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ANDRU CHIOREAN  
TAMÁS KISS  
IULIUS-CEZAR MACARIE  
(JULIUS-CEZAR MACQUARIE)  
MARA MĂRGINEAN  
MIHNEA ALEXANDRU MIHAIL  
IULIA NIȚESCU  
ALEXANDRU PĂTRUȚI  
BOGDAN POPA  
HAJNALKA TAMÁS

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Editor: Irina Vainovski-Mihai

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New Europe College

Str. Plantelor 21

023971 Bucharest

Romania

[www.nec.ro](http://www.nec.ro); e-mail: [nec@nec.ro](mailto:nec@nec.ro)

Tel. (+4) 021.307.99.10, Fax (+4) 021. 327.07.74



## MIHNEA ALEXANDRU MIHAIL

Born in 1991, in Romania

Ph.D, National University of Arts, Bucharest (2018)

Thesis: *Iconographic Transfers and the Geography of Art in the Hungarian Kingdom. 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Centuries*

Assistant Professor, History and Theory of Art Department, National University of Arts, Bucharest

Fields of interests include medieval iconography and the relationship between liturgy and space, particularly in the Hungarian Kingdom

Grant

Research Assistant, ERC Starting Grant project *Art Historiographies in Central and Eastern Europe. An Inquiry from the Perspective of Entangled Histories* (2018 – 2021)

Participated to international conferences in Spain, Portugal, Paris, Italy, Croatia, and the Czech Republic

Published articles and chapters in edited volumes concerning medieval art history and art historiography



# BOUND TO THE COLUMN: ANTICHRIST ICONOGRAPHY IN THE LAST JUDGMENT SCENES IN THE MEDIEVAL KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

## Abstract

This study aims to investigate the relationship between visual culture and theological disputes during the pre-Hussite and Hussite eras. By looking at fourteenth-century Last Judgment scenes from the Hungarian Kingdom that contain an image of a demon bound to the column inside Leviathan's jaws, I analyze the connections between this figure and the eschatological and Antichrist-related discourse used by both Church representatives and preachers of the Reformation in Bohemia.

**Keywords:** wall paintings, iconography, Antichrist, demon, column, Last Judgment, Leles, Poprad, Hussite, reformation, Kingdom of Hungary

## Introduction

Upon entering through the south portal of the church of the Holy Spirit in Žehra (Germ. *Schigra*, Hung. *Zsegra*) (present-day Slovakia) one is confronted with a display of architecture and wall paintings (Fig. 1). The church has at its center a large pillar, installed with the occasion of the medieval rebuilding of the church sometimes around 1380, and which bears the coat of arms of the Sigray family, who were patrons of the estate from the thirteenth century and up until the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The tree-like pier is aligned with a mural that depicts the so-called Living Cross, an image of the crucified Christ surrounded by images of the Fall, symbols of the Church and the figures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* (Fig. 2). This image, modelled in northern Italy and circulating in Central Europe in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, presents the Jews as perpetrators against the Body of Christ and the Catholic Church as triumphant over anti-ecclesiastical threats.<sup>2</sup> The Living Cross in Žehra was painted shortly

after the late fourteenth-century changes to the space interior and is almost contemporary to similar depictions that can be found in the churches in Batizovce (Germ. *Botzdorf*, Hung. *Batizfalva*) (present-day Slovakia) and Poniky (Hung. *Pónik*) (present-day Slovakia) (Fig. 3).<sup>3</sup> This iconography has been linked with the Church crisis that crossed most of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. The fear caused by the Great Western Schism was amplified beginning from the second half of the fourteenth century by the ascending Prague reformers, who paved the way for the claims of Jan Hus and his followers. According to Achim Timmermann, after the death of Jan Hus in 1415 “the Hussite cause soon began to spread beyond Bohemia, both through peaceful missionizing and through a series of successful military expeditions (...). The areas immediately affected included Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia), Silesia, the western parts of Poland and the southern German-speaking lands”.<sup>4</sup> Both the paintings in Žehra and Poniky might have been inspired by the virulent Franciscan anti-Hussite sermons delivered in the nearby city of Levoča (Germ. *Leutschau*, Hung. *Lőcse*) (present-day Slovakia), a flourishing town situated midway between the two churches.<sup>5</sup> While the patron in Žehra cannot be securely ascertained, the figure of a donor in the scene of the Scourging of Christ, on the eastern wall of the chancel, might offer some clues regarding his identity. The ecclesiastical garments and tonsure suggest that this figure could be a member of the Sigray family and an educated canon of Spišská Kapitula (Germ. *Zipser Kapitel*, Hung. *Szepeshely*) (present-day Slovakia), an identification that would explain the complex iconography of the church and, in particular, the presence of the theme of the Living Cross.<sup>6</sup> An inscription on the southern wall of the sanctuary, placed beneath the window, reminds one of the troubles of the Church at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The text mentions a twenty-days’ indulgence to the visitors of the church in Žehra granted by the Pisan antipope John XXIII (1410–1415).<sup>7</sup>

In 1453, the church in Žehra passed from the Sigray family to the Lordship of Spiš Castle, and around the same time a monumental Last Judgment was painted on the triumphal arch (Fig. 4). Additionally, the northern nave wall was decorated with Marian scenes and with the legend of St Ladislav.<sup>8</sup> The visual presence of the Hungarian holy king has been interpreted as an ideological tool against the Hussite threat, which was still present at the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The Last Judgment placed on the triumphal arch follows a three-tier scheme. The Christ-Judge, surrounded by the apostles, the Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist, sits

at the center of the composition with his hands raised, thus rendering his wounds visible. The middle section presents the Resurrection of the dead, while the bottom register places the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Leviathan (symbolizing Hell) on the northern and southern halves of the chancel arch.

When taking a closer look at the Leviathan one can notice, amid the hellish fiends that are torturing the sinners, a demon tied to what seems to be a column inside the jaws of the biblical monster (Fig. 5). This column-bound demon is a rather common appearance in fifteenth-century illustrated copies of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, in manuscripts and block-books of the novel-like *Das Buch Belial*, or in monumental sculpture, such as the Western portal Last Judgment of the church in Esslingen. However, in the fourteenth century the situation differs greatly and my study will analyze the peculiar uses of this motif in two wall paintings in the former Hungarian Kingdom.

The cases that I will concentrate upon are both part of Last Judgment scenes. The first occurrence can be found in the St Michael chapel belonging to the Premonstratensian monastery in Leles (Hung. *Lelesz*) (present-day Slovakia), while the second instance is part of a large-scale Last Judgment placed on the chancel arch of the St Aegidius church in Poprad (Germ. *Deutschendorf*, Hung. *Poprád*) (present-day Slovakia). Both murals are almost contemporary, the former being dated in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, while the latter is dated around 1400.<sup>10</sup> What makes these two demon representations so intriguing? Firstly, their scale. If we compare the paintings in Leles and Poprad with the much later one in Žehra, one can immediately notice the visibly larger bodies of the shackled demons. The murals in Leles are damaged by later building campaigns, but the massive silhouette of the devil tied to a column overshadows the mouth of the monster Leviathan and dwarfs the fiends that are delivering sinners. The Last Judgment in Poprad is even more spectacular. The devouring mouth of the Leviathan was separated from the rest of the Last Judgment scene and placed on the southern nave wall, thus highlighting and isolating the Hell entrance and the demon bound to the column (Fig. 6). In addition, the devil in Poprad received a crown, so as to emphasize his prominent position in the infernal court. The second intriguing aspect is the Christ-like position of the demon's body. One cannot escape the way in which these images recall the tortured body of Christ, flagellated at the column. To a medieval viewer, this particular rendering of a demon

presented the shackled devils as figures that mimicked and mocked the Saviour's Passion.

While the demon in Poprad received no attention in scholarly literature, the one in Leles has been identified as Lucifer.<sup>11</sup> However, representations of Lucifer are quite specific in the Middle Ages and the image of a demon bound to a column seems to be absent from the known depictions of the fallen angel.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, I believe that identifying this demon is crucial for understanding the role of this iconography. Therefore, my objective is twofold. On the one hand I will explain why this rare demonic figure can be identified as a hybrid character that combines standard representations of devils with attributes that can be more specifically linked to the Antichrist. As I will argue, the column plays an especially significant role as an anti-hagiographic attribute. On the other hand, my aim is to interpret this iconographic motif in the context of the upheaval of religious disputes in the second part of the fourteenth century. The pre-Hussite era and the Bohemian reformation offer a relevant context for this analysis, not only for being a melting pot of apocalyptic expectations and end-time prophecies, but also in terms of possible visual analogies.

### **Searching for the Demon Bound to a Column**

It is surprising to notice that despite the great interest that historians and art historians alike took in the figure of the devil, the Antichrist and the modelling of the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages, the demon bound to a column never caught the attention of researchers.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the mouth of hell, represented by the biblical monster Leviathan, has also been in the focus of art historians and historians of medieval staged performances.<sup>14</sup> To be sure, the use of Leviathan as a container of the Devil has been in use at least since the tenth century. One of the first instances in Western imagery that depicts the Leviathan as the holder of a demonic figure can be found in the earliest surviving painted cycle dedicated to Lucifer. The Caedmon manuscript, probably produced in Canterbury between 950 and 1000, presents the punishment inflicted upon Lucifer, the highest-ranking angel, as a result of his ambition to seize the throne of God.<sup>15</sup> The three-tiered illustration of the Fall of the Rebel Angels pictures Lucifer trying to occupy God's throne, followed by his expulsion and, in the lower register, his chaining inside Hell's devouring jaws. The throne and crown are two of the key iconographic motifs of prelapsarian representations of Lucifer,

which stress his failed attempt to take hold of divine power and equate himself with God.<sup>16</sup> The chaining of the fallen angel inside the mouth of hell indicates that already in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century Leviathan enters Christian iconography as a suitable receptacle for antitype figures.

If placing an arch-fiend inside Hell's mouth seems easy to explain, accounting for the presence of the column is a more difficult task. During the Middle Ages, the column has been a multifaceted sign. The use of the column, with its deeply-rooted implications related to paganism, was one of appropriation, rather than a straight forward condemnation of a visual motif that had remnants of its heathen, antique, origin.<sup>17</sup> This strategy was already present in the sixth century, when Pope Gregory the Great advised in relation to the conversion of Britons that, rather than destroying their idols, alien forms of representation should be appropriated so that visual similarities could lead to a steadier acceptance of Christianity.<sup>18</sup> This task seems to be fulfilled in 13<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts when, as Michael Camille argued, "to place Christ on a column has a different inflection, announcing the Saviour as the conqueror of paganism and its image replacement".<sup>19</sup> Therefore, in parallel to its use in wicked contexts, the column became a symbol of steadfast ecclesiastical and Christian authority. This can be witnessed in the case of the thirteenth-century Bible of William of Devon.<sup>20</sup> In this case, the image was conceived in accordance with the text of the first epistle to Timothy (1 Timothy 3:15), presenting the Church as the pillar and the ground of truth, which can never uphold error, nor bring in corruptions, superstition, or idolatry. Thus, the column becomes a symbol of conquest that represents the strength and power of the universal Church. Nonetheless, this was never a complete and total replacement, the persistence of understanding column-associated images in light of their idolatrous and sin-ridden meaning providing a visual ambiguity that impressed itself on sacred images and Church teaching alike.

In light of the versatility of the column motif, it comes as no surprise that the earliest use of the demon bound to a column that I have been able to trace was paired with the image of the Tree of Vices. The image is part of a *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* manuscript, produced in the second quarter of the fourteenth century for the Premonstratensian monastery in Weissenau, near the lake Constance.<sup>21</sup> This codex is considered to be one of the earliest bilingual texts in the *Speculum* category of manuscripts, and also one of the most richly illustrated. As previously mentioned, the demon bound to a column is part of the larger iconographic theme of the Tree of Vices, placed at the beginning of the manuscript after two short

vice-related treatises, the *Summa vitiorum* and the *Prologus de fructu carnis et spiritus*.<sup>22</sup> Structured on a vertical axis, with Pride (*Superbia*) at its root and Lust (*Luxuria*) at the top, this arboreal composition is framed in the upper right corner by the image of two demons. One of the devils is presented in the act of crowning *Luxuria*, while the other, a generic, non-distinguished demon, shackled to a column, observes the crowning ritual from within a hell-like cavity. The position of the Tree of Vices before the beginning of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* is intriguing, as well as its coupling with the prologue, which warns against the perils of interpreting signs that, depending on the context, can refer to either Christ, or the devil. As Susanne Wittekind argues, this disclaimer provides “a critical view of the interpretation and legibility of signs” that can be considered when one recalls the posture similarity between the chained demon and the Flagellation of Christ.<sup>23</sup>

Up until the fifteenth century, there is a dearth of examples that use the motif of the column bound demon, not restricted to a particular iconographic theme. Almost contemporary to the Weissenau manuscript, the wall paintings of the St Remigius church in Nagold house a poorly-preserved Christological cycle on the southern nave wall.<sup>24</sup> The demon tied to a column is present in the scene depicting de Harrowing of Hell, but this time he was placed inside Leviathan’s jaws. Another representation can be found in the parish church in Murau, but this time as part of a Last Judgment composition.<sup>25</sup> Painted on one of the central nave pillars, the composition follows a common scheme, with the Christ-Judge being approached by the blessed, while the cohort of sinners is being pulled by a devil towards the demon tied to a column, although the Leviathan beast is absent.

Therefore, with the exception of the few examples mentioned above, the motif of the devilish figure chained to a column was used on a narrow scale. One must bear in mind that inventorying any medieval images and iconographic types is subject to further revisions. Wall paintings are being constantly restored and manuscripts are continuously studied, so similar fourteenth-century images might resurface in the future. Nevertheless, when compared to the cases in the Hungarian Kingdom, the demons in Murau, Nagold, or the Kremsmünster have a rather generic character, lacking specific attributes or visual cues that could single them out. In the following section I will return to the churches in Leles and Poprad in order to detail the context of the paintings’ commission.

## **The Peculiar Cases of Leles and Poprad and the context of their production**

It is quite surprising that in the former Hungarian Kingdom the demon bound to a column was rarely used, despite the popularity of the Last Judgment scene. About forty scenes were painted between the fourteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries in churches belonging to the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, and with only one exception, the Leviathan as a symbol of Hell is always present.<sup>26</sup> This suggests that the examples scrutinized in the present study are cases where the patron/patrons or the iconographer used this motif on purpose. Expounding the context of their production might offer some explanations.

Poprad was a small Saxon town mentioned in sources beginning with the thirteenth century.<sup>27</sup> The St Aegidius parish church in Poprad was first painted between 1330 and 1350, when the sanctuary and the intrados of the chancel arch were decorated with various Christological scenes, devotional images and the busts of prophets alongside the figures of Saints Stephen and Ladislav, two of the Holy Kings of Hungary.<sup>28</sup> The painting in the sanctuary features the two donors, identified as John and Henry of Deutschendorf (Nemecká Ves) by a petition for the granting of indulgences to the visitors of the church (Fig. 7).<sup>29</sup> The petition was addressed to the Avignonese Pope John XXII in 1326, and it has been noticed that one of the donors was painted with the cross of the Knights Hospitaller, indicating the possibility that one of the donors had connections with this knightly order.<sup>30</sup>

The Last Judgment, painted towards the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, occupies the whole surface of the chancel arch (Fig. 8). The upper register comprises the Apostle's celestial court and the Christ-Judge, while the middle register presents the Resurrection of the dead. The lower register survives only fragmentarily, while the paintings of the northern half of the arch have been almost entirely lost. Fortunately, the representation of Hell is well preserved (Fig. 9). The right-hand lower register of the arch features St Michael who pushes the damned into Leviathan's devouring mouth. The painting representing the beast's head continues on the southern nave wall, where the column-bound demon is also depicted (Fig. 6). Secluded, visually as well as spatially, from the rest of the torturing devils, this demon is a crowned figure, marking his status and prominence in the kingdom of Hell.

The foundation of the Premonstratensian monastery in Leles has a turbulent history due mainly to internal political disputes. The Premonstratensians, also known as the Norbertines or White Canons, were invited into the Kingdom of Hungary by king Stephen II (r. 1161–1131).<sup>31</sup> The members of the first communities, arriving from the mother abbey in Prémontré, were regular canons, having the right to preach and to exert pastoral care activities.<sup>32</sup> The establishment of the monastery in Leles was the result of the endeavour of bishop Boleslaus of Vác in the late twelfth century.<sup>33</sup> Around 1190, the bishop invited canons of the Premonstratensian order to Leles and founded the monastery, with its church dedicated to the Holy Cross, as a subsidiary of the Prémontré abbey (*filia Premonstrati – Agrinensis dioc.: Sancta Crux de Lelez*).<sup>34</sup> Because of his loyalty towards king Béla III (r. 1172–1196) and his firstborn son, king Andrew II (r. 1205–1235), Boleslaus attracted the fury of Emeric of Hungary (r. 1196–1204), Andrew's brother, who annulled the bishop's rights over Leles.<sup>35</sup> Emeric's dispute with Boleslaus was critiqued by Pope Innocent III, who in a letter to the Hungarian king requested the immediate settling of this conflict.<sup>36</sup> Suffice it to say that with this matter solved, Boleslaus's last will was respected by king Andrew II, the monastery received judicial and ecclesiastical privileges, and was consecrated in 1214 by the Bishop of Eger, Katapán.<sup>37</sup> During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the convent in Leles acted as one of the most important places of authentication (*locus credibilis*) in medieval Hungary.<sup>38</sup> The new church dates to the middle of the fourteenth century, while the chapel of St Michael, situated to the north of the church, was built during the priory of Dominicus Pálócai (1378–1403) and embellished with murals around the year 1400.<sup>39</sup>

The wall paintings in the St Michael chapel garnered the attention of researchers mainly because of the extensive cycle representing the kings of Hungary. As Zsombor Jékely emphasized, the presence of this cycle, unique in the Kingdom of Hungary, and the choice to place emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg at its incipit prove that the Premonstratensian abbey had close connections to the royal court.<sup>40</sup> The Last Judgment, which is at the center of my analysis, has a complex structure. The core of the Judgment scene consists of two registers with the upper half depicting Christ surrounded by the apostles and the two intercessors, the Virgin and John the Baptist, while the lower half is dedicated to the Resurrection of the dead. The other scenes associated with the final judgment were placed in the lunettes created by the rib vaults and they present the angels with the

*Arma Christi*, the archangel Michael with his scales, and the representation of Hell. The latter is inhabited by a vast array of devils who carry the souls of the sinful towards a gigantesque figure of a demon who is bound to a column inside Leviathan's jaws. Only a fragment of the beast is still visible today, but one can notice with ease the difference between the ordinary demons and the enormous figure that they serve.

Following the visual emphasis that these devilish beasts received in the above-mentioned cases, one might ask what eschatological figure was intended for portrayal in these murals? It can be safely assumed that one of the possible interpretations recognizes these figures as images of the Devil. The beast-like appearance was frequent when representing Satan and it was also used in the Kingdom of Hungary. Two Last Judgment compositions, unrelated to one another, but both dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, present Satan as a notable character. The Judgment scene in Chimindia (Hung. *Kéménd*) (present-day Romania) (Fig. 10) survives only through the figure of Hell represented by the Leviathan. In this case, Satan rides the biblical beast while holding in his arms a child-like human figure that has been variously identified as Judas or Antichrist.<sup>41</sup> In the second example, the Last Judgment in Čerín (Hung. *Cserény*) (present-day Slovakia) (Fig. 11), the Leviathan was omitted from the Hell-scene (a unique case in the Hungarian Kingdom).<sup>42</sup> Instead, a demon that seems enthroned, but has no throne, receives the silhouettes of the damned. It is noteworthy to mention that this demon is shackled, his neck, hands and feet being chained, albeit the column is missing.

I believe that the scale and details of the Satan figures in Poprad and Leles is relevant. More than being an iconographic stage prop used for diversifying the representations of the denizens of Hell, the column is a detail that transforms these particular imaginings of Satan into an antitype of Christ. And the most debated, written about and present antitype of Christ in the Middle Ages was the Antichrist. In the following sections my objective is to prove that the column is a visual detail that can be linked to the representations of the Antichrist cycle in the fourteenth century and with the interest that the Son of Perdition garnered in mid-century Bohemia and with the end time craze that dominated Prague during the second half of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.

## Christ and Antichrist: the Antitype and its Antinarrative

Until the twentieth century the Antichrist didn't harness to much attention. The seventeenth-century *De Antichristo* treatise by the Dominican Tomás Malvenda and the works of Wilhelm Bousset were the main sources that scholars had to rely upon.<sup>43</sup> The works of Bernard McGinn, Richard K. Emmerson, Rosemary Muir-Wright and Robert Lerner represented fundamental contributions to the topic and help extend our knowledge by taking an interdisciplinary approach and accounting for the relationship between literary sources, visual production, historical events and changing mentalities.<sup>44</sup> Despite their differences, most authors agree upon two points that are relevant for my topic. Firstly, the spectacular growth in interest for the figure of the Adversary in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Secondly, the creation, during the Middle Ages, of what McGinn called an Antichristology, with its aim to present Antichrist's life as a reversed parallel to that of Christ.<sup>45</sup> If the relatedness between the Antichrist and biblical beasts, such as Behemoth and Leviathan, were already inaugurated by Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, humanlike representations of the Adversary appeared only beginning with the tenth century.<sup>46</sup> This iconographic development has been explained in light of the contemporary, famous *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*.<sup>47</sup> Written by abbot Adso of Montier-en-Der for Gerberga, wife of Louis IV of France, the treatise stands out as one of the earliest efforts to systematize previous information and to compile it in the form of a *vita*.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, the portrayal of Antichrist as an anti-saint was strengthened by the clear intention of lampooning the narrative of the life of Christ.<sup>49</sup> Adso's biography of Antichrist was mediated to later centuries by the *Compendium theologicæ veritatis*, a work previously ascribed to Bonaventure, Albert the Great or Thomas Aquinas, and that is now recognized as the work of a thirteenth-century monk from the Dominican monastery in Strassbourg, named Hugo Ripelin.<sup>50</sup>

The biography of the Antichrist written by abbot Adso had a long-lasting impact on late medieval life-cycles of the Devil's son, but by the fourteenth century competing images of the Adversary were in action. A question frequently raised in mostly, but not restricted to, theological debates regarded the most suitable way of identifying the Antichrist. Was he a historically recognizable person, or was he a generic outline of evil? Already since the fourth century, the African donatist Tyconius described the Antichrist as a composite body of the Church's evildoings,

claiming that the *corpus Antichrist* was part of the *Corpus Christi*.<sup>51</sup> In the twelfth century, the Benedictine exegete Rupert of Deutz defined the Antichrist as the *corpus diaboli* that was comprised of the legendary Gog and Magog, as well as jews, heathens and heretics.<sup>52</sup> A temporary problem-solving contribution was made by one of the most important medieval commentators of the Apocalypse, the Cistercian monk Joachim of Fiore. For Joachim, history consists of three eras, the first being that of the Father (Old Testament), the second corresponding to the Son (New Testament), and the last one, pertaining to the Holy Spirit, initiating the thousand years kingdom.<sup>53</sup> The conclusion of the second status would mark the seventh head of the dragon, i.e. the Antichrist and his earthly activity. Robert Lerner argued convincingly that for Joachim of Fiore, humanity, pervaded by sin, housed a lot of antichrists, but only one Antichrist was the true one, who will arrive at the end of times.<sup>54</sup> In addition to previous theories that regarded the Antichrist as a tyrant, Joachim supports the idea that he will act as a leader of heretic movements, fulfilling the role of both king and priest.<sup>55</sup> According to the Calabrian monk, this final Antichrist was to have two forerunners, an evil king and a false pope. To complicate matters even further, the expectation that two highly placed evil doers will set the stage for the advent of the true Antichrist was atoned by hope expressed through the notions of the *Pastor angelicus*, the Angel Pope, and the Last World Emperor.

As once again, McGinn argued, medieval apocalyptic beliefs in the papacy were always dialectical, the messianic Pope being coupled with the Papal Antichrist.<sup>56</sup> The tradition of the Angel Pope, which was never officially endorsed by papal propaganda, was reflected in the so-called *Vaticinia* manuscripts.<sup>57</sup> The *Vaticinia*, written somewhere between 1294 and 1305, were short illustrated prophecies concerning the future popes up to the arrival of the Antichrist.<sup>58</sup> Prophetic or not, the expected papal duo proved to be of renewed relevance in the troubled 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Black Death, social unrest and the loss of confidence in Rome, fostered a great number of fears that were seemingly associated with signs of the Last Days.<sup>59</sup> However, few events were to have such a profound impact as the Great Western Schism.<sup>60</sup> The crisis of the institutional Church led to the transfer of the Apostolic See, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, to Avignon, where it came under the encompassing influence of French policies.<sup>61</sup> As Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski demonstrated, the weakening of Rome's uncontested centrality in the Catholic world set the stage for two strands of commentators, mainly Church representatives and mystics,

which argued in favor or against the return of the Pope to the city that was supposed to symbolize the unity of Latin Christendom.<sup>62</sup> The French sojourn of the papacy culminated with the outbreak of the Schism in 1378, when the Church and Christianity as a whole were divided by the election of two popes, Urban VI in Rome and Clement VII in Avignon. This time of distress was amplified by the rising of popular lay movements and the aspirations of medieval fringe groups that put pressure on the church hierarchy in order to obtain greater autonomy in spiritual matters.<sup>63</sup> The uneasiness caused by this state of affairs proved to be fertile grounds for mystics and visionaries who criticized the Church for its unorthodoxy and lack of leadership, while at the same time warning against the signs of impending doom. Hence, the double papal election provided a real concern in light of the prophetic Angel Pope – Papal Antichrist duo.<sup>64</sup> It also paved the way for a renewed interest in the arrival of the Last World Emperor. The Emperor of the Last Days was believed to be a Great Monarch who after conquering all the enemies of Christ, will travel to Jerusalem and relinquish his crown on the Mount of Olives.<sup>65</sup> This legend had a great currency during the Middle Ages, providing the opportunity for kings and emperors to fashion themselves as the eschatological defenders of Christianity. For that reason, my attention will now turn to one of the most renowned examples of eschatological self-fashioning, that of Charles IV.

### **The Court of Charles IV, the Velislav Bible and Antichrist Concerns**

At the middle of the fourteenth century, the imperial court in Prague was a crucible of Antichrist beliefs and the emperor Charles IV, keen on promoting his relic-acquiring policy, was hailed by his subjects as the long-awaited Emperor of the Last Days.<sup>66</sup> The emperor organized public processions for the display of relics, and he even received papal permission for celebrating the Feast of the Conveyance and the Feast of the Holy Lance and Nail.<sup>67</sup> At the same time, end time visions and prophecies found great currency amid fourteenth-century elites in Bohemia. Charles himself owned a copy of the *Liber Scivias*, Hildegard of Bingen's vision of the last days that also offered a representation of the Antichrist.<sup>68</sup> The merging of Charles's relic oriented devotion and his interest in eschatological subjects is nowhere as clearly expressed as in the mural program decorating the St Mary chapel in the Karlštejn castle.<sup>69</sup> The frescoes, probably painted

by Nikolaus Wurmser of Strasbourg between 1356 and 1358, integrated Charles's veneration of Passion relics within a monumental cycle dedicated to the Apocalypse. The placing side by side of Christ's Passion relics and John's Revelation transformed the St Mary chapel in a symbol of the Holy Sepulchre, of death and renewal, and projected for the devotee a spiritual image of the Heavenly Jerusalem.<sup>70</sup> The self-fashioning of Charles IV as the Last World Emperor was also supported by text produced at his imperial court in Prague. The *Cronica Boemorum*, written between 1355 and 1358 by the Italian Franciscan Giovanni da Marignolli at the emperor's request, recounts the history of the world and grants the Kingdom of Bohemia, and its messianic ruler, a leading position in humanity's salvation.<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately, the chronicle, which was supposed to end with the legend of Antichrist, was never completed.

The circle of Charles IV also produced one of the most extended illustrated narratives of the Antichrist's life that have survived to the present day. The *vita* of the Son of Perdition was included in a manuscript known as the Velislav Bible, a parchment manuscript containing 188 folios and around 747 illustrations.<sup>72</sup> The codex, probably created between 1340 and 1346, is currently named after its presumed donor, Velislav or Welko, a protonotary and notary that was in service of emperors John of Luxembourg and Charles IV during the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>73</sup> Although the intended audience of this Bible is still a subject of debate, the prevailing opinion is that the manuscript belonged to a community of clerics that had strong ties with the royal court and that it served an educational purpose, the numerous *exempla* indicating its possible use for theological instruction.<sup>74</sup> The life of the Antichrist occupies an unusual place in the overall structure of the Bible. Instead of being positioned before the Apocalypse of John, the illustrated *vita* follows the Book of Judith and is continued by gospel passages narrating the life of Christ, thus enhancing the Christomimesis underpinning the Antichrist's life, a unique feature that was also visually emphasized through the extraordinary similarity between the depiction of Christ and the Adversary.<sup>75</sup> This focused interest in representing Christ and Antichrist as antagonistic figures can be explained through the sources that the scribe used, in particular the aforementioned *Compendium* of Hugo Ripelin, which survives in about thirty fourteenth-century copies in Prague alone.<sup>76</sup> The Velislav Bible was also endowed with iconographic innovations. In keeping close with Christ's infancy, the manuscript provides representations for the

annunciation and birth of the Antichrist, scenes unknown before the production of this manuscript.<sup>77</sup>

Scholars previously notice that in the case of the Velislav codex, more than a tyrant, the Antichrist was portrayed first and foremost as a deceiver, an impostor that will dazzle the masses and will trick them into becoming his followers.<sup>78</sup> In order to succeed in creating such a charismatic figure, the iconographer endowed Antichrist with the power of performing miracles, a trait that wasn't common prior to the fourteenth century.<sup>79</sup> The feral prowess and intense violence that characterized the Adversary in the previous centuries was replaced by deceit and fraud, attributes that might reflect the growing distress caused by the fracture of the Church beginning with 1309.<sup>80</sup> Among the many miracles worked by the Antichrist, some are more common, Christological or saint-like wonders, as in the case of resurrecting the dead. Others were specifically tailored for the Son of Perdition, such as making a giant sprout forth from an egg or hanging a castle from the skies.

However, there is one particular miracle that displays the Antichrist's power to prophesize. This marvelous act was molded on the commentary on John's Revelation from the *Glossa ordinaria* and it relates how the Antichrist transforms inanimate matter into a living statue that has the capacity to foretell the future.<sup>81</sup> What is truly intriguing is the iconography that was used in order to represent this scene. Instead of being represented in the form of an idol that tops a pillar, as with countless examples in Christian imagery, the prescient statue was rendered as a free-standing column. This miracle was depicted for the first time in the Velislav Bible, and one can observe how the composition is centered around the column, separating a very Christlike Antichrist, joined by his followers, from the flock that is about to be subdued through his wonderworking.<sup>82</sup> The talking statue/column is coupled here with a reversal of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, wherein the sky pours forth fire and demons over the earth. The text inscribed on this folio adds a new dimension to the image because, aside from recalling the statue's capacity to talk and to predict the future, it also mentions its wicked laugh (*statuam ridere*), calling to mind texts that portray the sin of Idolatry depicted as a laughing statue.<sup>83</sup>

To my knowledge, the miracle of the talking statue was repeated in only two later examples. In the fifteenth-century Wellcome Apocalypse, one of the folios presents all the miracles performed by Antichrist, the prophetic column being coupled with the blossoming of trees and the raising of waters.<sup>84</sup> The second example, more closely-related to the Velislav Bible,

can be found in the stained-glass windows belonging to the parish church in Frankfurt an der Oder.<sup>85</sup> The south facing window of the church details the life of the Antichrist, including some of his miracles. Surprisingly, in contrast to the self-standing column in the Velislav manuscript or the later Wellcome Apocalypse, the Frankfurt scene discloses the deceiving nature of the Antichrist. The column is supported by a devil who embraces it with his arms, mimicking the prayer gesture. Narratively, the devil is the engine that enlivens the statue in an artificial manner, showcasing the miracle as the exploit of a trickster. Nonetheless, from a visual point of view, the joining together of his hands bound the demon to the column in a similar fashion to the motif encountered in the Last Judgment scenes in the Hungarian Kingdom. The Frankfurt cycle was repeatedly linked with the Prague court of emperor Charles IV. The presence of the painter Nikolaus Wurmser in both Karlštejn and Frankfurt provided scholars with a connection that helped date the stained-glass windows in the time of the Luxembourg dominion over the margraviate of Brandenburg, thus offering a timespan between 1373 and 1415 for the creation of the Antichrist cycle.<sup>86</sup>

As an intermediary conclusion, the circle of Charles IV was imbued with apocalyptic concerns and two of the most important Antichrist cycles that can be linked to the Luxembourg dynasty resemble each other closely. More specifically, and related to my topic, they both provide a visual depiction of the wonderous statue. On a more general level, both narratives act as pictorial devices that stress the antithesis between Christ and his enemy. At the same time, this enmity wasn't exploited only by members of the imperial court in Prague, but also by the pre-hussite reformers.<sup>87</sup> Their piercing sermons and eager cries for renewal touched upon the fear of the arrival of Antichrist in many ways and offered alternative interpretations of the Adversary, which will be explored in the following section.

### **Of Preachers, Hussites, and the Coming of the Antichrist**

While the Velislav Bible did not lead to a development of Antichrist-related imagery in the Bohemian Kingdom, its comparison between Christ and Antichrist, between the *Corpus Christi* and the *Corpus Antichristi* most certainly marked the periods that came to be known as the pre-Hussite and Hussite eras, sometimes working against the emperor's constructed messianic role. The relationship between the actions of Charles IV, the

precursors of Jan Hus and the later Hussite reformers is the object of an ongoing, heated debate in Czech historiography.<sup>88</sup> Without trying to formulate an answer to these questions, I believe, together with Stephen Lahey, that the interest in the Antichrist in both Charles's circle and in the writings of the pre-Hussite reformers helped shape later Hussite theology.<sup>89</sup> To give a full account of the apocalypticism that helped shape the theology of the Bohemian reformation is far beyond the scope of my research, but in what follows I will concentrate on two of the reformers that were at the heart of Antichrist debates in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Fourteenth-century Prague was a city studded with zealous preachers, and the emperor was instrumental in inviting some of them to the capital city of the empire. In 1359, at the imperial diet in Mainz, Charles delivered a strong critique of the secular clergy, denouncing their vicious lifestyles and simoniac practices.<sup>90</sup> In his anti-clerical stance, the emperor found a kindred spirit in one of the most famous preachers of the time, Conrad Waldhauser, whom he invited to Prague, probably in 1363.<sup>91</sup> This proved to be a controversial decision, for although the German theologian became rapidly popular, his sermons direct at the mendicant orders led to complaints forwarded to the archbishop of Prague by the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites.<sup>92</sup> Nonetheless, archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice sided with Waldhauser, who was appointed at the parish church of the Virgin in Týn, later to become the spiritual center of the Reformation movement.<sup>93</sup> Preaching at the same time with Waldhauser was John Milíč of Kroměříž, a highly intriguing figure who, after leaving the service of chaplain to Charles IV and renouncing all of his belongings, dedicated his life to preaching and reform activities.<sup>94</sup> The sermons of John Milíč deal extensively with eschatological themes, the Last Judgment and the arrival of the Antichrist. Moreover, in his biography written by Matthias of Janov, John Milíč is recounted as having denounced Charles IV as the Antichrist.<sup>95</sup> Although we cannot be sure of the historical accuracy of Matthias's narrative, the preacher hailed as a second Elijah wrote two very popular treatises, the *Sermo de die novissimo* and the *Libellus de Antichristo*, which, as their names suggest, deal with the Antichrist at length.<sup>96</sup> Acting as the charismatic preacher with prophetic capacities that he believed was needed for the renewal of the Church and in preparation for the Last Judgment, John Milíč, somehow in opposition with Matthias's story, distances himself from the practice of securely identifying the Antichrist in contemporary figures and instead argues for a composite nature of the Adversary, his body being designated as the sum of all evils

(*multitudinem malorum*).<sup>97</sup> John Milíč's *Sermo de die novissimo* mediated the knowledge found in Hugo Ripelin's *Compendium* and the *Elucidarium* of Honorius of Autun, which were both copied in fourteenth-century Bohemia.<sup>98</sup> Nonetheless, the Velislav Bible was also used as a source. Two of the events included by the preacher, the burning of the Gosepls and the rebuilding, with the help of the Jews, of the temple destroyed by Vespasian and Titus, can be found together only in the Velislav codex, a fact that is not surprising given John Milíč's connections to the imperial court.<sup>99</sup> According to Phillip Haberkern, the message preached in Prague during Charles IV reflected the believe that Christians have to cultivate a more intense personal devotion to the Eucharist and to use the sermons that they attended as means to renew their morality. The eschatological overtones added to these issues by Conrad Waldhauser and John Milíč of Kroměříž rendered them as powerful spiritual weapons in battling the Antichrist.<sup>100</sup> These undertakings were continued and developed by the so-called Parisian Master, Matthias of Janov.

As his reputation already indicates, Matthias was schooled at the university in Paris and, upon his return to Prague, he became one of the most important theologians of the pre-Hussite and Hussite eras and his call for reform was centered around the arrival of Antichrist.<sup>101</sup> In addition to that, Matthias was one of the most important theoreticians of the Hussites, claiming that images shouldn't be mistaken for living representations of God.<sup>102</sup> Developing further John Milíč's writings, the Parisian-trained theologian wrote the *Tractatus de Antichristo* in which he provided an 'organological model' of the Antichrist's body, describing every fragment as belonging to a beastlike devil and symbolizing the vices and sins that will bring forth damnation.<sup>103</sup> Matthias of Janov uses the term *Antichristus mysticus*, borrowed from the early fourteenth-century Franciscan John Peter of Olivi, referencing the *corpus mysticum* used to describe the Church as the living body of Christ on earth.<sup>104</sup> This type of *Anatomia Antichristi* was also followed in an early fifteenth-century Bohemian treatise entitled *De antichristo & membrorum eius anatomia*. As Lawrence Buck explains, this treatise "conflates the tradition of the historical/personal/incarnate Antichrist with the tradition of the composite/collective/mystical Antichrist, using the former as a basis for anatomical metaphors to elucidate the latter".<sup>105</sup> This means, and Buck continues, that "writers could often speak of the Antichrist meaning a 'collective evil within Christendom' but use corporeal terms, as if describing a person or animal".<sup>106</sup> The *De antichristo* treatise even tackles the issue of the

Adversary's crown, which represents "leadership or dominion and is the 'most central and most powerful part of the host of the Antichrist'".<sup>107</sup> The anatomy of the evil incarnate receives an ecclesiological dimension during the first decades of the fifteenth century. As Lahey argues "describing the body of Antichrist in its relation to the body of Christ is ecclesiology, and the Hussite movement was very much defined by its position in the ecclesiological arguments then ongoing in the fifteenth century".<sup>108</sup> Even though Jan Hus dealt with the figure of the Antichrist in some of his writings, the matter was systematically approach by Jacob of Mies, one of his supporters and member of the University of Prague. In his *Posicio de Antichristo* and *Tractatus Responsivus*, Jacob of Mies uses Matthias of Janov and Augustine in order to assert that the last Antichrist will be a pope and that all his followers create the mystic body of the Son of Perdition.<sup>109</sup>

So, as a conclusion, it seems quite clear that, for the second half of the fourteenth century and the first three decades of the fifteenth century, in the region of Central Europe, the Kingdom of Bohemia and the imperial and university circles in Prague were the most active in terms of end time expectations and Antichrist debates. Moreover, one can witness a transition from the humane representation of the Adversary in the Velislav Bible to the writings of the pre-Hussite and Hussite reformers, which incorporate a more hybrid and collective description of his anatomy. The Antichrist could be a beast, could wear a crown and his limbs could be analyzed in spiritual as well as communitarian terms. Just as in the Hungarian murals, his human incarnation no longer deceives the beholder who can contemplate him in his true form, but the parallel to Christ remains central in understanding his actions and manifestations. In the concluding part of this article I will offer some arguments in order to explain how these concerns could have been relevant in the Hungarian Kingdom.

## Conclusion

Returning to the wall paintings in the Kingdom of Hungary, one has to ask whether sources indicate any means of transmission that can explain why murals could reflect the spiritual disputes that were flaming up in Bohemia and causing international concern. Were the patrons of the churches in Poprad and Leles preoccupied with Hussitism or the Antichrist? Did news about the ascending religious conflicts reach them? A tentative answer

will be given, based on the general information that we have regarding the spread of reformist ideals in the Kingdom of Hungary.

In an article dedicated to the paintings of the monastery in Leles, Lilla Farbakyné Deklava identifies one of the representations in the St Michael chapel as that of Urban V, suggesting that the patron, Domokos Pálóci, encountered the pope's cult during his journey to Rome, where he was appointed chaplain of the Holy See.<sup>110</sup> As the author argued, this indicates an iconographic transfer from the Italian peninsula. However, as it was previously demonstrated, both Last Judgment scenes from Leles and Poprad indicate that the workshops that created the paintings were accustomed with examples of illuminated manuscripts.<sup>111</sup> In the second half of the fourteenth century, Prague became the leading center of manuscript painting in the region. With the advent of the Hussite wars and the lack of contracts, some of the masters trained in the premises of the capital travelled to the Kingdom of Hungary in search for work.<sup>112</sup> So it is possible that Bohemian models were imported and employed by artists working in the Hungarian Kingdom towards the end of the fourteenth century.

When it comes to Hussitism, nuances have to be taken into consideration. Evidence is scarce for the end of the fourteenth century, but it starts to appear in the first decades of the following era. A turbulent episode took place at the Hungarian court in 1410, and the main character of this event was Jerome of Prague, one of the most important followers of Jan Hus.<sup>113</sup> Jerome arrived at the royal court in Buda on his way to Vienna, and his travel was announced by a letter sent by Archbishop Zbyněk of Prague to Sigismund of Luxemburg, who denounced the Czech reformer as a dangerous heretic.<sup>114</sup> On the 20<sup>th</sup> of March, Jerome addressed King Sigismund, together with bishops and prelates of the Hungarian church, in the royal chapel at Buda. Although his speech was in favor of the intervention of royal power in matters of reform, Jerome was arrested and imprisoned by Jan of Kanisza, bishop of Esztergom. After the burning of Jan Hus in 1415 at the council of Constance, it was Jerome's turn to burn at the stake in 1416, convicted of heresy.

The turmoil caused by the council of Constance and the execution of the leading figures of the Hussites led to a spread of reform ideals outside of Bohemia. Older literature regarded the first half of the fifteenth century as a time when Hussite beliefs reached the northern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom and were adopted by most of the local population.<sup>115</sup> More recently, Martyn Rady called for a more cautious approach to the matter. It is certain that Hussitism reached the Kingdom of Hungary in the fifteenth

century, but it did not imbue every level of society. Most of the mercenaries in the region were most probably Hussites, some of them following the more radical branch of the Taborites, but there is little evidence that the larger population tended to these religious beliefs.<sup>116</sup> The situation was more serious in Bratislava and in the region of Slavonia, around present-day Zagreb, where students that were educated at the university in Prague took a stance against clerics.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, Prague university was one of the most attended by Hungarian students from the middle of the fourteenth century up until 1526, being overcome only by Vienna and Krakow.<sup>118</sup> Even though I do not want to suggest that the paintings in Leles and Poprad are the outcome of a student trained at Prague and engaged in the religious controversies of the time, I believe that this is a possible path of knowledge transfer and that it could have worked as a means of mediating some of the heated debates of the period, the figure of the Antichrist included.

In conclusion, in my interpretation the peculiarity of the demon bound to a column in the examples that I analyzed can be explained by the hybridization of common devil iconography and Antichrist representations towards the end of the fourteenth century. Although there are no written sources at the moment that can prove a direct relationship between the wall paintings in the Hungarian Kingdom and the Antichrist debates during the pre-Hussite and Hussite eras, I believe that the images can be discussed in relation to the textual and visual production in Prague. This is but a starting point that can be further developed by taking a closer look to the allegiances that Leles and Poprad had to specific institutions. As mentioned above, Poprad has been linked with the Hospitallers, whereas Leles was a Premonstratensian monastery. Expanding upon these aspects could lead to a better understanding of the iconography used in these cases. The demon bound to a column is an iconographic oddity but it showcases how theological disputes and spiritual beliefs were adapted and integrated in the visual production of the Late Middle Ages.

## ANNEXES



Fig. 1 – General view of the nave with the central pillar and the coat of arms of the Sigray family, church of the Holy Spirit in Žehra (photo by the author).

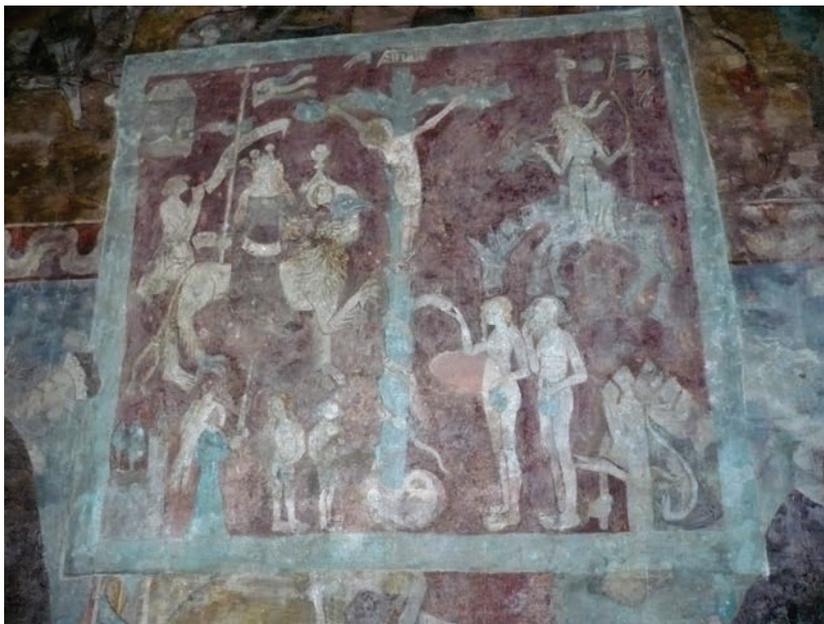


Fig. 2 – The Living Cross, northern nave wall, church of the Holy Spirit in Žehra, ca. 1400 (photo by the author).



Fig. 3 – The Living Cross, triumphal arch, church of St Francis in Poniky, 1415 (photo by the author).



Fig. 4 – Last Judgment, triumphal arch, church of the Holy Spirit in Žehra, ca. 1453 (photo by the author).



Fig. 5 – The demon bound to a column, Last Judgment scene, triumphal arch, church of the Holy Spirit in Žehra, ca. 1453 (photo by the author).



Fig. 6 – The demon bound to a column, Last Judgment scene, southern nave wall, church of St Aegidius in Poprad, ca. 1400 (photo by the author).



Fig. 7 – The Massacre of the Innocents and The Flight into Egypt with Donors, northern wall of the sanctuary, church of St Aegidius in Poprad, ca. 1330-1350 (photo by the author).



Fig. 8 – Last Judgment, triumphal arch, church of St Aegidius in Poprad, ca. 1400 (photo by the author).



Fig. 9 – Hell, Last Judgment Scene, triumphal arch and southern nave wall, church of St Aegidius in Poprad, ca. 1400 (photo by the author).



Fig. 10 – Satan with Antichrist/Judas, Hell scene, Reformed church in Chimindia, second half of the fourteenth century (photo by the author).



Fig. 11 – Satan, Last Judgment scene, northern wall of the sanctuary, church of St Martin in Čerín, second half of the fourteenth century (photo by the author).

## NOTES

- 1 For the paintings of the church in Žehra, with the relevant bibliography, see Togner and Plekanec 2012, 226–46.
- 2 Timmermann 2001.
- 3 Togner and Plekanec 2012, 231; Timmermann 2001, 141. For the Living Cross in Poniky see Buran 2002, 143–50.
- 4 Timmermann 2001, 152.
- 5 Timmermann 2001, 153.
- 6 For the image of the donor see Togner and Plekanec 2012, 227. The wall paintings in the sanctuary are dated around 1370-1380.
- 7 Togner and Plekanec 2012, 227.
- 8 Togner and Plekanec 2012, 234–38. The legend of king Ladislav is preserved only fragmentarily because of the restoration campaigns which uncovered the older layer comprising the Living Cross and the Pieta.
- 9 Togner and Plekanec 2012, 238. For the representations of St Stephen and St Ladislav on the interior of the chancel arch see Năstăsoiu 2018, 190–192, 440–44.
- 10 For Leles see Jékely 2009. For Poprad see Togner and Plekanec 2012, 270–84. I will return to the context of patronage of these two churches later.
- 11 Jékely 2009, 156.
- 12 Mittman and Kim 2015; Guest 2017.
- 13 The bibliography on the subject is extensive. See especially McGinn and Emmerson 1992; Emmerson 1981, 2018; McGinn 1979; 1994; Wright 1995; Link 1995;
- 14 Lima 2005, 13–47; Schmidt 1995.
- 15 The manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, fol. 3. See Guest 2017, 122; Mittman and Kim 2015. A digital reproduction of the manuscript is available here: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/d5e3a9fc-abaa-4649-ae48-be207ce8da15> (accessed 06.07.2022).
- 16 Guest 2017, 115–17.
- 17 Camille 1989, 197–203.
- 18 Camille 1989, 197.
- 19 Camille 1989, 198. For a different, but very eloquent example of the use of a column in order to symbolise the power of Christianity, see the beautiful article regarding the bronze column in Hildesheim written by Weinryb 2018.
- 20 The manuscript is London, British Library, Royal MS 1 D I, fol. 1, c. 1250–1275. See Camille 1989, 199; Branner 1972, 24, 26; Bennett 1986, 24. A digital reproduction of the folio in question is available here: <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/drawing-of-mendicant-friars-on-columns-from-the-bible-of-william-of-devon> (accessed 06.07.2022).

- 21 The manuscript is Kremsmünster, Library of the Convent, Cod. 243, fol. 3, c, 1325–1330. The ownership of this codex is disputed. Considerd originally as belonging to a Dominican convent, the manuscript is now attributed to the Premostratensian order based on the replacement of St Dominic with St Norbert of Xanten. See Wittekind 2014.
- 22 Wittekind 2014, 123–25.
- 23 Wittekind 2014, 121. The author doesn't mention the visual similarity to the image of the Scourging of Christ.
- 24 Heye 1965.
- 25 Lanc 2002, 272–89.
- 26 For a comprehensive and thorough analysis of Hungarian Last Judgment scenes see Lionnet 2004, 213–97.
- 27 Togner and Plekanec 2012, 270, with further bibliography.
- 28 Togner and Plekanec 2012, 270–73.
- 29 Togner and Plekanec 2012, 274.
- 30 Prokopp and Méry 2009, 64; Togner and Plekanec 2012, 274.
- 31 Bencze 2020, 40.
- 32 Bencze 2020, 40–2.
- 33 Érszegi 2003; Jékely 2009, 154; Kovács 2017, 105.
- 34 Érszegi 2003, 18; Jékely 2009, 154.
- 35 Jékely 2009, 154.
- 36 Thoroczky 2018, 357–58.
- 37 Érszegi 2003, 19.
- 38 Jékely 2012, 175.
- 39 Jékely 2012, 176.
- 40 Jékely 2012, 175–86, with the relevant bibliography.
- 41 For Chimindia see Jékely 2008, 140–54.
- 42 For Čerín see Lionnet 2004, 228–30.
- 43 For a useful historiographic survey of Antichrist studies see Ryan 2009.
- 44 Ryan 2009, 1583–84.
- 45 McGinn 1988, 9. The early attempts to mirror Antichrist's life through that of Christ can be followed in time down to the year 200, when Hippolytus of Rome wrote the treatise *De Christo et Antichristo*, see also Cermanová 2018, 142–43.
- 46 McGinn 1988, 13. For the connection with the beast in Job see Poesch 1970.
- 47 McGinn 1988, 15–16.
- 48 Emmerson 1979, 175–77.
- 49 Emmerson 1979, 181, 184.
- 50 Kernbach and Panušková 2018b, 46.
- 51 Bostick 1993, 41.
- 52 Bostick 1993, 43.

- 53 For the writings of Joachim of Fiore see Wannemacher 2016; Riedl 2017.  
 54 Lerner 1985, 554.  
 55 Lerner 1985, 566.  
 56 McGinn 1978, 155.  
 57 McGinn 1978, 164.  
 58 McGinn 1978, 164.  
 59 For the Fifteen Signs that precede the Last Judgment and their use in medieval  
 images see Wagner 2016.  
 60 The literature on the Great Schism is extensive. For comprehensive accounts  
 with further bibliography see Rollo-Koster 2008; Rollo-Koster and Izbicki  
 2009.  
 61 For the Avignon Papacy, see Rollo-Koster 2015.  
 62 Blumenfeld-Kosinski 2006.  
 63 See the classic account in Cohn 1957.  
 64 McGinn 1978, 170–71.  
 65 Beiting 1990.  
 66 The literature on Prague and Charles IV is huge and exceeds by far the aims  
 of this study. I will only reference the sources that I used directly in my article.  
 For the interest in the figure of Antichrist in fourteenth-century Bohemia, see  
 more recently Lahey 2021. For Charles IV and his policy regarding relics  
 see Crossley and Opačić 2005; Mengel 2010. For Charles IV as Last World  
 Emperor, see Cermanová 2010a, 162.  
 67 Mengel 2010, 20.  
 68 Cermanová 2010a, 162. For the *Liber scivias* of Hildegard of Bingen, see  
 Emmerson 2002.  
 69 See most recently Toussaint 2019. See also Cermanová 2010a, 164.  
 70 Cermanová 2010a, 164.  
 71 Cermanová 2010a, 165. See also Malfatto 2015.  
 72 For the Velislav Bible, see most recently Panušková 2018.  
 73 Kernbach and Panušková 2018a, 30.  
 74 Horníčková 2018, 181, 189.  
 75 Cermanová 2010a, 169, 173; Cermanová 2018, 149; Horníčková 2018,  
 169.  
 76 Cermanová 2018, 146–47. See also Cermanová 2016, 245.  
 77 Cermanová 2018, 150.  
 78 McGinn 1988, 19; Cermanová 2018, 154.  
 79 McGinn 1988, 20. Although more common in the fourteenth century, the  
 miracles of Antichrist aren't absent in older traditions, such as in the ninth  
 century writings of Haymo of Auxerre, which was used as a source by Adso  
 of Montier-en-Der, see Emmerson 1979, 180.  
 80 Boyer 2020, 242.

- 81 The miracle is also included in the *Compendium* of Hugo Ripelin, see Cermanová 2010a, 171.
- 82 Horníčková calls this image an ‘iconographic anomaly’ and argues that the use of a fourteenth-century German translation of the *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, where the word *säul* is used in this episode, might account for the visual transformation, see Horníčková 2018, 172–73. For this talking statue miracle see also McGinn 1988, 20.
- 83 Horníčková 2018, 174. For representations of idols, see Camille 1989, 241, 294.
- 84 Most of the authors mentioned above refer to the Wellcome Apocalypse. The manuscript was produced in Thuringia and is now dated towards the middle of the fifteenth century, see more recently Palmer 2018, 147. The manuscript can be consulted online here: <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/du9ua6nd/items> (accessed: 14.07.2022).
- 85 Cermanová 2010a, 171–73; Horníčková 2018, 170–73; Cermanová 2018, 155–59.
- 86 Cermanová 2010a, 173; Horníčková 2018, 171.
- 87 Cermanová 2010a, 149.
- 88 For a brief summary of the issue see Herold 2015, 69–70.
- 89 Lahey doesn’t include Charles IV in his study, see Lahey 2021.
- 90 Herold 2015, 71.
- 91 Herold 2015, 71; Mengel 2010, 25.
- 92 Mengel draws attention to the fact that more than being an attitude that announces later Reformation politics, Waldhauser’s actions were rather conventional, see Mengel 2010, 25–7. See also Herold 2015, 72.
- 93 Herold 2015, 72–3. For the importance of Týn in the fifteenth century, see Horníčková 2016, 76–7.
- 94 Mengel 2010, 22; Herold 2015, 75.
- 95 Herold 2015, 77.
- 96 Kolář 2004. For John Milíč as a second Elijah, see Cermanová 2016, 252. Both writings are dated between 1367 and 1370.
- 97 Cermanová 2010a, 167. For the role of the prophet in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially in Bohemia, see Cermanová 2010b; Lahey 2021, 30.
- 98 Kolář 2004, 59.
- 99 Kolář 2004, 61.
- 100 Haberkern 2015, 15.
- 101 Lahey 2021, 21.
- 102 Bartlová 2016, 60–1.
- 103 The manuscript is dated between 1385 and 1390. See Lahey 2021, 25–6.
- 104 Lahey 2021, 26. John Peter Olivi describes this concept in his *Lectura in Apocalypsim*, see McGinn 1988, 23.
- 105 Buck 2011, 350.

- <sup>106</sup> Buck 2011, 350.  
<sup>107</sup> Buck 2011, 355.  
<sup>108</sup> Lahey 2021, 28–9.  
<sup>109</sup> Pjecha 2018, 81–2.  
<sup>110</sup> Farbakyné Deklava 2009; Jékely 2009, 157.  
<sup>111</sup> Lionnet 2004, 233–37.  
<sup>112</sup> Studničková 2006.  
<sup>113</sup> Fudge 2016, 112–15.  
<sup>114</sup> Fudge 2016, 114.  
<sup>115</sup> Székely 1956, 583–84.  
<sup>116</sup> Rady 2010, 69.  
<sup>117</sup> Rady 2010, 69–70.  
<sup>118</sup> Borbála 2017.

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