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ANTICHRIST AS THE EMBODIMENT OF THE *INSIPIENS* IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH PSALTERS

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While illustrations for many Holy Books are created especially for the relevant texts, the iconography of the Psalms has mostly been borrowed.¹ In early manuscripts the rich imagery of the visual scenes occupied large portions of the page, but this changed as artists became increasingly involved with historiated initials. These, marking the liturgical division, were decorated with sequences borrowed from the New and Old Testaments, with the literal illustrations being confined to the opening verses.² In contrast to the diversity that had characterized earlier endeavours, the picture cycles became static from the thirteenth century onward, with each production centre and its zone of influence embracing repetitive themes.

Psalm 52 was most frequently used in the liturgy. Its historiated initial "D" in the opening sentence "Dixit insipiens in corde suo non est Deus" was elaborately illuminated. Unlike the unvarying illustrations for other chapters, the "D" in Psalm 52 boasts an array of attractive images, and is the only one to have undergone an interesting, complex, and significant process of development. Indeed, it presents a striking demonstration of the dynamics of philosophy, theology, and culture operant during the Middle Ages.

The illumination expresses a transition of themes: from the transcendental evil that assails man to human heresy.

A common illustrative plan of the initial "D" relating to the opening verse embodies the concept of the *insipiens*. Scholars have generally identified this figure as a "fool" — a throw-back to the image of the *insipiens*.³ The image of a heretic appearing as a madman or as a festive fool in particular emblematic clothes can be found in several groups throughout the illustrative development of Psalm 52. This interpretation resulted from the inaccurate translation of *insipiens* as "fool" or "fou" in modern versions. This development of a theme has projected a distorted and grotesque enactment of wickedness. Despite the prima facie similarity of the iconographical subject, closer scrutiny reveals essential differences. The recurrent theme of insanity of every shape and degree is certainly there: the demented lunatic, the maniac, and the half-wit, but other images, carrying the heretical words "non est Deus," are present too, for it is only natural for the Devil to be among those who deny God.⁴

French Psalters from the early thirteenth century portray the prince of evil as the companion of the *insipiens*. However, it is important to distinguish between the different figures with whom the Devil is conversing. In some illustrations to Psalm 52 the insane character confronting the Devil is identical to that appearing alone or in confrontation with King David in many other examples. He appears naked or clad in a short tunic which barely covers his body; he is bald or dishevelled, and has a cudgel in one hand and a round object in the other.⁵ In those illustrations where the Devil confronts a grotesque ruler, there are good reasons for believing that the ruler represents Antichrist. I shall call this group of illustrations "The *alius* group." The examples cited below are unique and distinctly removed from the generalization that links every figure in Psalm 52 to the opening phrase and thus, perforce, make him a "fool."

Antichrist was a type of the heretical tyrant, and thus consistent with a psalm that deals with wickedness and the denial of God. The historiated initial portrays Antichrist as the villain incarnate of infamy and heresy. Four manuscripts in the *alius* group, similar in context and composition, show a mock-monarch alongside the Devil. In what appears to be the earliest example — a Bible dated 1200-25, Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 5. fo1. 183^r (fig. 1, hereafter "Boulogne") — we see a cross-legged, seated figure holding a sceptre in his left hand while his right hand is raised in a conversational gesture, with the devil standing on the left.⁶ In a later

Bible — Antwerp, Musée Plantin, Moretus, Ms. lat. 3, fol. 148 — the figure maintains the same posture, holds a similar sceptre in the left hand, and performs the same conversational gesture with his right hand, as he addresses the Devil on the left. In both representations the figure, although uncrowned, wears a royal gown. The iconography of a Bible from Paris, Mazarine, Ms. 12, fol. 121 (hereafter “Mazarine”), comes close to the other two, particularly to Antwerp. A similar figure in royal robes is carrying on a dialogue with the Devil. The only difference is that the Devil is on the right and the figure on the left. A similar portrayal is found in a Bible in Palermo. Biblioteca Nazionale. Ms. I.E.4, fol. 183, 123–40 (fig. 2, hereafter “Palermo”). The same cross-legged, royally-clad figure is holding a sceptre and facing the Devil. But here a crown is added to his gear.

The Palermo manuscript bears a surprising resemblance to the Antwerp and the Mazarine, of which Haseloff locates the origin in the north-east of France. He dates them to 1230–50, and attributes them to the group of Psalters named after Queen Blanca.⁷ The two initial letters — the “Q” of “Quid gloriaris” in Psalm 51, and the “D” of “Dixit insipiens” in Psalm 52 — are linked together by the same grotesque illustration of a winged dragon whose tail ends in a vegetative curl. The content of the initial letter in Psalm 51 is identical in all three manuscripts, and deals with the life of David. The episode portrayed in the Mazarine and the Antwerp is that of David fighting the Lion. However, on the left column of the folio, which provides an additional, Latin version, the “Q” contains the same scene as in the Antwerp and the Mazarine. In some details, the Palermo resembles these two even more than they resemble each other. In the Palermo, as in the Antwerp, the figure sits with his legs crossed and the letters end in a floral design. But as far as the composition of the letter, the figure and its gesture are concerned, the Palermo is closer to the Mazarine. In both cases the figure is on the right, the Devil on the left. The greatest similarity to the Antwerp, however, is found in the Boulogne: both manuscripts show the figure seated on the left, clad in the same gown, his hair similarly curled, his hands and legs in the same position, holding the same sceptre. Even the Devil’s hand gesture is identical.

The similarities and differences between the manuscripts, and the proximity of dates and provenance, suggest a common model and possibly a common workshop. Haseloff did not ascribe the Palermo or the Boulogne to the Blanca group. Instead, he concluded two other manuscripts: the Psalter of Blanca of Castille and Louis XIII, Paris, Bibliothèque Arsenal,

Ms. 1186 (c. 1230, hereafter "Arsenal"), and a Bible from the British Library, Add. 15253, 1230-40, (fol. 154, fig. 3). Both have the same scheme: a seated figure and devils. However, the picture is somewhat different in the two manuscripts and also differs from those ascribed earlier. These differences will enable us to identify the whole group.

The Arsenal depicts a seated, cross-legged ruler attired in a royal wrap, holding a sceptre in his left hand and pointing upwards with his right. The illustration differs from the others we have examined in two important details: (a) In addition to the Devil confronting the ruler there is a second, smaller devil, hovering next to the ruler's ear; (b) the ruler is wearing the pointed Jewish cap.⁸ In the British Library Bible, Add. 15253, the ruler wears a coronet.⁹ His face is grotesquely distorted: an enormous, bloated nose and a wide disfigured mouth slightly open reveal a set of protruding teeth. In his left hand he holds a truncheon, its end shaped like the jaw of a beast, while the right hand rests on his chest as per the text: "in corde suo . . ." He is flanked by two bulky devils in profile, their arms extended towards the seated figure.

Some variations to this theme are found in a Bible from Clairvaux, Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 577 (fol. 146, fig. 4) (c. 1235-40), which also belongs to Haseloff's Blanca group, but the changes do not generate a new iconographical meaning. A figure is seen straddling a rainbow in the centre of the letter "D". In a similar fashion to the Boulogne and the Antwerp he clasps a sceptre in his right hand and, just as in the British Library Bible, Add. 15253, his left hand rests on his chest.¹⁰ Although the Devil is physically absent, the figure's tousled hair hints at his condition: he is possessed by the Devil.¹¹

In the group of illuminations so far described we find similarities and differences that follow a steady pattern which can be explained through the iconographical solution whereby the figure represents Antichrist. This solution accounts for the various forms described earlier. Changes cannot be ascribed to a geographic-stylistic distance or to misunderstandings, since the manuscripts that contain this scheme were all produced within a small zone of influence as regards the workshop and tradition.

The image of a Devil and a king is a recurrent motif in the historiated initials of French Psalters. It appears in Psalm 38, which begins: "Dixi: Custodiam vias meas: ut non delinquam in linguam mea; . . . cum consisteret peccator adversum." In several Parisian manuscripts the psalmist David, covering his mouth with his hand as per the written text, faces Evil

in the form of a devil. The same image occurs in manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris: lat. n.a. 1392; lat. 11391; Mazarine 212; and in Munich, Clm. 824, all dated c. 1220–30.¹² Later on the motif became popular in psalters from northern France. The iconographic plan of the coupling of David and the Devil is used for Psalm 38 in the Arsenal, Mazarine, Antwerp and Add. 15253 grouping. The scheme and form characteristic of chapter 38 lasted well into subsequent centuries.¹³ The opening words of Psalm 51, “Quid gloriaris in malitia, qui potens es iniquitate, . . .” invoke the pattern of king and Devil in French psalters from the same region.¹⁴

However, there is no similarity between the David who appears together with the Devil in the examples we have cited and the figure occupying the initial “D” of Psalm 52. The princely figure in the latter cannot be interpreted as David, poet of the psalms, because he is shown as distorted, grotesque, and dishevelled (Add. 15253, Antwerp, and Troyes); has a devil whispering in his ear (Arsenal); and lays his hand on his chest in accordance with the *insipiens* blasphemy (Troyes, Add. 15253).

Haseloff, abiding by the notion that the iconographical principle underlying the Blanca group of manuscripts is that of verbal illustration, calls the princely figure “Der Narr” — a slight deviation from the Parisian type of David, and the fool.¹⁵ Gifford, citing the Arsenal, also believes the motif to represent a fool and two devils. He quotes a further example of the same scheme from the Mazarine, Ms. 36, where a fool and a devil are portrayed. However, as mentioned before, they belong to a different category. The figure in the Troyes receives a similar “fool and king” treatment.¹⁶

If the figure in our manuscripts actually represents a fool, it inevitably raises a number of questions: why does he sit on a throne, often clad in royal attire (Mazarine, Palermo, Arsenal, Antwerp, Boulogne), or wear a crown (Palermo, Add. 15253); and why is he holding a sceptre (Boulogne, Antwerp, Palermo, Troyes). The club in other examples (Arsenal, Add. 15253) is not the same as the primitive cudgel which the fool usually holds. The same is true in respect to other elements, such as his appearance with the Jewish cap. Indeed, not a single attribute can be found that portrays the fool. The various interpretations ignore the fact that if the illuminator had indeed meant to show a fool and a devil he could have used the typical scheme that was prevalent in the iconography of the time. Given the absolute non-identity between the portrayed ruler and the image of the fool, such a simplistic interpretation cannot be accepted.

Two manuscripts provide us with a similar iconographical theme, hitherto quite enigmatic. In fol. 75 of the Evesham Psalter, which was presented

to the Abbey of Evesham by Abbot Henry of Worcester (c. 1250),¹⁷ we see a majestically-dressed, crowned young prince seated in the centre of the letter "D" (fig. 5). His bent right hand holds a bladder, in his raised left hand is a chalice. In the upper zone a half body of Christ is shown with a cross nimbus. Christ has a book in his left hand and what looks like a sheaf of brush-wood, but which probably represents a flame, in his right hand. Millar, in analyzing the rather unusual treatment of several elements in this illustrated manuscript, identifies the seated figure in the letter "D" as the fool.¹⁸ Turner regards the artist responsible for the historiated initials of the manuscript as a leading painter of thirteenth-century English miniatures. He too affirms that the figure is a fool.¹⁹

The second manuscript which belongs to the British Library, Add. 16975, fol. 63 (fig. 6), comes from Lyre. Its style places it in the second half of the thirteenth century. The figure, dressed in a tunic with sleeves, is seated on a throne similar to those in the Palermo and the Arsenal. His right hand contains an uplifted scroll, while the left hand bends over the right arm. This posture seems a somewhat distorted version of the text illustration that shows a hand placed on the chest. A devil with bat's wings is standing behind the figure, hugging his shoulders and whispering in his ear. In the upper part of the letter is Christ's upper body with a cross nimbus. His left hand is holding a scroll, his right hand is pouring down flames on the figure's head. This example is most revealing since it shows congeniality with an existing model: the four pages of sketches from the Municipal Library of Evreux, Ms. 4.

Ragusa has detected an affinity between the Evreux sketches and Add. 16975.²⁰ The upper part of fol. 134 in the sketch was undoubtedly intended for the Psalm 52 initial. In both the sketch and the British Library psalter the figure is seated in a frontal position: his left hand rests on his chest, and in his right hand he holds a scroll; the Devil is on his right. Inscribed in the sketch is the verse's final words "N EST DEUS." Christ, aiming an arrow, appears above the curved clouds in the same style as in the psalter. The compositions, despite certain left-right reversal and the iconographical scheme, are thus identical in the sketch and the psalter illumination. Ragusa observes that the differences between the sketch and the cycle of the initial letters in the psalter Add. 16975 rule out a simple copy relationship. The iconographical changes in the latter suggest another tradition, one which is not only from a later period but also changes to a different geographical origin. According to Ragusa, the psalter may be the work of an English artist who lived in Lyre during the second half of the thirteenth century.²¹

In this connection Ayres remarks that a book which was probably copied in Lyre bears the imprint of an English monk, Richard Gautier, who visited the town.²²

Referring to the sketches from the Evreux Municipal Library, Ragusa rejects the possibility that we are in the presence of Christ's temptation, since the figure is holding the scroll bearing the blasphemous words. In her opinion the figure can safely be interpreted as Antichrist, although this is not the habitual iconography for this psalm and therefore cannot easily be recognized as the appropriate scene. She supports her claim by comparing the sketches with the Bible Moralisée from the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (Ms. lat. 11560, fol. 15). Here, the first verse of Psalm 52 is illuminated with two medallions. The upper medallion shows warriors seizing people at the gate. The text speaks of the Amalekites who were defeated by David, just as Antichrist will be defeated by Christ. In the lower medallion Christ's upper body breaks through the clouds; rays and arrows rain down. Among the defeated figures is a crowned Antichrist and a host of his companions with ears and legs of beasts.²³ Ragusa's argument fails to show a connection between the depiction of Antichrist and the psalm in question. The parallel drawn between the victory of David and that of Christ is not convincing, since the Amalekites are not mentioned in Psalm 52. It seems, therefore, that the scene of Antichrist denying God first took root as the content of the psalm's illustration, while the scene of the victory over the Amalekites was added later on.

Haseloff, in ignoring the figure's attributes, and Gifford, by adding an example outside this iconographical group, thus fail to offer an exhaustive analysis of the meaning of the iconographical scheme of the *alius* group. Even if the group does not possess all the characteristics of the Evreux model, it is nevertheless linked to it. Ragusa's interpretation of the model as the divine punishment of Antichrist substantiates our assumption with regard to the entire group.

The presence of Antichrist is consistent with Psalm 52, the opening of which deals with the denial of God. All sources describe Antichrist as a rebel who negates the sanctity of God and desecrates his Name. Thus, in the Christian catechism, as well as in folk tales and mystery plays, Antichrist is represented as the heretic tyrant.²⁴ The most important and authoritative interpretation in the western church, which guided all later exegeses, is that of St Augustine in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (430), a compilation of oral sermons that served as a rational argument against schisms and sectarianism. St Augustine established the central theme of Psalm 52 — the

“non est Deus” — which is the rejection of the Christian faith and the denial of Christ by individuals, infidel sects, Jews, and pagans.²⁵ His teachings led to the general attitude of his time towards the greatest opponent to God.

Emmerson discerned a duality in St Augustine’s interpretation of the “Joannine Epistles” and in his *City of God*. The first presents all heretics, dissenters, and wrong-doers who deny the Messiah and their evil deeds as Antichrist. In the second work St Augustine treats Antichrist as a wicked despot and describes the horrors of the executions that will stain his rule before the Second Advent of Christ.²⁶ Later on, in the Gulbenkian Apocalypse, the illumination of chapter 13 shows Antichrist holding a scroll, above which is his credo: “Christus Deus non est” — reminiscent of the heretic pronouncement that opens the psalm under discussion.²⁷

In the Utrecht Psalter, and in manuscripts inspired by it, we find in Psalm 52 a narrative scene that corresponds to details from the Antichrist tradition.²⁸ Here is depicted an infamous tyrant sitting on a throne inside the temple and exhibiting iron-rod authority despite the absence of the royal attribute of a crown. The illustration is replete with horror scenes suggesting the rule of Antichrist such as the execution of Anoch and Alias.²⁹ In the manuscripts under discussion here, Christ’s opponent is similarly presented as a seated monarch, but he is not a genuine king. In the earlier illustrations (Utrecht, etc.) he is surrounded by a retinue of obedient humans, while in the *alius* group he is in the company of devils. Antichrist’s association with the Devil has taken on various legendary forms. As shown by Rousset, the most enduring consensus throughout the Middle Ages concerning this association was that Antichrist is tied to the Devil from birth and that his early education was in the hands of demons.³⁰ St Jerome, in his commentary on the Book of Daniel (8:7), states: “Ne eum Antichrist putemus diabolum esse vel daemonem sed unum de hominibus in quo totus Satanus habitaturus sit corporabiter” In St Augustine’s *City of God*, Antichrist is an emissary of the Devil and possessed by him. Other commentators, such as Firmicus Maternus in his *Liber de Erroribus*, went so far as to suggest that the Devil is no other than Antichrist. Ephrem, in his discourse, states that the demons are the source of power of Antichrist and their princes his disciples. This concept of a tyrannical Antichrist as a symbol of the pseudo-Christ was well known in the tenth century, as were other elements of earlier traditions, as witnessed by *Libellus de Antichristus* (c. 954), written by the monk Adso of Montier-en-Der. Adso’s chronicle of the life of Antichrist influenced the perception of this false Messiah well into the late Middle Ages.³¹

Thus an artist about to draw Antichrist found himself armed with detailed descriptive traditions which included pictorial precedents as well as written sources: the writings of church elders, theological expositions, myth, and folklore. Art frequently provided Antichrist with an escort of devils. The two devils that attend upon him on either side in Add. 15253, or the lone devil engaging him in conversation in the other manuscripts, are steeped in this tradition. The Devil-possessed Antichrist could explain the paradoxical design of the figure in the initial letter of Psalm 52 in the Troyes manuscript. The rainbow, the frequent seat of Christ in the *Majesta*, here carries the majestic false Christ, with gown and sceptre. His unkempt hair stands on end — a common attribute of those possessed by the malevolent spirit.³²

Even those who agree that Antichrist's features are human often describe him as deformed. The Apocalypse of Ezra favors him with a variety of grotesque features: he has a large right eye and a small left one, his mouth is enormous, his teeth are huge, his fingers are like scythes, and his face looks like a furrowed field. This distorted image is reflected in the way in which Antichrist appears in the British Library Ms. Add. 15253.³³ It seems, however, that art has never standardized an Antichrist type. His image varies, depending on the context. Nor is his physiognomy always disfigured. On the contrary, sometimes he bears the misleading countenance of a handsome young king, as, for example, in the Strassbourg Cathedral where he appears as the seducer of the *fatuae* Virgins, or in a scene with the kings of the world, in Herrad of Landsberg's *Hortus Deliciarum*.³⁴ Antichrist's image as a young prince in Evesham is therefore neither unusual or surprising. Nevertheless, the artist vested him with negative attributes: the bladder in one hand, which links him to the fool, and the chalice in the other, a false sacrament, confirm the image of a false prophet from whom one would be well advised to keep one's distance. As we read in the first Epistle to the Corinthians: "Non potestis calicem Domini libere, et calicem daemoniorum . . ." (10:20).

However, the most conclusive feature in support of the image of Antichrist in the Evesham is the description of the punishment that awaits him. According to the second Epistle of St Paul (Thess. 2:8), the Lord shall consume Antichrist with the spirit of his mouth.³⁵ Later tradition, too, has him annihilated by God or His messenger. And this tradition was adopted by the artists. The Bible *Moralisée* shows the death of Antichrist by a shaft of lightning from the hand of God who emerges from the clouds. In the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. 403, fol. 18^r), Antichrist, wearing a Jewish cap, is pushed by two devils toward God, who

breaks through the clouds and spits fire at him. The same iconography is seen in Add. 16975. where God showers flames on the eternal heretic's head. In the Evesham, Christ appears holding the faggot-like flame with which he intends to destroy his rival.

My contention that the figure in the *alius* group is Antichrist is also corroborated by other details, beyond the basic iconography of the illustrations. The Jewish cap in the Arsenal, for example, may be a motif that suggests the Antichrist image. Interpreting the *insipiens* in Psalm 52 as a Jew had been a common tradition since the days of St Augustine. In his comments on Psalm 52, St Augustine writes that there are those who do not accept Christ as God. Such a sacrilegious claim is made by heathens and also by Jews who, for their confusion and misjudgment, were scattered among the nations.³⁶ One hundred years later Cassiodorus no longer counts the Jews among other heretics, but mentions them exclusively as *insipiens*: "Videns populus Iudaerum Christum humiliter in assumpta carne venisse, insipienter dixit 'non est Deus'."³⁷ Well into the second half of the twelfth century. Peter Lombardus, following in the footsteps of St Augustine and Cassiodorus, wrote: "Vel insipiens, id est Judaeus, dixit in corde suo, id est studio deliberate militiae: Hic homo non est Deus."³⁸ The presence of the Jew in the *alius* group hinges on the interpretation of the entire group. The portraiture is not just of any heretic, but of Antichrist. The belief formulated in the parasitic literature that the false prophet will come from the Jewish tribe of Dan, either from Judea or Babylon, and will rebel against God and deny His existence, was widely accepted throughout the Middle Ages.³⁹ The Jew with the pointed hat in the Arsenal is one of the Antichrist's images; it can also be found in other examples.⁴⁰ While the consistent manner in which the *alius* group displays the theme of Antichrist confirms the Jew's identity, the identification of Antichrist as a Jew nevertheless constitutes an important testimony for the definition of the whole group.

Emmerson has demonstrated that the mediaeval tradition offered two versions regarding the appearance of Antichrist. One school maintained that Antichrist appears in the guise of numerous sinners and heretics. The second tradition placed him at the head of the forces of Evil before Christ's second advent. The most glaring evidence of his presence is the utter evil which will reign supreme.⁴¹ In a world of moral turpitude, where all virtues have collapsed, the bloody tyrant is free to rule and play havoc with the land. It is therefore not only the reference to the God-denying *insipiens* in the opening theme of Psalm 52 that inspires the "Christo contrarius" image. Rather, the chapter describes a pervasive corruption: "Corrupti

sunt et abominabiles facti; Sunt in iniquitatibus non est qui faciat bonum" (2). Equally emphasized is: "Omnes delinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt, non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum" (4). Thus it is the motifs of heresy and utter evil that characterize Antichrist and justify his presence as the theme of the initial letter in our psalm.

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NOTES

¹ Kurt Weitzmann, "The Illustration of the Septuagint," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971). An exception, however, is provided by one particular tradition of which two famous psalters are extant: The "Stuttgart," Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Cod. 23; and the "Utrecht," Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, Scrip. Eccl. 484.

² Several examples characterize this situation: Psalm 51 begins with "Cum venit Doeg Idumaeus et nunciavit Sauli: venit David in domum Achimelech." The illuminators of English manuscripts frequently painted Doeg in the process of slaying Achimelech. The opening of Psalm 26, "Dominus illuminatio mea," inspired the popular illustration of David pointing at his mouth.

³ Victor Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Macon: Protat Frères, 1940-41), p. cxc, for example, believes that the artist had an easy task since the text furnished a pleasant and pictorial subject — the court jester.

⁴ In English psalters of the late twelfth century the temptation scene constituted the theme for the initial letter. The theme was the first to be repeated after a series of sporadic subjects. Early examples can be found in the British Library Ms. Arundel 157, fol. 25 (1190-1200). See T.S.R. Boase, *English Art 1100-1216* (Oxford, 1953), p. 29; Ms. Royal I.D.X fol. 52 (c. 1200); J.A. Herbert, "A Psalter in the British Museum (Royal Ms. I.D.X), Illuminated in England Early in the Thirteenth Century," *Walpole Society* (1914), 47-56.

⁵ Examples include the French Bible from Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 70, fol. 210; Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2-3, vol. II, fol. 12.

⁶ Rulers sitting with their legs crossed were a widely-used convention in Romanesque and Gothic art, and even served to portray pagan and heretic regents such as Pharaoh and Herod. Meyer Schapiro "An Illustrated English Psalter of Early Thirteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and the Courtauld Institutes* 23(1960), 179-89, notes that while their posture appears to befit the nature of evil men, the crossed-legs motif is a general attribute of masters, bad and benevolent alike. H. Martin. "Les enseignements des miniatures attitude royale," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 55(1913), 173-74, maintains that the posture is symbolic. Thus when the King of France is described as a sovereign, both his feet are on the ground; but when he is shown giving orders or as angry, his legs are crossed.

⁷ Gunther Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13 Jahrhundert* (Kiel, 1936), table 8.

⁸ A head of a Jew in profile, putting out his tongue and wearing the pointed cap, appears in the initial "D" of Psalm 52 in the British Library Bible, Royal I. B. XII, Fol. 183^r.

⁹ E.G. Miller, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the X-XIII Century* (Paris & Brussels, 1926), p. 21.

¹⁰ The gesture has remained rare in this context. One example can be seen in a French Bible from the first third of the thirteenth century, today kept in Florence — Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. XV, cod. 11, fol. 286. See Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration*, table 4. Another example is in an Italian Bible, today kept in Venice — Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. lat. I, vol. 3, fol. 45. See *Biblia, Patre, Liturgia* (Exhibition), Biblioteca Marciana (Venice, April 1961), 2, p. 3.

¹¹ The possessed sometimes constitute the content of the initial "D" in our psalms; they share the unique trait of bristling hair. T.K. Oesterreich, *Possession: Demonic and Other Among Primitive Races in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and Modern Times*, trans. D. Ibberson (London: Kegan Paul, 1930), pp. 6-20, notes that hair standing on end as a result of fury, or its parallel, madness, can be found in literature since antiquity. It was not until the Middle Ages, however, that the artists resorted to this image with such intensity. For examples see G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. Janet Seligman (New York, 1971), vol. I, pls. 527, 528.

¹² Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration*, table 4.

¹³ See manuscripts such as Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 36, from the second quarter of the thirteenth century; Philadelphia, Widener Collection, from the late thirteenth century. The theme also crops up sporadically in English psalters, such as the British Library, Ms. Royal 1 D.I., which was written by William of Devon in the late thirteenth century. See Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis. A Study of Styles* (Los Angeles: U California P, 1977).

¹⁴ This pattern occurs in Mss. such as Egerton 2652, in the British Library, written in Denmark in the early thirteenth century. Montecassino, Ms. 508 (c. 1230); Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 915 (c. 1250); and other examples cited by Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration*, table 19.

¹⁵ Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration*, p. 46.

¹⁶ D.J. Gifford, "Iconographical Notes Towards a Definition of the Mediaeval Fool," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37(1974), 336-42, who considers all figures in Psalm 52, without exception, to represent tricksters, claims that in the Psalter now in Imola (Biblioteca Comunale Ms. 111) a fool as the Devil is arguing with God. He fails to notice that the scene is that of Christ's temptation.

¹⁷ Today at the British Library, Ms. Add. 44874. See E.G. Millar, "The Evesham Psalter," *British Museum Quarterly* 11(1937), 22; P. Brieger, *English Art 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1957), p. 173.

¹⁸ E.G. Millar, "Fresh Materials for the Study of English Illumination," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Bella da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner (Princeton, 1954), p. 288.

¹⁹ D.H. Turner, "The Evesham Psalter," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27(1964), 23-41.

²⁰ Isa Ragusa, "An Illustrated Psalter from Lyre Abbey," *Speculum* 46(1971), 267.

²¹ Ragusa, "An Illustrated Psalter," p. 276.

²² Larry M. Ayres, "Problems of Sources for the Iconography of the Lyre Drawings," *Speculum* 49(1974), 64.

²³ Ragusa's only explanation for the association between Antichrist and the Devil is offered by her observation that the latter always accompanies the fall of Antichrist. See "An Illustrated Psalter," p. 272, n. 22.

²⁴ A detailed and up-to-date research into the mediaeval perception of Antichrist was done by Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature* (Seattle, 1981).

²⁵ St Augustine of Hippo, *Expositions on the Book of Psalms LIII-LXXV* (Oxford: Library of the Fathers of Holy Catholic Church, 1959), pp. 1-11.

²⁶ Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p. 65. See also Robert E. Lerner, "Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore," *Speculum* 60(1985), 553-70, for details about the double nature of Antichrist.

²⁷ Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, Ms. I.A.139, fol. 36v.

²⁸ Around the year 1,000 the Utrecht Psalter found its way to England, where it undoubtedly inspired the illustration scheme of three psalters: London, British Library, Ms. Harley 603; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat.8846, and Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. R.17.I. See Ernest T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, 1932); M.R. James, *The Canterbury Psalter* (London, 1935); H. Omont, *Psautier illustré du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1906).

²⁹ See Ahuva Belkin, "The Antichrist Legend in the Utrecht Psalter," *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* XXIII, n. 2 (1987), 279-88.

³⁰ W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend, A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore*, trans. A.H. Keane (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1896).

³¹ Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 76-77.

³² A salient example of Antichrist as a grotesque human with bristling hair can be found in the Bibliothèque Municipale Avranches, Ms. 50, fol. 1, of the early 11th century. The author dedicates his book to Saint Michael who is seen stabbing a prostrate, naked Antichrist with a long spear.

³³ It is interesting to compare the disfigured face, wide mouth and protruding teeth of Antichrist in Add. 15253 with the features of the devilish-looking falling angels in the Arsenal Psalter (Ms. 1186, fol. 9).

³⁴ Rosalie Green, et al. (eds), *Hortus Deliciarum/Herrad of Hohenbourg* (London: Warburg Institute, 1979).

³⁵ A description of this episode occurs in the illustrations of the Pauline Epistles (2 Thessalonians). See Luba Eleen, *The Illustrations of the Pauline Epistles* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), pp. 140-41, figs. 296-300.

³⁶ St Augustine, *Expositions on the Book of Psalms*, p. 10.

³⁷ Avrelius Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum I-LXX. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, Turnholti Typographi Brepols Editores, Pontificii, 1958, p. 126.

³⁸ Petrus Lombardus. "Commentarium in Psalmos XIII & LII," *Opera Omnia*, in J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus Latina* (Paris, 1879), 501.

³⁹ Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 79-83.

⁴⁰ For example, an Antichrist with a Jewish hat can be found in the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr. 403, fol. 18r.

⁴¹ Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, pp. 50-73.



Figure 1



Figure 2

am adiutore tuum; Sed si
 in ciarum suarum. Expre
 autem sicut oliva fructifer
 di metrum et in scdm scdm
 fessu. et exprobo nomen cu
 spero sanctorum tuorum.



currens dm / Omnes declinaunt

Figure 3

u puit ex unis uis uis uis
 tudine diuicatum suatum. 7 pu
 Ego autem sicut oliva fructifera
 mia dei in cdm et in scdm scdm
 omnia vni am. alio. nimum. 7
 ix inspicen



Corrupti
 fa sicut un
 ar bonum
 Dominus
 filios homi
 intelligent
 Omnes declinaunt similitudin
 faciat bonum n e usq; ad uitium
 quis opantur iniquitatem. qui de
 ut ab un patet. D. bonam simi
 uerunt timore ubi n fuit timor

Figure 4



Figure 5

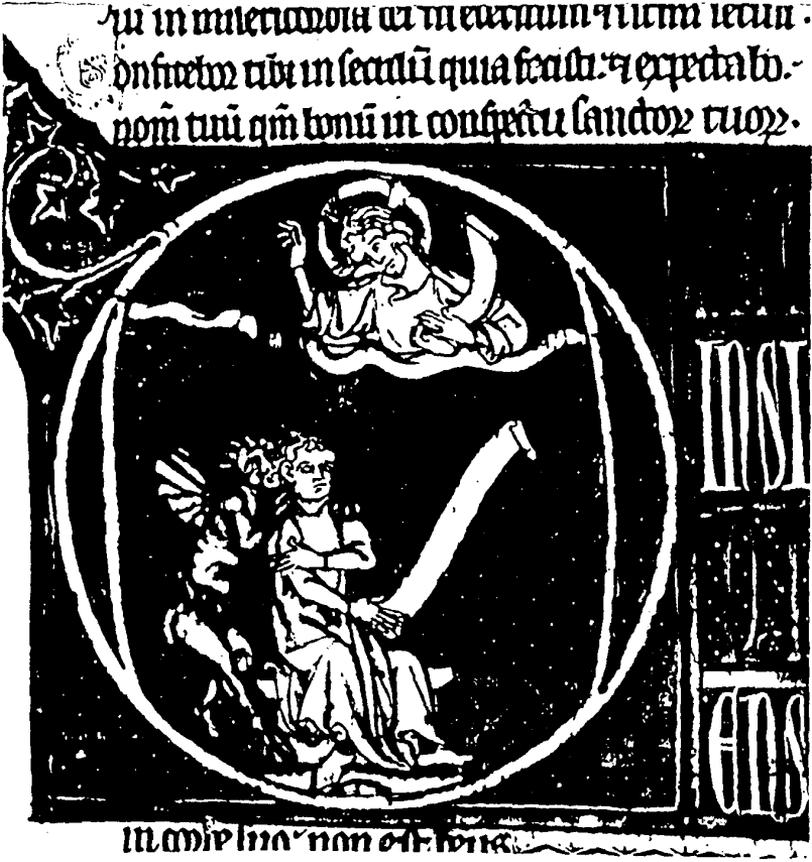


Figure 6