "Walk faster!" and Jesus replied: "I go, but you will walk / wait /stay until I come again!" Based on these components, I accept the definition of Anderson, who believes that there are two main characters of the legend. The first one is the humiliation of Christ and the second one is the eternal life or the "waiting for an indefinite period."[19]

In the medieval sources the pattern of wandering as a punishment is rare. Although some examples are known when a person wanders, nevertheless his real punishment is eternal life – waiting for the Second Coming of Christ. The motif of wandering as punishment is typical of the later textual tradition. The mention of Jewish origin is also missing from the early tradition; only a few references can be found.

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[17] George Kumler Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew*, 2nd ed. (Providence: Brown University Press, 1970), 11.
[18] Angelo Solomon Rappoport, *Mediaeval Legends of Christ* [Phd dissertation] (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson Publisher, 1934), 235.
[19] Anderson, *The Legend*, 11.

In this chapter I will introduce the potential antecedents of the legend. Since the legend of the Wandering Jew can be regarded as the allegory of the fate of the Jews after the First Coming of Christ, and after the Destruction of the Second Temple, I will introduce the representations of Jewish exile that can be found in the Old Testament and in Talmudic literature. I will determine whether these exile concepts show any connection with the legends. I will then analyze those characters of the Hebrew Bible, the Jewish legends and non-Jewish sources which possess qualities of the Wandering Jew or were later are attributed to his figure.

The biblical concept of exile

"The Hebrew Bible is the book of exile. It is constituted in and by narratives and discourses of expulsion, deportation and exile. From Genesis to Chronicles [Hebrew Bible grand narrative], that is, from the stories of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden to the moment when exiled Israel prepared to expel itself from Babylon to return to Jerusalem to rebuild the Temple."[20] Although exile is a recurrent pattern in the Old Testament, there seem to be very different concepts of exile. First, exile stories can be divided into two groups, some depicting the exile of individuals – Cain, Jacob, Joseph, David, Jeremiah – and some the migrations of a whole community, like the case of wandering of Abraham and his family, going down of Jacob and his sons to Egypt, the exodus from Egypt, the deportation of the community to Babylon. Second, exile is often presented as a catastrophe, but there are cases when it has a positive meaning: the wandering of Abraham, the exodus from Egypt. Indeed some Old Testament exiles should be considered as a result of unwanted banishment while others can be seen as a voluntary decision of the fugitives. One can see that the concept of exile later becomes less complex.

[20] Robert P. Caroll, "Deportation and Diasporic Discourses in the Prophetic Literature," in *Exile. Old Testament and Christian Conceptions*, ed. James M. Scott (Brill: Leiden, 1997), 64.

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Based on these observations Carroll concludes: "Deportation and diaspora are constitutive of the Jewish identity as it begins to emerge and evolve in the biblical narratives."[21]

The Hebrew equivalent of the word exile is *Galut* – or in the Ashkenazi and Yiddish pronunciations *Golus*. *Golah* is an abstract noun derived from the verb *galah*, which means "to lay bare", "to reveal". The etymology of word already offers a kind of the interpretation. It includes the image of dispossession, humiliation, shameful nakedness.[22] The idea of disgraceful bareness appears in more prophets, especially in the Books of Isaiah[23] and Micah.[24] In the prophetic narrative there are two levels of the interpretation of the exile. The first level depicts the possible expositions of exile, the second level personifies this idea and considers it as an individual's fate.

The Book of Amos considers exile as the punishment of moral and social injustice.[25] In the Book of Hosea the images of deportation apply to the topic of turn and return to the Land of Egypt and subjugation to Assyria.[26] According to Carroll these motifs represent a "sentimental education", and he believes that education can be considered as the "major trope" of exile.[27] The deep rancor of the Lord against the nation can be considered as one of the main topic in the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, the acts and the wickedness of the people having caused the animosity of the Lord.[28] The Book of Zechariah explains that the inhabitants of Jerusalem were deported by the Lord because they failed to practice justice and mercy among themselves.[29] The Book of Ezra regards exile as a punishment for Israel's own

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[21] Caroll, *Deportation and Diasporic Discourses*, 64.
[22] Wilke, *Decimal Diaspora*, 4.
[23] Isaiah 7:20; 20:2-4
[24] Micah 1:11
[25] Amos 1:5.15; 5:5; 6:7; 7:11.17; 9:4
[26] Hosea 9:6; 11:5
[27] Caroll, *Deportation and Diasporic Discourses*, 67.
[28] Jeremiah 4:11-18
[29] Zechariah 7:9-14; Caroll, *Deportation and Diasporic Discourses*, 71.

behavior.[30] The author adds that Israel would have deserved a more severe punishment than it received and, there is a remnant only because of the Lord's grace.[31]

According to these sources, the dominant theological conceptualization of exile is that of a punishment for Israel's failing away from its God. However, many biblical texts also insist upon its aim as purification, which is the precondition of return or new beginning.

The biblical personification of exile is gendered. It shows the image of a woman captive.[32] The female Israel can be also constructed as a city allegory of Jerusalem.[33] This female Israel is imagined which has to be totally destroyed and rebuilt. Ben Zvi considers it as an instance of the Near Eastern topos which depicts the city as a woman.[34]

The image of the woman often couples with the image of the nakedness mentioned above. Israel can be allegorically considered not only as a child of the Lord, but as His wife.[35] According to this concept, unfaithful Israel is compared to a sexually defiled woman and a convicted adulteress. In this sense exile is associated with divorce, and the metaphor also includes the hope of the martial reconciliation in the future. "The exhibition theme oscillates between four connotations: eroticism, transgression, punishment, or penitence. These four meanings of gola create a circle: the wife's indecency entails her dismissal, dismissal entails humiliation by public exhibition, but nudity entails desire, a precondition of reconciliation. Just as gola-nakedness attracts male desire, gola-exile hastens redemptive effort on the side of the patron god."[36]

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[30] Ezra 9:6-7
[31] Ezra 9:13
[32] Hosea 2:4-14; Nahum 2:8; Jeremiah 13:26; Lamentation 2:14; Ezechiel 16:37
[33] Ezekiel 23
[34] Ehud Ben Zvi, "Total Exile, Empty Land and the General Intellectual Discourse in Yehud" in *The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and its Historical Contexts*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi, Christoph Levin (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 164.
[35] Hosea 2:4; Ezechiel 23:10.26.29; Ben Zvi, *Total Exile*, 164; Carsten Wilke, *Decimal Diaspora*, 3.
[36] Wilke, *Decimal Diaspora*, 3; Deuteronomy 7:7; Isaiah 62:2-5

The concept of exile in the Second Temple and Talmudic Periods

The diaspora phenomenon during Second Temple times was not an entirely new reality in Israelite (now Jewish) existence. However, according to Arnold M. Eisen, there are three unprecedented aspects of this Galut. First, the traditional explanation offered by the Deuteronomy and the prophets could difficultly be applied to this case: "Even if this galut, like all those recounted in the Bible, was 'a punishment for our sins,' those sins certainly did not include idolatry this time around, and were not, as in the past, readily apparent."[37] Second, the geographical extension of this exile has no parallel, and the third viewpoint is the duration of it: "When the Bar Kokhba revolt failed in 135 to reverse the conditions created in 70, the analogy to Israel's first exile failed along with it. This time the Jews would not return after half a century."[38] The rabbinical answer to this phenomenon was the reconception of Galut by a reshaping of Jewish life. An answer to these new circumstances was the Mishnah, which begins with the definition of Israelite time and space. They refined the biblical legacy - the association of home with sacred order. They emphasized the importance of the Torah, as a religious tradition. The Torah retained Israel in literally, sociologically and psychically – providing a sense of order. The rabbis had to find the balance which made the Land of Israel center of the past and the future, but periphery of the present.[39]

Isaiah M. Gafni believes that there are four main interpretations of the exile in this period.[40] The first considers the diaspora as a *punishment*. This biblical idea appears among others in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and in the *Psalm of Solomon*. There are efforts to point to precedents for the link between sin and exile, which may serve as a

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[37] Arnold M. Eisen, *Galut. Modern Jewish Reflection on Homelessness and Homecoming* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 35.
[38] Eisen, *Galut*, 36.
[39] Eisen, *Galut*, 36-51.
[40] Isaiah M. Gafni, *Land, Center and Diaspora. Jewish Constructs in Late Antiquity*. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 21 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 19-40.

permanent warning for the sinners - the transgression of Adam or the hesitations of the Patriarchs.

The second interpretation considers the exile as *a voluntary dispersion and a blessing*. According to this concept, there was an intention to show that the exile did not originate from a forced emigration but it was the result of a voluntary emigration. The basic of this theory emerges from Jewish authors of Ptolemaic Egypt, who believed that there had been mass voluntary movements of the Jews to Egypt in the early Hellenistic period. Though apparently contradicted by the historical facts, this idea may give a positive meaning to exile.

Gafni defines the third category of interpretations as a *search for the silver lining*. He introduces the rabbinical idea which believes that the inability or the reluctance of the Jewish people to assimilate guaranteed them the final return to the Land. This concept is derived from the midrashic interpretation of the return of Noah's dove which is connected to a phrase from the Deuteronomy.[41]

The concept *dispersion as a universal mission* suggests that the exile's real purpose is the mercy of the non-Jewish world. According to this, the purpose of the dispersion is to spread the knowledge of God (that is, monotheism) among the nations and to increase the number of proselytes. One can read the explanation of the exile in the Book of Tobit, where the exile is regarded as a mission.

The image of the adulterous woman reappears in this period. Nevertheless these writings emphasize, "that as long as the woman possessed her *ketubah* (the marriage contract, which in the context of the relations between God and Israel was the Torah), she has not been totally dismissed, but temporally sent off – or her husband has gone away – until the air between the marital partners is cleared."[42] One parable from the Midrash Canticles Rabbah may examplify this imagery. When the nations of the world ask Israel about the reason of the

[41] Genesis 8:8-9; Deuteronomy 28:65
[42] Gafni, *Land, Center*, 34.

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exile, Israel replies: “We are like a king’s daughter who has gone to carry out *regel redufim* at her father’s house; in the end she will return home in peace (Cant. R. 8.10) The midrash seems to imply to the Roman practice of *regale repudium* (royal divorce), which means that the marriage partner is sent away temporally, but no official divorce does take place.

Post-biblical personifications of exile

The concept of exile in the Bible and in the Second Temple and Talmudic Periods is more diversified than it was interpreted by the Christians. From the Christian side the exile of the Jews was considered as a punishment, and although the Jews’ crime was believed to be their non-acceptance of Christ as the Messiah, Christianity adopted the traditional Jewish explanation of exile as a punishment for infidelity. The female personification of the exile does not appear in the Christian writings, but several male protagonists from Jewish legend play a role.

Cain the fratricide and wanderer

The most relevant parallel from the Old Testament is the figure of Cain the fratricide, who was doubly punished for his act. As a peasant, he was to be denied the fruits of the soil and was to become a ceaseless wanderer on the earth. The motif of fratricide can be regarded as part of the legend. If the Wandering Jew symbolizes the Jews of Christ’s time, his unmerciful behavior and his active participation of forcing Jesus to hurry to the his death can be considered as a Christian interpretation of the Cain story. The fratricide elder brother Cain, is seen an allegory of the Jews, whereas his victim, the younger brother Abel prefigures Christ.

The killing of Abel cannot be considered just as a personal wrong, but as a sin against the Lord: “Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth; and from thy

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face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me."[43] The idea of the sin against the Lord reappears in the legend. There is a further component which might be considered as a connection between the two sinners. According to the *Testament of Benjamin* Cain's punishment was of an extraordinary character: for every hundred years of the seven hundred years he was to live, a new punishment was to be inflicted upon him.[44] The motif of the remembrance of the committed sin, intervening every hundred years, appears in some versions of the legend of the Wandering Jew. According to these writings, the protagonist every hundred years returned to the age, at which he committed his crime. I will discuss these sources below.

Enoch the possessor of immortality

According to the Hebrew Bible, there are two Jews who possessed immortality; one of them is the son of Cain, Enoch. "And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him."[45] Enoch's life of piety is in contrast with the seventh in the line of Cain, who is associated with bloodshed. Although his life is shorter in comparison with his ancestors, it corresponds in years with the number of days in the solar year – three hundred sixty-five years. Laurence Sigal-Klagsbald considers it as an *absolute time*, and regards Enoch as the

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[43] Genesis 4:4
[44] "Therefore was Cain also delivered over to seven vengeances by God, for in every hundred years the Lord brought one plague upon him. 4 And when he was two hundred years old he began to suffer, and in the nine-hundredth year he was destroyed. For on account of Abel, his brother, with all the evils was he judged, but Lamech with seventy times seven. 5 Because for ever those who are like Cain in envy and hatred of brethren, shall be punished with the same judgment." The Testament of Benjamin, the Twelfth Son of Jacob and Rachel http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/patriarchs-charles.html, Last accessed 09.05.2012, R. H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913)
[45] Gen 5:24

witness of time. She suggests a further potential parallel with the Wandering Jew: Enoch and the Wandering Jew are the memory of humanity, they are the scholars of the world.[46]

I would suggest that the contradictory behavior of the Wandering Jew during and after the Passion mirrors the double figure of Cain and Enoch. Cain can be seen as the Jewish, guilty aspect of the protagonist, and Enoch can be considered as the pious, wise believer he eventually becomes.

In some versions of the legend of the Wandering Jew the protagonist is given a new name when he becomes Christian. The baptism is considered as the recognition of the true faith, as an entrance into a different sphere – these new circumstances require a new name, which also means the break with the sinful past. According to rabbinical literature the same happens to Enoch. When he was carried from earth to heaven, besides many thousand blessings, thirty-six wings and offices in the angelic court, he received the new name "Metatron" from God.[47] The act of giving a new name reveals a new personality, which has left the state of the past.

Elijah the Wanderer

Similarly to Enoch, Elijah is also considered in Jewish legend as the second one who did never taste death: "And it came to pass, as they still went on and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven."[48] This mysterious departure is regarded as the beginning not of an angelic existence, but of uncessant earthly wanderings. Wherever Elijah appears, he performs miracles and benign acts. He is usually disguised as a poor man, a

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[46] Laurence Sigal-Klagsbald, "Au-delà du miroir. Figure bibliques du Juif errant," in *Le Juif errant, un témoin du temps* [Exhibition catalogue], ed. Richard I. Cohen, Laurence Sigal-Klagsbald (Paris: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire du Judaïsme, 2001), 39.

[47] Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of The Jews.* Volume 1 *From the Creation to Jacob*, 3rd ed. with a new foreword by James L. Kugel (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 139.

[48] 2Kings 2:11

begger, whom some Jews meet personally and others see in dreams. These elements appear in different versions of the legend of the Wandering Jew.

Both Enoch and Elijah are expected to play a role in the messianic events. According to the Jewish legends, Elijah will appear three days before the Coming of the Messiah in order to announce him.[49] In this sense his appearances – not only this last one, but each of them – can be considered as a guarantee of the Coming of the Messiah. The figure of the Wandering Jew has the same function in a Christian context. His existence is the proof for the Christians that Christ will come again.

Although Elijah can be considered as a continuous wander, which is a later component of the legend of the Wandering Jew, – Sigal-Klagsbald rather connects both figures because of their status of immortality.[50] Besides these similarities, I follow the conclusion of scholars who do not identify both legendary figures as a the same person.[51]

The roots of the legend in the Christian sources

The legend of the Wandering Jew is not a canonical text; no references can be found to the legend in the Gospel. However, the two main motifs show strong connections with texts from the New Testament. The offense against Christ can be traced back to the story of Malchus, and the concept of immortality may originate from the Legend of Saint John.

The name of Malchus appears in the Gospel of John, he is the servant of the high priest, whose ear was cut off by Saint Peter: "Then Simon Peter having a sword drew it, and

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[49] Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of The Jews.* Volume 4 *From Joshua to Esther*, 3rd ed. with a new foreword by James L. Kugel (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 233-235.
[50] Sigal-Klagsbald, *Au-delà du miroir*, 41.
[51] Harold Fisch, "Elijah and the Wandering Jew," in *Joseph Lookstein Memorial Volume*, ed. Leo Landman (New York, 1980), 125-135. in: Galit Hasan-Rokem, "The Wandering Jew – a Jewish Perspective," *Proceedings of the Ninth World Conference of Jewish Studies*, Division D, vol. 2, Art, folklore, theatre, music (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986): 193. Both scholars refuse the identification of the two characters as one.

smote the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. The servant's name was Malchus."[52] The other Gospels also mention this act of Peter, but do not give the name of the injured man. The Gospel of Luke adds that Jesus healed the amputated ear.[53] In the Gospel of John, it appears later, when Christ was brought to the high priest's house and questioned about his teachings, an officer of the high priest struck him: "And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying, 'Answerest thou the high priest so?'"[54] It is impossible to decide whether these two characters were originally identical, but in several versions of the later tradition they are identified as one person.[55]

There are a few references to immortality in the Gospels. The Gospel of Matthew states: "Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death until they see the Son of man coming into his kingdom."[56] In this statement Jesus does not specify whom he refers to. Nevertheless, when Jesus appeared to the disciples at the Sea of the Galilee after the Resurrection, his pronouncement was more specific:

> Then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; which also leaned on his breast at supper, and said, 'Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee?' Peter seeing him saith to Jesus, 'Lord, and what shall this man do?' Jesus saith unto him, 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me.' Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die: yet Jesus said not unto him, 'He shall not die;' but, 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?'[57]

Here the comment applies to the beloved disciple, Saint John the Evangelist. According to the apocryphal tradition Saint John did not die either in Ephesus or Patmos, but hid from people and waits in an unknown place for the Second Coming of Christ.[58]

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[52] John 18:10
[53] Matthew 26:51; Mark 14:47; Luke 22:50-51
[54] John 18:22
[55] Anderson,*The Legend*, 12. Leonhard Neubar, "Zur Geschichte der Sage vom ewigen Juden," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 22 (1912): 35-36.
[56] Matthew 16:28
[57] John 21:20-23
[58] Anderson, *The Legend*, 14.

These are the Gospel references of the legend. Both traditions can be discovered in the medieval written sources about the Wandering Jew. These two aspects offer the opportunity to categorize the different examples to see if the Malchian or the Saint John motif is emphasized more in the various instances.

A version of the Malchian aspect

One Christian source which contains some familiar elements is known before the thirteenth century, when the first *official* examples of the legend appeared, but it is debated if it can be regarded as the instance of the legend of the Wandering Jew. According to the definition of the motifs of the legend, I consider it a transmitter of the later patterns.

The "Spiritual Meadow" is the work of John Moschos.[59] The thirtieth chapter is about the life of Isidoros, a monk from Melitene. He was always lamenting, and he said that he was the greatest sinner since Adam. He said that earlier he had had a wife and they were both Severians. One day when he came home, he heard that his wife had gone to a neighbor who was a communicant of the Holy Catholic Church. He followed her, grabbed her by her throat and forced her to emit the holy wafer. The latter fell in the mud, where this man saw a flash of lightening. Two days later he met an Ethiopian, who told him: "You and I are alike condemned to the same punishment."[60] And when Isidoros asked who he was, this man replied: "I am he who struck the cheek of the Creator of all things, our Lord Jesus Christ, at the time of Passion."[61] This text can be considered an early example of the legend of Malchus. Nevertheless, the physical aggression against Christ can be considered as a common element with the legend of the Wandering Jew.

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[59] John Moschos was born around the middle of the sixth century and died at the earliest in 619. He was a monk who travelled frequently among the monastic centers of Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor. His work includes stories which he collected during his travels.

[60] John Moschos, *Spiritual Meadow*, John Wortley ed., trans. (Kalamazoo: Institute of Cistercian Studies Western Michigan University, 1992), 22.

[61] Moschos, *Spiritual Meadow*, 22.

The legend of immortals in non-biblical texts

The idea of immortality appears in additional legends. Similarly to the biblical tradition, the spectrum of the immortals is wide from the criminal (Cain) type to the salvific (Elijah) one.

There is a story in *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* about the Pharao, who when pursuing the Israelites did not drown in the Red Sea with all his servants, but stayed alive, because he "offered a thanksgiving offering to the living God, and believed that He was the living God. God then commanded Michael, Gabriel and Uriel, the heavenly princess, to bring him up from the sea. So they brought him to the land of Nineveh, where he remained for 500 years."[62] Solomon Rappoport refers to this legend as a possible parallel with the legend of the Wandering Jew. He explains that the Pharao became the king of Nineveh and he never died, because he had been said to live eternally. When Nineveh was destroyed, he was stationed at the gate of hell, where he taught wisdom to wicked kings and leaders.[63] This seems to be a different legend, but the sustained or eternal life can be considered as a parallel with the legend of the Wandering Jew. Here the protagonist leaves his sinner past, recognizes the true faith and is rewarded with immortality.

The status of immortality has a contradictory meaning in the legend of Pindola. This Buddhist legend is about a man whom Buddha condemned to immortality on the earth, because he usurped his supernatural power, the ability of flying.[64] The analogy is obvious in this case: the eternal life is the punishment of this man. We will see later that some scholars presume the Buddhist origin of the Christian legend of the Wandering Jew.

According to the Mohammedan Legend of Fadhila, in the sixteenth year of the Hegira (638), captain Fadhila with his warriors arrived at a place between two mountains at the end

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[62] Moses Gaster (trans.), *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel. The Chronicle of Moses* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1971 Reprint of the ed. of 1889), 128.
[63] Rappoport, *Mediaeval Legends* , 251.
[64] Eugène Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Paris, 1876), 353-55. in Anderson, *The Legend*, 4.

of the day. During the evening prayer Fadhila noticed that another voice was repeating his prayer. When he started to speak to this voice, an old man appeared. He told him that his name was Zerib, a son of the son of Elijah, and added: "*I am here by order of the Lord Jesus, who left me alive in this world until he shall come a second time on earth. So await the Lord, who is the source of my all bliss: and according to His commands I dwell behind the mountain.*"[65] Here one component of the legend is clearly explained: Christ let this man alive and ordered him to wait for him hidden until the Second Coming. Nevertheless, there is no explanation of the reason of waiting, and it gives neutral meaning to the concept of immortality.

The story of a Jewish Wanderer

In the *Chronicle of Ahimaaz*[66] there is story about Aaron ben Samuel ha-Nasi, who in Beneventum during the Sabbath prayer noticed among the members of the community a boy who was dead, but could not die. The young man explained that he was taken to a pilgrimage to Jerusalem by a rabbi named Ahimaaz. The rabbi promised to the parents that he would bring back their child, if not he would be a sinner before God. On their way they met a group of scholars and they started to praise the Lord together. In the midst of the boy's song an elder started weeping. When asked why, he said that God had decided that this boy had to die. Ahimaaz was in despair, because of his promise. Seeing his hopelessness, the scholars wrote the Holy Name, and inserted it in the flesh of the boy's right arm. Since then, the boy had been wandering from place to place. He showed the place of the Name to Aaron ben Samuel ha-Nasi and the community, and offered them to do what they found right. They took

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[65] Anderson, *The Legend*, 15. Unfortunately I have not found the original source, so I present it in Anderson's translation.
[66] The chronicle was written by Ahimaaz ben Paltiel (1017-1060); it depicts the history of a family of Southern Italy and provides information about the social status of that Jewry.

the Name out and buried the boy. This story is about a Jewish Wanderer but obviously he is not the Wandering Jew.

Conclusion

In this chapter I introduced traditions which can be considered as the possible antecedent of the legend of the Wandering Jew. It seems that one of the Jewish interpretations of exile can be regarded as a basis of the legend – the exile can be defined as a punishment. Besides the concept of collective exile, I introduced those individual legendary figures who possess one of the characteristics of the Wandering Jew in the Old and New Testament and other legends – committing crime against the Lord and being endowed with immortality. It seems that the figure of the Wandering Jew shows similarities with cursed and holy figures of different traditions. These extreme examples signify the ambivalent relation of Christianity with the "Wandering Jew". This contradictory viewpoint also appears in the medieval sources of the legend.

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CHAPTER 2 THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF THE WANDERING JEW

The first written sources and the Cartaphilus tradition

In the thirteenth century one begins to see instances of the fusion of the story Malchus and the Legend of Saint John. In a Bolognese chronicle, *Ignoti monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariae de Ferraria chronica et Ryccardi de Sancto Germano chronica priora*, this passage is in the entry for the year 1223:

> In the same year people coming from the other side of the mountains and passing through Ferrara, told to the abbot and friars that they had seen a certain Jew in Armenia who had been present during the passion of Christ and he had hit him and insulted him while he was on his way during the passion and said to him: 'Go, you who had astray, and receive what you have deserved!' The Lord is said to have answered him: 'I am going, and you will be waiting for me until I come back.' This Jew, as it is said every century grows younger to be thirty years old again and cannot die until the Lord will return."[67]

Two English chronicles, both of them were written at the monastery of St. Alban, contain a description of the legend in the year 1228. There is a detailed passage about the legend in *Flores Historiarum*, with the title "About Joseph, who awaited alive until the Last (Second) Coming of Christ,"[68] which was recorded by Roger of Wendover. According to the scribe of the text, an Armenian archbishop visited St. Alban. He was asked if he had been ever seen or heard about Joseph, "the man about whom there is much talk among the people,

[67] *Eodem anno quidam transeuntes per Ferrariam ex ultramontis partibus retulerunt, abbati et fratribus eiusdem loci, quod viderant in Armenia quondam Judaeum, qui fuerat in paxione Christi et iniuriose pepulerat eum euntem ad paxionem dicens ei 'Vade seductor ad recipiendum quod mereris.' Cui fertur respondisse dominum «Ego vado et tu expectabis me donec revertar». Qui Judaeus, sicut dicitur, per omnia centenaria annorum de sene iuvenescit in etatem XXX annorum nec potest mori quousque Dominus veniat.* Augusto Gaudenzi, ed., *Ignoti monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariae de Ferraria chronica et Ryccardi de Sancto Germano chronica priora* (Naples, 1888) in Bezzola *L'Ebreo Errante*, 26. The chronicle covers the years from 781 to 1228.

[68] *De Joseph, qui ultimum Christi adventum adhuc vivus exspectat*, Roger of Wendover "Flores Historiarum," in *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* Rolls series 84. vol 2, ed. Henry G. Gewlett (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1964. Reprint of the ed. London 1866), 352.

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who when Christ suffered, was present and spoke to Him, who is still alive as a proof of the Christian faith."[69] The archbishop replied to the question with the help of a knight of his retinue, who interpreted the words of the archbishop. He said that his lord knew this man and this Joseph had eaten at his table; the archbishop had often seen him and talked to him in Armenia. After this introduction, the archbishop presented how this certain Joseph had explained to him the events of the Passion and the conversation between Jesus and him. And when he spoke about the episode when Christ was dragged out of the house of Pilate, one can read: "And the Jews were dragging Jesus out of the palace (of Pilate), and when He reached the doorway, Cartaphilus, the porter of the hall and of Pontius Pilate, as Jesus was going out the door, hit him with his fist on his back wickedly and mockingly said, 'Go faster Jesus go, why are you dragging your feet?' And Jesus looking back at him with a stern face and eye said: 'I go, but you will be waiting for me until I come back.'"[70] The archbishop also reported that this man was thirty years old at the time of the Passion, and every hundred years returned to the same age. Furthermore, "this Cartaphilus was baptized by Ananias, who also baptized Saint Paul the apostle, and was named Joseph."[71] He was said to stay in Armenia or other Eastern countries, he was a man of holy and religious conversations, but never spoke unless he was asked. He also spoke about the passion and the resurrection of Christ and about the apostles. He refused all gifts and offerings. He was looking forward with fear to the coming of Jesus Christ, not to find Him in anger. He placed his hope of salvation in that he had

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[69] *Viro illo, de quo frequens sermo habetur inter homnies, qui quando passus est Dominus, praesens fuit et locutus est cum eo, qui adhuc vivit in argumentum fidei Christianae*, Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, 353.

[70] *Trahentibus autem Judaeis Jesum extra praetorium, cum venisset ad ostium, Cartaphilus, praetorii ostiarius et Pontii Pilati, cum per ostium exiret Jesus, pepulit eum pugno post tergum impie et irridens dixit, 'Vade Jesu citius, vade, quid moraris?' Et Jesus severo vultu et oculo respiciens in eum dixit, 'Ego' inquit,'vado, et tu exspectabis donec 'redeam.'"* Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, 354.

[71] *Idem Cartaphilus baptizatus fuit ab Anania, qui Paulum baptizavit apostolum, et vocatus est Joseph*. Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, 354.

committed his crime because of his ignorance, and the Lord, when he had been suffering, said these words: "'Father,' he said 'forgive them, for they do not know what they do.'"[72]

In the same year, in 1228 Matthew Paris recorded the same legend in the *Chronica Majora.* It is important to emphasize that his text is not a copy of the chronicle of Wendover. Although some sentences are the same, several new details are added.[73] One of the innovations in the text is that Matthew Paris connects the judgment of Christ to a passage from the Gospel of Matthew. After the dialogue of Christ and Cartaphilus, the following sentence can be read: "And it was as if he had quoted in the Gospel; The Son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him,[74] but you will be waiting for my Second Coming."[75] A further new detail is that his rejuvenation is portrayed as ecstasy and is linked to a psalm: "thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's."[76] The chronicler finishes the description of the legend by comparing the sin of Cartaphilus with the crimes of Saint Paul, Saint Peter, and Judas, and concludes that Cartaphilus, similarly to Saint Paul and Saint Peter, committed his crime because of his indulgence, which gives him the hope of forgiveness. Furthermore he refers to witnesses who saw the evidence of the archbishop's statement.[77]

These are earliest versions of the legend, of which components can be found in several later versions, too. Each source says that the protagonist himself stays in Armenia, which, according to George K. Anderson and Virginia Bezzola, confirms the suspicion of a Near Eastern origin.[78] Nevertheless, Bezzola finds two reasons which contradict this

[72] *'Pater,' inquit 'ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt'.* Luke 23:34; Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, 355.
[73] I do not intend here to compare and to analyze the similarities and differences of these texts. I will introduce only those which are relevant from the aspect of evaluating the legend.
[74] Matthew 26:24
[75] *Ac si juxta Evangelistam diceretur; Filius quidem hominis vadit sicut scriptum est de Eo; tu autem secundum adventum meum expectabis.* Matthew Paris, "Chronica Majora" in *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* Rolls series 57, vol 3, ed. Henry Richard Luard (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1964. Reprint of the ed. London 1872-83) 162.
[76] Psalms 103:5: *Renovatur ut aquilae juventus mea.* Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 163.
[77] He mentions the name Ricardus of Argentomius, a knight who once visited Armenia as a pilgrim, and Gualerannus, a bishop from Beyrouth. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*,163-164.
[78] Anderson, *The Legend*, 19; Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 27.

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supposition. First, there is no reference to the legend in the Slavic and Greek apocrypha. Second, the legend might have already been known in England before the arrival of the archbishop.[79] The texts of the English chronicles confirm this suggestion, since in both cases the archbishop is asked if he had heard about Joseph. Furthermore, rejuvenation every hundred years is a common motif. None of the early versions introduces the element of wandering.

The Bolognese chronicle mentions the Jewish origin of this man, however, this information does not appear in the English versions. Although the Jew is unnamed in the Italian version, both Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris say that the name of the protagonist was Joseph, who had been called Cartaphilus before baptism. The origin of the name is Greek – Κάρτα dearly, φίλοσ loved – a name also used for Saint John the Evangelist.[80] There is another hypothetical origin of this name. Alexander Wesselofsky derives the name from the word – *Κορτέλινοι* – the Greek version of a hall porter.[81]

The English versions are strange fusions of the Biblical text – here the servant is not the porter of the high priest, but the porter of Pilate, and his name is Cartaphilus. Nevertheless, this mix signifies the origin of the legend.

The parallel with Saint Paul indicates that originally Cartaphilus was also an enemy of the Christian faith, but after his baptism he became a pious Christian, as is detailed in both English chronicles. It is also important to mention that Matthew Paris tries to contextualize the legend. He tries to insert the apocryphal legend into the canonical tradition.

A version of the legend appeared in French. Philippe Mouskes, archbishop of Tournai, records the incident in the *Chronique rimée* around 1243. In his poem, the archbishop tells that an Armenian archbishop visited the shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury and then spoke

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[79] Bezolla, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 27-28.
[80] Most scholars accept this attribution. Gaston Paris, *Légendes du moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1903),180; Anderson, *The Legend*, 19.; Bezolla, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 30.
[81] Alexander Wesselofsky, "Der Ewige Jude," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 5 (1881): 398-401.

about a man, who, when Christ was being led to crucifixion, said: "'Wait, since I can see/that you crucified the false prophet' …[and Christ replied]: 'We are not waiting for you/but you should know that you will be waiting for me.'" Christ then told him that he must await him until Judgment Day.[82] Besides, the absence of a reference to the aggressor, the physical insult is also missing. The man's crime is watching the events.

In 1252 Matthew Paris mentions the legend again, when certain Armenians came to Saint Alban's. They confirmed that Joseph Cartaphilus was still alive; he was one of the wonders of the world and a great proof of the Christian faith.[83]

The Buttadeus tradition

The name Cartaphilus disappeared after the thirteenth century. A different tradition, which gave another name to the protagonist, became more powerful in the thirteenth century and later. In these sources one reads different versions of the name of the sinner: Giovanni Buttadeo, Buttadio, Jehan Boute-dieu, Devoto-a-Dio.

The word *butadeus* originates from the verb *batuo*, to beat, to hit, and the noun *deus*, god; the name can be translated as God-pusher, one who beats the Lord. The French version of the word is *bouter*, but it means to reject, to push back. It sometimes turns into *votadeo* – devoted or dedicated to God. There are different explanations for the origin. There is a figure in Sicilian folklore called *Arributa Diu*, the one who refused God, and most scholars regard it as a version of this name.[84] Johann Georg Theodor Grässe sees the root in Taddaios, the Hebrew-Aramaic name of the apostles:

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[82] "*Atendés-moi, g`i vois,/S`iert mis li faus profète en crois…Icist ne t`atenderont pas,/Mais saces, tu m`atenderas*," Philippe Mouskes, "Chronique rimée," vol. 2, ed. Baron Frédéric-Auguste de Reiffenberg (Brussels, 1838) 491, cited in Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 29.
[83] Matthew Paris, "Chronica Majora," in *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, Rolls series 57, vol 5, ed. Henry Richard Luard (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1964. Reprint of the ed. London 1872-83), 341.
[84] Alessandro d'Ancona, "Le juif errant en Italie," *Romania* 10 (1881): 212-216, cited in Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante* 35; Anderson, *The Legend,* 21.

> Now the names of the twelve apostles are these: The first, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip, and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the publican; James the son of Alphaeus, and Lebbaeus, whose surname was Thaddaeus; Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him.[85]

He supposes that the Aramaic form Thaddai refers to *pectorosus* – full breasted, broad breasted, and *but* is the form of the Hebrew word *ben*, which means son.[86] Albert Edmunds believes that the name "Arributa Diu" derives from "Ariya Buddhadeva." *Ariya* is a term used by Buddhists, an honorific explanation applied to Buddhist saints, and the meaning of the name is: "Buddha is god." Edmunds also replies to Clement of Alexandria, who is said to be the first Christian author to mention Buddha, and also emphasizes the existence of a Hindu colony in Armenia between the first and the fourth century CE. He supposes that this colony dispersed the Buddhist legend of Pindola mentioned above, and considers the legend of the Wandering Jew as a Christian version of it.

Buttadeus, an example of longevity

Johannes Buttadeus is mentioned in the work of Guido Bonatti – an Italian astrologer of Forli who died around 1300 – in a passage commenting on longevity. Bezzola regards it as a first Italian instance of the name. "And it is said that there was another, who had lived in the time of Jesus Christ, and was called Joannes Buttadeus, who hit the Lord when he was going to the crucifixion and Jesus said him: 'You will wait for me, until I come again.'"[87] He added that he had met this Johannes in 1267 when on a pilgrimage to Santiago he went through Forli.

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[85] Matthew 10:2-4
[86] Johann Georg Theodor Grässe, *Tannhäuser und der ewige Jude* (Dresden, 1861), 127, cited in Bezzola *L'Ebreo Errante*, 35.
[87] *Et dicebatur tunc quod erat quidam alius qui fuerat tempore Jesu Christi et vocabatur Joannes buttadeus eo quod impulisset dominum cum ducebatur ad patibulum: et ipse dixit ei: tu expectabis me donec venero.* Guidus Bonatus de Forlivio Decem continens tractatus Astronomie Venetiis Anno dni. 1506, Tractatus quintus, considerat. 141, cited in Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 31-32.

The earliest known allusion to the name is from the thirteenth century. Philip of Novara wrote in his *Livre de forme de plait*: "… and that is why he believed there was no better than living long and happily, as Jehan Boute Dieu did it."[88] Philip of Novara, who lived between the end of the twelfth century and 1270, was a jurist who went to the Holy Land and served in the court. In this work Boute Dieu is mentioned as an example of longevity. According to Anderson and Bezzola, the name Jehan Boute Dieu can be considered as a version of the name of Buttadeus.[89] Gaston Paris believes that the Wandering Jew got the name Buttadeus in the circle of the French who had settled in the Holy Land and it arrived in Europe through Italy.[90]

The name appears in different contexts. Cecco Angiolieri declares in one of his sonnets that his hate towards his father will live longer than Botadeo.[91] The figure occurs in a sonnet of Niccolò de Rossi, too, where the thirteenth-century Venetian author swears at the governors of his city. He thinks that the reason for their long lives is the decision of Christ, who leaves them alive for a chance that they might convert. The poet concludes that "they will live longer than Butadeo."[92]

From the fourteenth century, Francesco Vanozzo complains about the indigestible dish of a wedding banquet, which causes longer suffering than the age of Saint Butadio. [93] At the end of the fifteenth century Sigismondo Tizio also mentions the name of Buttadeus. After introducing the familiar story, he adds interesting details to it: "It was said that the old man

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[88] "et de ce fait il bien à creire, jà n'I eust il plus d'advantage que de vivre longuement et bien, et enssi auroit il passé Jehan Boute Dieu," Livre de forme de plait que Sire Felippe de Novaire fist pour un sien ami aprendre et enseigner comment on doit plaidoier en la Haute Court, Assis de Jerusalem I in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, ed. I. Lois (Paris, 1841), 570, cited in Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 30.
[89] Anderson, *The Legend*, 21-22; Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 30.
[90] Paris, *Légendes*, 189.
[91] "Il pessimo e l'crudele odio, ch'I porto/a diritta ragione al padre meo,/il farà vivar più, che Botadeo,/e di ciò, buon dì, me ne sono accorto" Sonnet 106,; in *Sonetti burleschi e realistic dei primi due secoli*, ed. Aldo Francesco Massera, rev. Luigi Russo (Bari: Laterza, 1940), 116, cited in Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 33.
[92] "... ch'igli viviram più, che Butadeo." Sonnet 54 Massera 224,cited in Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 33.
[93] "Andaimi a cena com el compar mio,/et deime a manducar d'una busava,/de quella maledetta que tirava/el zovo al tempo de Zan Butadio." Ezio Levi, *Francesco di Vannozo e la lirica nelle arti lombarde durante la seconda metà del secolo XIV* (Florence: R. Istituto di studi superiori, 1908), cited in Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 34.

had passed once, his image, painted as we have already said by this Andrea (Andrea di Vanni, 1369-1411) in the corner, and had seen Jesus as he was carrying the cross and had confessed that he had never seen anybody like Jesus before."[94] Furthermore, Tizio refers to Bonatti.[95] The mention of the work of Andrea di Vanni may support the connection between the textual and pictorial traditions. No image like this can be found among his known works, however.

These Buttadeo instances differ in several respects from the Cartaphilus group. Buttadeus is the symbol of the longevity and his Jewish origin is not mentioned; the context of the legend is missing except in the work of Guido Bonatti and Sigismondo Tizio. He is not depicted as a serious sinner or an expiatory, although according to Bonatti he is on a pilgrimage. Contrary to Cartaphilus, who is presented as a historical figure, he becomes a mythical one.[96] The lack of the context signifies the reputation of the legend. He bears his past in his name, which is less important in the present. The usage of the figure is consequent in the different sources, the symbolism is always the same and clear.

Buttadeus, the miracle of the holy places

There is a third well circumscribed group of the sources. These are descriptions of pilgrims about the holy places of Jerusalem. More variants of these texts exist – they either report about the exact place where this certain man hit Christ or depict that the author or someone else saw this man in Jerusalem. In most cases the name of the man is Buttadeus.

One of the earliest examples is the anonymous poem, "Del Gatto Lupesco," from the thirteenth century, known from a fourteenth-century copy. According to George K.

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[94] *Senis aliquando transivisse: imaginemque ipsius ab Andrea [il pittore Andrea di Vanni, 1369-1413] isto, ut diximus, in angulo pictam, crucem ferentem inspexisse, seque Christo similiorem haudquamquam vidisse fuisse testatum.* d'Ancona, *Le Juif errant*, 213, cited in Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 37.
[95] d'Ancona, *Le Juif errant*, 214, cited in Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errant*, 38.
[96] Sigal-Klagsbald, *Au-delà du miroir*, 34.

Anderson,[97] two Breton men met a pilgrim, who, on a journey to Palestine to see the holy places, had met a certain man who had been waiting for Christ. This man had urged Christ with kindness because he had wanted to save the Lord from unnecessary pain. Nevertheless, his fate is the same.[98] Although the author of the text does not state that this man is not allowed to leave Jerusalem, but suggests that he might be a sight in Jerusalem. The name of the man is not mentioned, but his identification as the Wandering Jew is unquestionable.

In his *Libellus de locis ultramarinis* the Dominican Peter of Penna introduces the holy places. He explains that, "near to this place is shown the place where Johannes Buttadium pushed the Lord Christ from the crowd when he was tied and going to die and mockingly said to the Lord: 'Go on, go to die.' The Lord replied: 'I am going to die, but you will not die until the Day of Judgment for your guilt.'"[99] Furthermore, the author of the text does not believe in the legend and considers it a legend of unlearned people. He emphasizes that the name refers to Johannes *devotus Domini* who was said to be the sword-bearer of Charlemagne and said to have lived for two hundred fifty years.[100] The text is dated between 1328 and 1380.[101]

Mariano da Siena, in *Del viaggo in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da Ser Mariano da Siena nel secolo XV*, speaks about a certain gate where Jesus went out with the Cross on his shoulder to Calvary: "It is said that here was that (man) who was called Ioanni Botadeo, and

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[97] Anderson, *The Legend*, 23.
[98] "E ll'uomo per kui Christo è atenduto/d'allora in qua ke fue pilliato/e ne la croce inchiavellato/da li giudei k'el giano frustando,/com a ladrone battendo e dando:/allora quell'uomo il puose mente/e sì li disse pietosamente:/ va tosto ke non ti deano sì spesso;/e Christo si rivuolse ad esso,/sì li disse: io anderoe/e tu m'aspetta k'io torneroe. "Rime inedite dei sec. XIII e XIV," in *Il Propugnatore* 15. vol 2., ed. (Bologna, 1882), 353-339, cited in Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 33.
[99] E*t ibi prope monstratur locus a vulgo ubi Johannes Butadium impulit Christum dominum quando ibat ligatus ad mortem insultando dicens Domino: 'Vade ultra, vade ad mortem.' Cui respondit Dominus: 'Ego vado ad mortem, sed tu usque ad diem iudicii non morieris pro tua culpa,'"* Charles Kohler, "Le libellus de locis ultramarinis de 'Pierre de Pennis'," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 9 (1902): 358, cited in Bezzola 34; P. B. Bagatti, "The Legend of the Wandering Jew: A Franciscian Headache," in *The Legend of the Wandering Jew. Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend*, ed. Galit Hasan-Rokem, Alan Dundes (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1986), 40.
[100] The sword-bearer of Charlemagne appears in the work of Guido Bonatti, too. In that version his name is Ricardus and he lived for four hundred years.
[101] Bezzola *L'Ebreo Errante*, 34.

said to Jesus to harass him: ‘Just go down.’ The humble Jesus answered: ‘I go, but you will be waiting for me until I return. There is no mercy.’”[102]

In 1480-83, a Dominican driar, Father Felix Fabri of Wurttemberg, said when he visited the house of the high priest he asked the friar who accompanied him where the Wandering Jew had stood when he had struck Christ. The friar led him out of the house and showed him an olive tree and said that Christ was tied to that tree. According to Bagatti, Felix Fabri does not believe in the legend because it is against the Christian tradition: Christ in his Passion would give a perfect example of patience, but never of vengeance.[103] Furthermore Anderson mentions that in Jerusalem Felix Fabri discovered that the person who had been struck Christ had never been allowed away from the scene of his offense, but waited in a subterranean chamber where he was continuously walking and lamenting his sin.[104]

The French monk, Michel Menot, whose sermons appeared in 1525, records the same story. He refers to a solider who lived in Jerusalem and became a lover of one of the sultan’s wives. This woman offered to show him a great mystery of Christian faith and led him to a subterranean chamber, closed by an iron door, where the solider saw Malchus, who was perpetually expiating his sin.[105]

The most detailed account appears in Peter Brantius Pennalius, who is said to have visited Jerusalem at the end of the sixteenth century.[106] When he returned to Italy, he explained that a Turk, who had been formerly the slave of his uncle, was the captain of Jerusalem at the time. This man invited the author to his house, and he was asked there if he wanted to see something which no one could see except the captain of Jerusalem. Pennalius

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[102] “Ioanni botadeo, e disse per dispetto a Iesu: va’ pur giù, che tu n’arai una tua una: Rispose l’umile Iesu: io andarò, tu m’aspetterai tanto, ch’io torni. Non ci è perdonanza.” Canon Domenico Moreni, ed., *Del viaggo in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da Ser Mariano da Siena nel secolo XV*, (Florence: Maghieri, 1822), 29. in Bezzola, *L’Ebreo Errante*, 37.
[103] Bagatti, *A Franciscian Headache*, 41.
[104] Anderson, *The Legend*, 34.
[105] Anderson, *The Legend*, 35.
[106] The name Pennalius is missing from the *Navis Peregrinorum*, a collection of the names of pilgrims from 1561 until 1659.

told in detail how they reached a secret place where he saw a strange man who was constantly walking. The captain asked him to swear that he would not tell anyone who this man was and then said:

> 'This man,' he said to me, 'is the servant who struck your Christ before the High Priest Annas. For punishment of his grievous crime he was condemned by your Christ to remain here. We too believe in the old traditions. In this place he stays, never eating, nor drinking; never sleeping nor taking rest; but always walking as you see him, and always – look my friend, – always the arm that struck!'[107]

There is no original text of Pennalius, but the story is told by later authors too.[108]

The sources which locate the Wandering Jew in Jerusalem are more mystical than the European examples. He does not eat or drink, he has been in exactly the same place since his crime was committed. Contrary to the European examples of Buttadeus, this man is hidden away from the public, his existence considered a secret. It shows his penance in a different way. He is not able to show the truth to Christians, only to non-believers. The new detail, that this man is hidden is by the Ottomans, seems an interesting reference to the actual political situation of the period, and includes religious questions, too. With this point, the Christians are able to sound superiority and more authentic not only than the Jews, but also than Islam.

Buttadeus in Passion plays and the Wandering Jew in the Pardoner's Tale

The Northern Passion is a Middle English religious poem from about 1300. This narrative in verse deals with events from the Entry into Jerusalem to the Soldiers' Report of the Resurrection and often includes apocryphal legends. It was widely popular and survived in fourteen manuscripts covering approximately two hundred years.[109] Two of them reference

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[107] Here I use the translation of Bagatti, because I have not found the original version. Bagatti, *A Franciscian Headache*, 42-43.
[108] The story can be found in the following works: Frater Quaresmi: Terrae Sanctae elucidation (1616-26), D. Laffi: Viaggio in Levante (1683)
[109] O. S. Pickering, "Some Similarities between Queen Mary's and the Northern Passion," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 135.

to the protagonist. One of the manuscripts, from 1350, speaks about a certain John Puttedieu who was present at the Crucifixion and is still alive.[110] The other manuscript, around one hundred years older, gives further details. John Putte-Dieu pushed Christ with his hand, crying: "Traytour, ga forthe; here shall thou not stande!" and Jesus answered that this man must stay in the snow, rain, and cold until he comes again.[111]

In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* an old man appears in the "Pardoner's Tale." [112] This old man gives three rioters directions for finding death and then explains why he lives so long. One can find similarities with the legend of the Wandering Jew – this man is immortal and he is meek, pious, and restless. My aim is not to decide whether this person can be regarded as the Wandering Jew, but to introduce the text as a possible instance.

The Wandering Jew – the foreteller

The manuscript of Antonio di Francesco di Andrea is from the fifteenth century.[113] The author tells about a certain Giovanni Votaddio or Giovanni Servo di Dio. According to the old citizens, this man was seen in Italy between 1310 and 1320, but in 1411 Antonio's brother met him, this Giovanni Votaddio, in the habit of a Franciscan friar of the third order, when he saved a child from a snowstorm. He had the ability to foretell the future and he was able to escape any violence. Furthermore, he healed a woman of a loathsome disease. Giovanni always spoke with the inhabitants of different towns as if he were a native of them; nevertheless, he was not allowed to stay at a place more than three days. When the author asked him whether he was Giovanni Bottadio, this man did not give an answer. According to

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[110] Oxford, Bodlelian Library MS Rawlinson C655
[111] British Museum, Additional 31042
[112] Nelson Sherwin Bushnell, "The Wandering Jew and the Pardoner's Tale," *Studies in Philology* 28, no.3 (1931): 450-460; Mary Padgett Hamilton, "Death and Old Age in "The Pardoner's Tale," *Studies in Philology* 36, no. 4 (1939): 571-576; Mary Flowers Braswell, "Chaucer's Palimpsest: Judas Iscariot and the 'Pardoner's Tale,'" *The Chaucer Review* 29 (1995): 303-310.
[113]Anderson, *The Legend*, 25; Bezzola, *L'Ebreo Errante*, 36.

Andrea, this Giovanni was the third great witness to the power of God, along with Elijah and Enoch.[114]

This man does good deeds – which could be considered as a survival of the Cartaphilus legend. Nevertheless, there is a great difference between them: this man does not speak about his past or does not refer to his miraculous existence. When he is asked about it, he refuses to reply. The mention of the names of Elijah and Enoch implies the suspected immortal quality of the protagonist. The three-day stay denotes a parallel either with Christ – his Passion, Death, Resurrection – or Cain, who according to the will of the Lord was not allowed to stay longer at any place.[115] The name Votaddio or Servo di Dio is a version of Buttadeus and means "the one who offered himself to the Lord" or "the one who served the Lord".

A source lately discovered by E. Ann Matter shows a different aspect of the Wandering Jew.[116] Alberto Alfieri recorded the legend in his *Ogdoas*.[117] The work includes eight dialogues between recently deceased members of the Visconti and the Adorno, two families of Genoa. The main protagonist is Gabriele Maria Visconti, who was executed in 1408-09. In Dialogue Seven Gabriele has a conversation with Antoniotto, who died in 1398. Gabriele asks him about the city of Caffa, but before speaking about it, Antoniotto talked about the forthcoming ages of horror for Genoa, which would be followed by a short Golden Age, and by the appearance of the a man, whose presence was a sign of calamities. His name was Giovanni and he was considered to be a foreteller – these qualities are similar to the protagonist of Andrea. Furthermore, he is capable of miracles – he can transform himself. Beside the well-known details of the legend, this man is said to be a most true witness of the

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[114] Paris, *Légendes*, 205-209.
[115] Genesis 4:12
[116] E. Ann Matter, "Wandering to the End. The Medieval Christian Context of the Wandering Jew," in *Transforming Relations. Essays on Jews and Christians throughout History*, ed. Franklin T. Harkins (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 224-240.
[117] The *Ogdoas* was written in Caffa, a Geonese colony in the Black Sea. The author introduces himself as a native Lombard and a schoolmaster, but nothing else is known. The text was written in 1420.

Christian faith.[118] Here the Wandering Jew is considered a foreteller of disasters; he is not present continuously in the history of Christianity, but appears at a certain point in it.

Conclusion

I have introduced the different variations of the textual tradition between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century. I defined two main ways – the characteristics of the Cartaphilian and the Buttadeus traditions. I tried to emphasize those qualities which are common in the variants and find those elements which may help to identify the pictorial instances. According to the earliest versions, besides the crime of the protagonist, his permanent waiting is emphasized. The first source which may suggest the concept of wandering is the work of Guido Bonatti and origins from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Johannes, the protagonist, is said to participate in a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella. Nevertheless the idea of waiting is still general in the fourteenth and fifteenth century sources, and it is supplemented with a further element when the protagonist completes his continuous waiting without rest. This variation represents this figure as he perpetual walks on the same place. Here the concept of the everlasting walking appears, but this man marches on the same place. The first clear reference, which indicates that this person is not allowed to stay more than three days at a place, can be read in the work of Antonio di Francesco di Andrea from the fifteenth century. This source can be regarded the first one which includes one of the main elements in the latter tradition. This relatively late appearance of the component in the textual tradition also suggests that the early examples of the visual representations might not have influenced by the written versions of the legend, but other origin different sources.

The legend seems to contain folkloric elements. Stith Thompson classifies the legend into the section Rewards and Punishments.[119] This folkloristic quality suggests the

[118] Matter, *Wandering to the End*, 233-235.

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opportunity of the oral transmission. Since the legend was applied in very different contexts – which can be considered as the sign of its reputation – the importance of the oral tradition in the spread of the legend can be supposed.

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[119] Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977, reprint of the ed. of 1946): 268.

CHAPTER 3 THE PICTORIAL DEFINITION OF THE WANDERING JEW – PATTERNS AND TYPES

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the different directions of the textual tradition. On the basis of these texts, one can see that the written sources of the legend are not homogenous. There are different patterns, which emphasize different qualities of the protagonist. The linking among the various versions are the two elements, which can be considered the basis of the legend. The first component is the verbal or physical abuse which this person committed against Christ. The second is his being punished by immortality – he has to wait until the Second Coming of the Christian Savior.

Should one retain these characteristics as criteria for the identification of pictorial references to the legend or should one admit the possibility of an independent or a less dependent tradition? Both approaches are problematic. If one assumes a strong connection between the written and the visual examples, it would be difficult to recognize the main elements of the textual tradition depicted in an image. Crime against Christ is a common component of Passion scenes, and does not help to individualize this figure. Recognizing the act of waiting is also difficult.

If alternatively one supposes an independent pictorial tradition, its recognition is no less problematic. How can one define a pictorial tradition without reference to the texts? As it was showed in the previous chapter, several additional elements are added to the legend in the fourteenth century. The location of the event at the gate or doorway, and the act of wandering instead of waiting appear sporadically in the fifteenth century. These elements show up in the pictorial tradition too.

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My aim in this chapter is to contextualize and to evaluate the pictorial tradition. I think that the earliest examples indeed show strong connections with the textual sources, but images from the fifteenth century and later are more independent. I will try to explain the reasons which could be behind these changes; basing my study on examples which originated from England, France, the Netherlands, Italy, and Germany.

The earliest examples of visual representations

The first uncontrovertible depictions of the Wandering Jew are from the thirteenth century, they are manuscript illustrations. Although there are images from before the thirteenth century, which are considered as the instances of the Wandering Jew, the lack of textual sources from the earlier period, and the differences of them from the thirteenth-century examples make these attributions doubtful. The first one is an illustration of a *Vitae Sanctorum*.[120] It depicts a man wearing ornate clothes. (fig.1) The two other illustrations are in the same manuscript which contains two works: Gilbertus Universalis *Lamentationes Hieremiae* and Augustine *Tractatus in epistolam Iohannis*.[121] The first one portrays a standing man with a huge pointed hat and long beard. The beard coils around the man's stick.(fig. 2) The second image depicts the same (?) man sitting on a globe (?).(fig. 3)

The two thirteenth-century representations show strong connections. Both of them are manuscript illuminations, both are from England, and both date from the same decade. The visual patterns of these illustrations are also similar.

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[120] Flanders, 1001-1100, Gent, Centrale Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Inv. Nr. MS 308 fol. 1r. I have found this attribution on the Marburger Index.

[121] Diane Wolfthal, "The Wandering Jew: Some Medieval and Renaissance Depictions," in *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip, Art Historian and Detective*, ed. William W. Clark, Colin Eisler (New York: Abaris Books, 1985), 221. A. J. van Run, "Bene Barbatus. Over de oudste Eeuwige Jood in de beeldende kunst," ["Bene Barbatus:" on the oldest Wandering Jew in art] *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 38 (1987): 293-295; Jean-Claude Schmitt, "La Genèse Médiévale de la Légende et de l'Iconographie du Juif Errant," in *Le Juif Errant: un témoin du temps* [Exhibition catalogue], ed. Richard I. Cohen, Laurence Sigal-Klagsbald (Paris: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire du Judaïsme, 2001), 61-62.

Fig. 1: Vitae Sanctorum, www.bildindex.de/dokumente/html/obj20390729, last accessed 15.05.2012

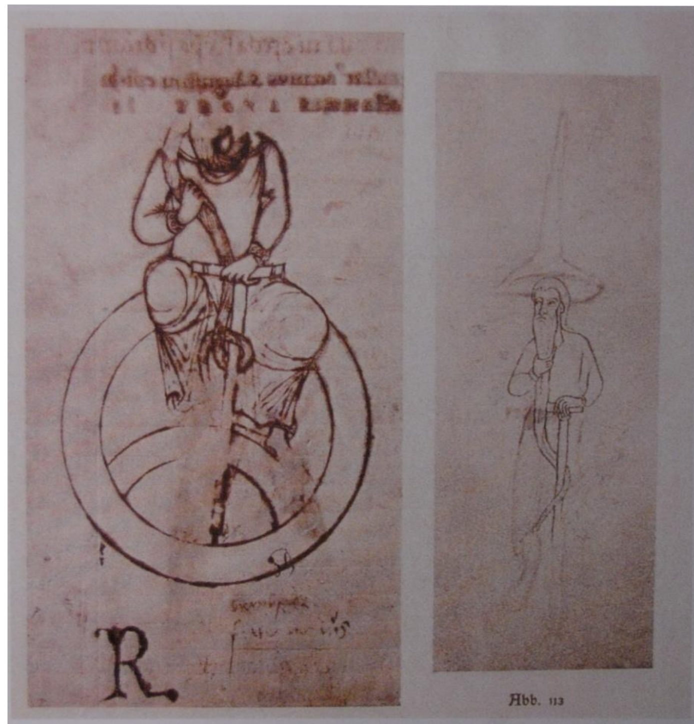

Fig. 2-3: Gilbertus Universalis, *Lamentationes Hieremiae*; Augustine, *Tractatus in epistolam Iohannis*. From: G. Leidinger, . *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Bäyerischen Staatbibliothek in München* 7 (Munich, 1924), 66. 109.

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Fig. 4: Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora. From: Suzanne. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 301.

The first one is found in the *Chronica majora*, written and illustrated by Matthew Paris[122] (fig.4). It depicts Christ, carrying the cross, conversing with a man. The Christ figure is naked above the waist, the cross is on his left shoulder and he holds it with both hands. His gesture suggests that the cross is light. He stands and turns easily back toward the other speaker. The other person is shorter than Christ. He has a huge nose, a wrinkled forehead, and a disproportionate body – these signs of ugliness are typical of the medieval depictions of Jews and other enemies of Christ, who tormented him during his Passion. He has a hat on his bent back and he holds a pickax in his left hand. The names of Christ and the ugly person, Cartaphilus, as well as their conversation, are inscribed on speech scrolls: "Hurry, Christ to the trial, which has been prepared for you." and Christ's replies: "I go as it is written of me. However you will wait until I come (again)."[123] Both inscriptions can be read on a scroll. Cartaphilus's scroll touches the right elbow of Christ apparently expressing his animosity and

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[122] 1240-53 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Ms. 16 fol. 70v.
[123] *Vade, Jhesu, ad judicium tibi preparatum. Vado sicut scriptum est de me. Tu vero expectabis donec veniam.*

aggression.[124] The scroll is unfurled in the direction of Christ's way to Calvary, to the right; this visual solution signifies the action on the drawing. The move as Christ turns back serves the same function – it signifies walking and standing in parallel.[125] Furthermore, the differences between the poses portray the confrontation of the two figures. Besides his appearance, the attributes of Cartaphilus emphasize his Jewish origin. Although his hat is not a pointed Jewish hat, the meaning of the pickax is clear. It is the attribute of Cain, who killed his brother Abel with a similar tool. I suppose that the identification of Cartaphilus with Cain offers two possible interpretations. The first is the fratricide aspect. The image introduces the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament story. The fratricide, the older brother Cain, who killed his younger brother, is seen as an allegory of the Jews; whereas his victim Abel prefigures Christ.[126] The second is the possibility of interpreting the waiting until the Second Coming of Christ as a continuous wandering. This identification suggests the idea of eternal wandering as a punishment by alluding to Cain's curse in Genesis 4:12: "When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth." I think both aspects are acceptable, and one can see that the punishment is already alluded to at this early point. of wandering appears already here in the pictorial tradition.

The *Chronica majora* is the only source which jointly provides both instances: the example of the textual and the pictorial tradition. Here one has the chance to compare them. There are three main differences.

First, the text mentions that Cartaphilus beat Christ when he was going out of the palace of Pilate. The drawing does not refer to a scene like this. Although the surroundings are not depicted, the "Christ before Pilate" or high priest scenes does not portray Christ as he

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[124] I do not agree with Suzanne Lewis, who affirms the opposite: "As his long speech scroll unfurls to touch Christ's elbow, it appears to assist him momentarily in supporting the arm of the cross." Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 303.

[125] Schmitt, *La Genèse Médiévale*, 63.

[126] Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 303.

carries his cross.[127] According to the chronology of the Gospels, the trials happened before the cross bearing.

Second, the conversation between Jesus and Cartaphilus is different in the text and on the image. Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris give the dialogue in the text of their chronicles: "Go Jesus faster, go, why are you staying?" "I go, but you will be waiting for me until I come again." Nevertheless, on the illumination a different inscription can be read: "Hurry, Christ to the trial which has been prepared for you." "I go as it is written of me." "However, you will wait until I come (again)."[128] I think that the inscription on the illumination is more contextualized. Contrary to the version of the chronicles, both sentences connect more to the Old Testament tradition. They integrate the conversation into the chronology of the Passion.

Third, the Jewish origin is not mentioned in written form of the legend in the *Chronica majora*. In the chronicle Cartaphilus is depicted as the porter of the hall of Pilate, no reference – clothes, armament – to it can be seen on this image. Why does Matthew Paris not mention the Jewish origin in the former, while emphasizing it in the latter? The textual sources are more explicit about the "afterlife" of this man, his actions and deeds in the Christian world. On the contrary, the early pictorial representations depict this story as one "station of the cross." As he is a tormentor of Christ, he automatically becomes a Jew.

There is an interesting detail in the illustration which may refer to a contemporary event. The Cross of Christ is a processional cross[129] and this gesture placed the events of the Passion in the medieval present and made them real. According to Schmitt the processional

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[127] According to Suzanne Lewis this shows the influence of the sixth-century source, which suggests that this action happened on the Via Crucis. She does not identify her source, but if she refers to the work of John Moschos, not the Via Crucis but the time of Passion is mentioned there. Lewis, *Matthew Paris*, 303. I suppose a different aim of this kind of representation which will be explained below.

[129] Lewis, *Matthew Paris*, 301.

character may imply a relic of the True Cross, purchased by Louis the Ninth, or known as the Bromholm Cross.[130]

How can one explain the differences of the two traditions? The author of the text and the image is identical. I suppose that the distinction signifies the intention that the image could be decoded without the text. The image is not the complementary to the text, but can be considered an independent item. Naturally, the illustration still shows similarities with the text – the alternative description of the conversation, the meaning of it, but the elements like the lack of surroundings and the stress on this person's Jewishness can be regarded as the first step toward to the independence of the pictorial tradition.

There is an additional inscription on the illustration which runs above Christ and Cartaphilus: "Cartaphila x^{o} [Christo] // yppa x^{o} Crassay x^{o}. // Respõsio x^{i} // Evena yppa vo anany mamo".[131] As far as I know these sentences are meaningless.

The second illustration appears in a Book of Hours illuminated by the workshop of William de Brailes[132] (fig. 5). This psalter was made for an English dame.[133] The frontispiece to Sext in this manuscript shows four medallions containing Passion scenes[134] – Meeting with the Wandering Jew, Christ carrying the cross, the Disrobing of Christ, and Christ at the foot of the cross with his executioners. The scene with the Wandering Jew is the one at the upper left. There is an inscription above the border: "…look and say that you will stay until I come again"[135] Although Christ does not carry the cross in this scene, its interpretation as a station of the *Via Crucis* is more obvious here – this is an episode in a larger narrative. Christ converses with a man, both raising one finger, which can be explained as a sign of dispute, anger or threat. The Wandering Jew is surrounded by other threatening men – one of whom

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[130] Schmitt, *La Genèse Médiévale*, 64., 70.
[131] I would like to thank Anna Somfai, the Head of the Medieval Manuscript Studies Specialization at the CEU, for transcribing this text to me.
[132] c. 1240 London, British Library, Add. Ms. 49999 fol. 43v.
[133] Schmitt, *La Genèse Médiévale*, 64.
[134] Wolfthal, *The Wandering Jew,* 221.
[135] *regarde et dit e tu remeines ici desque ieo revenie.*

holds a knobkerrie (club). Contrary to the depiction of Matthew Paris, the figure of the Wandering Jew is not distasteful here. His Jewishness is marked in a different way – he wears a prayer scarf (tallit). One sign may suggest the knowledge of *Flores historicarum* and of the *Chronica majora*. The image depicts a young man and both chronicles mention that this man was thirty years old at the time of the Passion.

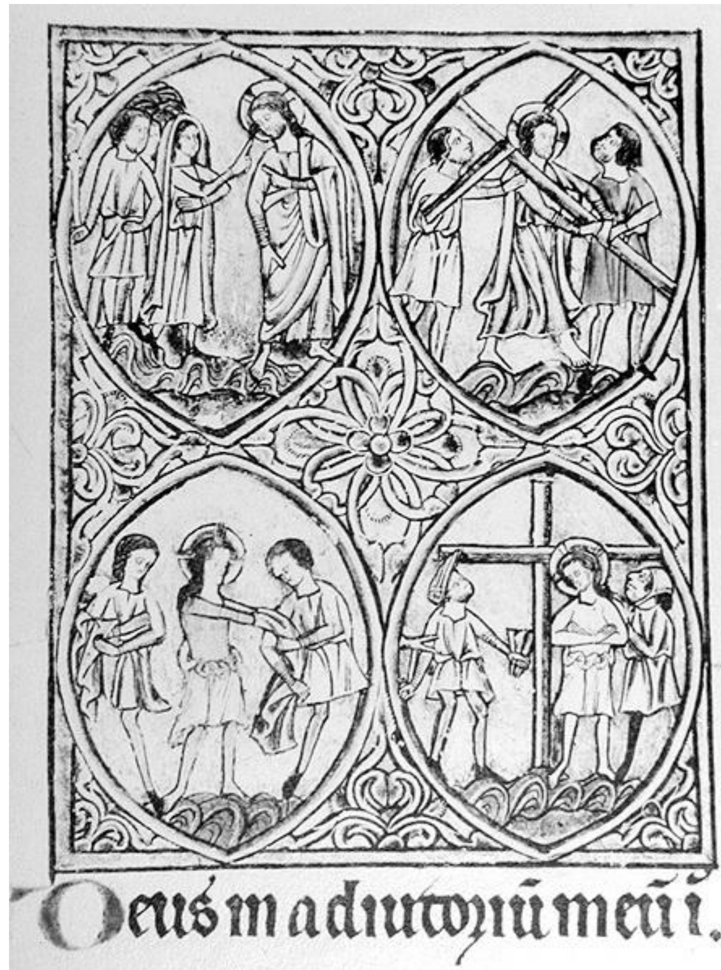

Fig. 5: William de Brailes, Book of Hours. From: http://ica.princeton.edu/images/mss/london/britlib/066319.jpg, last accessed 15.05.2012

These are the examples from the thirteenth century. These representations still have connections with the textual tradition; they depict the argument between Christ and the Wandering Jew, and this conversation included the crime of this person committed against the Christ. In both cases an inscription helps to interpret the scene. This indicates that the legend was not well known and the visual tradition depended on the textual one.

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I cannot decide about the chronological sequence of both illustrations, which are from the same period and territory. I do not presume a connection between them, but I assume a common textual antecedent which influenced both of them.

The visual representations of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth century

There is a huge gap in time after these mid-thirteen century illustrations. It was approximately one hundred years until the next example appeared. It is difficult to explain the reason for this "pictorial silence." I have two hypotheses related to the lack of images: either fourteenth-century examples may not have been discovered yet or the spread of the pictorial tradition did not happen parallel with the flow of the texts, but later.

The image from the fourteenth century

The Spanish Chapel of the Basilica of Santa Maria Novella in Florence was decorated by Andrea di Bonaiuto between 1365 and 1367. Part of the huge program is "The Road to Calvary" scene (fig. 6). Christ is accompanied by a large crowd; he has just left Jerusalem through one of the gates of the city. A man who is standing next to the gate can be identified as a Jew, because he wears a yellow hat and a long tunic; holding a long stick in one hand, looks and points at Jesus with the other. Christ, with the cross on his left shoulder, looks back in the direction of the gate. It is impossible to decide whether Christ looks at his mother and her companion or at this man. The composition of the scene is reminiscent of the details of the Matthew Paris illustration. The way Christ looks back and the suggestive face of this Jewish man are strong parallels. The wall painting seems as if it had surrounded and filled Paris' composition with architectural details and people.[136]

[136] According to my previous research, I am the first one who identified this image as an example of the image of the Wandering Jew.

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Fig. 6: Andrea di Bonaiuto, The Road to Calvary. From: http://www.casasantapia.com/images/art/andreabuonaiuti/christbearing700.jpg, last accessed 15.05.2012

Nevertheless, the scene differs from the earlier textual and pictorial tradition insofar as Jesus has just gone out through the city gate and looks back. As far as I know, two sources mention that Christ met this man as he went through a gate – Mariano da Siena in his description of the Holy Land and Sigismondo Tizio in his chronicle, mentioned above. Although both of them are from the fifteenth century, this detail may show a possible link of the image to the Buttadeus tradition, mentioned above. I would add a remark which can be considered a speculation. In the manuscript of Antonio Francesco di Andrea, when the mysterious man was asked whether he was Giovanni Bottadio, he gave the following answer: "You mean to say Batte-Iddio, that is, Giovanni who struck Christ. When he was ascending the hill where the cross was, and His mother with other women went beside Him amid great sorrow, lamentation, and grief…" Bezzola dates the text to the beginning of the fifteenth

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century, Anderson dates it close to 1450. One may say that this source can be regarded as a typical depiction of a Passion scene. Nevertheless, Buttadeus is not a frequent character in them. Both the text and the wall-painting are from Florence. Of course, I do not state that the author of the text recorded the details of this painting, but I think that both works are examples of that particular version of the legend which circulated around not only around Florence but in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.

Furthermore there is a compositional detail in the painting which may refer to the judgment of Christ. Buttadeus is portrayed next to a crowd who follows or accompanies Christ. Each person moves; he is the only static figure in the foreground. His standing may imply his doom.

Images of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century

The pictorial examples of the fifteenth century created a new representation of the legend, which led to the establishment of a new tradition. The Wandering Jew became a member of the crowded Calvary scene. He appears in different temporal moments of the Passion – besides Christ bearing the cross scenes, he is depicted in the crucifixion and lamentation of Christ images. His identification as a wanderer is more obvious now, as I have shown in the previous chapter. Most of the sources of the fifteenth century locate this man in the Holy Land as permanently waiting for Christ. Nevertheless one might find a few references to the errant quality of him in the textual tradition. Bonatti and Tizio imply that this man was on the way when they met him. The manuscript of Antonio di Francesco di Andrea is the first source to lay out the concept of permanent wandering. The first record is from the beginning of the fourteenth century; the other two are from the fifteenth. I will return to the possible influence of the textual sources later.

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According to Jean-Claude Schmitt, the way which helps establish that these depictions are representations of the Wandering Jew is the fact that no other legend is known which might be portrayed in Passion scenes.[137] In this sense I will apply an inverse method to test my hypothesis. The fifteenth century sources can be divided into two groups which finally merge into one. The first group contains examples which depict the Wandering Jew with the topoi of a typical Jewish appearance, while the instances of the second group signify his otherness.

The first group: The man as a Jew

The *Tabula Magna* altar, attributed to the Master of Tegernsee, is from the mid-fifteenth century[138] (fig. 7). The altarpiece, called *tabula magna* in contemporary sources, was placed on the high altar in the choir of the Tegernsee Collegiate church.[139]

The Crucifixion panel presents an old man on the right side of the crucified Christ. This man sits on the ground on the lower part of the picture; he has a long beard and nose – the signs of his Jewishness – and he pulls on a pair of boots. Although there are several persons in this composition, he is isolated, he has no connection with any of them. He holds a small stick in his mouth. Stange believes that this man seized the boots from Christ,[140] but I am not convinced about the validity of this suggestion. The boots are not pieces of Christ's clothes, but the attribute of this man. The boots or the pulling on of the boots signify the preparation for a long journey; this is the attribute of a wanderer who is about to leave the scene of the Crucifixion. This composition implies that he has already committed his crime and Christ's judgment has also been pronounced.

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[137] Schmitt *La Genèse Médiévale*, 66.
[138] 1445- 46 Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Gm 1055 The painting was attributed formerly to a certain Gabriel Maeleskircher (Mächselkircher) and was dated to 1474.
[139] Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik* 10 (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1960), 63.
[140] Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, 65.

Fig. 7: Master of Tegernsee, *Tabula Magna* Altar From: Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, vol 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 6.38.

The rod in his mouth implies that he is a tormentor of Christ. The tormentors of Christ were often represented as dogs in North European art.[141] This visual type refers to the passage in the book of Psalms 22:16: “For dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me: they pierced my hands and my feet.” No further example of this kind of representation of the Wandering Jew is known from the fifteenth century, although a similar depiction dates from the next century.

Quentin Massys' Lamentation altarpiece[142] was painted for the chapel of the Carpenters Guild in the Cathedral of Antwerp[143](fig. 8). A figure is seen in the background landscape, behind the Lamentation, and in front of the three crosses of Calvary. His beard and profile with a hooked nose again indicate his Jewishness. His skin is dark and his head is covered with a hat. He sits on the ground and he is about to pull shoes on his bare feet; there

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[141] James Marrow, “*Circumdederunt me canes multi*: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance,” *The Art Bulletin* 59 (1977): 174.
[142] 1508-1511 Antwerp, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts, 245.
[143] Wolfthal, *The Wandering Jew,* 223.

are a canteen and a funnel on his back. These show a number of similarities with the Wandering Jew figure of the Crucifixion panel of the *Tabula Magna* altarpiece. An additional detail reveals the parallelism between them; a wanderer's stick with a mace head can be seen on the ground next to this person – he is also being characterized as a tormentor of Christ.

Fig. 8: Quentin Massys, Lamentation, From: http://www.cgfaonlineartmuseum.com/massys/p-massys9.htm, last accessed 15.05. 2012

Both instances show a malign figure. His evil quality is emphasized by his ugly appearance and his material culture. The stick in his mouth on the *Tabula Magna* altarpiece, and the wanderer's staff with a mace-head on Quentin Massys's panel signify his attribute of threat.

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Instances of the second group

The engraving of Martin Schongauer, "The Large Road to Calvary," completed between 1475 and 1480; shows a strange man on the right edge (fig. 9). He has thick lips, his

face is beardless. He wears a chaperon (hat) and a mantle that opens at the side. He wears boots and leans on a walking stick. Schmitt and Wolfthal affirm that this figure has no precedent in the iconography of scenes of Christ carrying the cross.[144] He walks from right to left, moving in the same direction as the cross, but has no connection with the events. Schongauer's works were often reproduced.

Fig. 9: Martin Schongauer, The Large Road to Calvary. From: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/ht/?period=08®ion=euwc, last accessed 15.05.2012

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There are two copies of the graphic. One is attributed to Israhel van Meckenem and dated between 1480 and 1490. The copy is the converse of the original (fig. 10).[145] The other is attributed to a certain Monogramist WAH and dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century (fig. 11).[146]

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[144] Wolfthal, *The Wandering Jew*, 217; Schmitt, *La Genèse Médiévale*, 66.
[145] London, British Museum, Prints & Drawings, Reg. N. 1845,0809.327
[146] Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstich Kabinet, Inv. Nr. BVI, 326.181.

Fig. 10: Israhel van Meckenem, The Large Road to Calvary. From: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_image.asp, last accessed 15.05.2012

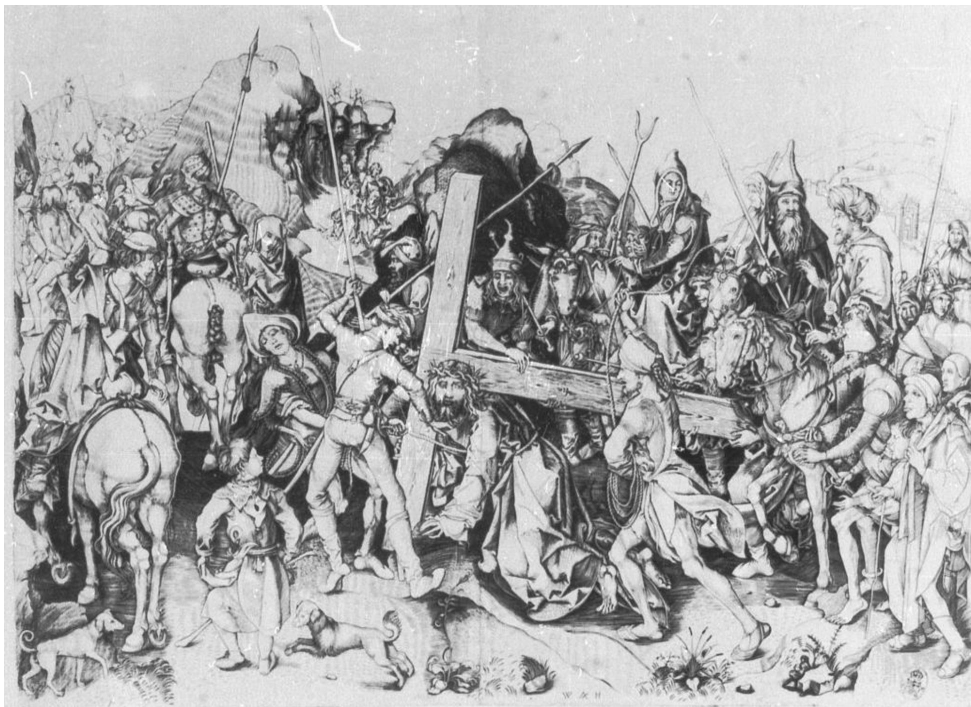

Fig. 11: Monogramist WAH, The Large Road to Calvary, http://www.bildindex.de/dokumente/html/obj30109077, last accessed 15.05.2012

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The same figure appears in a Christ-bearing-the-Cross scene from the Allgäu,[147] although the structures of the two works are different (fig. 12). His pose and costume agree with the person in Schongauer's engraving. Although he is more integrated in the composition – he walks next to Christ, among other people from left to right – his expression accords with Schongauer's man. They both look as if they were present only physically, not part of the event. Based on the similarities, he can be identified as the Wandering Jew.

Fig. 12: Christ bearing the Cross, Allgau. From Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* vol 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 4.49.

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There are further examples of this type. An illustration in a late fifteenth-century Book of Hours represents the same figure on a Christ-bearing-the-Cross scene[148] (fig. 13). He wears the same garment, walking from left to right. It is important to emphasize that the composition and the further details of this illumination differ from the previous images. The

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[147] 1480, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Gm 1230

[148] French, Burgundy, Langres (?) 1485-1490 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 26 fol. 112v.

two components which connect them are the topic of the pictures and the appearance of the Wandering Jew.[149]

Fig. 13: Christ bearing the Cross, Book of Hours, French. From: http://utu.morganlibrary.org/medren/single_image2.cfm?page=ICA000139268&imagename=m26.112v.jpg, last accessed 15.05.2012

At the end of the fifteenth century this man appears in a Crucifixion scene[150] (fig. 14). This painting comes from the Baumberg Cloister near Wassenburg, close to Munich.[151] He is at the base of the cross and walks from right to left. He has a similar ugly face, long boots, and a walking stick in his hand. In the catalogue of the museum, more than a hundred years old, the following information is noted with respect to this panel: "*In der Mitte vorn*

[149] The previous literature has not identified the last two images as the depicition of the Wandering Jew.
[150] German, late fifteenth century, Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 43 The painting was formerly attributed to a certain Master Steffan von Wassenburg (?) Karl Voll, Heinze Braune, Hans Buchheit, ed., *Katalog der Gemälde des Bayerischen National-Museums* (Munich: Verlag des Bayerischen National-Museums, 1908), 13-14.
[151] Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, 113.

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Ahasver."[152] Ahasver is the name of the Wandering Jew in later textual sources. This description demonstrates that even at the beginning of the twentieth century there was an attempt to identify this figure as a visual representation of the Wandering Jew.

Fig.14: Crucifixion, Baumberg. From: Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik* 10 (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1960), 113.

Next to him a skull is lying on the ground. The skull as a common motif of Crucifixion scenes refers to Adam, who, according to tradition, was buried on the Mount of Golgotha. The joint representation of the skull and the cross hints to Adam's sin, which was redeemed by Christ. The position of the skull indicates a further explanation – both of them, Adam and the Wandering Jew, committed serious sins, that is why they have to suffer in pain.

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[152] Ahasver is in front in the middle. Voll, Braune, Buchheit, *Katalog der Gemälde*, 13.

The images of the second group show a different visual representation. The face of the man is ugly, but his appearance is not Jewish. His strangeness can be considered as a sign of otherness. Similar to the representations of the first group, he has a walking stick. Both traditions show this person as a wanderer – the first emphasizes the beginning of the wandering, as if the images depict the moment after the curse of Christ; the instances of the second group represent this man as if he is wandering everlastingly. Each example of both traditions emphasizes the isolation of this person, his strangeness. The portraits of the second group suggest a further explanation. As I have already emphasized, I consider that this figure does not seem to belong to the period that the image represents. His physical isolation and the act of wandering – which means to fulfill the judgment of Christ – assign him to of a different time and space, so that these images may represent two temporal spheres – the time of the Passion and a later period, maybe contemporary to that of the painter and viewer. According to this interpretation, the events of the Passion can be interpreted as a vision of this man, but the events of the Passion are also the tools which help to identify him.

There are further details of the image which should be discussed. First, in the earlier literature, it is often mentioned that a purse is an attribute of this man, which made it also the sign of his Jewishness. The purse refers to the sin of Judas, who betrayed Jesus for thirty silver pieces,[153] and also the practice of usury, which was considered a Jewish profession in the Middle Ages. In four representations -- the Schongauer engraving, the two copies of it, and the Crucifixion panel from Baumberg -- the mantle of the wanderer is open and a small bag can be seen. Although this bag shows similarities with a purse, there can be a further interpretation of this bag – it reminds of the bags of pilgrims (fig. 15).[154] On the Crucifixion scene from Baumberg, the size and the form of the bag is most recognizable – it is bigger and closes with a flap like a bag. The analogy with a pilgrim bag is more apparent here.

[153] Matthew 26:14-16; Mark 14:10-11; Luke 22:3-6.

[154] Joachim and Anne Giving Alms to the Poor, Altarpiece of St. Anne, 1490, Frankfurt/Main, Historical Museum

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Fig. 15: Detail of Altarpiece of St. Anne, Frankfurt. From: Sarah Blick, Rita Tekippe, ed., *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), plates, fig. 11.

Second is an item that is difficult to interpret. Each figure in the second group has a posture as if they were carrying something on their backs. The back is bent, they stretch a long, narrow cloth with their hands, that may be the handle of a bundle. Nevertheless, no luggage can be perceived on their backs. How can one interpret this depiction? If there is no bundle, what could the explanation be of the bent back and the stretched cloth?

The answer may lie in a relationship with the depictions of pilgrims. The outer wing of Hieronymus Bosch's Last Judgment portrays St. James the Greater, the patron of pilgrims, as a pilgrim.[155] (fig. 16) His posture is similar to these examples. According to Johannes Hartau this pose is an attitude of fear analogous with the pose of Christ when he carries the cross.[156] The fear of the judgment of Christ and the *Imitatio Christi* are clear elements of the

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[155] 1504-1508, Vienna, Academy of Fine Arts,
[156] Johannes Hartau, "Das neue Triptychon von Hieronymus Bosch als Allegorie über den 'unnützen Reichtum,'" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 68 (2005): 321.

textual tradition of the legend, too; nevertheless, these two components are too general to support a hypothetical relationship between the legend and the concept of pilgrimage.

Fig. 16: Hieronymus Bosch, Last Judgment altar. From: http://www.friendsofart.net/en/art/hieronymus-bosch/st-james-the-greater, last accessed 15.05.2012

There could be another interpretation of the long narrow cloth: it may be regarded as an extra mantle of the wanderer; perhaps analogous with Bosch's portrait of St. James the Great whose cape hangs on his stick. According to Anja Grebe, pilgrims usually had two coats[157] so the cloth might be interpreted as a cape. There is another possible interpretation of this cloth: that it is a component of the hat. Among the six examples the hat of this man is similar. In case of Schongauer's engraving, the hat, as I have already said can be considered as a chaperon. Although one might find a few references where a Jew a wears chaperon (fig.

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[157] Anja Grebe, "Pilgrims and Fashion: The Functions of Pilgrim's Garments," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. Sarah Blick, Rita Tekippe (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 4.

17)[158], it cannot be considered a typical Jewish head covering. According to Diane Wolfthal this long pendant can be identified as a liripipe.[159] The chaperon with a liripipe was a popular kind of headgear in the fifteenth century and does not help to specify the origin of the person who wears it.

Fig. 17 Master LCZ, Strache Altar. From: Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* vol 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 3.47.

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Among several examples one can find a portrait of Duke John IV of Brabant from the 1420s where the ruler wears the same kind of chaperon (fig. 18).[160] Fashionable men had already abandoned the chaperon by the second part of the fifteenth century when it became popular

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[158] Master LCZ, Christ brought to Pilate, panel from the Strache Altar, 1500, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie
[159] Wolfthal, *The Wandering Jew*, 217.
[160] Flemish School, Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, in Aileen Riberio, Valerie Cumming, ed., *The Visual History of Costume* (London: Batsford, 1989): 61.

among lower members of the society.[161] Its presence may imply too that this person can be considered a lower member of society and this hat does not specify his Jewishness.

Fig. 18: Portrait of Duke John IV of Brabant. From: Aileen Riberio, Valerie Cumming, ed., *The Visual History of Costume* (London: Batsford, 1989): 61.

There are further details which demonstrate that the accessories in the Wandering Jew depictions can also be regarded as pilgrims' garments. According to Anja Grebe, the bag and the staff are the basic signs of pilgrims; she refers to the sermon *Veneranda dies*, published in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, which contains a passage explaining the symbolism of the pilgrim's stick and bag. According to this text, the stick was considered as a symbolical third leg – helping to stabilize the pilgrim and symbolizing his belief in the Holy Trinity; it was also used for practical purposes, such as defending the pilgrim from dogs and wolves, which were looked on as symbols of evil. The small size of the bag signified trust in God, as the pilgrim was able to take only provisions with him. The bag was made of animal skin and was not

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[161] Riberio, Cumming, *The Visual History*, 66.

fastened, but always open on the top.[162] I would add that the last phrase appears in a different way in the pictorial tradition, where the upper part of the bag folds over the lower part (fig. 19). Grebe concludes that these were considered *signa peregrationis* (signs of pilgrimage).[163]

Fig. 19: Crucifixion, Baumberg. From: Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik* 10 (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1960), 113.

To sum up, I would hypothetically divide the instances of the period into two groups. The first group includes images which emphasize the Jewish character of this person and in this sense echoes the representations of previous centuries. The portrayals of the second group show something different, especially the number of new details allowing different interpretations. By interpreting the cloth as the handle of the bag one would accept the interpretation of the literature which considers it an attribute of the Wandering Jew. If however, one accepts that this detail is similar to the cloth of the Apostle James the Greater, one may conclude a different meaning. However, the absence of the sack may imply the attitude toward pilgrimage. The interpretation of the posture and the meaning of the staff have the same duality. One may argue that the walking stick of the pilgrims ends in a ball-

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[162] Grebe, *Pilgrims and Fashion*, 17-18.
[163] Grebe, *Pilgrims and Fashion*, 18-21.

like knob. The representation of the pilgrims' stick in visual art is not consistent; a number of variants can be found (Fig. 20, 21).[164]

Fig. 20: Friedrich Herlin, Altarpiece of St. James,. From: Sarah Blick, Rita Tekippe, ed., *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles.* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), plates. fig. 10.

Fig. 21: Altarpiece of St. Anne, Frankfurt. From: ibidem, plates, fig. 11,

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[164] Friedrich Herlin, Altarpiece of St. James, 1480-90, Rothenburg ob der Tauber St. James;' Church,; Joachim and Anne Giving Alms to the Poor, Altarpiece of St. Anne, 1490, Frankfurt/Main , Historical Museum

I think that the dual portrayal of the images is not accidental. All these objects can be said to be the attributes both model of wandering – the Wandering Jew as well as the pilgrim. This would mean that this figure, who is presented as a member of a different – contemporary – sphere of a Passion scene offers two messages to the beholders. First, it recalls the legend of the Jewish man, who converted and did penance for his crime against the Christ. Second, it makes it possible to identify the protagonist with a Christian pilgrim, symbolizing individual's quest for salvation. The religious duality – the Jewish past and the Christian present – is emphasized in the textual tradition so that could be understood in the pictorial tradition as well.

This observation recalls the question of the connection between the pictorial and the textual tradition. I have mentioned above three sources which insist on Buttadeus' wandering, an important development accomplished by the textual tradition. The work of Guido Bonatti of Forli's *De astronomia tractatus X* was printed in Augsburg in 1491 The author of this source mentions that Johannes was seen in 1267, when he came through Forli on a pilgrimage to Santiago. Here one can find two important components which appeared in the pictorial tradition, too – the motif of wandering and the pilgrim attribute. It is tempting to regard the text which influenced on these images, since the date and location of publishing is close to their territories. Nevertheless it seems that most of them were completed by the year. One can suggest a popular oral version of the legend here, which might have led to publishing of Bonatti's work.

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The Wandering Jew as a mediator figure in Renaissance Art

There is a "Christ carrying the Cross" panel in the collection of the Fogg Art Museum[165](fig. 22). The master of this painting is unknown and as far as I know the panel

[165] North Netherlandish, circa 1510-1520, Cambridge MA, Fogg Art Museum, 1938.77

has only been published once.[166] According to Tara Philips' note, it is believed to have a connection with the engraving of Martin Schongauer mentioned above.[167]

Fig. 22: Christ carrying the Cross, North Netherland. From: Edgar Peter Bowron, . *European Paintings before 1900 in the Fogg Art Museum. A Summary Catalogue Including Paintings in the Busch-Reisinger Museum* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Art Museum, 1990), 170. fig. 100

Similar to, Schongauer's graphic, a crowded Christ-carrying-the-Cross scene is depicted in the panel. The direction Christ is going is inverse of to the Schongauer composition. There is a man on the right edge of the panel. He turns his back on the spectators and he watches the Passion of Christ. His face is covered by the brim of his pointed hat, the tip of his nose and his beard peep out from the head. He wears boots; he has a walking stick and a barrel on his back. The barrel can be also interpreted as a symbol of wandering. The composition of the panel shows a similarity with the wall painting from Florence. The figure of the Wandering Jew is integrated in the scene of the Passion; he is a real participant in the events. Furthermore, I suggest that here the influence of the textual

[166] Edgar Peter Bowron, *European Paintings before 1900 in the Fogg Art Museum. A Summary Catalogue Including Paintings in the Busch-Reisinger Museum* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Art Museum, 1990), 170.

[167] I would like to thank Tara Philips, assistant at the Fogg Art Museum, for sharing this information with me.

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tradition may be supposed. The image may evoke the version of the *Chronique rimée*, where the man is watching the events with reproachable curiosity. Similarly to the text, his watching is emphasized here, that is why he turns his back on the spectator. Both sources are from the Netherlands – Philip Mouskes was the archbishop of Tournai, the provenance of the image is the north Netherlands. Nevertheless, there is a huge distance in time between the paintings. The chronicle was written in the middle of the thirteenth century and the painting originated in the beginning of the sixteenth. It would be important to study the afterlife of the chronicle after the thirteenth century, focusing on the fifteenth and sixteenth century in order to ascertain whether it was published or not. Accounts of the Wandering Jew were published in the sixteenth century; besides the work of Guido Bonatti of Forli the printing of two chronicles is known. The Chronicle of Sigismondo Tizio was printed in 1550 in Basel, translated to German in 1572 and reprinted in the same city. The *Chronica majora* appeared in London in 1571 and in Zurich in 1582.[168] These editions must have influenced the reputation of the legend. However, I did not find any relevant information about the *Chronique rimée*.

The Netherlandish panel shows similarities with an Italian panel. "The way to Calvary" attributed to Giovanni Agostino da Lodi[169] (fig. 23). The figure of the Wandering Jew can be seen on the right corner of the image. He has a purse at his side and a long walking stick. Besides that, both images depict a Christ carrying the Cross scene, the position of the figure in the composition is also analogous.[170] He can be seen at the very corner of the painting, more integrated in the previous case, less in the latter one. His Jewishness is stressed – both the physiognomy and the attributes emphasize it, although they are not threatening like the instances with Jewish appearance mentioned above.

[168] Anderson, *The Legend* 41.
[169] The panel is not dated; the painter lived between c.1467 and 1524/5, Prague, Národní Galerie, Sternberg DO 5393
[170] Previous literature has not identified these images as the depictions of the Wandering Jew.

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Fig. 23. Agostino da Lodi, The way to Calvary. From:
http://www.flickr.com/photos/havala/4232982785/, last accessed 15.05.2012

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Nevertheless, the man's isolation on Lodi's panel can be considered as an artistic devise. This location and his separation from the scene makes him a mediator figure between the image and the spectator. The concept of this idea already appears in Alberti in *On Painting*:

> Then I like there to be someone in the *historia* who tells the spectators what is going on, and either beckons them with his hand to look, or with ferocious expression and forbidding glance challenges them not to come near, as if he wished their business to be secret, or points to some danger or remarkable thing in the picture, or by his gestures invites you to laugh or weep with them.[171]

The Large Calvary, a drawing by Albrecht Dürer, can be seen in the Uffizi[172] (fig. 24). This drawing depicts the different episodes of the Passion in a narrative. A sitting man can be seen on the right lower edge of the picture. Unfortunately, the quality of the image or

[171] Leon Battista Alberti, "On Painting," Book Two, 42 ed. Martin Kemp (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 77-78.

[172] 1505, Florence, Uffizi Galery, Inv. 1890: Nr. 8406

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the reproduction of it is poor, which makes it difficult to see the gestures of this man. Nevertheless, his long beard and the hat on his head signify that he is Jewish. He watches the events of the Passion.

Fig. 24: Albrecht Dürer, The Large Calvary. From: http://www.albrecht-durer.org/The-Great-Calvary-large.html, last accessed 15.05.2012

For some reason this drawing was copied by several masters;[173] one of these reproductions is a painting from the first part of the sixteenth century. It is attributed to an unknown artist from Leiden[174] (fig. 25). In this image the Jew closes his eyes and folds his hands in prayer. The Crucifixion panel by Jan Mostaert shows a similar figure[175] (fig. 26). He wears a long, blue robe with Hebrew letters on the border. He leans on a wanderer's stick, and holds his hands as if he is praying.[176]

[173] Larry Silver, "Translating Dürer into Dutch," in *Invention: Northern Renaissance Studies in Honor of Molly Faires*, ed. Julian Chapius (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 209-223.
[174] 1520, Amsterdam, Rijkmuseum, SK-A-4921
[175] 1530, Philadelphia Museum of Art, No. 411
[176] This is the first time this panel has been associated with Wandering Jew depictions.

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Fig. 25: Leiden artist, The Large Calvary. From:
http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/images/aria/sk/z/sk-a-4921.z, last accessed 15.05.2012

Fig. 26: Jan Mostaert, Crucifixion. From:
http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/102189.html, last accessed 15.05.2012

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These instances can be considered as following both traditions of the fifteenth century. Here the Jewish origin is stressed through the appearance, but his gesture of praying indicates that he is already a Christian believer, and places the scene in period after the Passion of Christ and his conversion to Christianity when he participated in religious debates. The position of the man on the paintings confirms my theory of a double time of reference and his function as a mediator. Each of the painters lets the eye of the Jew focus on the most important component of the image, the crucified Christ. Here these references are much clearer: first, the events of the Passion appear as the vision of this man, second, the spectator is invited to identify with him, through his eyewitness memory the viewer has a chance of being led into the events of the Passion.

Third group – The Wandering Jew is individualized

Two case studies seem to be difficult to integrate into the traditions explained above, although they suggest the possibility of this kind of interpretation. Both images are favorites of scholars and have already been interpreted several times. Indeed, their concept and context are much more complex than the images discussed above. In my interpretation this complexity includes the visual representation of the Wandering Jew.

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Fig. 27: Hieronymus Bosch, The Wayfarer. From: http://www.friendsofart.net/en/art/hieronymus-bosch/the-wayfarer, last accessed 15.05.2012

The meaning of the Wayfarer of Hieronymus Bosch[177] is one of the most popular topics among art historians (fig. 27). There are several interpretations of the image, as a peddler, Everyman, and *Homo Viator*;[178] Philip Leider has identified him as a depiction of the Wandering Jew.[179] He refers to the sources about Ahasverus; he believes that the walking stick and shoemaker's awl apply to this man, so he concludes by identifying him with the Wandering Jew. Leider does not consider one difficulty of his identification however, namely, that the image of Bosch is dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the first written source to mention the name Ahasuerus and his profession as a shoemaker is from the

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[177] 1479, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1079

[178] Lotte Brand Philip, "The Peddler by Hieronymus Bosch, a Study in Detection," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 9 (1958): 1-81; Irving L. Zupnick, "Bosch's Representation of Acedia and the Pilgrimage of Everyman," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 19 (1968): 115-132.; Yona Pinson, "Hieronymus Bosch: *Homo viator* at a Crossroads: A New Reading of the Rotterdam Tondo," *Artibus et Historiae* 26 no. 52 (2005): 57-84; Johannes Hartau, "Das neue Triptychon von Hieronymus Bosch als Allegorie über den »unnützen Reichtum«," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 68 (2005): 305-338.

[179] Philip Leider, "The Identity of Hieronymus Bosch's Wayfarer," *Assaph* 6 (2001): 233-242.

beginning of the seventeenth century.[180] Nevertheless, I believe that this identification might be right. There are similar compositional details, such as the posture of the peddler, the attributes like the wanderer's stick, and the purse, which reminds of the fifteenth century representations of the Wandering Jew. The concept of the image also shows similarities: here one sees a vagabound who seems to have wandered for his own salvation and the result of this peregrination is doubtful.

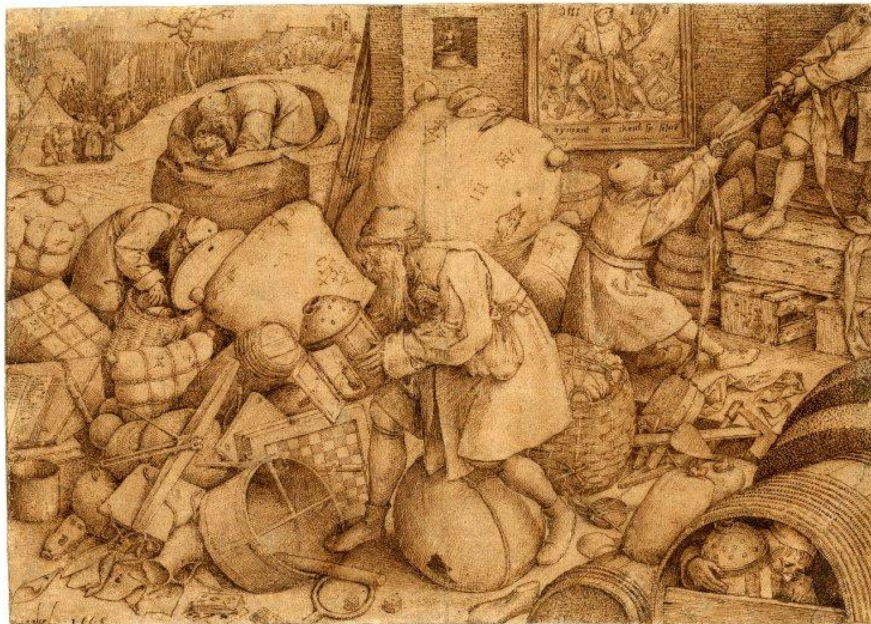

Fig. 28: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Elck. From: http://cdn2.all-art.org/early_renaissance/images/bruegel/155.jpg, last accessed 15.05.2012

The other depiction is "Elck", a drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, dated to 1558 (fig. 28).[181] The drawing represents the same figure eight times – a bent back man with a beard and spectacles among bales, sacks, and other items. Each representation of the man makes it seem as if he is looking for something. This representation clearly emphasizes the protagonist's Jewishness. Several interpretations of the graphic have been made; Zupnick considers the image a representation of the figure's pilgrimage, and similarly to Bosch's

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[180] *Kurze Beschreibung und Erzehlung von einem Juden mit namen Ahasuerus*. It came out in 1602 under different imprints by Christoff Creutzen of Leyden, Wolfgang Suchnach of Bautzen, and Jakob Rothen of Danzig. Anderson, *The Legend* 42.
[181] London, British Museum

Wayfarer, his success is pending. [182] A further similarity with Bosch's Wayfarer is that there is a shoe last in the foreground of the image. Müller identifies it as an attribute of Ahasverus.[183] One can recognize the same problem with the identification which I explained above. This kind of visual representation raises some questions related to the seventeenth century versions of the legend. If one accepts that the awl or the shoe last can be considered attributes which refer to the legend of the Wandering Jew, what could be the origin of this tradition? One might presume either a pictorial or a textual precedent. There is a further parallelism with the panel of Bosch and with the images showing the Wandering Jew as a pilgrim.. According to Müller, Elck's activity can be regarded as an *Imitatio Christi*, although leading to a negative result.

I would suggest an inverse perspective: I consider these two precedents as the new pictorial tradition that will develop in the seventeenth century. The figure is detached from the context of the Passion, he became a peddler, a wayfarer. His image is represented separately, in which, besides his typical Jewish aspects, wandering and searching are jointly emphasized.

Conclusion

From the earliest instances the pictorial tradition of the Wandering Jew shows independent elements. The emphasis on the Jewish appearance of the protagonist and the depiction of the event as a station of a Carrying-the-Cross scene were innovations in the pictorial tradition from the beginning.

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[182] Irving L. Zupnick, "The Meaning of Bruegel's Nobody and Everyman," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 67 (1966): 257-270; Jürgen Müller, *Das Paradox als Bildform. Studien zur Ikonologie Pieter Bruegels d. Ä* (Munich: Wilhelm Finck, 1999), 56-76; Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel. Parabels of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 82-98; Björn Rothstein, "The Problem with Looking at Pieter Bruegel's Elck," *Art History* 26 (2003): 143-167.

[183] Müller, *Das Paradox*, 57.

The fourteenth century wall painting, the lone example of this period, includes elements of the thirteenth century depiction and also the basic elements of the later period, where the figure of the Wandering Jew became more independent from the action of the picture. Furthermore, the image shows a connection with the same area from a bit later period. The fifteenth-century visual tradition divides into two parts: the first part still strongly emphasizes the Jewish origin of the man, a representation that also refers to the Original Sin. The instances of the second group enhance the man's "contemporary" quality; he left his Jewishness somewhat – although naturally he is not able to leave it behind totally – and becomes a Christian pilgrim. Besides the "traditional" examples, the sixteenth century introduced a type which I would call the Jewish-Christian believer. Here the Jewish features of this character do not seem to stand contrary to his Christian behavior, but show a kind of harmony. Some elements of images lay the basis of the later textual and pictorial tradition in which this man appears individualized as Ahasverus, the shoemaker, the wandering and the eternal Jew. (Fig. 29, 30)[184]

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[184] The first example is from the eighteenth century and France, the second one is a German instance from the seventeenth century.

Fig. 29: The Wandering Jew, French. From Philip Leider, “The Identity of Hieronymus Bosch’s Wayfarer.” *Assaph. Section B, Studies in Art History* 6 (2001): 236, fig.6
Fig. 30: The Wandering Jew, German. From: Ibidem. 236. Fig. 7

Fig. 30: The Wandering Jew, German. From: Ibidem. 236. Fig. 7

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CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to study the visual patterns of the Wandering Jew in the Late Middle Ages. For proving my hypothesis I introduce also the different textual traditions and compare them with the pictorial ones.

First I dealt with those Jewish, Christian and Buddhist sources which can be regarded as the potential antecedents of the legend. I especially intended to highlight those elements which appear only implicitly in either the textual or the visual tradition.

Second, I presented the different written versions of the legend between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century. My aim was to research the origin of those narrative elements which characterize the legend – the verbal or physical crime committed against Christ and the waiting until the Second Coming of Christ. My intent was also to emphasize the distinctions of the sources. According to the variable types, I divided them into two groups –the Cartaphilus and the Buttadeus traditions, the latter one falling into further subgroups. My intent was to suggest that the different textual versions may produce different pictorial types.

Third, I gave an exhaustive overview of those images between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century, which represents the Wandering Jew and included various examples that had not been discussed as instances of the legend in the existing research literature. I initially had to determine those attributes which make the image of the Wandering Jew recognizable, focusing on two main groups. Thez are the signs of the Jewish outlook and the attributes of a wanderer. These two characteristics do not have to appear together– there are instances where only the Jewish outlook suggests the identification with the legend and others where the attributes of the wanderer appear and the identification is suggested by the context of a Christ-carrying-the-Cross, Crucifixion or Lamentation scene.

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The thirteenth century representations of the legend which can be regarded as the first examples are dependent on the texts, but already show independent pictorial elements. Besides relevant differences between the text and the image, I suppose that the act of wandering, which later becomes one of the main components of the legend, is already alluded to in the illustration of Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*.

The lonely Florentine example of the fourteenth century can be considered as influenced by both traditions. This wall painting shows similarities with the Matthew Paris illustration. I have also connected it to the manuscript of Antonio Francesco di Andrea of Florence and thereby to a particular version of the legend which circulated in Italy.

I divided the images from the fifteenth century into two groups. The first one portrays the protagonist with a Jewish outlook, which refers to his sinful past. These examples are strongly connected with the texts. The images of the second group depict the element of wanderer and pilgrims. These are derived from visual representations of Christian pilgrimage patterns, as well as from one textual source of the legend, which introduces the Wandering Jew as a Christian pilgrim – the work of Guido Bonatti of Forli's *De astronomia tractatus X*. Here one may suppose a relationship between the textual and the pictorial sources again. Although this work was printed in the same period and the same territory where some paintings of the group originate, the date of the print seems a bit later than the appearance of the first examples of these images. This made this connection questionable. I regard this pictorial innovation as the sign of the independence of the visual representations.

The images of the sixteenth century partly follow the earlier tradition, but some pictures portray the Wandering Jew as a real Christian believer. I regard these images as the developed version of the pilgrim representations. Here the Jewish outlook and the Christian behavior enter into harmony.

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I also observe that the figure of the Wandering Jew is often standing alone on the margin of these crowded scenes. I explain this visual representation with a theory which I call that of the double sphere. I think that the isolation of this figure is not accidental, but suggests his mediator quality. The figure of the Wandering Jew can be regarded both as the participant of the events and as the member of a different, contemporary sphere, so that the events of the Passion can be understood as taking place in the vision of this man. This visual detail allows the identification of the Wandering Jew with a medieval pilgrim, and emphasizes his contemporary quality for the medieval viewer.

I conclude that the obvious similarities between the images of the Wandering Jew and the portraits of medieval Christian pilgrims are highly significant. Both figures represent the same Christian idea – the concept of the *Imitatio Christi*. The Wandering Jew stayed on the earth in order to follow the *Via Crucis* and to imitate Christ's Passion; the Christian pilgrim started the peregrination for the same reason.

I will finally return to the question of the interdependence of texts and images. The first accounts of the legend are from the middle of thirteenth-century England. The Jews were expelled from there in 1290. Due to the fact of the expulsion, the appearance of the legend with its visual representation of the Jew as a wanderer might be considered as the sign of anti-Judaism in this territory.

Laurence Sigal-Klagsbald offers another explanation. She explains that several Jewish scholars left for Jerusalem at the beginning of the thirteenth century. She connects this peregrination with messianic expectations. According to the Jewish calendar the year of 5000 which is 1240 in the Christian count, led contemporary Jews to ascribe importance to this millennium. Sigal-Klagsbald supposes that these migrations may have resulted in the birth of the legend, and also in the portrayal of the Jews as wanderer.[185]

[185] Sigal-Klagsbald, *Au-delà du miroir*, 41.

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However the concept of the perpetual wandering only appears in the texts since the manuscript of Antonio Francesco di Andrea from the beginning of the fifteenth century. This may lead to the conclusion, that the wandering of the Jew might have been an innovation of the pictorial tradition. This also shows that there are still aspects which need further research. One of them is the fact that most of the textual sources are from Italy, while most pictorial examples are from the other side of Alps. One may suggest a popular oral tradition which was recorded in written form in the south and on images on the north. Nevertheless, this speculation needs additional search.

The different types of the visual representation of the Wandering Jew signify the contradictory relationship of the Christianity to the Medieval Jewry. His portrayal as a cruel tormentor or as a pious Christian lives parallel in the fifteenth, sixteenth century visual culture. His identification as a pilgrim offers further hypothesis. The pilgrims of the late middle ages were considered as the most Christian members of the society. Nevertheless the original meaning of the world *peregrinus* is stranger, foreigner, by definition a non-Christian. The term is used for the medieval Christian wanderers later. The pictorial innovation which employs the Wandering Jew as a mediator, also includes the idea of otherness. The Wandering Jew, the stranger is considered to be the eyewitness of the events, the possessor of the Christian knowledge. The spectator is offered to identify oneself with a non-Christian man to see or to know the victory, and the miracle of Christianity.

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