

THE COBBLER OF  
JERUSALEM  
IN FINNISH FOLKLORE

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*Most discussions of the Wandering Jew cite mainly printed texts without recourse to archival collections of oral tradition. In this essay, the rich holdings of the folklore archives of the Finnish Literary Society (founded in 1831) make it possible to define and analyze the image of the Wandering Jew figure in Finland. The occurrence of the image in a wide variety of genres is documented, and the legend is examined from structural and functional perspectives.*

### Introduction

The Wandering, Eternal Jew, who in Finnish folklore goes by the name of the Cobbler of Jerusalem, wanders between a number of different folklore genres. The way his figure is described, as well as the importance he assumes in the item of folklore, is clearly related to the specific genre. It would not be difficult to show that the subject is not of Finnish origin, but the popular nature of this figure in Finnish folklore is powerful enough to contradict the contention of the German *Encyclopedia Judaica* that "Die slawischen und die finnischen-ugrischen Völker scheinen also die Sage vom ewigen Juden nicht zu kennen."

My work is based on Finnish sources from several collections<sup>1</sup> and on comparative Scandinavian and European material, mostly from printed sources.<sup>2</sup>

### History of the Tale

The birth date of the Cobbler of Jerusalem is quite well known; he entered European consciousness on the pages of a chapbook that was printed in northern Germany in the year 1602 and signed with a pseudonym.<sup>3</sup> The chapbook was very soon well distributed in central and northern Europe. The first Danish translation was published in 1621;<sup>4</sup> in Sweden it was first printed in 1643;<sup>5</sup> and even in Iceland the book was already translated in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> Its dissemination in the Scandinavian countries was quite remarkable: Sweden saw at least nineteen editions (printings), and in Denmark there were at least four of them.<sup>7</sup> What was it that so stirred the imagination of northern Europeans?

The chapbook<sup>8</sup> describes in detail how Paulus von Eitzen (one of the prime students of Melancton of Wittenberg, who was Martin Luther's teacher) in the year 1547 met a strangely dressed man in a church in Hamburg. He was in his fifties presumably, and his behavior was exceedingly pious and modest. The man revealed that he had been a cobbler in Jerusalem and that he had refused to allow Jesus to rest on the wall of his house when he went by bearing his cross. That is the reason why the man has been punished with eternal wandering until doomsday. This Jew, whose name was Ahasverus, saw himself as a living witness for the guilt of the Jews for Jesus' sufferings. The learned men of Hamburg talked to him at length, and his knowledge of history and languages made a great impression on them. They were also impressed by his deep piousness and Christian religiosity. Any alms over two pfennig he would instantly turn over to the poor.

The tale goes on providing witnesses of the appearance of the same Jew in Lübeck, Danzig, Königsberg, and other places, among them Madrid, where he was reported in the year 1575. The printer himself testifies that he had heard with his own ears from hundreds of people that they had met him, in Poland and in Moscow among other places, and he, the printer, promises to announce to his readers instantly if he himself happens to run into the man.

The intent of the chapbook seems pretty clear. It tries to convince the local Jews to convert to Christianity,<sup>9</sup> and also legitimizes the harassing of Jews as well as the looting of their houses and the seizure of their possessions.<sup>10</sup>

The use of popular legends as anti-Jewish propaganda is not a new phenomenon in the Reformation era. There are a number of earlier popular legends partly of a religious character in this vein.<sup>11</sup> Supernatural motifs such as the liaisons of the Jews with Satan and their familiarity with black magic belong to the same types of materials spreading prejudice and hatred.

The earliest printings of the so-called Volksbuch of Ahasver belong to the wake of the Lutheran Reformation, during which quite militant religious polemics were not unusual. The "youthful" years of Ahasver's wanderings are accompanied by the cannon blasts of the Thirty Years' War, a war with heavy religious overtones. The author of the present Volksbuch was presumably a Protestant.<sup>12</sup> Similar chapbooks were in circulation for communication and propaganda purposes, but few reached the wide distribution of the "Wandering Jew" chapbook.<sup>13</sup> A Danish scholar seems to think that the Volksbuch was not particularly efficient in achieving its propagandistic purposes.<sup>14</sup> He assumes that its principal function was indeed missionary, and he almost completely overlooks its racist and Jew-baiting message.<sup>15</sup>

The Volksbuch arrived in some countries even before the Jews themselves had settled in them. Thus in Denmark the chapbook was translated in the year 1621 although the first Jew settled there only in 1622, as far as we know.<sup>16</sup> Some Jews arrived in Sweden between 1680 and 1685 (although they attained a formal certificate for residence only in 1721),<sup>17</sup> but the tale of the Wandering Jew had arrived there by the year 1643. In Iceland, where the Jewish population remains scanty and minimal to this day, the Volksbuch was translated by the first half of the seventeenth century.

The tale as we know it from these literary versions has its roots in European folklore. Anderson has pointed out that the seventeenth-century tale about Ahasver includes many elements from earlier legends and myths, and his findings draw heavily from earlier research stating the same facts. Anderson shows the great influence of Italian folklore on the prototypes of the Ahasver legend<sup>18</sup> by discussing several forms of the protolegend, such as the Buttadeo legend and others. Anderson assumes that the plot nucleus of the legend came into being during the Crusades somewhere in the vicinity of Jerusalem, where the legend would have had a special local flavor.<sup>19</sup>

Two elements are innovations of the 1602 version: the name Ahasverus and the occupation of cobbler. These two elements seem to be among the most stable elements of the central and north European traditions. The name has been explained by the Purim-Shpiel, the traditional Jewish folk-drama based on the biblical Book of Esther, in which the Persian king Ahasverus figures,<sup>20</sup> but the occupation still puzzles scholars. Anderson points out the ironical aspect of a shoemaker having to wear out his shoes in this endless manner without ever apparently having time to practice his trade.<sup>21</sup> Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko assumes a relationship between Ahasver's trade and the fact that in medieval society the guild of the shoemakers was a wandering group of tradesmen.<sup>22</sup> In Finland, wandering or itinerant cobblers were still active at the beginning of this century.

### **The Volksbuch—the Chapbook of the Wandering Jew—in Finland**

In Finnish collections, I have found three small chapbooks in which the story of Ahasver is related in prose, printed in the years 1892, 1903, and 1907. It is not difficult to prove that these are translations of Swedish translations of the original German chap-book.<sup>23</sup> In one of the Finnish translations there is an exact repetition of a local Swedish addition which was printed earlier in a Swedish version from the town of Jönköping. In this detail, the colorful and exotic appearance of the Cobbler in the market of the town of Värnamo is described. The Nordic folklore has garbed Ahasverus in the following outfit, very different from the austerity of the German version: he wears among other things a coat made of horsehair, trousers made of camel skin, and a tiger skin hat.

The 1903 Finnish edition seems to have been popular enough to have been reprinted in 1907. That edition contains a remarkable piece of news: The Cobbler of Jerusalem was seen among the soldiers of the Italian army in Tripoli (Libya). The printer warns the readers that there might be some inaccuracies in the account, since the story has traveled such a long way. In the same paragraph, he also mentions that the Cobbler was seen in England in the eighth century. This seems like a distant echo of a well-known mention of a cursed wanderer in the chronicle of Roger de Wen-dover.<sup>24</sup>

Whereas the Finnish chapbooks mention the name Ahasverus, this name is not found in the oral versions. So although we can state quite confidently that the core and main part of the elements of the story were transmitted to Finland from Germany via the Swedish translations of the Volksbuch, the name apparently did not enter oral tradition. Perhaps it was too difficult and strange for the narrators to remember it. The emphasis was therefore transferred to the occupational aspect instead. The fact that the Wandering Jew is a shoemaker is in any case a constant element in Finnish tradition, and indeed this is the name by which he is commonly identified: the Cobbler of Jerusalem.

The elimination of the term "Jew" from the standard recognized epithet for our hero correlates with the near total disappearance of anti-Semitic elements from the Finnish folklore surrounding this figure. This, more than the fact that there are not many Jews in Finland, explains the disappearance of the anti-Semitic elements, since we saw that the Volksbuch reached most Scandinavian countries before the Jews settled there. The Finnish folklore related to the Wandering Jew includes a variety of elements not to be found in the German editions of the Volksbuch and its translations, but elements which do exist in the Continental folklore on the subject. These elements have probably been transmitted through oral tradition or by independent invention to which we shall return later.

### **The Cobbler of Jerusalem in Finnish Oral Tradition.**

#### **The Legend**

The legend, or the sacred tale, is a folk narrative genre in which the violation of the rules of normative religion is punished by a representative of the supreme force, or the following of these rules is rewarded by the same. The term *legend* has in the context of this essay been reserved for that part of the complex of tradition related to the Wandering Jew in which the encounter between Ahas-verus and Christ is described as well as the curse meted out by Christ.

The Cobbler of Jerusalem occurs in Finnish folklore in a variety of genres. Sometimes the relationship between these genres is genetic, that is, one genre generates another. For example, the narrative generates a proverb or the legend generates a folk belief. Sometimes the relationship between the genres is symbiotic; that is, they are linked together in one sequence. However, the most persistent of all the genres is the legend about Jesus and the Wandering Jew. But only in seventeen texts (out of fifty-nine which constitute the whole corpus discussed here) does the legend appear without the accompaniment of another genre, and even in these seventeen texts there is a

reference to the existence of a proverb, i.e., another genre. The legend about Christ's sufferings serves a clear religious function by itself. In other cases, we may discern conglomerations of various genres such as a proverb, a legend, and a folk belief (e.g., see text no. 40—for details of the texts cited, see Appendix 1). The different genres become structural elements of the complete tradition complex which tends to cluster around this theme.

The legend is not only the most constant of the genres involved, but it is also the most widely distributed, and it is included in one form or another in forty-four of the fifty-nine texts, albeit in some instances just by means of a reference (14, 41, 43), summary (40, 33), or fragment (39, 40). Other genres that figure in the generic combinations of the theme in Finnish folklore are the warning tale, which is related to the didactic function of the tradition, the proverb, the folk belief, the belief tale, and the memorate.

The legend itself may be analyzed as being composed of two main episodes:<sup>25</sup> the sin and the punishment. In the present discussion of the legend, a basic structural unit will be considered which in order to avoid previous associations in structuralist research will be labeled as neutrally as possible. Let us call it an element. The element may not be divided into smaller parts than itself in the framework of this legend; that is, parts of it will not appear independently, and the element itself can be linked to other different elements in the narrative. The element is not necessarily in any order of sequence despite being linked to some of the other elements. This definition of the element defines so to speak the minimal and maximal limits of the unit. The element in this narrative may be a description, an act, a quality, or an utterance. The elements are listed systematically in Appendix 2. Here we shall discuss the results of the analysis.

The protagonist of the legend is Jesus Christ. The elements concerning his activities in the narrative are the most constant, and they take up the longest time in the story. His behavior in the legend is stereotypical<sup>26</sup> although the legend is generally varied in its plot elements. The elements involving the behavior of the Cobbler, on the other hand, are varied. Only in five cases is the behavior of the Cobbler motivated: by his richness, by his being "a rich Jew" (one of the rare occurrences of his ethnic background in the texts), the general viciousness of shoemakers, his fear of the storming masses. The Cobbler himself is occasionally described as being in the midst of mending Pilate's shoes (29 and another six texts) or holding his own child in his arms. These elements are usually connected to related elements in other genres symbiotically connected with the legend. In those cases where the legend is accompanied by folk beliefs and belief tales, the importance of the Cobbler grows and the elements concerning him are emphasized more since in those genres, unlike in the legend, it is he and not Jesus who is the central figure. The sin is followed by the punishment which is focused and textually embodied in the verdict uttered by Christ, a verdict which proves to bear a magic quality insofar as it has predictive power. Here we are already past the dramatic climax of the narrative. The severity of the deed leaves us in suspended expectation for the appropriate reaction, and when the verdict is given, the suspension is relieved. This suspension is crucial for the dramatic quality of the narrative, and consequently in none of the texts does any element occur between the elements of sin and verdict.<sup>27</sup>

Christ's words constitute the conservative element of the legend tradition, and this element is a highly formalized and repetitive feature of the texts. It is possible that the holiness with which this utterance must be imbued in the legendary tradition serves as a conservative force in the process of transmission. The utterance must conform. In some ways, it could be argued, it is the stylistic character of the passage in question which has such a conservative effect on the tradition bearers as it includes, in addition to rhyme, contrastive parallelism and other formulaic elements.

The span of the punishment as defined by Jesus is "until doomsday" (in ten of the texts), "to the end of the world" (seven texts), or "until I return to this world" (three texts). Some additions to Jesus' utterance refer to folk beliefs, such as the fact that the Wandering Jew is carrying his cobbler's tools on his back or that he lives to be a hundred years old or alternatively that he lives forever, in such wordings of the verdict as: "Take your cobbler's tools," "You shall not die," "You shall live forever." The folk beliefs expressed in the texts will be discussed more extensively later in this essay.

It is interesting to note that the different forms of Jesus' verdict do not have any discernible geographic distribution so as to create local redactions in the manner described by the historic-geographic analysis of folklore. The fact that eternal life is meted out as a punishment in this legend points to a worldview in which eternal life is assumed to be a negative state rather than a desideratum. In folktales, eternal life is usually presented positively as a wish fulfillment and even more so in myths, where eternal life is very often the positive result of a tremendous effort or an unusually heroic deed accomplished by the protagonist. This would suggest that in this legend we have a moralistic and superego-colored way of thinking in contrast to the fulfillment of secret wishes and the liberating of usually repressed fantasies that we more often associate with folk narratives. The characterization that Jesus is given in the legend is not of the ideal all-merciful overseer of human sins who calls in the Gospel for the other cheek to be turned to the assaulter. The curse expressed in the verdict points to a rather strict "eye for an eye" code of vengeance, more like the not-so-exact image that Jewish law is given in Christian imagination. The Danish scholar Nyrop credits this disposition in the characterization of Jesus to the fact that the sources of the legend are not really evangelical but later medieval in origin.<sup>28</sup>

The element of punishment includes a motivation for the specific character of the punishment in seven texts. In all the other cases it follows the sin with no connective and no motivation. The motivations in those cases where they are supplied are of a psychological nature: "he was overcome by a forceful lust of wandering," "his conscience pushed him to go," "the earth was burning under his feet," "the man lost his wits." There is, however, no correlation between the mention of a psychological motivation in the punishment and psychological motivations for the sin in the first episode, so that it is not possible to single out versions of a general, more 'psychological' type.

The elements concerning the very wandering of the Jew are problematic to isolate since it is not always clear when they are an organic part of the legend and when they are rather part of the following folk belief or belief tale. In the cases where the element of the wandering is unambiguously a part of the legend, it is always its concluding element.

By tabulating the elements (Appendix 3), it is possible to determine which is the favorite sequence of elements in the Finnish versions of the legend. The statistically most widely distributed combination is as follows: Jesus bears the cross and leans on the wall of the Cobbler's house. The Cobbler drives him away. Jesus says to the Cobbler: "I shall rest, but you will wander in the world (till doomsday)."

### Folk Beliefs

We have shown that the legend is a constant genre in Finnish folklore about the Wandering Jew, both thematically and rhetorically. The folk beliefs about the same theme are, however, very varied, and the materials are often quite fragmentary and incomplete. Eschatological beliefs are of special importance and interest among the Finnish folk beliefs about the Cobbler of Jerusalem. Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko contends that these beliefs also give a special insight into the function of the legend and serve as the functional basis for the dissemination of the legend and the other folk literary genres related to the theme. In the above historical survey, the anti-Semitic function of the legend in its central European, especially the German, setting was mentioned. The Scandinavian materials, especially the Finnish texts, do not lend themselves to a similar kind of function. Therefore, the question of the function has to be put to this material separately within its social and spiritual setting, although the narrative elements of the legend itself may not be different from the central European material. This is an interesting illustration of the need to look beyond the boundaries of the text in order to analyze the function of folklore. Honko's suggestion is that the Wandering Jew was left by Jesus in this world as a living witness that He was in this world and that He will return at the end of days. That the appearances of the Cobbler are closely associated with wars and other catastrophes supports the notion that the theme raises questions of extreme existential character.

That the legend deals with the basic order of the world is attested in the text by the sacred quotation of Christ's words, which assumes the status of a 'holy script', and as we have seen also is the *raison d'être* of the legend in the popular tradition as well as the most stable textural element, perhaps even the generative nucleus of every separate narrating of the plot. Although the highly normative, Christian function of the legend seems obvious, it is always advisable in folkloristic materials to consider also the less obvious functions. Indeed, it is sometimes thought that the most important socio-psychological function of folklore is precisely to carry those less obvious, hidden meanings. If we apply a somewhat psychoanalytically oriented model to the legend, we might well interpret its contents as follows: Jesus, who is in this case a severe and punishing father figure, is confronted with the rebellious son, the Cobbler, whose rebellion is punished by the father in a manner that actually turns out to be a wish fulfillment: eternal life. That is, the Oedipal rebellion is necessary to ensure growth and life. This interpretation assumes an identification with the Cobbler rather than with the sufferings of Christ, which is actually reflected also in the descriptive and emotive passages of many of the texts, thus turning it into almost an anti-legend, or a subversive legend. The para-legendary tradition of the Wandering Jew stresses this interpretative potential of the legend even more, and it becomes the main theme in many of the literary renditions of the work, especially those of the Romantic school. In the legend itself, Jesus assumes the traditional archetypal role of the returning hero, such as Elijah the prophet in the Jewish and Moslem traditions and Väinämöinen in the Finnish pre-Christian tradition. The legend, the static part of the tradition, describes the mythological era of Christianity, the era in which Jesus formed the order of the world by his word. The Cobbler of the legend wanders in the world as a concrete remnant from that mythological era, comparable to such etiological-mythological motifs as the rainbow being a remnant of the mythological era of the creation of the world, which is the mythological era of Judaism. (Strictly speaking, the whole world should be considered as such a remnant, a sign of God's activity in the world, but that is another matter.) That is why in many tales there is a prediction which relates the end of Ahasver's wanderings to the end of the world, yet another era to come.

In the German and the Swedish versions of the Volksbuch, the eschatological motifs are only vaguely referred to, the end of the world being more of a theological term and not a pictorial imaginative literary element. In Finnish folklore the subject was developed and elaborated. In proverb form, it may reveal the existence of a folk belief, such as: "When the Jerusalemite Cobbler has gone around the whole world, the end of the world comes" (in texts 47, 52, 55). In a more detailed form it sometimes includes other eschatological motifs from Finnish folklore, such as the following, very popular one: "When the church will be full of people, the roof will fall down; then comes the Cobbler of Jerusalem and the end of the world is there" (46). The belief may also assume a more local coloring: "The end of the world comes when the Cobbler of Jerusalem will be able to go through the church of Mynämäki; a churchful of people will die and the blood will be so deep that a nine 'tuuma' [a unit of length of approximately one inch] log will float in it" (53).<sup>30</sup>

In a Danish folk belief it is said: "The world will be destroyed when the Cobbler of Jerusalem comes to Denmark."<sup>31</sup> In Finland too the appearance of the Cobbler in the place where the tradition is transmitted may serve as sign for the end of the world: "When the Cobbler of Jerusalem comes to Nousiainen's Nummi, that is the end of the world" (38). In this case, the narrator mentions this as one of many events signaling the end of the world. He adds several others, some of which he himself doubts: "When I was a child, it was said that he is already near, but it seems to have been a false belief . . . as he has not yet reached Nousiainen's Nummi although it was said fifty years ago that he was somewhere nearby" (38). In a neighboring village, the ethnocentric belief is even more stressed as it is assumed that the Cobbler also started his wanderings from there (56), in clear contradiction to the information supplied in the legend, where the wanderings naturally started at the locus of Christ's suffering, at the hometown of the wanderer, that is, Jerusalem.

In some texts, it is stated that the appearance of the Cobbler in a country may serve as a prophecy for hard times or a war (26, 31, 32, 42); in the Danish tradition we find similar notions.<sup>32</sup> The Finnish texts include the belief that before the end of the world the Cobbler will have visited every single corner of the earth (37, 47, 52, 55). A legend (the term being used here as it usually is in folkloristic terminology and not as the specific term that has been employed throughout this paper, which would more properly be referred to as saint's legend) in which the Cobbler's appearance on the German front during the war is reported combines this appearance with the belief that he is immortal: "They put him in front of a cannon and fired at him but the bullets did not hit him."<sup>33</sup>

Sometimes the connection between the tale of the Cobbler and other eschatological beliefs is rather mechanical, such as, "The elders say they have seen him and he asked them: 'Do the ears of rabbits still have magic, because when the ears of a rabbit become white, the end of the world has come and the Cobbler of Jerusalem will come to his rest.'" Sometimes such beliefs are encapsulated in memorates: "Once the Cobbler of Jerusalem came to a house and carried his tools. The neighbor came in and brought with her fresh bread as a present to the lady of the house. When the Cobbler of Jerusalem noticed this, he said sadly, 'Oh, oh, there is a long time yet to the end of the world if neighbors still bring bread to one another,' and he went from the house" (45).<sup>34</sup>

This memorate assumes a belief according to which the deterioration of relations between neighbors or human relations in general are signs of the end of the world.<sup>35</sup> The Cobbler is therefore characterized negatively as deploring the still good relations between neighbors as they prolong the safe continued existence of the world and consequently his own wanderings. The legend in this instance assumes a definite didactic function insofar as it promotes good relations between neighbors and people in general as such relations are presumed to postpone the end of the world.

### The Memorates<sup>36</sup>

Memorates in general present a supranormal experience as a fact, and therefore create a considerable amount of social pressure which is concentrated on the narrator, whose only proof is usually his own belief and its correlation to beliefs current in his socio-cultural milieu.<sup>37</sup> The memorate mentioned in the last paragraph is chronologically interesting as it is earlier than all the above-mentioned chapbooks in Finnish (annotated in the archives in 1886). The tradition may therefore have existed orally in Finnish before it was circulated in written form. Since there is a parallel memorate tradition from Finland in the Swedish language which is from an earlier date, 1883, it is logical to infer an oral transmission inspired by one of the Swedish versions of the chapbook.

Another memorate, from the year 1936, recites an experience that took place thirty years before the recording of the narrative. The encounter with the Cobbler took place on the night of Saint Sylvester, New Year's Eve (44). This day is also mentioned as the day of encountering the Wandering Jew in a Swiss tradition.<sup>38</sup> The Danish tradition tells about meetings with him on Sundays,<sup>39</sup> on Christmas Eve,<sup>40</sup> and on the night of Saint John's Day, i.e., Midsummer.<sup>41</sup> In Finland, the saying goes, "This man is so accursed that he has no rest but on Christmas" (48). In this memorate, the narrative serves as a motivation for a folk belief and it seems that the narrator is not sure that his audience is familiar with the background and he is eager to provide it. In another case, the narrator is from northern Ingria (situated between Finland and Estonia, the original population spoke a Finnish dialect or a closely related Finno-Ugric language), and he told a memorate in the year 1939, quoting his father. In this case, too, the legend is the central genre of the narrative complex, and the memorate is told in order to enhance the folk belief. In another narrative from northern Ingria (3), also quoting the father of the narrator, the Wandering Cobbler is endowed with a special name: Nicodemus of Cyros or Nikko of Jerusalem.<sup>42</sup>

Usually the memorates include rich materials concerning the appearance of the Cobbler and his clothing, thus expressing the visual fantasies that have been evoked by this figure or that have been connected to him; "His clothes are torn and his hair and beard are overgrown" (49). His person is wrapped in mystery and sometimes the identification of him as the actual Cobbler of Jerusalem is only hypothesized (49). This phenomenon is current in other Scandinavian traditions as well, in Denmark, in Norway, and in Sweden.<sup>43</sup> The memorates may well be based on real experiences, as it is quite probable that old long-bearded men wandered through the countryside once in a while and needed the charity of the local population in order to survive. Their interest in promoting a tradition which relates the hospitality for such figures to a folk religious norm would be perfectly understandable

in terms of self-interest. It is somewhat more difficult to accept the supposedly scientific theory of the "nevropathes voyageurs" presented by the Dane Nyrop, which is based on the research on cases of hysteria reported by Charcot and Meige. Meige thought that he had found a specific Jewish mental disease involving an abnormal urge to wander, which according to him provided a realistic basis for the legend for the legend of the Wandering Jew!<sup>44</sup> Lauri Honko's hypothesis that the Cobbler of Jerusalem might be perceptually related to the itinerant village cobbler seems more plausible and convincing. The supranormal experiences mentioned in the tales and memorates where the Cobbler of Jerusalem is encountered are explicable on the basis of the eschatological beliefs found in the chapbook traditions about this figure.

### Belief Tales

In the Belief tales, as in the memorates, the appearance of the Cobbler in various places is the central theme. The details that most narrators seem to be interested in are details concerning the Cobbler's outfit and his general looks. From the Volksbuch stems the behavioral detail of the refusal of the Wandering Jew to accept alms; when he receives them, he turns them over to someone in need, since the Lord Himself cares for his livelihood. The theme was altered and exaggerated in Finnish folk tradition: "He needs no food, no drink" (42): "He is not allowed to receive food, clothing, money, nothing" (30). The same occurs in Denmark.<sup>45</sup> In Denmark and Sweden, there are parallel legends in which the Cobbler asks to be given bread.<sup>46</sup> Anderson thinks that the motif in which the Cobbler is portrayed as thirsty and asks to drink is characteristic of the English folklore on the subject.<sup>47</sup>

In Finland too at least one thirsty Cobbler of Jerusalem is mentioned: "Kalle Honkala, an old bachelor, lived alone in his hut. A small old man, all covered with moss came there, sat down beside the fireplace to warm himself, complained about his tiredness, and asked to drink something" (51). The mossy covering of the man which is found in Finnish tradition is also reported in Danish,<sup>48</sup> Norwegian<sup>49</sup> and Swedish tradition.<sup>50</sup> Another descriptive detail associated with the Cobbler in Scandinavian traditions is his tools in a sack, especially the lasts.<sup>51</sup> This detail strengthens the theory which connects the distribution of the theme to the wanderings of actual village cobblers (see L. Honko's suggestion above). In one of the Finnish versions, the belief legend mentions the tools of the Cobbler and connects them to the saint's legend by telling that when Jesus reached the house of the Cobbler, he was busy mending Pontius Pilate's shoes. This connection achieves two things: a motivation for the descriptive

detail of the tools that the man is carrying around and a connection between two great sinners in the same narrative plot.

In some of the legends there are specifically religious motifs, such as "You can identify the Cobbler of Jerusalem since his footsteps have the sign of the cross" (32). This is also mentioned in Danish tradition,<sup>52</sup> where the Cobbler is held as one who has the power of prophecy and soothsaying.<sup>53</sup> In Finland the point is made that he prophesies the downfall of rulers and mighty men (30).

The age of the Cobbler ranges somewhere between 30 (34) and 200 (36). It is also mentioned that every hundred years he returns to the age he was when his wanderings started.<sup>54</sup>

### Folk Songs

In addition to the prose chapbooks about the Wandering Jew or the Cobbler of Jerusalem, there is also a chapbook which includes a folk song entitled "The Cobbler from Jerusalem."<sup>55</sup> This song is composed of sixteen verses of four lines each and describes an apocalyptic scene saturated with traditional motifs and descriptions from apocalyptic scenes in Finnish folklore. This particular description of the end of the world brings in the angel Hamael and the epic heroes Väinämöinen and Joukahainen, who are known to Finnish audiences. There are also references to others from the Kalevalaic epic poetry and to such folktale figures as the Old Man of the Mountain or the Lady of the Forest. Naturally there are also some religious stereotypes in such descriptions, e.g., the Holy Spirit in chains, and the inmates of hell keeping a feast. This poem or song exemplifies what was said above about the relationship between traditions concerning the end of the world and the traditions about the Cobbler in Finnish folklore. The Cobbler is for understandably natural reasons anticipating this event since it will finally put an end to his suffering, and he will, as has been predicted, also see it. The subject of the song-poem is still essentially the end of the world, and the Cobbler of Jerusalem, whose name it bears, is the poetic first person "I" of the poem and is not mentioned in the text itself. The popularity of the text is proven by the fact that it was reprinted in a second edition.<sup>56</sup> A poem like this becomes a factor in the formation of oral tradition—in this case in establishing the association between the Cobbler of Jerusalem and the apocalyptic theme in folklore. The Finnish folksong archives have a number of fragments which include verses similar to the ones in the printed chapbooks which supports the view that printed versions can become 'folklorized' also in an oral tradition.

### The Epic Song

An interesting epic song from northern Karelia<sup>57</sup> describes Passover in the home of the cobbler Issaschar in Jerusalem. The family's poverty is described, and there is a definite tone of pity throughout the poem, especially with reference to the oppression of the Jews in general and this family in particular by the Romans. The role played by the Jews in the crucifixion of Jesus is rather unusual for a folk tradition. They follow the scene in weeping and sorrow. The sin of the Cobbler is not mentioned in the poem but since the text ends with the departure of the man for his wanderings, there is another motivation given. Issaschar admits having spoken some evil things, and it seems that blasphemy concerning Jesus is meant here or something equivalent which is not mentioned in the text itself. The epic poem is actually a parallel of the prose legend, a parallel different from most of the prose narratives we have reviewed since it lacks the element of the sin. The merciful approach to the cobbler culminates in the didactic decree: "When a poor beggar begs for a piece of bread, remember that he needs your grace and have mercy."<sup>58</sup> The style, the form, and the biblical names—such detailed information—all point to a written source for this text.<sup>59</sup>

The legend has been rendered in poetic form in other countries in Europe. The French scholar Gaston Paris contends that the French poem is the most widespread of the poetic versions.<sup>60</sup> The adaptability of the theme of the Wandering Jew to different genres is influenced by generic preferences in different cultures. Thus in England there is a Wandering Jew in ballads,<sup>61</sup> and in Finland there are a number of allusions in one of the favorite genres of Finnish folklore: the proverbial comparison.

### The Folktale

The folktale which has the Cobbler of Jerusalem as its hero is rather peculiar (57). The cunning hero buys himself a fur coat that makes him seeing and unseen, and slippers that carry him to every place that he can think of.<sup>62</sup> The coat and the hat become torn after a while, "but the shoes are never worn out, and in them the Cobbler of Jerusalem will pace to the end of the world." In a Swiss belief tale, it is also mentioned that the Wandering Jew has shoes that never wear out.<sup>63</sup> It is possible that in this folktale there is an amalgamation of the eternal wanderer motif with some other folktale figure who owns shoes which never wear out.<sup>64</sup> The quality of seeing and not being seen is also a specific trait well known from the international folktale repertoire and is also reported among the folk beliefs concerning the Cobbler of Jerusalem in Finland (31).

In the Central European tradition, it is possible to discern even more clearly the connection between folktale motifs and the popular descriptions of the Wandering Jew.<sup>65</sup> Scholars who have been especially interested in comparing common motifs of all folk narratives in the world have tried to show a connection between the mythological motifs concerning the German Wotan as well as the Indian Buddha, which have supposedly been transmitted through the folktale figure of the Wandering Huntsman to the Wandering Jew of the legend.<sup>66</sup>

### Proverbial Comparisons

Among the Finnish proverbial genres in which the Cobbler of Jerusalem appears the most widely distributed is the proverbial comparison. The genre of proverbial comparison is generally interspersed with motifs involving exotic figures and faraway places, not to mention saints and biblical figures.<sup>67</sup>

The Finnish proverbial comparisons that I have seen included twenty-seven in which the Cobbler of Jerusalem is mentioned. Most of these comparisons are based on the above-mentioned characteristics that are usually associated with him in the folk imagination: "Wanders like the Cobbler of Jerusalem" (six versions), "Goes around like the Cobbler of Jerusalem" (four versions), or "Walks-runs-walks around-goes in circles" (six versions). From his unceasing movement are derived the following: "Fussing like the Cobbler of Jerusalem," "Flying around like the Cobbler of Jerusalem." The idiom "Jumps around the world like the Cobbler of Jerusalem" includes reminiscences of the final motif of the legend, and also resembles the formulaic sentence which ends the legend itself.<sup>68</sup>

We have already mentioned how central to folk tradition the motifs describing the appearance and dress of the Cobbler are. The proverbial comparison "A beard like the one of the Cobbler of Jerusalem"<sup>69</sup> is based on the beliefs regarding the appearance of the Wandering Jew figure. This proverbial comparison has a close parallel in "A long beard like the one of the Cobbler of Jerusalem who wanted to swallow a horse and only the tail was left on earth."<sup>70</sup> In this idiom we may trace a humorous attitude towards the Cobbler, not very common in the rest of the material that has been analyzed.

Three proverbial comparisons deal with the working space of the Cobbler of Jerusalem. Features include the doors of the space being wide open<sup>71</sup> and the temperature in it being extremely cold.<sup>72</sup> The workshop is imagined to be very big, as is expressed by the comparison "A nose like the workshop of the Cobbler of Jerusalem."<sup>73</sup> Maybe the fantasy about the immense size of the workshop implies that there is really no workshop at all, and that his being a wanderer means his workshop is actually the whole world and thus his shop is therefore as wide as the entire world.<sup>74</sup> And in a less hyperbolic manner, the comparison may be taken to refer to the fact that the Cobbler spends his nights under the bare skies, since according to some folk beliefs he can never rest inside a house (21).<sup>75</sup>

In a proverbial comparison from Finland but in Swedish, it is said, "Goes around like the Cobbler of Jerusalem."<sup>76</sup> In the records of folklore traditions of other peoples regarding the theme of the Wandering Jew or the Cobbler of Jerusalem, this specific genre, which as we have seen is a favorite genre with the Finns, has not often been reported.

### Proverbs

Some of the folk beliefs already mentioned are sometimes found in proverb form, e.g., "When the Cobbler of Jerusalem will have gone around the whole world, comes the end of the world"<sup>77</sup> (47, 52), and "Hard are the wanderings of the Cobbler of Jerusalem" (58).

What is the relationship between the proverb and the legend? It is quite safe to state that the proverbs and proverbial expressions concerning the Cobbler of Jerusalem do not have an independent existence in the cognitive systems of the bearers of that tradition, but always refer directly or indirectly to the legend and belief materials about the same figure, and are in fact some sort of summarized versions of the narrative material about the same figure in Finnish tradition. In the proverbs as in all the other genres of folklore excluding the legend (saint's legend), the Cobbler is the central, main figure. In the saint's legend, in contrast, it is Jesus who is the central figure. The narrators of the legends and the belief tales are very often conscious of the existence of the proverb, and very often they end their narration by referring to it and by explaining its genesis from the narrative material. In ten versions of the narratives, the source of the proverb is explicitly said to be the narrative. In three of these cases, the wish to explain the source of the proverb constitutes the principal motivation for the narration itself, and this rationale occurs at the very beginning of the narrative (5, 14, 40). It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the proverb and the proverbial expressions are actually more widely distributed in the folk tradition than the narrative material, and it consequently makes a good point of departure for the narrators. Here we have a clear case where there might be a conflict between the findings in the archival material and the actual state of the distribution as it is reflected in oral tradition. Such contradictions may be explained by the fact that the collected material, especially that from the beginning of the twentieth century and the end of the nineteenth, which is very well represented in the material being discussed here, often reflects the prejudices and esthetic preferences of the collectors of that time. They had an approach that was different from the one current in the second half of the twentieth century, with its interest in the problematics of source criticism.

The ending with the saying is even more popular than its occurrence in the opening of the story, as we can see from seven versions (1, 3, 4, 11, 12, 35, 42). In one of these, the narrator gives the following explanation for the use of the saying: "And therefore always, when there is a vagabond or a wanderer it is said . . . he goes around like the Cobbler of Jerusalem." All the sayings which appear in the narratives belong to the genre of the proverbial comparison and are parallels of those found in the printed collections of this genre, where they are reproduced independently, lacking the context of the narrative.

### The Riddle

In the texts I have examined, I found only one riddle which mentions the Cobbler of Jerusalem. The question is: "Who has been going in the world all the time since the crucifixion of Jesus?"<sup>77</sup> and the right answer is: "The Cobbler of Jerusalem." This riddle is of the kind which requires a special type of background knowledge in order for the audience to be able to answer it. In this case, the special knowledge consists of the legend of the Wandering Jew. This genre of riddles was typically employed by clerical educators to check on the parish's knowledge of sacred traditions. The lack of many texts concerning the Cobbler of Jerusalem suggests that this theme may not really have been well absorbed into the riddle genre in Finnish folklore.

The wording of the proverbial materials referring to the Cobbler of Jerusalem discussed above suggests an interesting comparison. There is a quite popular riddle for a clock; "What goes and goes and never reaches a destination?" If this were a riddle based upon special knowledge, the Wandering Jew or the Cobbler of

Jerusalem would be a perfectly acceptable answer, but since this riddle is constructed around a metaphor, as most riddles are, the only correct answer remains: the clock.

### Games

In the collections of the Finnish Dictionary Foundation, there are three items which include games bearing the name The Cobbler of Jerusalem. In one of the game notations, only the name has been preserved, accompanied by the remark that it is an indoor game for grownups.<sup>78</sup> Something similar to the well-known game of Musical Chairs might be conjectured. I have in fact one oral report confirming that this game, which is current in birthday celebrations in urban middle-class culture in Finland, does have the name of The Cobbler of Jerusalem.<sup>79</sup> The game consists of a group of players who circle around a group of chairs, one less in number than the number of participants. Music is played, and when the music stops, every player tries to find a chair to sit on. The person who is left without a chair at the very end of the game is the Cobbler.

In the collections of the Finnish Dictionary Foundation, there are two more games by this name. One is an outdoor game played by children, based on jumping between different, round, drawn areas.<sup>80</sup> The last one is a game for grownups for holiday eves. One of the participants goes among the others, holding a stick in his hand, and repeats the following: "I am that old Cobbler from Jerusalem. I have no work, no food, my shoes are torn, will you give me one of your daughters?" Although the other games mentioned before include some associative reference to the traditional motifs concerning the Wandering Jew, this last one seems to have the most direct reference to the standard narrative tradition. The role played by the Cobbler of the game is consonant with what the audience may have known about the figure from other sources. The game may also reflect fear of intermarriage with Jews.<sup>81</sup> In Denmark, on Shrovetide Eve, rural folklore figures were enacted, among them the Wandering Jew. The man who acted that role was dressed up in a long white wig and carried a bunch of lasts. He went among the audience and begged for alms<sup>82</sup> (in complete contradiction to the above-mentioned belief that the Wandering Jew would never accept alms!).

### Summary

The theme of the "Wandering Jew" came to Finland through the Swedish translations of the German Volksbuch. During the wanderings of the "Jew" from Central Europe to the northern part of the continent, the anti-Semitic function of the legend diminished until it has almost disappeared in Finnish folklore. In all the Finnish materials which have been considered here, we found only two references to the ethnic background of the Cobbler.

The folkloristic complex of genres clustering around the theme of the Wandering Jew is a good example of the interrelationship between folklore and booklore. This is not unusual, as the Finnish folklorist Martti Haavio has shown, when there is a reference to sacred traditions, and when the local folklore creates new combinations which may not have been encountered in folklore about the same theme elsewhere.<sup>83</sup>

The structural analysis of the saint's legend exhibited a stable structural and thematic tradition in that genre. The variations that were found did not reveal any defined geographical distribution so that we cannot really talk about any local redactions of the legend along the lines of the basic assumptions of the historic-geographic school (also called, in fact, the Finnish school since the founders were Finnish). The most popular combination of the elements of the legend again emphasizes the direct contact with the literary sources, i.e., the Volksbuch. Of all the genres discussed, the legend bears the strongest connection with booklore.

The folk belief material examined here concentrates mainly on the relationship between the Cobbler of Jerusalem and the end of the world. The encounter with the figure or his visit to a specific settlement supplies the greater part of the experiential data for this tradition. Here too there is a clear enough connection to the Volksbuch but also more ethnocentric material and local color. This is true about Finnish as well as other European belief traditions concerning the Wandering Jew. It appears likely that the description of this figure in folk beliefs bears resemblance to other characters in the belief traditions of each of the cultures. In the songs, the eschatological theme prevails. Proverbs, riddles, and games are not very numerous, but all are related to the theme of endless movement and the curious appearance of the Cobbler of Jerusalem.

We have found that the primary function of the tale in Finland is to conserve and confirm certain Christian norms concerning the order of the world and history. This includes the formative role of Jesus in history and the firm belief in the Second Coming. A secondary function we observed relates to the strengthening of certain social norms, such as promoting kindness among neighbors.

The material itself is open to other kinds of approaches. A relevant question would be: from which other figures from folk tradition has the Wandering Jew borrowed either outward or inward characteristics? The comparison between this specific legend and other Finnish legends might well yield more insight into this story. In the other genres, the relative scarcity of archival materials does not really allow for much in the way of comparison. As for the paucity of reported traditions, we cannot know whether this reflects an actual lack of existing folklore or simply the possibility that the Cobbler of Jerusalem was never very high on any Finnish collector's agenda.

Although the Wandering Jew seems not to be one of the major themes of Finnish folklore, it is interesting nonetheless to see the variation in genres that has been created around it. The Wandering Jew has also been a popular figure in Scandinavian literatures, but that is quite a different story.<sup>84</sup>

## NOTES

Three prose narratives and twenty-one songs from the chapbook archives of the library of Helsinki University.

An epic poem from a private collection.

Twenty proverbs from Matti Kuusi's book *Suomen Kansan Vertauksia* (The Proverbial Comparisons of the Finnish People).

Three games from the collections of the Finnish Dictionary Foundation.

The Finnish material concerning the Wandering Jew which is mentioned in the most comprehensive monographical study of the subject, G. K. Anderson's *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (Providence, 1970), is only marginally related to the subject. See his note 2. on page 103. It refers to wandering heroes such as Väinämöinen from the Kalevala epic poetry, but there is no reference to the folkloristic material discussed in the present article.

The first version of this paper was written as a seminar paper for Prof. Matti Kuusi in 1969 in Helsinki.

2. A. Aarne and S. Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, 2d rev. (Helsinki, 1977), no. 777; G. K. Anderson 1970; E. Dal, "Ahasverus in Danemark," *Jahrbuch für Volksliedsforschung* 1964, pp. 144-70; R. Edelman, "Ahasverus, the Wandering Jew, Origin and Background," *Reports of the IV World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 115-19. I have also seen around 150 texts from Sweden, courtesy of my friend and colleague Bengt af Klintberg. A number of Estonian texts were sent to me from the Soviet Republic of Estonia, with the kind help of the late Marie Luht of the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literary Society. Other works will be quoted where relevant.

3. Anderson 1970, pp. 42—48; L. Neubaur, *Die Sage vom Ewigen Juden* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 53-55. Anderson mentions in his book, p. 41, some texts from the second half of the sixteenth century; the cobbler motif is not included in them, and they may not have influenced the Finnish tradition.

4. K. Nyrop, *Fortids Sagen och Sange II, Den Evige Jøde* (Kobenhavn, 1907), p. 22; Anderson 1970, p. 66.

5. H. Schück, *Ur Gamla Papper* (Stockholm, 1892), I, p. 14.

6. L. Neubaur, "Zur Geschichte der Sage vom Ewigen Juden," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 22 (1912):48.

7. Schück 1892; Nyrop 1907,

8. The summary following P. O. Bäckström, *Svenska Folkböcker, Sagor, Legender och Äfventyr* (Stockholm, 1848), pp. 212-16; Anderson 1970, pp. 45-47

9. Nyrop 1907, p. 119, Neubaur 1912, p. 40, note 4.

10. G. Paris, *Legendes du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1908), pp. 167-68. This tendency is strengthened in the second half of the seventeenth century. Anderson 1970, p. 53.

11. T. Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (London, 1846), 1, p. 29.

12. Anderson 1970, p. 44.

13. Paris 1908, p. 166; Anderson 1970, p. 45; H. Dübi, "Drei spätmittelalterliche Legenden," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 17 (1907): 144.

14. Nyrop 1907, p. 35.

15. Nyrop 1907, p. 119.

16. Neubaur 1912, p. 40.

17. S. Jacobsson, *Taistelu ihmisoikeuksista* (Jyväskylä, 1951), pp. 20-22.

18. Anderson 1970, pp. 11—37.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

21. G. K. Anderson, "Popular Survivals of the Wandering Jew in England," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 46 (1947). Reprinted in the present volume.

22. Lauri Honko's ideas here and in the following were orally communicated in Helsinki in March 1969.

23. For more details concerning the Swedish tradition on the subject, see Bengt af Klintberg, "The Swedish Wanderings of the Eternal Jew," *The Wandering Jew – Interpretations of a Christian Legend*, edited by Galit Hasan-Rokem and Alan Dundes. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968, pp. 154-168.

24. Roger de Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1890); Anderson 1970, pp. 18-20.

25. There is resemblance between this plot-scheme and the minimal four-motifeme sequence suggested by A. Dundes in his *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*, *Folklore Fellows Communications* 195 (Helsinki, 1964), pp. 64-66.

26. See Appendix 2, elements aI, bI, fI.

27. Exceptions: Text 14 seems to be a mere summary and includes no reaction of Jesus whatsoever; text 17 is a belief account which only refers to the legend; text 18 is a memorate which refers to the legend; and in text 42, the Cobbler's sin is not mentioned either.

28. Nyrop 1907, p. 144.

29. Anderson 1970, pp. 174-227.

30. Also in other eschatological beliefs in Finland there is a church or a valley tilled with blood as a sign for the end of the world: L. Simon-suuri, *Myytillisiä tarinoita* (Helsinki, 1947), p. 229. The Danish tradition has a horse wading in blood in Armageddon: S. Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature* (Copenhagen, 1961), motif A 1080.1; H. F. Feilberg, *Bidrag til en ordbog over jyske almuesmål* I, 600 a.

31. E. T. Kristensén, *Danske Sagn* (Aarhus, 1892), II, p. 269, no. 91.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 268, note no. 84.

33. On the other hand in one of the legends somebody thinks that the Cobbler is a "fire-fox" (a known figure in Finnish belief legends) and the fox itself begs "Do not shoot me, I am the Cobbler of Jerusalem." On the inclusion of the Wandering Jew in local belief tradition and legend see also af Klintberg 1986.

34. A parallel from Finland in the Swedish language in V. E. V. Wessmann, *Finlands Svenska Folkdikning II. Förteckning över sägenlyperna* (Helsingfors, 1931), p. 631, no. 933.

35. Cf. in the Jewish tradition in Mishna Sota, Ch. IX, 15.

36. I included in the memorates narratives that were told about the experiences of the father or the mother of the narrator himself. Although the experiences of the older generation may at times be dismissed as old people's talk, it is still contended that a memorate learned from such a near person carries a considerable weight of authority. The Danish tradition has a similar narrative: Kristensén 1892, p. 269, no. 97.

37. Sometimes also in tracks and other signs, which are naturally open to conflicting interpretations.

38. E. L. Rochholz, *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau* (Aarau, 1856), II, p. 306, 110, 489; in another tradition on Good Friday, L. Jaccod, "Les Trois Pommes de Paques," *Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) Revue Valdotaïne*, I (1919):167, reprinted in this volume.

39. Kristensén 1892, p. 268, no. 87.

40. Kristensén 1892, p. 268, nos. 84, 88. Also, E. Kristensén, *Jyske Folkeminder 6te samling, Sagn og Overtro fra Jylland* (Kjøbenhavn, 1883), VIII, p. 233, no. 319.

41. Feilberg, II, p. 40.

42. There is a possible association to Nicodemus from the New Testament, the Pharisee who defended Jesus in the Synhedrion. In the narrative the relationship to Nikko is merciful, almost positive. It is also possible that there is an association to Simeon from Cyrenaica who as a complete reversal of the Cobbler of Jerusalem helped Jesus with the cross on the Via Dolorosa. Neubaur also mentions a text which refers to Nicodemus the Pharisee: L. Neubaur, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Sage von Ewigen Juden," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 9 (1917)131 r.

43. Kristensén 1892, p. 270, nos. 95, 99; J. M. Thiele, *Danmarks Folkesagn* (Kjøbenhavn, 1843), II, p. 311, no. II; Th. S. Hauknaes, *Natur, Folkeliv og Folketro i Hardanger* (Voss, 1887), IV, p. 573; A. A. Afzelius, *Si auka Fólkets Sago-Hálfæd* (Stockholm, 1844), I—III, p. 134.

44. H. Meige, *Le Juif-Errant à la Salpêtrière, Etude sur certains névropathes voyageurs* (Paris, 1893).

45. Kristensén 1892, no. 95.

46. E. Wigström, "Allmogeseder i Rönnebärgs Härad i Skåne på 1840-talct," *Svensk Landsmålstidkrift* VIII No. 3 (1891), p. 154, no. 493; A. Hazclius, *Samfundet for Nordiska Museets främjande* (Stockholm, 1890), p. 24; Kristensén 1883, p. 233, no. 319.

47. Anderson 1947, pp. 370-71: "The thirst of Ahasverus in these tales is appropriate in a land fond of its ale and tea."

48. Kristensén 1892, pp. 268-70, nos. 84, 89, 95, 97; *Skattegreveren* I (1884), p. 8, no. 5.

49. Th. S. Hauknaes, *Natur, Folkeliv og Folketro i Hardanger* (Eidfjord, 1884), I, p. 179.

50. af Klintberg 1968.

51. In Norway: Hauknaes 1887, p. 573; Th. S. Hauknaes, *Natur, Folkeliv og Folketro i Hardanger* (Kvindherred, 1888), VI, p. 190. In Sweden: af Klintberg 1968. In Finland (in the Swedish language): Wessmann 1931 p. 631, no. 933. In Iceland: J. Arnasson, *Islenskar Þjóðsögur og Aefintýri* (Leipzig, 1864), II, p. 47.

52. *Skattegreveren* II (1884), p. 27.

53. Thiele 1843, p. 331, no. I.

54. And in Denmark: Kristensén 1892, p. 268, no. 86.

55. In the collection of printed folksongs of the library of the University of Helsinki: Arkkiveisuja 1818-1826, no. 24.

56. Arkkiveisuja 1818-1826, no. 21 (bound together with the first edition although printed in 1828).

57. In the collection of orally transmitted folksongs: SKS, Kansanlauluarkisto; Kiihtelysvaara. Antti Rykönen 307. This hymn has a strong connection with the chapbook versions of the folksong. Another song is clearly related to the legend: SKS, Kansanlauluarkisto; Muurla. V. Saariluoma 1908, 1914. In this song the events are described from the point of view of the Cobbler himself.
58. Tohinajärvi. Aino Juvonen. 18.5.1954. The song was kindly made available to me by Olli Juvonen to whose private collection it belongs.
59. Olli Juvonen (see the former note) shares this view.
60. Paris 1908, p. 176. Contrary to the view that there was no English prose version of the legend, see Anderson 1970, pp. 63–65, for a prose translation of the German Volksbuch dated 1620. But Anderson also says that the prose versions are scarce both in chapbook and oral folk tradition. *Ibid.*, pp. 94–95.
61. A Danish ballad on the subject: E. T. Kristensén, *Jydske Folkeminder 11te samling. Gamle Viser IV samling* (Viborg and Kjøbenhavn, 1891), p. 204.
62. This tale type is very well distributed in Finland. Aarne & Thompson 1977, no. 518.
63. Rochholz 1856, p. 306, no. 489.
64. In some European legends the Wandering Jew strolls barefoot. A. Birlinger, *Volkstümliches aus Schwaben* (Freiburg, 1861), I, p. 211, no.
65. Anderson 1947, p. 370; Schück 1892, p. 21.
66. Rochholz [N56, p. 308; E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben* (Stuttgart, 1852), p. 115.
67. Kuusi 1967, p. xi in the Introduction.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 258, 210, 845, 315, 280, 276, 154, 917, 120, 224, 360, 917. In the collections of the Foundation of the Finnish Dictionary: SS. PL. Urjala, Hannes Mäkelä, 1932, SS. PL: I Onttonen, H. Rautu, 1955. SS Hakusanoitettuja Sananparsia Mikkeli. J. Valkonen. SS Sav. Osak. keräyttämä, 1932. SS. PL: I Kalajoki. J. Sauvala, 1952 SS. Sana-nuotta 1960 Sääminki. OF. Kuvaja ("Jerusalemi"). SS. PL.: II Hyrynen. H. Vierämä, 1959. SS Hakusanoitettuja sananparsia. Marttila. Toivo Alho, 1931 ("Jerusalemi Suutari").
69. Kuusi 1967, p. 553.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 593.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 855.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 705.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
74. Kuusi's notes for the relevant proverbial comparisons.
75. Also in Denmark: Kristensen 1892, p. 268, no. 84.
76. V. Solstrand, *Finlands Svmska Folkdiktning* (Ordstäv and Helsingfors, 1923). III, p. 35 1.
77. Ahlainen. Lempi Törne AK 19:75. 1967.
78. SS. PL: II Kuhmoinen. Leena Lättilä 1965.
79. Oral communication by Finnish folklorist Tellervo Venho-Krogerus.
80. SS. PL: I Valkeala, Sirkka Kärkönen 1960.
- Si. The sexual behavior of Jews is sometimes admired, sometimes feared. This appears in several genres in Finnish folklore, notably the proverbial comparison and the anecdote.
82. *Skattegreveren* 1886, p. 228.
83. M. Haavio, *Kansanrunojen maailmanselitys* (Porvoo and Helsinki, 1955), p. UN-H4.
84. E.g., Pär Lagerkvist's *Ahasverus' Death* and *The Sibyl*.

## APPENDIX I

The oral sources of the narratives and the numbers by which they are referred to in the article- **omitted in this version.**

## APPENDIX 2 The elements of the legend of the Wandering Jew in Finland

### I. The Sin

- a. The suffering of Jesus
  - 1. carried the cross
  - 2. was hanged on the cross
  - 3. was persecuted
  - 4. wanders in the world
- b. The entrance of the Cobbler
  - 1. Jesus asked to rest on the stairs of his house
  - 2. Jesus asked for help with carrying the cross
  - 3. Jesus asked the Cobbler specifically to help him carry the cross
- c. The motivations for the reaction of the Cobbler
  - 1. the wicked character of cobblers generally
  - 2. his richness, his Jewishness
  - 3. enmity towards Jesus
  - 4. hardness of his heart
  - 5. fear for the excitement of the hateful masses
- d. The Cobbler's activity before the reaction
  - 1. he put on one shoe
  - 2. made Pilate's shoes
  - 3. he was carrying a child in his bosom
  - 4. carried a sack on his back
  - 5. came back from the field
- e. The reaction of the Cobbler
  - 1. an uttering
  - 2. blasphemy
  - 3. denial of help
  - 4. throwing away
  - 5. kick

### II. The Punishment

- f. Jesus' verdict
  - 1. uttering
  - 2. act
- g. The motivation for the fulfillment of the curse
  - 1. the urge to wander
  - 2. bad conscience
  - 3. burning earth
  - 4. madness
  - 5. burning soul
- h. The description of the fulfillment of the curse
  - 1. carried his tools
  - 2. sighed
  - 3. wearing one shoe
  - 4. turned back the child

The source: Galit Hasan-Rokem, *The Cobbler of Jerusalem in Finnish Folklore*, "The *The Wandering Jew - Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend*", Editors: G. Hasan-Rokem and A. Dundes. Indiana University Press, Bloomington Indiana, 1986, pp. 119-153.