PART I
BETWEEN WORD AND IMAGE

ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE LAST DAYS: NEGOTIATING IMAGE AND WORD IN THE APOCALYPSE OF JEAN DE BERRY

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Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.133, the Apocalypse of Jean de France, Duc de Berry, is an early fifteenth-century illustrated manuscript with eighty-five miniatures depicting the Revelation of John.[1] Probably produced in Paris circa 1415, it is associated with Jean based on a partly erased ownership inscription in the duke's hand, although whether the manuscript was made for him or came into his possession later is unclear.[2] The manuscript—not mentioned in the Berry inventories—is noted for its dramatic use of intense red and pink grounds (Plate 2).[3] It is also remarkable for its unusual iconography, which, as typical of later medieval French Apocalypses, is 'idiosyncratic'.[4] As this essay argues, this iconography is not

[1] The manuscript was purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1900, as part of the Theodore Irwin collection. Its miniatures, but not its texts, are available on CORSAIR, the Morgan Library's online research source: http://corsair.morganlibrary.org, which should be consulted to see the manuscript's brilliant use of color. The online entry includes a detailed description of the manuscript and a bibliography. I am pleased to dedicate this essay to Pamela Sheingorn, with whom I have discussed Apocalypse iconography since 1978. Her exemplary scholarship has greatly influenced my thinking about the relationship between image and word in medieval illustrated manuscripts. I also wish to thank William Voelkle for his helpful suggestions and Carey Fee, with whom I first examined this unique Apocalypse manuscript.

[2] The inscription states: 'Ce livre est au Duc de Berry Jehan' (fol. 86v). William M. Voelkle, 'Apocalypse de Jean de Berry', in *Paris 1400: Les arts sous Charles VI*, ed. Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye (Paris, 2004), no. 180, confirms its date as c. 1415 (p. 289).

[3] The artist and assistants followed instructions (such as 'couleur') written on the reddish wash of its miniatures that specify such grounds. On instructions for artists. see Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven, CT, 1992), pp. 53–63, which, however, does not discuss the Berry Apocalypse.

[4] As noted by Nigel Morgan, 'Some French Interpretations of English Illustrated Apocalypses c. 1290–1330', in *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale*, ed. John Mitchell (Stamford, CT, 2000), pp. 137–56, esp. pp. 146–7. Reiner Haussherr

only inventive, but is also designed to invite the viewer-reader to interpret the manuscript's apocalyptic imagery in terms of contemporary events and particularly the Great Schism (1378–1417).[5] The Berry Apocalypse suggests that the Church is on the threshold of the Last Days and that prophecies of Antichrist's persecutions and deceptions are already being fulfilled.

Morgan M.133 places the framed miniature at the top of the folio, filling about half or two-thirds of a page, although the miniatures become larger later in the manuscript. They are accompanied by two texts: the first inscribes a passage from Revelation, the second the relevant commentary on the biblical text taken from the *Expositio super septem visiones in Apocalypsis* of Berengaudus.[6] Throughout the first part of the manuscript, the texts are placed below the images, which, with the exception of the first, are painted on the verso of the folio. As evident in its depiction of the Woman harassed by the Dragon (Rev. 12:1–4; fol. 36v), the images often include captions naming the apocalyptic players (Plate 2). The Woman, for example, is identified as both 'notre dame' and 'l'eglise', and 'dragon' is inscribed on the Dragon's tail. Here, as throughout most of the manuscript, the miniature is followed by a Latin rubric ('Et apertum est templum'), usually of one or two lines, an incipit for the biblical basis of the image. A longer French selection from Revelation is then introduced by a pen-flourished initial (here 'L' for 'Le templum dieu est ouvert').[7] It usually continues onto the facing folio, where it is glossed by the Berengaudus commentary, also in French and also introduced by a decorated initial.[8] After

surveys later medieval Apocalypses in 'Eine verspätete Apocalypsen-Handschrift und ihre Vorlage', in *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*, ed. Irving Lavin and John Plummer (New York, 1977), pp. 219–40, esp. p. 232 on the Berry Apocalypse. Suzanne Lewis suggests that the Berry Apocalypse may have influenced the designer of the Apocalypse of Margaret of York (Pierpont Morgan Library, M.484, c. 1475); see 'The Apocalypse of Margaret of York', in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and The Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu, CA, 1992), pp. 77–88, esp. p. 79.

[5] See Howard Kaminsky, 'The Great Schism', in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge, England, 2000), pp. 674–96; and, for related literary and visual propaganda, Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, PA, 2006).

[6] The commentary is edited in *PL* 17:765–970. The identity of Berengaudus is unclear. He has been associated with the ninth-century Berengaudus of Ferrières, which explains the Morgan Library's reference to him as flourishing 'ca. 859'; for arguments in support of this identification, see Derk Visser, *Apocalypse as Utopian Expectation (800–1500): The Apocalypse Commentary of Berengaudus of Ferrières and the Relationship between Exegesis, Liturgy and Iconography* (Leiden, The Netherlands, 1996). Most scholars of Apocalypse exegesis and art, however, believe he was an eleventh-century monastic, probably writing in northern France, Flanders, or the Rhineland around 1100; see, for example, Guy Lobrichon, *La Bible au Moyen Age* (Paris, 2003), p. 132, n. 16.

[7] Although the image represents Rev. 12:1-4, the text begins at Rev. 11:19, the usual division between the episode of the Two Witnesses, the focus of chapter 11, and that of the Woman and the Dragon. For the textual divisions of Revelation, which influenced the selection of scenes to be illustrated, see the chart in Yves Christe, *L'Apocalypse de Jean: Sens et développements de ses visions synthétiques*, Bibliothèque des cahiers archéologiques 15 (Paris, 1996), p. 46.

[8] There is no edition of this particular French version of the Berengaudus commentary. The Trinity Apocalypse (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R 16 2; England, 1255–60) includes an Anglo-Norman version, which is edited and translated by Ian Short in *The Trinity Apocalypse*, ed. David McKitterick (Toronto, Canada, 2005), chapters 10 and 11 on CD-ROM. Its selections, however, differ considerably from the Middle French version of the Berry Apocalypse.

Revelation 12, the images are larger, usually taking up a full verso side, so that most rubrics, initials, and texts face the image on the recto side of the next folio.

The manuscript's design creates for each opening a discrete image-text unit that encourages the viewer-reader to negotiate between, and, if possible, synthesize image and word in order to develop meaning. This negotiation, of course, would vary depending on audience and scene and would clearly involve a complex process of viewing, reading, and interpreting that can be only described here in schematic terms. It would begin as the viewer-reader turns to a new opening and contemplates the miniature painted on the verso side. With its robust colors and often unsettling subject, the miniature is primary, so that the visual always takes precedence in each image-text unit. The image's subject may or may not be immediately clear, depending on the viewer's familiarity with Apocalypse iconography, but it is usually identified by the accompanying Latin rubric and the occasional French caption. Even after extensive scrutiny, however, the meaning of the apocalyptic scene may remain ambiguous and thus require a thoughtful reading of the following French biblical and commentary texts. This reading would be informed by questions raised by the image, which highlights relevant passages of the text, just as the text in turn would redirect the viewer to specific aspects of the image. Verbal and visual details thus help explicate, if not always explain, each other.[9]

This image-word hermeneutic circle, however, leaves many questions unanswered, since the miniatures are not illustrations of their accompanying texts. As the viewer-reader recognizes that some visual elements represent aspects of the biblical and commentary texts, whereas others are unrelated, a third basis for interpretation becomes necessary: the historical context in which the images were created. In stressing the context within which the early fifteenth-century audience of the Berry Apocalypse likely interpreted its images, my approach builds on Hans-George Gadamer's contention that an interpreter is always historically situated and that meaning 'is always partly determined also by the historical situation of the interpreter', one reason why 'understanding is not merely a reproductive, but always a productive attitude as well'.[10] Consideration of the historical situation of the viewer-reader is therefore crucial if we are to appreciate how the Berry Apocalypse would encourage an apocalyptic reading of contemporary events. As we shall see, the *mise-en-page* of the Berry Apocalypse not only situates the viewer-reader on the threshold between image and text, but also between the historical events of the Great Schism and the prophetic expectations depicted in the manuscript. The miniatures draw on

[9] This description of the negotiation of viewing and reading is influenced by Hans-George Gadamer's 'hermeneutical rule that we must understand the whole in terms of the detail and the detail in terms of the whole'. See *Truth and Method*, trans. Garrett Barden and John Cumming (New York, 1975), p. 258.

[10] Ibid., pp. 263, 264.

authoritative texts and, occasionally, received iconography, but they also invite original interpretations that shape each other through visual links and lead to a contemporary understanding of the Apocalypse as a whole made relevant for its early fifteenth-century audience.

MORGAN M.133 AND APOCALYPSE ICONOGRAPHY

Scholarship has paid scant attention to the Berry Apocalypse, perhaps due to its unusual iconography. Millard Meiss has provided the only substantive discussion of the manuscript, naming the artist the 'Master of the Berry Apocalypse' and outlining his oeuvre, attributing twelve manuscripts to the artist and another thirty-four to his workshop.[11] Although a few additional manuscripts have since been associated with this workshop, scholars agree that the Berry Apocalypse is the Master's primary achievement.[12] Having established its status at the center of the Master's oeuvre, scholarship has since tended to ignore the manuscript, which receives only brief citations in catalogue entries or is noted only in passing by studies devoted to other works. This lack of systematic scholarly attention is unfortunate, since the manuscript provides an important and original late medieval visual interpretation of the Apocalypse.

The Berry Apocalypse is largely unrelated to earlier models, particularly the great manuscripts of the mid- and late thirteenth century that were influenced by Berengaudus and are the primary focus of art historians.[13] The manuscript iconography is, however, related to the contemporary Medallion Apocalypse in Chantilly (Musée Condé, MS 28), which places its 85

[11] See Millard Meiss, 'The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XIII–XVI Centuries at the Bibliothèque Nationale', *Art Bulletin* 38 (1956), 187–96, esp. 196, fig. 11; *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols (London, 1967), pp. 277, 300, 311, 354; and *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, 2 vols (New York, 1974), pp. 252–6, 296–303, and 368–72.

[12] See Voelkle, 'Apocalypse de Jean de Berry', pp. 289–90; and Gabriele Bartz's entry on the Master of the Berry Apocalypse in *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), 20:629. Meiss states that 'Assistants . . . executed many of the miniatures' (*The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, p. 298), but doesn't identify which miniatures are by the Master and which by assistants. For additional manuscripts associated with this workshop, see Lucy Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at The New York Public Library*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander, J. H. Marrow, and L. F. Sandler (London, 2005), pp. 365–7, n. 85; and Eberhard König, *Vom Schöpfer zum Autor: Genesis, Heilsgeschichte, Boccaccio. Eine Bilderhandschrift mit 78 Miniaturen vom Meister der Apokalypse des Herzogs von Berry* (Ramsen, Switzerland, 2006).

[13] Some iconographic features of Morgan M.133 suggest influence from a group of Anglo-French Apocalypses related to Metz, Bibl. Mun., Salis 38 (c. 1250–5, destroyed in 1944); see Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II), 1250–1285*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 4 (London, 1988), p. 71. On the Anglo-French tradition, see Richard K. Emmerson and Suzanne Lewis, 'Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts Containing Apocalypse Illustrations, 800–1500', *Traditio* 41 (1985), 370–409, esp. 395–6, n. 88 for the Berry Apocalypse. For the influence of commentaries, see Suzanne Lewis, 'Exegesis and Illustration in Thirteenth-Century English Apocalypses', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, NY, 1993), pp. 259–75.

Apocalypse scenes within large roundels.[14] According to Meiss, the two manuscripts, which share the French text of the Apocalypse and excerpts from Berengaudus, 'were based upon the same lost model' and 'were also probably painted about the same time, very possibly *ca.* 1415'.[15] Their iconographic relationship is clear when both are compared to a work the duke knew, the Angers Apocalypse Tapestry.[16] Made in the late 1370s for Louis d'Anjou, Jean's brother, the tapestry is a contemporary witness to mid-fourteenth-century iconography, developing "a well-known work," as Margaret Manion comments, "in a new edition of large-scale proportions."[17] A scene-by-scene comparison shows that the two manuscripts treat some scenes in ways that differ significantly from the tapestry and its more than century-old iconographic tradition.

Yet the similarities of the two manuscripts have masked their important differences. Scholarship has not sufficiently recognized that the Chantilly manuscript is closer to received iconography than is the Morgan manuscript. The Medallion Apocalypse, for example, regularly portrays John the Revelator as a visionary witness, a feature of later medieval Apocalypses almost always elided by the Berry Apocalypse.[18] The Medallion Apocalypse also includes many more details drawn from traditional iconography. Its representation of the Seven-headed Beast that arises from the Sea to receive authority from the Dragon (fol. 76v) shows a deep cut in the Beast's lower left neck, an allusion to Revelation 13:3, which describes how one of the Beast's heads will be mortally wounded but recover miraculously.[19] The Berry Apocalypse miniature for this scene (fol. 41v) does not hint at this episode, but focuses exclusively on the passing of authority from Dragon to

[14] See Emmerson and Lewis, 'Census and Bibliography', *Traditio* 41 (1985), 377–8, n. 52. It includes a *Histoire extradite de la Bible*, depicting twenty-five scenes from Creation to the Crucifixion. For color images, see the Réunion des musées nationaux website: http://www.rmn.fr/.

[15] Meiss, *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, p. 297; Meiss provides a folio-by-folio listing of their subjects on pp. 298–303.

[16] For color reproductions, see Pierre-Marie Auzas, *L'Apocalypse d'Angers* (Paris, 1985); and Francis Muel, *Tapestry of the Apocalypse at Angers, Front and Back* (Nantes, 1996). According to the duke's inventories, Jean also owned an Apocalypse tapestry; see Jules Guiffrey, ed., *Inventaires de Jean duc de Berry*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1894–6), p. 207. See also Donald King, 'How Many Apocalypse Tapestries?', in *Studies in Textile History in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*, ed. Veronika Gervers (Toronto, Canada, 1977), pp. 160–7, esp. p. 164 on the Berry tapestry. I thank Jennifer Naumann for directing me to this study.

[17] Margaret Manion, 'The Angers Tapestries of the Apocalypse and Valois Patronage', in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom*, ed. Nigel Morgan (Donington, England, 2004), p. 225. The search for the iconographic source of the Angers Apocalypse has long occupied art historians; see George Henderson, 'The Manuscript Model of the Angers Apocalypse Tapestries', *Burlington Magazine* 127 (1985), 209–18.

[18] On this characteristic of medieval Apocalypses, see Richard K. Emmerson, 'Visualizing the Visionary: John in his Apocalypse', in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams and Insights in Medieval Art and Thought*, ed. Colum P. Hourihane (University Park, PA., 2010), pp. 148–76.

[19] Medieval exegesis interpreted this miraculous recovery as a prophecy that in the Last Days Antichrist would pretend to die and then be resurrected. For traditional expectations regarding the life of Antichrist, see Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle, WA, 1981), pp. 74–107; and Richard K. Emmerson, 'Antichrist as Anti-Saint: The Significance of Abbot Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo*', *American Benedictine Review* 30 (1979), 175–90.

Beast. Such attention to a single narrative act typifies the manuscript, distinguishing its interpretation of Revelation from that of the Chantilly manuscript and earlier iconography. Unlike the Medallion Apocalypse scenes, whose roundels are often crammed with details drawn from the biblical descriptions, the Berry Apocalypse reduces narrative and descriptive details to focus intensely on a central event or compelling figure.

The Berry Apocalypse does occasionally draw on the iconography found in other Apocalypse manuscripts, as when Domitian orders John's torture in boiling oil (fol. 1r), the only miniature painted on a recto side. This event from John's legendary life is based on the apocryphal letter of the Proconsul of Ephesus that occasionally introduces later medieval Apocalypses.[20] Such time-honored scenes are rare, however. More typically, the manuscript's images represent original and sometimes eccentric interpretations, as in its representation of the New Jerusalem's descent (fol. 81v). Traditional iconography, as exemplified by the Angers Tapestry (scene 80) and the earlier French Cloisters Apocalypse (fol. 36r),[21] shows John seated on a mountain watching the holy city descend from heaven (Rev 21:2). The Berry Apocalypse, on the other hand, not only does not depict John, but also minimizes the heavenly city by relegating it to a cloud in the upper right corner. It instead interprets the promise of heaven as a restoration of Paradise on earth, symbolized by Christ's renewing the marriage of Adam and Eve within the garden. This imaginative interpretation is not based on the accompanying Berengaudus commentary, which equates the New Jerusalem with Ecclesia's saints who will return with Christ at Doomsday (fol. 82r). The Apocalypse Master focuses not on a renewed Church or literal New Jerusalem, but on the simile concluding the biblical verse, where the city is 'prepared as a bride adorned for her husband' (Rev 21:2).[22] Perhaps, too, a later biblical passage, 'behold, I make all things new' (Rev. 21:5), suggested the restoration of Paradise as figured in the original husband and wife. The desperate condition of the Church on the threshold of the Last Days—suffering from contemporary moral depravity and the assaults of Antichrist—may have led the artist to envision paradise not as the present reform of the Church but possible only in the future as a radical eschatological return to the original state of Paradise.[23]

[20] For John's legendary life, see David R. Cartlidge and J. Keith Elliott, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha* (New York, 2001), pp. 180–207; and Richard K. Emmerson, 'Framing the Apocalypse: The Performance of John's Life in the Trinity Apocalypse', in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Aldershot, England, 2008), pp. 33–56.

[21] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters 68.174 (Normandy, c. 1340). See *The Cloisters Apocalypse*, ed. Florens Deuchler, Jeffrey M. Hoffeld, and Helmut Nickel, 2 vols (New York, 1971). For traditional iconography, see Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge, England, 1995), pp. 190–2.

[22] Biblical translations are from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate, rev. Richard Challoner (reprinted Rockford, IL, 1989).

[23] A similar scene is depicted in the Medallion Apocalypse (fol. 116v), but it is more traditional in showing the marriage, attended by a multitude of angels and saints, taking place within the heavenly New Jerusalem, which dominates the miniature.

IDEAL ECCLESIA AND CONTEMPORARY CHURCH

The ideal condition of the Church is represented early in the Berry Apocalypse by the miniature (Fig. 1.1) depicting the command that John write to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor (Rev. 1:11; fol. 3v). This iconography, although not unique, is both distinctive and significant. Many

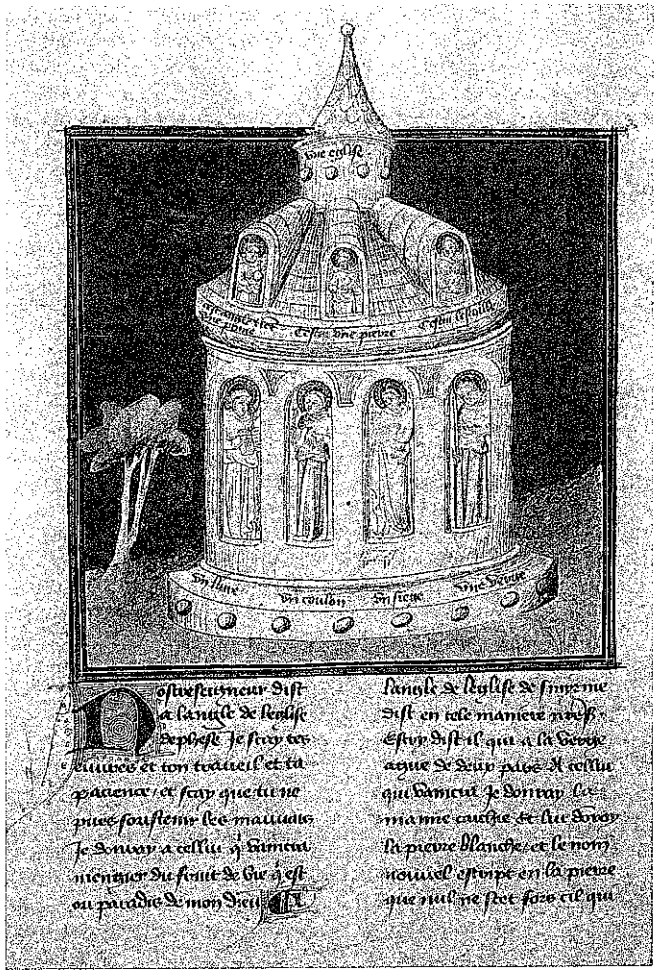

FIG 1.1
THE SEVEN CHURCHES AS ONE CHURCH (Rev. 1:11). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.133, fol. 3v.

Apocalypses represent the Seven Churches in seven scenes, as in the Angers Tapestry (scene 2),[24] or in a single miniature picturing seven buildings, as in the Cloisters (fol. 5r) and Medallion Apocalypses (fol. 38v).[25] The Berry Apocalypse, however, not only elides John—usually present in these scenes as epistolary author—but also conflates the Seven Churches into a single round structure with seven angels standing within arches, each holding a labeled attribute. The building is inscribed 'une eglise', not to identify the structure as a church but to emphasize the ideal unity of the Church. The image pictures an important point made by Berengaudus: 'By seven churches is signified one single Church with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit' (fol. 4r). This dominating image encapsulates the meaning of two chapters of Revelation and serves as an idealized touchstone for the manuscript's ecclesiological interpretations, for, as we shall see, the lack of unity within the Church is a major concern of the Berry Apocalypse. The late medieval expansion of the institutional Church and its 'total absorption . . . into the person of the pope'[26] meant that the papal schism was not simply a political argument among rivals but a divisive assault on the spiritual unity of *Christianitas*.[27]

This assault results in contemporary moral depravity, a condition visualized by an original image based on Berengaudus's interpretation of Revelation 15:1 (fol. 57v). A full-page miniature shows seven robed men, five standing, two laying on the ground, whom the French inscriptions identify as the Seven Deadly Sins (Fig. 1.2).[28] Each personification has an appropriate attribute or acts in a characteristic manner. A crowned Pride stands on the left next to Envy, who reaches for Pride's crown. The three on the right include Anger holding a sword, Avarice a purse, and Gluttony a bowl from which he drinks. In the foreground Sloth rests, leaning his head on his left hand as if dreaming, and in the lower right Lust combs his hair.

[24] For the layout and scenes of the Angers Apocalypse, see the appendix in Manion, 'Angers Tapestries', pp. 237–8.

[25] For earlier representations, see Lewis, *Reading Images*, pp. 64–6. Even the radical conflation of Apocalypse imagery evident in the near contemporary Flemish Apocalypse (Bibl. nat., néerl 3, c. 1400) still depicts seven churches over two full-page folios. On this manuscript, see Frederick van der Meer, *Apocalypse: Visions from the Book of Revelation in Western Art* (New York, 1978), pp. 202–35.

[26] Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, *The Pope's Body*, trans. David S. Peterson (Chicago, IL, 2000), p. 62. As Bernard McGinn notes, 'The popes had risen to their position of eminence by emphasizing the special claims of their office to universal and supreme religious power, but as the exalted position of the office came to be more readily accepted its occupants appeared less and less worthy of the claims.' See 'Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist', *Church History* 47 (1978), 160.

[27] Interestingly, a manuscript of Antonio Baldana's *De Magno schismate*, composed for Pope Martin V in 1419, represents the 'primus actus scismatis' as three cardinals stealing the papal keys from Urban VI and yanking the veil off a grieving Ecclesia while they ride from one church to another (Parma, Bibl. Palatina, MS 1194, fol. 2r). Significantly, both churches are placed within a walled, round city, now cut down the center, symbolizing the schism's rupture of Christendom's unity. See Paola Guerrini, *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate nel tardo Medioevo* (Naples, 1997), pp. 47–9, fig. 72.

[28] William M. Voelkle briefly mentions this scene in his 'Morgan Manuscript M.1001: The Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Evil Ones', in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Papers Presented in Honor of Edith Porada*, ed. Ann E. Farkas, Prudence O. Harper, and Evelyn B. Harrison (Mainz, Germany, 1987), p. 111.

FIG 1.2
SEVEN DEADLY SINS. Interpretation of Rev. 15:1. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.133, fol. 57v.

This allegory introduces Revelation 15:1: 'And I saw another sign in heaven, great and wonderful: seven angels having the seven last plagues.' Rather than depicting the seven angels holding seven vials of wrath, as in standard iconography, the Master of the Berry Apocalypse focuses on the meaning of the seven plagues, visualizing the allegorized explanation of Berengaudus that identifies them as the seven vices. The commentary, in other words, directs the viewer-reader back to the image, which makes the apocalyptic text contemporary and gives the biblical prophecy of future evil a relevant

worldly meaning. The image may even recall the polemics of Telesphorus of Cosenza, a supporter of French religious and political causes who 'was the most popular prophet of the Great Schism, the one prophetic writer whose entire work was focused on this one burning problem'.[29] In his *Liber de magnis tribulationibus et de statu ecclesiae* (c. 1386) he argues that the Great Schism was caused not only by the sins of the clergy, but of all Christians.[30] This image suggests that the signs of the end, described as seven plagues to afflict the earth during the Last Days, are already prevalent in the deadly sins characterizing present-day Christian society.

The treatment of the two apocalyptic women exemplifies how the miniatures also raise troubling questions about the state of the contemporary Church. The first, the pregnant Woman of Revelation 12 (see Plate 2), generally recalls standard iconography. She stands on a personified moon while being harassed by the Seven-headed Dragon whose tail drags a third of the stars down from heaven (Rev. 12:4). As we have seen, captions identify her as both Mary ('notre dame') and Ecclesia ('l'eglise'), making explicit a thousand-year old exegesis.[31] Here their joint identification—symbolized by the closed book in the Woman's left hand and the palm of martyrdom in the right—is underscored by the crown, an attribute signifying both Mary and Ecclesia. Unusually, however, the Woman is *not* clothed by the sun, as would be expected from the biblical description (Rev. 12:1) and traditional Apocalypse iconography.[32] The Woman in the Medallion Apocalypse (fol. 71v), for example, is encased in a solar mandorla. The omission of the sun in Morgan M.133 is therefore puzzling. Although it may be an oversight on the part of the artist, who repeatedly elides details based on the biblical text, it may also be deliberate and significant when interpreted in terms of contemporary history.

A shrewd viewer-reader might interpret this detail within the context of the Great Schism, still afflicting the Church when the manuscript was produced. Perhaps the visual (but not textual) omission of the sun is intended to draw attention specifically to the moon at the feet of the Woman and therefore point to astrological interpretations of Church history that

[29] Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, p. 195. See pp. 187–96 for a helpful discussion of Telesphorus, whose identity is unclear. See also Roberto Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine: Crisi della società, profezia ed Apocalisse in Italia al tempo del grande scisma d'Occidente (1378–1417)* (Rome, 1979), pp. 171–84.

[30] Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine*, p. 175.

[31] See Ewald Vetter, '*Mulier amicta sole* und Mater Salvatoris', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 9–10 (1958–9), 32–71. The Medallion Apocalypse emphasizes her Marian aspect, interpreting her flight from the Dragon (Rev. 12:6) as Mary carrying the Christ child while riding a donkey led by Joseph (fol. 74v).

[32] Both the Cloisters Apocalypse (fol. 20r) and the Angers Tapestry (scene 35) depict the sun. For a stunning example of the continuity of the traditional iconography, see the Escorial Apocalypse, a fifteenth-century manuscript begun by Jean Bapteur and completed by Jean Colombe for the dukes of Savoy. In its depiction of the Woman (fol. 20r) the blazing sun dominates the miniature, radiating behind and enfolding the Woman. On this manuscript, see Laurence Rivière Ciavaldini, *Imaginaires de l'Apocalypse: Pouvoir et spiritualité dans l'art gothique européen* (Grenoble, France, 2007), color pl. XXI.

placed the contemporary Church under the foreboding and negative sign of the moon.[33] In addition, the prominent moon may be a visual pun on *luna*, an allusion to Pedro de Luna, Pope Benedict XIII (1394–1417).[34] If so, then the Woman not only symbolizes Mary and Ecclesia, but also the Avignon papacy harassed by the Roman papacy. It may be significant, moreover, that the Roman Pope Urban VI (1378–89), who was widely held responsible for the Great Schism and whom Telesphorus branded as *secundus Antichristus*,[35] was identified in illustrated pope prophecies as the Dragon of Revelation 12. For example, a late fourteenth-century Italian *Vaticinia sive prophetiae et imagines summorum pontificum* (Morgan Library, M.402) pictures within a circular frame a crowned and bearded dracopede with a head on its tail biting a large sword (fol. 8v).[36] Called the *bestia terribilis*, it is named 'Urbinus sextus'. In the context of such popular prophecies and widely known symbols—which as Marjorie Reeves comments 'were reproduced in every sort of style, from crude pen-and-ink sketches to elaborate illuminations'[37]—the Dragon's harassing of the Woman could be understood not only as Satan's continuing general persecution of Ecclesia, a traditional exegesis, but also as the immediately relevant and specific conflict between contemporary rival popes.

Whatever the reason, the omission of the sun becomes noteworthy when the Woman of Revelation 12 is compared to the Whore of Babylon (Fig. 1.3), depicted almost 30 folios later (fol. 65v). In accordance with the biblical text (Rev. 17:1), the prostitute sits upon the waters. The manuscript does not include John or the angel—both usually shown as witnessing her appearance—but focuses on the Whore, who gazes intensely at the viewer rather than at the mirror she usually holds. More remarkably, the moon at her feet and sun above her head are details based on the text of Revelation

[33] For example, Pierre d'Ailly, an influential theologian and chancellor of the University of Paris who was active in trying to settle the Great Schism, believed that astrology could help understand the ages of Church history. He drew upon Roger Bacon's view that 'the conjunction of Jupiter and the moon signifies a sect characterized by magic and lying. This is the sect of Antichrist, and it will be the last of all sects, just as the moon's is the last of the celestial spheres.' See Laura Ackerman Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350–1420* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), p. 62. D'Ailly also identified the sun with ecclesiastic leaders, a view he promulgated in sermons that became widely known; see Louis B. Pascoe, S.J., *Church and Reform: Bishops, Theologians, and Canon Lawyers in the Thought of Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420)* (Leiden, The Netherlands, 2005), pp. 42–3. If aware of this interpretation, the viewer-reader may have understood the absence of the sun as signifying Ecclesia's lack of papal leadership.

[34] Such puns are common in polemics attacking Benedict XIII. They are developed, for example, in the ballades of Eustache Deschamps; see Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp. 121–5.

[35] See Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine*, p. 178.

[36] The manuscript's images are available on CORSAIR. For these prophecies see Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, pp.166–78, and figs 6, 9. See also Guerrini, *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate*, pp. 9–23, figs 1–3. Although the Berry Apocalypse depicts the Dragon of Rev. 12:17–18 with a man's face (fol. 40v), its Dragon does not otherwise resemble the dracopede of the illustrated *Vaticinia*. On the Berry Dragon, see Meiss, *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, p. 297.

[37] Marjorie Reeves, 'Some Popular Prophecies from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries', *Studies in Church History* 4 (1971), 119.

FIG 1.3
WHORE OF BABYLON (Rev. 17:1). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.133, fol. 65v.

12:1, *not* chapter 17, and thus they link her to the earlier woman who symbolizes Ecclesia. Meiss, commenting on the similar iconography of the prostitute in the Medallion Apocalypse, describes it as 'a startling, and certainly erroneous conflation',[38] failing to appreciate the iconographic innovation both manuscripts introduce. The likely source of the added

[38] Meiss, *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, p. 255. The Medallion Apocalypse scene (fol. 100v) also shows the Whore consorting with two men while being watched by John and the angel, which is typical of traditional iconography. See Rosemary Muir Wright, *Art and Antichrist in Medieval Europe* (Manchester, England, 1995), p. 212, fig. 65.

attributes is the Berengaudus commentary. It compares the two women at this point, referring to the Woman of Revelation 12 as dressed in the sun and with the moon at her feet in contrast to the Whore, who represents the city of the devil (fol. 66r). But instead of depicting this contrast, the Master of the Berry Apocalypse emphasizes the association between the two apocalyptic women, linking them visually. A false ecclesia, alluring and deceptive in her apparent similarities to the true Church, the Whore of Babylon is extremely dangerous. Because Berengaudus associates her with the city of Rome (fol. 66r), the Whore may also symbolize the Roman papacy during the Great Schism.

Since the Council of Pisa (1409) did not result in the resignation of the Avignon and Roman popes, as anticipated, but in the election of a third—so that in 1415 three popes claimed to be vicar of Christ—this symbolic false ecclesia is a dominant concern of the Berry Apocalypse. The next miniature (fol. 66v) makes the prostitute's association with Antichrist explicit: there the Whore of Babylon, now wearing Ecclesia's crown, is pictured riding the Antichrist Beast and holding a goblet, alluding to her being drunk from the blood of the saints (Rev. 17:3-6). A few folios later (fol. 74v), she is again shown astride the Beast, which is now inscribed 'Antecrist'. The miniature represents Revelation 19:19, even though the text does not mention the Whore but only the Beast and the armies of the kings of the earth preparing to battle the righteous: 'Et vy la beste et les roys de la terre . . .' (fol. 75r). Focusing only on the prostitute and the symbolic Antichrist, the image depicts neither an army nor other martial details. It ignores secular authority and power to caution once more against religious deceits and the power of the false church, which will culminate in the temptations and persecutions of Antichrist.

THE TWO WITNESSES

Those persecutions are introduced by depictions of the Two Witnesses of Revelation 11. The Berry Apocalypse allocates four miniatures to the narrative of the Witnesses, and two of these are again highly original visualizations of biblical and exegetical texts.[39] Most Apocalypses develop one of two standard representations of the Witnesses. In the first they are two unspecified prophets of the Last Days who preach and perform miracles (Rev. 11:5-6), which is how they are depicted in the Cloisters Apocalypse (fol. 17v) and the Medallion Apocalypse (fol. 66v).[40] The second standard representation develops a long established patristic exegesis that identifies the Witnesses as Enoch and Elijah, who await the Last Days in the Earthly

[39] For the earlier iconography of these four narrative images, see Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images*, pp.108–16.

[40] The Medallion Apocalypse shows both as apocalyptic prophets, but departs from traditional iconography by depicting them as two large crowned figures each awkwardly standing within a candlestick (Rev. 11:4).

Paradise in order to challenge Antichrist.[41] In many medieval Apocalypses—from the mid-thirteenth-century English Morgan Apocalypse to the mid-fifteenth-century German Wellcome Apocalypse—the Witnesses confront a seated Antichrist tyrant, who wields a sword.[42] It is not surprising, therefore, that the first Berry Apocalypse miniature depicting the Two Witnesses (Fig. 1.4) labels them as Enoch and Elijah, drawing on the accompanying Berengaudus commentary (fol. 32r). However, although the words of the commentary are thus inscribed on the image, its portrayal does not follow either of the two traditions based on Apocalypse iconography. Instead, the Witnesses are characterized by their modes of heavenly assent and thus understood explicitly as the *patriarch and prophet* of the Old Testament: Enoch, who, walking with God, was taken to heaven without suffering death (Gen. 5:22), and Elijah, who ascended in a fiery chariot (4 Kings 2:11). The depiction of Elijah carried to heaven in a carriage with blazing wheels while being trailed by Enoch is unique among the more than one hundred illustrated Apocalypses I know. As visual exegesis, the scene recalls the linking of Enoch and Elijah as types of Christ's Ascension, which is how they are paired in non-apocalyptic contexts, as in manuscripts and block books of the *Biblia pauperum*.[43] The artist thus draws on biblical—but not apocalyptic—iconography to clarify a single sentence of the commentary and invite the viewer-reader to understand visually what the accompanying biblical and commentary texts fail to explain: *how* it is that Enoch and Elijah are able to return in the Last Days as the Two Witnesses.

In addition to serving this clarifying function, the image may have adopted traditional typology to avoid identifying the Two Witnesses with contemporary figures or groups, such as the mendicant orders. In the thirteenth and fourteenth century, radical Franciscans argued that the Two Witnesses had returned in the persons of Dominic and Francis. More generally, the mendicant orders were identified with the apocalyptic vanguard of 'new spiritual men' expected by Joachim of Fiore.[44] The opposition of these *viri spiritualis* to Antichrist—whether understood to be

[41] Enoch and Elijah as the Two Witnesses represent one of the most popular and enduring episodes of the medieval Antichrist tradition, originating in patristic exegesis and continuing in medieval sermons, poems, and plays. See Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 41, 95–101, 136–42, 176–8, and 183–5; and Richard K. Emmerson, '"Nowe Ys Common This Daye": Enoch and Elias, Antichrist, and the Structure of the Chester Cycle', in *'Homo, Memento Finis': The Iconography of Just Judgment in Medieval Art and Drama*, ed. David Bevington (Kalamazoo, MI, 1985), pp. 89–120.

[42] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.524 (c. 1255), fol. 6v; and London, Wellcome Library, MS 49 (c. 1470), fol. 9v. Both manuscripts use the scene to introduce a visual *vita Antichristi*. I follow Jeffrey Hamburger's re-dating of the Wellcome Apocalypse in *Splendor of the Word*, pp. 89–96, no. 19.

[43] For a typical arrangement, see Avril Henry, ed., *Biblia Pauperum* (Ithaca, NY, 1987), esp. pp. 113, 115. The Medallion Apocalypse (fol. 66v) doesn't hint at such a typological understanding of the Witnesses.

[44] On this highly polemical tradition see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), esp. pt 2, 'New Spiritual Men', pp. 135–292. Even a moderate Franciscan, such as Bonaventure, claimed an apocalyptic role for Francis; see Richard K. Emmerson and Ronald B. Herzman, *The Apocalyptic Imagination in Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia, PA, 1992), chapter 2, 'The *Legenda Maior*: Bonaventure's Apocalyptic Francis', pp. 36–75.

FIG 1.4 ENOCH (Gen. 5:22) AND ELIJAH (4 Kings 2:11) TAKEN TO HEAVEN. Interpretation of Rev. 11:3. The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.133, fol. 31v.

a deceitful religious figure (*Antichristus mysticus*) or cruel political tyrant (*Antichristus magnus*)—would culminate in a renovated papacy established by a Franciscan pope (*pastor angelicus*).[45] Given that these expectations were radical and even heretical, the Master of the Berry Apocalypse may have chosen, or have been instructed, to be cautious in depicting the Two Witnesses, even though some earlier Apocalypses emphasize their Franciscan connections.[46] Whatever the reason for the unusual depiction of the Witnesses, their explicit identification with Enoch and Elijah as Old Testament figures is visual. The miniature's full implications can only be realized by negotiating between image and text in terms of contemporary ecclesiastic events.

The second Berry Apocalypse image (fol. 32v) that continues the narrative of the Witnesses depicts the Beast that rises from the Abyss to kill them (Rev. 11:7). In a violent scene set in a mountainous landscape, a generic beast with a crowned lion-head bites the neck of one Witness. Rather than showing the death of the second Witness—as is almost always the case in earlier Apocalypse iconography, as exemplified by the Cloisters Apocalypse (fol. 18r) and the Angers Tapestry (scene 31)—the miniature instead adds a new figure looming against the miniature's red background. A tonsured and sword-wielding man, he wears a hooded robe and rides a prancing horse. Although neither identified by a caption nor mentioned in the biblical text, he probably represents Antichrist and is likely a visual response to Berengaudus's concise statement, 'Ceste beste signifie antecrist' (fol. 33r). The artist here depicts both the literal biblical text and its symbolic meaning, showing both a beast killing one of the witnesses and the figure signified by the beast, the human Antichrist who oversees the martyrdom.[47]

BESTIAL ANTICHRISTS

That the horseman indicates Antichrist's presence in this scene is made clear by the miniature on folio 44v (Fig. 1.5). It represents Revelation 13:7, which describes how the Seven-headed Beast from the Sea (introduced at Rev. 13:1)

[45] On the papacy's representation in later medieval apocalyptic prophecies, see Bernard McGinn, '"Pastor Angelicus": Apocalyptic Myth and Political Hope in the Fourteenth Century', in *Santi e santità nel Secolo XIV: Atti del XV Convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 15-16-17 ottobre 1987* (Perugia, 1989), pp. 221–51, which supplements his earlier 'Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist', *Church History* 47 (1978), 155–73. The Franciscan John of Rupescissa, an influential fourteenth-century prophet, developed these expectations, which he inherited from earlier radical Franciscans such as Peter John Olivi, and which he drew upon in the mid-fourteenth century to prophecy a future schism. For a recent study, see Leah DeVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy, and the End of Time: John of Rupescissa in the Late Middle Ages* (New York, 2009), esp. pp. 32–51.

[46] The Douce Apocalypse (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 180), for example, depicts the Witnesses as Franciscans (pp. 35–8). See Peter Klein, *Endzeiterwartung und Ritterideologie: Die englischen Bilderapokalypsen der Frügotik und MS Douce 180* (Graz, Austria, 1983), esp. pp. 111–14.

[47] A possible source for the mounted Antichrist is the figure of Abaddon, who leads the Locust Beasts from hell in Revelation 9; see, for example, the depiction of Abaddon killing the Witnesses in the Angers Tapestry (scene 31). Jessie Poesch, 'Revelation 11:7 and Revelation 13:1–10, Interrelated Antichrist Imagery in Some English Apocalypse Manuscripts', in *Art the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson*, ed. Moshe Barasch and Lucy Freeman Sandler (New York, 1981), pp. 15–33, esp. p. 18 and figs 1–3.

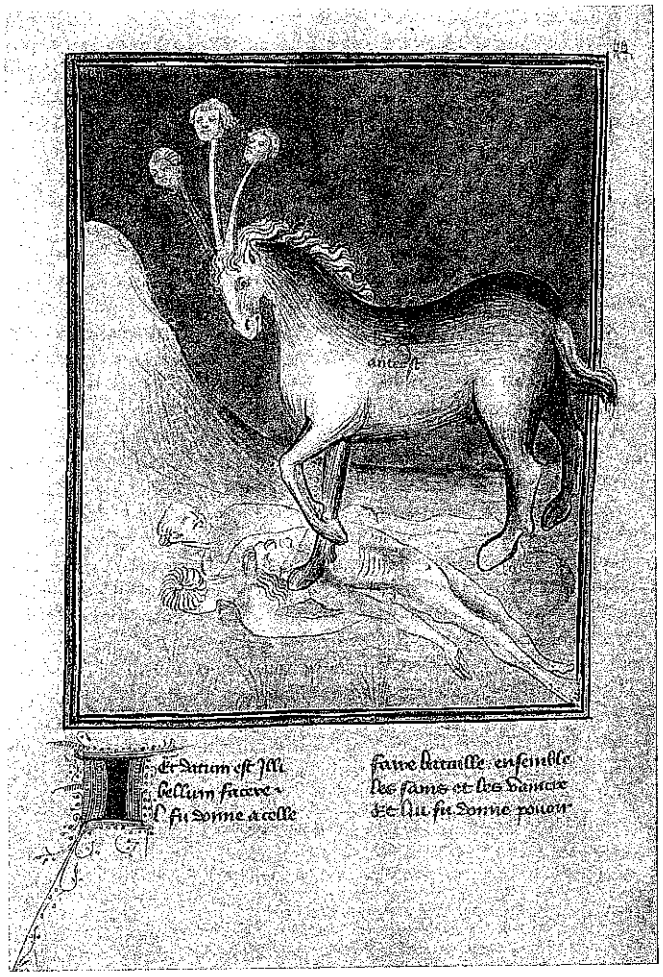

FIG 1.5
THE BEAST MAKES WAR ON THE SAINTS (Rev. 13:7). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.133, fol. 44v.

will persecute the faithful. In the image, however, the Beast has inexplicably become a horse with three horns, each topped by a human head. Identified by a caption as Antichrist, it tramples three martyrs lying on the ground. In almost forty years of studying Antichrist iconography, I have not before encountered such a portrayal of the Beast, nor have I seen such a wide variety of creatures and figures representing Antichrist as are depicted in

the Berry Apocalypse.[48] Antichrist lore in the later Middle Ages developed from the single eschatological figure expected by most exegetes, prophesied in many sermons, represented on stage, and depicted in earlier Apocalypse manuscripts into the multiple antichrists identified with contemporary popes, emperors, peoples, and institutions.[49] The manuscript's numerous and original depictions of evil reflect this development and may have been influenced by the explosion of images implicated in the heated polemics of the Great Schism. This visual propaganda not only refashioned apocalyptic monsters to make them relevant to contemporary circumstances, but also appropriated original animal symbolism circulating since the thirteenth century in the widely known pope prophecies, *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*.[50] Although I have not been able to find depictions of a creature that resembles the three-horned horse of the Berry Apocalypse, the human heads on the horns suggests a unified Antichrist menace expressed through three distinct human powers, likely the three competing popes who claimed spiritual authority when the Berry Apocalypse was created. Whatever the source of this unusual imagery and the artist's intention in deploying it, the Berry Apocalypse strongly encourages the viewer-reader to consider carefully the manifestations of evil afflicting the contemporary Church.

These include traditional figures found in most illustrated Apocalypses. For example, the miniature for Revelation 13:1 (fol. 41v), which shows the Seven-headed Beast from the Sea receiving authority from the Dragon, has captions that identify the Beast and Dragon as Antichrist and the Devil, making the standard symbolism explicit. It is one of seven miniatures the manuscript devotes to chapter 13, placing a strong visual emphasis on the presence of Antichrist and his minions during the Last Days.[51] Miniatures for later chapters continue this emphasis but conflate the Beast and the Dragon into one powerful manifestation of Antichrist. For example, Revelation 16:13 describes how evil spirits in the form of frogs issue from the mouths of the Dragon, the Beast, and the False Prophet. Typically,

[48] For Antichrist in medieval art, see Jesse Poesch, 'Antichrist Imagery in Anglo-French Apocalypse Manuscripts' (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1966); Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 108–45; Bernard McGinn, 'Portraying Antichrist in the Middle Ages', in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. W. Verbeke et al. (Leuven, Belgium, 1988), pp. 1–48; and Wright, *Art and Antichrist*.

[49] For the origins of this complex development, see Robert E. Lerner, 'Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore', *Speculum* 60 (1985), 553–70. For later developments, see Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco, CA, 1994), esp. pp. 177–81 on the schism; and Roberto Rusconi, 'Antichrist and Antichrists', in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, ed. Bernard McGinn (New York, 2000), pp. 287–325, esp. pp. 300–07.

[50] On the pope prophecies, see Martha H. Fleming, *The Late Medieval Pope Prophecies: The Genus nequam Group* (Tempe, AZ, 1999); and Guerrini, *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate*, pp. 9–23, 65–83. Particularly helpful on the role of the prophecies in schism polemics is Hélène Millet and Dominique Rigaux, 'Un double mal: Images de schisms dans les prophéties sur les papes', in *Le mal et le diable: Leurs figures à la fin du Moyen Age*, ed. Nathalie Nabert, Cultures et christianisme 4 (Paris, 1996), pp. 145–72.

[51] The miniatures for Rev. 13 comprise fols 41v–47v. For the standard sequence, see Lewis, *Reading Images*, pp. 132–44.

Apocalypses—exemplified by the Cloisters Apocalypse (fol. 33v), Angers Tapestry (scene 62), and Medallion Apocalypse (fol. 98v)—depict John watching frogs leaping from the mouths of each member of what I have elsewhere called the Trinity of Evil.[52] This apocalyptic episode also plays a role in contemporary visual polemics. For example, a French Telesphorus manuscript depicts the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet disgorging huge frogs, which symbolize the demonic possession of the schismatic Church.[53] The Berry Apocalypse (fol. 63v), however, focuses on just one central figure, not only deleting John as visionary witness—as it often does—but also ignoring the two additional evil figures described in the biblical text (Fig. 1.6). An enormous creature, whose features combine visual elements recalling both the Seven-headed Beast and the Dragon, is squished into the full-page miniature, commanding undisputed attention. Furthermore, instead of the symbolic frogs described in Revelation, their signifieds—the evil spirits themselves—issue from each of the creature's seven heads. This composite Beast/Dragon is inscribed as Antichrist, making visually explicit the Berengaudus commentary's association of the unclean spirits with Antichrist's disciples (fol. 64r).[54]

The conflation of the Trinity of Evil as symbols of Antichrist culminates in the capture of the Beast and False Prophet, who, according to Revelation 19:20, will be cast into a pool of fire. Rather than showing the Beast and its supporters pushed into Hell, as in traditional iconography and in the Medallion Apocalypse (fol. 110v),[55] the Berry Apocalypse miniature (fol. 75v) depicts only the composite Beast/Dragon, yet again identified as Antichrist (Fig. 1.7). Now, however, it is chained by a single angel who serenely emerges from a cloud to corral a domesticated Antichrist creature. Whether the viewer-reader would understand this heavenly figure in terms of the widely known prophecy that an angelic pope (*pastor angelicus*) will reform the Church and end the schism, or as the orthodox apocalyptic promise that divine intervention will ultimately destroy Antichrist, would depend upon the extent to which the viewer-reader would interpret image and word in terms of contemporary events. Whatever the audience's interpretation, the Berry Apocalypse unmistakably depicts the composite Antichrist Beast with its seven demonic spirits (Fig. 1.6) as a memorable

[52] Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 23–4.

[53] Paris, Bibl. nat. de France, fr. 9783, fol. 9r. See Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, fig. 11. On illustrations of Telesphorus, see Guerrini, *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate*, pp. 25–46, figs 11–35, and for an early sixteenth-century printed edition, figs 36–70.

[54] The composite Antichrist recalls Bruno of Segni's view that 'Antichrist is called the dragon because of the strength and success of deception; and he is called the beast because of cruelty; and he is also called the false prophet because he pretends to be Christ' (*Expositio in Apocalypsim*, *PL* 165:695).

[55] The Medallion Apocalypse (fol. 110v) is once again more traditional in its iconography, stuffing its roundel with two scenes witnessed by the visionary John: in the first the Beast—clearly the Seven-headed Beast of Rev. 13:1, rather than a composite creature—is captured, along with its earthly supporters; in the second, angels and saints cast the Beast and its supporters into a giant hell's mouth, a scene resembling the iconography of the Cloisters Apocalypse (fol. 35r).

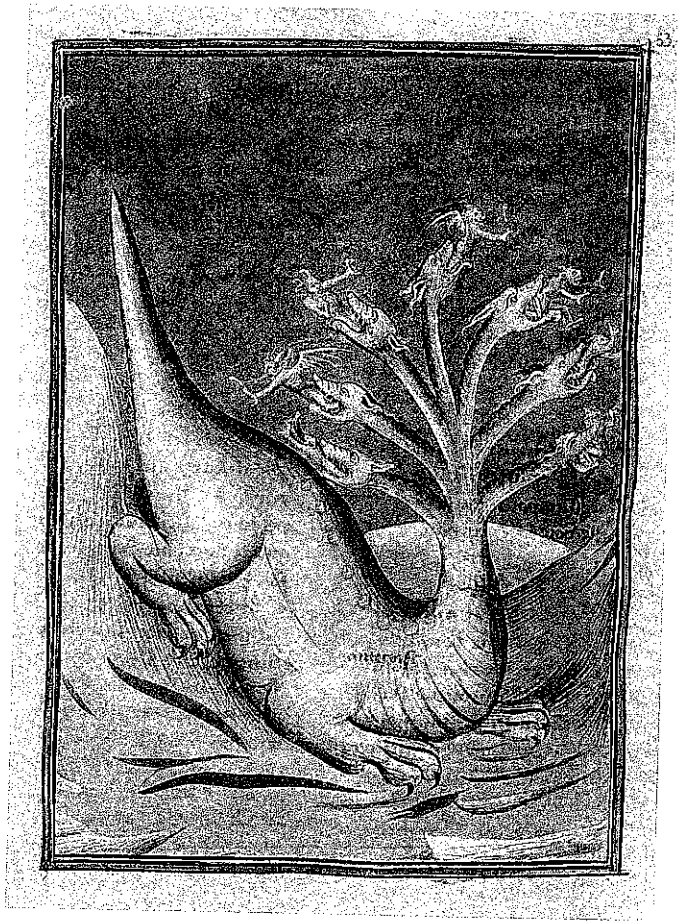

FIG 1.6
DEMONS ISSUE FROM THE MOUTHS OF THE ANTICHRIST DRAGON (Rev. 16:13). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.133, fol. 63v.

manifestation of contemporary evil that not only recalls but also inverts the single holy Church (see Fig. 1.1) with 'the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit' that opens the apocalyptic drama (fol. 3v). Since the Whore of Babylon is depicted twice seated on the composite Beast (fols. 66v, 74v), it is undoubtedly designed to be the powerful monstrous incarnation of the false Ecclesia symbolized by the Whore of Babylon (see Fig. 1.3) in opposition to the weakened Woman of Revelation 12, who lacks the nourishing sun and is harassed by the Dragon (Plate 2).

FIG 1.7 ANGEL CHAINS BEAST (Rev. 19:20). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.133, fol. 75v.

THE HUMAN ANTICHRIST

The Berry Apocalypse also humanizes the apocalyptic imagery to depict Antichrist as a man. Its representation of Revelation 13:3–4 (fol. 42v), the worship of the Seven-headed Beast and Dragon, shows a group of six men kneeling in a rocky landscape before the Dragon, identified as 'lemiemy' or Satan. Interestingly, the Seven-headed Beast of Revelation 13:1 has been replaced by the horseman depicted earlier (fol. 32v), the figure who had supervised the killing of the lone Witness. Again wearing a habit, he points with his left hand at the Dragon, directing the attention of the worshippers. A caption inscribed to the left of his head now explicitly identifies him as Antichrist, whereas his demonic power is suggested by two dragons that hover in the red sky above his head. They visually recall the two demons that soar above the battle between the righteous and the Dragon (Rev. 12:17–18) in a miniature painted only two folios earlier (fol. 40v).

Even more disturbing, the next miniature depicts Antichrist as a bishop (Fig. 1.8). Representing Revelation 13:6, which states that the Beast will blaspheme against God's tabernacle ('cest a dire leglise de dieu', fol. 44r), a tall mitered Antichrist reaches forward to crack the tower of a church inscribed 'tabernacle'.[56] He is inspired by a two-horned devil crouching on his shoulder while holding a crozier. It may allude to the two-horned False Prophet Beast described a few verses later (Rev. 13:11) and depicted as a two-horned and tonsured cleric labeled 'Antecrist' who persecutes the faithful (fol. 46v). Whatever his relationship to the False Prophet Beast, the bishop Antichrist is an original visualization of the text, since the Berengaudus commentary neither mentions Antichrist nor his ecclesiastical status. This threatening image explicitly links Antichrist to the Church and its hierarchy, making the apocalyptic future relevant by applying it to present ecclesiastic conditions. Like Hildegard of Bingen's memorable depiction of Antichrist born from Ecclesia, it suggests that Antichrist is an internal enemy, not, as was often feared, an external force such as Islam.[57] As visual exegesis of the prophecies set forth in the biblical and commentary texts, the image interprets the bishop Antichrist as symbolizing the corrupt spiritual leaders of the Great Schism and encourages the viewer-reader to understand Antichrist's attack as representing one or more of the three antipopes destroying the divided Church on the threshold of the Last Days.

[56] The Medallion Apocalypse (fol. 78v) includes a similar scene, but without the captions. By also representing in the foreground the slaughter of the faithful by Antichrist's minions, the image's focus shifts from deceit to persecution, a more typical interpretation of the Beast's activities, as detailed in Rev. 13:7.

[57] On Hildegard's Antichrist as emerging from Ecclesia, see Richard K. Emmerson, 'The Representation of Antichrist in Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*: Image, Word, Commentary, and Visionary Experience', *Gesta* 41 (2002), 95–110. Hildegard was cited in the polemics of the Great Schism, but from the *Pentachronon* (1220), a recension by Gebeno of Eberbach. Included in Mathias of Janov's prophetic anthology composed at the University of Paris (1380), the prophecies were consulted by Pierre d'Ailly. See Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars*, pp. 96–7 and 99–101.

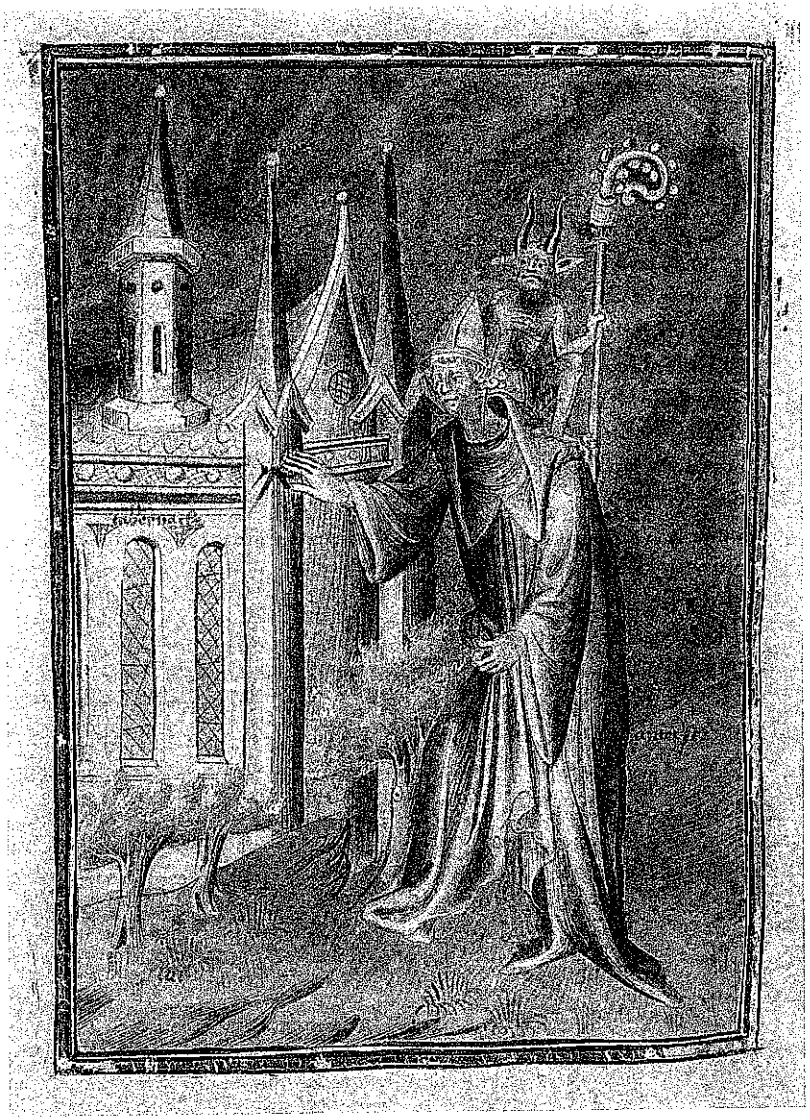

FIG 1.8 BEAST AS ANTICHRIST BISHOP. Interpretation of Rev. 13:6. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.133, fol. 43v.

The Antichrist figure already depicted twice—directing the martyrdom of the Witness (fol. 32v) and supervising the worship of the Dragon (fol. 42v)—appears a final time in a distinctive miniature depicting the Mark of the Beast (Rev. 13:16). Again tonsured and wearing a habit, Antichrist now holds a book and faces three men, each holding a small animal head resembling that of a dog (Fig. 1.9).[58] These three heads visually recall, while inverting, the three human heads on the horns of the horse-like Antichrist beast (see Fig. 1.5) painted just three folios earlier (fol. 44v). This unique representation of the mark—usually depicted by the Two-horned Beast from the Earth marking the hands and foreheads of his disciples, as in the Cloisters Apocalypse (fol. 25r) and Angers Tapestry (scene 46)[59]—invites the viewer-reader to interpret the esoteric language of the biblical prophecy in terms of the Great Schism. Through its visual allusion to the earlier Antichrist horse, it suggests that the three men who receive Antichrist's mark are the three who claimed to be pope when the manuscript was produced. They are further linked visually to three men who appear later in two doomsday scenes. In the miniature representing the First Resurrection (Rev. 20:4–5), four saints and Christ, wearing the papal tiara, judge three naked and bloody bodies lying on the earth below (fol. 77v). The scene may represent the heavenly judgment on the three antipopes, an interpretation supported by the miniature depicting Revelation 20:9, in which three men are led by a devil into hell's mouth (fol. 79v).

The Mark of the Beast miniature (Fig. 1.9) also warns that Antichrist's false doctrine is encapsulated in books, an expectation emphasized by later medieval exegesis.[60] The bookishness of Antichrist's deception is underscored by the miniature's rare inscription, written on the red background above the three men: 'Les livrees antecr[is]t' (fol. 47v). This

[58] The dog head may allude to the folkloric association of the devil with dogs or perhaps more specifically to the legend of Simon Magus, an early Christian type of Antichrist after whom simony—a feature of the late medieval papacy—is named. See Emmerson and Herzman, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, pp. 17–33; and Alberto Ferreiro, 'Simon Magus, Dogs, and Simon Peter', in *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions* (Leiden, The Netherlands, 2005), pp. 147–200. The association with bribery is made explicit in the Medallion Apocalypse (fol. 82v), which shows a bishop distributing to his followers coins taken from a platter held by a two-horned false prophet. Antichrist's image is stamped on the coins, an allusion to the prophecy that without the Mark of the Beast it would be impossible to buy or sell (Rev. 13:17). A similar understanding of the mark is staged in the mid-fourteenth-century French play, *Jour du Jugement*, where Annes, a Jewish supporter of Antichrist, recommends that he 'Have coins minted / upon which your image is engraved, / and as soon as they are made / have it announced that everyone should take one / as a sign that they are under your banner' (lines 640–4). Translated in *Antichrist and Judgment Day: The Middle French Jour du Jugement*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and David Hult, Early European Drama in Translation (Asheville, NC, 1998), p. 27. For this scene see Richard K. Emmerson, 'Visualizing Performance: The Miniatures of Besançon MS 579 (*Jour du Jugement*)', *Exemplaria* 11 (1999), 245–72, esp. p. 257 and fig. 3.

[59] For earlier representations, see Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images*, pp. 142–4.

[60] Fifteenth-century images also depict him burning the books of true doctrine. See, for example, the Velislav Bible (Prague, Univ. Lib. XXIII.C.124, fol. 135r), Wellcome Apocalypse (fol. 10v), and the German block-book *vitae Antichristi* (see *Der Antichrist und Die Fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht*, ed. Karin Boveland, Christoph Peter Burger, and Ruth Steffen [Hamburg, 1979], p. 8).

FIG 1.9
MARK OF THE BEAST (Rev. 13:16). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.133, fol. 47v.

emphasis on Antichrist's books may refer to the widespread polemical propaganda of the Great Schism.[61] The inscription may be intended to caution the viewer-reader that some of the numerous works composed by

[61] All sides were attacked by polemical tracts and sermons composed during the Great Schism, which all sides considered to be proof of Antichrist's imminent appearance or present work within the Church. As Reeves notes, 'Above all, it was the fact of the Great Schism itself which set the seal of truth on the prophets . . .' (*Influence of Prophecy*, p. 422). The Dominican Vincent Ferrer, for example, who preached to large crowds throughout Europe, addressed in 1412 an influential letter to Benedict XIII that predicted the imminent appearance of Antichrist; see Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine*, pp. 219–33.

prophets, poets, and preachers in support of claimants to the papacy represent Antichrist's false doctrine disseminated in numerous contemporary books. No matter how the viewer-reader would interpret the unusual representation of the mark—depicting the three men, Antichrist, and his books—it situates the Church on the threshold of the Last Days.

GOG AND MAGOG

Meiss has linked the manuscript's production circa 1415 to the period's 'intensified civil conflict and . . . alarming English invasion'.[62] He alludes to the civil war in France, which began in 1407 with the assassination of Louis of Orléans, the king's brother, and to English successes during the renewed Hundred Years War, such as the Battle of Agincourt (1415). The images of the Berry Apocalypse, however, seem remarkably untouched by political conflict and military invasions, despite the fact that, as Rosemary Muir Wright notes, 'the Apocalypse was a text in which the legitimacy of taking up arms was rendered unequivocal'.[63] As we have seen, the miniature for Revelation 19:19 (fol. 74v) does not represent the armies preparing for battle against the righteous, but focuses instead on the Whore astride the Antichrist Beast. Elsewhere the manuscript's imagery does not focus on war, generally eschewing or minimizing the military scenes described in Revelation that other manuscripts emphasize.[64] Morgan M.133 is instead much more troubled by what it perceives as Antichrist's role in the corruption of the schismatic Church, suggesting how false doctrine and corrupt clerics convert the Ecclesia symbolized by Mary into the false ecclesia symbolized by the Whore.

One image does, however, prophesy future military struggle: the depiction of the Dragon's release from its thousand-year confinement in hell (Rev. 20:7; fol. 78v). Typically the Dragon or Satan is shown leaving hell, but the Berry Apocalypse instead has the devil release Gog and Magog (Fig. 1.10), who in medieval legend are Antichrist's armies.[65] This unusual miniature shows them enclosed behind mountains and on the threshold of

[62] Meiss, *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, p. 253.
[63] Wright, *Art and Antichrist*, p. 149.
[64] For example, the fifteenth-century Escorial Apocalypse (see n. 32) turns the battle of the Woman's seed against the Dragon (fol. 23r) and the defeat of the Beast by the armies on white horses (fol. 42r) into full-scale military campaigns.
[65] On the role of Gog and Magog in the medieval Antichrist tradition, see Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 42, 59, 84–7. For the legend's origins in eastern Christianity, see Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. Dorothy deF. Abrahamse (Berkeley, CA, 1985), pp. 185–92. A Carthusian eschatological handbook, *Livre de la vigne nostre Seigneur* (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Douce 134; c. 1460), depicts a pope-like Antichrist leading Gog and Magog against Jerusalem. See Wright, *Art and Antichrist*, p. 171; and Richard K. Emmerson, 'Imagining and Imaging the End: Universal and Individual Eschatology in Two Carthusian Illustrated Manuscripts', in *The Morton W. Bloomfield Lectures, 1989–2005*, ed. Daniel Donoghue, James Simpson, and Nicholas Watson (Kalamazoo, MI, 2010), pp. 163–200, esp. pp. 169–79 and fig. 4.

FIG 1.10
END OF MILLENNIUM; RELEASE OF GOG AND MAGOG (Rev. 20:7). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.133, fol. 78v.

the gate opened by Satan.[66] The atypical inscription within the miniature's frame is neither from the Apocalypse nor Berengaudus, who associates Gog and Magog not with military forces but with Antichrist's 'tres mauvaise doctrine' (fol. 79r). Instead, it alludes to popular beliefs that Alexander the

[66] The Medallion Apocalypse miniature (fol. 113v) shows a devil releasing a large group of people who march through an open gate. Meiss seems to have misunderstood the scenes in both the Berry and Medallion manuscripts, describing them simply as 'Satan at the entrance to the abyss' (*The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries*, p. 303).

Great had enclosed the peoples of Gog and Magog behind gates in the Caucasus: 'Le deable fait ouvreture aux gens nommez goth [et] magoth qui sont enclos entre les montaignes' (fol. 78v).[67] There they await the Last Days, the brief time following the conclusion of the millennium of the Church, when they would be released and swarm throughout Europe in support of Antichrist.[68]

This miniature thus warns that before Doomsday Antichrist will not only send false prophets to deceive the faithful, but will also field armies to persecute them. Depending on how the viewer-reader drew on contemporary events and Antichrist lore to interpret this image's depiction of the biblical and commentary texts, it could be understood in at least three ways. First, Gog and Magog may be associated with the nations supporting the opposing popes or with arguments that the schism could only be solved by force of arms. As Howard Kaminsky notes, from the perspective of the Avignon papacy, the schism could only be ended 'by the "way of force," the *vita facti*, Avignon's triumph by force of French arms'.[69] Second, for the viewer-reader conversant with contemporary prophecies, Gog and Magog may be identified as the final Antichrist predicted by Telesphorus of Cosenza, who identified Gog as the *Antichristus ultimus* expected to appear after the angelic pope and a French Last World Emperor had defeated the *Antichristus magnus*.[70] This interpretation would be visually sustained by the order of the Berry Apocalypse miniatures, in which the release of Gog and Magog (fol. 78v) follows the chaining of the Antichrist Beast by the angel (fol. 75v). Third, those who knew popular Alexander romances and their role in apocalyptic legend would identify Gog and Magog as the forces of Antichrist attacking Christianity from the east, likely external enemies such as Islam or the Tartars, or even an internal 'other' such as the Jews.[71] The extraordinarily popular mid-fourteenth-century *Livre des merveilles du monde* of Jean de Mandeville, for example, warns that the Jews of Europe learn to speak Hebrew to be prepared for the apocalyptic assaults of their

[67] On this legend, see Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, MA, 1932). For its later medieval manifestations, see Scott D. Westrem, 'Against Gog and Magog', in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia, PA, 1998), pp. 54–75.
[68] The images in the Berry Apocalypse, however, do not suggest a millenarian perspective, but adopt an orthodox understanding of Apoc. 20 based on Augustine, who interprets the millennium as the period of the Christian Church from its foundation to the Last Days. For the late medieval development of millenarianism, see Robert E. Lerner, 'The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath', in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Emmerson and McGinn, pp. 51–71. On the distinction between apocalypticism and millenarianism, see Richard K. Emmerson, 'The Secret', *American Historical Review* 104 (1999), 1603–14, esp. 1610–13.
[69] Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud and the Great Schism* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983), p. 26.
[70] On the 'odd triple Antichrist' expected by Telesphorus (*mysticus, magnus*, and *ultimus*), see McGinn, *Antichrist*, p. 178. For illustrations of Gog and Magog and the *Antichristus ultimus*, see Guerrini, *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate*, figs 30, 31.
[71] On these distinct, yet related, expectations, see Robert E. Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment* (Berkeley, CA, 1983), esp. pp. 21–2; and Andrew Colin Gow, *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600* (Leiden, The Netherlands, 1995), esp. pp. 54–66.

barbaric kinsmen, Gog and Magog, the lost tribes of Israel.[72] In whatever way image and word would be negotiated—and these suggested possibilities are not exclusive—it is significant that the Gog and Magog miniature is the Berry Apocalypse's last warning of Antichrist's power and persecution of the Church on the threshold of the Last Days.

OWNERSHIP AND RECEPTION OF THE BERRY APOCALYPSE

Although we cannot be certain for whom the manuscript was made, we know it was owned by Jean de Berry.[73] A miniature near its end (fol. 71v), moreover, suggests that it may have been made for him. In an unexpected representation of the marriage feast of the Lamb (Rev. 19:9), the Berry Apocalypse departs from its characteristic reluctance to picture the visionary John (Fig. 1.11). Now receiving pride of place, he is shown seated, cross-legged, in a grassy landscape bordered by trees.[74] He writes on a scroll resting on his left knee and gestures with his open left hand towards his symbol, the Eagle, and his namesake, John the Baptist. The Eagle in turn looks upward towards the Baptist, who holds the Lamb, the miniature's only allusion to the biblical text. To my knowledge, this unique scene is not modeled on any previous Apocalypse iconography, which usually depicts the text of Revelation with a festive banquet during which the Bride, symbolizing Ecclesia, fondles or kisses the Lamb, symbolizing Christ.[75] Nor is the scene based on the accompanying Berengaudus commentary, which explains that the marriage feast is to be celebrated in heaven after the resurrection (fol. 72r). Perhaps this unusual representation of the two Johns was intended to honor Jean de Berry, who shared their name, and whose patron saint was John the Baptist. Jean's interest in the two saints is clear from his *Belles Heures*, which in its suffrages depicts the two facing each other across a page opening, the Baptist holding the Lamb and the apostle a scroll and poisoned cup.[76] In its proper of the saints, furthermore, this book of hours includes four scenes from the life and death of the Baptist, beginning with a portrait of John in the wilderness holding the Lamb of God.[77] While recognizing the

[72] *Jean de Mandeville: Le Livre des merveilles du monde*, ed. Christiane Deluz (Paris, 2000), p. 430. See also Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 86–7.
[73] The Morgan online catalog states that the manuscript was 'made for Jean, Duc de Berry', but there is no solid evidence to support this claim.
[74] Judith K. Golden notes that John's crossed legs may suggest 'the importance of the scribe and the authority of the text he writes'. See 'The Iconography of Authority in the Depiction of Seated, Cross-legged Figures', in *Between the Picture and the Word* (University Park, PA, 2005), p. 83, where she mistakenly identifies this image as 'John the Evangelist writing to the seven churches at the beginning of the Apocalypse'.
[75] For example, Morgan Apocalypse, fol. 17v; and the Trinity Apocalypse, fol. 22r. On this scene, see Lewis, *Reading Images*, pp. 173–6.
[76] New York, Metropolitan Museum, Cloisters 54.1.1 (c. 1405–09), fols 158v–159r. See Timothy B. Husband, *The Art of Illumination: The Limbourg Brothers and the Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry* (New York, 2008), pp. 192–3.
[77] See Husband, *Art of Illumination*, pp. 252–6.

FIG 1.11 JOHN WITH EAGLE SEES JOHN THE BAPTIST WITH LAMB. Interpretation of Rev. 19:9, Marriage feast of the Lamb. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 133, fol. 71v.

risk of overemphasizing this association, I suggest that the unusual depiction of John the Revelator, with pen and scroll, may allude to the duke himself.[78] Guarded by his patron saint holding the Lamb of God, he would here be placed on the threshold between the numerous apocalyptic warnings of the imminent Last Days and the manuscript's promise of the New Jerusalem.

Whether or not the Berry Apocalypse was made for the duke, we know he owned it, so it is worth asking, in conclusion, how he may have responded to its innovative images. He would have understood their accompanying biblical and commentary texts and likely knew much of the traditional iconography from other Apocalypses he owned. But would he have negotiated the differences between the manuscript's images and texts in terms of the highly polemicized events of the Great Schism? We cannot, of course, be sure, but we do know that the Great Schism was of great concern to Jean. As has been exhaustively shown by Noël Valois, the French monarchy and the royal dukes were intimately involved in the politics of the Great Schism.[79] As Kaminsky succinctly states, 'the structure of the Great Schism from beginning to end was determined by the government of France'.[80] Through the Second Charlemagne prophecy, which constructed Charles VI as the Last World Emperor who would assist an angelic pope, the French monarchy played a central role in the increasingly politicized prophecies of the Great Schism.[81] Even after the death of Charles VI, a prophecy of a *Carolus redivivus* was circulating in Italy in 1413–15.[82]

Jean's attitude, nevertheless, seems to have been more practical than prophetic. Although at first he supported the Avignon papacy of Clement VII, he, along with his brother the Duke of Burgundy, sought an early end to the schism.[83] When Clement died in 1394, the French Royal Council requested that the Avignon cardinals not elect another pope. When Pedro de Luna was nevertheless elected, in 1395 Jean and the other Valois dukes headed an embassy to Avignon to convince Benedict XIII to abdicate if the

[78] This conclusion is drawn with caution because the Medallion Apocalypse also depicts John the Baptist in this scene (fol. 106v). Its miniature is more traditional, however, placing the bearded Baptist in heaven, holding a Lamb, and surrounded by nimbed saints. The related iconography, however, suggests that both miniatures were influenced by a common, yet unidentified, source. Meiss has suggested that 'perhaps the Baptist refers to Christ as the Lamb, and is thus related to the Apocalypse' (*Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, p. 474, n. 9).

[79] Noël Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols (Paris, 1896–1902).

[80] Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, p. 26.

[81] On the Second Charlemagne prophecy, see Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 320–31; and Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine*, pp. 169–84. The coronation of Charles by the angelic pope is depicted in an early (1387) illustrated Telesphorus manuscript now at the Vatican Library (Reg. lat. 580, fol. 38v); see Guerrini, *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate*, fig. 23. The prophecy is translated in *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, ed. Bernard McGinn, paperback edn. (New York, 1998), p. 250. The expectation of a Last World Emperor is central to the political strand of the medieval Antichrist legend; see Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit: Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung* (Stuttgart, 2000), esp. pp. 291–310 on a French Last World Emperor.

[82] See Rusconi, *L'attesa della fine*, p. 183.

[83] The following is a brief summary of the complicated actions of the Valois dukes based on Kaminsky, 'Great Schism', pp. 687–92.

Roman pope would similarly abdicate. Benedict refused, a humiliation that would not be forgotten.[84] At the Third Paris Council of 1398, with the Valois dukes presiding, the French bishops voted overwhelmingly to withdraw their obedience from Benedict. French policy toward Avignon would vary over the next several years, complicated by political maneuvering. For example, urged by Louis of Orléans, obedience to Benedict was reinstituted in 1402, to be withdrawn again after Louis was assassinated in 1407. In 1408, the French court proclaimed that both the Avignon and Roman popes were heretics and therefore unworthy of any nation's support.

Throughout these years Jean opposed the Great Schism, which did not end until the Council of Constance elected Martin V in 1417, a year after Jean died. He supported sending envoys from the University of Paris to negotiate with the Roman pope, Innocent VII,[85] and encouraged his chancellor, Simon de Cramaud, in his efforts to convince the competing popes to resign or be deposed.[86] Simon was a crucial figure at the Council of Pisa in 1409, which intended to elect a new pope when the Avignon and Roman popes were deposed as 'schismatics, fosterers of schism, notorious heretics . . . .'[87] Not surprisingly, they disregarded the council, so the result of Pisa was not a unified papacy but a tripartite schism. By 1415, therefore, when Morgan M.133 was probably produced, the duke must have shared the widespread apocalyptic understanding of the Great Schism and likely recognized Antichrist's manifestation in the corruption of the Church as portrayed by the manuscript's images. He may well have understood Envy's grasping Pride's crown (Fig. 1.2) as the vicious source of the competing papal claims. He may also have identified the three heads on the Antichrist beast (Fig. 1.5) and the three men receiving Antichrist's mark (Fig. 1.9) with the three contemporary antipopes. He certainly would have understood the Whore of Babylon (Fig. 1.3) as representing the schismatic papacy in opposition to the unified Ecclesia (Fig. 1.1), symbolized by the Woman of Revelation seriously weakened by the attacks of the Dragon (Plate 2).

The innovative Apocalypse iconography in Morgan M.133 encouraged Jean de Berry to take an active role in determining meaning by negotiating between image and word in the context of contemporary events. This negotiation would not only consider the image-word unit created by each opening, but also larger units of meaning fashioned by visual affiliations. The intervisuality created by the manuscript's repeated representation of

[84] As Valois notes, 'les ducs, ou du moins deux d'entre eux, ne pardonnèrent jamais à Benoît XIII' (*La France et le Grand Schisme*, 3:66).
[85] Innocent's response was once again to blame the Avignon cardinals for the Schism. See Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme*, 3:422–3.
[86] For an excellent account of Jean's position as reflected in Cramaud's activities, see Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, esp. pp. 31–65, on early Valois policy.
[87] Quoted in Kaminsky, 'Great Schism', p. 695. On the disastrous Council of Pisa, see Aldo Landi, *Il Papa deposto (Pisa 1409): l'idea conciliare nel Grande Scisma* (Turin, Italy, 1985); and Kaminsky, *Simon de Cramaud*, pp. 244–86. For the perspective of Jean Gerson, whose career was supported by the Duke of Burgundy, see Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation* (University Park, PA, 2005), pp. 202–09.

certain figures encourages a new understanding of the Apocalypse as a whole. This intervisuality is evident in representations of the clerical Antichrist (Figs 1.8, 1.9) and the composite Beast/Dragon (Figs 1.6, 1.7); in fresh interpretations of biblical and exegetical texts, such as the images of the Seven Deadly Sins (Fig. 1.2) and the Whore of Babylon (Fig. 1.3); in appropriations of imagery from other iconographies, such as the typological representation of Enoch and Elijah (Fig. 1.4) and the Marriage of Adam and Eve (fol. 81v); and in inventive reinterpretations of traditional scenes, such as the three-horned Antichrist horse (Fig. 1.5), the release of Gog and Magog (Fig. 1.10), and John the Baptist in the marriage feast of the Lamb (Fig. 1.11). Fashioned by a highly original artist who created one of the most fascinating manuscripts of the later Middle Ages, the Berry Apocalypse may even suggest that the duke act on its apocalyptic warnings. Thus its last miniature (fol. 85v) depicts John's preaching to a group of people seated on a lawn.[88] Not based on earlier iconography, it illustrates the concluding command of the Apocalypse that the prophecies of the book not be sealed (Rev. 22:10) by underscoring the relevance of the Berry Apocalypse for its early fifteenth-century French audience. Given the possible association of the visionary John with the duke, as noted above, this concluding scene suggests that Jean take advantage of what he has learned from viewing and reading his Apocalypse to instruct his contemporaries, preparing them to withstand the crisis of the Church on the threshold of the Last Days.

[88] See Emmerson, 'Visualizing the Visionary', pp. 174–6, fig. 20. This focus on the one final event differs from the Medallion Apocalypse conclusion (fol. 120v), which depicts two actions: first God gives the book to John and then he shows it to a group of people. For the traditional iconography, see Lewis, *Reading Images*, pp. 198–9.