# LES ENLUMINURES, LTD

2970 North Lake Shore Drive 11B Chicago, Illinois 60657

tel 1-773-979-5986 fax 1-773528-3976

Les Enluminures

Le Louvre des Antiquaires 2, Place du Palais-Royal 34, allée Riesener 75001 Paris

tél: 33 1 42 60 15 58 fax: 33 1 42 15 00 25

PSEUDO-JOACHIM, ANSELM OF MARISCO, et al., *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus* In Latin, illuminated manuscript on paper [Italy, Tuscany, c. 1440]

18 folios, on paper (watermark, a hillock, Briquet, 11895, Florence 1434), collation (i3, ii14, iii1, missing Vaticinia III and IV of the Ascende calve set, between ff. 4 and 5), old signatures in the lower left margins of the recto folios, written in brown ink in a semi-cursive Italian script, with later annotations, 33 FULL-PAGE PAINTINGS in wash and colors, and later written supplements, some repairs on outer and inner edges, with careful restoration, else in very good fresh condition. Early binding of wood boards covered with red velvet (nineteenth-century?), boxed. Dimensions 292 x 215 mm.

Previously unknown copy of the mystical series of prophecies, derived from the Leo Oracles, that commingle fantasy, the occult, and history in a chronology of the popes. Executed in Florence, during the exile there of the Roman Curia, our manuscript can be specifically connected to the stormy pontificate of Pope Eugene IV through unusual textual and pictorial elements. Only four copies of this rare work are in North American collections, and the last copy to appear at auction was in 1989.

#### **PROVENANCE**

1. Written c. 1440 in Tuscany, most likely Florence, based on the watermarks and on the opening poem, which is a treatment of eclipses of moon and sun for the years starting c. 1436 and ending 1440. Toward the end of the poem the text states "dato in Toscana." The stormy pontificate of Eugene IV (elected 1431, deposed 1439, reinstated 1440, died 1447) witnessed the production of a cluster of *Vaticinia* manuscripts, and the present manuscript's execution during his reign would seem to be confirmed not only by the watermarks and the opening text, but by certain peculiarities of the text and illustration, as noted below. In 1440,

Eugene IV was in Florence, during the Council of Florence, and it is likely that the manuscript dates during, or just after, the council was in session. The last-named Pope, Paul II (reigned 1464-71), on f. 16v is clearly an addition by a later hand (a so-called "false friend" that Grundmann, 1929 already warned against in the dating of the manuscripts). Certain orthographic peculiarities (frequent use of "z" for "j") point to a Venetian scribe, which would not be surprising since Eugene IV himself was from Venice, and their would have been many Venetians present in the city during the council.

#### 2. Private Collection.

#### **TEXT**

The prophecies are not numbered. Prophecy numbers and corresponding illustration numbers are those of the printed edition.

ff. 2-3, An introductory poem in Italian, followed by a treatment of eclipses of moon and sun for years starting c. 1436 and ending 1440 (preceded by six lines of another poem and a Latin explicit); incipit: "Adonque e ciascunno fole e mato / Ciascunno cerca bono pato / Fazendo [bene] [ - ] [ - ] trato / Pensando [ - ] / De questa nostra misera vita / Da laquale comme tosto far partita / Poi portare pena infinita / Per li nostri [ - ] pecato / Explicit proficia vulgaris / Judicio de la oscurationi de la luna e del sole / E quello che significanno per fina mile quatro cento quaranta / Inclusive incipit / Or di dico de piu anni futuri / Si como de disse di boto de [derete] / La luna, el sole el di che fanno obscuri / Nel mile quatro cento treginta sies / Due volte dico la luna obscurent [...]; explicit:

[followed by] Qui comenza el papalista / E dimostra [quelo] che stato / E che hora [ - ] [ - ] / Per fine a [ - ] di del judicior[..]. Deo gracias Amen".

f. 3v, rubric, Sancto Pietro primo Papa [St. Peter]; incipit, "Hic primus in terris pontifex ellectus...";

#### Ascende calve Prophecies

#### Prophecy I

f. 4, rubric, Dominus Joanes de Ursinis, deinde Nicolaus tercius papa ellectus anno domini M. cc. lxxviii. Sedit annis duobus mensibus octo minus quatuor diebus obiit anno M. cc. lxxx. In castro suriano sepultus Rome / Stellas congregabit ut luceant in firmamento celi [Nicholas III]; incipit Ascende calve ut amplius...;

#### Prophecy II

f. 4v, Dominus Simon canonicus turon[ensis] deinde Martinus quartus papa elctus anno M. cc. lxxxi. in viterbo coronatus in urbe veteri sedit annios quatuor diebus 34 obiit persusii 1285 et ibi sepultus est. *Clavibus claudet, et non aperiet* [Martin IV]; incipit, "Post lima ascendit ...";

# Prophecy V

f. 5, Dominus frater Petrus de Morono, deinde Celestinus quintus papa de terra laboris 1294 in Peruxia, sedit anno quasi dimidio renunciavit papatum sepulus Rome; Voce vulpina perdes Principalum [Celestine V]; incipit, "Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini ...";

# Prophecy VI

f. 5v, Dominus Benedictus Gaetanus deinde Bonifacius octavus papa electus Neapoli anno .m.. cc. lxxxxv sedit annis .8. mensibus .xi. obiit [...] sue civitatis 1303 et ibidem sepultus; Fraudulenter intrasti, potenter regnasti, gemens morieris; [Boniface VIII]; incipit, "Ecce ho[mo] de scariotis progenie occultum...";

# Prophecy VII

f 6, Dominus frater Nicolaus de Tervisio ordinis predicatorum deinde Benedictus XI papa electus anno 1303 sedit mensibus 8 diebus 17 obiit in Perusio ibidem sepultus; *Viri sortis invidete orbabunt*; [Benedict XI]; incipit, "Hec est avis nigerrina corvini generis...";

# Prophecy VIII

f. 6v, Dominus Bertrandus Guasco deinde Clemens quintus papa ellectus anno 130[?] sedit annis 8 mensibus .x. diebus .xv. mortuus 1313 in castro regis Francie sepultus in Carprate; *Mobilis, et immobilis fiet, et plura maria vastabit*; [Clement V]; incipit, "Vide hic mulieris babilonice sponsum fugientem ...";

# Prophecy IX

f. 7, Dominus Jacobus da Chaturcho deinde Johanes .xxii. papa ellectus anno 1316 sedit annis .xviii. vel circa mortuus et sepultus Avinione in 1334; Contra Columban hec imago turpissima clericorum pugnabit; [John XXII]; inicipt, "De infino genere ascendet ...";

#### Prophecy X

f. 7v, Dominus Jacobus de Firmo deinde Benedictus .xii. papa de Toloxa electus anno 1334 sedit annos .8. mortus et sepultus in ecclesia maiori Avinione anno 1442; Sex lucidabit planetas, et unus finaliter ipsius fulgorem excedet; [Benedict XII]; incipit, "De sub urbanis montuosis ...";

# Prophecy XI

f. 8, Dominus Petrus Rogerii deinde Clemens Sextus papa electus anno 1342 sedit annis .x. mortuus et sepultus Avinione 1352; Stolam suam in sanguine Agni dealbabit; [Clement VI]; incipit, "Alta ascendit duplici benedictione preventus...";

#### Prophecy XII

f. 8v, Dominus Stephanus de Monterato [ - ] deinde Inocentius .vi. papa electus anno 1352 sedit annis .x. mortuus et sepultus Avinione; Lupus habitabit cum Agno, pariterque cibabit; [Innocent VI; incipit, "Ad honores ascendet duplices homo ...";

# Prophecy XIII,

f. 9, Dominus Guilelmus de Grisant deinde Urbanus .V. papa electus anno 1362 sedit annis .8. mortuus et sepultus Avinione; Iste solus clare aperiet librum scriptum digito Dei vivi; [Urban V]; incipit, "Ad alta vocaris, O princeps...";

# Prophecy XIV

f. 9v, Dominus Petrus de Belfort deinde Gregorius .XI. papa electus anno 137[?] sedit annis circa sex obiit et sepultus Rome anno prenotato; Flores rubei aquam oderiferam distillabunt.; [Gregory IX]; incipit, "Obscuratum est aureu[?] mutatus est color...";

# Prophecy XV

f 10, Dominus Bartholomeus de Neapolis episcopus barenlis deinde Urbanus .VI. papa incipit electus anno 1378 sedit annis .xiii. obiit Rome 1390; *Terribilis es et quis resistet tibi*; [Urban VI]; incipit, "Hec est ferra ulima aspectu terribilis...";

#### П.

Genus nequam Prophecies

#### Prophecy XVI

f. 10v, Dominus Petrus de Tomacelis de Neapoli deinde Bonifacius .9. papa ellectus anno 1388 sedit annis .15. obiit Rome ibidem sepultus; *Principium malorum*, *ypocrisis babundabit* — *Hic incipiunt descriptiones prophetarum venerabilis et deo devoti Anselmi episcopi Marsicanie*; [Boniface IX], (a variant from the standard text, indicating that the reading found here is older that that in the printed edition); incipit, "[...] pastens et in quinto romam..." [Script partially erased];

### Prophecy XVII

f. 11, Dominus Cosmas de Scemona deinde Innocentius .7. papa ellectus anno 1440 sedit anno uno mortuus et sepultus Rome; *Decime disipabuntur in effusione sanguinis*; [Innocent VII], but with the picture for prophecy XIX; incipit, "Secundus est filius alia ferra volans...";.

#### Prophecy XVIII

f. 11v, Dominus Angelus Corerio de Venetiis deinde Gregorius .12. papa electus anno 1406 sedit annos duos en dimidio, privatus fuit per concilium Pisanis 1408 legatus marchie Anconitarie mortuus sepultus; *Poenitentia vestigia Simonis magis tenebit*; [Gregory XII]; incipit, "Duplitium et triplitium [...] avis eque cruciferra avis...";

#### Prophecy XIX

f. 12, Dominus Petrus de Candia ordinis minorum deinde Alexander .5. papa electus anno 1409 sedit mensibus octo cum dimidio mortuus Bononie ibidem sepultus 1410 mense madii, Confusio et error incitabitur; [Alexander V], but with the picture for prophecy XVII; incipit "Iste collus quartus ab ursa carens gladiis homo movens...";

#### Prophecy XX

f. 12v, Dominus Bladasar Cosia deinde Johanes papa 23 electus anno 1410 de mense maii sedit annis quinque, privatus per concilium Constancie et in carcere politus deinde conductus in Ytaliam [??]fugit [ - ] reconciliatus cardinalatum accepit mortus et sepultus Flerencie 1419; Elatio paupertatis, obedientia, castitas, castrimargiae et ypocricarum destructio; [John XXIII]; incipit, "Vide virum iterum alienum...";

# Prophecy XXI

f. 13, Dominus Otto de Columna de Roma deinde Martinus papa .5. electus anno 1417 die .xi. novembris in concilio Constancie mortuus et sepultus Rome 1431 die .19. februaris; *Incisio, ypocrisis in abominatione erit*; [Martin V]; incipit "Vaccha ante quintum cum fillis urse pascentis...";

# Prophecy XXII

f. 13v, Dominus Gabriel Condulmario de Venetiis deinde Eugenius .4. papa ellectus anno domini 1430; Occisio filii Baleal sectabuntur; [Eugene IV]; incipit, "Hec est alia ursa...";

# Prophecy XXIII

f. 14, Potestas, cenobia ad locum pastorum redibit; [Nicholas V]; incipit, "Heu missa civitas substinens passiones miserabiles...";

# Prophecy XXV

f. 14v, Potestas unitas erit; [Callistus III]; incipit, "Veteri Roma plena...";

# Prophecy XXIV

f. 15, Dominus Odello de Columna deinde Martinus papa quintus; Bona gratia symonia cessabit; [Martin V]; "Vulpina figurasti amicitiam pacientem...";

#### Prophecy XXVI

f. 15v, Dominus Gabriel [...] cardinalis Senensis deinde Eugenius papa quartus creatus fuit Rome in .ccc. sancte marie super minerva anno 1431; Bona occassio [cessabit] thesaurus pauperibus errogabitur (variant from the printed edition); [Eugene IV]; incipit, "[...] menachin eius nomen incipit per literam .P...." [Script partially erased];

#### Prophecy XXVII

f. 16r, Dominus Eneas Senensis cardinalis et deinde Pius papa; Bona intencio, caritas habundabit; [Pius II]; incipit, "Planxit quasi morttus ut videtur et oblitus ...";

### Prophecy XXVIII

f. 16v, Dominus Petrus Barbo cardinalis sancti Marci et deinde Paulus papa secundus; [Praehono] ratio concordia erit; [Paulus II]; incipit, "Ecce item iste homo de primo genere olim absconditus...";

#### [added prophecy]

f. 17, Montes medorum in [Gabor] inclusse sunt .x. tribus [...]; [Gog and Magog]; incipit, Solvetur Satanas et exibit..." and "Tunc aries preparabit ...";

# [added prophecy]

f. 17v, Fiet unum ovile et unus pastor; incipit, "[...] vel anime et surdus praceptorem..." [Script partially erased];

# Prophecy XXIX

f. 18, Bona occasio, viventium sacra cessabunt; [unnamed pope]; incipit, "Reccipe donum ne pigriteris senex sensu...";

# Prophecy XXX

f. 18v, Reverentio et devocio argumentabitur — Cor eius ab abhominatione commutetur; incipit, "[...] vitam invenisti ab ingloratione..." [Script partially erased];

Manuscript of two sets of papal prophecies, here combined, as occurs in approximately 50 manuscripts, mostly of the fifteenth century. The first set of prophecies, falsely attributed in the fourteenth century to the abbot Joachim of Fiore, was composed in c. 1304. It consisted of fifteenth pictures with accompanying texts that describe a series of popes beginning with Nicolas III (1277-1280) and possibly continuing in its early form through Benedict XI (1303-04), ending with the coming of an angelic pope, the progress of his papacy and/or those of his three successors. Recent literature (see Reeves, 1972; Lerner, 1988; and the excellent study of the first set and summary of the scholarship by Fleming, 1999, esp. ch. 1) attributes this set to an individual in the circle of Franciscan Spirituals. Known as the *Genus nequam* prophecies, this set comes second in the extant manuscripts, where it begins at prophecy sixteen and continues through prophecy thirty. The origin of this first set of prophecies is in the Leo Oracles, a series of Byzantine prophecies from the twelfth century that portray a savior-emperor destined to restore unity to the empire. It has been suggested that the first was compiled initially as a pamphlet against the Roman Orsini family.

The second set of prophecies, falsely attributed in the manuscript to the mythical bishop Anselm of Marisco, was composed sometime in the mid-fourteenth century, perhaps c. 1328, and evidently circulated independently in manuscript form. This set of another fifteenth prophecies, known as the *Ascende calve* prophecies, began with Nicolas III and ended with the dragon of the Apocalypse. Schwartz and Lerner argue that this set was more propagandistic than the earlier set. According to Lerner, the two sets were joined probably during the pontificate of John XXIII (1410-1415), and this combined set circulated in many fifteenth-century manuscript copies and in sixteenth-century printed editions. Lerner has likewise argued that the name *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus* should be used for the full set of thirty prophecies, and it is this nomenclature that we have followed here.

There is no full study of the manuscript tradition. Until recently the *Genus nequam* prophecies remained unedited (now see Fleming, 1999). Only nine manuscripts exist from the fourteenth century that include versions of the *Genus nequam* before they were combined with the second set (Fleming, p. 18). The independent circulation of the second set was even more limited (see Schwartz and Lerner). Most of the extant manuscripts, as well as the numerous printed editions, are, like the present manuscript, of the combined set. Their popularity is attested to by the fact that they exist in copies from various countries, although the majority are Italian in origin.

Lerner has traced only five copies of the *Vaticinia* in North American institutions. These are: Chicago, The Art Institute; Boston, Public Library, Ms.1534 and1535 (Mss.q.Med.106 and 107); New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.227; and the University of Iowa (see DeRicci, pp. 718-19, then in Davenport, Public Library, MS 8). There still is no study that traces all the extant copies. The last copy sold at auction was in London, Sotheby's, 5 December 1989, no. 100 (now Private Collection).

#### **ILLUSTRATION**

- f. 1, Resurrection and Last Judgment. Above, God appears in a roundel flanked by angels blowing trumpets. In the middleground, the resurrected climb out of their tombs. In the foreground, there are two crowds of clerics, both including popes; those on the left are led into paradise by a figure holding two keys, perhaps St. Peter; those on the right are consumed by the fires of hell. The two groups are separated by a tree.
- f. 1v, Virgin and Child, the Virgin is being crowned by two angels, other angels play a lute, a harp, and tambourines. Gold stars decorated the blue ground.
- f. 3v, Saint Peter enthroned, holding a book in his left hand and keys in his right hand, a standard with a red cross on a green ground by his side;

#### Prophecy I

f. 4, Pope Nicolas III, seated with two small bears at his feat, to whom he is tossing round, yellow objects—coins or seeds—while in his left hand is perched a crow-type bird surrounded by eight stars;

# Prophecy II

f. 4v, Pope Martin IV standing in the countryside, holding a book in the left hand, and in his right he holds the handle of a processional cross, the other end of which is in the beak of a bird as if they are struggling over it;

#### Prophecy V

f. 5, Pope Celestine V, standing in prayer before a tree, behind him a dog holding a banner with a red diagonal cross on a white ground appears to be leaping up to make the pope take it from him, but the pope is fixated on the tree, from which a hand appears;

# Prophecy VI

f. 5v, Pope Boniface VII, standing holding the keys of Rome in his left hand, in his right a pike with which he is stabbing a dove on the ground, while a cock alights on the shaft, and behind him a monk sits holding a club, while a flying eagle hovers between them;

# Prophecy VII

f. 6, Pope Benedict XI, standing pointing toward a bear that stands on a dragon clasping a tree, while behind is a large crow or raven;

# Prophecy VIII

f. 6v, Pope Clement V, riding out on horseback, hawking, while behind him a woman stands in a doorway in an attitude of prayer or concern;

# Prophecy IX

f. 7, Pope John XXII, standing holding a leafy plant in his right hand, next to which are seven stars, and in his left hand two keys of Rome on which a small bird has alighted, while from his mouth hangs a sword on which is impaled the Lamb of God, and to his left is a human-headed serpent;

# Prophecy X

f. 7v, Pope Benedict XII, standing holding a book in his left hand, with his right making a gesture of blessing over a bleeding dog's head, a crow and a constellation of seven stars, while on his right a papal tiara floats in the air;

# Prophecy XI

f. 8, Pope Clement VI, standing in a boat, with his right hand holding a processional cross, the end of which has been seized by a sea-monster emerging from the water, and with his left he holds the two keys of Rome; a snake perhaps added later is reaching up to seize them;

# Prophecy XII

f. 8v, Pope Innocent VI, standing on a gigantic imperial crown holding two keys and a wine-harvesting knife, as two dogs leap up at him;

# Prophecy XIII

f. 9, Pope Urban V, seated and holding the two keys in his left hand, in his right he holds a flail over a peacock, while a hand emerges from the starry heavens to seize the flail, and on his left stands an angel who reaches out toward him;

#### Prophecy XIV

f. 9v, Pope Gregory IX, standing on the left holding a large lance, and on the right a mailed and armored figure who stands holding a sword and with two further swords and three spears;

# Prophecy XV

f. 10, Pope Urban VI, in the form of a two-headed dragon, his front head as a tiaracrowned human, the head on the tail that of a beast, standing in a sea of flames;

# Prophecy XVI

f. 10v, Pope Boniface IX, standing holding his robe closed, while two bears crouch before him, and a third bear is shown above his head;

# Prophecy XVII

f. 11, Pope Innocent VII, but with the picture for prophecy XIX, the pope standing holding a book in his left hand, and a banner with a red cross on a white ground in his right, while at his left an eagle attacks a snake;

# Prophecy XVIII

f. 11v, Pope Gregory XII, the pope sitting blessing a young man kneeling before him, while on his left a unicorn climbs onto his shoulder, and a bird settles on the tiara;

# Prophecy XIX

f. 12, Pope Alexander V, but with prophecy XVII, showing three stone columns, on the left an emperor's crowned head, in the center a monk, on the right a disembodied hand;

# Prophecy XX

f. 12v, Pope John XXIII, a monk standing on a red carpet or floor, holding a scythe in one hand and a red flower in the other, on the floor is a shacke, on the right a disembodied leg;

# Prophecy XXI

f. 13, Pope Martin V, wearing an imperial crown, a cow attempts to rear up against him, above the cow two disembodied heads with imperial crowns, another imperial crown surmounting a stone column on his left;

#### Prophecy XXII

f. 13v, Pope Eugene IV, standing in open countryside, before his feet a serpent, to his left a bear suckles two cubs, a dog leaps behind him, and an eagle flies above his head;

#### Prophecy XXIII

f. 14, Pope Nicolas V, imprisoned in a tower within a walled city with many armored guards with banners on the walls;

#### Prophecy XXV

f. 14v, Pope Callixtus III, in an apparently abandoned city with the caption *Roma caput mundi*, a drawbridge and gate are open;

#### Prophecy XXIV

f. 15, Pope Martin V, standing watching a wolf which is carrying off in its mouth two keys and three banners;

# Prophecy XXVI

f. 15v, Pope Eugene IV, with a haloed naked figure sitting on a tree stump, face-to-face with a well-dressed young man bound by a chain to the stump, an angel flying over him, while in the front of the stump are two pails, one upright into which objects fall, the other upturned;

# Prophecy XXVII

f. 16r, Pope Pius II, a haloed figure in ecclesiastical dress, holding a papal tiara over a brood of puppies, behind him an eagle approaches;

# Prophecy XXVIII

f. 16v, Pope Paul II, showing an angel placing a papal tiara on the head of a praying figure;

# [interpolated picture and prophecy]

f. 17, Gog and Magog, two young men standing in a craggy hillside, below them a river;

# [interpolated picture and prophecy]

f. 17v, the last three unnamed popes, showing a city scene, with a group of well-dressed men and women sitting under a balcony on which a pope with a tiara and halo speaks;

#### Prophecy XXIX

f. 18, an unnamed pope enthroned holding a book, while two angels hold a cloth behind him;

#### Prophecy XXX

f. 18v, a monk with a halo appearing to bless a human-headed goat, which is wearing the papal tiara;

Text and images are so closely linked in all versions of the *Vaticinia* that is seems clear that the images were an integral part of the original conception. An excellent study, with reproductions from different manuscripts, of the *Genus nequam* picture tradition forms part of Fleming's study. There are four parts to each prophecy: an enigmatic text, an emblematic picture, a motto, and an attribution to a pope starting with the Orsini family pope, Nicolas III. In the present manuscript the disposition of these elements is such that the enigmatic text is transcribed at the bottom of each page, the attribution to a pope is along the upper margin, and the motto occupies the picture field and is actually transcribed across the picture. With the exception of the two added pictures at the beginning and the inserted pictures of Gog and Magog and a Pope preaching near the end, the cycle of pictures in the present manuscript follows closely the same models as used in the Kremsmünster manuscript (see below under online resources).

Whereas certain specific popes were routinely attached to the same texts and pictures, since a strictly chronological order was observed, there is some variation in the manuscript tradition, especially for the more recent popes. Such variation can be an index of localization and date, referring in a polemical fashion to contemporary events and thus using the text as a prophetic weapon or, alternatively, as a historical record of prophecy gone awry.

In the case of our manuscript, two atypical features are particularly noteworthy. The first is the doubling back of Martin V (1417-31) and Eugene IV (1431-47), who occur once attached to prophecies 21 and 22 and then again, attached to prophecies 23 and 25, after the intervention of Nicolas V (reigned 1447-55) and Callixtus III (reigned 1455-58), attached to prophecies 23 and 25 (25 comes before 24 in the manuscript, deliberately, it appears). This deviation from chronology and seemingly needless repetition appears to favor these two popes. The second feature is that, in fact, the repetition allows the association of Eugene IV with a prophecy that has a special place in the tradition, prophecy 26 (originally Vaticinium XI in the *Genus nequam* group). In the Kremsmünster manuscript, for example, it is Paul II who is associated with prophecy 26, an observation which underscores the import of the unusual association our manuscript puts forth. Prophecy 26, read in series with the next four prophecies (thus Vaticinium XI through XV in the *Genus nequam*), begins a narrative that signals the calling forth of an "angelic pope." According to Fleming, the series were to be read as a "series of popes, the angelic pope and his three holy successors" (Fleming, p. 199).

Events during the stormy pontificate of Eugene IV could well account for these unusual features in the manuscript. Successor to the great Martin V, with whom he is closely linked in the present sequence, Eugene IV, moved the Roman curia to Florence in 1434 (our manuscript is Florentine), following a dispute with the Council of Basle. He was suspended, then deposed, by the constituents at Basle, who elected in his place an antipope Duke Amadeus of Savoy as Felix V and created a schism. However, thanks to a series of decrees in Florence, pledging support of other European rulers, Eugene IV secured his position in Italy, and he was formally reinstated by the Council of Florence in 1440. Indeed, if our hypothesis is correct, and note that text and image in the present manuscript move swiftly from Eugene IV to the unnamed angelic enthroned pope (f. 18) and finally to the Antichrist (f. L18v), this codex would seem to insist on the legitimacy, even supremacy, of the papacy of Eugene IV, itself very much an issue in the years around 1440.

### LITERATURE

Degenhart, B. and A. Schmitt. *Corpus der italienischen Zeichaungen 1300-1450*, part 1, vol. 3. Fleming, Martha H. *The Late Medieval Pope Prophecies*. *The* Genus nequam *Group* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 204), Tempe, Arizona, 1999.

Grundmann, H. Neue Forschungen über Joachim von Fiore, Marburg, 1950.

Grundmann, H. "Die Papstprophetien des Mittelalters," Artibus für kulturgeschitchte. 19 (1929), pp. 77-159.

Grundmann, H. Studien über Joachim von Fiore, 2nd ed. Darmstadt. 1966.

Lattanzi, A.D. "I Vaticinia Pontificum ed un codice montealense del sec. XII-XIV," Arti della Reale, Accademia de Scienze, Lettre e Arti di Palermo, ser IV, II-2 pp. 757-792.

Lerner, Robert, "On the Origins of the Earliest Latin Pope Prophecies: A Reconsideration, Falschungen im Mittlealter," MGH, Schriften 33, 5 (Hanover, 1988), pp. 611-635.

Lerner, Robert and Moynihan, Robert. Weissagungen uber die Papste: Vat. Ross 374 (Einfuhrungsband zur Faksimile ausgabe de Cod. Vat. Ross. 374), Stuttgart, 1985.

Reeves, M. The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages, 1969.

Reeves, M. Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future, 1976.

Reeves, Marjorie. "Some Popular Prophecies from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," in *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. By G. J. Cuming and Derek Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 8 (1972), pp. 107-34.

Regiselmo, Pasqualino. Vaticinia sive Prophetiae Abbatis Joachimi et Anselmi Episcopi Marsicani, Venice, 1589 (reprint, Leipzig, 1972).

Schwartz, Orit, and Lerner, Robert E. "Illuminated Propaganda: The Origins of the Ascende calve Pope Prophecies," Journal of Medieval History 20 (1994), pp. 157-91.

Thibaut, R. La mystérieuse prophétie des papes. Namur 1951.

Tondelli, L. *Il libro delle figura dell'abati Ginachino da Fiore*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2 vols.(text and plates) Torino 1953. See pp. 343-349 and fig. 15.

Traeger, J. Der reitende Papst. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie d. Papsttums. Munich and Zurich 1970, p. 85 f, pictures 38-44.

Vaticinia Sive Prophetiae Abbatis Ioachimi et Anselmi Episcopi Mariscani, Una cum Praefatione, et adnotationibus Paschalini Regiselmi, Venettis MDC Apud Ioannem Baptistam Bertonum.

# Online Resources

Online color facsimile of Stiftsbibliothek Kremsmunster, CC Cim. 6, Vaticinia Ponificum of the early fifteenth century from northern Italy http://schulen.eduhi.at/stift kremsmuenster/vat/

University of Zurich research project on Vaticinia de summis pontificibus, under project leader Frank Schleich

www.research-projects.unizh.ch/phil/unit64700/area282/p2061.htm