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The Time of the Wandering Jew in the *Chronica Majora* and the De Brailes Hours

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Facti sunt eis tamquam lapides ad milliaria: viatoribus ambulantibus aliquid ostenderunt, sed ipsi stolidi atque immobiles remanserunt.

They became, as it were, milestones to these strangers; they indicated the path to the travelers but they remained motionless and immovable.[1]

The legend of the Wandering Jew tells of a man who insulted Jesus during the Passion, refusing him rest, and mockingly urging him to hurry to his death. Jesus, the legend goes, turned to him and said, "I will go, but you will remain until I return." Through this encounter the man is converted to Christianity, but he is nevertheless doomed to linger on earth, awaiting the Second Coming and acting both as a living witness of the time of the Passion and as a sign of future redemption. Because of his endless wanderings, he came to be known in English as "the Wandering Jew."

Scholars have often, and rightly, interpreted the Wandering Jew's unending displacement as symbolic of the Jewish diaspora. Less attention has been paid to his strange temporality, a dimension of the legend that is more readily apparent in one of his names among German speakers—*der ewige Jude*—the eternal Jew.[2] In this essay I will explore how the temporal dimension of the Wandering Jew curse reflects Christian denial of Jewish coevalness and the tripartite nature of medieval anti-Jewish temporality, which viewed Jews of the past, present, and future in terms of their relation to Christian history.

Medieval Christians honored the Old Testament Jews of the past as Christian precursors and acknowledged that in the future a "remnant" of Jews was needed for the End Times. Contemporary Jews were, in contrast, represented as stubborn resistors to the progress of Christian spiritual history who should be tolerated primarily in order to preserve them for their prophesied eschatological role. Jews, then, played valued roles in the

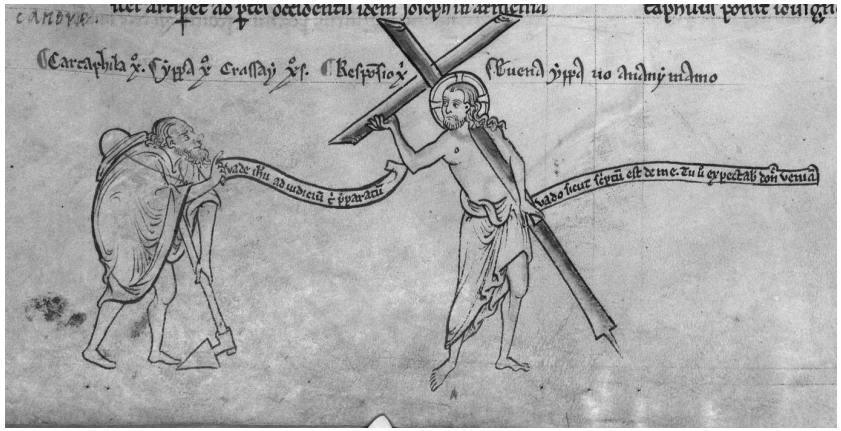

Figure 1. Image of the Wandering Jew, created by Matthew Paris in the *Chronica Majora* Part II from MS Cambridge Corpus Christi College 16. fol. 74v (detail). Reprinted by permission from the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Christian past and future, but not in the Christian present. The Wandering Jew's endless punishment reflects the uncomfortable spiritual stasis to which medieval Christians relegated their Jewish contemporaries. One of several paradoxes of the Wandering Jew legend—that he remains cursed despite conversion—reflects this anti-Jewish temporality. The Wandering Jew embodies the denial of Jewish coevalness, presenting a Jew who is alive in the present, but never truly of it. Spiritually mired in a pre-Christian past, this Jew is preserved in a kind of spiritual stasis awaiting a prophesied Christian future.[3]

In this essay I will explore how this perceived Jewish spiritual stasis is visualized in the two earliest extant images of the Wandering Jew, both from thirteenth-century England.[4] These images appear in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* [Figure 1] and the De Brailes Hours [Figure 2].[5] In the *Chronica*, Jewish immobility seems to represent an imaginative overcoming of Jewish messianism through a fantasy about Christ depriving a Jew of any such temporal control. In the De Brailes Hours, Jewish stasis acts as a foil to the quotidian devotional progress of pious Christians. In both texts, the Wandering Jew speaks to investments in Christian temporal mobility that inform the Christian anti-Jewish tradition. As with so many aspects of the Wandering Jew myth, this temporality serves, as Galit Hasan-Rokem puts it, as a "refraction" of Christian identity.[6]

Both chronicles and books of hours are explicitly concerned with the passage of time. I will discuss the relevance of the forms of the texts in

Figure 2. The De Brailes Hours, British Library Additional MS 49999 Folio 43v (detail). Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

which these two early images appear to their respective visualizations of the legend. Matthew Paris, writing in a state of heightened apocalyptic expectation, provides in his chronicle a moral framework for global events stretching from Creation to the End of Days. For him, the Wandering Jew is a miracle of the faith and a sign of the End Times, one of several such signs bound up with his representation of Jews and Judaism. The De Brailes Hours has a much different temporal scope. William de Brailes designed his work to guide a devout Christian's daily prayers for the sake of her future redemption. The Wandering Jew in the De Brailes Hours is one of a range of representations of Jews whose spiritual stasis serves as a contrast to the reader/viewer's desired Christian spiritual progress.

These visualizations of the Wandering Jew legend by Matthew Paris and William de Brailes provide important examples of how context shapes meaning, or, in this case, meanings, as those contexts are multiple. Beyond

immediate references to time discernible in text-image relationships, the format and functions of the larger works in which the images are situated complement and expand the temporal dimension of the Wandering Jew legend that is the key to its anti-Jewish meanings. These anti-Jewish meanings are, in turn, activated by the cultural moment in which they are consumed. Both the *Chronica* and the De Brailes Hours were created during the "watershed" period of 1240–1260, which included increasing persecution of Anglo-Jewry and the burning of the Talmud in Paris.[7] These and other events provide further contexts for these visualizations of the Wandering Jew.

Temporality and "the Jew"

Before we move to examine the Wandering Jew in the *Chronica* and the De Brailes Hours, I would like briefly to consider the role of temporality in medieval Jewish-Christian relations. In recent years, numerous scholars have explored the complexities of the temporal dimensions of interactions between medieval Jews and Christians. Kathleen Biddick, in delineating the "Christian typological imaginary," examines the workings of supersession, the idea that Christianity is the rightful inheritor of Jewish prophetic tradition and that the truth of Christianity thus supersedes Judaism.[8] Steven Kruger has illuminated the "Christian reorganization of history" that supersession necessitates and that also undergirds Christian notions of conversion.[9] Anthony Bale explores another type of reorganization of temporality; showing how the "memory work" of medieval Passion devotion could make Christ's suffering immediate, collapsing the time between the present and the memorialized event.[10] Anna Wilson has written of "colliding" Jewish and Christian "temporal regimes" in the making of ritual murder accusation narrative.[11] Elisheva Carlebach, Philip Nothaft, and David Frick have each explored how Jewish-Christian relations were often mediated through calendars and other means of measuring time.[12] Israel Yuval's controversial work examines what he calls the "dialogism" between Jewish and Christian messianisms.[13] These scholars demonstrate both how medieval Christian theology attempted to subsume and subordinate Jews and Judaism into a temporal frame that supported Christian triumphalism and also how actual interactions among medieval Jews and Christians reflect interplay between Jewish and Christian temporalities that complicate models of Christian dominance.

The paradox of the Wandering Jew—cursed to unending life—reflects the complexities of medieval Christian spiritual temporalities and how "the

Jew" figures into them. In a now-classic study, Aron Gurevich explores the notion of "sacral time," the only time, he asserts that "possessed true reality" for medieval Christians.[14] He writes that within medieval Christian theology, Christ's "act of redemption" created a dual Christian temporality: "the kingdom of God exists already, but earthly time is not yet concluded, and the kingdom of God remains the final end, the aim towards which all must strive."[15] Emphasizing the experiential nature of this complex and multiple temporality, Gurevich argues that it shapes how medieval Christians experienced time, feeling themselves "on two temporal planes at once: on the plane of local transient life, and on the plane of those universal-historical events which are of decisive importance for the destinies of the world—the Creation, the birth, and the Passion of Christ."[16]

The experience of a dual temporality informs the representation of the Wandering Jew in both the *Chronica* and the De Brailes Hours. These two temporal planes come together in the figure of the Wandering Jew, who exists in the world of "local transient life," encountering Christians for whom he can act both as an eyewitness of Christ's Passion and as a sign of the End Times to come. These dual elements are related to one another in ways that are complex and multiple. Writing about Christian eschatology, Debra Strickland has argued that this aspect of Christian temporality is "not linear and sequential, but rather multi-directional and disruptive, pointing simultaneously to past, present, and future."[17] If, as Gurevich posits, "at certain crucial moments human history 'breaks through' into eternity" then the unnatural, cursed existence of the Wandering Jew literalizes this breakthrough.[18] The Wandering Jew brings the biblical past, the messianic future, and the present day together in one figure. The Wandering Jew thereby embodies the temporality of Jewish-Christian relations from the perspective of Christian theology.

Christianity's complex temporal relationship to Judaism generates paradox. Jeremy Cohen points this out in his insightful discussion of "the Jew" in the writings of Augustine, perhaps the most significant Christian theorist of temporality:

> Augustine's Jew constitutes a paradox, a set of living contradictions. He survived the crucifixion, though he deserved to die in punishment for it; he somehow belongs in Christendom, though he eschews Christianity; he accompanies the church on its march through history and in its expansion throughout the world, though he remains fixed 'in useless antiquity.' This Jew pertains, at one and the same time, to two opposing realms.[19]

We can see in Cohen's description of Augustine's Jew the outlines of the Wandering Jew legend. The Wandering Jew, displaced from his home in Jerusalem, is often "sighted" in Christendom, but he is never viewed as a

part of it. More significantly, his unnatural stretch of life marches along with Christian history, but he always remains trapped in his past, continually reliving the day he cursed Christ and sharing that experience with those he meets.

If we recall the German name for this legendary figure—*der ewige Jude* or "the eternal Jew"—it should come as no surprise that his legend touches upon so many aspects of Jewish-Christian relations as expressed through temporal concerns, including supersessionism, millennialism, and clashes of temporal "regimes."[20] Let us turn now to how these elements fit into genres shaped by temporality and consider how Matthew Paris and William de Brailes use the Wandering Jew to visualize temporal concerns.[21]

The Wandering Jew in the *Chronica Majora*

In his authoritative study, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew*, George Anderson argues that early versions of the Wandering Jew legend had by the thirteenth century merged and traveled to Western Europe along with a body of Eastern oral tradition, a transmission catalyzed by the Crusades.[22] A 1223 entry in a Latin chronicle from Italy describes the Wandering Jew, a man cursed to wander the earth since assaulting Christ at the Passion, as having appeared in Armenia. The next mention of the Wandering Jew in the thirteenth-century written record comes from the *Flores Historiarum* of Roger of Wendover, the chronicler of England's St. Albans Abbey. We do not know if Roger knew the Italian source, nor do we possess any concrete evidence to support Roger's assertion that actual visitors from Armenia were the source for his 1228 entry. But, as Anderson asserts, it seems clear that by that time the story of the Wandering Jew was circulating widely, probably primarily in oral form.[23]

Roger's account does itself provide evidence that the story is well known. Roger relates that the St. Albans monks prompt the visiting archbishop to speak of his personal encounters with the Wandering Jew. The English monks had clearly heard of the Wandering Jew before. The Armenian archbishop, who has come to England to visit its holy sites, obliges them with the story of Cartaphilus, a porter in the hall of Pontius Pilate, who struck Jesus on the back with his hand as Jesus was leaving. Cartaphilus taunted Christ: "'Go quicker, Jesus, go quicker, why do you loiter?' And Jesus looking back on him with a severe countenance said to him, 'I am going, and you will wait till I return.'"[24] Cartaphilus is thereby doomed to live eternally, always awaiting Christ's return. He is converted by his encounter with Christ and changes his name to Joseph, telling his story to anyone who requests it.

The archbishop recounts that people from throughout the world seek out the Wanderer in order to hear an eyewitness account of the Passion and of the beginnings of the Christian faith. The Wandering Jew obliges "without smiling or levity of conversation, as one who is well practiced in the sorrow and the fear of God, always looking forward to the coming of Jesus Christ, lest at that last judgment he should find him in anger, whom, when on his way to death, he had provoked to just vengeance."[25] The Wandering Jew's life, then, is held in abeyance. Cursed by his past, he awaits his future in a continual state of fear and awed anticipation.

Matthew Paris took over from Roger as chronicler of St. Albans in 1235. He incorporates Roger's earlier *Flores* into the *Chronica Majora* with some emendations. Matthew's Wandering Jew entries, one adopted from Roger's chronicle and another new one for 1252, became the most important medieval written sources of the Wandering Jew legend. Found today bound in three volumes, the *Chronica Majora* manuscripts are illustrated in what is believed to be Matthew's own hand and include many notable drawings, including one of the first maps of Britain and his striking visualization of the Wandering Jew legend [Figure 1].[26]

The *Chronica* has a vast scope, covering events around the globe from Creation until 1259. For Matthew and other contemporary historians, the chronicle form—the name of which derives from *chronos,* the Greek word for time—was meant to present history in a way that could provide moral guidance, helping readers and viewers to understand events within God's larger plan. These events include wonders, disasters, and the supernatural, as well as the events from the worlds of politics and of the church, and from the world at large. Matthew's chronicle is deeply engaged with the present, with the political struggles between Frederick II and the papacy, for example, and with the reign of Henry III and the politics of England. [27]

One must always additionally consider how Matthew interpreted these engagements with contemporary events within an apocalyptic frame. Matthew firmly believed that the world would end in 1250, and when it did not, he continued to compose until his death, still convinced that the end was nigh. Matthew makes clear in his preface to the *Chronica* that he wishes to deliver moral edification as he records events for posterity. In the preface, he compares his work to that of Moses the lawgiver and to that of all those who seek to write the "sacred page" and to commend virtue and condemn vice out of fear and love of God.[28]

Matthew's exploration of human events and his desire to mine them for moral meaning shapes how he presents the Wandering Jew, a figure caught in time, cursed to endure in the present until the End Times. The Wander-

ing Jew's existence dates back to the most important temporal marker in Christianity—the Passion. Indeed, the Passion not only is the great turning point in Christian history, but also stands as the central moment in the Wandering Jew's unnaturally long life. The Wanderer's encounter with Christ at this extraordinary temporal fulcrum literally changes him forever in a very embodied way. The ordinary human rhythm of his life becomes an uncanny, cyclical eternity. To those who cross paths with him, the Wandering Jew is a contemporary: an extraordinary being sighted and noted among the people of the day. If, however, one seeks to understand him as a sign within a moral framework, as Matthew does, then the Wandering Jew also signifies both past and future. In this way, his representation reflects the tripartite nature of anti-Jewish temporality.[29]

The temporality of the *Chronica* and its accompanying moral framework shape Matthew's representation of the Wandering Jew legend and his representations of Jews more generally. Robert Stacey sees Matthew's "fictional constructions" of the Jews as created in order to justify actions against them. For Stacey, Matthew's writing is indicative of the ever-greater threats and persecutions faced by the Anglo-Jewish community during the decades between 1240 and 1260.[30]

Matthew's representations of Jews do display a range of diversity. Matthew can seem almost sympathetic to English Jews when he points to the King's financial exploitation of them as emblematic of the monarch's general practices against his subjects. At the same time, Matthew also writes what came to be an influential account of the Jews as the perpetrators of the alleged ritual murder of little Hugh of Lincoln in 1255. In his entry on a case of ritual murder from 1244, he paints a lurid picture of Jewish murderers who mutilate the body of their young victim with Hebrew script.[31] Temporally, these murders demonstrate the alleged depravity of contemporary Jews, but they also bring that contemporary violence into contact with the sacred past, as the violence of ritual murder serves to reenact the Passion.[32]

To this collision of past and present, Matthew adds his ever-present concern with the future End Times. One of Matthew's strongest statements about the coming apocalypse appears in three lines of verse he added beneath an account of Christ's nativity taken from Roger Wendover:

> Cum fuerint anni transacti mille ducenti
> Et quinquaginta post partum Virginis almae
> Tunc antichristus nascetur demone plenus
>
> When twice six hundred years and fifty more
> Are gone since blessed Mary's son was born,
> Then, Antichrist shall come full of the devil.[33]

As 1250 drew nearer, Matthew, along with others of his day, appears to have viewed the news of the 1238 Tartar conquests encroaching on Europe as a sign of the rapid approach of the End Times.[34]

Matthew's accounts of Jewish involvement in these threatening and portentous events stoked the fires of apocalyptic anticipation.[35] Matthew depicted the Jews as joining with the Mongols to destroy Christendom. In an entry for 1241 Matthew describes a foiled plot between Jews and Mongols to smuggle arms concealed in wine barrels.[36] As Ruth Nissé has argued, this allegation is not solely a reflection of Matthew's Christian apocalypticism. In his recounting of the alleged plot, Matthew projects a fantasy of Jewish conspiracy that reflects "disturbing rumors about the Jews' own messianic expectations."[37] For Matthew, the "Mongols' world-conquering ambitions seek to replace a Christian eschatology that encompasses the Jews' final conversion with a Jewish eschatology that celebrates the final union of the twelve tribes."[38] For Matthew and his Christian contemporaries, Jewish messianism becomes a "dangerous counternarrative" of time that must be exposed and refuted.[39] This alleged Jewish plot is a vision of Jews not merely as facilitators of violence, but of Jews who smash the temporal frame that Christians have constructed for them. These Jewish plotters are neither moldering away in "useless antiquity" nor biding time until they can play a supporting role in Christian messianism. Their willful and potentially violent transgression, therefore, has not only corporeal, but temporal, dimensions, the result of a clash of millennialisms.

Israel Yuval has explored the fallout of clashing Jewish and Christian millennial expectations around the year 1240. The infamous trial and burning of the Talmud in France at this time, Yuval argues, should not simply be understood as a matter of previously obscure Jewish works coming to the attention of Christians, but as an example of tension arising from the conflicting messianic expectations of Christians and Jews.[40] Yuval's thesis is controversial, but whether or not clashing millennialisms played a role in the attacks on Jews and Judaism, Christian conceptions of Jewish temporality were clearly in play in their "discovery" and condemnation of the Talmud. As Jeremy Cohen concludes, in the mid-thirteenth century the "toleration" most famously associated with Augustine "gave way to the harassment of daily Jewish life, and the Jew in Christian theology, formerly a relic or artifact, at once became real and incurred immediate and direct suspicion and hatred."[41]

We can discern attention to matters of temporality in the documents from the years in which the Talmud was "tried and condemned" by Christians. As Robert Chazan has noted, the antiquity of the Talmud emphasized by Rabbi Yeḥiel during the Talmud controversy was a defense of it as a sign of its

"greatness."[42] I would suggest, however, that by arguing that the Talmud "had already endured for 1500 years," Rabbi Yeḥiel was also circumventing Christian anxiety that the Talmud disproved the Christian notion that Judaism had, since the time of Christ, existed only in a state of spiritual suspended animation.[43] The Talmud stands as evidence that Judaism continued to develop as a living faith after the time of Christ, a fact that troubles Christian theological representations of supersession and Jewish spiritual stasis. The Christian realization that Judaism continued to develop and thrive after the time of Christ disrupts the tripartite scheme of anti-Jewish temporality. As evidence that Judaism was not bound in spiritual stasis, the Talmud upsets the Christian temporal framing of Jews and Judaism developed as a justification for Christian supersession.

Scholars will continue to debate how to interpret the Talmud controversy, including its temporality. For our purposes, this controversy forms part of the historical context for our Wandering Jew representations. Interestingly, Matthew does not include mention of the Trial of the Talmud in the *Chronica*, but it still seems plausible to me that this curious and well-informed chronicler had heard something of these events. William de Brailes, working in Oxford, had ties to the Dominican order, which was involved in the Talmud trial.[44] Whatever specific knowledge Matthew and William may or may not have had, their representations of Jews need to be considered in the context of shifts in anti-Jewish discourse in this "watershed" era. As Jeremy Cohen asserts,

> churchmen of the thirteenth century grew conscious of the disparity between the Jew of their own day and the hermeneutically crafted Jew at the heart of the Augustinian outlook. Their ideas contributed to new constructions of the Jew and Judaism in late medieval Christianity: not the Jew of the old law but the Jew of the Talmud—heretic, deliberate unbeliever, agent of Satan, and enemy of God, his revelation, and his church.[45]

The thirteenth-century "discovery" of the Talmud, with its revelation of documentary evidence that the Jewish faith did not remain in stasis after the time of Christ, troubled the Christian temporal framing of the Jew. The Wandering Jew, who is cursed to an unending life that forces him to continually relive his past and to exist in fearful anticipation of his future, embodies a temporality of Christian anti-Judaism that refutes any assertion of Jewish temporal mobility.

We can trace these temporal concerns in Matthew's 1252 mention of the Wandering Jew. This later entry relates another visit to St. Albans by Armenian religious.[46] After relaying the welcome news that disease has eradicated the Mongol threat, the Armenians speak again of the continued existence of the Wanderer. This second reference to Joseph Cartaphilus might seem

gratuitous, but it is important to consider it in relation to Matthew's overall temporal preoccupations in the *Chronica*. The entry reiterates that the Wandering Jew is "proof of the Christian faith" that continues on as usual, "ut solet."[47] The "ut solet" points to what Gurevich calls "the plane of local transient life," the endless stream of the Wandering Jew's passing days. It also reveals a diurnal existence linked both to the sacred past—the Passion—and to the anticipated third plane of temporal existence: the End Times.[48]

The Wandering Jew lives in Matthew's day as he has done since his encounter with Christ: in constant anticipation of the End of Days, as did Matthew himself.[49] Matthew incorporates the Wandering Jew as a sign of the Jews collectively and as a wondrous sign of divine will. As Suzanne Lewis notes, Matthew's representations of the Wandering Jew add "eschatological emphasis."[50] The Wandering Jew and his story act as a positive sign of the awaited fulfillment of Christian messianic desire. Matthew engages the legend's temporality and uses it to shape his visualization of it as an encounter between Christian progress and Jewish stasis.

Matthew's visualization of the Wandering Jew

Although Matthew made only minor changes to Roger's 1228 account of the Wandering Jew, the drawing he made to accompany this entry "deviates so radically from Roger's text that it seems almost independent of it."[51] One striking difference between the text and the visualization is location. Both Roger and Matthew's textual account speak of Cartaphilus as a porter in Pilate's court, where, they tell us, the infamous exchange between Cartaphilus and Christ takes place. Matthew's illustration places the encounter on the road to Calvary, after Christ has taken up the Cross. The difference in location is important, I want to suggest, because an essential feature of this visual representation is the contrast between how Christ moves forward and how the "Wandering Jew" is left behind. Placing the event on the road to Calvary helps to accomplish this effect. A graceful, almost spry Christ turns backwards to face an older, hunched man, with their dialogue shown in banners.[52] Christ seems to move forward even as he turns back; the flowing banners add to the sense of Christ's movement, emphasizing a contrast to the stationary man facing him.[53] The Wandering Jew appears stuck, both spatially and temporally, in Christ's wake. In visualizing an encounter between a Christ on the move and a Jew stuck in place, Matthew visualizes denial of Jewish coevalness.

Neither Roger nor Matthew refers textually to Cartaphilus/Joseph as a Jew. Scholars have used Matthew's drawing of the Wandering Jew to dis-

cern the Wanderer's Jewish identity [Figure 1]. The figure Matthew depicts as standing still on the page is not simply marked as Jewish by his bulbous nose, profile positioning, and beard, but also by his mattock, long associated with Cain and through Cain with the Jews.[54] The Wanderer's tool droops downward, making him a strikingly unenergetic contrast to the younger Christ, who stands upright and poised, merely pausing as he moves forward energetically despite carrying the Cross, which is massively larger and heavier than the mattock. The mattock's downward slant not only symbolizes the weight of Cartaphilus's sinfulness, but also creates a visual echo of the fallen or broken lance of allegorical representations of the Synagogue as well as a contrast to the Cross, borne upright, even jauntily, by Christ.[55]

Matthew's choice to depict the Wanderer as older is especially interesting given that the text tells us that the Wandering Jew is thirty years old at the time of the Passion, roughly the same age as Jesus.[56] The Wandering Jew's aged appearance and lagging stance serve not only to visually reinforce the temporal dynamic of Christ's curse, but also to visualize supersessionist representations of Jews and Judaism. Christian supersession represents Jews as old, worn, and defeated; Judaism's meaning has been both fulfilled and transcended by Christianity. According to Suzanne Lewis, Matthew presents "the encounter between Christ and Cartaphilus as the ineluctable unfolding of a predetermined sequence of events . . . infusing the legend with the gravity and ongoing efficacy of a scriptural text."[57] This rendering of the legend as "ineluctable," I would suggest, reflects the sense of prophetic momentum that underlies belief in Christian supersession. Supersession posits a triumph over Judaism that renders Jews and Judaism as both defunct and as stuck in time, forced to wait for prophesied release and redemption.

Cartaphilus's garb, however, adds a paradoxical twist to this depiction. Lewis describes the Wanderer's attire as that of a peasant, but as Ziva Amishai-Maisels has shown, the Wandering Jew has much in common with the pilgrim, as Cartaphilus's hat seems to signal.[58] This interpretation allows us to read the mattock as an inversion of the pilgrim's traditional staff. Instead of helping the Wanderer forward, the mattock's iron end slows his progress. This implement then not only becomes an emblem of the Wanderer's sin, but also links this transgression both to the first act of violence—Cain's murder of Abel—and to the momentous violence the Jews allegedly committed against Christ at the time of the Passion. Suzanne Lewis has suggested that the implement seems to allude to the story of Cain, thereby calling on the link made between Cain and the Jews by Augustine that became a part of the Christian exegetical tradition.[59] Cain's sins, the Wanderer's sins, and, by implication, the sins of all Jews collapse together.

The time between these events folds into a single moment in what Peter Brown, in describing a similar dynamic in narratives of martyrdom, has likened to a "concertina effect."[60] This collapse of time also reminds us of those dual temporal planes that Gurevich tells us medieval people experienced simultaneously. Jewish crimes against Christians are, once again, not only portrayed in material terms, but in temporal ones, as the Passion disrupts and transcends diurnal temporality.

The Wanderer is forced to linger, suspended in this moment of temporal collapse. He is, however, not only caught in an uncanny temporality, but also trapped between Jewish and Christian identities. His encounter with Christ converts him, but he is still always—eternally—as his German name emphasizes—a Jew. He remains endlessly trapped in what Steven Kruger calls the "and yet and yet and yet" stage of conversion.[61] His state reflects how medieval Christians typically regarded their Jewish contemporaries: he exists in a kind of suspended spiritual animation.[62] From the perspective of his own journey, however, he is a type of pilgrim, attempting to move forward both literally and spiritually, but doomed instead to repeat endlessly the moment when he insulted the Savior. His entire existence becomes the penitent journey of the pilgrim, even while he can be seen as a type of contact relic of Christ to those who will later encounter him, serving as a physical bridge between their own time and the time of the Passion.[63]

The Wandering Jew, whose existence collapses together past, present, and future, is a fitting figure for a work with the *Chronica*'s scope, ambitions, and apocalyptic preoccupations. As a living embodiment of Christian history, the Wandering Jew's constant anticipation of the End Times keeps the longed-for (and feared) end of that history in sight. The Wandering Jew's unique and uncanny state makes him not only a reminder of human sinfulness in general and Jewish crimes in particular, but also a model for hope and redemption within the broad sweep of Christian history. In these ways, the Wandering Jew's representation seems unique among medieval Christian representations of Jews in how it combines in the same Jewish figure both the element of believed Jewish antagonism or even violence against Christ in the past and present with Christian messianic expectations for the Jews in the prophesied future.

The Wandering Jew in the De Brailes Hours

In keeping with the form of the universal chronicle, the *Chronica Majora* aims to record global events from the creation to the End of Days. Books of Hours, which Eamon Duffy has called "beyond all question the most in-

timate and important book of the late Middle Ages," are shaped not by the grand flow of universal history, but by the cycle of a single day.[64] Books of Hours allow lay people to structure their days of prayer on the clerical model, tying each day to the sacred past in order to insure future redemption.

Created in Oxford around 1240, perhaps for a young woman named Susannah, the De Brailes Hours is the first extant example of what would become this European "bestseller" of genres.[65] The De Brailes Hours lacks some items that featured in later exemplars, such as a calendar or an Office of the Dead, but it does contain the form's essential features. Along with the Penitential and Gradual Psalms, as well as the Litany of Saints, stands the core of the book: the Little Hours of the Virgin.[66]

The De Brailes Hours would have guided Susannah through a day of prayers marked by the eight canonical hours— Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline.[67] Shortly before William de Brailes created his Hours, St. Edmund of Abingdon had created a meditation on the Passion that brought together "the timing of the day of Passion with the canonical hours," a connection we can see specifically through the De Brailes Hours' captions.[68] These pages of Passion miniatures, labeled with cryptic Anglo-Norman captions, structurally link the unfolding of the events of the Passion to the devotee's spiritual day. The single fully preserved caption for one of these prefatory pages reads: "*a prime len amena iesu devaunt anne le prestre i lu dema[n]da de sa doctrine. un sen ribaut lu dona une bufe*" (at prime he led Jesus before Annas the priest and he asked him of his doctrine. A worthless man gives him a punch/buffet).[69] As in Edmund of Abingdon's scheme, the "a prime" links the time of Christ to canonical hour.[70] The reader/viewer, then, is cued to understand the canonical hour not only as part of the flow of "transient life," to use Gurevich's formulation, but also as taking place in the realm of "universal-historical" events.[71]

The De Brailes Hours is built around the Hours of the Virgin, with this sequence of prayers punctuated by full-page color illustrations of the events of the Passion. These pages of miniatures depicting the Passion form a distinct sequence of devotion that weaves a Passion meditation into the devotee's day of prayer.[72] These images include, in addition to those for Sext already described, a page for Matins that shows the Betrayal and Scourging of Christ along with Peter's denial. At Prime, Christ is judged by Annas, Caiphas, Pilate, and Herod; at Terce, Christ appears before Pilate, and at None, we find the Crucifixion. Susannah's day, like those of her devout Christian contemporaries, would have been synced to the temporality of the Passion, when Christ sacrificed himself for her soul and for the souls of all her fellow Christians. The Book of Hours joins them all temporally despite the passage of centuries.

In an essay on the temporality of Books of Hours, Bronwyn Stocks attempts to situate the Book of Hours form within a broader devotional context. She asserts that "[t]he sacred past was not understood historically. Rather, events such as the Adoration of the Magi were continually recited and recreated in the present via cyclical liturgical memory. Medieval devotional experience was thus based on anamnesis—a continual reliving or recitation of sacred events."[73] Because Books of Hours were so portable, she argues, the "narrative and associative fluidity" of the reader/viewer's experience would be magnified by other stimuli, both objects and images, encountered by the reader/viewer in his or her daily life.[74] This "iconographic resonance," as Stocks terms it, along with the nonlinear temporality of the Book of Hours form, shapes the context of William's Wandering Jew image.[75] The flow of images and prayer therefore create a sense of movement through time and space for the Christian reader/viewer.

Even as the De Brailes Hours leads the reader/viewer through the cycles of the day, it also generates a forward-moving sense of Christian redemptive progress. In contrast to the reader/viewer's implied progress as he or she moves through the book, the Jews depicted on the pages of the De Brailes Hours are depicted as fixed. They are seen to be as "motionless" as the milestones Augustine in the epiphany sermon quoted in our epigraph. Noting that William chose not to depict "the real badge-wearing Jews" that he must have observed in Oxford, Carlee Bradbury argues that William portrays three visually distinctive types of Jews in the Hours, "all of which are deployed to embody different levels of spiritual or physical opposition to Christianity."[76] The Wandering Jew, while distinct among the Jewish figures in the De Brailes Hours, is nevertheless like them in his "opposition" to Christ. William de Brailes depicts this opposition through means quite similar to those Matthew Paris deploys in the *Chronica*: the Wandering Jew is depicted as static in contrast to a Christ on the move. This opposition, I would argue, has a temporal dimension, and William visualizes this temporality through a contrast between movement and stasis.

The Wandering Jew image appears at the beginning of the section marking the canonical hour of Sext [Figure 3]. It is one of four medallions on a full page of miniatures, which is, in turn, one of several that appear at a canonical hour, part of the visual Passion sequence as noted above. The top caption on the folio that introduces Sext has been partially cut away. The remaining words provide Christ's curse upon the Wandering Jew: "*regarde et dit e tu remains ices desque ieo reveine*" ([he] looks and says that you will remain here until I return).[77] This image of the Wandering Jew appears on a page of illustrations that are otherwise drawn from Gospel accounts. The

Figure 3. The De Brailes Hours, British Library Additional MS 49999 Folio 43v. Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

Wandering Jew is placed in the first, upper-left roundel on a page that contrasts this refusal with an image of Simon of Cyrene, shown aiding Christ in the image in the upper-right miniature [Figure 4]. On the bottom left of the page, Jesus is being stripped of his garments [Figure 5]. Finally, in the lower-right image, Christ is flanked by a man holding hammer and nails and another pushing him toward the Cross and upwards onto it [Figure 6]. The admonishing figure in the upper-left hastens him on the road to Calvary, acting as a kind of gatekeeper by ushering him from the judgment phase of the Passion story into the most violent and terrible phase of Christ's ordeal.

The Wandering Jew image should also be considered in relation to the Passion images on preceding folios. On the page of miniatures for Prime, William depicts the judgments by Annas, Caiphas, Pilate, and Herod [Figure 7]; the judgment of Pilate is depicted on the page of miniatures for the hour of Terce [Figure 8]. In the lower-right image on this page for Terce

Figure 4. The De Brailes Hours, British Library Additional MS 49999 Folio 43v (detail). Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

[Figure 9], the Jews take Christ away, as noted with the caption "les guies le geugerent" [the Jews lead him]. Christ's next appearance is on the page for Sext; he appears opposite the Wandering Jew [Figures 2 and 3]. The Wandering Jew, then, is depicted in a moment of transition in the Passion story—between judgment and execution—after Christ has endured the series of judgments against him and before he reaches the place of his crucifixion. The incident of the Wandering Jew serves as a marker on the way to Calvary.

Not all scholars agree that the figure in the upper-left image of the folio for Sext is the Wandering Jew [Figure 2]. Pointing out that the Anglo-Norman caption emphasizes that the Wandering Jew will *remain* to wait for Christ, Ziva Amishai-Maisels has argued that both Claire Donovan and Jean-Claude Schmitt are incorrect in reading the pointing figure in the first miniature of Figure 3 as the Wandering Jew. Amishai-Maisels takes Donovan to task for emphasizing that the scene depicts the Jew as "doomed

Figure 5. The De Brailes Hours, British Library Additional MS 49999 Folio 43v (detail). Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

to wander" since he is so clearly standing still.[78] For Amishai-Maisels, the figure meant to represent the Wandering Jew legend is the man on the left in the upper-right image [Figure 4]. This figure seems to be pushing Jesus along even as the figure of Simon of Cyrene attempts to help Jesus bear the burden of the Cross.[79]

Amishai-Maisels's interpretation emphasizes that the early depictions of the Wandering Jew legend in the De Brailes Hours and in the *Chronica* are not about "wandering, but on being forced to remain."[80] Her reading of Matthew's depiction focuses on how Matthew's image roots the Cartaphilus figure in place while Christ moves forward; even the furling of the speech scrolls creating a flow of movement emanating from the Savior that contrasts with the fallen stasis of his interlocutor: "the accursed one does not wander but stays in place."[81] The value of Amishai-Maisels's critique for our analysis, then, is her attention to movement (or lack thereof) and

Figure 6. The De Brailes Hours, British Library Additional MS 49999 Folio 43v (detail). Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

her emphasis on the legend's temporality. The Wandering Jew is "forced to remain," to endure until Christ's return. This state of punishment has both spatial and temporal dimensions. The reader/viewer of a Book of Hours uses it to guide him- or herself through a spiritual day, looking forward to final redemption. The temporal stasis to which the Wandering Jew is doomed reinforces the idea of the spiritual stasis to which Christians believed all Jews were collectively doomed.

While we may never be able to answer definitively the question of which figure or figures represent the Wandering Jew, we can easily distinguish which is depicted as moving in these two images. The figure in motion is Christ. Christ's foot trespasses the frame in the upper-left; in the upper-right, he gamely shoulders the Cross, with depiction of his feet clearly conveying his forward movement. The Wanderer figure in the upper-left is rooted in place, his only movement the wagging of his finger. In the upper-

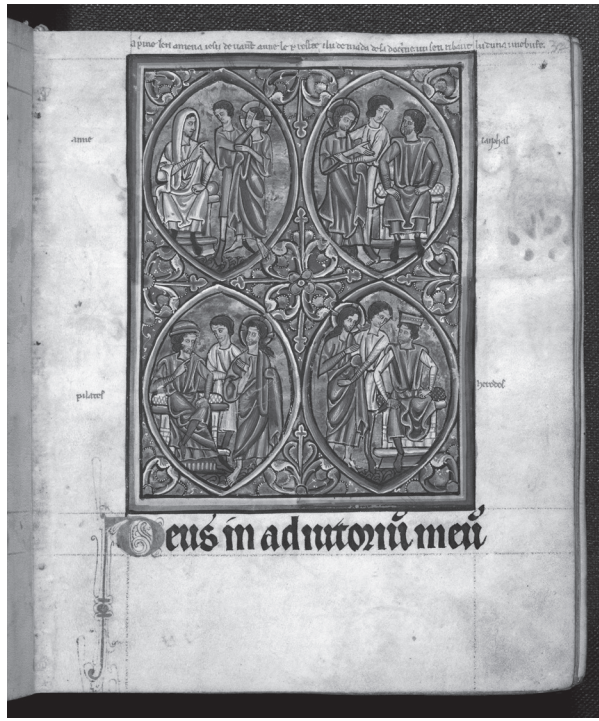

Figure 7. The De Brailes Hours, British Library Additional MS 49999 Folio 32r. Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

right, the figure who shoves Christ is leaning forward, with his feet hidden, subsumed by the frame below him, an effect which roots him to the ground, contrasting with the movement of Christ. The foot of Simon of Cyrene, who aids Christ, also trespasses the frame, indicating that this good man moves along with Christ. [Figure 4].[82]

In this way, Jews and Judaism come to represent the opposite of Christian duty and Christian virtue. Of all the figures on the folio on which the Wandering Jew appears, only Simon of Cyrene offers aid to Jesus [Figure 3].[83] If we read these two upper medallions in conversation with one another, we see two men—the Wandering Jew and Simon of Cyrene—each confronted with the Passion and reacting in opposite ways. If Simon of Cyrene was meant to be, as Donovan suggests, a "reminder of the role of the worshipper as sharing in the Passion of Christ: the Christian duty to help with Christ's burden," then the Wandering Jew, the one who rejects Christ and his burden, serves as a reminder of the opposite type of behavior.[84]

Figure 8. The De Brailes Hours, British Library Additional MS 49999 Folio 39r (detail). Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

The contrasts between those who aid Christ and those who harm him are represented in other ways as well. In William's rendering, Christ's backward and downward gaze at the Wandering Jew is firm and seems characterized by a sense of finality, marking the eternal punishment of the Jew, even as Christ's movement takes him forward to the Cross [Figure 2]. In the De Brailes Hours' depiction of the Passion story, Christ moves forward through the manuscript not only on the page of miniatures marking Sext, but also across the manuscript's entire Passion sequence.

A sense of movement can even be discerned in the depiction of Christ fixed upon the Cross. On the Wandering Jew folio, the Cross itself remains within the frames of the two medallions in which it is depicted [Figure 3]. In contrast, on the next page of medallions marking the canonical hour of None and which depict the Crucifixion, the Cross breaks both medallion frames in the lower register, and the upper register of the larger rectangular

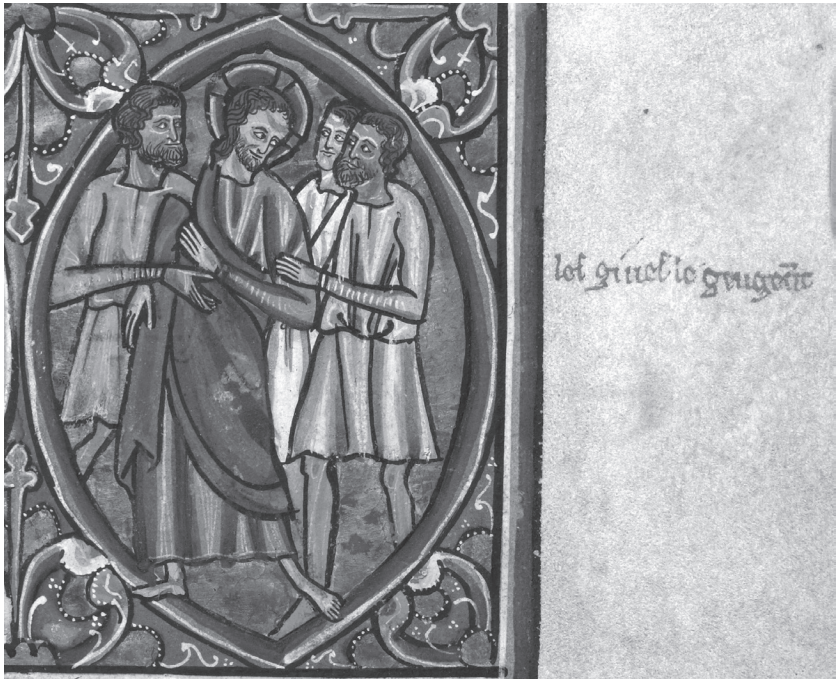

Figure 9. The De Brailes Hours, British Library Additional MS 49999 Folio 39r (detail). Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

frame of all the images on the page [Figure 10]. This provides a visual image in which the two smaller images of Christ on the Cross in the lower register appear as if they are growing into the crosses that bear the two criminals between which he is crucified in the top register [Figure 10]. The power of Christ's sacrifice and the power of Christian redemption transcend all boundaries. The reader/viewer turns the pages to follow Christ both visually and spiritually. The devotee moves along the spiritual journey of her day, she passes at each canonical hour images of the spiritually static Jews. These Jews remain in place despite the passing of the Hours. Jews may be part of "local transient life" to use Gurevich's term, but they lack temporal mobility in the spiritual plane.

William's representation of the Wandering Jew underscores the figure's complex identity by depicting him both as an individual and as part of a Jewish collective.[85] The Wandering Jew's placement in front of a throng of figures suggests that his sin represents Jewish sin more generally. The Wandering Jew's garb, because it is the same as Annas's, links the Wandering Jew to the

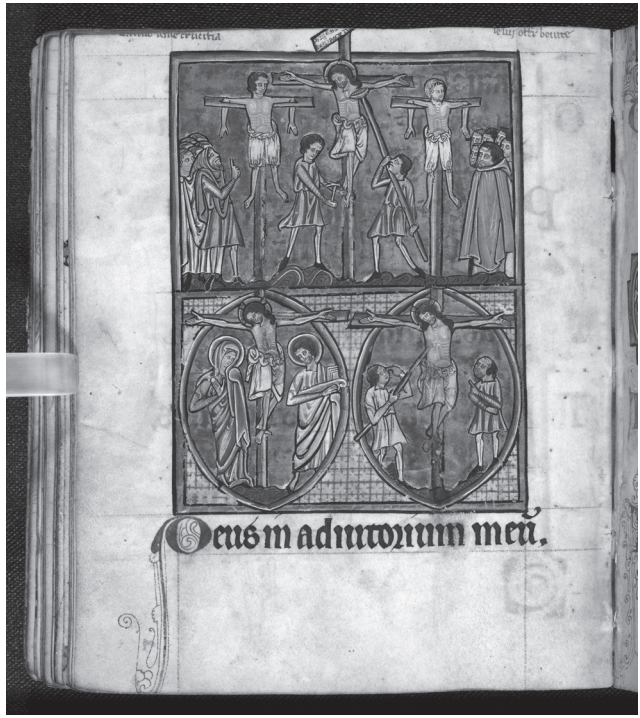

Figure 10. The De Brailes Hours, British Library Additional MS 49999 Folio 47v (detail). Reproduced with permission of the British Library

Jewish establishment depicted in the gospels as rejecting and condemning Christ [Figures 7, 3]. The Wandering Jew is thus both an individual sinner and a figure for the Jewish religion in a way that recalls how the allegorical figure of Synagoga was used to stand for Judaism.[86] Like the Wandering Jew, those Jews thronging behind him will be forced to wait, forced to live as a scattered and persecuted people, until the prophesied time of redemption.

This relationship between the individual and the collective is, I believe, part of what William is trying to illustrate for his reader/viewer, who is meant to use the Book of Hours as part of a daily, individualized spiritual program.[87] The figures depicted alongside the Wandering Jew carry the narrative in their own way by providing visual links to other images in the Hours. To the Wandering Jew's left stands a man in blue with one hand on his hip. In his other hand, he holds something that resembles the club a man uses to attack Christ in the image of his scourging [Figure 2]. William

Figure 11. The De Brailes Hours, British Library Additional MS 49999 Folio 61r (detail). Reproduced with permission of the British Library.

allows two of the elements in his miniature to break the frame surrounding it. The club brandished by the figure in blue trespasses across the blue frame of the image in a way that makes it also appear as though it is part of the decorative background. It is as though the depicted violence against Christ can both break out of the frame of the image and yet still also be absorbed into the object of the book itself [Figure 2]. I see the way that the image seems to break out of its frame as enhancing the spiritual exercise in which the devotee using the book is absorbed.

The violence implied by the menacing club is echoed in a representation of Jewish violence against the Virgin, an image that also visualizes Jewish spiritual stasis. After his depiction of the Passion, William includes a sequence of images illustrating the Assumption of the Virgin and events surrounding it. These images include the Virgin's burial procession, in which two disbelieving Jews appear, with one attempting to grab at her bier [Figure 11] as well as subsequent images of Jews cured through a combination of belief and physical contact with the Virgin's pall. The image of the Jews attacking the bier appears at the bottom of the folio, between an image of the Virgin on her deathbed and at her burial.[88] The Jews who attack Mary's bier are depicted in profile and are oddly disproportionate—one is exceptionally short— in contrast to the upright and graceful Christian faithful who carry the bier.[89]

The oppositional poses of the Jews are, however, even more significant than their stature. The Jew on the left appears to be hanging on to the bier and attempting to halt it; he stands on tiptoe as if to demonstrate an exertion that is also emphasized by his grimace. The other grimacing Jew, who grabs at the bier, is tugging downward on the cloth covering Mary, also attempting to halt the progress of those carrying her body. He ends up with his hand attached to the bier.[90] Wavy lines depict the disturbance his hands create

on the fabric. The Jews' disbelief not only leaves one of them stuck to the bier, but also leaves them both stuck on the page, straining in vain against a forward movement of faithful Christians that includes not only the figures represented on the page, but the reader/viewer of that page as well. Jews in the De Brailes Hours thus are rendered as obstacles that Christians must overcome as they move, hour by hour and step by step toward salvation.

Seen in relation to these figures, the Wandering Jew is both a physical obstacle that Christ must overcome and one who, through his conversion, faces the long challenge of an endless life awaiting redemption through Christ. The Wandering Jew has attempted to act as an obstacle. During the Passion, he heaped scorn on the suffering Christ and refused him aid. But Christ, of course, moved past this obstacle, continuing on the path that will ultimately buy redemption for believers. Christ doomed the Wandering Jew to remain, transforming him from an obstacle into a milestone, a marker along the way who acts as a negative example for Christians to reject as they move forward on their own salvific paths.

In the De Brailes Hours, then, the state of sinfulness is a state of stagnation. The Wandering Jew remains, fixed in place and in time, as Christ and his followers move onward. The Wandering Jew's stasis thereby signifies Jewish "opposition" to Christianity more generally. Matthew's image of the Wandering Jew—depicted as an old man whose mattock both signifies his sin and literally seems to bog him down—has affinities to William's portrayal of the Jews who actively struggle to arrest the progress of the Virgin's bier. These early representations visualize perceived Jewish resistance to the flow of Christian time.

The reader/viewer of the De Brailes Hours witnesses this opposition as she uses the Hours to guide her devotion. Like Christ, she must overcome this opposition, literally moving past it as she turns the page. The resistance to spiritual progress comes from without, as represented by the Jews, but also, it is implied, from within. This internal threat is represented through other types of sinners who are like the Jews, and by a perceived connection between all of these sinners and the devotee. These connections have a temporal dimension, as the time of Christ comes together with that of the devotee through the act of prayer.

Matthew and William's visualizations of the Wandering Jew, the earliest extant visualizations of the legend, provide insights into how temporality figured into medieval Christian representations of Jews. Both Matthew and William depict the Wandering Jew legend in ways that emphasize not his movement—his "wandering"—but the temporal stasis brought on by Christ's curse. Their representations of the Wandering Jew legend reveal an

investment in Christian temporal mobility, represented both verbally and visually against a Judaism rendered as superseded and frozen in time. This temporal dimension has implications for a broader understanding of the dynamics of anti-Jewish discourses. The rhetoric of anti-Judaism, for example, shapes representations of the body, as in the short stature, grimacing face, ugly features, and darkened skin found on the pages of the *Chronica* and the De Brailes Hours.[91] But these representations of Jewish bodies are bodies that exist within temporalities also shaped by anti-Jewish belief. Matthew's drawing of an aged Wandering Jew and William's of a Wandering Jew who is actually rooted in place visualize the idea that the Jews are seen as always out of sync with the flow of Christian time and can, at best, only serve as markers or signs—milestones—to be interpreted by Christians. The denial of coevalness is a denial of a shared humanity and thereby of the humanity of the Jews.

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NOTES

1 Augustine PL 38 sermo 199 http://www.augustinus.it/latino/discorsi/index2.htm. *Sermons on the Liturgical Seasons: The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 38, trans. Mary Sarah Muldowney (Catholic U. of America Press, 1959), 61. I am grateful to Kathy Lavezzo, Debra Strickland, Asa Mittman, Heather Blurton, Hannah Johnson, Pamela Patton, Carlee Bradbury, Seth Lerer, editor Eric Gidal, and the two anonymous readers of this article for their generous insights and assistance. All errors are my own.

2 On the range of names for the Wandering Jew see Avram Andrei Băleanú, "Die Geburt des Ahasver," *Menora: Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte* 2 (1991): 27.

3 On the denial of coevalness to the "Other" see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (Columbia U. Press, 1983). On Christian denial of Jewish coevalness see Kathleen Biddick, *The Typological Imaginary: Circumcision, Technology, History* (U. of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 22–23 and Lisa Lampert, *"Left Behind*, the Holocaust, and that Old Time Antisemitism," *Journal of Popular Culture* 45 (2012): 512.

4 Robert Stacey and Suzanne Lewis, following Richard Vaughan, argue that Matthew's works were composed between 1240 and 1250, making the composition of the *Chronica* and the De Brailes Hours extremely close in time. See Robert Stacey, "1240–60: A Watershed in Anglo-Jewish Relations?" *Historical Research* 61 (1988): 148; and Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the "Chronica Majora"* (U. of California Press, 1987), 473.

5 Matthew's image appears in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 16, f. 74 and can be viewed on the Parker Library website. The De Brailes Hours are held in the British Library. Add. MS 49999 can be viewed through an excellent digitization at: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49999.

6 Galit Hasan-Rokem, "L'Image du Juif Errant et la çonstruction de l'identité européene," *Le Juif Errant: un témoin du temps* ed. Laurence Sigal-Klagsbad and Richard I. Cohen (Paris: Musée d'art et d'histoire du Judaïsme: A. Biro, 2001), 52.

7 I owe this formulation about context to Debra Strickland, private communication, November 2016. On the period as a "watershed" see Stacey, "Watershed."

8 Kathleen Biddick, *The Typological Imaginary.*

9 Steven Kruger, *The Spectral Jew: Conversion and Embodiment in Medieval Europe* (U. of Minnesota Press, 2006), and "The Times of Conversion," *PQ* 92 (2013): 19–39.

10 Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (London: Reaktion, 2010), 55.

11 Anna Wilson, "Similia similibus: Queer Time in Thomas of Monmouth's Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich," *Exemplaria* 28 (2016): 54. I thank her for sharing this work with me prior to publication.

12 David Frick, "The Bells of Vilnius: Keeping Time in a City of Many Calendars," in *Making Contact : Maps, Identity, and Travel*, ed. Glenn Burger (U. of Alberta Press, 2003), 23–59. Elisheva Carlebach, *Palaces of Time: Jewish Calendar and Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Harvard U. Press, 2011). C. Phillip E. Nothaft, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar: A Study with Five Editions and Translations* (Boston: Brill, 2014).

13 Israel Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 2006), 21.

14 Aron Gurevich, "What Is Time?"*Categories of Medieval Culture*, trans. G. L. Campbell (London: Routledge, 1985), 109.

15 Gurevich, "What Is Time?" 110.

16 Gurevich, "What Is Time?" 139.

17 Debra Strickland, *The Epiphany of Hieronymus Bosch : Imagining Antichrist and Others from the Middle Ages to the Reformation* (London: Harvey Miller, 2016), 15.

18 Gurevich, "What Is Time?" 110.

19 Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (U. of California Press, 1999), 60.

20 Anna Wilson, "Similia similibus," 48–54.

21 It is notable that there has been recent important work done in art history on the idea of visual time. See Keith Moxey, *Visual Time: The Image in History* (Duke U. Press, 2013).

22 George Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Brown U. Press, 1965), 17.

23 Anderson, *Legend of the Wandering Jew*, 20.

24 "'Vade Jesu citius, vade, quid moraris?' Et Jesus severo vultu et oculo respiciens in eum dixit; 'Ego,' inquit, 'vado, et expectabis donec redeam.'" Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, trans. J. A. Giles, *The Flowers of History*, 2 vols. (London: Bohn, 1849), 2:513. Further references to this translation (with some minor modifications) will be referenced in body of the text as *Flowers* with reference to volume and page number. The Latin entry for Roger's 1228 account can be found in *Rogeri de Wendover Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum ab Anno Domini MCLIV*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, 3 vols. (London: Rolls Series, 1886–1889), 2: 352–55; hereafter FH.

25 "et hoc sine risu et omni levitate verborum, ut qui magis versatur in lachrymis et timore Domini, metuens semper et suspectum habens adventum Jesu Christi, ne ipsum in ultimo examine inveniat iratum, quem ad passionem properantem irridens ad dignam provocaverat ultionem." Roger of Wendover, *FH* 2:354. See also *Chronica Majora* 3:162. All Latin citations from the *Chronica* are from Rolls Series. *Chronica Majora,* ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols., (Rolls Series, 1872–1884). English translation (with modifications) from *Chronica Majora*, trans. J. A. Giles. *Matthew Paris's English History*, 3 vols. (London, 1852–1854).

26 MSS 16 and 26 are held in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (CCCC), and MS Roy. 14. C. VII is held at the British Library. Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris,* provides a concise discussion of manuscript history relevant to the *Chronica*. For brief and accessible discussions of the textual history of the *Chronica* manuscripts including the Corpus Christi College MSS 16 and 26, see the Introduction to Richard Vaughan, *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Observations of Thirteenth-Century Life* (Cambridge: Corpus Christi College, 1993), vii–xiii, and Dorothy Kim, "Matthew Paris, Visual Exegesis and Apocalyptic Birds in Royal MS. 14 CVII," *eBLJ* (2014): article 5, 2–7, http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2014articles/article5.html. The map is found in MS 16 CCCC, fol. v verso; see Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 366.

27 Björn Weiler, "Matthew Paris on the Writing of History," *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009): 257–58.

28 CM 1:1–2. See Weiler, "Matthew Paris on the Writing of History," 258–59.

29 See discussion in Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 102–6.

30 Stacey, "1240–60: A Watershed in Anglo-Jewish Relations?" 150.

31 On representations of the Jews in the *Chronica* see Sophia Menache, "Matthew Paris's Attitudes toward Anglo-Jewry," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997): 139–62.

32 See Lisa Lampert, "The Once and Future Jew: The Croxton *Play of the Scrament*, Little Robert of Bury, and Historical Memory," *Jewish History* 15.3 (2001): 235–55.

33 MS 26 CCCC f. 15v. See Daniel Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (London: Boydell, 2009), 17; Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 103–4; and Kim, "Apocalyptic Birds," 8.

34 See Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 103; Connolly, *Maps,* 16–18; and Kim, "Apocalyptic Birds."

35 Connolly, *Maps*, 17.

36 CM, 4:132.

37 Ruth Nissé, "A Romance of the Jewish East: The Ten Lost Tribes and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in Medieval Europe," *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007): 510. On Jewish conspiracy and End Times expectations, see also Debra Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton U. Press, 2003), 212–21 and 226–8; and Debra Strickland, "Antichrist and the Jews in Medieval Art and Protestant Propaganda," *Studies in Iconography* 32 (2011): 1–12.

38 Nissé, "A Romance of the Jewish East," 511. On the Mongols and the apocalypse in the western European Christian imagination see also Noreen Giffney, "Monstrous Mongols," *postmedieval* 3.2 (2012): 227–45; Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005); Margaret Kim, "Globalizing Imperium: Thirteenth-Century Perspectives on the Mongols," *Literature Compass* 11.7 (2014): 472–83; Sophia Menache, "Tartars, Jews, Saracens and the Jewish-Mongol 'Plot' of 1241," *History* 81 (1996): 319–42; Zsuzanna Papp, "Tartars on the Frontiers of Europe: The English Perspective," *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU* 11 (2005): 231–46; Maurizio Peleggi, "Shifting Alterity: The Mongol in the Visual and Literary Culture of the Late Middle Ages," *The Medieval History Journal* 4 (2001): 15–33; and J. J. Saunders, "Matthew Paris and the Mongols," *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (U. of Toronto Press, 1969), 116–32.

39 Nissé, "A Romance of the Jewish East," 518.

40 See esp. chap. 6 and in particular p. 288.

41 Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Cornell U. Press, 1982), 76.

42 Robert Chazan. "Introduction," *The Trial of the Talmud, Paris, 1240*, trans. and ed. John Friedman and Jean Connell Hoff (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), 58.

43 Cohen, *Friars*, 69.

44 On the connection between the De Brailes Hours and the Dominican order, see Carlee Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining the Jew" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2007), 116. I thank Prof. Bradbury for sharing materials and ideas with me.

45 Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law,* 362–63.

46 As Nissé notes, the *Chronica*'s entries for 1252 also include mention of Grosseteste's translation of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which Matthew claimed had been deliberately obscured by Jews through the use of Hebrew. "A Romance of the Jewish East," 518.

47 CM 5:341.

48 Gurevich, "What Is Time?" 139.

49 On the Chronica's "apocalyptic scaffolding," See Connolly, *Maps,* 13.

50 Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 302; CM 3:163. "et nota reprehensionis vel redargutionis … et suspectum habens adventum Jesu Christi in igne, saeculum judicaturi" cited in Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 302 and 502n21.

51 Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 303.

52 Lewis transcribes the banners as "Vade Jhesu ad iudicium tibi preparatum" and "Vado sicut scriptum est de me. Tu vero expectabis donec veniam." See Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 303.

53 Ziva Amishai-Maisels notes the movement created by the flowing banners. See "Menasseh Ben Israel and the 'Wandering Jew,'" *Ars Judaica* 2 (2006): 60.

54 See Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (U. of California Press, 1996), 130, and Bale, *Feeling Persecuted*, 65–89.

55 On allegorical representations of Synagoga see Christine Rose, "The Jewish Mother-in-Law: Synagoga and the *Man of Law's Tale*," in *Chaucer and the Jews*, ed. Sheila Delany (New York: Routledge, 2002), 3–24; Nina Rowe, *The Jew, the Cathedral and the Medieval City: Synagoga and Ecclesia in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge U. Press, 2011); and Wolfgang S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, trans. Lee Chadeayne and Paul Gottwald (New York: Ungar, 1970).

56 Itaque juxta verbum Domini exspectat adhuc Cartaphilus ille, qui tempore Dominicae passionis erat quasi triginta annorum, et semper, cum usque ad centum attingerit annorum, redit ad illum aetatis statum, quo fuit anno quando passus est Christus." FH 2: 354; *Flowers* 2:513.

57 Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 303.

58 Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 303 and Amishai-Maisels, "Menasseh Ben Israel," 60.

59 Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, 303. On Cain and the Jews, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain* (U. of California Press, 1981). See also the connection made by Pope Innocent III between Cain and the Jews, who "ought to remain" as earthly "wanderers" in his letter to the Count of Nevers, cited in Mellinkoff, *Cain*, 97. Full letter in translation in Robert Chazan, ed., *Church, State, and Jew in the Middle Ages* (New York: Behrman, 1980), 174–76.

60 Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (U. of Chicago Press, 1981), 81, cited in Elizabeth Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (Columbia U. Press, 2007), 208n18.

61 Kruger, "The Times of Conversion," 24.

62 Kruger, "The Times of Conversion," 24.

63 See Lisa Lampert-Weissig, "The Wandering Jew as Relic," *English Language Notes* 53.2 (2015): 89–101.

64 Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240–1570* (Yale U. Press, 2006), ix.

65 Claire Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (U. of Toronto Press), 2. The term "bestseller" comes from Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (Baltimore: G. Braziller in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1988), 27.

66 Claire Baker (Donovan) suggests that the "most important feature in the texts of" early English Books of Hours is "the devotional emphasis on the Virgin," which she also speculates was the cause for their popularity; "The Early Development of the Illustrated Book of Hours in England c. 1240–1350" (PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 1981), 19. For an excellent brief overview of the form and additional bibliography see Seth Lerer,"Literary Prayer and Personal Possession in a Newly Discovered Tudor Book of Hours," *Studies in Philology* 109 (2012): 409–28, esp. 409–13. On the calendar in Books of Hours, see Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 39–59.

67 Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 27.

68 Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 69.

69 On these captions see Donovan and Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining the Jew," 132–33.

70 Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 66 and 69; see also Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 13.

71 Gurevich, "What Is Time?" 139.

72 Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 37–38.

73 Bronwyn Stocks "Intersections of Time and Place in Books of Hours," *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence : The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press / Melbourne U. Pub., 2009), 442.

74 Stocks, "Intersections," 444–45.

75 Stocks, "Intersections," 444.

76 Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining the Jew," 110. Bradbury proposes that there are three distinct "types" of the Jews in the De Brailes hours and that they are labeled as such in the captions: "*iudes* (Jews), *felons* (felons), or *giues* (Jews)" (125). She contends that while *iudes* and *felons* have different meanings, they are visually identical. *Guies*, in contrast, "appear human" and are visualized differently than *iudes*. In this system, according to Bradbury, *iudes* are "monsters" or "evil," while *giues* are "human witnesses." The Wandering Jew, Bradbury contends, is depicted outside these categories (125).

77 On caption and translation, see Bradbury, "Imaging and Imagining the Jew,"138.

78 Amishai-Maisels, "Menasseh Ben Israel," 60 and Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 79.

79 Alternatively, Debra Higgs Strickland posits that the Wandering Jew may actually appear in both the upper-left and upper-right images, which represent different moments in the story, albeit in the wrong order or "reverse narrative." Debra Strickland, private communication, December 2016. On reverse narrative see Meyer Schapiro, "On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art: Field and Vehicle in Image-Signs," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 6. 1 (1972–1973), 9–19.

80 Amishai-Maisels, "Menasseh Ben Israel," 61.

81 Amishai-Maisels, "Menasseh Ben Israel," 60.

82 "And as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to bear his cross." Matthew 27:3.

83 Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 80.

84 Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 80.

85 Donovan sees him as connected to contemporary Jews and their alleged abuses against Christians.

86 On Synagoga, see note 53.

87 On the intimate nature of the Book of Hours form and its relationship to the book production, see Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 25–41.

88 Denise Despres has remarked of the images of the two Jews that the "traditionally exegetical" visualization does not depict these Jews as "grotesque or diabolical." See Despres, "Mary of the Eucharist: Cultic Anti-Judaism in Some Fourteenth-Century English Devotional Manuscripts," in *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 384.

89 On short stature and representation of Jews, see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, 1:125.

90 On sources for the legend of Jews attacking the Virgin at the Assumption, see Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness* (London: D.S. Brewer, 2010): 85–86; and Bale, *Feeling Persecuted*, chap. 4.

91 On skin tone in the De Brailes Hours see M. Lindsay Kaplan, "The Jewish Body in Black and White in Medieval and Early Modern England," *PQ* 92.1 (2013): 54–55.