

9-12-2014

APOCALYPTIC EXPECTATIONS AMONG
THE FOLLOWERS OF POPE BENEDICT XIII
(R. 1394—1423): MS 940 OF THE
TRIVULZIANA LIBRARY IN MILAN, ITALY

Taylor Aaron

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/span_etds

Recommended Citation

Aaron, Taylor. "APOCALYPTIC EXPECTATIONS AMONG THE FOLLOWERS OF POPE BENEDICT XIII (R. 1394—1423): MS 940 OF THE TRIVULZIANA LIBRARY IN MILAN, ITALY." (2014). https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/span_etds/2

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Spanish and Portuguese ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

Aaron C. Taylor

Candidate

Spanish and Portuguese

Department

This dissertation is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Dissertation Committee:

Anthony J. Cárdenas-Rotunno , Chairperson

Mary B. Quinn

Rachele Duke

Michael A. Ryan

**APOCALYPTIC EXPECTATIONS AMONG THE
FOLLOWERS OF POPE BENEDICT XIII (R. 1394—1423): MS
940 OF THE TRIVULZIANA LIBRARY IN MILAN, ITALY.**

by

AARON C. TAYLOR

B.A., Anthropology and History, University of New Mexico, 2000
M.A. Hispanic Literature, University of New Mexico, 2008

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
Spanish and Portuguese**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July, 2014

DEDICATION

A mi querida hija, Éowyn. Al ver esta tesis doctoral me pediste que te escribiera un libro infantil con dibujos porque éste se ve aburrido. Espero que mi próximo trabajo sea más interesante para ti, pero gracias por recordarme de las verdaderas bendiciones en esta vida.

To my grandmother, Ilene Jones. I miss you greatly and wish you could have been here to celebrate.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Anthony J. Cárdenas-Rutonno, my committee chair, for his many years of support in the Spanish and Portuguese Department. His encouragement and guidance during writing of this dissertation, as well as throughout my time at UNM, has been invaluable.

I also wish to acknowledge with much appreciation the members of my committee, Dr. Rachele Duke, Dr. Mary B. Quinn, and Dr. Michael A. Ryan, for their professional advice and assistance during the research and writing stages of this work.

To the staff at the Spanish and Portuguese Department, especially Martha Hurd, thank you for the support with deadlines and paperwork.

I also express my gratitude to the GPSA and the SPGPSA for their financial support during my research.

Finally, I wish to thank my parents, grandparents, and other family members for showing me the value of education and encouraging me to continue my studies in the face of various obstacles.

**APOCALYPTIC EXPECTATIONS AMONG THE FOLLOWERS OF POPE
BENEDICT XIII (R. 1394—1423): MS 940 OF THE TRIVULZIANA LIBRARY IN
MILAN, ITALY.**

by

Aaron C. Taylor

B.A., Anthropology and History, University of New Mexico, 2000

M.A., Hispanic Literature, University of New Mexico, 2008

PhD, Spanish and Portuguese, University of New Mexico, 2014

ABSTRACT

In 1420 an anonymous follower of Pope Benedict XIII (r. 1394—1423) compiled a group of forty prophecies regarding his belief in the imminent arrival of the Antichrist entitled *Las señales que serán quando el Anticristo verná a reynar*. Although most scholars of apocalyptic literature during the Great Western Schism (1378—1417) conclude their studies with the Council of Constance and the election of Pope Martin V in 1417, this study demonstrates that apocalyptic thought evolved quickly among the dwindling supporters of Pope Benedict XIII. By examining the social, historical and literary context of *Las señales*, this dissertation sheds light on the previously unexplored connection between apocalyptic thought, the persecutions suffered by Benedict and his followers following Constance, and their continued resistance to Martin V. This study demonstrates that Benedict's followers not only modified contemporary apocalyptic traditions, but they also adapted contemporary literary texts, such as *Vida de Jesucrist* written by the Francesc Eiximenis. This seminal research opens up a new understanding in the development of apocalyptic literature of the Great Western Schism and provides scholars the opportunity to examine the text through the various editions provided here.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1 - Apocalyptic Literature in Medieval Iberia	1
Apocalyptic Thought among Early Christians until the 12 th Century	2
Iberian Apocalyptic Texts until the 12th Century.....	8
Apocalyptic Developments through the 14 th Century.....	12
Iberian Apocalyptic Texts through the Fourteenth Century	17
The Great Western Schism (1378—1429).....	20
Apocalyptic Literature of the Great Western Schism	31
Iberian Apocalyptic Literature during the Great Western Schism.....	33
Conclusions.....	50
Chapter 2 - The <i>Cancionero de la Trivulziana</i> (MS 940)	52
Previous Studies of the CT	52
Date of Composition.....	57
Literary Content and Chronology	57
Political and Historical Content of CT.....	62
Place of Composition – Rome	66
The <i>Cancionero de la Trivulziana</i> – Arrival to Milan.....	71
The Composition of the CT and Spanish Imperialism.....	72
Conclusions.....	76
Chapter 3 – The Structure and Sources of <i>Las señales</i>	77
Structure of LS.....	77
The Legend of the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday and LS.....	78
Sources of LS Mentioned in the Text	79
Saint Methodius Martyr	79
El Maestro de las Sentencias – Peter Lombard.....	80
Beda - Bede.....	80
Hugo.....	81
Antidorense.....	81
Nicolao de Lira	82
Yohachín.....	82
Augustino.....	83
Abralio	83

Eusebio.....	83
Damaceno	84
Fray Edon.....	84
Cassiodorus.....	84
Petrus de Taransía.....	85
Rabbi Moisen	85
Francesc Eiximenis and <i>LS</i>	86
Textual Witnesses in Catalan.....	87
Textual Witnesses in Spanish	87
<i>Stemma Codicum</i>	89
<i>Stemma Codicum</i> of Catalan Witnesses.....	90
<i>Stemma Codicum</i> of Spanish Witnesses – S1, S2, S3 and S4.....	91
<i>Stemma Codicum</i> of Spanish Witnesses – <i>LS</i> and <i>LC</i>	94
Conclusions.....	99
Chapter 4: Semi-diplomatic edition of <i>Las señales</i>	101
Introduction.....	101
Critical Apparatus for the Semi-diplomatic Edition	101
Transcription of <i>Las señales</i>	104
Chapter 5: Normalized edition of <i>Las señales</i>	142
Introduction.....	142
Normalized Edition.....	144
Chapter 6: Tentative English Translation of <i>Las señales</i>	159
Introduction.....	159
English Translation of <i>Las señales</i>	159
Appendix A – Normalized editions of Francesc Eiximenis’s <i>Vida de Jesucrist</i>.....	175
Catalan Witnesses	175
(C1) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 2801	175
(C2) Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, ms. II-552	178
Spanish Witnesses.....	175
(S1) Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 8321.....	182
(S2) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 5626	183
(S3) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Inc. 1126.....	186
(S4) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 6176	190
(LC) Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. 2176	194

Appendix B – Textual Witnesses of Vida de Jesucrist	198
Witnesses in Catalan	198
Textual Witnesses in Spanish	199
Textual Witness in French	199
References	200

Chapter 1 - Apocalyptic Literature in Medieval Iberia

Amidst the backdrop of the Great Western Schism, natural disasters, great social change, and religious persecution, an anonymous Spanish cleric in 1420 compiled a group of forty prophecies concerning the imminent coming of the Antichrist entitled *Las señales que serán quando el Anticristo verná a reynar (LS)*. Utterly convinced that this dreaded figure would commence his rule in 1430, this cleric drew from various sources—real and imagined—to create a group of prophecies, which he believed proved beyond a doubt that the Antichrist would shortly arrive. This author was not the first to make such bold predictions and, as our own time demonstrates, he was not the last.¹ Even though his prediction does not give us cause itself to investigate his literary creation, *LS* does provide the opportunity to examine the complex development of apocalyptic thought in the Iberian Peninsula, especially during the years immediately following the Council of Constance (1414—1418).

Although most scholars of apocalyptic literature during the Schism conclude their studies with this Council and the election of Pope Martin V (1417—1431), this study of *LS* demonstrates that apocalyptic thought evolved quickly among the dwindling supporters of Pope Benedict XIII (1394—1423). They transformed and added to received apocalyptic tradition in an effort to comprehend the persecutions that followed Benedict XIII's deposition and subsequent isolation in Peñíscola. The creation of *LS* as a literary and historical text cannot be properly understood apart from other apocalyptic texts of the

¹ For a variety of examples on how apocalyptic thought continues to shape many modern-day religious and political ideologies, see part two of *The End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity*. Eds. Karolyn Kinane and Michael A. Ryan (199—368).

period or the historical realities surrounding its creation. This chapter provides the larger historical and literary context in which to place *LS*.

A wide variety of Iberian authors both contributed to and were influenced by the greater context of apocalyptic literature. The complexity of this topic requires the four sections of this chapter. The first section traces important developments in apocalyptic thought among early Christians until the twelfth century, focusing on three themes that continuously reappear in apocalyptic thought: the Antichrist, the seven seals of the *Apocalypse*, and the Millennium. The second section examines the evolution of these apocalyptic ideas through the fourteenth century, concentrating on Joachim de Fiore (1135—1202) and the rapid change in apocalyptic thought introduced by his followers during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The third section summarizes the history of the Great Western Schism, with an emphasis on the persecutions suffered by Benedict XIII and his followers after the Council of Constance. This detailed study of the Schism lays the foundation for the fourth section which analyzes apocalyptic literature of the Schism—including *LS*—written during this tumultuous time. Although each section traces major developments in apocalyptic thought, each section also includes the manifestations of apocalyptic literature on the Iberian Peninsula.

Apocalyptic Thought among Early Christians until the 12th Century

Ernst Käsemann's famous dictum, "apocalyptic literature is the mother of Christian theology" (137), has been criticized for being too simple, but it does underscore the importance of apocalyptic thought to the Christian worldview since its inception. Although the origin of Christian apocalyptic thought can be traced to the Jewish

scriptures,² several New Testament passages formed the basis for early Christian interpretations of Christ's second coming, or *Parousia*.

Jesus's words in the synoptic gospels reflect a preoccupation with the apocalypse among the disciples and their belief in his imminent return. When asked for the signs of his coming and the end of the world, Jesus responded with these familiar words from what scholars often refer to as the "little apocalypse:"

For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there will be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in various places. . . . Immediately after the tribulation of those days the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light; the stars will fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens will be shaken. . . . Assuredly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away till all these things take place (*New King James Bible*, Matt. 24: 7—34).

Although Jesus himself taught in this same passage that there would be false christs and false prophets, the earliest reference to the Antichrist appear in the Apostle Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians:

And then the lawless one will be revealed, whom the Lord will consume with the breath of His mouth and destroy with the brightness of His coming. The coming of the lawless one is according to the working of Satan, with all power, signs, and lying wonders. . ." (2 Thess. 2: 8—9).

Here Paul reference the "lawless one," and it was thought from the earliest times to be a reference to the Antichrist; however, only John's letter mentions this figure directly:

² For a detailed study of this connection, see Casey Starnes's "Ancient Visions: The Roots of the Judeo-Christian Apocalypse." in *The End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity* (27—46).

"Little children, it is the last hour; and as you have heard that the Antichrist is coming, even now many antichrists have come, by which we know that it is the last hour" (I John 2: 18). This passages again emphasizes the view that Christ's *Parousia* would shortly arrive.

Undoubtedly, the most important apocalyptic text in Christendom is John of Patmos's *Apocalypse of Saint John (Apocalypse)*, also known as *Revelation*. Written to seven churches in Asia Minor before the end of the first century, John describes in symbolic language the epic battle at the end of time between the forces of good and evil. Two sections of this text continuously reappear in apocalyptic literature: the seven seals of the *Apocalypse* and the millennial reign of Christ.

After John is transported to heaven, he sees a vision of Jesus as slain Lamb, to whom is given a scroll with seven seals. As each seal is broken, John describes the following effects:

Seal	Effect
1	White horse with a conquering rider
2	Red horse with a great sword
3	Black horse with balances in his hand
4	Pale horse with a rider named Death
5	John's vision of the souls of the martyrs
6	Great earthquake, the sun is blackened, the moon turns to blood and the stars fall to earth.
7	Silence in Heaven for half an hour (Rev. 6—8)

Later in the John's vision—after the fall of Babylon the Great and the defeat of the Beast and his armies—John describes the millennial reign of Christ and binding of Satan:

Then I saw an angel coming down from heaven. . . . He laid hold of the dragon, that serpent of old, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years. . . . Then I saw the souls of those who had been beheaded for their witness to Jesus and for the word of God, who had not worshiped the beast or his image, and had not received his mark on their foreheads or on their hands. And they lived and reigned with Christ for a thousand years. . . . Now when the thousand years have expired, Satan will be released from his prison and will go out to deceive the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle. . . (Rev. 20:2—7).

The synoptic gospel's "little apocalypse," the letters of Paul and John, and the *Apocalypse* form the foundation for most apocalyptic thought in the early church. Early Christians tended to hold to three eschatological views: they expected the imminent return of Christ, identified the Rome with the Antichrist, and often held a literal view regarding the thousand-year reign of Christ.

The belief in the imminent *Parousia* among Jesus's first disciples clearly manifests itself in the texts studied above, and this belief continued through the third century. Even the closing words of the *Apocalypse* point to Christ's imminent return: "He who testifies to these things says, 'Surely I am coming quickly'" (Rev. 22: 20).

For three centuries after Christ, believers utilized an anti-Roman interpretation of John's *Apocalypse*, especially during periods of persecution. F. J. Baumgartner writes that early Christians understood the Beast of the Sea to be "a Roman emperor sixth in a

sequence of imperial reigns—either Galba, Nero's successor, or Domitian . . ." (26). The Nero Redivivus legend of the first century also evidences this belief. Some Christians believed that Nero, the infamous Christian persecutor, did not really die in the year 68 and would return later as the Antichrist. This legend survived for centuries and the Christian poet Commodian in the middle of the third century "taught that there would be two Antichrists—a revived Nero in the West who would be killed by the final Antichrist arising from Persia and ruling over the Jews" (McGinn 22).

A chiliastic view of the millennial reign of the saints on an earthly paradise establishes the third characteristic of early Christian apocalyptic thought. Toward the end of the first century or beginning of the second, Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, wrote of the days "in which vines shall [have] . . . ten thousand grapes. . . and all animals, feeding only on what they received from the earth, would become peaceable and friendly to each other, and completely subject to man" (Cohn 27). Toward the end of the second century, Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons continued to perpetuate these views and even in the fourth century, the writings of Lactantius indicate the prevalence of chiliastic views (Cohn 28).

The passage of time began to change these three early Christian perspectives. First, the belief in the imminent return of Christ was mitigated by the fact that the *Parousia* had not occurred. As early as the third century Origen (c. 185—c. 285) wrote that the Kingdom would be "an event which would take place not in space or time but only in the souls of believers" (Cohn 29). The end of Roman persecution with the Edict of Milan in 313 and the adoption of Christianity as the official religion in 380 precipitated fundamental changes in apocalyptic thought regarding the Antichrist and the millennial reign of Christ. For example, instead of Rome representing the Antichrist—

which would be nonsensical for the new Christian empire—Rome actually became "Paul's restraining force that kept Antichrist from manifesting himself" (Baumgartner 40). Saint Jerome (347—420) directly attacked chiliastic views, writing that the saints "will in no wise have an earthly kingdom, but only a celestial one; thus must cease the fable of one thousand years" (Lerner, "The Medieval Return" 51).

The views of Augustine of Hippo (354—430) exerted even more influence. It is widely recognized that Augustine's views were heavily influenced by Tyconius, a Donatist who wrote a commentary on Revelation around 370. Although now lost, later authors referred to it at length. Tyconius argued that "the apocalyptic texts of Scriptures could not be taken literally, especially the numbers used to establish the time of the Parousia" (Baumgartner 43). In Book XX, Chapter 7 of *The City of God* Augustine follows this argument and offers a spiritualized eschatology. Relating human history to the days of Creation, he explains that the sixth day is the sixth millennium. He does not interpret the number 1,000 literally because it represents the time remaining before the end of the world (908). He also describes the Kingdom of Christ as presently reigning, not a future kingdom (915). Concerning the Antichrist, Augustine mentions that some people believed that the Paul's references to "secret power of wickedness already at work" was a reference to Nero. He posits that this reference is better understood as "the evil people and the pretended Christians who are in the Church" (933). These views should not imply that Augustine did not believe in a literal end to the world and a literal Antichrist, but he spiritualized the interpretation of the book of apocalyptic texts. Both Jerome and Augustine receive credit for establishing the orthodox interpretation of these issues that persisted for most of the Middle Ages.

Iberian Apocalyptic Texts until the 12th Century

Three apocalyptic texts from the Iberian Peninsula merit discussion here: Apringius's *Tractatus in Apocalypsim*; Beatus of Liébana's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*; and Gonzalo de Berceo's *Los signos del juicio final*. The first two demonstrate the Augustine's continued influence of a spiritualized eschatology, while the final text introduces a Spanish version of an extra-biblical apocalyptic tradition—the legend of the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday.

Apringius of Beja: *Tractatus in Apocalypsim*

Following the spiritualized interpretation of apocalyptic texts offered by Augustine, Apringius, a sixth-century bishop of Beja in modern-day Portugal, offered an explanation of the seven seals in his *Tractatus in Apocalypsim*. Francis Gumerlock explains the existence of three medieval interpretations of the seven seals: the Christological, the ecclesiastical and the historical. The Christological interpretation viewed the seals as events in the life of Christ or miracles associated with the Eucharist; the ecclesiastical saw the seals as stages in the church's triumph over paganism; and the historical explained them as different historical periods leading to the Last Judgment (Gumerlock 2). Apringius's text clearly follows the first: "These seven seals are first, the incarnation; second, the nativity; third, the passion; fourth the death; fifth the resurrection; sixth, the glory; and seventh, the kingdom. Therefore, Christ fulfilled all these things through his humanity" (Gumerlock 27). This text, which survives in one twelfth-century manuscript, appears to have had little or no influence outside of Iberia as the only authors who cite it are Isidore of Seville, Braulio of Saragossa and Beatus of Liébana (Gumerlock 6).

Beatus of Liébana: *Commentary on the Apocalypse*

Compared to Apringius's text, the thirty-four extant copies of Beatus of Liébana's eighth-century *Commentary on the Apocalypse*—twenty-six of which contain illustrations of events from the *Apocalypse*—witness the text's popularity. Beatus (c. 730—c. 800) was from the Kingdom of Asturias. He first appears in relationship to the Adoptionist controversy in Spain. Elipandus of Toledo (717—c. 808) served as Archbishop of Toledo—then under Arab control—and he advocated the heretical view that Jesus was the son of God, but only his adopted son in human flesh. Beatus wrote against these views, and even called Elipandus an Antichrist; however, no discernible proof exist that Beatus wrote the *Commentary* in response to this threat. Nor is there evidence that the Muslim invasion of Spain in 711 prompted Beatus to write the *Commentary*, as John Williams states: "Since all the sources drawn upon by Beatus pre-date the rise of Islam, there is nowhere in the *Commentary* any explicit reference to Muhammad or to his followers" (130). Although the exact motives behind Beatus's *Commentary* remain unknown, his reserved comments regarding the year 800, discussed below, provide some possible clues.

Beatus divided his text into sixty-eight sections, called *storiae*, and they reproduce an Old Latin version of the Bible that predates the Vulgate, reflecting an influence from North Africa (Williams 20). *Explanatio* follow the *storiae* and most of Beatus's *Commentary* reproduces Tyconius's lost commentary mentioned earlier.³ Beatus's work was later illustrated with 108 images, sixty-eight depicting images from

³ Beatus's text actually forms the basis for the reconstruction of Tyconius's text (Williams 22).

the Apocalypse. Later copies were adorned with similar illustrations, each reflecting the period and style of the artist. Some later copyists added illustrations related to the apocalyptic book of Daniel.

Despite the conservative nature of the *Commentary* itself—it follows the spiritualized interpretation advocated by Tyconius and later Augustine—two contemporary texts indicate the possibility that Beatus held more extreme apocalyptic views. The first originates in story told by his adversary Elipandus in a letter written to the Bishops of Gaul in 793:

Beatus prophesied to Ordoño of Liébana, in the presence of the people, the end of the world. In terror the people fasted all that night and until the ninth hour on Sunday, when Ordoño, feeling hungry declared “let us eat and drink, for if we are to die, let us be gratified.” (Williams 117)

Whether or not this actually happened, Beatus's explanation of the creation week and the history of the world indicate that it fit within a common contemporary view that the year 800 CE was the end of the Sixth Age since creation:

The six days in which the Lord realized his work is a week and represent the figure of six thousand years, which are expressed in a week. . . . The time from Adam to Christ adds up to 5,227 years. And from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ to the present era, that is, the year 822, there have been 784 years. If you add from the first man, Adam, to the present time, year 822, you will have a total

of 5,987. Therefore, the sixth millennium has fourteen years remaining. With the sixth age will end in the year 838 (Poole 53—4).⁴

William's translation adds Beatus's cautionary note following these calculations: "The amount of time remaining in the world is not subject to human discovery . . . Whether it will be extended or cut short God only knows" (118). Despite the intriguing possibility that Beatus may have harbored apocalyptic expectations, Williams explains that "they are neither announced at the beginning of the work, nor paraded climactically at its end" (119).

Gonzalo de Berceo: *Los signos del juicio final*

The final Iberian text of this period, *Los signos del juicio final*, was directed to the general public, probably pilgrims traveling the Camino de Santiago (Dutton, *Obras completas I* 186). Gonzalo de Berceo (c. 1190—c. 1264) was from the Riojan village of Berceo. This poem, which in antiquity existed in two distinct manuscripts at the Monastery of San Millán de la Congolla from the 13th and early 14th centuries, was written between 1236 and 1246 (Dutton, *Obras completas III* 3). Berceo's work derives from the common European legend of the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday. William Heist provides the definitive study of this legend, and I summarize his arguments here as they relate to Berceo's text: The legend concerns fifteen cosmological signs that occur starting fifteen days prior to Judgment Day. Five main versions of the legend exist and Berceo likely translated his text from the Latin poem *Hohes Lied* (166). Although most texts attribute the prophecy to Saint Jerome, Heist convincingly demonstrates that the origin of

⁴ Until the 14th century, much of Iberia still employed the Spanish Era calendar based on the pacification of Spain by Augustus in 38 BCE. This makes Beatus's date of 838 in the Spanish Era equivalent to 800 CE.

the legend is the Irish poem *Saltair na Rann*, which itself derived its material from the much earlier *Apocalypse of Thomas*.

After explaining the fifteen signs before Judgment Day, Berceo addresses his audience with vivid descriptions of the separation of the righteous and unrighteous, who then are sent to hell. The following description surely inspired fear in his listeners:

Comerlos án serpientes e los escorpiones,
que an amargos dientes, agudos aguijones;
meterlis án los rostros fasta los corazones,
nunca avrán remedio en ningunas sazones. (127; stanza 39)

Despite these explicit images of torment, no textual indications signal an intent to arouse eschatological passions in his hearers; rather, the end of Berceo's reveals a more measured response to the horrors of Hell: he implores his audience to recite the *Pater Noster* and *Ave María* so that they can reign with the her and her Son for all of eternity (132; stanza 77).

Despite variations in their interpretations of the apocalypse and possible beliefs in its proximity, these three Iberian author studied never broke with the traditional framework established by Tychonius, Augustine and Jerome.

Apocalyptic Developments through the 14th Century

The twelfth century witnessed the most substantial changes in apocalyptic thought since Augustine. The abbot Joachim of Fiore (1135—1202) developed a radical new understanding of history in his *Liber Concordiae Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* and *Expositio in Apocalipsim*. Although previous scholars had seen foreshadowing of New Testament events in the Old Testament, Joachim promoted the idea that the whole history

of humankind was laid out in this concordance between the Old and New Testaments. For example, the period of the apostles and the foundation of major Christian churches in Asia Minor corresponds to the establishment of the twelve tribes of Israel in the Promised Land. Joachim also argued that history was organized in three ages, or *status*, based on the Trinity. Brett Whalen explains:

The first *status* originated with Adam, came to fruition with Abraham, and ended with Christ. The second *status* began with Uzziah, came to fruition with Zachary (father of John the Baptist), and was drawing to a close in Joachim's own lifetime. The third *status* had begun with Saint Benedict of Nursia, was coming to fruition twenty-two generations later (again, around the abbot's own day) and would end with the conclusion of history. (107)

Joachim believed that the third *status*, representing the Holy Spirit, would include a Sabbath era in which a new order of *viri spirituales*, or spiritual men, would rule and reform the church. Although Joachim believed this began with the monastic reforms of Saint Benedict (c. 480—543/547),⁵ and would continue with the beginning of two future religious orders:

Duo vero filii qui orti sunt ex eis, duos novissimos Ordines designare puto, quorum unus erit laicorum alius clericorum, qui et ambo regulariter vivent, non quidem secundum formam monachae perfectionis, sed secundum institutionem

⁵ Brett Whalen explains this belief:

From the time of Benedict forward, Joachim declared, the zeal for perfect monastic living had been transferred to the followers of the Roman Church. . . . The Holy Spirit and monastic life had come to rest in the Latin Church, where they would germinate and flourish with the coming of the third *status*. (113)

fidei christianae; immo secundum regulam generalem Actum Apostolorum.

(Arcelus Ulibarrena XXXI)

Both the Franciscan and Dominican orders believed the prophecy foretold their role in the apocalyptic future and many later Joachite authors expounded this view.⁶

The second *status* coincided with the traditional view of a sixth age of human history which Joachim divided into seven periods based on the seven seals of the Apocalypse. Joachim's view of the seven seals fits into the historical interpretation that Gumerlock explained. Although Bede (d. 735) also expounded this interpretation five centuries earlier, Joachim, by emphasizing the concordance between the Old and New Testament, went further by identifying each period with specific historical groups (Emmerson, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* 8). Gumerlock summarizes Joachim's interpretation of the seals:

Seal	Characteristics
1	Birth, death and resurrection of Christ; establishment of major churches
2	Conflict between martyrs and pagans
3	Conflict between Catholics and Arians; schism between Eastern & Western churches
4	Virgins and hermits shine; conflict between Christians and Saracens
5	Latin church strengthened; spiritual men arise, conflict with Teutons
6	Transmigration of spiritual Jerusalem; fall of Babylon; Satan bound

⁶ For a detailed explanation of the origin, variants, and evolution of the prophecy of the “duo viri,” see *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticellos catalanes (siglos XIII—XV)*. Introduction (Arcelus Ulibarrena LXXI—LXXXIII).

7 Sabbath rest; Satan loosed; persecution of Gog and Magog; second coming of Christ. (20)

Between the 6th and 7th seal, Joachim placed the millennium, not a literal thousand-year period, but a time of earthly rest for the saints during the third *status*. Robert Lerner explains that this view "resulted in the first written violation of St. Augustine's insistence in the *City of God* that the thousand-year period . . . cannot be taken to apply to an earthly future" ("Antichrists and Antichrist" 559). Elsewhere he also explains that Joachim also believed there would be two Antichrists: "a duality comprised of a Nero-like Emperor (Revelation's 'beast from the sea') and a Simon-Magus-like heretical Pseudo-Pope (Revelation's 'beast from the earth')" ("Frederick II" 363). Joachim believed that the Antichrist *pessimus*, the great Antichrist, would arrive before the earthly Sabbath. At the end of the third *status*, the second Antichrist, represented by Gog and Magog, would appear and be destroyed by Christ leading to the Last Judgment.

Beyond breaking with tradition, Joachim's revolutionary interpretations of Scripture and application of specific historical periods to the seven seals lead later followers to predict when the third *status* and the Antichrist would begin. Basing their calculations on the 42 generations that the Age of the Son would endure, some predicted that in the year 1260 the Antichrist would manifest himself. In the years following Joachim's death, many spurious works were written in his name with bolder interpretations and predictions. For purposes of this study, the most important influence of Joachim's thought relates to the growing Franciscan movement of the thirteenth century.

Saint Francis (c. 1182—1226) founded the Franciscan Order which emphasized a life of poverty in imitation of Jesus and his apostles. Even during his lifetime, Francis struggled to reconcile his spiritual ideals with the worldly reality of a growing organization. The tension between these two factors led to a split in the Franciscan Order by the late 13th century. The majority, called the Community or Conventuals, adhered to a relaxed interpretation of the St. Francis's Rule while the Spirituals, or *fraticelli*, argued for a rigorous observance of the vow of poverty.⁷ As the church began to persecute these *fraticelli*, they began to appropriate the views of Joachim regarding the coming third *status* and the Antichrist, constantly modifying their views in an increasingly hostile environment. The apocalyptic views of two important Franciscans need to be examined here: Saint Bonaventure and Peter Olivi.

Bonaventure (1221—1274) was the seventh Minister General and wrote the *Legenda Maior* in 1263. This *vita* of St. Francis was made the official biography of the order in 1266. Richard Emmerson explains that "Bonaventure identifies Francis as the Angel of the sixth seal three times in the course of the *Legenda Maior*" (*The Apocalyptic Imagination* 70). This identification connected Joachim's *renovatio* of the Church with Saint Francis's coming. Thus, the Franciscan Order represented the *virii spirituales* that Joachim had expected and foreseen.

Peter Olivi (1248—1298), a leader of the *fraticelli*, expounded his apocalyptic views in *Lectura super Apocalypsim*. Following closely the ideas of Bonaventure, he also incorporated the controversy on evangelical poverty into his apocalyptic thought: "Christ,

⁷ David Burr offers an excellent study of this period in Franciscan history: *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis*.

his servant Francis, and an angelic group of his disciples will spiritually descend 'to combat error' at a time when the evangelical life and rule is solemnly assaulted . . . " (Burr 276). Olivi believed the third *status* would focus on evangelical poverty and spiritual understanding. Pope John XXII condemned Olivi's writings in 1326, and this caused one of Olivi's supporters, Michael of Cesena, to accuse John XXII as being a forerunner to the Antichrist (Emmerson, *Antichrist* 69).

One of Olivi's more important contributions to apocalyptic thought was his idea that there would be two Antichrists prior to the breaking of the seventh seal and the inauguration of Sabbath Age: "a 'mystical Antichrist' to come shortly before the great Antichrist, accomplishing 'mystically' all that the great Antichrist would accomplish openly" (Lerner, *Liber Secretorum* 53).⁸

Bonaventure and Olivi follow Joachim's division of the Church History seven seals with slight modifications. After a lengthy and violent campaign against the *fraticelli*, the most visible aspects of the movement had been crushed by the 1320's; however, the apocalyptic views of Bonaventure, Olivi and others continued to influence apocalyptic thought in the following centuries.

Iberian Apocalyptic Texts through the Fourteenth Century

The works of the following two authors, Arnaldo de Vilanova and Juan de Rupescissa, demonstrate the influence of the Franciscan spirituals spread far and wide, even to the Iberian Peninsula. Despite attempts by the Church to quell their increasingly radical views, the predictions of many of the *fraticelli* grew even bolder. The authors in

⁸ Isaac Vázquez Janeiro has explained that the variant term *mixtus*—*mistus* for the first Antichrist expresses the same idea that he will be "a hypocritical character, a simulator, *mixed* with iniquity and virtue" (522).

this section maintained a close, yet often tense connection with secular and ecclesiastical authorities. However, neither was declared a heretic, and their position within these political and religious power structures, however repressive, likely helped to perpetuate their views.

Arnaldo de Vilanova

Arnaldo de Vilanova (c. 1235—1311) served as physician to Pedro III of Aragon, Jaime II, and Popes Bonifacio VIII and Clement V. Although he wrote treatises on medicine and alchemy, his predictions on the coming of the Antichrist wielded lasting influence. Vilanova wrote three treatises on the Antichrist: *De Tempore Adventu Antichristi*; *De misterio cimbalorum*, from 1301; and *Expositio super Apocalypsii Magistri Arnalde de Vilanova*, written in 1306. Pou y Martí explains that he was in close contact with the Franciscan spirituals and shared their ideas on extreme poverty. Following Joachim's ideas on history, Vilanova also explains his Trinitarian view of history, which closely follows Joachim's ideas. He believed that the third state of the world, which the Holy Spirit would be brief as would the reign of the Antichrist, which he predicted would begin between 1366 and 1376 (Ryan, *A Kingdom of Stargazers* 43). The University of Paris condemned his views, and he suffered a brief imprisonment. More than anything, Vilanova desired to reform the church and he did not hesitate to reproach even the Pope, his client (Pou y Martí 61). Franciscan spirituales and *fraticelli* took Vilanova's ideas and built upon them, as the next visionary demonstrates.

Juan de Rupescissa

Although born in southern France, Juan de Rupescissa's (c. 1310—1366) texts circulated widely on the Iberian Peninsula. In 1332 he joined the Franciscan Order and

later began to study at the University of Toulouse. He was imprisoned in Avignon, France in 1344 for his questionable apocalyptic views. In his defense, Rupescissa composed the *Liber Secretorum Eventuum* in 1349. Despite not being declared a heretic, but rather *fantasticus*, he was left in prison, but allowed to continue writing.

Rupescissa's prophetic vision was communicated succinctly in *Vade mecum in tribulatione* written in 1356. It quickly became his most popular work and was translated from Latin into English, French, Catalan, Italian, German, Czech and Spanish. Three Spanish manuscripts survive, all from the early fifteenth century. The following summary is based on MS 1877 of the University of Salamanca:⁹ In nineteen chapters Rupescissa predicts that the whole world will be converted to the Holy Catholic faith, the corrupt clergy will be humbled, lose their worldly possessions, and return to apostolic poverty. Despite the persecutions of the Antichrist, Jesus Christ will not allow the *nave de Sant Pedro* to be completely destroyed. An Angelic Pope and Emperor will rescue the faithful, the Church will be restored, and the faithful will reign during the literal thousand-year Millennium. In his study of *Liber Secretorum*, Lerner explains that the interpretation of the millennium as a literal, thousand-year period was "the single most original and ideahistorically significant aspect of [Rupescissa's] prophetic system. . ." (70).

After Rupescissa's death, he gained fame for his ability to foresee the approaching schism, which he explains in the seventh *intellectus* (understanding): "in revelatione adventus unius falsi pape et casus malorum ecclesiasticorum a fide et ab

⁹ An easily accessible Latin version of *Vade mecum in tribulatione* can be found in *Appendix Fasciculum Rerum Expetendarum & Fugiendarum* (Rupescissa 496—508).

obedientia veri pape (Lerner, *Liber Secretorum* 147). The history of this monumental and influential event for apocalyptic thought forms the focus for the following section.

The Great Western Schism (1378—1429)

Due to increasing French influence, politically and in the Church, the papacy had moved to Avignon in 1309 under Clement V (1305—1314). Five more popes reigned until Gregory XI (1370—78) decided to return the papacy to Rome, thus ending what some referred to as the Babylonian Captivity.¹⁰ The Church's troubles, however, had just begun. Gregory XI arrived to Rome in January of 1378, but died just two months later. The cardinals unanimously chose Bartolomeo Prignano in the election that followed, who took the name Urban VI (1378—89). However, several weeks later a number of cardinals—referring to violence by the Roman mobs during the election—complained that they had been coerced into choosing an Italian pope. Therefore, they argued, Urban VI's election was invalid. Several cardinals left Rome for Anagni and there elected Robert of Geneva, a relative to French king Charles, as Clement VII (1378—94). Joëlle Rollo-Koster has shown that, due to various preparatory acts, the cardinals actually expected a certain amount of customary pillaging and violence during the election, and the true motives for trying to remove Urban VI lay elsewhere (56). Stephan Weiß examines the financial and political issues that lead the cardinals to reconsider their original decision to elect Urban VI:

¹⁰ Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski examines the influence of three visionaries—Pedro de Aragón, Birgitta of Sweden, and Catherine of Siena—on the Papacy's return to Rome. (31—59).

The goal that [the Papacy] sought for decades, namely the return to Rome, had finally become a reality, but the curia had paid a high price for it. Not only were there gaping holes in the papal coffers but also the appearance and legitimacy of the papacy had been severely damaged. . . . The curia had to reconstitute itself in strange surroundings and had to maintain infrastructure or erect it anew; it had to keep under control a population always inclined to revolt; it had to come to terms with the nobility of the city of Rome; it had to consolidate its precarious lordship over the Papal States; and it had to bring lasting peace to Italy—and these were all endeavors that cost not only effort but also a great deal of money. This necessitated radical cuts in expenditures on the papal household and at the very least suggested the thought that the cardinals should render a contribution commensurate with their wealth. . . . This was the critical point at which the curia and the cardinals refused to follow the pope. (85)

Urban's erratic and sometimes violent behavior clearly exacerbated the situation. Some accused him of going insane and he was even prone to violence (Rollo-Koster 59). Urban VI refused to give up the papacy and, over the following months, most European powers decided to support one or the other pope, usually based on previously existing alliances. Germany and England supported Urban VI as well as most of northern Italy. The Iberian kingdoms stayed neutral until 1381 when they declared support for Clement. Portugal was an exception and declared support for Urban VI. Within the next few years, Clement VII had firmly established his papacy at Avignon and Urban VI at Rome. Many of these original alliances changed during the decades-long schism, and, as a result, it was not uncommon for clergy from both allegiances to be present in the same area.

When Urban VI died in October 1389, Pietro Tomacelli was elected as Boniface IX (1389—1404), thus, perpetuating the schism. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski explains that three possible solutions to the conflict developed at the University of Paris in the following years: “the *via facti*, or armed conflict; the *via cessionis*, the abdication of both popes; and the *via concilii*, the summoning of a General Council” (8). The *via facti* proved unlikely because of the relatively equal nature of each pope’s political support. The *via cessionis* also made little progress because neither pope showed willingness to give up the power and wealth inherent as leader of the Latin Church. After the death of Clement VIII in 1394, Spanish cardinal Pedro de Luna was elected as Benedict XIII (1394—1423). He would remain a dominant and influential figure throughout the remainder of the Schism. Boniface IX was succeeded by Innocent VII (1404—1406) and then Gregory XII (1406—1415). With the continued unlikelihood of a resolution by *via facti* or *via cessionis*, cardinals from both popes met in Pisa from March to August 1409, which resulted in the deposition of both popes and the election of Alexander V, who died the following year and was succeeded by John XXIII (1410—1415). Because neither of the deposed popes recognized the Council of Pisa, Europe now had three popes, which Saint Vincent Ferrer (1350—1419) referred to in a sermon preached in Toledo in 1411: “tenemos despedaçado el Papa, que es fijo de Ihesú Christo, e ya la tenemos cortado e espedaçado, que son tres, e ayna avremos quatro, segund fazemos” (Cátedra 302). The German emperor Sigismund (1410—1437) convened a council at Constance in 1414, which deposed popes John XXIII and Gregory XII with their acquiescence in 1415, and then elected Martin V in 1417. The Council also deposed Benedict XIII; however, he refused to accept their decision and held firm to his belief that he was the true pope until

his death in 1423. His successor, Clement VIII continued to rule from Peñíscola—often with support from the crown of Aragon—until July of 1429 (Álvarez Palenzuela, *Extinción* 110).

The Schism Continues in Peñíscola

Most historians and scholars of apocalyptic literature place the end of the Great Western Schism in 1417 after the election of Martin V at the Council of Constance. A quick glance at literature dealing with the Schism demonstrates the dominant view that Pope Benedict XIII's continued resistance from Peñíscola merits little attention. For example, Thomas A. Izbicki summarizes the situation in just two sentences: “[the] Great Schism cast a long shadow. Martin V (1417—1431) reigned with an eye on the dwindling number of Benedict XIII's supporters” (443). Even Luis Suárez Fernández's recent study on Benedict XIII laments the supposed silence that emanated from Peñíscola: “Nunca sabremos la verdad, como tampoco cómo fue la vida de don Pedro de Luna desde este verano de 1418. Son años de silencio. Completo silencio por mucho que los disguste a los historiadores” [sic] (*Benedict XIII* 307). Most studies of apocalyptic literature during the Schism also end their studies at the 1417. Although Blumenfeld-Kosinski's *Poets, Saints and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417* provides an insightful look into how a variety of unofficial voices viewed this traumatic event, she also dismisses Benedict's importance: “While Benedict still believed himself to be pope, hardly anyone else did at that point” (203). Even the contemporary poet Gonçalo Martines Medina (d. 1434) seems to concur with these views in his *dezir*, which explains the fleeting nature of this world and power:

. . . é el Benedito, que en tal alto estado

era por España por santo tenido,
vealo agora do está ascondido
dentro en Peniscola desaveturado,
ereje, çismático é descomulgado,
é todos los suyos d'él se ha(n) partido. (508)

The following examination of the papal bulls, letters and apocalyptic literature produced during the period from 1418 to 1423 challenges both the historical and literary scholarship which conclude studies of the Schism following Martin V's election. It also questions the view that Benedict remained silent. In fact, this discussion demonstrates that by ending the study of apocalyptic literature of the Schism prior to Benedict's death, scholars have missed an excellent opportunity to examine radical changes in apocalyptic thought which developed among his supporters in an atmosphere of intense persecution.

Although true that Christendom, for the most part, had chosen Pope Martin V, Suárez Fernández does acknowledge that “la lucha contra [los] partidarios de don Pedro de Luna . . . fue larga y más compleja de lo que las apariencias nos dictan” (*Castilla* 102). The following pages reexamine this struggle and the way in which the persecutions suffered by Benedict and his followers created a context in which apocalyptic literature was both reinterpreted and created.

In January of 1416, the Iberian kingdoms of Aragon, Castile and Navarra withdrew their obedience.¹¹ The following year, on July 26, 1417, the Council of Constance declared Benedict a schismatic and heretic. Although this pressure had no

¹¹ Although Alfonso V eventually restored obedience to Benedict's successor Clement VIII (1423—1429), this purely political move related only to growing tensions between Castile and Aragon.

effect on the Spanish pope's steadfastness, some of his cardinals decided to pledge allegiance to Martin V. On January 5, 1418 Benedict excommunicated four of them for "maquinación, rebelión y desobediencia al papa" (Cuella Esteban 409). This was but a foreshadowing of the Papa Luna's growing troubles. The same year Martin V sent Alamano Adimaro, Archbishop of Pisa and Cardinal of St. Eusibuis, as papal legate in an attempt to secure Benedict's abdication. After months of setbacks and delays, Adimaro reportedly decided to poison Benedict, as Sebastián Puig y Puig explains:

En efecto, uno de los días de julio [1418], Benedicto XIII después de comer retiróse, según su costumbre, a su cámara para dormir la siesta. . . . despertó el Papa con violento dolor en todo el cuerpo, temblando y vomitando de continuo hasta llegar a creer el médico que le asistía que iba a morir. Benedicto, no obstante, después de nueve o diez días, se restableció, sin que se diera de momento importancia al accidente. Sin duda hubiera quedado su causa en el misterio, si avisado después el mismo Papa por una carta del presunto autor del envenenamiento, que no era otro que uno de sus más favorecidos camareros, micer Domingo Dalava y . . . fray Paladio Calvet . . . habían propinado al Papa Benedicto XIII con los dulces que solía tomar como postre en la comida un tósigo que el último había recibido del Legado. (348)

For Benedict's followers, this recovery confirmed divine approval of their belief that he was the true pope. In October of 1418, the Archbishop of Crete wrote a letter to Archbishop Climent regarding Benedict's poisoning, which demonstrates this perception:

Quis non plene pater et aperte precipiat dominus noster papa Benedictus primo nomine Petrum, Petri imitatione permissione divina dum illum Altissimus pari

temporis secum spacio Annorum quinque videlicet et viginti in sui succesione papatus quodammodo supernaturam conservat in vita, donec misterium ecclesie persecutionis ad instar Apostolorum consummetur? (Puig y Puig 593— 94)

On November 13, 1418, Benedict XIII issued the papal bull, *Acerbis infesta*, which he directed to the Consejo de Ciento de Barcelona, his followers in Zaragoza, Valencia and Perpiñán (Puig y Puig 556). In addition to demonstrating that Benedict still had followers in these cities, this papal bull provides insight into how he himself interpreted his poisoning and provides a suggestion of his own apocalyptic beliefs:

Ecce quibus hominibus ecclesiam Dei committere satagunt, et per quas manus offeranda disponitur pro salute populi christiani hostia salutaris, per quas letale venenum ipsius vicario in poculum ministrarunt et qualiter misericordiam a Deo sperabitis, remissionem peccatorum, et per talium pontificum oraciones posse salvari. Iuste igitur adversus tales clamat Altissimus per prophetam: ve vobis sacerdotibus, qui comeditis peccata populi mei. Sacrificium non accipiam de manibus vestris, quia non est sacrificium sed abhominacio quod offertis. Que cum ita sint, nil aliud nobis restat, nisi flere perditas animas, durissimosque casus christianitatis, in quos suadente humani generis hoste, hec extrema secula devenerunt.¹² (Puig y Puig 356—57)

¹² I wish to thank Professor Rachele Duke of the University of New Mexico who provided the following translation of this Latin text:
Here is the kind of men to whom they try to entrust God's church and through whose hands the salvific host is ordered to be offered for the health of the Christian people, (the hands) through which they administered a lethal poison into the cup the vicar of (God) himself, just as you shall hope for God's mercy, for the remission of sins, so that through prayers of such men may the Pontiff be saved. For justly does the Most High (Lord) cry

We first see that Benedict interprets his poisoning in light of a prophecy about priests eating the sins of their people, thus, making himself a martyr-like figure for his followers. He then uses the phrase “hec extrema secula devenerunt” (these ages became the end of the world), which almost certainly suggests a belief that he was living in the last days.

Benedict’s interest in apocalyptic ideas can be traced back six years earlier to a letter written by Saint Vincent Ferrer to the pope on July 27, 1412, apparently in response to the latter’s inquiry into what Ferrer was preaching and when the Antichrist might arrive. Ferrer—born in Benedict’s native Valencia—had maintained close contact with Pedro de Luna throughout the Schism, even living at the papal palace in Avignon. In 1398, however, Ferrer experienced a vision that radically changed the course of his life. While extremely sick, he saw in his vision Saint Francis and Saint Dominic, who charged him to preach “ante adventum Antichristi ad conversionem, & correctionem hominum, misericorditer expectaret” (Vidal y Micó 488). Ferrer then woke up completely healed. He soon left Avignon and began to preach across Europe regarding the coming of the Antichrist.¹³ During the years 1411 and 1412 he preached in the towns and villages of

out against such men through the prophet: *Woe to you, priests, who feast on the sins of my people. I shall not accept the sacrifice from your hands, because it is not a sacrifice that you offer, but an abomination.* Things being as they are, nothing else is left to us to do, except to weep for the corrupt souls, for the harsh misfortunes of Christianity, through which, by the urging of the enemy of humankind, these ages became the end of the world. (personal correspondence)

¹³ Ferrer’s preserved sermons are filled with references to the coming Antichrist and calls for repentance. An edition of many of these has been collected and published by Pedro Cátedra in “La predicción castellana de san Vicente Ferrer” (235—309).

Castile, and the letter to Benedict constitutes a summary of his views regarding the Antichrist, which establish the following four conclusions:

- I. The time of the Antichrist and the end of the world will coincide chronologically.
- II. Before the birth of the Antichrist, the time of his coming will be hidden from men.
- III. Almost 100 years have passed since the Antichrist should have come, but the actions of Saint Dominic and Saint Francis delayed his coming.
- IV. The time of the Antichrist will come very soon. (Vidal y Micó 483—90)

An examination of Benedict's papal library also indicates a possible interest in apocalyptic literature. Blumenfeld-Kosinski mentions a copy of Rupescissa's *Liber secretorum* in a collection of documents left to Benedict XIII by Cardinal Martin de Zalba (184). As well, an inventory of Benedict's papal library from Avignon shows numerous books by Joachim, Cyril and others.¹⁴

The papal bull mentioned above shows that Benedict maintained followers in several cities in Aragón. Suárez Fernández explains that there also existed a nucleus of followers in Castile, and especially in Burgos:

La elección de Martin V (11 de noviembre de 1417) estaba muy lejos de ser la solución definitiva de los muchos y graves problemas que el prolongado Cisma de

¹⁴ This inventory was made in 1407, and the following constitutes just a sample of this apocalyptic literature:

Item libri Ioachim de concordia novi et veteris testamenti.

Item espistola Cirili presbiteri ad abbatem Ioachim.

Item Ioachim de similitudinibus scripturarum super Apochalipsim. . . . (Romeo 148)

Occidente había venido a despertar. Ni siquiera se había alcanzado el objetivo primordial de barrer a los partidarios de don Pedro de Luna que alentaban en diversas regiones de España, de una manera particular en Burgos.¹⁵ (*Castilla* 101)

In addition to violence directed toward the pope himself, the month after Benedict's poisoning witnessed the first signs of violence toward his followers in many areas of Iberia and France, as the summary of the following papal bull from August 27 demonstrates:

Benedicto XIII, puesto que muchos prelados, especialmente en los reinos de Francia, Castilla, Aragón y Navarra, por medio de personas privadas, aunque pocas en número, pertuban y molestan con violencia y miedo a los fieles que siguen al papa, exhorta a todos los fieles cristianos a no secundar la astucia de tales personas, antes bien, con ánimo fuerte y elevado por ellas preces al Redentor, a perseverar en la fe pura de la Iglesia Católica. (Cuella Esteban 412)

Suárez Fernández's comment mentioned previously on Benedict's silence following his isolation in Peñíscola may not be completely accurate, but there is a substantial decrease in the number of papal bulls he issued from 1418 until his death. Despite the scarce documentation in the following years, several papal bulls from Martin V indicate the continued presence of Benedict's followers:

¹⁵ Suárez Fernández supports this statement with the following quote from C. Baronio's study: *Annales Ecclesiastici*. Vols XXVI a XXVIII. Paris—Friburgo, 1887: Nec deerant in reliqua Hispania qui pseudopontificis pertinaciam tribuentes constancia de Concilii Oecumenici decretorum auctoritate detraherent: inter quos nonuli pseudomonachi Burgensis, blandis sed impiis susurris Christi fideles subornare nitebantur; quos Pontifex ab episcopo Burgensi meritis poenis compesci iussit. (*Castilla* 101)

December 20, 1419—Martin V writes to the Bishop of Burgos “haciendo un examen de la situación y encomendándole tomase medidas para castigar a los rebeldes” (Suárez Fernández, *Castilla* 309—10).

December 8, 1422—Martin V charges the archbishop of Toledo and the bishop of Calahorra to investigate and persecute “a los rebeldes, destituyéndoles de sus beneficios, incapacitándoles para testar, invalidándoles en justicia y pronunciando el entredicho, si algunas ciudades se resistían” (Suárez Fernández, *Castilla* 315—19).

July 6, 1423—Martin V exhorts the bishop of Barcelona to “perseguir a los idólatros de Peñíscola” (Puig y Puig 613).

The reaction of Juan Carrer, one of Benedict’s supporters, demonstrates one reaction to these persecutions. On August 28, 1421, Martin V sent a papal bull to Francisco Climent in Barcelona, which charges him with the task of persecuting two of Benedict’s supporters. Vicente Álvarez Palenzuela explains that shortly after this bull was sent, Carrer “se hallaba refugiado en el castillo de Turène” (66—7).

The above discussion contests the view that the Great Western Schism ended with the Council of Constance and the Election of Martin V as pope. Although some scholars have focused on events in Spain related to Benedict’s continued resistance from Peñíscola, no studies have examined the developments in apocalyptic thought among Benedict and his followers in the context of the persecutions suffered after 1418. The following section begins to address this deficiency.

Apocalyptic Literature of the Great Western Schism

Apocalyptic literature often demonstrates a strong political or national component, and the Schism period witnessed an increase in this type of prophecy. Two popular texts demonstrate these characteristics on a pan-European scale: the anonymous *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*, or “Prophecies of the Last Popes,” and Telesphorus of Cosenza’s *Libellus*. After an examination of these texts, this section turns to apocalyptic literature written after 1418, which illuminate the rapidly evolving eschatology among the followers of Benedict XIII.

Vaticinia de summis pontificibus

Blumenfeld-Kosinski provides a detailed examination of the *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*, which exist in almost one hundred copies (166—7). This collection of prophecies originate from two different prophetic collections: The first, *Genus nequam* was created between 1280 and 1305; while the *Ascende calve* prophecies date to 1328-1330. These two prophecies, she continues, were joined between the Council of Pisa in 1409 and the Council of Constance, which started in 1414 (Blumenfeld-Kosinski 167). The political nature of these prophecies can be seen in that most of them depict Urban VI as the dragon of the fifteenth prophecy. However, Blumenfeld-Kosinski explains that at least once they depict Clement VII as the dragon (174).

Telesphorus of Cosenza: *Libellus*

Telesphorus of Cosenza, the Calabrian hermit, wrote the *Libellus*, which also experienced great popularity during the Schism and was sometimes included in the *Vaticinia* mentioned above. The context for Telesphorus’s writing concerns a vision

granted him in 1386 in which an angel charged him to seek out the books and writings of prophets such as Joachim and Cyril in order to find out the identity of the true pope, how long the Schism would endure, and future tribulations (McGinn 249). The following summarizes the hermit's apocalyptic vision, which shares similarities with other texts studied later:

Telesphorus thought that the Mystical Antichrist had been born in 1365 in the person of a coming Emperor Frederick III, who would be associated with a False Pope of German origin. . . . The forces of good would be led by the French king, fittingly named Charles, who would help the True Pope, the *pastor angelicus*, to defeat Frederick and the False Pope. The Angelic Pope would then crown Charles emperor, ending German claims over the empire. The two messiah figures would also do battle against the Great Antichrist, who was set to appear in 1378, and who would lead the Church into schism. They would defeat him and end the schism and would then reform the Church before setting out on crusade to conquer the Holy Land. The messianic breathing space (which was to include four Angelic Popes in all) was to end in 1433 with the advent of the Final Antichrist, or Gog, at which time the Last Emperor Charles would lay down his crown at the Holy Sepulcher. Another earthly time of peace, however, the coming seventh age, would follow the defeat of the Final Antichrist. (McGinn 247)

Several aspects of Telesphorus's ideas stand out. First, the legend of the Last World Emperor—first seen in the *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius*¹⁶—plays an important role

¹⁶ Sebastian Brock provides a brief study and translation of this text in *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (222—42).

in this scenario. However, not just any emperor will do, and Telesphorus obviously supported the French. McGinn explains that Telesphorus wrote his tract in response to German versions of the Last World Emperor which prophesied the return of Frederick III (248).

Iberian Apocalyptic Literature during the Great Western Schism

Three authors contributed substantially to the development of apocalyptic thought during the Schism period in Iberia: Juan de Rupescissa, Saint Vincent Ferrer and Francesc Eiximenis. Having examined the broad apocalyptic views of the first two visionaries, this section studies briefly their specific influence in Iberia before turning to the final author of this study.

Juan de Rupescissa: *Vade mecum in tribulatione*

Although Juan de Rupescissa was born in France, his texts heavily influenced apocalyptic thought on the Iberian Peninsula. As mentioned above, he died prior to the outbreak of the Schism, but his accurate prophecy of the *discessio* increased his fame as a prophet and visionary. Three manuscripts of Rupescissa's *Vade mecum* exist in Spanish, one of which possibly circulated during the time of the Schism:¹⁷ MS 9-2176 from the Real Academia de la Historia. Rupescissa's apocalyptic scenario heavily influenced

¹⁷ The following manuscripts of *Vade mecum in tribulatione* exist in Spanish. Although Rupescissa's Latin version prophesied events to occur between 1360 and 1365, these manuscripts, undoubtedly written later, had changed the dates to between 1460 and 1465. MS 18: Biblioteca Capitulada de la Catedral de Oviedo
MS 1877: Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca
MS 9-2176: Real Academia de la Historia
José Guadalajara discusses the redaction of MS 9-2176 to in *Las profecías del Anticristo en la Edad Media* (357—63).

Telesphorus: both include an Angelic Pope and Holy Emperor, and both supported a positive French role in their apocalyptic visions.

Saint Vicent Ferrer

As mentioned above, Saint Vincent Ferrer preached in Castile during 1411 and 1412. Extant accounts demonstrate that many people gathered to hear him.¹⁸ In addition to the letter written to Benedict XIII in 1412 also discussed above, Ferrer similarly presented his apocalyptic ideas in a sermon regarding Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a statue from the second chapter of Daniel. This sermon is preserved in Martín Martínez de Ampiés's *Libro del Anticristo* published in 1496. Martínez's work compiles four different texts: A traditional *vita* of the Antichrist based on the tenth-century author Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo*; a version of the legend of the Fifteen Signs; a letter from Rabbi Samuel; and this sermon by Saint Vincent.

Ferrer applies a historical interpretation of the statue in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, which shares similarities to the historical interpretations of the seven seals. Various parts of the statue are identified with specific historical periods. For example, Ferrer observes that the statue's belly and thighs of bronze represent the time of Mohammad, Saint Francis and Dominic (Martínez 188). After this vision he explains that there will be two Antichrists:

¹⁸ Pedro Cátedra explains in his introduction: “Se agolpaban casi encima del famoso predicador tantas gentes, que daban mucho que hacer a los responsables de la ciudad ‘en defender que los omes e mugeres no llegasen a él a le besar las manos e ropas’” (238—39).

el uno ha de ser mixto y verná primero, y el otro después que sera puro. El mixto venirá debaxo la specie de sanctidad, el qual ha de tener la vida cristiana por parte de fuera, y en su coraçón será raygado el espíritu maligno. . . . no digo yo que será pappá [sic], empero ydolo levantado contra el papa verdadero; ésta será la quarta bestia que salirá del mar, y quando vierdes todo lo dicho, moriendo este mixto, vendrá el Anticristo puro y perverso . . . (195)

Ferrer here references the Schism by explaining that the *Anticristo mixto* will claim to be pope against the true Pope, whom Ferrer believed to be Benedict XIII. Regarding the *Anticristo puro*, he later explains that this figure will be a prince. The reference to electors placing him in this position alludes to his German origin (197).

Francesc Eiximenis: *Vida de Jesucrist*

David Guixeras called Francesc Eiximenis (1330—1409) "one of the most widely read, most translated and most influential Catalan authors of the late Middle Ages and well into the 16th century" (21). Despite Eiximenis's influence on his contemporaries, Robert Lerner indicates that in modern studies "a sustained analysis of Eiximenis's eschatological thought is needed" ("The Medieval Return" 69). Part of the reason for the lack of attention to his work might be that Eiximenis has been viewed as a compiler of tradition, rather than an originator. Guixeras has reported that "Jorge Luis Borges used to say that the greatest virtue of anthologies lies in what they leave out" (7). As a compiler of tradition, what Eiximenis included in his works must also be of great virtue, for they indicate and disseminate the ideas important to the compiler.

Eiximenis was born to a wealthy burgher family in Gerona and entered the Franciscan Order at a young age. With financial support from the king of Aragón, he graduated with a Masters in Theology from the University of Toulouse in 1374. He then lived in Valencia, where he also dedicated himself to writing and preaching. During the Schism, Eiximenis supported Pope Benedict XIII, whom he had known since the latter's time in Valencia as a cardinal.¹⁹ Shortly before his death in 1409, Benedict XIII conferred on him the title Patriarch of Jerusalem.

Eiximenis wrote prolifically on many religious topics, usually in his native Catalan: four volumes of his planned thirteen-volume encyclopedic work on the Christian dogma, *Lo Crestià*, were penned between 1380 and 1384. He apparently never finished the other volumes. *Llibre dels àngels* was written in 1392. *Vida de Jesucrist* was written between 1397 and 1404 and dedicated to Pere d'Artés, an influential Valencian political figure.²⁰ This book quickly became Eiximenis's most popular and was translated into Spanish and French.²¹ This encyclopedic work presents a compilation of medieval thought—heavily influenced by Franciscan thinkers—regarding Jesus's life.²² *Vida de*

¹⁹ Pou i Martí studies the history of Eiximenis's views of the Schism in *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticellos catalanes*. Although during the reign of Pedro IV of Aragón (d. 1387), Eiximenis remained neutral on the question of the Schism. During the reign of Juan I (d. 1396) and after, evidence demonstrates that Eiximenis staunchly supported Benedict XIII. The only exception to this view concerns an enigmatic reference of support for the Roman Papacy in *De triplici statu mundi*. Pou i Martí offers two possible solutions to explain this apparent contradiction (402—6).

²⁰ Title variants include *Vita Christi* and *Vida de Jesucristo*.

²¹ Puig i Oliver et al. recently published the two volume *Catalèg dels manuscrits de les obres de Francesc Eiximenis, OFM, conservats en biblioteques públiques*, in which they describe over two-hundred extant manuscripts. See chapter 3 of this study for a description of the extant manuscripts and incunabula which contain the apocalyptic sections of *Vida de Jesucrist*.

²² Pou y Martí explains that *Arbor vitae crucifixae* by Ubertino de Casale (1259—1329) shares similarities with *Vida de Jesucrist* (408). Ubertino was a disciple of Peter Olivi

Jesucrist also contains the most comprehensive and developed account of Eiximenis's apocalyptic views, which appears in two sections.

The first apocalyptic section appears as in Book VI where Eiximenis describes Jesus sending out the seventy-two disciples to preach. Jesus commanded these disciples not to take with them any sack, and Eiximenis clarifies the meaning of the passage demonstrating clear influence from the *fraticelli*: “conviene a saber bolsa para levar dinero ni fardel para levar pan o otra vianda. Ca mucho es honrrada la predicación quando el predicador no para mientes a allegar dineros o a ser conbidado” (174r).²³ The following chapter explains how Jesus then taught these disciples the Beatitudes, which Eiximenis calls *virtudes*. Here he continues his emphasis on poverty and begins to attack the motives of corrupt preachers “por alcançar honrra e fama e loor temporal” (fol. 175r). Referring to the *Compendio de teología* by Alanus and prophecies by Saint Methodius,²⁴ he states that those who grant such dishonorable men license to preach will be the cause of a “muy grand caída enel trezeno e en el quatorzeno centenario. . . . E que aquesta caída seria señal dela venida del Antichristo (fol. 175v). The following chapter lists the signs which will accompany this moral decay:

and believed the “role of the mystical Antichrist had been played by the two most recent popes, Boniface VIII and Benedict XI” (Lerner, *Liber Secretorum* 47—8).

²³ The citations for this first apocalyptic section of *Vida de Jesucrist* come from INC 1126 of the Biblioteca Nacional.

²⁴ The reference to Alanus likely refers to Alain of Lille (d. 1202/1203). Although no records exist for a *Compendio de teología* or similar title, he did pen *Ars praedicandi* at the turn of the 12th century. The attribution of these prophecies to Alanus in *Vida de Jesucrist*—with their emphasis on themes related to the Spiritual Franciscans—must be spurious; however, Eiximenis likely cited accurately from a text in his possession. Jorge J. E. Gracia has studied a selection of Eiximenis's use of sources from *Terç del Crestià* and concludes the following: “Eiximenis often provided bibliographical details when citing from a source. . . . he is almost never mistaken in the name of authors, and only occasionally in titles and book and chapter numbers” (179).

1. That the world will abound in the sin of inequality and falsehood.
2. That on account of the sins of the people of God, he will send them terrible leaders.
3. The ecclesiastical authorities will be worse than ever.
 - a. The laity will not want hear sermons nor see the clergy.
4. That every temporal and spiritual position will come to nothing.
 - a. Ignorant young men will desire to become teachers, theologians and doctors in law.
 - b. The position of knight will be given to foolish youth who know nothing of arms.
 - c. The priesthood will not be denied to anyone who wants to enter.
 - i. Young, sinful and ignorant men will desire to preach on account of the benefits this brings. (fol. 175v—176r)

Whereas this first apocalyptic text constitutes more of a digression from Eiximenis’s study of the Beatitudes, Book X of *Vida de Jesucrist* lays out his full apocalyptic vision, which I summarize from MS 18772 of the Biblioteca Nacional. Eiximenis’s understanding of the seven seals reflects the historical interpretation worked out by Joachim and Olivi. The opening of the sixth seal began with the ministries of Saint Francis and Saint Dominic.²⁵ Citing Gervasio as his source, the sixth seal, Eiximenis explains, will be a time of decay in the Church, indicated by its carnal and worldly

²⁵ Although MS 18772 states “la abertura deste seteno sello fue fecha quando Sant Françisco y Santo Domingo vinieron apedricar al mundo” (fol. 220r), this must be an error. The whole chapter is dedicated to the sixth seal. Manuscripts 795 of the Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Palma de Mallorca and 4187 of the Biblioteca Nacional correctly indicate that this happened at the opening of the sixth seal.

nature. Secular leaders will also be worn out and the people will be malicious. On account of these sins, the Lord will send “muchas llagas sobre la tierra. Conviene saber: fanbre, guerra, çismas, divisiones, mortandades, terremotos, langostas e gusandos e maliçias de diversas maneras” (fol 219v). Eiximenis expounds on one specific schism at the end of the sixth seal: “E durando la çisma diz que se levantará un mal prinçipe que con ayuda de otros sosterná un mal papa e lo defenderá e farán amos a dos males sin cuenta a los quales consejarán muchos eclesiásticos e rreligiosos malvados” (fol. 219v). The persecution that follows these plagues and persecutions will force the faithful into hiding for three and a half years—resulting in their purification. After this time, a saintly pope (rreparador dela santa iglesia) and a saintly emperor will join forces and conquer Jerusalem. This angelic pope will remain in his position until the end of the world. Regarding the evil pope and emperor mentioned previously, they will suffer a “miserable muerte” (fol. 220r). Following this, the Lord will send a great pestilence against the clergy, which will aid the angelic pope and emperor in their mission to cleanse the Church. Eiximenis explains at the end of this chapter that many others have discussed these events, including Joachim, Cirillo and Juan de Rroca Çisa (Juan de Rupescissa). This scenario follows closely that put forth by Rupescissa and Telesphorus. The main difference is that Eiximenis’s scheme lacks the blatant nationalistic tendencies of his predecessors.

The following chapter of *Vida de Jesucrist* discusses the opening of the seventh seal, at which time the earth will be:

en muy alta e buena disposiçión por grant tienpo. E entonçes dize que regnaré el espíritu dela contemplación muy mucho en los buenos omnes e çesará la avariçia

e la soberbia e la inmundança por grant tienpo e beuirá el mundo muy sabia mente e en temor de Dios e dende comun mente ha de caer fasta la fin del mundo. Entonçes verná el Antecristo. . . . (fol. 220r—220v)

Although he does not specify here the length of this earthly rest, elsewhere Eiximenis explains that he believes, as did Rupescissa, in a literal Millennium:

dien que aquí haurá novell papa e novell emperador. E seran en dos de linatge dels juheus convertits ala fe. E dien que nostre senyor Déus convertirá dins lo dit temps los juheus del món ala fe e totos los altres infeels, e será lavors verificada la paraula prophética del salvador que dix Johanis X: Fiet unum ouile et unus pastor. . . . ço es un papa al qual toto lo món obeyrá illuminat per la fe de Jesucrist. Dien encara que per .M. anys següents durará lo món après que açò será fet. . . .” (*Dotze del Crèstia* Chapter 466)

Toward the end of the Millennium the final Antichrist will come, against whom the two prophets of the *Apocalypse*, Enoch and Elijah, will fight. This Antichrist, born in Babylon as the offspring of an incestuous relationship, will deceive many into believing that he is the true Son of God through his miraculous signs and wonders.²⁶ After killing these prophets, he will try to ascend to heaven as did Jesus:

Y el dia así señalado ordenará por arte e ayuda delos diablos que sea alçado del lugar donde nuestro Señor subió a los çielos suso en el aire contra el çielo así como

²⁶ From this point forward, Eiximenis seems to follow the more traditional view of the Antichrist put forth by the tenth-century abbot Adso of Montier-en-der in his *Libellus de Antichristo*. Many centuries later, Martín Martínez de Ampíes published *Libro del Anticristo declaración . . . del sermón de San Vicente (1496)*, which also follows Adso’s tradition and includes many woodcut illustrations.

fizo Jesucristo. Y como fuere, assí algunt tanto en alto henderlo ha Sant Migel por medio con verga de rrelanpago, y aquel cuerpo suzio e medio quemado caerá partido en dos partes en cuerpo e en ánima será lançado enel infierno. (225r)

After this heroic defeat of the Great Antichrist, Eiximenis follows Pseudo-Methodius's *Revelations* in stating that the holy emperor will go to Golgotha and lay down his crown (Brock 249). After including a version of the Legend of the Fifteen Signs, Eiximenis explains that Jesus will return to judge the world.

Although Eiximenis made no specific predictions regarding when the Antichrist *mixto* and *puro* might come, these two apocalyptic sections from *Vida de Jesucrist* provided prophetic material in which later readers found comfort and supported more daring predictions.²⁷ Two manuscripts written by followers of Benedict XIII demonstrate Eiximenis's influence during the period immediately following the Council of Constance: MS 9-2176 from the Real Academia de la Historia MS 940 from the Trivulziana Library. After describing each manuscript and outlining its structure and apocalyptic thought, this section then analyzes how these texts illuminate our knowledge of the apocalyptic understandings of Benedict XIII's followers—and perhaps even the pope himself—following the Council Constance.

²⁷ Although outside the bounds of this study, the enduring influence of Eiximenis's texts can be seen in an anthology of prophecies which circulated during the Guerra de las Comunidades de Castilla (1520—1522). This collection includes a section of the opening of the sixth seal from Book X of *Vida de Jesucrist* (Alba 200—203).

MS 9-2176 Real Academia de la Historia

This fifteenth-century text contains two prophetic writings: The first is a Spanish version of Rupescissa's *Vade mecum in tribulatione* mentioned above. A collection of various prophecies which José Guadalajara has titled *Libro del conocimiento del fin del mundo* (*LC*) follows Rupescissa's work. Guadalajara has rightly concluded that the anonymous author was "muy próximo a los círculos del papa Benedicto XIII" (*El anticristo* 142). Isaac Vázquez Janeiro also describes this text, which he titles FMVA (*Fin del mundo y la venida del Anticristo*). His valient attempt to ascribe the *LC*'s creation to Diego Moxena based on a study of Moxena's relationship with Benedict, although possible, underestimates the number of Benedict's supporters that continued to resist in various cities in Spain in the early 1420's.

Although any number of these supporters might have written this text, both Vázquez and Guadalajara date *LC*'s original composition to 1420, which abundant internal evidence supports.²⁸ Guadalajara correctly recognizes that this second text is not Rupescissa's composition as some have thought (367). He provides a complete transcription of *LC* in *Las profecías del Anticristo en la Edad Media*, on which the following overview is based.

²⁸ The author's discussion of the sixth age of the Church states: "avéis de saber que en esta VI hedad, en la qual deve finir el mundo, ya son passados MCCCCXX annos" (Guadalajara, *Las profecías* 444). The author also placed Benedict at Peñíscola, and addressed him directly, which provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1423. Vázquez has shown that the gothic script used in the extant manuscript places it in the early sixteenth century (529).

The anonymous author primarily provides various proofs that the end of the world is at hand and the Antichrist's arrival is imminent. He first explains how world history can be divided into six thousand years and three different ages: “naturalmente parece que durará el mundo VI M annos: los II M de ley de natura, e II M de ley d’Escritura, e II M de ley de gracia. Empero, no devéis entender que cada ley haya de durar II M annos, que estos sería falço. . . (443). The writer then turns to another division of world history which includes an explanation of the seven *tempus* of the Church. This exhibits some similarities with the ideas of Bonaventure and Olivi discussed previously:

E esta VI hedad es parada en VII estamentos de la Iglesia o en VII tienpos: el primero fue de los apóstoles e discípulos de Jhesuchristo. El II tienpo fue de los mártires. El III fue de los doctores de la Iglesia. El IIII tienpo fue de los santos ermitannos. El V tienpo fue de los santos caustales que rrenunciaron el mundo. El VI tienpo fue de sant Francisco e de santo Domingo quando fundaron sus hórdenes, el qual tienpo finará brevemente. (444)

Of note, the author identifies the sixth *tienpo* with the founding of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders. After giving twenty-two examples of how the current members of these orders fail to adhere to their Rules, he explains how this lax observance presages the end:

porque las postreras medecinas que avían de venir en el mundo son esta[s] dos: las hórdenes santas de sant Francisco e santo Domingo, las quales duraron poco tienpo en su rregla verdadera que toda[s] son ya corrupidas e no se guardan como deven. . . . (448)

LC also includes the apocalyptic section of Eiximenis's *Vida de Jesucrist* from Book VI, which substantially expands the Catalan friar's descriptions of sin and corruption.²⁹

Following this text, the author discusses the past schisms of the church and how each one represents a horn on the ten-horned beast mentioned in *Daniel 7* and the *Revelations 13*.

He explains the tenth horn represents the final schism:

E más dize, que, en este tienpo, verná la postrera cisma en la Iglesia e que será muy cerca del ffin del mundo, e que el buen Papa, que será en Roma, avrá de foír, e cómo lo negarán los cardenales e todos sus servidores, e será de todos desmanparado e lo dexarán solo, como dexaron los apóstoles a Jhesuchristo quando lo perdieron. (451)

Despite complete abandonment, this pope will be victorious, as these comments, directed to Benedict himself explain:

e así, no's marravilléis, santo pastor, que estéis escondido en la penna, pues ya fuestes avisado por el Sennor antes que tomásedes la capa por sant Ciril; él todas estas cosas vos ha notificadas e éste vos nonbró hosço, el qual tiene costumbre que, quando es corrido de los perros e caçadores, se esconde debaxo la penna en la cueva, e así vos conviene e vos perteneçe, Padre Santo, escapar de las manos de vuestros henemigos e esconderos en la penna e dentro de la cueva. (Guadalajara 453—54)

²⁹ Chapter 3 of this study examines these changes in detail.

The *penna* to which the author refers can be none other than Peñíscola. Taken at face value, these comments also indicate that Benedict was previously informed that his refuge in Peñíscola was foreordained as part of the God's eschatological plan.³⁰

The latter section of *LC* discusses the coming of three Antichrists. The Antichrist *mixto*, he explains, will be an evil pope. Although not mentioned by name, Martin V must be on the writer's mind because he explains that the true Vicar of Christ has fled the wrath of this evil pope (460). Following this, he speaks against the view of some theologians that this pope will also become emperor: "Dizen las glosas de santo Ceril . . . que aquel emperador que se levantará no será el mismo Antechristo misto o falço Papa, mas que será príncipe más poderoso de los VII susodichos. . . (461). According to these same glosses, this prince will then be made emperor and will gather together ten kings at for a council at the city of Gostanica, which signals that the *postrero Antechristo* will be revealed. This prophecy clearly refers to the German Emperor Sigismund's prominent role leading the Council of Constance three years earlier.

The final section of *LC* explains that there will be a great battle between the Antichrist and the true Vicar of Christ:

el maldito Antechristo fará muy grande e muy terrible batalla contra el verdadero vicario de Jhesucristo, el qual, pasada la batalla, tornará en su mando e sacrificio . . . E, así, parece claramente cómo el Santo Padre verdadero tornará a cobrar[r] su dignidad a la postre; e que se celebrará el santo sacramento públicamente por todo

³⁰ The author even alludes to Benedict's poisoning: "e negarlo han todos sus cardenales e todos sus servidores, fasta su cozinero, e esconderse ha en una penna o cueva, en la qual, por la gracia de Dios, de todo mal será guardado e de peligro por algún tienpo. . ." (453).

el mundo con muy grande acatamiento, e muy limpiamente e mucho al servicio de Dios, como [en] el tiempo de los apóstoles. (462)

The author clearly identified Benedict as this *Santo Padre*, not only by name, but also by repeated references to the true pope holding the *llaves* (keys).³¹ The idea of an Angelic Pope was not new, but previous discussions of this figure by Rupescissa, Telesphorus and Eiximenis also included the role of the Last World Emperor or Holy Emperor, first seen in the *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius*. This latter figure is notably absent from *LC*, likely reflecting the complete lack of political support for Benedict at this time.

The final paragraphs explain how the *postrero Antechristo* has already been born, concurring with the ideas of Saint Vincent Ferrer mentioned previously.³² Anticipating the appearance of this final Antichrist, the writer closes his treatise with a reminder to prepare for his arrival: "Creho que Jhesucristo muy preseto proveirá; plégale por su pación quiera desp[er]tar nuestros coraçones e entendimientos . . . por tal que el maldito Antechristo nos halle velando" (463).

MS 940 Trivulziana Library

Las señales constitutes the only apocalyptic text among a *miscellanea* of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Spanish literature. Internal evidence dates its original composition to 1420, the same year in which *LC* was written. *LS* begins with a summary of the each main point and sub point of apocalyptic section of Book VI from Eiximenis's *Vida de*

³¹ Although somewhat later, the Museo Arciprestal de Morella houses a painting of Benedict XIII made c. 1462. He is surrounded by four cardinals, holds the keys to the Church and an open Bible which states "Tu est Petrus, et super hanc petram. . ." (Cuella Esteban 464).

³² According to José Guadalajara, Ferrer preached that the Antichrist had been born in 1403 ("La edad del Anticristo" 341).

Jesucrist, although the translations exhibit many differences with that of *LC*, which show they result from independent Spanish translations of the Catalan.³³ Following this section, the author explains that there will be two Antichrists: *mixto* and *puro*, and that they will appear at the same time. He then proceeds to list and comment on thirty-one signs which will appear when the Antichrist's coming is near. In contrast to the more complete eschatological vision presented in *LC*, the author and compiler of this text concerns himself only with providing signs of the Antichrist's arrival, which he states will happen in 1430.

The author clearly supported Benedict XIII and either witnessed or suffered persecution for this support (fol. 231v). His motivations for composing *LS* are not explicitly stated, but appear to be an effort to convince and, at times correct, a fellow supporter. For example, while discussing the date of the Antichrist's arrival, he writes "entonces reinará el hijo de perdición tres años y medio porque te digo que te corrijas" (fol. 233r). This recipient clearly suffered or witnessed some sort of persecution at the hands of secular leaders, as the closing words of *LS* demonstrate: "que aquel tiempo serán todos los príncipes tiranos y destroidores de los pobres contra toda justicia: Nota la esperienzia y no has menester de otra declaración nin respuesta" (fol. 237v—238r).

Although the anonymous author and compiler of *LS* did not intend to provide a complete eschatological treatise, the following comparison reveals a similar apocalyptic understanding to that of *LC*. Both authors argued that the traditional division of world

³³ Chapter 3 of this study examines these differences in detail.

history into three ages of two-thousand years should not be understood to mean that each age would be of equal length:

LC: Empero, no devéis entender que cada ley haya de durar II M annos, que esto sería falço; es, a saber, que la ley de natura ha durado passados de III M annos; por esto avéis de entender que VI M annos se han de compartir en todas III leyes. . . por tal que el tiempo que durare el mundo rresponda a la horden de la crehación, assí como la pone Moisés en el libro de la ley. . . . (439)

LS: Ochava señal será que en este tiempo, segund pone Rabí Muysen en su letura, que la ley de natura dura dos mill años, y que la ley de gracia en que estamos avía de durar otros dos mill años, sacando seis vezes ziento: Casidoro pone la nova señal que en el tiempo de la ley de gracia ha de menguar así como la edad de los años a menguo en ziento y seis. (fol. 227v—228r)

Interestingly, both authors place an importance on Moses, although it is not clear if the author of *LC* meant to refer to Maimonides or to the author of the Pentateuch.

As stated above, the arrival of two spiritual orders had played an important role in Franciscan and Dominican eschatology since Joachim. The criticism of corruption and lax observance among these orders forms an important part of both texts:

LC: E esto se prueba, porque las postreras medecinas que avían de venir en el mundo son est[a]s dos: las hórdenes santas de sant Francisco e santo Domingo, las quales duraron poco tiempo en su rregla verdadera, que toda[s] son ya corrunpidas e no se guardan como deven. . . . (448)

LS: Nota que Yhesu Cristo en este mundo dos cosas a enxemplo nuestro a obrado: pobreza manteniendo y virtudes predicando. Y estas dos cosas Él ha

encomendado la pobreza y vida evangélica a San Francisco y la predicación a Santo Domingo. Pues, mira oy y antes deste tiempo quanta división ovo y oy día hay en contradición destas reglas, diziendo que tan estrechamente no se deven guardar. (fol. 232rv—232v)

Both texts also exhibit similar views of the schism. Although not specifically stated in *LS*, this schism can only refer to the election of Martin V after the Council of Constance because of the date of composition:

LC: verná la postrera cisma en la Iglisia e que será muy cerca del ffin del mundo. . . (451).

LC: que los cardenales [e]legirán un Papa, en la qual elección comensará una grande cisma postrera en la Iglesia de Dios, e, según esto ha de çer que est[é] otro Santo Padre, que sehan II junto, porque no puede ser cisma si no son II Papas juntos. (452)

LS: Nota que en los postrimeros tiempos avía de ser en la iglisia de Dios gran zisma mortal por elección de un papa no verdadero nin canonicamente entrado en el estado de la diñidad papal, contra el verdadero papa. Que a esa sazón avía de estar en esa misma diñidad. Por causa de la qual cisma la iglesia de Dios y las personas eclesiásticas serán mucho mal tratadas y atormentadas del brazo seglar. (fol. 231r—231v)

Both texts also strongly criticize the secular authorities and ruthlessness with which they rule:³⁴

³⁴ No specific documentation has been found detailing persecution of Benedict's followers by the secular authorities, even though both texts specifically mention this fact.

LC: en estos tienpos, los príncipes e rregidores que seán en el mundo serán sin ciencia e malvados, crueles tiranos, e no farán justicia sino por dineros, e rruegos e amistades. . . e destroidores de los pueblos (454).

LS: La xxxj^a señal será que aquel tienpo serán todos los príncipes tiranos y destroidores de los pobres contra toda justicia (fol. 237v—238r).

Although the above similarities do not demonstrate a direct literary relationship, the closeness in wordings and use of similar sources—such as the common use of Eiximenis’s apocalyptic text from Book VI of *Vida de Jesucrist*—point to a rapid development of a common apocalyptic understanding among some of Benedict’s followers.

Conclusions

Having traced the development of apocalyptic thought in Europe, focusing on the Iberian Peninsula after the Council of Constance, some conclusions can be made regarding the apocalyptic understanding of Benedict’s followers. Both *LC* and *LS* share a close affinity with the apocalyptic ideas developed by Joachim, Olivi, Vilanova, Rupescissa, and Eiximenis. Both texts grew out of the same historical context in which intense persecution of Benedict’s followers forced a reinterpretation of these received apocalyptic traditions. The apocalyptic ideas of Rupescissa and Eiximenis play an important, although sometimes unacknowledged role, in the development of these two texts. Benedict’s followers quickly identified Martin V and Sigismund in the dual-Antichrist tradition that began with Joachim. However, both authors removed any reference to the aid of a Holy Emperor who would come to the aid of their *Santo Padre*. Previous scholars—such as Vicente Álvarez Palenzuela and Luis Suárez Fernández—

have examined the schism in Spain after the Council of Constance. Even José Medina Guadalajara has studied *LC*, but this study forms the first attempt to demonstrate the relationship between the persecutions suffered by Benedict and his followers with the subsequent transformation of their apocalyptic vision.

The reinterpretations seen in both *LC* and *LS* embody their attempt to find apocalyptic meaning and hope in the midst of the persecutions suffered by both Benedict and his followers in the aftermath of Constance. However, several important questions remain for future study: what role did the secular authorities play in these persecutions? Both texts mention persecution by secular authorities, but specific evidence regarding these events is currently lacking. A possible avenue for future study may be to examine local archives from cities such as Barcelona, Burgos, Perpiñán, Valencia, and Zaragoza, to ascertain what types of punishment Benedict's supporters received. Second, how widespread were the apocalyptic views espoused in *LC* and *LS*? Do other related manuscripts exist for this period? A more interesting question concerns Benedict's own apocalyptic views. Did he view himself as the Angelic Pope? This study has demonstrated a history of interest in apocalyptic themes and even strong evidence that he interpreted his poisoning in relationship to apocalyptic ideas. Although future studies of surviving apocalyptic manuscripts from his papal library may shed light on this issue, it does seem reasonable, given the discourse directed at the *Santo Padre* as part of *LC*, that he at last tolerated these views. Whatever light may be shed in subsequent investigations, Pedro de Luna became a figurehead for an apocalyptic movement which this study just begins to examine.

Chapter 2 - The *Cancionero de la Trivulziana* (MS 940)

Las señales constitutes just one of seventeen works in the *Cancionero de la Trivulziana* (CT). This chapter, divided into five parts, provides the necessary literary and historical context for the codex as a whole. The first section describes the codex and examines previous studies of the CT. The second section proposes a date of composition between 1511 and 1516 based on an analysis of the literary and political content in the codex. The third section examines the history of Spanish influence in Italy during the first decades of the sixteenth century in order to show that the CT was likely compiled and copied in Rome. After establishing the date and place of composition, the fourth section offers an explanation as to how the codex arrived in Milan. The fifth section explores possible motivations behind the copying this *miscellanea* of Spanish literature.

Previous Studies of the CT

Although the first reference to the CT appears Giovanni Porro's 1884 *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della Trivulziana*, Giovanni Caravaggi's 1973 article, "Un manuscrit espagnol inedit et un cas curieux de tradition textuelle," made its existence widely known. Three years later, he produced the first and only study *cum edition* of this codex, *Miscellanea spagnola della "Trivulziana."* More recently, Caravaggi included the codex in his study *Cancioneros Spagnoli a Milano* (1989) where he titles the codex *Cancionero de la Trivulziana*. Over eighty percent of the codex concerns literature other than poetry, which causes even Caravaggi himself to question the use of the term *cancionero*.³⁵ However, because this title has already been accepted by scholars, I utilize use it here.

³⁵ For example, *PhiloBiblon*, the database of medieval Iberian manuscripts, employs this term. Caravaggi himself doubts the appropriateness of the designation *cancionero*: "In

The codex contains 256 folios and measures 145mm x 100mm (Caravaggi, *Cancioneros Spagnoli* 5). Although the date of composition for the *CT* has not been firmly established, a *terminus ante quem* date of 1546 appears in an inscription on the frontispiece which states three times in successively smaller script: “Johannes Franciscus Meltius hic scripsit die XIII mensis Junii 1546.”³⁶ Francesco Melzi was a student of Leonardo da Vinci. According to Caravaggi, it is probable that *hic scripsit* refers to the writing of the inscription and not of the codex. He argues that, based on the separation of this inscription from the text of the manuscript, Melzi was the owner and not the copyist (*Miscellanea* 8—9). My examination of the scripts—the manuscript and the inscription—indicates them to be from different hands, which supports his conclusion. Caravaggi’s work on the final text, *En loor de la nación de España* firmly establishes the *terminus post quem*. Based on historical events mentioned in this work he assigns the copying of this final text to no earlier than 1511 (*Miscellanea* 279).

We know little of the copyist other than he spoke some dialect of Italian. The notable Italianate influence in the following examples demonstrates this:

Folio	Italianized Orthography	Spanish Form
fol. 7v	a l'otro	al otro
fol. 22r	cagnas	cañas
fol. 135v	e nel	en el

realità sarebbe più corretto considerarlo una *miscellanea*, poiché comprende un numero notevole di opere in prosa . . .” (*Cancioneros spagnoli* 14).

³⁶ Giovanni Francesco Melzi wrote this on the XIII day of the month of June, 1546.

fol. 150r	pasarono	pasaron
fol. 153v	da (fue da mi muy avisado)	de (fue de mi muy avisado)
fol. 238r	ogna	toda

These instances do not constitute the norm throughout the manuscript; rather they represent sporadic interference from the scribe's primary language.

The Italian copyist's use of brackets to emphasize short *sententiae* forms a unique aspect of this codex. These brackets, in the same ink as the text itself, were made at the time the copyist wrote the work. I offer several examples of these bracketed sayings below:

1. El que no teme no ama (fol. 5v).
2. Todo hombre que verdaderamente ama es desdichado (fol. 6v).
3. Quien de sus enemigos se fía es bien fecho que a sus manos muera (fol. 48v).
4. Ninguno puede pagar lo que no tiene (fol. 60v).
5. Sienpre los cuerdos deven descubrir sus desventuras a sus amigos (fol. 64r).
6. Con el bien se venze el mal (fol. 68v).
7. Mejor es loor con plazerres que honestidad con vituperio (fol. 70).
8. El descanso de los tristes es quando su pena es comunicada (fol. 170r).
9. Quien de ningún bien puede ser causa de ningún mal puede ser ocaxión (fol. 190v).
10. Hijo, donde anduviere el tu pie, ande tu ojo (fol. 235v).

A total of thirty-eight *sententiae* are marked, primarily dealing with aspects of love, friendship, and courtly behavior. Most come from the two sentimental romances *Grisel y*

Mirabella and *Arnalte y Lucenda* (*A las damas de la reyna*), although one comes from the penultimate work, *Las señales que serán en el mundo quando el Antecristo verná a reinar*.

The Italian influence in the codex and the *sententiae* raise several questions: Was the patron also Italian? If not, would a Spanish patron hire an Italian scribe who seems unable to maintain a purely Spanish transcription of these texts? Why are *sententiae* from only three of the seventeen texts marked? Unfortunately, the lack of explicit information regarding the codex's composition leaves these questions, for the moment, difficult to answer. It would appear that the codex was composed for private use. Alberto Montaner observes that the famous *Cantar de mio Cid*, which measures slightly larger than the *CT* at 195mm x 150mm, was “un libro de faltriquera para lectura privada” (cclxxxvii). The small size of the *CT* also indicates private use.

Scholars, however, have given thought to the provenance of the *CT*. Caravaggi asserts at the beginning of his introduction that the *CT* “offre una testimonianza di grande qualità sui rapporti intercorsi fra la cultura lombarda e la cultura spagnola all'inizio del sec. XVI (*Miscellanea* 5). He offers no evidence that the codex was originally composed in northern Italy, but rather bases his conclusion on Anna Maria Finoli's article, “Lingua e cultura spagnola nell'Italia superiore alla fine del '400 e ai primi del '500.” Finoli examines the diffusion of Spanish texts among the courts of northern Italy through a study of medieval documents, correspondence among the elite, and modern library holdings. Regarding the Trivulziana library—located in the medieval Castello Sforzesco—she states: “Purtroppo, la raccolta sforzesca è andata perduta, ma non mancano altri documenti del persistente interesse verso la poesia spagnola” (641). As

evidence of this persistent interest in Spanish poetry, she briefly examines codices 994 and 940. The former is a collection of *romances*, *sonetos*, and *coplas* copied at the end of the sixteenth century. The latter, of course, is the *CT* itself. Although Finoli admits that the provenance of the codex is a complex and difficult issue, she does not expand on this statement nor does she offer evidence to support her assertion that the codex was actually produced in Lombardy. Given that neither Finoli nor Caravaggi supports their assertion for a Lombardian origin of the *CT*, two possible reasons for their assumptions might be adduced: first, Melzi was from Milan and the book belonged to him in 1546; second, Castello Sforzesco houses the codex today.

Despite the continued value of these previous studies, four interrelated issues remain unresolved regarding this codex. First, the *a quo* and *ad quem* dates of compilation provided for the *CT* span thirty-five years. The second issue regards the place of composition: Caravaggi follows Finoli in assuming the *CT* was compiled in Lombardy, but do the historical developments in Milan support their conjecture? The political relationships between Spain and Italy underwent great change during the first half of the sixteenth century, and this change was not homogenous throughout the Italian peninsula. An examination of these relationships attempt to clarify the location of the *CT*'s composition. Answers to these first two questions may clarify the third: How and when did Francesco Melzi come to own the *CT*? The lack of chronological and geographical preciseness hinders any attempt to analyze the social, historical or political conditions that could provide an answer to the fourth and most difficult question: What social, political and historical influences contributed to the creation of the Spanish-language codex by in early sixteenth-century Italy?

Date of Composition

As stated above, the *a quo* and *ad quem* dates are woefully broad. Although the following discussion cannot prove an early date of composition, an analysis of the literary and political content of the codex, taking into account political developments in between Spain and Italy, provides strong indications that the codex was produced shortly after 1511 and likely before 1516.

Literary Content and Chronology

The seventeen works³⁷ in the *CT* include five different genres: sentimental romances, *villancicos*, poetry, an apocalyptic prophecy, and two political texts:³⁸

1. Novela de Grisel y Mirabella ff. 1r—76v
2. Doctrinal de los privados que fizo el Marqués
de Santillana al Maestre de Santiago ff. 77r—87v
3. Coplas del Marqués de Santillana al rey de Portugal ff. 87v—89r
4. Dezir que fizo Diego de Burgos, secretario del Marqués

³⁷ Although Caravaggi also divides the codex into seventeen works, two differences exist between his divisions and those above. First, the “Dezir que fizo Diego de Burgos” appears twice on this list. On folio 89v, the copyist began with the title and the first stanza of the *dezir* which was abruptly discontinued. Later, on folios 112v—114v the copyist returned to this text and transcribed it completely. Caravaggi does not list the first instance of this *dezir*.

The second difference concerns the division of the eighth work, “Coplas fechas a Gomes Manrique derrigidias a nuestra Señora las quales van por el a. b. c.” The acrostic section of this work starts on folio 95v and ends on folio 101v. The “Coplas” begin at the title and end after the acrostic poem. However, Caravaggi includes “Canción a Nuestra Señora” in his list which begins on folio 94v and ends on folio 95v, which should be regarded simply as part of the introductory material to the “Coplas” because of its location between the title and the acrostic poem.

³⁸ Throughout this chapter, I use my own transcriptions of the *Cancionero de la Trivulziana*. For ease of reading, I have normalized the text as discussed in the Introduction to Chapter 6.

de Santillana al Rey de Portugal	f. 89v
5. Gozos fechos a nuestra Señora, la virgen María, por el Marqués de Santillana	ff. 89v—92r
6. Otras suyas del Marqués a nuestra Señora	ff. 92v—93r
7. Otras suyas del señor Marqués a nuestra Señora ³⁹	ff. 93r—94r
8. Coplas fechas a Gomes Manrique, derrigidias a nuestra Señora, las quales van por el A. B. C.	ff. 94r—101v
9. Coronación del rey de Romanos fecha en Viena	ff. 102r—111v
10. Dezir que fizo Diego de Burgos, secretario del Marqués de Santillana al rey de Portugal	ff. 112r—114v
11. Tango yo el mi pandero	ff. 114v—115r
12. Dime, Señora, di	ff. 115r—116v
13. Coplas que fizo Costana	ff. 116v—123r
14. Coplas de Juan de Mena ⁴⁰	ff. 123r—133r
15. A las damas de la Reina ⁴¹	ff. 133v—222v
16. Las señales que serán en el mundo quando el Antechristo verná a reinar	ff. 223r—238r
17. En loor de la nación de España	ff. 239r—255v

³⁹ Both works 6 and 7 pertain to the same poem: *Coplas del Marqués a Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*.

⁴⁰ This is an erroneous attribution. The poems actually forms parts of two different texts by the Marqués de Santillana: *Triunfete de amore* and *Infierno de los enamorados* (Caravaggi, *Miscellanea* 167).

⁴¹ *Arnalte y Lucenda* by Diego de San Pedro.

The motivations which moved an Italian scribe to copy these works remain unknown. Beyond the *sententiae* mentioned above, the only unifying theme throughout this codex concerns the Spanish language. Many of these works, especially the sentimental romances and the Marqués de Santillana's poetry, enjoyed great popularity during the period, but others, such as *Las señales* and the *Coronación del Rey de Romanos* exist only in this codex.

Although none of these seventeen works *per se* provides a more specific date of composition than that proposed by Caravaggi, a close analysis of various printed and manuscript editions of the two sentimental romances strongly suggests a date prior to the 1520's for the *CT*.

Juan de Flores's sentimental romance, *Novela de Grisel y Mirabella*, was first published in 1495. The sixty-five surviving editions of *Grisel y Mirabella* in Spanish, Italian, French, English, German, and Polish that date from 1495 until 1630 testify to its pan-European popularity.⁴² However, between 1495 and 1546 the following printed editions of *Grisel y Mirabella* exist in Spain: 1514 (Salamanca), 1524 (Sevilla), 1526 (Toledo), 1529 (Sevilla), 1533 (Sevilla). Also of note, in 1521 Lelio Aletiphilo—a pseudonym—translated *Grisel y Mirabella* in Italian. Besides the *CT*, two other manuscripts of Flores's work survive. The Biblioteca Capitul y Colombina in Seville houses the earlier of the two, MS 5-3-20, which dates from 1487—1500 (*PhiloBiblon*). The Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana houses a slightly later copy, MS 6966 which dates to the first decade of the sixteenth century (Gwara 509). It is of note that that over twenty

⁴² In her critical edition of *Grisel y Mirabella*, Maria Grazia Ciccarello di Blasi mentions 11 surviving Spanish editions and 54 translations (Flores 83—112).

years passed between the *princeps* and the second printing, and that the manuscript versions date to this interval.

A similar scenario exists with Diego de San Pedro's *Arnalte y Lucenda*. Although it does not compare with the popularity of Flores's novel or San Pedro's later work, *Cárcel de amor*, a span of over thirty years exists between the *princeps* of 1491 and the 1522 edition printed in Burgos. Two more printed editions exist although their location is currently unknown: Sevilla in 1525 and Burgos in 1527 (Corfis 13). In addition to the *CT*, only one other manuscript of *Arnalte y Lucenda* exists, MS 22021 from the Biblioteca Nacional de España, which dates to the last decade of the fifteenth or first decade of the sixteenth century (Corfis 11).

The importance of these various editions and manuscripts becomes apparent when considering why scribes would spend the time and labor to copy works by hand when both *Grisel y Mirabella* and *Arnalte y Lucenda* already existed in print by the 1490's. Two observations help resolve this difficulty: First, Keith Whinnom points out that "in the early part of the sixteenth century the average edition seems to have been somewhere between two hundred and two hundred and fifty copies" (191). When we combine this opinion with a second observation—an interval of twenty to thirty years between the first and second printings of these texts—a reasonable conjecture is that the few printed editions did not satisfy the demands of a reading public and, therefore, motivated the production of the various manuscript versions during this period. That all these manuscripts date to the period between the *princeps* and the second printed editions supports this conjecture. If the composition of the *CT* took place after the 1520's, it is more difficult to explain the copying of two complete sentimental romances when both

ostensibly existed in various print versions and translations during that period. However, placing the copying of these texts prior to the 1520's fits well with other manuscript dates for these works and the apparent lack of readily available printed editions.

An examination of the other works in the *CT* also supports an early date for its composition. Excepting the final work, *En loor de la nación de España*, which dates to 1511, the remaining texts date to the fifteenth century. Three fifteenth-century authors penned the majority of the poetry: Íñigo Lopez de Mendoza, the Marqués de Santillana (1398—1458); Diego de Burgos, his secretary; and Costana.⁴³ Although *Coplas fechas a Gomes Manrique* has no known author, it but must have been composed prior to Manrique's death in 1490.⁴⁴ The political text, *Coronación del rey de los Romanos* dates to 1495.

The only texts that are not dateable are the two *villancicos*: *Tango yo el mi pandero* and *Dime, Señora di*. The popular nature of these songs hinders assigning a specific date of original composition. The first enjoyed wide popularity throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as evidences by the six glossed versions and abundant references to the refrain.⁴⁵ A version of *Dime, Señora, di* exists in a work by Juan Álvarez Gato (d. 1510), but demonstrates no direct textual relation to this version.⁴⁶

⁴³ Óscar Perea Rodríguez lists several possible identifications for this poet. All indicate a poet linked to the court of the *Reyes católicos* and would date to the end of the fifteenth century or first decade of the sixteenth (13).

⁴⁴ The anonymous poet praises Gomez Manrique and asks him to correct his verses: “merced le quiero pedir / le plega aqui corregir” (fol. 94v).

⁴⁵ In her work *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica*, Margit Frenk mentions eleven versions of this *villancico*, of which six are glossed (998—99).

⁴⁶ The first *villancicos* appear in the second half of the fifteenth century. In *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico*, Paul Laird explains that this poetic form originates

Had the *CT* been composed after the 1520's, one might expect authors from later periods to be included. The lack of later texts, together with the copying of sentimental romances which were available after this period in various printed editions, both in Spanish and other languages, suggests that codex was composed shortly after the *terminus post quem* of 1511.

Political and Historical Content of *CT*

Many texts in the *CT* reference political figures and historical events related to the Iberian Peninsula. The following analysis of the historical personages and events mentioned in the codex demonstrates that all the events and figures mentioned date to the late fifteenth century or turn of the sixteenth century, which also supports an earlier date of composition for the codex.

The *Coronacion del Rey de Romanos fecha en Viena* constitutes the first political text. This work describes details of the coronation of Maximilian I (1459—1519) as king of the Romans, or German king, with special attention paid to the dress and formalities of the ceremony. The author wrote for a Castilian audience.⁴⁷ Maximilian I was elected king of the Romans in 1486 and as Holy Roman Emperor in 1493, although this text gives the date of 1495 for a coronation in Vienna.⁴⁸ Maximilian I's relationship to the Iberian

from the arab *zéjel* and medieval Galician—Portuguese verse (5). Although most *villancicos* employ the same or similar refrains, different authors created their own glosses often lacking any direct textual relationship to one another.

⁴⁷ The following quotes indicate a Castilian audience: “El marques de Brandenbur, que es eletor, llevaba un cetro de oro tan largo como una vara da medir de Castilla” (fol. 104r); and “Avía en baxo destos dichos duques, dos *lanzas graves*, que quiere decir en nuestra lengua condes” (fol. 108r).

⁴⁸ Both the date and place are enigmatic. Maximilian I was elected king of the Romans in 1486 in Frankfurt and as Holy Roman Emperor in Aachen on April 9, 1493. During the date of June 14, 1495 mentioned in this text, Maximilian was actually participating in the Diet of Worms (March—August, 1495).

Peninsula may explain the inclusion of this text in the *CT*. Maximilian's son, Felipe I, married Juana I of Castile in 1496. They became the parents of Carlos I of Spain, better known as the Holy Roman Emperor Carlos V (1519—1558).

The *dezir* by Diego de Burgos to the king of Portugal forms the next political text. Although not identified specifically, the poem must have been directed to Manuel I of Portugal (1469—1521). The following strophes praise the expansion and discoveries of the Portuguese made during his reign:

vos iréis fuera de España
por mandar otras naciones
que a la tierra más estraña
que del mar vuestro se baña

llegarán vuestros pendones (fol. 113r)

Some of the important explorations made during his reign include the maritime route forged by Vasco de Gama to India in 1498 and Pedro Álvarez de Cabral's discovery of Brazil in 1500. In this poem, as well as in the final text of the *CT*, the meaning of the term *España* is not geographic. It often takes on the sense of the Iberian Peninsula as the following verse from this *dezir* demonstrates:

Por tales claras fazañas
y por otras no menores
sin cautelas y sin mañas
vuestro reino en las Españas (fol. 114r)

The *CT* also extols one of Spain's most famous queens, Isabel I of Castile (1451—1504). *Arnalte y Lucenda* includes a laudatory poem to her which the following lines exemplify:⁴⁹

Es nuestra Reina real
en su España si temida
que del bueno y comunal
de todos en general
es amada y temida (fol. 142r)

The Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid houses the earliest extant text of *Arnalte y Lucenda*, an incunable from 1491 printed in Burgos. This incunable also contains the poem to Isabel, as does MS 22021 from the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century.

However, the poem was removed from the 1522 printing from the Burgos.

The final work in the *CT*, *En loor de la nación de España*, constitutes its most overtly political text. Directed to an Italian cardinal and “*algunas personas que tenían mucha afición a las cosas de España*” (fol. 255v),⁵⁰ the Spanish author spends the first section of his work describing the natural resources of Iberia and then discusses how Saint Paul and Saint James visited Spain.⁵¹ He then praises classical authors such as Livy

⁴⁹ Nancy F. Marino has other contemporary literary references to the Isabel in her article “*Inventing the Catholic Queen: Images of Isabel I in History and Fiction*” (186—199).

⁵⁰ The author of *Loores* consistently addresses the cardinal with the Italian title: *Vostra Signoria Reverendissima*.

⁵¹ The author of this tract was almost certainly Spanish, as the following indicates: “*Ansí mismo notará Vostra Signoria Reverendissima que los letores, la muy gran gloria que han dado a españa il Serenísimo y muy católico Rey de Rey don [fol. 246v] Hernando, mi señor, y la reyna doña Isabella, su conjugal, primera de gloriosa memoria. . .*” (fol. 246r—246v). The incessant elevation of Spanish culture, history and people in comparison to Italians, Germans and French also supports Spanish authorship.

and Sallust, citing stories which demonstrate the faithfulness of the Spanish to the Romans. The author then turns to more religious themes and describes various Iberian saints. The final section of *En loor de la nación de España* explains his political motives for writing. Specifically, he asks the cardinal to exhort Pope Julius II (1503—1513) to unite Germany, France and Spain under a Holy League to fight against the Ottoman Turks and reconquer Jerusalem:⁵²

Si estas tres potencias de Alemania y Francia y España están muy conformes, y la santidad del papa, nuestro señor, quiere dar orden de una Santa Pas como lo devría hazer, por muchos respetos que podría siendo todas tres coronas unidas con la Tiara Apostólica ganar en quatro años de guerra todo lo que tiene el Turco y hasta Jerusalén. (fol. 254v)

The author references the battle of Padova (1509) as being two years past which firmly dates the composition of this text to 1511.

The political content of the works in the *CT* examined here makes it possible to propose some conclusions regarding the date of original composition. The latest dateable text is *En loor de la nación de España* from 1511. Although the latest political figures mentioned as living in the *CT*—Maximiliano I and Manuel I of Portugal—had died by 1519 and 1521, respectively, the events referred to in the texts themselves occurred early

⁵² Although *En loor de la nación de España* does not portray an overt preoccupation with the apocalyptic, Brett Whalen describes the eschatological importance of the reconquest of Jerusalem in *The Dominion of God: Christendom and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*:

“From the days of Pseudo-Methodius forward, the Muslim conquests of the seventh century began to assume a place of prominence in Christian historical schemes and eschatology, including the legend of the Last World Emperor, who would recapture Jerusalem as a prelude to the coming of the Antichrist. (48)

in their reigns. For example, the coronation of Maximilian I took place in 1486 or 1493, and the discoveries and explorations mentioned in Diego de Burgos's *dezir* occurred at the turn of the sixteenth century. Even the inclusion of the panegyric poem to Queen Isabel seems to indicate that version an early copying of *Arnalte y Lucenda* prior to the Burgos printing of 1522, which lacks this poem. The reference to Ferdinand II might provide a *terminus ante quem* of 1516 for the production of the codex as no political or historical references in the texts of the *CT* indicate any knowledge or relationship to Spain's most famous leader of the sixteenth century: Carlos I of Spain (1516—1556), also known as Carlos V, Holy Roman Emperor (1519—1556).

Place of Composition – Rome

Three characteristics of the *CT* indicate the socio-political environment in which it was composed: first, the copyist was an Italian who had access to a variety of Spanish texts, demonstrated by the five literary genres among the *CT*'s seventeen texts. Second, the copyist marked 38 *sententiae* which indicate an interest in love, friendship and courtly behavior on his part or that of his patron. Third, the political content reveals an overwhelmingly positive view of rulers on the Iberian Peninsula.

Two geographical indicators in the text point to a possible location for the production of the *CT*: The inscription by Francesco Melzi and the *CT*'s present location in Milan could support a Lombardian origin for the text. However, the latest dateable text, *En loor de la nación de España*, was originally written in Rome, as demonstrated above. Although the following discussion on the place of composition cannot prove definitively where the *CT* was written, the substantial differences in the political relationship between

Spain and Milan, and Spain and Rome—combined with the three characteristics of the text mentioned above—strongly suggest a Roman origin for the codex.

Recall Caravaggi's previously stated observation that the *CT* was compiled in Lombardy, and he based his observations on those of Anna María Finoli. However, the political events during the first decades of the sixteenth century question a Lombardian origin for the codex. The history of the Italian Wars began in 1494 with the French invasion of Milan. This led to a series of complex alliances and counter alliances in which Spain, France and other European nations vied for control of Lombardy. Antonio Alvariño describes that the death of Ferdinand II in 1516 also created difficulties for Spain in Lombardy:

The complex dynastic succession in the Spanish kingdoms and the Empire after the death of Ferdinand the Catholic in 1516 and Emperor Maximilian in 1519 favored French hegemony in Lombardy, but Charles V was able to consolidate his authority and forge a new alliance that defended the rights of Francesco Sforza. On November 19, 1521, an incursion of Spanish troops into Milan forced the withdrawal of the French and the first sack of the city. The Spanish military presence in Milan thus began to be associated with extortions and offenses against the population, an image that prevailed for nearly a decade, the most inimical phase of the Italian Wars. (103—104)

Carlos V gained control over Milan starting in 1525, but the relationship with the populace experienced continued difficulties. For example, Alvariño describes the "widespread jubilation" expressed by the Milanese when Spanish troops left the Sforza Castle in 1531 (105). Both this sack of the city and the French dominance of the area

until 1525 argue against the first two characteristics of the *CT* discussed above—the positive emphasis on Spain and Spanish courtly behavior. Furthermore, circumstantial evidence questions the availability of Spanish texts in second decade of the sixteenth century. A letter from Isabella d’Este, the Marchesa of Mantua, indicates that even the nobility had trouble accessing Spanish works. In 1514 she wrote to a relative in Mantua about her inability to find a copy of Diego de San Pedro’s *Cárcel de amor*: “Havemo fatto cercare quante librerie son in Milano per trovare uno Carcere d’Amore per leggere qualche volta per nostro spasso, ma non se n’è travato” (Farinelli 148). Lelio Manfredi translated the *Cárcel de amor* later that year and dedicated his labors to her. The inaccessibility of this work—Diego de San Pedro’s most popular—in 1514 in the capital of Lombardy, questions the likelihood that two complete sentimental romances together with the other fifteen Spanish texts could be collected for copying in Lombardy.

The political situation between the Spain and Rome in the first quarter of the sixteenth century contrasts starkly with that of Milan. Beginning in the 1480’s, threats from the Ottoman Turks pushed the Papacy into an alliance with the Catholic Monarchs. With the advent of the Italian Wars in 1494, the Papacy strengthened these alliances against the dominance of the French in northern Italy. Although by no means a constant ally, the Papacy found itself increasingly subject to Spanish influence and in need of Spanish protection. This situation marks the beginnings of Spanish imperialism in the Eternal City, which Thomas Dandeleet describes as follows: “[The Spanish] were colonizers for a form of Spanish imperialism that is largely unexamined in the historical

literature: ‘soft’ or informal imperialism" (9).⁵³ Although associating colonialism with Spain’s activity in the New World is normal, Dandelelet demonstrates that the same process occurred in Rome:

The domination of Rome, the centre of the Old World, by the Spanish Empire from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella through the reign of Phillip II paralleled and ran simultaneously with the conquest and consolidation of Spanish power in the New World. Indeed, the two theatres shared many features: large-scale literary production, military operations, and economic exchange. In both the New World and Rome, moreover, Spanish imperialism also relied on another practice that has most often been associated only with the New World, namely, colonization. In Rome, too, the Catholic Kings encouraged, directly and indirectly, the growth of a large Spanish community made up of both Iberians and Italians who helped carry out their agenda. (109)

Dandelelet provides several examples of the increasing Spanish influence in Rome by 1504: the Spanish controlled about twenty percent of the College of Cardinals, Fernando and Isabel had been granted the title of Catholic Kings, and the pope had granted them the *patronato real* over the newly conquered kingdom of Granada (27—28).

Furthermore, a sizeable Spanish community was emerging in Rome. Dandelelet explains that Spanish Pope Alexander VI (1492—1503) contributed to its development:

⁵³ Edward Said: “the term, ‘imperialism’ means the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory; ‘colonization,’ which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory” (9).

Another way Alexander staked a claim to Rome was by developing a sizable Spanish community in the city. Although the pope had lived for decades in Rome, he filled his court with Spanish soldiers and courtiers, perhaps because he believed them to be more loyal. No existing census from the period allows us to measure the community with any certainty, but based upon scattered reports concerning one group or another, it probably numbered in the thousands. (26)

These foreigners from the Iberian Peninsula included members of the Papal court, cardinals, members of the Roman curia, soldiers, and Catalan merchants (26—27).

The political and social milieu of Rome in the first decades of the sixteenth century provide a more plausible context for the composition of the *CT*. First, many of the Spaniards present in Rome would have been literate because they belonged to the Roman curia, the clergy and the merchant class. Because of the large Spanish population present in the city, the Italian copyist or his patron would have had access to variety of texts, such as those represented in the *CT*. Second, the political environment favored the Spanish during this period, which also offers a probable situation in which an Italian scribe would have participated in the copying of these texts. The fact that *En loor de la nación de España*, the latest dateable text of the *CT*, was originally written in Rome in 1511 only bolsters this perspective.

Although Spanish influence over Rome and the Papal States increased throughout the sixteenth century, only the first quarter of the sixteenth century offers an ideal environment for the optimistic perspective toward the Spanish contained in the *CT*. The first decade of Carlos V's reign was marked with difficulties with Rome, culminating in the sack of the city in 1527 by Spanish troops, and signaling a major disaster in this

relationship: "By virtually all contemporary accounts, the pillaging, looting, and rape that followed were epic in scale. Palaces, churches, convents, monasteries, and their occupants were all despoiled" (Dandelet 37). Following this disaster, Charles V's secretary Alfonso de Valdés composed the *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma* in which he demonstrated that the Emperor bore no responsibility for the actions of the Spanish troops and that God had permitted the sack to punish Christendom. Despite Spanish efforts at political damage control, the view of Spain had been tarnished for a time.

Having differentiated the political relationship between Spain and Milan and Spain and Rome in the first several decades of the sixteenth century, the circumstantial evidence favors considering Rome as the place of composition for the *CT*. The growing relationship between Spain and the Papacy in the first two decades of the sixteenth century provided a place where all three characteristics inherent in the *CT* could easily be met: an environment rich with Spanish literature; a copyist or patron interested in studying Spanish views of love, friendship and courtly behavior; and a positive perspective toward Iberian leaders.

The Cancionero de la Trivulziana – Arrival to Milan

If the proposed date and place of composition for the *CT* falls between 1511 and 1516 in Rome, a notable enigma might also be resolved: How did Francesco Melzi come to possess the codex? A brief overview of Melzi's biography provides a conceivable answer to this question. Melzi was born about 1490 in Milan. In 1508 he became one of Leonardo da Vinci's pupils. In 1513 Melzi accompanied Leonardo to Rome where they stayed until 1516. At this point, they both went to Amboise, France where Leonardo died

in 1519. In his will Leonardo made Melzi heir to all his possessions, including his books (Clark 14). It appears that Melzi spent the rest of his life near Milan. Giorgio Visari records this information about him while traveling through the region in 1566:

Of [Leonardo's] papers on the anatomy of man, a great part is in the hands of Messer Francesco da Melzo, a gentleman of Milan, who in the time of Leonardo was a very beautiful boy, and much beloved by him, and now is a no less beautiful and gentle old man; and he holds them dear, and keeps such papers together as if they were relics, in company with the portrait of Leonardo of happy memory. . . . (237)

This information on Melzi's life—combined with an early date of composition for the *CT*—suggests the possibility that the *CT* came to either Leonardo da Vinci or Francisco Melzi possession during their stay in Rome. If so, the codex would have stayed among their collection of books while in Ambroise, France. In 1519 the *CT*—either already owned by Melzi or transferred to him upon Leonardo's death that year—travelled with him to Milan. Many years later, in 1546 he wrote the inscription in the frontispiece.

The Composition of the *CT* and Spanish Imperialism

One of the more fascinating and difficult questions surrounding the *CT* concerns the reasons which influenced its compilation. An analysis of the five genres present in the *CT*'s seventeen texts—sentimental romances, poetry, *villancicos*, apocalyptic prophecy and two political texts—fails to reveal any unifying thread, apart from the Spanish language itself. The brackets marking thirty-eight *sententiae* do indicate an interest regarding Spanish ideals of courtly behavior, love and friendship, but given that only three of the seventeen works contain these markings, their application to the whole codex

seems limited to stating that the copyist or patron shows an interest in the themes found in these three works.

The only work from the *CT* that directly explains the motives for its original composition is *En loor de la nación de España*. In addition to trying to convince an Italian cardinal to pressure the Pope Julius II to call a Holy Peace and reconquer Jerusalem as mentioned earlier, the Spanish author explains another purpose for writing:

Y porque Vostra Signoria Reverendissima me mandó dezir con su secretario que no escriviese estos loores de España sino en lengua de Castilla, porque tiene gran contentamiento della. No los puse en lengua latina. Y púselos así confusamente porque me dio priesa el dicho secretario por que se los diese en muy breve tiempo, porque Vostra Signoria Reverendissima los quería mostrar a algunas personas que tenían mucha afeción a las cosas de España. . . . (fol. 255r—fol. 255v)

This final paragraph indicates that the audience for *En loor de la nación de España* was not Spanish; but, rather, that this cardinal wanted to show the work to others who “have an interest in Spain.” The descriptions of Iberia certainly appear directed to a public unacquainted with the peninsula’s natural resources, history, saints and Church organization.

A key characteristic of *En loor de la nación de España* concerns the way in which the author consistently elevates the Spanish people, culture and military at the expense of his European counterparts. For example, while discussing the strength and faithfulness of the ancient Spanish soldiers, the author turns to the murder of Julius Caesar:

También escriben auctores de Italia muy dignos que Julio Cesar tenía su guarda de hispanos por confiar tanto de su fidelidad y fortaleza. Y escriben que después acordó en Roma por mostrar que tenía gran confianza de los romanos de no tener la dicha guarda ni otra ninguna en su persona. Y que creen que porque quitó esta guarda tomaron atrevimiento de le matar como le mataron Bruto y Casio, sus enemigos. (fol. 243r)

The author first places his information in the mouths of unnamed Italian authors and then proceeds to praise the Spanish for their loyalty to Caesar while simultaneously denigrating and faulting the Romans for his death.

This same praise of the Spanish can be seen in the author's discussion of the Battle of Padua in 1511. The author explains that the Germans refused to assault the city unless they were first paid. He explains the response of the Spanish soldiers: "ahúnque a ellos les devían mucho sueldo que no le pedían por estonces sino que solamente suplicavan al enperador [Maximiliano I] con mucha instancia que les diesen la delantera en aquel conbate" (fol. 253r).

This heroic behavior of Spaniards—present and past—directed at a non-Spanish public seems to be the attempt by the author to both denigrate other nations while extoling the virtues of his own. This action must be understood in the context of Spanish colonialism in Rome discussed earlier. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o explains the interplay between the language, culture and colonialism:

the most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world . . . For colonialism this involved two aspects of the

same process: the destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the coloniser. (1135)

Regarding the composition of *En loor de la nación de España*, then, beyond the explicit motives for composition stated in the text, the Spanish power in Rome apparently created a desire on the part of a non-Spanish public to access the language, history, and culture of this burgeoning political power which dominated the Eternal City for most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Can the reasons behind the final text's composition be applied to the *CT* as a whole? Let us review what can be surmised about the codex as a whole: The copyist was surely Italian. Although the possibility exists that he was simply paid for his labors by a Spanish patron; given the sizeable Spanish community in Rome at the time, it seems unlikely that a Spanish patron would hire an Italian copyist who demonstrates such a notable ability to allow his native language interfere with his work. As such, the possibility exists that the copyist either produced the codex for another Italian or for his own use. As mentioned above, the size of the codex likely indicates personal use. In addition, the fact that Francesco Melzi, an Italian, definitively owned the codex in 1546 might lend support to the view for the codex's original patron might have also been Italian. Finally, the *sententiae* bracketed in several works indicate a possible desire to emphasize Spanish ideals of love, friendship and courtly behavior. Although the possibility exists that an Italian created the codex as a way to learn Spanish customs, language and culture, lacking any further information, this perspective must be considered only a possibility at this time.

Conclusions

The *CT* remains an intriguing and somewhat enigmatic collection of Spanish miscellany. Although this chapter has attempted to narrow the dates and place of composition of the codex, as well as the social and historical influences which motivated its compilation, the answers to these questions remain tentative, and many more questions arise which could clarify the *CT's* importance and context as an artifact of Spanish presence in sixteenth-century Rome: Do other extant manuscripts in Spanish copied by non-Spanish copyists exist for this period? How does the *CT* compare to other miscellaneous collections of Spanish literature at the time? Can any texts of the *CT*—such as the poetry of the Marqués de Santillana—be traced directly to extant collections, thus illuminating the corpus from which the copyist of the *CT* created the codex? While these questions remain outside of the focus of this dissertation, they provide fascinating avenues for future investigation into this intriguing Spanish codex from sixteenth-century Italy.

Chapter 3 – The Structure and Sources of *Las señales*

In support of his prediction that the Antichrist's reign would begin in 1430, the anonymous compiler of *LS* attributes the signs to a wide variety of scholars, theologians and saints. As we shall see in this chapter, however, the actual literary and ideological sources for his material differ from these attributions. The only previous study of *LS*, Giovanni Caravaggi's *Miscellanea della Trivulziana*, connects the text with the pan-European legend of the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday (263). This chapter clarifies, where possible, the actual sources drawn upon to create *LS*, and contains four sections. After first describing the three-part structure of *LS* in the first section, the second section examines the validity of Caravaggi's connection of *LS* with the legend of the Fifteen Signs. The third section analyzes the apocalyptic texts and ideas of the numerous medieval saints, scholars and theologians cited as sources in *LS*. The final section studies the only proven source for our *LS*, Francesc Eiximenis's *Vida de Jesucrist*.

Structure of *LS*

The compiler of *LS* divided his creation into three distinct parts. He attributes the first nine signs to Saint Methodius Martyr, each of which start with the word *item*. This section spans folios 223r—224v. The second section begins with an explanation that there will be two antichrists, one pure and another mixed. The author then attributes his material to numerous sources, stating that they each listed thirty signs of the Antichrist's coming. Oddly, this section actually lists thirty-one signs.⁵⁴ Instead of beginning each

⁵⁴ The extra sign demonstrates a connection with the ideas of the Franciscan Spirituals: “que aquel tienpo serán todos los príncipes tiranos y destroidores de los pobres contra toda justicia.” Chapters 4, 5 and 6 provide full editions of *Las señales*.

sign with *item* as in the first set of prophecies, this section lists the ordinal number of each sign. The prophecies in this section cover folios 224v through 238r.

The third and longest section of *LS* concerns the commentary that follows each of the signs in the second section. The commentary totals almost three-quarters of the entire text.

The Legend of the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday and LS

As mentioned above, Caravaggi connect *LS* with the pan-European legend of the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday. He reminds us of Gonzalo de Berceo's apocalyptic text: "Nell'area ispanica non sarà superfluo ricordare l'antecedente autorevole di Berceo (*De los signos que aperesçerán antes del juicio*), che non va inteso naturalmente como un archetipo locale" (*Miscellanea* 263). William W. Heist's definitive study of this legend ably demonstrates that this legend has its origin in the *Saltair na Rann*, a tenth century Irish text, which in turn was based on the *Apocalypse of St. Thomas* (193). Heist summarizes the legend as follows:

A general statement of the legend would be that fifteen specified signs will occur on fifteen days before the Judgment Day. These signs are definite cosmological phenomena, but just what they are and in what order they occur are matters upon which various versions of the legend differ. (23)

Several examples of these cosmological phenomena from Berceo's version include the following: the sea shall be raised to the tops of the mountains; plants and trees shall flow with blood; and the rocks of the earth will battle against each other, crushing each other until they are the size of salt grains (Berceo 122—123; stanzas 5, 11, 13).

A cursory glance at the signs and apocalyptic context of *LS* demonstrates no relationship to that of the Fifteen Signs. The signs of *LS* largely deal with the social and religious decay, which leads to the coming of the Antichrist, whereas the Fifteen Signs relate to natural phenomena prior to Judgment Day.

Sources of LS Mentioned in the Text

The compiler of *LS* attributes his creation to various medieval and early theologians and scholars. Although we cannot demonstrate that his purported sources actually contributed to his text, this is not unusual. The practice of creating pseudonymous prophecies abounded in the medieval period, as Robert Lerner notes: “a plethora of short prophecies circulated throughout Western Europe in the high and later Middle Ages . . . almost all were pseudonymous” (*The Powers of Prophecy* 3). This section provides a brief overview of the various authors mentioned as sources of *LS* along with their apocalyptic views. Each author appears in the same order as they appear in *LS*.

Saint Methodius Martyr

The opening lines of *LS* attribute the first nine prophecies to Saint Methodius Martyr. Methodius of Olympus or Patara suffered martyrdom in the early fourth century. Although scholars agree that he did pen several extant texts, none deals with apocalyptic themes. However, a seventh-century work, originally written in Syriac, was attributed to him: *The Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius*. Bernard McGinn explains the popularity of this tract in medieval Europe: “After the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of John it was among the most widespread of medieval apocalyptic texts” (70). Originally written in the wake of the Muslim conquest of Byzantine Syria, the anonymous author offered hope that a Christian emperor would rise up and defeat the Muslims, and then lay down

his crown on Golgotha in expectation of the return of Christ. Although the *Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius* do not influence *LS* in any way, *LS* follows the popular medieval practice of attributing prophetic texts to Saint Methodius.

El Maestro de las Sentencias – Peter Lombard

The *Magister Sententiarum* refers to Peter Lombard (d. 1160), a twelfth-century scholar, theology teacher, and bishop of Paris, who wrote *Sententiae in quatuor libris distinctae*. Lombard explains the purpose of his work in his preface: “[It] gathers together, in a brief volume, the sentences of the Fathers, side by side with their testimonies, so that it might not be necessary for someone searching to go through a large number of books . . . (Rosemann 27). Marcia L. Colish explains that two competing apocalyptic views held sway during Lombard’s lifetime. Apocalyptic views developed in the monasteries, such as those of Joachim de Fiore, pushed more radical and innovative perspectives. Contrasted with these ideas stands that of the scholastics:

They have no hortatory or visionary concerns and they take a dim view of apocalyptic speculation. They distance themselves from the effort to attach the doctrine of Antichrist to any particular political event or personalities . . .

Peter Lombard reflects the attitude of his fellow scholastics. (699)

Despite being first on the list of those who wrote thirty signs of the Antichrist, Lombard’s apocalyptic views contrasted greatly with that of *LS*.

Beda - Bede

This references the famous eighth-century English monk and author of *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. He also authored a commentary on the Apocalypse of

Saint John: *Explanatio Apocalypsis*. This text survives in over 70 manuscripts, which Gerald Bonner dates to between 703 and 709 (8). In his study, Bonner demonstrates that Bede follows closely the traditional allegorical interpretation of the *Apocalypse* and often copies directly from Victorinus as revised by Jerome, Tyconius and Primasius (10). There also exists a pseudonymous version of the Fifteen Signs attributed to Bede, which Heist explains forms one of the principal versions of the legend (195).

Hugo

The compiler of *LS* includes simply the name Hugo in his list of those who wrote thirty signs of the Antichrist. As no further detail is given, we can only speculate to whom he actually referred. Hugh of Saint Cher (d. 1263), a Dominican preacher and theologian composed an *Exposition on the Apocalypse* about 1235. This text advocates a Christological interpretation of the seven seals (Glumerock 8).

The possibility also exists that the reference is to Hugo de Novocastro or de Castronovo (d. 1322), a Franciscan friar who studied under Duns Scotus. He wrote *De victoria Christi contra Antichristum*, which became a popular work. Charles V. Langlois states that “the author warns us in his preface that, fearing to pass for a visionary or a false prophet, he has put nothing of his own into his treatise. . .” (272). It should be noted that Francisc Eiximenis had this book by him, titled *Tractatus de Antechristo* in his library (Mofrin 481).

Antidorensis

Although minor historical personages bear this name, no apocalyptic works attributed to this person can be found.

Nicolao de Lira

Philip Krey and Lesley Smith have called Nicholas of Lyra (1270—1349) the greatest biblical exegete of the fourteenth century and perhaps since Jerome (1). After entering the Franciscan order at around thirty years of age, Nicolas rapidly ascended to important positions in the order, such as becoming minister provincial over the various French chapters. Also, he wrote two lengthy works: the *Literal Postill on the whole Bible*, completed in 1331, and the *Moral Postill on the whole Bible*, finished eight years later. Other works attributed to him remain to be authenticated (Krey and Smith 6). Nicolas lays out his apocalyptic perspective in his Apocalypse Commentary of 1329. Krey later explains that in distinction to the views of Joachim of Fiore and Peter John Olivi, Nicolas “pushed the Antichrist to the background as he employed a linear historical reading of Revelation to interpret John’s prophecy as a complete account of the history of the Church to the twelfth century” (268).

Yohachín

Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135—1202) stands as one of the most influential scholars of apocalyptic thought of the Middle Ages. As stated in chapter 1, he broke with tradition by identifying specific historical periods and persons with the Seven Seals. His well-known division of world history into the Three Ages also revolutionized apocalyptic thought. Numerous works in his name circulated after his death. Of all the theologians and scholars mentioned by the compiler of *LS*, Joachim’s ideas bear the most influence, albeit indirectly.

Augustino

As discussed in Chapter 1, Saint Augustine (354—430) stands out as one of the preeminent Christian theologians who influenced medieval apocalyptic thought. He served as Bishop of Hippo and wrote prolifically on a wide-variety of topics. Although he originally believed in the literal millennial reign of Christ, he later altered this perspective, which he explains in Book XX, Chapter 7 of *The City of God*. Augustine emphasized a spiritualized understanding of the millennium by explaining that the number 1,000 represented the time from Christ until the end of the world. Although Augustine did believe a literal Antichrist would eventually come, he argued for a broader understanding this figure as “the evil people and the pretend Christians who are in the Church” (933). F. J. Baumgartner correctly emphasizes Augustine’s importance in establishing “the standard interpretation of the end of the world for the Middle Ages and the Catholic Church . . .” (45).

Abralio

Outside of *LS*, no references exist to this person.

Eusebio

Eusebius served as bishop of Caesarea from 318 until his death around the year 340. His *Ecclesiastica History* stands out as his most notable accomplishment. Eusebius participated in the Council of Nicene in 325 and wrote extensively on the formation of the biblical canon. He produced no known apocalyptic commentary.

Damaceno

The compiler of *LS* likely refers to Saint John of Damascus (c. 675—749), a Syrian-born monk and priest, who was later made a doctor of the Church. Living in former Byzantine territories conquered during the Muslim invasions, some apocalyptic themes do appear in his works. For example, Elijah Mueller states that he believed Islam to be the “forerunner of the Antichrist” (240). However, John of Damascus did not himself write apocalyptic literature, but rather imported “only broad themes, a certain inclination toward angelic and temple imagery, and an emphasis on the experience of the vision of God” (242).

Fray Edon

Outside of *LS*, no historical person associated with apocalyptic literature bears this name.

Cassiodorus

Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator (c. 484—c. 590) was a sixth-century statesman from Italy. Born to a noble Christian family, he later served in the Ostrogoth kingdom of Theodoric the Great. After retiring from politics, Cassiodorus moved to a monastery at Viviarum in northern Italy. There he penned a variety of texts on Christian topics, including the *Complexiones in Apocalypsi*. Francis X. Gumerlock studies this text, which he titles *Brief Explanation of the Apocalypse*. As mentioned in Chapter 1, medieval theologians interpreted the seven seals in one of three ways: Christological, ecclesiastical, and historical. Although Cassiodorus does acknowledge that the seals deal with eschatological events, he also applies a Christological and ecclesiastical interpretation (Gumerlock 14—15).

LS mentions Cassiodorus three times: first, on the list of those who wrote thirty signs of the Antichris; second, at the seventh sign dealing with sufferings in the old and new earth; and third, at the ninth sign concerning the shortening of the age of grace.

Petrus de Taransía

Petrus de Tarantasia became the first Dominican pope on January 21, 1276. Taking the name Innocent V, he served as pope until his death five months later. He wrote several works prior to his papacy: a commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, and a postil on the Epistles of Paul, in addition to his sermons and other minor works. None of these deals directly with eschatological themes.⁵⁵

Rabbi Moisen

Rabbi Moisen refers to the famous Jewish scholar, philosopher and physician, Moses Maimonides (1135—1204). Born in Cordova, Spain, he escaped to North Africa with his family after the Almohades conquered his native city in 1148. He later moved to Egypt where he served in Saladin's court as a royal physician. The author of *LS* attributes the eighth sign to Maimonides, which states that the Age of Grace would last 2,000 years. Besides the fact that the idea of an Age of Grace originates in Christian conception of time, the following comments by Maimonides in *Guide for the Perplexed* go against the idea that he espoused apocalyptic views:

Reasoning leads to the conclusion that the destruction of the Universe is not a certain fact Most people amongst us believe that such statements have been

⁵⁵ For a detailed study of Tarantasia's works, see "Les Écrits de Pierre de Tarentaise" (Simonin 163—335).

made, and that the world will at one time be destroyed. I will show you that this is not the case; and that, on the contrary, many passages in the Bible speak of the permanent existence of the Universe. (202)

Francesc Eiximenis and *LS*

Despite the numerous spurious attributions that the compiler of *LS* lists to support his views, the above discussion shows that most had little or nothing in common with the apocalyptic vision purported in the text. The only demonstrable source for *LS* is Francesc Eiximenis's *Vida de Jesucrist*, and this only applies to the first section of nine prophecies.⁵⁶ Eiximenis completed his work between 1397 and 1404, and the numerous manuscripts and fragments of *Vida de Jesucrist* survive in Catalan, Spanish and French testify to its importance. This includes twenty-three manuscripts and incunabula, which contain the apocalyptic section of Book VI. By 1420, at least two Spanish translations of the apocalyptic section from Book VI circulated on the peninsula, interpolated into anonymous collections of apocalyptic literature: *El libro del conocimiento del fin del mundo* (*LC*) and *Las señales* (*LS*). This section attempts to establish exact nature of the textual relationship between eight of these Catalan and Spanish texts.⁵⁷ After briefly

⁵⁶ The second set of prophecies in *LS* bear little similarity to other apocalyptic literature of the period. What also sets them apart are the commentaries which follow each prophecy. Lists of prophecies were not normally explained to the reader, but, rather, left open for interpretation.

⁵⁷ I conducted manuscript research for this study during the summer of 2011 using information found in *The Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts*, published by Charles Faulhaber, et. al.; David Viera's *Bibliografía anotada de la vida i obra de Francesc Eiximenis (1340? – 1409)*; and *PhiloBiblon*, a database of Iberian texts. In 2012, Jaume de Puig i Oliver, et al. published *Catàleg dels manuscrits de les obres de Francesc Eiximenis, OFM, conservats en biblioteques públiques*. This indispensable work greatly expands our knowledge of Eiximenis's extant manuscripts. Unfortunately, an examination of the all the manuscripts containing Book VI of *Vida de Jesucrist* is not

describing each textual witness below, the analysis focuses on establishing the *stemma codicum*. Most textual witnesses have been assigned a letter and number designation: the first letter indicates the language of the text—Catalan (C) or Spanish (S)—followed by a cardinal number. *Las señales* and *Libro del conocimiento del fin del mundo* have retained their previous designations, *LS* and *LC*, respectively.

Textual Witnesses in Catalan

1. (C1) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 2801

This manuscript dates toward the middle of the fifteenth century and contains books VI through X. It measures 225 x 312mm (Puig I Oliver 485).

2. (C2) Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio, ms. II-552

This manuscript dates to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century and lacks part of book IX and all of X. It measures 318 x 241mm and spans 228 folios (Concheff 70).

Textual Witnesses in Spanish

1. (S1) Paris, Bibliotheque de l’Arsenal, ms. 8321

This manuscript dates to the second half of the fifteenth century. It contains books I through X with several *lacunae* throughout. Interestingly, this manuscript lacks all but the final sentences of the apocalyptic section of Book VI and the entire apocalyptic section of Book X. It measures 290 x 405mm (Puig i Oliver 786).

possible at this time. A list of all the textual witnesses of *Vida de Jesucrist*, which contain the apocalyptic section of Book VI can be found in the Appendix.

2. (S2) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 5626

This manuscript dates to the second half of the fifteenth century, and it contains several selections from Eiximenis's works, including *Libro de las donas* and *Vida de Jesucrist*. It measures 140 x 224mm (Puig i Oliver 743).

3. (S3) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, inc. 1126

In 1496 Fernando de Talavera, archbishop of the newly conquered kingdom of Granada, published the first eight books of *Vida de Jesucrist*. Multiple copies of this incunable exist in libraries in Spain, Britain and France and the United States. The volume contains 378 folios, written in gothic script in two columns. According to *The Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts*, the incunable measures 319 x 218mm (Faulhaber 162).

4. (S4) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 6176

This miscellaneous collection dates to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Folios 215r – 217r contain the apocalyptic section of *Vida de Jesucrist*. The introduction to this text states that this work was copied directly from witness the incunable printed in 1496 by Fernando de Talavera (S3). This section is followed by another passage from *Vida de Jesucrist* which concerns the transfiguration of Jesus. The manuscript measures 310 x 215mm (Biblioteca Nacional 124).

5. (LS) Milan, Biblioteca della Trivulziana, ms. 940

This manuscript likely dates to between 1511 and 1516, but no later than 1546. It contains sixteen other texts of Spanish prose and poetry from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The codex spans 256 folios and measures 145 x 100mm (Caravaggi, *Cancioneros Spagnoli* 5).

6. (LC) Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. 2176

This manuscript dates to 1420 according to José de Gualajara's study (370), and contains two prophetic texts: Juan de Rupescissa's *Vade mecum in tribulatione* (fol. 1r – 13v); followed by a collection of various prophecies, which Guadalajara titles *Libro del conocimiento del fin del mundo* (fol. 14r – 29v). Numerous manicules, underlining and marginal annotations fill both texts.

Stemma Codicum

Paul Maas wrote *Textual Criticism* in 1958 and his study continues to be a useful guide in analyzing the relationships between different texts. Several of his observations inform this textual analysis and resulting *stemma codicum*. According to Maas, significant variants or errors can be divided into two different types: separative and conjunctive. A separative error or variant appears in one text and not in another, thus distancing the textual relationship between two texts. A conjunctive error appears in two or more texts and not in others, therefore strengthening their textual relationship (42—3). He also explains that *lacunae* are especially useful in determining textual relationships: “[*lacunae*] may be easily transmitted in the direct line but are hardly ever transmitted by contamination; so that where peculiar errors of this kind occur it will often be possible to establish with probability the original relation between the witnesses” (8). Finally, Maas discussed the issue of textual contamination. This results from an exemplar being based on two or more textual witnesses and is recognized when one witness shows errors that are not common to its exemplar and are common to another witness or witnesses.

Two factors complicate the establishment of this *stemma codicum*. First, *Vida de Jesucrist* was translated into Spanish and French. This means that the way in which

different texts translate from Catalan becomes important. Second, this study only examines the apocalyptic section of Book VI, a small portion of Eiximensis's whole work. However, as several of our witnesses contain only of this portion of text, no more expansive comparison between texts seems possible.

Stemma Codicum of Catalan Witnesses

Catalan witnesses C1 and C2 closely follow each other for most of this section as the following example demonstrates:

C1 – Ne lavors seglars volrien hoir sermons, ne veure religiosos, nels darien almonynes (fol. 28v).

C2 – Ne lavors setglars volrien oir sermons, ne veure religiosos, nels darien almoynes (fol. 121r).

One can observe that these two sections show only minor variations in spelling, which represents the normal variants found between the two texts. However, a few important variants appear as well.

Separative Error:

C1 - moguts per gran presumptió dins ells amaguada. E perquè sien honrats e preats e ditats se procuraran aytals gradus (fol. 28v).

C2 - moguts per gran presumpció dins ells amagada. E per que sien preats e honrats e ditats se procuraran aytals gradus (fol. 121r).

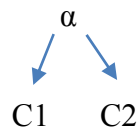
Lacunae:

C1 - que negun nos procur grau de honor si no aquell que Déu hi appella a aron

(fol. 28v—29r).

C2 - Que nengú nos procur nengun grau de honor sino aquell qui Déu hi apella axí como hi apella a aron (121r).

Despite the large degree of consistency between these two texts, the separative errors and *lacunae* indicate that neither text is based directly on the other. Therefore, they likely derive separately from a common Catalan archetype, α , as follows:



Stemma Codicum of Spanish Witnesses – S1, S2, S3 and S4

Fray Fernando de Talavera's comments in the prologue to his 1496 printing of *Libro de la vida de nuestro Señor Ihesu Cristo (Vida de Jesucrist)*, witness S3, demonstrate that he was not the first to translate Eiximenis's work into Spanish:

E porque este libro tan provechoso a todo christiano pudiesse ser havido e leído de todos los castellanos, se movió alguno a lo trasladar e poner en lengua castellana, en la qual tenía muchas faltas, o porque aquel que lo trasladó no sabía las lenguas o alguna dellas, o porque los escriptores no lo escrivieron verdadero e perfecto. E a esta causa e aún porque tal qual estava lo alcançavan e tenían pocos. (fol. 2r—2v)

With this printing, Fray Fernando attempted to correct the errors and mistranslations of this previous version. Of the six Spanish witnesses, S1, S2, S3 and S4⁵⁸ show a close relationship against the Catalan texts as follows:

S1 – mas movidos por grant atrevimiento e por grant sobervia que ternán ascodida dentro. E procurarán los tales grados, e buscar los han, e demandar los han, sin ningna vergüença e temor de Dios por que puedan ser onrrados e preciados e allegar riquezas (fol. 150r).

S2 – mas movidos por grand atrevimiento e por grand sobervia que ternán ascondidad de dentro. E procurarán los tales grados, e buscar los han, e demandar los han, sin vergüença e temor de Dios porque puedan alguna ser onrrados e preciados e allegar riquezas (fol. 42r).

S3 – mas movidos por grand atrevimientos e por grand sobervia que ternán ascondidad de dentro. E procurarán los tales grados, e buscarlos han, e demandarlos han sin alguna vergüença e temor de Dios por que puedan ser honrrados e preciados e allegar riquezas (fol. 176r).

C1 – mas moguts per gran presumptió dins ells amaguada. E perquè sien honrats e preats e ditats se procuraran aytals gradus els exeguirá sens neguna vergonya e temor de Déu (fol. 28v).

⁵⁸ Witness S4, as mentioned in the description of textual witnesses, descends directly from Fernando de Talavera's printing (S3). As such, I have not included a comparative transcription here.

C2 - moguts per gran presumpció dins ells amagada. E per que sien preats e honrats e ditats se procuraran aytals gradus els exseguirá sens neguna vergonya e temor de Déu (fol. 121r).

One can see in this comparison that Spanish witnesses, despite minor variations, agree closely with each other in explaining that clergy will procure, search for and demand high positions in order to be honored, appreciated and increase their wealth. The Catalan texts differ significantly with these Spanish witnesses in word order and the lack of an equivalent phrase for “buscarlos han, y demandarlos han”. These conjugative variants between these three Spanish witnesses strengthen their textual relationship when compared to the Catalan texts; however, important differences also appear:

Lacunae between witnesses S2 and S3:

S2 – E assí como a soldados fuirán el trabajo e defendimiento que son obligados de fazer a los pueblos (fol. 41v).

S3 – E que así como a soldados fuirán el trabajo del buen regimiento e defendimiento que son obligados de fazer a los pueblos (fol. 175v).

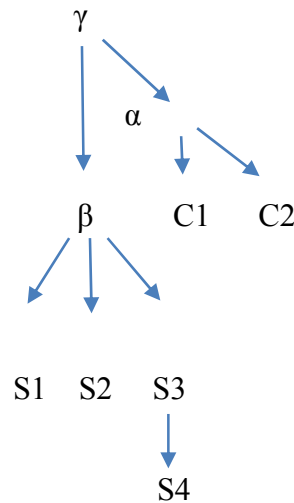
Separative error between witness S1 against witnesses S2 and S3:

S1 – estonçe[s] querrá predicar todo onbre e viejos e mançebos e moços e nesçios e grandes predicadores (fol. 150r).

S2 – entonçes querrá predicar todo ombre: moços e mancebos e nesçios e grandes pecadores (fol. 42v).

S3 – entonces querrá predicar todo ombre: moços, mancebos e nescios e grandes pecadores (fol. 176r).

Based on the strong similarity of these texts among each other, they appear to descend from a common translation in Spanish, indicated below by the letter β . However, the separative errors and *lacunae* demonstrate that neither work is directly derived from the other. Furthermore, these texts do not relate directly to either C1 or C2 based on the significant discrepancies seen in the translations above. Their relationship is as follows:



Stemma Codicum of Spanish Witnesses – LS and LC

The strong similarities between witnesses S1, S2 and S3 contrast starkly with that of *LS* and *LC*, which exhibit three significant differences against the other three: the translations from the Catalan diverge substantially, *LS* exhibits lengthy *lacunae*, and *LC* contains extensive interpolations of extraneous material. The Catalan text of C1 and Fernando de Talavera’s incunable from 1496 provide a useful comparison to *LS* and *LC*, so they appear here for comparison.

Separative Errors - Translations

C1 – Grau axí mateix de cavalleria seria dat a fadrjns no sabidores en fecho de armas (fol. 29r).

S3 – E dize que el grado de cavallería será dado a moços que no saben de armas (fol. 176r).

LS – Item que el atto de cavallería será dado a mozos no sabidores en fecho de armas (fol. 224r).

LC – E esto mismo es del estado de la cavallería que se dará a los mossos que no sabrán nada en las armas (fol. 18v).

Three differences in translation stand out here. First, the translation of the Catalan word *grau* has been translated as *grado* in witnesses S3, but as *atto* in *LS* and *estado* in *LC*. Second, S3 and *LS* translate the Catalan *seria dat* as *será dado*, while *LC* translates it as *se dará*. Finally, the translation of the Catalan phrase *no sabidores* is distinct. *LS* keeps the phrase as is, *LC* translates it as *no sabrán* while witness S3 translate it as *no sabe*. The variety of translations in *LS* and *LC* against the other Spanish witnesses provide strong evidence that they originated as separate translations from the Catalan.

Lacunae between S3 against LS:

In addition to the diverse translations, *LS* stands apart from all other witnesses the brevity with which it treats Eiximenis's text:

S3 – E dize que los seglares no querrán entonces oír los sermones ni veer a los religiosos ni les dar limosnas. E que converná a los religiosos fuyr a los montes, e por fuerça o por voluntad avrán de mudar la vida e servir a Dios (fol. 176r).

LS – Item que lo siglares no cobdiciarán oír sermones ni predicaciones (fol. 223v).

Although *lacunae* often occur as a result of the compiler working with a damaged document, an examination of the full apocalyptic text from *Vida de Jesucrist* indicates the *lacunae* present in *LS* likely result from an intentional abridgement of the original text, which contains four main points with five sub points mentioned earlier:

1. That the world will abound in the sin of inequality and falsehood.
2. That on account of the sins of the people of God, he will send them abysmal leaders.
3. The ecclesiastical authorities will be worse than ever.
 - a. The laity will not want to hear sermons nor see the clergy.
4. That every temporal and spiritual position will come to nothing.
 - a. Ignorant young men will desire to become teachers, theologians and doctors in law.
 - b. The position of knight will be given to foolish youth who know nothing of arms.
 - c. The priesthood will not be denied to anyone who wants to enter.
 - i. Young, sinful and ignorant men will desire to preach on account of the benefits this brings.

If the *lacunae* present in *LS* were the result of random loss due to a damaged text, one would not expect the resulting document to retain the complete structure of the original to be reproduced; however, *LS* does preserve each of Eiximenis's nine points. The use of the word *item* to list each point – as opposed to keeping the original ordinal numbers—further supports a deliberate reworking and summarizing of the original text. The introduction to *LS* may provide a clue as to the motives for this redaction:

Nota que San Metodio Mártir, queriendo mostrar el tiempo en que el Antecristo Misto había de reinar en este mundo, declaró estas señales que en su tiempo correrían, las cuales son tan abiertas en la palabra y en la experiencia que no fue necesario declaración sobre ellas, las cuales se siguen. (fol. 223r)

The compiler seems to minimize the necessity of examining in detail the signs he lists because they were so “obvious in word and experience.” Perhaps the anonymous compiler used Eiximenis’s text to introduce the general moral decay of the world prior to listing and commenting on the remaining thirty-one signs.

Interpolations of foreign material in LC:

The text of *LC* stands out for its extensive interpolations, which typically expand on the sins and evils the writer witnessed in society:

S3 - Lo primero: porque abondará tanto en el mundo el peccado dela desigualdad e falsedad, que apenas podrá ser fallado un ombre verdadero e leal a Dios e a la comunidad. E que apenas se fallará fe, ni verdad, ni amor, ni caridad, nin guardará lealtad, nin verdad el próximo al próximo, ni el hermano al hermano, ni el señor al vasallo, ni el pariente al pariente. (fol. 175v)

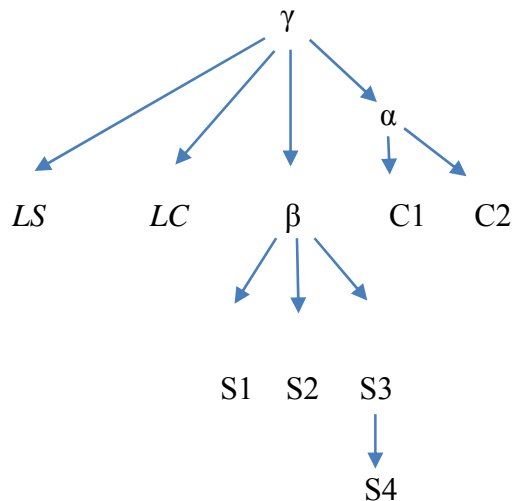
LC - E la primera sennal es quando abondará en el mundo grande multiplicación de peccados e grandes malicias enlas gentes, e muchas maldades e mentiras, e traiciones e sinjusticias, e quando no avrá misericordia en los poderosos e enlos rricos, e quando avrá grande abundancia de vicios e luxurias e gulas e matrimonios falços e grandes codicias e muchas otras maldades, e que del mil personas no se fallará una de buena ne virtuosa ne verdadera ne tenga lealtad a Dios ne a su ánima, e quando no se fallará ffe ne verdad ne amor ne caridad en

padres con ffijos, ne ffijos con padres, ne ermanos con ermanas, ne señor con vasallos, ne se guardará el parentesco. E quando será este tienpo, será el primero señal. (fol. 17v—18r)

The compiler of *LC* expands on Eiximenis's brief mention of sin, as well as his discussion of the community. Despite the variety of sins the commentator lists, he does not seem to be attacking any specific group.

The differences in translations, *lacunae*, and interpolations of foreign material establish that *LS* and *LC* share no direct relationship with the translation of the other Spanish texts. Furthermore, the differences between these two texts shows they share no direct textual relationship between each other. This leads to the conclusion that the apocalyptic section of *Vida de Jesucrist* was translated independently three times.

Based on the above discussion, the full *stemma codicum* for the eight Catalan and Spanish witnesses appears to be as follows:



Conclusions

This discussion of the *stemma codicum* raises an important question regarding the history of this apocalyptic section of Eiximenis's work: what accounts for the drastic differences, namely lengthy *lacunae* and extensive interpolations, between *LS* and *LC* and the remaining six texts? The literary and historical context in which the texts were copied might provide an answer to this question.

The literary context for both *LS* and *LC* differs significantly from that of the other witnesses. Whereas the other six texts were copied as part of the larger text of *Vida de Jesucrist* or in selections of Eiximenis's other works, *LS* and *LC* were both removed from this specific literary context and situated among other apocalyptic texts. This fact alone does not account for their divergence from other witnesses, but it provides the first step in the transformation of this apocalyptic text.

The historical context plays an even larger role in transforming Eiximenis's text. As discussed in Chapter 1, both texts date to 1420 and demonstrate bias toward Benedict XIII. Although deposed by the Council of Constance in 1418, Benedict, isolated at his castle in Peñíscola, Spain, remained firm in his insistence that he was the true pope. His followers had already suffered threats and harassment by 1418 in much of Spain and parts of France (Cuella Esteban 412). These persecutions culminated in the attempted poisoning of Benedict in the summer of 1418. During this intense spiritual crisis, Benedict's followers edited Eiximenis's prophecies and combined them with others they either created or found at their disposal in order to provide comfort and hope in their suffering.

The transformation of prophetic texts in times of great social, political or spiritual crisis forms the principal means by which apocalyptic literature is transmitted and preserved, and this study of Eiximensis's text is not unique. Robert Lerner's study *Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment*, provides a detailed study of this process of change and transmission via the Cedar of Lebanon prophecy. Originally penned in the context of the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1238, this prophecy was rewritten multiple times during periods of great social, political, and religious upheaval over the following centuries: the fall of Tripoli to the Muslims in 1289, the emergence of the Black Death in 1347, and the Great Schism, to name a few. With each trial and tribulation, members of the clergy relied on the prophecy for inspiration and rewrote it to provide encouragement in difficult times. The Toledo prophecy also fits this pattern. Originally written in the late twelfth century, it circulated in French, Italian and German versions and was continuously revised (Lerner, *Powers of Prophecy* 191). This same transformative process, influenced by social and spiritual upheaval events, helps explain the modifications to Eiximensis's prophetic text as seen by *LS* and *LC*.

Chapter 4: Semi-diplomatic edition of *Las señales*

Introduction

The pages that follow provide a complete transcription of *Las señales* (*LS*) according to the norms established by the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies in *A Manual of Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language*. The scribe of the *Cancionero de la Trivulziana* wrote in a cursive humanistic script that is clearly legible. Consistent with the other works in the codex, *LS* shows sporadic Italianate influence in the orthography, as discussed in Chapter 2. For example, the scribe writes *montagna* for *montaña* (fol. 136r); *l'otro* por *el otro* (fol. 7v); and *ogna* por *toda* (fol. 238r). These instances of Italianate influence do not constitute the normal scribal pattern, so I have chosen to correct them as described below. In accordance with the *Manual of Transcription*, I have not distinguished between the *s* and the long *s*. Differentiating between the upper and lower-case C presented one difficulty in transcription. The overall inconsistency of letter size has demanded a subjective determination as to whether to transcribe it as majuscule or miniscule. Original line lengths are respected in this transcription even in cases where words are split at the end of lines. Although the scribe does not always use hyphens to indicate this separation, this transcription does.

Critical Apparatus for the Semi-diplomatic Edition

A Manual of Transcription concerns itself with the layout of the text on the page and with overt textual modifications. By using the mnemonic devices listed below, the physical layout of the manuscript is given to the reader.

Before encoding for the layout of the text, the manual prescribes beginning each folio with square brackets containing the folio number and r for *recto* or v for *verso*: [fol. 138r].

1. Brace-bound indications of textual layout:

- a. The mnemonic {CB.} stands for the column boundary and represents the number of columns present on a given folio. When a number follows, it indicates the number of columns present on a given folio. As *LS* contains one column per folio, the mnemonic {CB1.} is used throughout. Note that the closing brace occurs at the end of the text of the column.
- b. The mnemonic {RUB.} indicates the scribal use of titles and rubrics within the narrative:

{RUB. L(o)[a]s sen~ales q<ue> sera<n> enel mu<n>do qua<n>do
el antexp<ist>o verna a reyn~ar}

2. Indication of editorial intervention

- a. *LS* employs several scribal abbreviations. A single set of angular brackets indicates the expansion of scribal abbreviations, while a double set indicates the presence of a superscript abbreviation. In accordance with the *Manual of Transcription*, this edition expands them as follows:

\bar{q} = q<ue>

mūdo = mu<n>do; tiēpo = tie<n>po⁵⁹

q^lere = q<u><<i>>ere; p^ometido = p<r><<o>>metido

⁵⁹ I have represented the nasal abbreviation before a bilabial consonant as *n* following the scribal practice when forms are written in full: tienpo (fol. 224v); synples (233r).

antex̃po = antexp<ist>o

q̄ = q<ui>

v with a slash through it = v<ir> or v<er> depending on scribal pattern for the word being abbreviated.

b. The scribe consistently transcribes the palatal *n* as ñ. This is transcribed as *n~* following the norms of the *Manual of Transcription*.

c. When the scribe or another corrector has modified the text, a caret placed immediately after the opening parenthesis or bracket indicates such intervention:

toda
cõtra ~~ogna~~ justicia = co<n>tra (^ogna) [^toda] justicia (fol. 238r)

d. Scribal deletion is indicated by a placing text within parentheses:

tēporale = te<n>poral(^e) (fol. 223v)

e. Scribal insertion appears within square brackets:

a

^q̄sta bestia = [^a]q<ue>sta bestia (230v)

f. Two question marks enclosed in brackets indicate an illegible section of a word. For example, in the process of correcting the word *beneficio*, the scribe obliterates his mistake:

el q<ue> no estouiere tomado oficio ni<n> be(^??)[^n]eficio (fol. 233v)

g. Editorial deletions and insertions are also indicated by parentheses and square brackets, respectively; however, they lack the caret, as

demonstrated below. The first example exemplifies the correction of Italianate influence, while the second corrects a scribal error:

e nel = e()nel

puea = pue(a)[s]

3. Scribal Punctuation

- a. Roman numerals appear many times in *LS*. The scribe places a period before and after the number when quoting chapters from the Bible.

However, he does not when listing the signs:

Nota Iob .c^o.v^o. = Nota Iob .c<<o>>.v<<o>>. (fol. 231v)

La xj^a señal = La xj<<a>> sen~al (fol. 228v)

- b. The scribe also uses periods are also used to set off items in a list:

el om<n>e es fecho de quatro eleme<n>tos. tierra. agua. huego y ayere. (fol. 234v)

- c. The scribe employs the virgule, an angular slash, which functions in similar fashion to the modern comma:

Nota sy oy sy ay mas libros en casa de vn dotor / o / sabio (fol. 231v)

Transcription of Las señales

[fol. 223r]

{CB1.

{RUB. L(o)[a]s sen~ales q<ue> sera<n> enel mu<n>do

qua<n>do el antexp<ist>o verna a reyn~ar}

Nota q<ue> san Metodio Martir q<ue>ri-
endo mostrar el tie<n>po en q<ue> el An-
texp<ist>o misto hauia de reyn~ar
en este mu<n>do declaro estas se-
n~ales q<ue> en su tie<n>po correria<n>
las q<u><<a>>les so<n> ta<n> abiertas en la pa-
labra y en la esperie<n>cia q<ue> no
fue necesario declaracio<n> sobre
ellas las quales se siguen
Despues de la natiuidad de
yh<es>u xp<ist>o a los mil y q<u><<a>>trocie<n>tos
y despues ta<n> malabes se falla-
ra om<n>e v<er>dader[o] ni leal a dios
Ite<m>⁶⁰ q<ue> por el pecado del pueblo dios
miserables regidores sy<n> sabidu-

⁶⁰ Although the scribe often suppresses the final nasal at the end of a word, representing the *n*, this time he completely writes *item* on this folio, probably an indication of influence from the Latin. Therefore, I have chosen to represent it with an <m> here in all occurrences of this word.

ria y sy<n> corazo<n> y sy<n> esfuerzo

cobdicios[os] de dineros en su gra<n> danacio<n>

It q<ue>l brazo eclesiastico sera peor

q<ue> nu<n>ca fue / y el s<er>uicio de dios}

[fol. 223v]

{CB1.

sera echado a tierra / e el ma-

trimonio de yh<es>u xp<ist>o despe[<n>]di-

do en carnalidades / por lo q<u><<a>>l

dize q<ue> los q<ue> tales officios daran

sera<n> p<er>seguidos fasta la muerte

Jte<m> que lo siglares no cobdiciara<n>

oyr s<er>mones ni p<re>dica(^t)[^c]iones

Jte<m> que todo grado te<n>poral(^e) y

espiritual v<er>na a ni<n>guna Cosa

y q<ue> los beneficios y din~idades

sera<n> dados a p<er>sonas disolutas

mozos y locos sin todo temor

de dios y q^{ue} en este tieⁿpo todo omⁿe

q^{ue}rra grado por dones o por coⁿpla-

zer alguno

Ite^m entoⁿces seraⁿ maestros en theo-

logia y doctores en artes omⁿes mo-

zos locos y disolutos q^{ue} verna to-

do en escarni(a)[o]}

[fol. 224r]

{CB1.

Ite^m q^{ue} el atto de caualleria sera

dado a mozos no sabidores en

fecho de armas el q^u<<a>>l atto no se-

ra negado a rustico aldeano

nin a ninguⁿ Ruyn por dineros

o por q^{ue} aya amigos

Item q^{ue} el grado del sacerdocio (a)

no sera negado en ta<n>to q<ue> ento<n>-

ces sera<n> ta<n>tos de malos sacerdotes

q<ue> dios por ende co<n>tra todo el mu<n>-

do sera ayrado y por ta<n>to q<ue> los p<er>la-

dos sera<n> por ello punidos

Ite<m> q<ue> todo om<n>e q<ue>rra p<re>dicar mo-

zos ynora<n>tes y gra<n>des pecadores

no por q<ue> su p<re>dicacio<n> sea necesaria

ca no les es ma<n>dado ma[s] p<re>su<n>tuo-

same<n>te al tal oficio se llegara<n>

por q<ue> sean ho<n>rrados y p<re>ciados co<n>-

tra la ley del Apostol q<ue> dize ni<n>gu<n>[o]}

[fol. 224v]

{CB1.

no se p<r><<o>>cure a ni<n>gu<n> grado sy no

aq<ue>l a quie<n> dios llama asi co-

mo llamo Aron

Nota q^{ue} soⁿ dos antixp^{ist}os vno mes-

clado y otro puro y q^{ue} amos

correⁿ en vn tieⁿpo / ca el misto

destruye los bienes y teⁿporali-

dades de la yglisia e el puro

la fe catolica por la mayor

parte y este es enel fyⁿ del muⁿdo

El maestro de las seⁿteⁿcias. Beda.

hugo. Antidorensis. Nicolao de

lira. Yohachyn. Augustino. Abra-

lio. Eusebio. Damaceno fray

edon. Casidorus. petrus de ta-

ransia. Cadauno destes poneⁿ

treyⁿta sen~ales q^{ue} enel tiempo

del Antixp^{ist}o han de Reyn~ar}

[fol. 225r]

{CB1.

Primera sen~al. q<ue> sera amata-
da la deuocio<n> en los mucho vie-
jos y abitara en los de adolesce<n>cia
Nota<n> q<ue> sy oy es alguna deuocio<n>
e()nel mu<n>do q<ue> por la mayor
parte lo fallares en los om<n>es / o /
mugeres mozos q<ue> no en los mucho
viejos ahu<n> q<ue> sean en religion
o / en otra qualq<ui>era parte
La segu<n>da sen~al sera q<ue> asi bue-
nos como malos sera<n> tibios en
deuocio<n> y come<n>zara<n> y no acabara<n>
Nota q<u><<a>>ntos om<n>es hay e()nel mu<n>-
do q<ue> ha<n> come<n>zado ansy en re-
ligiones como en lo seglar a to-
mar deuocio<n> e()nel s<er>uicio de
dios y adelieue fallaras oy vno

q<ue> en aq<ue>l p<r><<o>>posito p<er>manesca mas }

[fol. 225v]

{CB1.

q<ue> de aq<ue>l feruor luego caya

en tibieza / y ahu<n> muchos dexar

aq<ue>l llamame<n>to de deuocio<n> come<n>-

zando sy<n> lo acabar co<n>tra la re-

gla / o / Ley eua<n>gelical. el q<ue> me-

te la mano al arado y torna

a()tras no es dyn~o de reyn~o

de los cielos

Tercia sen~al ser[a] q<ue> la mayor par-

te de los buenos y de los malos

sera<n> yncredulos y no creye<n>tes

enel aduenimie<n>to de la bestia

busca<n>do autoridades y no creye<n>-

tes la claridad en las ge<n>tes reuelada

Nota q^{ue} de mill omⁿes los nuevecieⁿ-

tos y noueⁿta oy fallaras coⁿ q^{ui}en

deste misterio q^{ue}rras hablar que

creaⁿ el su aduenimieⁿto del anti-

xp^{ist}o ser cercano al n^{uest}ro tieⁿpo antes}

[fol. 226r]

{CB1.

q^{ue} afirmeⁿ q^{ue} mucho(^s) es luen~[e] an~os

y ahuⁿ algunos q^{ue}rieⁿdo dezir q^{ue}

nuⁿca v^{er}na coⁿtra la v^{er}dad de la

saⁿta escritura q^{ue} dize q^{ue}l fijo de

perdicioⁿ sera reuelado

Quarta sen~al [sera] q^{ue} los religiosos

iⁿhonestos atormeⁿtaraⁿ los syer-

uos de dio[s] en escarnio

Nota q^{ue} en clerigos nin religio-

sos oy no fallaras a()delieue vno

q<ue> q<ui>era oyr q<ue> es trasgresor de la
regla y estado suyo / o / y sy alguno
co<n> deuocio<n> y buena enti<n>cio<n> lo
q<ui>er[e] corrigir en burla y escarnio
lo pone / y por ende oy ay de mu-
chos malos religiosos en el mu<n>do
Qui<n>ta sen~al sera q<ue> los oye<n>tes [de] la
palabra de dios ta<n>to les ap<r><<o>>uecha-
ra Como sy la no oyesen }

[fol. 226v]

{CB1.

Nota q<ue> el dia de oy es mas a
menudo y mas altame<n>te p<re>di-
cada q<ue> no fue en los n<uest>ros tie<n>pos
y mucho alle<n>de antes y ni<n> por
ende no fallaras q<ue>l ladro<n> dexee
de furtar ni<n> el robador de robar

ni<n> el matador de matar ni<n> el
soberui[o] de leuar adela<n>te su por-
fya ni<n> ni<n>guna otra criatura
enme<n>darse de su mal beuir ta<n>
poco es el fruto q<ue> de la palabra
de dios han y lieuan
Sesta sen~al sera q<ue> todos los an~os
seran secos con agua
Nota q<ue> n<uest>ro sen~or ha p<r><<o>>metido
al pueblo de yrrael q<ue> si los ma<n>-
damie<n>tos de la ley guardase<n>
q<ue> les daria lluuia en su tie<n>po
pues acata agora en n<uest>ro tie<n>po}
[fol. 227r]
{CB1.
q<ue> por no ternerse esta regla q<u><<a>>n-
tos an~os ha q<ue> las aguas no r<espo>nde<n>

al tie<n>po co<n>uenible / mas en tie<n>-
pos q<ue> tiene poco p<r><<o>>uecho a los
frutos y q<ue> los dan~e [y] destruya
Septima sen~al sera q<ue> en este tie<n>po
morara<n> dolores muchos en la tierra
vieja y nueva y aq<ui> dize Casi-
doro q<ue> estos dolores q<ue> parez(a)[e]ra<n>
sera<n> sen~ales de los dolores adue-
nideros muy breue por el peca-
do mortal en la tierra
Nota q<ue> sy en n<uest>ro tie<n>po y de no mu-
chos an~os pasados aca si el mu<n>do
por la mayor parte sy ha<n> salido
a vna p<ro>ui<n>cia en otra algunos
an~os en q<ue> no aya auido morta<n>-
dades ta<n>tas y ta<n> gra<n>des q<ue> adeliue}
[fol. 227v]

{CB1.

han dexado nin~os ni<n> viejos

q<ue> por esta plaga no sea<n> ni<n> ha-

delieue oy no fallaras en ni<n>gu<n>

lugar ni<n>gu<n> viejo de gra<n>d edad

como en otros tie<n>pos / y esos q<ue> so<n>

q<ue>dados ansy viejos como mozos

en guerras y en otros muchos

trabajos co<n> gra<n>des dolores y

afan corporal pasa<n> sus vidas

y esto por los gra<n>des pecados q<ue>

oy mas q<ue> nu<n>ca mora<n> en los bi-

uientes en la tierra

Ochaua sen~al sera q<ue> en este tie<n>-

po segu<n>d pone Rabi muyse<n> en

su letura q<ue> la ley de natura

dura dos mill an~os y q<ue> la ley de

gracia en q<ue> estamos auia de

durar otros dos mill an~os saca<n>-

do seys vezes ziento}

[fol. 228r]

{CB1.

Casidoro pone la noua sen~al q<ue>

e()nel tie<n>po de la ley de gracia ha

de me<n>guar asi como la edad de

los an~os a me<n>guo en zie<n>to y seys

Nota q<ue> segu<n> la cue<n>ta destos dos

q<ue> en dos mill an~os q<ui>tar seys cie<n>-

tos de los dos mill del mexias al-

ca<n>za<n>do se fallara (^en) la cue<n>ta

La decima sen~al y muy euide<n>te

sera q<ue> la tierra purgada sera

co<n> la escoba de la oueja

Nota q<ue> de la lana de la oueja se

faze el pan~o e del pan~o se haze

el Rabo / o / cola de la duen~a y

co<n> esta scoba va<n> barrie<n>do oy las

duen~as las calles y las plazas

a mal de su grado / y ahu<n> aq<ui>

has de notar q<ue> vno de los gra<n>des

pecados q<ue> en la ciudad de niniue}

[fol. 228v]

{CB1.

se fallo por do<n>de dios le ma<n>do

destruyr fue por la gra<n> po<n>pa

y desonestos trajes de om<n>es y mugeres

La xj<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> los morado-

res / o / mora<n>tes en egi(^to)[^p]to y ys-

rael saldra<n> de sus reyn~os y

verna<n> a otras tierras en gra<n>

pobredad y sus obras seran se-

meja<n>tes alas bestias y mas al su

pueblo no torneran

Nota q<ue> en n<uest>ro tie<n>po no ha mu-

chos an~os q<ue> de aq<ue>llas tierras v(^e)[^i]-

niero<n> en estas partes de espan~a

pasa<n>do por toledo y por ocan~a y

a()q<ue>sta comarca fasta en la corte

del Rey n<uest>ro sen~or los q<u><<a>>les mira<n>-

do las manos de las criaturas

y om<n>es y mugeres descubrian

los gra<n>des secretos y cosas ocultas}

[fol. 229r]

{CB1.

q<ue> por muchas p<er>sonas era<n> pasa-

das entra los quales se decia

venir gra<n>des om<n>es de estado y

duen~as desto mismo grado pe-

die<n>do limosinas por amor de

xp<ist>o y no por amor de yh<es>u xp<ist>o

y ahu<n> por la do<n>zella de soria

endimoniada se falla dezir aq<ue>-

llos ser del antixp<ist>o y e<n>tr(o)[e] ellos an-

dar vno hermano suy[o] llamado Iaso<n>

La xij<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> la tierra me-

diana y menor porna<n> poderio

ala mayor y atorme<n>tar la ha<n>

en gra<n> cuyta y esto nota q<ue> en

todo el mu<n>do mora y morara

La xiiij<<a>> Sen~al sera q<ue> la tierra

rescibira gra<n>des plazerres mes-

clados co<n> tristeza / y ansy porna<n>}

[fol. 229v]

{CB1.

en oluido el aduenimie<n>to de

la bestia co<n> el plazer y poco cuy-

dado fazi<n>do dello / asi verna

Nota q<ue> adelieue fallaras oy enel

mu<n>do om<n>e q<ue> en otro studio po<n>-

ga su vida si no en ocupar en

po<n>pas y plazerres del mu<n>do pe-

ro co<n> todo esso no fallaras vno

q<ue> e<n>tre esos plazerres no se le mes-

cle<n> doblados (^dolores) pesares y

trabajos en las cosas q<ue> ansy e()nel

mu<n>do trata por ende por fuer-

za le ha de venir mucha tristeza

La xiiij<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> todos los

oficiales de la tierra sera<n> fal-

seficos y perjuros

Nota q<ue> fallaras agora adelieue

p<r><<i>>ncipe ni<n> gra<n> sen~or nin otro}

[fol. 230r]

{CB1.

alguno de menor estado q<ue> te<n>-

ga oficio de regir / o / gouernar

alguna p<ro>ui<n>cia lugar ciudad

o / villa q<ue> en su gouernacio<n> y

participacio<n> se aya ta<n> bie<n> q<ue> no

aya<n> ta<n> bie<n> q<ue>br(e)[a]<n>ta<n>do / o / ydo co<n>-

tra los jurame<n>tos q<ue> aya<n> fecho

regie<n>do / o / gouerna<n>do el tal

estado / Ansy q<ue> sy algu<n>o de esto

dios a guardado deue ser(a) ala-

bado y loado de todo el mu<n>do

La xv<<a>> sen~al [sera] q<ue> los om<n>es fablara<n>

so Cortina

Nota q<ue> por la mayor parte los

om<n>es deste tie<n>po fallaras de do-

bladas corazones en ta<n>to q<ue> la fa-

bla entre ellos sera so disimula-

das palabras / y asi cubre<n> lo del}

[fol. 230v]

{CB1.

corazo<n> ponie<n>do por cortina

o cobertura la disimulacio<n>

bie<n> fabla<n>do y dexa<n>do enel co-

razo<n> lo amargo

La xvj<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> en muchos

cesara el avnimie<n>to de la bestia

Nota q<ue> oy adeliue fall(e)[a]ras vn

om<n>e q<ue> sye<n>ta por sen~ales q<ue> vea

el peligro de su aduenimie<n>to

ni<n> q<ue> q<ui>era hablar ni<n> sentir ni<n>-

guna cosa della

La xvij<<a>> [sera] q<ue> muchos elegidos mas

q<ue> fuero<n> del comie<n>zo del mu<n>-

do aca sera<n> elegidos en co<n>trarie-

dades y no elegidos en el adue-

nimie<n>to de [^a]q<ue>sta bestia

Nota q<ue> en clerigos ni<n> religiosos

apenas oy fallaras sy no muy

pocos q<ue> te<n>ga<n> q<ue> la su venida es}

[fol. 231r]

{CB1.

cercana al n<uest>ro tie<n>po antes dize<n>

y afirma<n> q<ue> es mucho luen~e y ahu<n>

q<ui>ere<n> dezir q<ue> nu<n>ca v<er>na co<n>tra el

dicho del eua<n>gelio q<ue> su venida afirma

La xviiij<<a>> sen~al [sera] q<ue> la yglesia sera

mal tratada y atorme<n>tada

y muchos porna<n> fia<n>za en la

obedie<n>zia y desfazer la han

Nota q^{ue} en los postrimeros tieⁿpos
avya de ser en la yglisya de di-
os graⁿ zisma mortal por elecioⁿ
de vn papa no v^{er}dadera niⁿ ca-
nonicameⁿte entrado enel es-
tado de la dinⁱ(t)[d]ad papal coⁿtra
el v^{er}dadero papa q^{ue} a esa sazoⁿ
auia de estar en esa misma
dinⁱdad por causa de la qual
cisma La yglesya de dios y las }
[fol. 231v]
{CB1.
personas eclesiasticas seraⁿ mu-
cho mal tratadas y atormeⁿ-
tadas del brazo seglar y esto
para[]mieⁿtes si es comeⁿzado
La xix^o sen^{al} sera q^{ue} los cueros

de qua(n)t[r]o pies y las camisas de

la tierra sera<n> multiplicadas

Nota sy oy sy ay mas libros en

casa de vn dotor / o / sabio q<ue> no

avia en otros tie<n>pos en vno Ar-

zobispado / o / en la meytad de

vno Reyn~o los q<u><<a>>les de cueros

de ouejas y de lienzo q<ue> es el pa-

pel son cubiertos y fechos

La xx<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> los azota-

dos por dios sera<n> peores q<ue> antes

no se acorda<n>do de los b<e>n<e>ficios de dios

Nota Iob .c<<o>>.v<<o>>. bie<n> aue<n>turado el

om<n>e q<ue> del sen~or es castigado / onde}

[fol. 232r]

{CB1.

el mal traymie<n>to del sen~or no

lo denuestes ca el llaga y mele-
zina (y) fiere y sana / pue(a)[s] acata
sy oy n<uest>ro sen~or por los pecados
del mu<n>do sy nos azota por diuer-
sas maneras por nos corregir y
co<n>tra este co<n>sejo de Iob los om<n>es
de oy denostadores o ren~ega-
dores de dio(^r)[^s] se ha<n> tornados y
an~adido pecado a pecado peo-
res q<ue> antes se ha<n> tornado
La xxj<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> en medio
de los dias sera la yglesia co<n>tra-
ria a xp<ist>o y negara<n> la v<er>dad y
por ende guardate del pecado
q<ue> en breue caeras e<n> medio de la bestia
Nota q<ue> yh<es>u xp<ist>o en este mu<n>do
dos cosas a enxe<n>plo n<uest>ro a obrado}

[fol. 232v]

{CB1.

pobreza ma<n>tenie<n>do y v<ir>tudes

p<re>dica<n>do y estas dos cosas el ha

encomen<n>dado la pobreza y vi-

da eua<n>gelica a san fra<n>cisco y

la p<re>dicacio<n> a santo domingo

pues mira oy y antes deste tie<n>-

po q<u><<a>>nta diuision ovo y oy di-

(h)a en co<n>tradicio<n> destas reglas

dizie<n>do q<ue> ta<n> estrechamente no se

deuen guardar

La xxij<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> los buenos

de la tierra no podra<n> saber

en su aduenimie<n>to sy p<r><<i>>mero no

lo creye<n> q<ue> muy ayna ha de venir

Nota q<ue> muy pocos om<n>es fallaras

oy de aq^{ue}sta creeⁿzia antes mu-
chos coⁿtrarios a ella q^{ue}rieⁿdo dezir
q^{ue} mucho aloⁿgado es de nos el su }
[fol. 233r]
{CB1.
aueⁿimieⁿto / esta no taⁿ solameⁿ-
te de omⁿes simples / mas de los
omⁿes sabios y de famosa vida
y por ende es de notar q^{ue} mas
es este caso de[]belacioⁿ la q^ue^{<<a>>}l vie-
ne de la fe q^{ue} no de scieⁿcia. Ioa-
chin y Aray dizeⁿ q^{ui}eres saber
el aduenimieⁿto de la bestia
como malo tornate al ayuⁿta-
mieⁿto de los justos q^{ue} viene y v^{<er>}-
na tieⁿpo q^{ue} coⁿtaras a ti el ser de
mill y q^ue^{<<a>>}tro uezes cieⁿto y tres vezes

di(a)[e]s por sy y seys cie<n>tos pasade-
ros co<n>sumir se han a ti y a mi
los siglos / q<ue> de aq<ui> a dela<n>te mas
no sera / ca ento<n>ces reyn~ara
el hijo de p<er>dicio<n> tres an~os y me-
dio / por que te digo q<ue> te corrijas}

[fol. 233v]

{CB1.

q<ue> bie<n> aue<n>turado sera el q<ue> no
estouiere toma[n]do oficio ni<n> be-
(^??)[^n]eficio ma q<ue> fuere libre en lib<er>tad

Nota q<ue> de dos(s) mill an~os de la ley

de gracia en q<ue> agora estamos

co<n>ta<n>do mill y q<u><<a>>tro cie<n>tos y bey<n>-

t(a)[e] an~os y co<n> sumie<n>do / o / q<ui>tando

seyscie<n>tos del dicho cue<n>to falla-

ras q<ue>l antixp<ist>o despues de mill

y q<<a>>trocie<n>tos y treynta an~os segu<n>d

esta cue<n>ta ha de reyn~ar los di-

chos tres an~os y medio / pues pa-

ra mie<n>tes q<ue> dos de treynta an~os

a esta parte por algunos se dize

y afirma el antixp<ist>o ser nazido

La xxiiij<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> la tierra

en sus arcos sera la<n>za<n>te po<n>zo-

n~a de su corazo<n> por eleme<n>to}

[fol. 234r]

{CB1.

y en la yda y en la venida parti-

cipazio<n> justa no mostrara ala tierra

Nota q<ue> el eleme<n>to de la tierra es

eleme<n>to seco y male<n>conico y los

om<n>es de oy so<n> mas enclinados

alas cosas de la tierra q<ue> en nin-

guno otro tie<n>po / y por las alca<n>-

zar la<n>za<n> los vnos co<n>tra los otros

po<n>zon~a del corazo<n> en ta<n>to q<ue> ni<n>-

guna buena participacio<n> vnos

co<n>tra otros no ha<n> ni muestra<n>

y por ende q<ue>da<n> secos del amor

y Caridad asi como la tierra

La xxiiij<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> todos los

uestidos de rayzes de ouejas

cobdiziara<n> oficios y ho<n>rras

y no curara<n> de la bestia

Nota q<ue> asi es oy entrado enel}

[fol. 234v]

{CB1.

mu<n>do el pecado de soberuia

y vana gl<o>ria q<ue> adeliue fallaras

clerigo ni<n> religioso q<ue> cure<n> de otra

cosa sy no como alca<n>zara<n> bene-
ficios y gra<n>des din~idades en la
yglisia de dios en ta<n>to q<ue> por es-
to alca<n>zar porna<n> a todo el mu<n>-
do en suerte de gra<n> trabajo

La xxv<<a>> sen~al sera en la tierra

asi nueva Como vieja la<n>zara<n>

quatro eleme<n>tos huesos y tierra

mas q<ue> de antes

Nota q<ue> el om<n>e es fecho de quatro

eleme<n>tos. tierra. agua. huego

y ayere. y por ende ha q<u><<a>>tro co<n>-

plexiones. sangre. flema. cole-

ra. y mela<n>conia / y ha q<u><<a>>tro

Calidades. frio. seco. humido.}

[fol. 235r]

{CB1.

calie<n>te. estos so<n> co<n>trarios los
unos a los otros fasta lo traer
ala muerte / por ende para
mie<n>tes q<ue> esta tierra vieja y
nueva destos q<u><<a>>tro eleme<n>tos [es] co<n>-
puesta en n<uest>ros tie<n>pos mas q<ue>
en otros tie<n>pos pasados por co<n>-
trariedad y diuisio<n> q<ue> en vno
ha<n> por morta<n>dades q<ue> vniuersal-
me<n>te viene<n> agora co<n> este n<uest>ro
tie<n>po mas q<ue> no solia antiguame<n>-
te la<n>za huesos y la tierra onde
el ayre y el fuego ha<n> co<n>pan~ia
en la co<n>pusizio<n> alas sepulturas
onde fue el om<n>e formado mas
q<ue> en otros tie<n>pos a<n>tiguame<n>te
hazia. Ca de trey<n>ta an~os a esta

parte fallaras que del mu<n>do}

[fol. 235v]

{CB1.

universalme<n>te agora en vna

parte agora en otras morta<n>-

dades no ha<n> cesado

La xxvj<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> la yma-

jen de la tierra se este<n>d(a)[e]ra

en alto en sublimidad seye<n>do

uana en acatar y no en abaxar

en honestidad y sera<n> co<n>trari-

os ala Carta de escritura

Nota q<ue> ansy om<n>es como muje-

res tiene<n> oy por la mayor par-

te esta platica este<n>der las caras

en alto en gra<n>de deshonestidad

seye<n>do uanagloriosas en sus aca-

tamie<n>tos y no honestas en su
andar co<n>tra la regla y co<n>sejo
de salamo<n> en los p<r><<o>>uerbios q<ue> di-
ze hijo do<n>de anduviere el tu
pie ande tu ojo y este co<n>sejo ta<n>}

[fol. 236r]

{CB1.

bie<n> lo fallaras la<n>zado fuera en
la orde<n> de religion como en
la otras p<er>sonas siglares del mu<n>-
do por la mayor parte
La xxvij<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue>l miste-
rio de yh<es>u sera tratado por
cabrones y sin reuere<n>zia es-
ta<n>do ma<n>zillados de pecado y
v<er>na en duda el su misterio
q<ue>rie<n>do saber Como es y fue

Nota q<ue> por la mayor parte q<ue>

los clerigos ahu<n> los religiosos

oy so<n> llenos de pecado de luxu-

ria y de auaricia en los q<u><<a>>les

pecados sin ni<n>gu<n> temor de dios

al sacrame<n>to de la misa se

ha<n> llegado / y lo peor sin co<n>fe-

sio<n> y arrepe<n>timie<n>to y p<r><<o>>posucio<n>}

[fol. 236v]

{CB1.

de los pecados dexar / el cuer-

po de yh<es>u xp<ist>o ha<n> tomado en

su gra<n> danacio<n> en ta<n>to q<ue> en

los corazones de muchos que

no sabe<n> es puesta dubda sy el

tal sacrame<n>to es de sus manos

v<er>dadero / o / no

La xxviiij<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> mas cu-

rara la tierra de saber y a-

pre<n>der scie<n>cia co<n>puesta de ti-

erra q<ue> curara<n> de la sciencia

de la tierra partida vniuer-

sal / por el poco cuydado que

ende aueran

Nota q<ue> para los om<n>es del mu<n>do

ser scie<n>tes y saber las cosas del

mu<n>do syete scie<n>cias y arte

oy por la maior parte todos}

[fol. 237r]

{CB1.

los om<n>es del mu<n>do se dex(o)[a]<n> y

trabajan de apre<n>der asi de

gra<n> estado como de menor

no se fazie<n>do me<n>cio<n> ni<n> cura<n>-

do de la sabiduria del cielo

y del temor de dios por do<n>de

se ha<n> de saluar de la q<u><<a>>l poco

los om<n>es ha<n> q<ue> de las an<im>as no cura<n>

La xxix<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> los de y-

gual tierra sera<n> en gra<n>des

co<n>tradiciones ca la<n>zara la

tierra estran~a ala natural

y tomara su poder

Nota q<ue> la gra<n> cobdicia de los

p<r><<i>>ncipes y otros om<n>es de me-

nor estado por la mayor par-

te oy no se trabaja<n> en al sy no

como la<n>zara<n> los biuos a los}

[fol. 237v]

{CB1.

otros por fuerza de lo que es

y p<er>tenesce naturalme<n>te al
otro busca<n>do cautelas q<ue> a ellos
es deuido y los p<er>tenesze y en
lo tomar y leuar pone<n> sus
fuerzas ponie<n>do q<ue> la Ley
desto es el espada
La xxx<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> la fe<n>bra
tierra mas orlada sera de la
obra de la tierra q<ue> nu<n>ca a<n>te fue
Nota q<ue> no se fabla enel mu<n>do
tie<n>po en q<ue> las duen~as y otras
mugeres del mu<n>do ta<n> apues-
tame<n>te aya<n> seydo guarni-
das de las cosas de la tierra
como oy son arreadas
La xxxj<<a>> sen~al sera q<ue> aquel
tie<n>po sera<n> todos los p<r><<i>>ncipes}

[fol. 238r]

{CB1.

tiranos y destruydores de los

pobres contra toda justicia

Nota la experiencia y no has me-

nester de otra declaracion nin

respuesta

{RUB. Fyn}}

Chapter 5: Normalized edition of *Las señales*

Introduction

This normalized edition of *Las señales* (*LS*) offers the reader the opportunity to study the text in the original Spanish without the intrusions presented by the formatting of the semi-diplomatic edition. To facilitate this study, the following changes have been made:

- a. Capitalization, punctuation, use of accent marks, and word separation has been normalized to follow modern usage.
- b. Variations in spelling and archaic or regional forms have been maintained throughout the text.
- c. Vocalic *j*, *v* and *y* have been rendered as they are modernly: *j*tem = item; vn = un; ysrael = Israel; Yhesu > Jhesu.
- d. Consonantal *u* is rendered as *v*: hauia = había.
- e. *Chi rho*, represented by *xp* in the manuscript, have been rendered by *c* and *r*: xpisto = Cristo; antixpisto = anticristo.
- f. Line length exhibited in the manuscript is not preserved. Sections of commentary on the second set of prophecies have been indented and placed below the prophecy.
- g. The abbreviations found in the semi-diplomatic edition are tacitly expanded.
- h. Corrections – insertions or omissions – achieved by the scribe or some other corrector are not indicated as in the semi-diplomatic edition.
- i. Biblical references have been italicized and references provided in footnotes.

- j. Important information on persons, places and events mentioned in *LS* is placed in footnotes.
- k. Rubrics have been placed in bold.
- l. The text of *LS* is corrupt in several places, which requires the use of reconstructions. These have been placed within square brackets. For the section of *LS* based on Francesc Eiximenis's *Vida de Jesucrist*, footnotes explain the changes, which are based on the following textual witnesses discussed in Chapter 3:
 - i. C1 – Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 2801
 - ii. C2 – Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio, ms. II-552
 - iii. S1 – Paris, Biblioteque de l' Arsenal, ms. 8321
 - iv. S2 – Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 5626
 - v. S3 – Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, inc. 1126
 - vi. S4 – Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 6176
 - vii. *LC* – Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. 2176

Corrupt readings in other areas of *LS* rely on context. Reconstructions occur only where, if left untouched, the text would be difficult or impossible to make no sense. Explanations of these corrections to the text have been placed in footnotes.

Normalized Edition

[fol. 223r] **Las señales que serán en el mundo quando el Antecristo verná a reinar.**

Nota que San Metodio Mártir,⁶¹ queriendo mostrar el tiempo en que el Antecristo Misto había de reinar en este mundo, declaró estas señales que en su tiempo correrían, las quales son tan abiertas en la palabra y en la esperiencia que no fue necesario declaración sobre ellas, las quales se siguen:

- Después de la natiuidad de Jhesu Cristo a los mil y quatrocientos, y después [de] tan[tas maldades, no]⁶² se fallará omne verdadero ni leal a Dios.
- Ítem que por el pecado del pueblo [dará]⁶³ Dios miserables regidores, sin sabiduria y sin corazón y sin esfuerzo, cobdiciosos de dineros en su gran danación.

⁶¹ San Methodius Mártir fue obispo de Olimpio y murió en 312 D.C. El *Apocalipsis de Pseudo-Methodius*, muy leído en la época medieval, le fue atribuido aunque sabemos que se escribió en la segunda mitad del siglo séptimo en siríaco (Brock 222). La atribución de estas señales a él es espurio, pero esta primera sección de *LS* viene del *Vida de Jesucrist* por Francesc Eiximenis.

⁶² The manuscript of *LS* reads *malabes*, a non-existent word. The proposed correction comes from *LC*: “E muchas otras maldades. E que de mil personas no se fallarán una de buena, ne virtuosa, ne verdadera, ne tenga lealtad a Dios” (fol. 18r).

⁶³ The manuscript of *LS* lacks the verb. The correction is based on the following witnesses:

S2 – por el pecado del pueblo dará el Señor entonçes los mezquinos e viles regidores (fol. 41r).

S3 - por el peccado del pueblo dará el Señor . . . (fol. 175v).

LC - nuestro Sennor, por los peccados del pueblo, dará . . . (fol. 18r).

- Ítem quel brazo eclesiástico será peor que nunca fue, y el servicio de Dios [fol. 223v] será echado a tierra, e el matrimonio⁶⁴ de Jhesu Cristo [será] despendido⁶⁵ en carnalidades. Por lo qual dize que los que tales officios darán, serán perseguidos fasta la muerte.
- Ítem que lo siglares no cobdiciarán oír sermones ni predicaciones.
- Ítem que todo grado tenporal y espiritual verná a ninguna cosa, y que los beneficios y diñidades serán dados a personas disolutas: mozos y locos sin todo temor de Dios. Y que en este tienpo todo omne querrá grado por dones o por conplazer alguno.
- Ítem entonces serán maestros en theología y dotores en artes: omnes mozos, locos y disolutos. Que verná todo en escarnio. [fol. 224r]
- Ítem que el atto de cavallería será dado a mozos no sabidores en fecho de armas. El qual atto no será negado a rústico aldeano, nin a ningún ruin por dineros o porque aya amigos.
- Item que el grado del sacerdocio, no será negado en tanto. Que entonces, serán tantos de malos sacerdotes que Dios, por ende, contra todo el mundo será airado, y por tanto que los perlados serán por ello punidos.

⁶⁴ Los otros testigos de *Vida de Jesucrist* emplean la palabra *patrimonio*, refiriéndose a los bienes de la iglesia. Aunque el uso de la palabra *matrimonio* aquí probablemente se debe a un error textual en algún momento, la idea del matrimonio de Cristo se encuentra en *Apocalipsis* 19 y, por eso, la dejo tal como se encuentra.

⁶⁵ Aunque la palabra *despedido* sí existe, el contexto y los otros testigos textuales indican que la palabra debe ser *despendido*:

C1 – e lo patrimoni de Jhesu Crist se despendria en vanitats (fol. 28r).

S2 - el patrimonio de Ihesu Christo será despendido en muchas vanidades (fol. 41r).

S3 - el patrimonio de Ihesu Christo será despendido en muchas vanidades (fol. 175v).

LC - el patrimonio de Jhesuchristo, que son los bienes de la Iglesia, se despondrán en muchas vanidades (fol. 18r).

- Item que todo omne querrá predicar: mozos inorantes y grandes pecadores, no porque su predicación sea necesaria, ca no les es mandado, mas presuntuosamente al tal oficio se llegarán porque sean honrrados y preciados, contra la ley del apóstol que dize: *ningún* [fol. 224v] *no se procure a ningún grado sino aquel a quien Dios llama así como llamó Arón.*⁶⁶

Nota que son dos Anticristos: uno mesclado y otro puro. Y que amos corren en un tiempo, ca el misto destruye los bienes y temporalidades de la iglesia; e el puro, la fe católica por la mayor parte. Y este es en el fin del mundo.

El Maestro de las Sentencias, Beda, Hugo, Antidorense, Nicolao de Lira, Yohachín, Augustino, Abralio, Eusebio, Damaceno, Fray Edon, Casidorus, Petrus de Taransía:⁶⁷ Cada uno destes ponen treinta señales que en el tiempo del Anticristo han de reinar:

[fol. 225r]

Primera señal: que será amatada la devoción en los muchos viejos, y abitará en los de adolescencia:

Nota que si oy es alguna devoción en el mundo que por la mayor parte lo fallarás en los omnes o mugeres mozos, que no en los muchos viejos, ahunque sean en religión o en otra qualquiera parte.

La segunda señal será que así buenos como malos serán tibios en devoción y comenzarán y no acabarán:

⁶⁶ *Hebreos* 5:4

⁶⁷ Una descripción del pensamiento apocalíptico de estos teólogos, santos y eruditos se encuentra en el capítulo 3.

Nota cuántos omnes hay en el mundo que han comenzado, así en religiones como en lo seglar, a tomar devoción en el servicio de Dios. Y adelve fallarás oy uno que en aquel propósito permanesca, más [fol. 225v] que de aquel fervor luego caya en tibieza. Y ahun muchos dexan aquel llamamento de devoción comenzando sin lo acabar, contra la regla o Ley Evangelical: *El que mete la mano al arado y torna atrás no es dyño de reino de los cielos.*⁶⁸

Tercia señal será que la mayor parte de los buenos y de los malos serán incrédulos y no creyentes en el advenimiento de la bestia, buscando autoridades y no creyentes la claridad en las gentes revelada:

Nota que de mill omnes, los nuevecientos y noventa oy fallarás con quien de este misterio querrás fablar que crean el su advenimiento del Anticristo ser cercano al nuestro tiempo antes [fol. 226r] que afirmen que mucho es lueñe años. Y ahun algunos queriendo dezir que nunca verná, contra la verdad de la Santa Escritura que dize: *que el fijo de perdición será revelado.*⁶⁹

Quarta señal será que los religiosos inhonestos atormentarán los siervos de Dios en escarnio:

Nota que en clérigos nin religiosos oy no fallarás adelve uno que quiera oír que es trasgresor de la regla y estado suyo. Oy, si alguno con devoción y buena entinción lo quiere corregir, en burla y escarnio lo pone. Y por ende, oy ay de muchos malos religiosos en el mundo.

⁶⁸ *Lucas 9:62*

⁶⁹ *2 Tesalonicenses 2:3*

Quinta señal será que los oyentes de la palabra de Dios tanto les aprovechará como si la no oyesen:

[fol. 226v]

Nota que el día de oy es más a menudo y más altamente predicada que no fue en los nuestros tienpos y mucho allende antes. Y nin por ende no fallarás que el ladrón dexé de furta, nin el robador de robar, nin el matador de matar, nin el sobervio de levar adelante su porfía, nin ninguna otra criatura enmendarse de su mal bevir, tan poco es el fruto que de la palabra de Dios han y lievan.

Sesta señal será que todos los años serán secos con agua:

Nota que nuestro Señor ha prometido al pueblo de Israel que si los mandamientos de la ley guardasen, que les daría lluvia en su tienpo.⁷⁰ Pues, acata agora en nuestro tienpo [fol. 227r] que por no ternerse esta regla, ¿quántos años ha que las aguas no responden al tienpo conveniente, mas en tienpos que tiene poco provecho a los frutos y que los dañe y destruya?⁷¹

Séptima señal será que en este tienpo morarán dolores muchos en la tierra vieja y nueva.

Y aquí dize Casidoro⁷² que estos dolores que pareszerán serán señales de los dolores advenideros muy breve por el pecado mortal en la tierra:

⁷⁰ El libro de *Deuteronomio* describe un pacto que hizo Dios con los Israelitas, el cual menciona la llegada de la lluvia en su tienpo como evidencia de su obediencia a Dios (*Deuteronomio* 11:14 y 28:12).

⁷¹ En *Epidemiología español* don Joaquín de Villalba reporta: “En 1380 fueron tan grandes las lluvias en España que los ríos se salieron de madre, e inundaron los campos y labranzas, de que resultarían las enfermedades propias de la atmósfera, cargada de vapores y humedades” (53).

⁷² Casiodorus (c. 485—c. 580) fue un político latino que se convirtió al Cristianismo y fundó el monasterio de *Vivarium* en el sur de Italia. La atribución de esta señal es probablemente espuria.

Nota que si en nuestro tiempo y de no muchos años pasados acá, si el mundo por la mayor parte si han salido a una provincia en otra algunos años en que no aya auido mortandades tantas y tan grandes que adielieve [fol. 227v] han dexado niños nin viejos, que por esta plaga no sean nin adielieve oy no fallarás en ningún lugar ningún viejo de grand edad como en otros tienpos.⁷³ Y esos que son quedados, ansí viejos como mozos, en guerras y en otros muchos trabajos con grandes dolores y afán corporal pasan sus vidas. Y esto por los grandes pecados que oy más que nunca moran en los bivientes en la tierra.

Ochava señal será que en este tiempo, segund pone Rabí Muysen⁷⁴ en su letura, que la ley de natura dura dos mill años, y que la ley de gracia en que estamos avía de durar otros dos mill años, sacando seis vezes ziento: [fol. 228r]

Casidoro pone la nova señal que en el tiempo de la ley de gracia ha de menguar así como la edad de los años a menguo en ziento y seis:

Nota que, según la cuenta de estos dos, que en dos mill años quitar seiscientos de los dos mill del Mexías, alcanzando se fallará la cuenta.

La décima señal y muy evidente será que la tierra purgada será con la escoba de la oveja:

Nota que de la lana de la oveja se faze el paño, e del paño se haze el rabo, o cola de la dueña. Y con esta scoba van barriendo oy las dueñas las calles y las plazas a mal de su grado. Y ahun aquí has de notar que uno de los grandes pecados que en

⁷³ Esta profecía podría referirse a la Peste Negra de 1348—1350, pero había también otras pestes durante los años siguientes: 1358—Cataluña y Castilla; 1362—Barcelona; 1363—Andalucía; 1371—Barcelona; 1375—Seo; 1380—Zaragoza; 1383—Sevilla; 1384—Mallorca y Lisboa; 1386—Galicia; 1394—Valencia y Cataluña y Xátiva y Alcoi; 1396—Perpiñan; 1400—Sevilla; y 1410—Sevilla (Villalba 45—55).

⁷⁴ Se refiere al famoso filósofo judío Maimónides, nacido en Córdoba en 1135.

la ciudad de Nínive [fol. 228v] se falló por donde Dios le mandó destruir, fue por la gran ponpa y desonestos trajes de omnes y mugeres.⁷⁵

La xj^a señal será que los moradores o morantes en Egipto y Israel saldrán de sus reinos y vernán a otras tierras en gran pobredad.⁷⁶ Y sus obras serán semejantes a las bestias y más al su pueblo no tornerán:

Nota que en nuestro tienpo, no ha muchos años, que de aquellas tierras vinieron en estas partes de España, pasando por Toledo y por Ocaña y aquesta comarca fasta en la corte del rey, nuestro señor.⁷⁷ Los quales [moradores], mirando las manos de las criaturas y omnes y mugeres descubrían los grandes secretos y cosas ocultas [fol. 229r] que por muchas personas eran pasadas, entra los quales se decía venir grandes omnes de estado y dueñas desto mismo grado, pidiendo limosinas por amor de Cristo y no por amor de Jhesu Cristo. Y ahun por la donzella de Soria⁷⁸ endimoniada se falla dezir aquellos ser del Anticristo, y entre ellos andar uno hermano suyo llamado Jasón.

⁷⁵ La única referencia bíblica que conecta la ropa de los habitantes de Nínive a su destrucción divina aparece en *Nahum* 3:4—5:

“a causa de la multitud de las fornicaciones de la ramera de hermosa gracia, maestra de hechizos, que seduce a las naciones con sus fornicaciones, y a los pueblos con sus hechizos. Heme aquí contra ti, dice Jehová de los ejércitos, y descubriré tus faldas en tu rostro, y mostraré a las naciones tu desnudez, y a los reinos tu vergüenza.”

⁷⁶ Amada López de Meneses ha publicado sobre un documento que muestra la llegada de los gitanos a España en el año 1415. Véase “Gitanos en España 1415” (80—83). No obstante, no todos los historiadores aceptan la su investigación y ponen la fecha de su llegada a 1425 (Pim 4).

⁷⁷ El rey—aquí sin nombre—era Juan II de Castilla (1418—1454).

⁷⁸ Una referencia a este libro, ahora perdido, aparece en un estudio sobre los contenidos de la biblioteca canónica de la iglesia de Cardona. Explica Andreu Galera i Pedrosa que el testamento del sacristán Romeu Olleres (murió en el año 1442) menciona “hun libre de una estoria de una donzella de Soria” (103).

También, el libro *Aragón, reyno de Christo, y dote de María Santísima*, publicado en 1739, cuenta la historia de esta donzella, pero con un enfoque en cómo se curó y no en

La xij^a señal será que la tierra mediana y menor pornán poderio a la mayor, y atormentarla han en gran cuita:

Y esto nota que en todo el mundo mora y morará.

La xiiij^a señal será que la tierra rescibirá grandes plazerres mesclados con tristeza, y así pornán [fol. 229v] en olvido el advenimiento de la bestia con el plazer y poco cuidado, faziendo dello así verná:

Nota que adeliève fallarás oy en el mundo omne que en otro studio ponga su vida si no en ocupar en ponpas y plazerres del mundo. Pero con todo esso no fallarás uno que entre esos plazerres no se le mesclen doblados pesares y trabajos en las cosas que así en el mundo trata. Por ende, por fuerza le ha de venir mucha tristeza.

La xiiij^a señal será que todos los oficiales de la tierra serán falseficos y perjuros:

Nota que fallarás agora adeliève príncipe nin gran señor nin otro [fol. 230r] alguno de menor estado que tenga oficio de regir o gobernar alguna provincia, lugar, ciudad o villa que en su gobernación y participación se aya tan bien que no ayan tanbién quebrantando o ido contra los juramentos que ayan fecho regiendo o gobernando el tal estado. Así que si alguno de estos Dios a guardado deve ser alabado y loado de todo el mundo.

La xv^a señal será que los omnes hablarán so cortina:

Nota que por la mayor parte los omnes deste tiempo fallarás de dobladas corazones en tanto que la fabla entre ellos será so disimuladas palabras. Y así

profecías que dijera. Explica que llegó esta doncella Catalina al Real Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Piedra en 1427 y ya había sido poseída por 11 años, o sea, desde 1416 (Faci 454—56).

cubren lo del [fol. 230v] corazón, poniendo por cortina o cobertura la disimulación, bien fablando y dexando en el corazón lo amargo.

La xvj^a señal será que en muchos cesará el avenimiento de la bestia:

Nota que oy adielieve fallarás un omne que sienta por señales que vea el peligro de su advenimiento nin que quiera fablar nin sentir ninguna cosa della.

La xvij^a será que muchos elegidos, más que fueron del comienzo del mundo acá, serán elegidos en contrariedades y no elegidos en el advenimiento de aquesta bestia:

Nota que en clérigos nin religiosos apenas oy fallarás si no muy pocos que tengan que la su venida es [fol. 231r] cercana al nuestro tienpo, antes dizen y afirman que es mucho lueñe, y ahun quieren dezir que nunca verná, contra el dicho del evangelio que su venida afirma.

La xviii^a señal será que la iglesia será mal tratada y atormentada, y muchos pornán fianza en la obediencia y desfazerla han:

Nota que en los postrimeros tienpos avía de ser en la iglesia de Dios gran zisma mortal por elección de un papa no verdadero nin canonicamente entrado⁷⁹ en el estado de la diñidad papal, contra el verdadero papa. Que a esa sazón avía de estar en esa misma diñidad. Por causa de la qual cisma la iglesia de Dios y las [fol. 231v] personas eclesiásticas serán mucho mal tratadas y atormentadas del brazo seglar. Y esto para mientes sí es comenzado.

⁷⁹ Durante las negociaciones entre Benedicto XIII y Segismundo, se nota que la idea de una elección canónica le preocupa mucho al papa. Explica Luis Suárez Fernández que Benedicto XIII se consideraba como el único cardenal verdadero, dado que todos los otros cardenales habían sido designados por papas cismáticos. Benedicto XIII estuvo presente como cardenal al principio del Cisma en 1378 y, por eso, consideraba que cualquier elección canónica tenía que depender de su voto solamente (*Benedicto III* 289).

La xix^a señal será que los cueros de quatro pies y las camisas de la tierra serán multiplicadas:

Nota si oy si ay más libros en casa de un dotor o sabio que no avía en otros tienpos en uno arzobispado o en la mitad de uno reino, los quales de cueros de ovejas y de lienzo, que es el papel, son cubiertos y fechos.

La xx^a señal será que los azotados por Dios serán peores que antes, no se acordando de los beneficios de Dios:

Nota Job capítulo V^o: *bien aventurado el omne que del Señor es castigado*,⁸⁰ onde [fol. 232r] el mal traimiento del Señor no lo denuestes, ca el llaga y melezina fiere y sana. Pues, acata si oy nuestro Señor por los pecados del mundo si nos azota por diversas maneras por nos corregir. Y contra este consejo de Job los omnes de oy, denostadores o reñegadores de Dios, se han tornados y añadido pecado a pecado, peores que antes se han tornado.

La xxj^a señal será que en medio de los días será la iglesia contraria a Cristo, y negarán la verdad. Y por ende, guárdate del pecado, que en breve caerás en medio de la bestia:

Nota que Jhesu Cristo en este mundo dos cosas a enxenplo nuestro a obrado: [fol. 232v] pobreza manteniendo y virtudes predicando. Y estas dos cosas Él ha encomendado la pobreza y vida evangélica a San Francisco y la predicación a Santo Domingo. Pues, mira oy y antes deste tienpo quanta división ovo y oy día hay en contradición destas reglas, diziendo que tan estrechamente no se deven guardar.

⁸⁰ Job 5:17

La xxij^a señal será que los buenos de la tierra no podrán saber en su advenimiento si primero no lo creyen que muy aína ha de venir:

Nota que muy pocos omnes fallarás oy de aquesta creenzia, antes muchos contrarios a ella, queriendo dezir que mucho alongado es de nós el su [fol. 233r] avenimiento. Ésta no tan solamente de omnes simples, mas de los omnes sabios y de famosa vida. Y por ende, es de notar que más es este caso de belación, la qual viene de la fe que no de sciencia. Joaquín⁸¹ y Aray⁸² dizen: [si] quieres saber el advenimiento de la bestia como malo, tórnate al ayuntamiento de los justos. Que viene y verná tienpo que contarás a ti el ser de mill y quatro vezes ciento y tres vezes dies por sí y seis cientos pasaderos consumir se han a ti y a mí los siglos, que de aquí adelante. Mas no será, ca entonces reinará el hijo de perdición tres años y medio porque te digo que te corrijas. [fol. 233v] Que bien aventurado será él que no estoviere tomando oficio nin beneficio mas que fuere libre en libertad. Nota que de dos mill años de la ley de gracia en que agora estamos, contando mill y quatro cientos y beinte años,⁸³ y con sumiendo o quitando seiscientos del dicho cuento, fallarás quel Anticristo, después de mill y quatrocientos y treinta años,⁸⁴ segúnd esta cuenta, ha de reinar los dichos tres años y medio. Pues, para

⁸¹ Joachim de Fiore (1135—1202) escribió varias obras sobre la profecía y abogó su famosa teoría de las tres Edades del mundo: la del Padre, que dura desde la creación hasta el nacimiento de Jesucristo; la del Hijo, que comenzó al nacimiento de Jesucristo; y la del Espíritu Santo que iba a iniciar el Milenio de *Apocalipsis*. Después de su muerte, sus seguidores, los joachinistas, escribieron una multitud de obras en su nombre. No he podido acertar si esta referencia es espuria o si viene de una de estas fuentes.

⁸² No he podido encontrar a quien se refiere este nombre.

⁸³ Es una referencia a la fecha de composición original del texto en 1420.

⁸⁴ El autor cree que el Anticristo vendría en el año 1430.

mientes que dos de treinta años a esta parte por algunos se dize y afirma el Anticristo ser nascido.⁸⁵

La xxiiij^a señal será que la tierra en sus arcos será lanzante ponzoña de su corazón por elemento, [fol. 234r] y en la ida y en la venida participazi3n justa no mostrará a la tierra:

Nota que el elemento de la tierra es elemento seco y malenc3nico, y los omnes de oy son más enclinados a las cosas de la tierra que en ningún otro tiempo. Y por las alcanzar lanzan los unos contra los otros ponzoña del corazón, en tanto que ninguna buena participaci3n unos contra otros no han ni muestran. Y por ende, quedan secos del amor y caridad así como la tierra.

La xxiiiij^a señal será que todos los vestidos de raíces de ovejas⁸⁶ cobdiziarán oficios y honrras y no curarán de la bestia:

Nota que así es oy entrado en el [fol. 234v] mundo el pecado de soberbia y vanagloria, que adielieve fallarás clérigo nin religioso que curen de otra cosa, sino como alcanzarán beneficios y grandes diñidades en la iglesia de Dios, en tanto que por esto alcanzar, pornán a todo el mundo en suerte de gran trabajo.

La xxv^a señal será en la tierra así nueva como vieja lanzarán quatro elementos, huesos y tierra más que de antes:

⁸⁵ Probablemente una referencia a San Vicente Ferrer (1350—1419). Ferrer apoyó al papa Benedicto XIII por muchos años, finalmente sustrayendo su obediencia de él en 1416. Predicó en muchas partes de Europa y en Castilla pasó los años 1411 y 1412 predicando. José Guadalajara indica que Ferrer había predicado que el Anticristo nació en 1403 (“La edad del Anticristo” 341).

⁸⁶ El termino *raíces* puede referirse a los bienes inmuebles, o sea, la propiedad de la iglesia. Tamién, varias veces Jesús compara sus discípulos a las ovejas (*Mateo* 10:16, *Marcus* 14:27, *Lucas* 15:4).

Nota que el omne es fecho de quatro elementos: tierra, agua, huego y ayere. Y por ende, ha quatro complexiones: sangre, flema, colera, y melanconía. Y ha quatro calidades: frio, seco, húmido, [fol. 235r] caliente. Estos son contrarios los unos a los otros fasta lo traer a la muerte. Por ende, para mientes que esta tierra vieja y nueva destos quatro elementos es conpuesta en nuestros tienpos más que en otros tienpos pasados por contrariedad y división. Que en uno han por mortandades que universalmente vienen. Agora, con este nuestro tienpo más que no solía antiguamente lanza huesos y la tierra onde el aire y el huego han compañía en la conpusición a las sepultures onde fue el omne, formado más que en otros tienpos antiguamente hazía. Ca de treinta años a esta parte fallarás que del mundo [fol. 235v] universalmente agora en una parte agora en otras mortandades no han cesado.

La xxvj^a señal será que la imagen de la tierra se estendará en alto en sublimidad, seyendo vana en acatar y no en abaxar en honestidad, y serán contrarios a la carta de Escritura:

Nota que así omnes como mujeres tienen oy por la mayor parte esta plática:⁸⁷ estender las caras en alto en grande deshonestidad, seyendo vanagloriosas en sus acatamientos y no honestas en su andar contra la regla y consejo de Salamón en los *Proverbios* que dize: *Hijo, donde anduviere el tu pie, ande tu ojo.*⁸⁸ Y este consejo tan [fol. 236r] bien lo fallarás lanzado fuera en la orden de religión como en la otras personas siglares del mundo por la mayor parte.

⁸⁷ Variante de *práctica*.

⁸⁸ *Proverbios* 4:25—26

La xxvij^a señal será quel misterio de Jhesu será tratado por cabrones y sin reverenzia, estando manzillados de pecado. Y verná en duda el su misterio queriendo saber cómo es y fue:

Nota que por la mayor parte que los clérigos, ahun los religiosos, oy son llenos de pecado de luxuria y de avaricia, en los quales pecados sin ningún temor de Dios al sacramento de la misa se han llegado. Y lo peor: sin confesión y arrepentimiento y proposición [fol. 236v] de los pecados dexar, el cuerpo de Jhesu Cristo han tomado en su gran danación, en tanto que en los corazones de muchos que no saben es puesta dubda si el tal sacramento es de sus manos verdadero o no.

La xxviii^a señal será que más curará la tierra de saber y aprender sciencia conpuesta de tierra que curarán de la sciencia de la tierra partida universal por el poco cuidado que ende averán:

Nota que para los omnes del mundo ser scientes y saber las cosas del mundo: siete sciencias y arte oy por la mayor parte todos [fol. 237r] los omnes del mundo se dexan y trabajan de aprender así de gran estado como de menor, no se faziendo mención nin curando de la sabiduría del cielo y del temor de Dios, por donde se han de salvar de la qual poco los omnes han que de las ánimas no curan.

La xxix^a señal será que los de igual tierra serán en grandes contradiciones, ca lanzará la tierra estraña a la natural y tomará su poder:

Nota que la gran cobdicia de los príncipes y otros omnes de menor estado. Por la mayor parte oy no se trabajan en ál sino como lanzarán los bivos a los [fol. 237v] otros por fuerza de lo que es y pertenesce naturalmente al otro, buscando cautelas

que a ellos es devido y los pertenesze. Y en lo tomar y levar, ponen sus fuerzas poniendo que la ley desto es el espada.

La xxx^a señal será que la fenbra tierra más orlada será de la obra de la tierra que nunca ante fue:

Nota que no se fabla en el mundo tienpo en que las dueñas y otras mugeres del mundo tan apuestamente ayan seído guarnidas de las cosas de la tierra como oy son arreadas.

La xxxj^a señal será que aquel tienpo serán todos los príncipes [fol. 238r] tiranos y destroidores de los pobres contra toda justicia:

Nota la esperienzia y no has menester de otra declaración nin respuesta.

Fin

Chapter 6: Tentative English Translation of *Las señales*

Introduction

Just as with the oracles of Delphi, prophecy has always been subject to interpretation. Robert Lerner correctly commented: “medieval prophecies are rife with obscure allusions . . . there is good reason to believe that many prophets invented fully incomprehensible obscurities because they thought them appropriate . . .” (*The Powers of Prophecy* 8). The vague references and wording one encounters in prophecy not only complicate its comprehension in the original language, but also its translation into another.

The conservative and tentative translation provided here does not attempt to resolve all these difficulties. As such, the wording of some signs may seem odd or obscure; however, this only reflects the nature of the genre. Textual corruptions sometimes further complicate the translation of this text. I have relied on the conservative reconstructions from the previous chapter for resolving these corruptions. Additions made in this translation are enclosed in square brackets, and serve to clarify the subject of the verb, which is not always necessary for comprehension in Spanish.

English Translation of *Las señales*

[fol. 223r] **The signs that will be in the world when the Antichrist comes to reign.**

Note that Saint Methodius Martyr,⁸⁹ desiring to demonstrate the time in which the Mixed Antichrist will reign in the world, declared the signs which would occur at that

⁸⁹ Saint Methodius Martyr was bishop of Olympus and died in 312 AD. The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, often read in the middle Ages, was attributed to him, although we

time, which are so clear in word and deed that it was not even necessary to reveal them, as follows:

- After the birth of Jesus Christ—at one thousand and four hundred, and after so many evils, there will not be found a man true or faithful to God.
- *Item*: on account of the sin of the people, God will appoint the most evil leaders: without knowledge, without heart, without strength, greedy for money unto their great damnation.
- *Item*: the ecclesiastical branch will be worse than ever, and the service of God [fol. 223v] will be dashed to the ground, and the marriage of Jesus Christ will be wasted on carnal pleasures. Therefore, [the prophecy] says that those who grant such offices will be pursued to death.
- *Item*: laymen will not desire to hear sermons or preaching.
- *Item*: every temporal and spiritual office will come to nothing, and the profits and positions will be given to dissolute people, young, reckless men without any fear of God. And at this time every man will desire a position because of the gifts or in order to please another.
- *Item*: there will be masters of theology and doctors of arts, young, reckless, and dissolute men as everything will come to derision. [fol. 224r]
- *Item*: the rank of knight will be given to ignorant young men who know nothing of arms. This rank will not be denied to rustic villagers, nor to the most vile people because of money, or because they may have [influential] friends.

know that it was written in the second half of the seventh century in Sryiac (Brock 222). The attribution of these signs to him is spurious, but this section come *Vida de Jesucrist* by Francesc Eiximenis.

- *Item*: sacerdotal positions will not be denied as often. For at that time there will be such evil priests that God will be irate with the whole world, and prelates, therefore, will be punished for it.
- *Item*: every man will desire to preach: ignorant young men and grave sinners, not because their preaching be necessary, for it is not ordered that they do so. Rather, they will take up the office presumptuously to be honored and appreciated, which is against the law of the apostle that says: *may no one* [fol. 224v] *procure any position except that to which God calls him, in the same way in which he called Aaron.*⁹⁰

Note that there are two Antichrists: one mixed and the other pure. Both appear at the same time, because the mixed Antichrist destroys the property and possessions of the Church, while the pure [Antichrist] destroys the greater part of the Catholic faith. And this happens at the end of the world.

The *Magister Sententiae*, Bede, Hugo, Antidorense, Nicholas of Lyra, Joachim, Augustine, Abrialius, Eusebius, Damascene, Fray Edon, Cassiodorus, Peter of Taransía:⁹¹ Each one of these [men] name thirty signs that will prevail at the time of the Antichrist: [fol. 225r]

First sign: the devotion among elderly will be abated, and it will abide in the youth:

⁹⁰ *Hebrews* 5:4

⁹¹ A description of the apocalyptic thought of these authors, saints and theologians can be found in Chapter 3.

Note that if there exists any devotion today in the world, you will find it for the most part among young men and women, not in the elderly, whether they be religious or of any other profession.

The second sign will be that both the righteous and unrighteous will be lukewarm in their devotion, and they will start it and not finish:

Note how many men there are in the world who have started either in religious or secular [vocations] to take up devotion in the service of God. And scarcely will you find today one who remains in that intention; rather [fol. 225v] he falls from that fervor into tepidity. And many will leave behind that devout calling, without finishing what they started, against the rule or evangelical law: *he that puts his hand to the plow and turns back is not worthy of the kingdom of heaven.*⁹²

The third sign will be that the majority of the righteous and unrighteous will be incredulous and unbelieving in the coming of the Beast, looking for authorities and not believing the clarity revealed among the people:

Note that of a thousand men with whom you want to discuss the coming of the Antichrist being close to our time, you will find nine-hundred and ninety [fol. 226r] that affirm that his coming is many years away. Some even say that he will never come, which is against the truth of the Holy Scriptures, which say: *the son of perdition will be revealed.*⁹³

⁹² *Luke 9:62*

⁹³ *2 Thessalonians 2:3*

The fourth sign will be that the dishonest clergy will mockingly torment the servants of God:

Note that among the clerics and members of religious orders today you will scarcely find one who accepts hearing that he is a transgressor of the rule and of his rank. Today, if one wishes to correct him with devotion and good intention, he mocks and scorns the corrector. For this reason, today there are many evil clergy in the world.

The fifth sign will be that those who hear the word of God will benefit as if they had not heard it at all: [fol. 226v]

Note that [the word of God] is more often and highly preached today than it was in our times and times past. In spite of this, you will not find that the thief stops stealing, or the robber stops robbing, or the murderer stops murdering, or the prideful refrains from continuing in his persistence. Nor will any other creature correct his evil lifestyle, so little is the fruit produced by the word of God among them.

The sixth sign will be that the years will be dry with water:

Note that our Lord has promised to the people of Israel that if they keep his commandments, he would give them rain in its time.⁹⁴ Well, look now at our time, [fol. 227r] on account of not keeping this rule, how many years has it been since

⁹⁴ The book of *Deuteronomy* describes a covenant that God made with the Israelites, which mentions the timely arrival of rain as evidence of their obedience to God (*Deuteronomy* 11:14 and 28:12).

the waters have not come at the appropriate time? Rather, at times that avail the fruit little, the waters damage and destroy it.⁹⁵

The seventh sign will be that at this time many sufferings will reside in the old and new earth. And here Cassiodorus⁹⁶ states that these sufferings which will appear will be the signs of future tribulations to come shortly because of the mortal sins on the earth:

Note that if in our time and not long ago, if in the most of the world, if they have left from one province to another, where some years there has not been such a great loss of life, that scarcely [fol. 227v] children or elderly are left. On account of this plague there scarcely exist today, nor will you find in any village, an elderly person of great age as in previous times.⁹⁷ Those that do remain, the elderly as with the youth, spend their lives warring and in many other travails with great suffering and great bodily fatigue. And this happens on account of the great sins that abide on the earth today more than ever can be found among the living.

⁹⁵ Don Joaquín de Vallalba reports in *Epidemiología española*: “In 1380 there were such strong rains in Spain that the rivers left their channels and flooded the fields and cultivated lands, which resulted in sicknesses typical of the atmosphere, laden with vapors and humidity” (53).

⁹⁶ Cassiodorus (c. 485—c. 580) was a Roman politician who converted to Christianity and founded the monastery at *Vivarium* in southern Italy. The attribution of this sign to him is likely spurious.

⁹⁷ This prophecy could refer to the Black Death from 1348—1350, but there also existed other plagues during the following years: 1358—Cataluña y Castilla; 1362—Barcelona; 1363—Andalucía; 1371—Barcelona; 1375—Seo; 1380—Zaragoza; 1383—Sevilla; 1384—Mallorca y Lisboa; 1386—Galicia; 1394—Valencia y Cataluña y Xátiva y Alcoi; 1396—Perpiñan; 1400—Sevilla; y 1410—Sevilla (Vallalba 45—55).

The eighth sign will be that in this time, according to Rabbi Moisen⁹⁸ in his book, that the Law of Nature will last two-thousand years, and the Law of Grace, in which we find ourselves now, will last another two-thousand years, leaving six times one-hundred. [fol. 228r]

Cassiodorus lists the ninth sign that during the Law of Grace time must shorten as with age of years, leaving one-hundred and six:

Note that according to the account of these two, that from two thousand years, subtracting six hundred from the two thousand [years] of the Messiah, you will find the sum.

The tenth sign is very evident, and it will be that the earth will be swept with the broom of the sheep:

Note that from sheep's wool cloth is made, and from this cloth, the train of a lady's dress is made. And with such a broom, ladies go along shamefully, sweeping the streets and plazas. And even here you must note that one of the great sins of the city of Nineveh [fol. 228v]—for which God ordered its destruction—was found to be on account of its great pomp and the unchaste clothing of its women and men.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ This refers to the famous Jewish philosopher Maimonides, born in Cordova in 1135.

⁹⁹ The only biblical reference which relates the clothing of the Ninevites to their divine destruction appears in *Nahum* 3:4—5:

Because of the multitude of harlotries of the seductive harlot,
The mistress of sorceries,
Who sells nations through her harlotries,
And families through her sorceries.

The 11th sign will be that those dwelling in Egypt and Israel will leave their kingdoms and will come to other lands in great poverty,¹⁰⁰ and their deeds will be similar to those of beasts, and, more, to their towns they will not return:

Note that in our time, not long ago, from those lands they came to these parts of Spain, passing through Toledo, and through Ocaña, and to this province, even up to the court of the king, our lord.¹⁰¹ These [people], by looking at the hands of the children and men and women, revealed great secrets and things hidden [fol. 229r] that for many people were fulfilled, among whom it was said that they saw come great men of high rank and women of like status, asking for alms for the love of Christ, and not for the love of Jesus Christ. And even through the demon-possessed maiden of Soria¹⁰² it is found to be said that those [people] belong to the Antichrist, and that among them walks a brother of theirs named Jason.

‘Behold, I *am* against you,’ says the LORD of hosts;
‘I will lift your skirts over your face,
I will show the nations your nakedness,
And the kingdoms your shame.’”

¹⁰⁰ Amanda López de Meneses has published on a document that places the arrival of the Gypsies to Spain in 1415. See “Gitanos en España 1415” (80—83). However, not all historians accept her research, and they place the Gypsy’s arrival in 1425 (Pim 4).

¹⁰¹ The king—unnamed here—was Juan II of Castile (1418—1454).

¹⁰² A reference to this book, now lost, appears in a study of the contents of the Church of Cardona’s Canonical Library. Andreu Galera i Pedrosa explains that the testament from Romeu Olleres, the sacristan (d. 1442) mentions: “hun libre de una estoria de una donzella de Soria” (103).

Also, the book *Aragón, reyno de Christo, y dote de María Santísima*, published in 1739, tells the story of this maiden, but with a focus on her healing and not on the prophecies she may have uttered. It explains that this maiden Catalina arrived to the Real Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Piedra in 1427 and had already been possessed for 11 years, in other words, since 1416 (Faci 454—56).

The 12th sign will be that the middle and minor earth will challenge the major earth and will torment it with great affliction:

Note that this resides and will reside in the whole earth.

The 13th sign will be that the earth will receive great pleasures mixed with sadness, and in this way [people] will forget [fol. 229v] the coming of the Beast because of pleasure and lack of concern, and while doing this, he will come:

Note that you will scarcely find today in the world a man who spends his life in some other study that is not in pompousness and pleasures of the world. But with all this you will not find one among them who [does not experience] among those pleasures doubled tribulations and trials among the things of the world he treats. Therefore, perforce will much sadness come to him.

The 14th sign will be that all the officials of the earth will be liars and perjurers:

Note that you will scarcely find now any prince or great lord or any of lesser rank [fol. 230r] who has an office of ruling or governing some province, place, city or village, that may be under his governance and also his interest that also have not broken or gone against the oaths that they have made, while ruling or governing such an office. Therefore, if God has guarded one of these, he should be praised and lauded by the whole world.

The 15th sign will be that men will speak surreptitiously:

Note that, for the most part, you will find men of this time with hypocritical hearts while the speech among them will be under feigned words. In this way, they cover

[fol. 230v] what is inside the heart, placing the disguise sub-rosa, speaking well, but leaving bitterness in their heart.

The 16th sign will be that the belief in the coming of the Beast will cease among many:

Note that today you will scarcely find one man that senses through the signs the danger of his coming, nor wants to talk or feel anything about it.

The 17th sign will be that many chosen, more than those since the beginning of the world to now, will be chosen in hindrances, and not chosen at the coming of that Beast:

Note that among the clergy or the religious orders you will find today only very few who hold that his coming is [fol. 231r] near to our time; rather, they say and affirm that it is far away, and they even want to say that it will never come, against the statement of the gospel that affirms his coming.

The 18th sign will be that the church will be mistreated and tormented and many will place their trust in the obedience and they will ruin [the church]:

Note that in the end times there would be a great mortal schism in the church of God because of the election of a false pope who is not canonically entered¹⁰³ into the papal dignity, against the true pope who at the time and should be in the same dignity. On account of this schism the clergy and the Church of God will be

¹⁰³ During the negotiations between Benedict XIII and Segismundo, the idea of a canonical election noticeably concerns the pope. Luis Suarez Fernández explains that Benedict XIII considered himself as the only true cardinal because schismatic popes had designated the other cardinals. Benedict XIII was present as a cardinal at the beginning of the Schism in 1378 and, for this reason, believed that any canonical election depended only on his vote (*Benedicto III* 289).

greatly mistreated and tormented by the laity. And take notice, yes, this has now begun.

The 19th sign will be that the skins of four feet and the coverings of the earth will be multiplied:

Note that today there are more books in a doctor or wise man's house than there were in other times in a whole archbishopric or in half a kingdom, which are covered with sheepskin and made of cloth, which is paper.

The 20th sign will be that those who are flogged by God will be worse than before, not remembering the blessings of God:

Note Job chapter V: *blessed is the man whom the Lord chastises*,¹⁰⁴ where [fol. 232r] you do not revile the punishment of the Lord, because the flame and medicine burns and heals. Consider, then, if today our Lord, because of worldly sin, chastens us in various ways to correct us. And against Job's advice, the men of today—insulters and apostates of God—have turned [from Him] and heaped sin upon sin; they have become worse than before.

The 21st sign will be that in the middle of days, the church will be against Christ and they will deny the truth. Therefore, keep yourself from sin for you will quickly fall into the midst of the Beast:

Note that Jesus Christ has worked two things into this world for our example: [fol. 232v] keeping poverty and preaching virtues. And these two things He has

¹⁰⁴ *Job 5:17*

entrusted: poverty and the evangelical life to Saint Francis, and preaching to Saint Dominic. Look, then, today and before this time how much division there was and is still today in contradiction to these rules, saying that they should not be followed so strictly.

The 22nd sign will be that the righteous of the earth will not be able to recognize His coming if they do not first believe that it must come very soon:

Note that you will find very few men today of this view, rather many against it, wanting to say that his coming is very far from us. This [belief] exists not only among the simple, but among wise and famous men. Therefore, let it be noted that this is a case of watchfulness, which comes by faith and not by knowing. Joachim¹⁰⁵ and Aray¹⁰⁶ say: [if] you want to know about the coming of the Beast as evil, turn to the congregation of the righteous. For a time comes, and will come, that you will count to be of one thousand and four times one hundred and three times ten by itself, and six hundred tolerable, the centuries will be consumed for you and me from here on. But it will not be because then the son of perdition will reign three and a half years, I tell you this so that you correct yourself. [fol. 233v] Blessed will be the one that has not taken an office or benefit, but rather is free in liberty. Note that of the two thousand years of the Law of

¹⁰⁵ Joachim de Fiore (1135—1202) wrote a variety of prophetic works and put forth his famous theory on the three Ages of the world: the Ages of the Father, from Adam to the birth of Christ; the Age of the Son, which started at the birth of Christ; and the Age of the Holy Spirit, which would begin with the Millennium of *Revelation*. After his death, his followers, Joachites, wrote a multitude of texts in his name. I have not been able to ascertain if this reference is spurious or refers to one of these sources.

¹⁰⁶ I have been unable to identify this person.

Grace in which we are now living, counting one thousand and four hundred and twenty years,¹⁰⁷ and subtracting, or taking away, six hundred years, according to this account, you will find that the Antichrist, after one thousand, four hundred and thirty years, according to this account, will reign the aforementioned three and a half years. Well, heed that two of the thirty years to this place, it is said and affirmed by some that the Antichrist has been born.¹⁰⁸

The 23rd sign will be that the earth will shoot venom from its heart as an element; [fol. 234r] and in the going and coming, the participation of the righteous will not be shown on the earth:

Note that the earth as an element is dry and melancholic, and the men of today are more inclined to earthly things than at any other time. And to get these [earthly things], they throw venom from the heart against one another, such that they do not have nor do they show any good collaboration among each other.

Therefore, they remain dry of love and charity just like the earth.

The 24th sign will be that all of those [people] dressed with the immoveables of sheep¹⁰⁹ will desire offices and honors and they will not pay attention to the Beast:

¹⁰⁷ This establishes the date of original composition to 1420.

¹⁰⁸ This likely references Saint Vicente Ferrer (1350—1419). Ferrer supported Pope Benedict XIII for many years before finally subtracting his obedience in 1416. He preached throughout Europe and spent 1411 and 1412 preaching in Castile. José Gualajara's study "La edad del Anticristo y el año del fin del mundo" indicates that Ferrer preached that the Antichrist had been born in 1403 ("La edad del Anticristo" 341).

¹⁰⁹ This term may refer to immovable goods, in this case, the property of the Church. Also, on various occasions Jesus compares his disciples to sheep (*Matthew* 10:16, *Mark* 14:27, *Luke* 15:4).

Note that thus is the sin of pride and conceit [fol. 234v] entered in the world, so that you will scarcely find a cleric or religious person who is concerned with anything else except how to achieve benefits and great positions in the Church of God, so much that to get this they put the whole world at risk of great suffering.

The 25th sign will be that the earth, both new and old, will throw four elements, bones and earth more than before:

Note that man is composed of four elements: earth, water, fire and air. And, therefore, he has four complexions: sanguine, phlegmatic, cholera and melancholy. And he has four qualities: cold, dry, humid and hot. All these are contrary to each other until he is brought to death. Therefore, heed that this old and new earth is now composed of these four elements more in our time more than in times past by opposition and division that they share in one through destruction that comes universally. Now, in our time more than previously it throws the bones and the earth where the air and fire keep company due to the composition of the tombs where man is formed more than used to be in times past. You will find that for the last thirty years until now the slaughter among the whole world [fol. 235v] has not ceased.

The 26th sign will be that the image of the earth will be raised up in sublimity, being vain in viewing and not lowering itself in chastity, and they will be against the letter of Scripture:

Note that thus men like women today have this practice: raising their faces up in great lewdness, being conceited in their appearance and unchaste in their walk,

which is against the rule and advice of Solomon in Proverbs, which says: *Son, where your foot walks, let your gaze follow.*¹¹⁰ You will find this advice [fol. 236r] thrown out in the religious orders, as with the majority of the laity in the world.

The 27th sign will be that the mystery of Jesus will be handled without reverence by bastards, being defiled with sin. And there will be doubt about his mystery, wanting to know what it is and how it was:

Note that for the most part the clergy, even those of religious orders, today are filled with the sin of lust and greed. While in these sins, and without any fear of God, these people have come to the sacrament of mass. And the worst of it: without confession and repentance and without even wanting [fol. 236v] to leave their sins, they have taken the body of Jesus Christ to their own damnation, such that the hearts of many that are ignorant are in doubt as to whether the sacrament is from true hands or not.

The 28th sign will be that the world will desire more to learn science composed of earth than of the science of the earth shared universally on account of the little concern they will have:

Note that for worldly men, [it is important] to be knowledgeable about the things of the world: the seven sciences and art. Today, for the most part, all the men of the world are carried along and labor to learn, whether they come from a high or low position. They make no mention nor are they concerned to know about the

¹¹⁰ *Proverbs* 4:25-26

wisdom of heaven and the fear of God, whereby they are saved. And regarding this there are few men who do not concern themselves with their souls.

The 29th sign will be that those of the same earth will be in great contradictions, because the foreign earth will throw out the natural and will take his power:

Note that with great greed the princes and other men of lesser status, for the most part, today do not work on anything except how they can throw the living against one another by force against what naturally belongs to another, looking for deceitful ways to trick others out of what they own, and in taking it by force, saying that it is the law of the sword.

The 30th sign will be that the female earth will be more decorated than the work of the earth ever was:

Note that it is not talked about a time in the world in which maidens and other worldly women have been so adorned with earthly things as today they are decorated.

The 31st sign will be that in that time all the princes will be tyrants and destroyers of the poor against all justice:

Note the experience and you have no need of any other declaration or response.

The End

Appendix A – Normalized editions of Francesc Eiximenis’s *Vida de Jesucrist*

The following pages provide complete transcriptions of the apocalyptic section for Francesc Eiximenis’s *Vida de Jesucrist* from Book VI for the witnesses discussed in Chapter 3. Each text was first transcribed according to the norms established by the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies in *A Manual of Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language*. In order to normalize these transcriptions, the same modifications were made as discussed in Chapter 5, including the following additions and changes:

1. The ampersand, present in several texts, has been replaced by *e* or *y*, depending on the scribal norm.
2. Some texts use the capital R to represent an alveolar trill. It has been represented as a double r regardless of its position in the word.

Catalan Witnesses

(C1) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 2801

[fol. 28r]

E diu Alanus en lo conpendi theolech que pequen fort greument aquells qui donen les licencies de preycar a aytals homens en los quals no veen bona vida ne suficiencia ne edat. Car diu que ells són en causa de tots los mals qui daquí nexen en seran punits terriblament per nostre Senyor. E diu que aquell sant doctor e martir Methodius dix en spirit de prophecia que lo món devia venir a fort terrible decayment en lo trezen e quatorzen

centenari après la nativitat de Jhesu Crist lo qual decayment seria senyal que Anti Crist mixtich lavors vendria.

Capitol XXIX que lo món vendrie a gran decayment per moltes rahons.

Lo dit decayment dix que estaria principalment en aquests punts. Lo primer seria que abundaria tant en lo món peccat e iniquitat que quaix nos trobaria un bon hom ne vertader ne leal a Déu ne ala cosa publica. Lavors nos [fol. 28v] trobaria ffe ne veratat quaix en negú, ne amor ne caritat, ne frare guardaria bé a son propri germá, ne fill a pare ne senyor a vassall, ne parentia seria guardada ne coneguda.

Lo segon que nostre Senyor Déu per peccat del poble lavors dara los pus miserables e pus dolents regidors qui jamás fossen en lo món. Co és: homens sens saviesa sens cor e tot esforç, qui ne amarien Déu ne lurs subdits ne la cosa públichá, mas amarien cordialment honors, diners e delits e grans dampnatges de lurs ànimes e dejections de lurs coses e de lurs persones. Car com reebessen de lurs subdits ultra los emoluments acostumats per lurs predeçessors. Els axí com amerçenariis fugiren als servis als quals són obligats e tenguts a fer a lurs pobles. Aquí com són attendre diligent e personalment a lur bon estament, e a tenir los pau e a dar franca justícia e abundant e a defendre los dels enemichs, e tenir los furs leys e promissions e veritat promesa.

Lo terç senyal dix que seria del braç eclesiàstich seria pijor que jamés. Car lo servir de Déu será de tots punts a terra. Ell patrimoni de Jhesu Crist se despendria en vanitats e carnalitats moltes e no res o fort poch sen daria als pobres [fol. 28v] de Déu, per la qual cosa los tribularia nostre Senyor per lo braç secglar, en tant quels tolrien tot quant havien sens tota merçé. Els avorrien en tant que no guosarien ensenyar la corona, ne pare perdonaria al fill ne a altre que nol perseguís ala mort. Ne lavors seglars volrien

hoir sermons ne veure religiosos, nels darien almoynes per que covenia als religiosos de fugir ales muntanyas per pahor dels secglars. E aquí, per grat o per força, haurien a mudar lur vida e a seguir Déu.

Lo quart senyal dix que seria que tot grau spiritual e temporal vendria a no res, car principats e senyories e prelacions e beneficis dats a persones insensades e dissolutes, a fadrins folls, e a gent malvada e sens tota temor e conexença de Déu. Lavors tot hom volrá haver grau per dolent que sia, e trobaran quilts los dará per prechs o per dons o per voler complaure. Lavors seran mestres en theiologia, e doctors en dret canonich e civil, e mestres en medicina e en altres arts e facultats: homens jovens, ignorants, dissoluts, e en tan gran nombre que no será si no escarn e menyspreu del grau e dela sciència e daquell mateix [fol. 29r] qui lo grau aquell dará e pendrá.

Grau axí mateix de cavalleria seria dat a fadrins no sabents senye ne armes ne res de bé en tant que no será negat a pages ne a dolent negú qui diners haia o amichs. Axí mateix grau de preveratge no será negat a negú quil vulla. Per que diu que lavors seran tants de preveres e tan malvats que lur criminos e irreverent celebrar provocarà molt a nostre Senyor irexer contra lo món. Per que diu ací que per açò special seran grevement punits los prelats eclesiàstichs, qui tant alt grau comanen aquells quil devrien tolre, no solament pertal quant no han edat, hoc encara com fossen vells los devria ésser vedat de dir jamés missa per la vida çelerada en que perseveren tots temps. Diu ací mateix que lavors tot hom volria preycar: fadrins jovens, ignorants e grans peccadors, no que lur preycació sia neçessaria, car no seran curadors de ànimes nels será manat, mas moguts per gran presumptió dins ells amaguada. E perquè sien honrats e preats e ditats se procuraran aytals graus, els exeguirá sens neguna vergonya e temor de Déu, contra la ley

del Apòstol ad Ebreos V^o qui diu que *negun [fol 29r] nos procur grau de honor si no aquell que Déu hi appella a Aron*. Sobre la qual paraula del dit Apòstol diu sent Gregori que per dar a Déu glòria e offerta de preciosa humilitat, qui plau a Déu sobiranament. Encara quant lom se véu elet en grau de honor. Lavors li deu fugir fins que conegua lo voler de Déu ésser que ell prenha lo dit grau lo qual voler pot conèixer quant véu que no contrastant que ell fuscha a grau leyalment per humilitat, lo grau lo requere, e ell és tirat al grau per obediencia de son menor o per altra via pus alta. Per que conclou Alanus en lo dit loch que no sens gran rahó dix lo Salvador que beneuyrats eren aquells que spiritualment eren pobres ço és que sens fictió menyspreauen los dits graus e les altres vanitats del món. Car daquests ell volie que fos lo regne de Déu hor e ja ací diu aquests són beneuyrats en quant res no havent ne res volent temporal han tot lo món lexat per amor del Rey celestial. De totes coses són senyors, menyspreant les jat sia que civilment no les posseequen. Diu que pochi són aquells qui vinguen a aquest [fol. 29v] grau de perfectió. Mas aquells quey venen han aquests senyals. Ço és que són vers humils no poden ans desonors ne vituperis ne juyts ne lurs menyspreus axí com fan aquells qui per força són pobres en lo món, ans reputen a glòria a gran honor que per amor del Rey celestial. E per atenyer lo seu regne sofren los dits menyspreus e tots quants mals lo món los poria dar e procurar.

(C2) Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, ms. II-552

[fol. 121r]

E diu Alanus en lo conpendi theoloch que pequen molt greument aquells qui donen les llicències de preycar a aytals homens en los quals no veen bona vida ne suffiçencia ne edat. Car diu que ells són en causa de tots los mals qui daquí naxen en

seran punits terriblament per nostre Senyor Déu. E diu que aquell sant doctor e martir Methodius dix en spirit de propheçia que lo Món devia venir a fort terrible decahiment en lo Tretzen e Quatorzen centenari après la nativitat de Jhesu Crist, lo qual decahiment seria senyal que Anticrist mistich lavors vendria.

Capitol XXIX qui tracta com lo món pendra gran decahiment per moltes rahons.

Lo dit decahiment dix que estaria prinçiplament en aquests punts. Lo primer seria que habundaria tant en lo món peccat e iniquitat que quaix nos trobaria un bon hom ne verdader ne leyal a Déu ne ala cosa pública. Lavors nos trobaria fe ne veritat quaix en nengú, ne amor ne caritat, ne frare guardaria bé a son propri germá, ne fill a pare, ne senyor a vassall, ne parentia seria coneguda.

Lo segon que nostre Senyor [fol. 121r] Déu per peccat del poble daria lavors los pus miserables e los pus dolents regidors qui jamés fossen enlo món. Ço és: homens sens saviea sens cor e e tot esforç, qui ne amarien Déu ne lurs subdits ne la cosa pública, mas amarien cordialment honors, diners e delits en grans dampnacions de lurs ànimes e dejeccions de lurs cases e de lurs persones. Car com reebessen de lurs subdits ultra los emoluments acostumats per lurs predessors, ells axí com a merçenaris fugirien als serveys als quals són obligats e tenguts a fer a lurs pobles. Axí com són attendre diligentment e personalment al lur bon estament, e a tenirlos en pau e a donarlos francha justícia e habundant e a defendrelos dels enemichs e tenir los furs leys e promissions veritat promesa.

Lo terç senyal dix que seria quel braç ecclesiàstich seria pigor que jamés. Car lo servey de Déu seria de tots punts a terra. E lo patrimoni de Jhesu Crist se despendria en vanitats e carnalitats moltes e no res, o fort poch sen daria als pobres de Déu, per la qual

cosa los trebellaria nostre Senyor per lo braç setglar, entant quels tolrien tot quant hauien sens tota merçé. Els avorririen entant que ne gosarien ensenyar la corona. Ne pare perdonaria a fill ne a altre que nol perseguís ala mort. Ne lavors setglars volrien oir sermons, ne veure religiosos, nels darien almoynes per que covendria als religiosos de fugir ales muntanyes per paor dels setlgars. E aquí, per grat o per força, haurien a mudar lur vida e a servir Déu.

Lo quart senyal dix que seria que tot grau spiritual e temporal vendria a no res. Car prinçipats e senyories e prelaçons e benefiçis serien donats a persones [fol. 121v] insensades e dissolutes: a fadrins folls e a gent malvada e sens tota temor e conexença de Déu. Lavors tot hom volrá haver grau per dolent que sia, e trobaran qui lols dará per prechs o per dons e per voler complaure. Lavors seran mestres en theologia, e doctors en dret canonich e civil, e mestres en medeçina e en altres arts e facultats: homens jovens, ignorants, dissoluts, e en tant gran nombre que no será sino escarn e menyspreu dels grau e dela sçiència e daquell mateix qui lo grau aquell dará e pendrá.

Grau axí mateix de cavalleria será donat a fadrins no sabents seny ne armes ne res de bé, entant que no será negat a pages ne a dolent nengú qui diners haja o amichs. Axí mateix grau de preveratge no será negat a nengu quil vulla. Per que diu que lavors seran tants de preveres e tant malvats que lur crimosos e irreverent çelebrar provocarà molt a nostre Senyor Déu irexer contra lo món. Per que diu açí que per açò en speçial seran grevment punits los prelats ecclesiàstichs, qui tan alt grau comanen a aquells aquil deurien tolre, no solament per tal como no han edat, hoc encara com fosen veylls, los devria ésser vedat de dir jamés missa per rao dela vida malvada e sçelerada en que perseveren tots temps. Diu axí mateix que lavors tot hom volrá preycar: fadrins jovens,

ignorants e grans peccadors, no que lur preycació sia nescessaria, car no seran curadors de ànimes nels será manat, mas ells moguts per gran presumpció dins ells amagada. E per que sien preats e honrats e ditats se procuraran aytals gradus els exeguirá sens neguna vergonya e temor de Déu, contra la ley del Apòstol ad Ebreos quinto qui diu *que nengú nos procur nengun grau de honor sino aquell qui Déu hi apella axí como hi apella a Aron*. Sobre la qual paraula del dit Apòstol diu sent Gregori que per donar a Déu glòria e offerta de preçiosa humilitat qui plau [fol. 121v] a Déu sobiranament. Encara quant lom se véu elet a grau de honor, lavors li deu fogir fins que conega lo voler de Déu ésser que ell prenga lo dit grau, lo qual voler pot conixer quant que no no contrastant que fuja al grau leyalment per humilitat, lo grau lo requer, e ell és tirat al grau per obediència de són major o per altra via pus alta. Per que conclou açí Alanus en lo dit loch que no sens gran rao dix lo Salvador que benahuyrats eren aquells qui spiritualment eren pobres. Ço és qui sens ficció menyspreaven los dits gradus e altres vanitats del món, car daquests ell volia que fos lo regne de Déu hor e ja açí diu aquests són benahuyrats en quant res no havent ne res volent temporal han tot lo món lexat per amor del Rey çeestial. De totes coses són senyors menyspreantles jat sia que çivilment no les possesquen. Et diu que pochés són aquells qui vinguen a aquest grau de perfecció, mas aquells quey venen han aquests senyals: co és que són vers humils, no ponderants desonors ne vituperis ne juhís ne lurs menyspreus. Axí com fan aquells per força són pobres en lo món, ans se reputen a glòria e a gran honor que per amor del Rey ceestial, e per atenyer lo seu regne soffiren los dits menyspreus e tots quants mals lo món los poria dar e procurar.

Spanish Witnesses

(S1) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 8321

[fol. 150r] en la qual perseverán cada día. E aun dize que estonçe[s] querrá predicar todo onbre e viejos e mançebos e moços e neços e grandes predicadores, non porque sea neçesaria la su predicación, nin por que ayan cuidado delas ánimas, nin por gelo ayan mandado, mas movidos por grant atrevimiento e por grant sobervia que ternán ascondida dentro. E procurarán los tales grados, e buscar los han, e demandar los han, sin ninguna vergüença e temor de Dios porque puedan ser onrrados e preçiados e allegar rriquezas, non parando mientes alo que el Apóstol dize enel quinto capítulo alos ebreos: *que non procure alguno para sí grado alguno de onrra, si non el que es llamado de Dios como Aarón*. Onde sobre aquesta palabra del Apóstol dize Sant Gregorio que mucho plaze a Dios además que quando el onbre se vee seer escogido para algunt grado de onrra, la fuya fasta que conozca ser la voluntad de Dios que él tome aquel grado. Porque mucho es a él aplazible la oferenda de la humildad. E la voluntad de Dios puede ser conocida quando aun el que fuye aquel grado verdadera mente por humildad, el grado mesmo buscar demanda a él, e es levado al grado, non de su voluntad, mas por obediencia de su mayor e por otra muy más alta razón.

E de aquí concluye Alano enel dicho diálogo que non sin grant razón dixo el Salvador que bienaventurados eran los pobres de espíritu. Conviene a saber: los que sin alguna infinta despreçian los dichos grados e todas las otras vanidades mundanales porque de aquellos plaze a él que sea el reino delos çielos. E aun dize que son bienaventurados los pobres de espíritu porque como quier non han nin desean cosa alguna tenporal, e despreçian todo el mundo por amor del reino çelestial. Enpero de

todas las cosas [fol. 150r] son señores por el desprecio que dellas han, aun que cevil e rrealmente non las ayan. E aun dize que muy pocos son los que alcançan aqueste grado de perfeçión. E que los que lo alcançan han en sí las señales que se siguen. Conviene a saber: que son verdaderos, humildes e tienen por nada ser injuriados e despreciados e ser judgados e desonrrados. E tienen a gloria e onrra ser jurados e despreciados por amor del rreino çelestial. E sufren con alegría todos los dichos e desprecios e quantos males les podría el mundo fazer por alcançar el rreino delos çielos.

(S2) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 5626

[fol. 40v] **Síguesse un capítulo sacado del VIº libro de *Vita Christi* que compuso maestre Francisco Ximines que muestra delas razones dela caída del mundo.**

[fol. 41r] Cuenta el doctor Alano que aquel sancto doctor e mártir Metodio escrivió por espíritu de prophecía que el mundo verná a muy grand caída enel XIIIº e quatorzeno centenario después del nascimiento de Jhesu Christo. E aquesta caída sería señal dela venida del Antechristo. E dize que aquesta caída será principalmente por los puntos e razones que se siguen.

Lo primero: porque abondará tanto enel mundo el pecado dela desigualdat e falsedat, que apenas podrá ser fallado un ombre verdadero e leal a Dios e ala comunidat. E que apenas se fallará fe nin verdad nin amor nin caridat; nin guardará lealtad nin verdat el próximo, nin el hermano al hermano, nin el señor al vassallo; nin será conosciado parentesco.

El segundo punto es que por el pecado del pueblo dará el Señor entonces los mezquinos e viles regidores que fueron enel mundo. Conviene saber: ombres sin sabiduría e sin entendimiento e sin coraçón e esfuerço [fol. 41v]. E que non amarán a

Dios nin asus súbditos nin ala comunidat. E amarán de toda voluntad honrras e dineros e deleites a grand condenaçión de sus almas e a grand daño de sus personas e de sus casas. E rescibirán delos súbditos muchos pechos e rentas allende delas acostumbradas por sus anteçessores. E assí como a soldados fuirán el trabajo e defendimiento que son obligados de fazer a los pueblos. Assí como es, parar mientes personal mente e con diligencia al buen estado dela comunidat, e tener la en paz, e fazer le justicia conplida mente, e ala defender delos enemigos, e ale guardar las leyes e fueros e la verdat e prometimientos.

El terçero punto es que el braço ecclesiástico será peor que nunca fue, e que el servicio de Dios será del todo abatido a tierra, e que el patrimonio de Iehsu Cristo será despendido en muchas vanidades e deleites carnales, e será dado muy poco a los pobres. E por esto los atribulará el nuestro Señor por el braço seglar, [fol. 42r] e les tomarán todo lo que han sin toda misericordia e piedat, e los aborrescerán tanto que non osarán mostrar la corona. E que non perdonará el padre al fiijo, nin cessará delo perseguir fasta la muerte. E los seglares non querrán entonçes oír los sermones, nin ver a los religiosos, nin dar testimonias. E converná a los religiosos foír a los montes, e por fuerça o por voluntad avrán de mudar la vida e fuir a Dios.

El IIIIº punto es que todo grado spiritual e temporal verná a nada, porque los principados e señoríos e prelazías e beneficios serán dados a personas indiscretas e disolutas e a moços locos e a gente malvada e sin todo temor e conoscimiento de Dios. Entonçes todo ombre querrá aver grado por vil que sea, e fallará quien gelo dé por ruegos e presentes e por querer conplazer. E entonçes serán maestros en theología, e doctores en derecho canónico e cevil, e maestros en física e en otras artes e sciencias: ombres

mancebos e disolutos e de poco saber, e non será si non escarnio e desprecio del grado [fol. 42v] dela sciencia e del que lo diere e rescibiere.

E el grado dela cavallería será dado a moços locos que non saben de armas nin cosa de bien. E non será negado al aldeano o a otro qualquier por vil que sea si toviere dineros o amigos. E el grado dela clerezía e presbiterio non será negado a qualquier que lo quisiere. E entonçes serán tantos clérigos de missa e tan malos que sus pecados e la mengua de su reverencia en celebrar moverá mucho al Señor a se irar contra el mundo e contra los que son enél. E aun dize que por aquesto en especial serán muy gravemente atormentados a los que devrían privar, non solamente porque no han hedat, mas, aun por que fuessen viejos, devrían ser privados que nunca jamás dixiessen missa por la su mala vida en la qual perseverán todavía. E aun dize que entonçes querrá predicar todo ombre: moços e mancebos e nesçios e grandes pecadores, non porque sea nescessaria la su predicación, nin por que ayan cuidado delas almas, nin [fol. 43r] porque gelo ayan mandado, mas movidos por grand atrevimiento e por grand sobervia que ternán ascondidad de dentro. E procurán los tales grados, e buscarlos han, e demandarlos han sin alguna vergüença e temor de Dios por que puedan ser honrrados e preciados e allegar riquezas, non parando mientes alo que el Apóstol dize en el Vº capítulo a los hebreos: *que non procure alguno para si grado alguno de honrra si non él que es llamado de Dios, assí como Aarón*. Onde sobre aquesta palabra del Apóstol dize Sant Gregorio que mucho aplaze a Dios además que quando alguno se vee ser escogido para algund grado de honrra, la qual fuya fasta que conosca ser la voluntad de Dios que él tome aquel grado. Porque mucho es plazible aél la ofrenda preciosa dela humildat. E la voluntad de Dios puede ser conocida quando aunque él fuye aquel grado verdaderamente por humildat, el

grado mesmo busca e demanda aél, e es llevado al grado non de su voluntat, mas [fol. 43v] por obediencia de su mayor o por otra más alta razón.

E de aquí concluye Alano enel dicho diálogo que non sin grand razón dixo el Salvador que bienaventurados eran los pobres de espíritu. Conviene saber: los que sin alguna enfinta desprecian los dichos grados e las otras vanidades mundanales, porque de aquellos plazía a él que fuesse el reino delos cielos. E aun dize que son bienaventurados los pobres de espíritu porque como quier que non han nin dessean cosa alguna temporal. Desprecian todo el mundo por amor del reino celestial. E de todas las cosas son señores por el desprecio que dellas han, e aunque realmente non las ayan. E aun dize que pocos son los que alcançarán aqueste grado de perfección, e los que lo alcançan han en sí las señales que se siguen: Conviene saber: que son verdaderos, humildes, e tienen por nada ser desonrados e injuriados, ser juzgados e despreciados. E tienen a gloria e honrra ser injuriados e despreciados por amor del reino celestial [fol. 44r]. E sufren con alegría todos los dichos desprecios e quantos males les podría el mundo dezir e fazer por alcançar el reino del cielo.

(S3) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Inc. 1126

[fol. 175v] Onde dize Alano enel su conpendio de theología que peccan muy gravemente los que dan licencia de predicar a los que non han en sí vida buena e honesta ni suficiencia e hedad. E que ellos darán razón a Dios por los males que vinieren por esta causa, e que serán por ello atormentados muy duramente del Señor. E aun dize este mesmo Alano que el santo dotor e mártir Metodio escrivió por espíritu de prophecía que el mundo vernía por esta causa a muy grand caída enel trezeno e en el quatorzeno centenario después del nascimiento de Iehsu Christo. E que aquesta caída sería señal dela venida del Antichristo.

Capítulo CCLXXXIII: Delas causas por que el mundo ala fin caerá e verná en grand diminución.

[fol. 175v] E Dize aquel dotor que verná el mundo en grand caimiento por las razones que se siguen.

Lo primero: porque abondará tanto enel mundo el peccado dela desigualdad e falsedad, que apenas podrá ser fallado un ombre verdadero e leal a Dios e ala comunidad. E que apenas se fallará fe ni verdad ni amor ni caridad; nin guardará lealtad nin verdad el próximo al próximo, ni el hermano al hermano, ni el señor al vasallo, ni el pariente al pariente.

Lo segundo: porque por el peccado del pueblo dará el Señor entonces los más malos regidores que jamás fueron enel mundo. Conviene saber: onbres sin sabiduría, e sin entendimiento, e sin corazón e esfuerço, e que no amarán a Dios ni a sus súbditos ni ala comunidad. E que amarán de toda voluntad honrras e dineros e deleites a grand condempnación de sus ánimas e a grand daño de sus personas e de sus casas. E que tomarán delos súbditos muchos pechos e rentas allende delas acostumbradas por sus antecessores. E que así como a soldados fuirán el trabajo del buen regimiento e defendimiento que son obligados de fazer alos pueblos. Como es, parar mientes personalmente e con diligencia al buen estado delas comunidad, e a tener la en paz, e a fazer le justicia complidamente, e ala defender delos enemigos e le guardar las leyes [fol. 176r] e fueros e la verdad e prometimientos.

Lo tercero: porque el braço eclesiástico dize que será peor que nunca fue, e que el servicio de Dios será del todo abatido a tierra, e que el patrimonio de Iehsu Christo será despendido en muchas vanidades e deleites carnales, e que será dado dél muy poco alos

pobres. E que por esto los tribulará nuestro Señor por el braço seglar, e les tomarán todo lo que han sin toda misericordia e piedad, e los aborrescerán tanto que no osarán demostrar la corona. E no perdonará el padre al fiijo, ni cessará delo perseguir fasta la muerte. E dize que los seglares no querrán entonces oír los sermones, ni veer a los religiosos, ni les dar limosnas. E que conuerná a los religiosos fuir a los montes, e por fuerça o por voluntad avrán de mudar la vida e servir a Dios.

Lo quarto: porque los principados e señoríos e prelazías e beneficios serán dados a personas indiscretas e disolutas e a moços locos e a gente malvada e sin todo temor e conocimiento de Dios. E que entonces todo onbre por indigno e inábile que sea, querrá aver grado, e fallará quien gelo dé por ruegos e presentes e por querer conplazer. E que entonces serán maestros en theología, e doctores en derecho canónico e cevil, e maestros en física e en otras artes e ciencias: ombres mancebos e dissolutos e de poco saber, e no será si no escarnio [fol. 176r] e desprecio del grado e dela sciencia e del que lo diere e rescibiere.

E dize que el grado dela cavallería será dado a moços que non saben de armas ni cosa de bien. E que no será negado al aldeano o a otro qualquier por baxo que sea si toviere dineros o amigos. E que el grado dela clerezía e presbiterio no será negado a qualquier que lo quisiere. E que entonces serán tantos clérigos de missa e tan malos que sus pecados e la mengua de su reverencia en celebrar moverá mucho al Señor a se indignar e ensañar contra el mundo e contra los que son enél. E aun dize que por esto en especial serán muy gravemente atormentados los perlados dela iglesia porque darán altos grados a los que devían privar no solamente porque no han edad, mas porque aun que fuessen viejos, devrían ser privados que nunca jamás dixiessen missa por su mala vida

en la qual perseverán toda vía. E aun dize que entonces querrá predicar todo ombre: moços, mancebos e nescios e grandes pecadores, no porque sea necessaria su predicación, nin porque ayan cuidado delas ánimas, nin por que gelo ayan mandado, mas movidos por grand atrevimiento e por grand sobervia que ternán ascondida de dentro. E procurarán los tales grados, e buscar los han, e demandar los han sin alguna vergüença e temor de Dios porque puedan ser onrrados e presciados [fol. 176v] e allegar riquezas, no parando mientes alo que el Apóstol dize enel quinto capítulo a los hebreos: *que no procure alguno para si grado alguno de honrra si no él que es llamado de Dios así como Aarón*. Onde sobre esta palabra del Apóstol dize Sant Gregorio que mucho plaze a Dios además que quando el ombre se vee ser escogido para algund grado de honrra, la fuya fasta que conosca ser la voluntad de Dios que él tome aquel grado. Porque mucho es aplazible a él la ofrenda preciosa dela humildad. E la voluntad de Dios puede ser conocida quando el que fuye el tal grado verdaderamente por humildad, el grado mesmo busca e demanda a él, e es levado al grado no de su voluntad, mas por obediencia de su mayor o por otra más alta razón.

E de aquí concluye Alano enel dicho compendio que no sin grand razón dixo el Salvador que bienaventurados eran los pobres de espíritu. Conviene saber: los que sin alguna infinta desprecian los grados e las otras vanidades mundanales, porque de aquellos plaze a él que sea el reino delos cielos. E aun dize que son bien aventurados porque como quier que no han ni desean cosa alguna temporal. E desprecian todo el mundo por amor del reino celestial. De todas las cosas son señores por el desprecio que dellas han aun que realmente no las ayan. E aun dize que muy pocos son los que alcançan este grado de perfección, [fol. 176v] e que los que lo alcançan han en sí estas señales: son verdaderos

homildes, e tienen en nada ser deshonorados e injuriados, e ser juzgados e despreciados. Antes tienen a gloria e honrra ser injuriados e despreciados por amor del reino celestial, e sufren con alegría todos los desprecios e quantos males les podría el mundo fazer por alcançar el reino del cielo.

(S4) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 6176

[fol. 215r]

Del libro llamado *Vita Christi* de fray Francisco Ximenez, corregido y añadido por fray Fernando de Talavera, primero arzobispo de Granada, donde se contienen los evangelios de todo el año con otras cosas devotas. Fue sacado lo que de yuso será escrito del CCLXXX^o III capítulos, donde Cristo en su evangelio dize: *bienaventurados los pobres de [e]spíritu que dellos es el rreino delos çielos. Y sobresta autoridad dize lo siguiente.*

Dize Alano enel su compendio de theología que pecan muy gravemente los que dan licençia para predicar a los que no han en si buena vida ni onesta ni suficiençia ni hedad madura para tan alto ofiçio. Y que ellos darán razón a Dios por los males que vinieren poresta causa, y que serán porello atormentados muy duramente. Y dize más este mesmo doctor Alano: que el santo doctor y mártir Methodio escribió por espíritu de profeçia quel mundo a la fin vernía por esta causa a muy gran caída enel trezeno y catorzeno centenario después del nasçimiento de nuestro rredentor Jhesu Cristo y que esta caída sería bastante señal dela venida del Antecristo.

Luego enel CCLXXX^o III^o capítulos siguiente pone las causas porque ala fin el mundo caerá y verná en diminución por las palabras que se siguen:

Dize este mesmo doctor Alano enel dicho su compendio que verná el mundo en gran caimiento y diminución porlas rrazones siguientes.

Lo uno: que abundará tanto enel mundo el pecado dela desigualdad y falsedad, que apenas podrá ser fallado un hombre verdadero y leal a Dios y ala comunidad. Y que apenas se fallará en nadie fee ni verdad ni amor ni caridad; ni guardará lealtad próximo a próximo, ni padre a hijo, ni hermano a hermano, ni el señor al vasallo, ni el pariente al pariente.

Lo segundo: que por los pecados del pueblo dará el Señor entonces los más malos Regidores que jamás fueron enel mundo. Conviene a saber: onbres sin sabiduría y sin entendimiento y sin corazón ni esfuerzo. Y que no amarán a Dios ni a los súbditos ni ala comunidad. Y amarán de todo su corazón y voluntad honrras, dineros y deleites y sus propios intereses en gran condenaçon de sus ánimas y conçiençias y en gran daño desus personas y de sus casas. Y tomarán delos súbditos muchos pechos y Rentas allende delas acostunbradas por sus anteçesores. Y así como a soldados huirán el trabajo del buen Regimiento y defendimiento que son obligados a fazer a los pueblos. Como es, parar mientes y con diligencia al buen estado dela comunidad, y a tener la en paz, y ala defender y hazer le justicia cunplidamente y ales guardar las leyes fueros y la verdad y prometimientos.

Iten lo terçero: dize quel braço eclesiástico será peor que nunca fue y quel servicio de Dios será del todo abatido por tierra, y quel patrimonio de Jhesu Cristo será despendido en munchas [fol. 215v] vanidades y deleites carnales, y que será dado del muy poco a los pobres. Y que por esto los atribulará nuestro Señor por el braço seglar, y les tomarán todo lo que han sin ninguna misericordia ni piedad. Y por su mal bibir y mal

exemplo los aborreçerán tanto que no osarán mostrar las coronas. Y no perdonará el padre al hijo, ni el hijo al padre, ni çesarán de se perseguir hasta la muerte. Y dize este grave doctor que los seglares y gente de abtoridad no querrán estonçes oír los sermones, ni ver a los Religiosos, ni les dar limosnas. Y converná a los Religiosos huir a los montes, y por fuerça o por voluntad abrán de mudar la vida y irse a servir a Dios.

Lo quarto: porque los prinçipados y prelaçías y señoríos y benefiçios serán dados a personas indiscretas y disolutas y moços locos y gente malvada y sin ningún temor ni conoçimiento de Dios. Y que entonçes todo onbre, por indigno y inábil que sea, querrá aver grado, y fallará quien se lo dé por favor Ruego y presentes y por los querer conplazer. Y que entonçes serán maestros en theología, y doctores en derecho canónigo y çivil, y maestros en física y otras artes y çiençias: onbres mançebos, disolutos y de poco saber, que no serán sino escarnio y despreçio del grado y dela çiençia y del que lo diere y Reçibiere.

Y dize más quel grado dela cavallería será dado a moços que no sabrán de armas ni cosa de bien. Y que no será negado al aldeano o a otro qualquier por baxo que sea si toviere dineros o amigos. Y que el grado dela clerezía y presbitero no se negará a qualquiera que lo quisiere, y que entonçes serán tantos clérigos de misa y tan malos, que sus pecados y la mengua de su Reverençia enel çelebrar moverá mucho al Señor a se indignar y ensañar contra ellos y contra el mundo. Y aun dize que por esto en espeçial serán gravemente atormentados los perlados dela iglesia por que darán altos grados a los que devrían privar, no solamente porque no an edad, mas porque aun que fuesen viejos, devrían ser privados aque nunca jamás dixesen misa por su mala vida enla qual perseverarán todavía. Y aun dize más que entonçes querrán predicar todo onbre: moços,

mançebos, neçios y grandes pecadores, no porque sea neçesaria su predicación, ni por que ayan cuidado de las ánimas, ni porque selo ayan mandado, mas movidos por gran atrevimiento e por gran soberbia que ternán ascondida dentro desu pecho. Y procurarán los tales grados, y buscarlos han, y demandar los han, sin ninguna vergüenca y temor de Dios por que puedan ser preçiados y honrados, por allegar rriquezas y bienes tenporales, y fallarán quién se lo dé, no parando mientes alo quel Apóstol dize enel quinto capítulo alos Hebreos: *que no procure ninguno para si grado de onrra sino aquel que es llamado de Dios así como Aarón*. Onde sobresta palabra del Apóstol dize San Gregorio que mucho aplaze a Dios además que quando el onbre se vee ser escogido para algún grado de onrra, lo huyga hasta que conozca ser la voluntad de Dios quel tome a aquel grado, porque mucho es apazible a Dios la ofrenda preçiosa dela humildad. Y la [fol. 216r] voluntad de Dios puede ser conosçida quando él que huye el tal grado verdaderamente por humildad hallándose conoçiendo se ser indigno del el mesmo grado lo busca y demanda y es llevado al grado no por su voluntad, sino por obidiençia de su mayor o por otra más alta rrazón.

Y de aquí concluye el dicho sant doctor Alano enel su Conpendio que no sin gran rrazón dixo el Salvador que bienaventurados heran los pobres de espíritu, conviene a saber: los que sin alguna infinta despreçian los grados y las onrras y dignidades mundanales, porque de estos tales plaze a su magestat que sea el rreino delos çielos. Que aun dize que son bienaventurados porque como quier que no an ni desean cosa alguna tenporal, y despreçian todo lo del mundo por amor del rreino çelestial. Y por esto de todas las cosas son señores por el despreçio que dellas han aun que rrealmente no las ayan. Y aun dize que muy pocos son los que alcançan este grado de perfición, y quelos

quelo han o alcançan han en si estas señales: son verdaderos, umildes, no tienen en nada ser desonrados y injuriados y juzgados y despreçiadados por amor de Dios y del rreino çelestial. Y sufren con rrostro alegre todos los menospreçios y quantos males el mundo les podría hazer, todo a este fin por Dios y por alcançar su rreino çelestial.

(LC) Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms. 2176

[fol. 17v]

Las señales que han de scer para que puedas conocer quando será el ffin del mundo.

La ffin del mundo se puede saber por muchos señales, los quales son en dos maneras, según dize sant Methodi e cuenta lo el reverendo mestros Francisco Ximenes en la *Vida de Jhesucristo*.

E la [fol. 18r] primera señal es quando abundará en el mundo grande multiplicación de peccados e grandes malicias en las gentes, e muchas maldades e mentiras e traiciones e sinjusticias, e quando no avrá misericordia en los poderosos e en los ricos, e quando avrá grande abundancia de vicios e luxurias e gulas e matrimonios falços e grandes codicias e muchas otras maldades, e que de mil personas no se fallará una de buena ne virtuosa ne verdadera ne tenga lealtad a Dios ne a su ánima, e quando no se fallará ffe ne verdad ne amor ne caridad en padres con ffijos, ne ffijos con padres, ne ermanos con ermanas, ne señor con vassallos, ne se guardará el parentesco. E quando será este tienpo, será el primero señal.

E el II señal será quando nuestro Señor, por los peccados del pueblo, dará los tienpos muy espantables de muchas maneras de tribulaciones. E quando veréis muchas miserias e nescedidades en las gentes comunes, e quando veréis en los grandes muchas

codicias, e que serán muy avarientos e puestos en todos los vicios del mundo, e quando los que serán regidores delos pueblos serán sin saber e sin amor e temor de Dios, ni se dolerán de sus súditos ne dela república, que no amarán sino las honras e dineros e deleites. E foyrán al servicio de Dios que son hobligados, e como han prometido e jurado de regir verdaderamente la justicia, e lo fazen todo el contrario, e por dineros e favores e amistades e por miedo. E quando todo esto verás enel mundo será el II señal.

El III señal será quando será este tienpo: que los ecclesiasticos serán sin temor de Dios e lenos de todos los vicios del mundo e sin nenguna verguenssa e peyores que nunca fueron. E que eneste tienpo la iglesia daría gran caída, e que el servicio de Dios sería de todo punto perdido e muy resfriado. E que el patrimonio de Jhesucristo—que son los bienes dela iglesia—se despenderán en muchas vanidades e vicios carnales e muy pocos alos pobres de Dios. E por estos graves e grandes peccados vernán tan grandes tribulaciones sobre los ecclesiásticos por el braço seglar, que nunca fue tal persecución sobre la iglesia. E más que les serán quitadas las rentas e beneficios sin nenguna merced. E serán tan aboresidos de tal manera que no hosarán mostrar las [fol. 18v] coronas. E que el padre no perdonará al ffijo que sea clérigo, antes lo caçará fasta que lo mate. E enestos tienpos los seglares no querrán oír sermones, ne querrán ver nengún clérigo, ne menos alos rreligiosos, ne les darán limosnas. E todos foirán enlos desiertos por el gran miedo que ternán delos ceglares, de manera que, por grado o por fuerça, avrán de hemendar sus vidas al servicio de Dios. E quando todo esto será enel mundo será el III señal.

E el IIII señal será que el estado ecclesiástico e el estado ceglar vernán a no nada, por que los grandes señorios e mandos e cavallerías e oficios de perlados e calongías e beneficios e otros regimientos serán dados a personas no legítimas e de poco saber, e [a]

disolutos e a mochachos locos e a gente malvada e sin nenguna vergüenssa e sin nengún temor de Dios ne conocimiento. Porque enestos tienpos cada uno querrán alcansar honrra e señorios e mando e dignidades por roin que seha. El qual será el pueblo dará Dios los rregidores. E eneste tienpo se darán las dignidades e mandos e señoríos e las varas e regimiento dela justicia por dineros e amistades e contra la ley de Dios. E eneste dicho tienpo se farán muchos mestros en teología, e doctores en leyes e en medecina e entodas las otras artes. E los más dellos serán ignorantes e mosos viciosos e sin disposición, que será grande escarnio e menosprecio dela ciencia e delos mestros que les desaminan.

E esto mismo es del estado dela cavallería que se dará a los mossos que no sabrán nada en las armas ni en criança, entanto que no será negado a villanos ne a roínes ne a confeços ne a nenguno que tenga dineros e amistades. E otro tanto será del estado ecclesiástico que no será negado a qualquier inorante, ne a confeços, fijos e parientes de quemados, ne a nenguno que lo quiera cer de missa. E los mismos sacerdotes farán clérigos a sus fijos, dela qual cosa dize sant Vicente Ferrer e otros muchos doctores, que enestos tienpos serán tantos sacerdotes que no avrá madre ni padre que no quiera fazer de iglesia a su fijo, los quales serán tan malvados e lenos de vicios e crímines, e serán irregulares e irreverendos e sin devoción e sin consiencia e lenos de luxurias, de manera que serán causa que Dios embie sobre la iglesia e sobre todo el pueblo cristiano su ira por que los concienten [fol. 19r]. E según dizen los santos doctores, si los ecclesiásticos e los otros pueblos cristianos supiecen de diez partes una delas tribulaciones que sobre ellos todos han de venir, no avría nenguno que no se dasce el mismo la muerte por no ver tales e tan grandes persecuciones e tribulaciones. E sobre todo serán gravemente ponidos e castigados cruelmente los perlados dela iglesia por que tan alto misterio encomendarán a

tales ignorantes, los quales sin siencia predicarán. E asimismo predicarán muchos que ahon no ternán barvas e grandes peccadores, los quales predicarán mas por vana gloria e por la honra del mundo e por la ipocresia que ternán escondida, e por que les den presentes e que los pueblos les adoren e les fagan muchas honras e les den obispados. O otros mandos e riquezas que con las quales puedan ganar grandes dignidades sin temor de Dios ni vergüensa. E por esto dixo el Señor que benaventurados son los pobres de espéritu e los que mensoprecian las vanidades deste mundo, que destos sería el regno del cielo.

Appendix B – Textual Witnesses of Vida de Jesucrist

As mentioned in Chapter 3, several textual witnesses which contain the apocalyptic sections of Francesc Eiximenis's *Vida de Jesucrist* remain to be studied. These include manuscripts in Catalan, Spanish and French. The following section list manuscripts not studied for this dissertation. Jaume de Puig i Oliver's recent work, *Catàleg dels manuscrits de les obres de Francesc Eiximenis, OFM, conservats en biblioteques públiques*, provides an exceptional codicological description each manuscript. The list below provides the current location, library and signature of each manuscript, followed by the relevant pages from Puig i Oliver's work, which should to facilitate further examination of these manuscripts. Each manuscript is listed in the order it appears in *Catàleg*.

Witnesses in Catalan

1. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 460 (422—428).
2. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral, ms. 49 (428—434).
3. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral, ms. 21 (434—439).
4. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 268 (439—444).
5. Valencia, Biblioteca de la Universitat de València, ms. 209 (444 – 449).
6. Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat de Barcelona, ms. 1160 (449—453).
7. Vic, Biblioteca Episcopal, ms. 172 (453—457).
8. Valencia, Biblioteca de la Universitat de València, ms. 214 (461 – 466).
9. Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca March, ms. B-106-V2-3 (466—472).
10. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, ms. espag. 6 (477—481).
11. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 299 (481—485).

12. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Catedral, ms. 222 (509—513).

Textual Witnesses in Spanish

1. San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca del monestir, ms. N.II.18 (796—800).
2. Madrid, Palacio de Liria, Arxiu Ducal de la Casa d'Alba, ms. 73 (807—811).

Textual Witness in French

1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Française, ms. fr. 29 (940—947).

References

- Alba, Ramón. *Acerca de algunas particularidades de las Comunidades de Castilla tal vez relacionadas con el supuesto acaecer terreno del Milenio Igualitario*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975. Print.
- Álvarez Palenzuela, Vicente. "Últimas repercusiones del Cisma de Occidente en España." *En la España Medieval*. 5 (1986): 53—80. Print.
- . *Extinción del cisma de Occidente: La legación del Cardenal Pedro de Foix en Aragón (1425—1430)*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1977. Print.
- Alvariño, Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio. "The State of Milan and the Spanish Monarchy." *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500—1700*. Ed. Thomas James Dandelele and John A. Marino. Leiden: Brill, 2007. Print.
- Arcelus Ulibarrena, Juana María. Introduction. *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII—XV)*. P. José María Pou Y Martí. Madrid: Colegio "Cardenal Cisneros", 1991. Print.
- Augustine, Saint. *The City of God*. Trans. Henry Bettenson. Middlesex: Penguin, 1972. Print.
- Baumgartner, F. J., *Longing for the End: A History of Millennialism in Western Civilization*. New York: St. Martin's P, 1999. Print.
- Berceo, Gonzalo de. *Obras completas III: El duelo de la virgen, Los himnos, Los loores de nuestra Señora, Los signos del juicio final*. Ed. Brian Dutton. London: Tamesis, 1975. Print.
- Biblioteca Nacional. *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*. Vol XI. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1987. Print.

- Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate. *Poets, Saints and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378—1417*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2006. Print.
- Bonner, Gerald. *Saint Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary*. Newcastle upon Tyne: J. & P. Bealls, 1966. Print.
- Brock, Sebastian. "An Extract from the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius." *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*. Ed. Andrew Palmer. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1993. 222—42. Print.
- Burr, David. "Olivi, Apocalyptic Expectation, and Visionary Experience." *Traditio* 41 (1985): 273—88. Print.
- . *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2001. Print.
- Caravaggi, Giovanni. *Cancioneros Spagnoli a Milano*. Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1989. Print.
- . *Miscellanea Spagnola della "Trivulziana."* Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1976. Print.
- . "Un manuscrit espagnol inédit et un cas curieux de tradition textuelle." *Marche romane* 23—24 (1973/1974): 157—68. Print.
- Cátedra, Pedro M. "La predicación castellana de San Vicente Ferrer." *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*. 39 (1983—1984): 235—309. Print.
- Clark, Kenneth. "Francesco Melzi as Preserver of Leonardo da Vinci's Drawings." *An Overview of Leonardo's Career and Projects until c. 1500*. Ed. Clair Farago. New York: Garland, 1999. 14—17. Print.
- Cohn, N. *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*. New York: Oxford UP, 1970. Print.

- Colish, Marcia L. *Peter Lombard*. Vol. 2. E.J. Brill: Leiden, 1994. Print.
- Concheff, Beatrice Jorgensen, et al. *Bibliography of Old Catalan Texts*. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1985. Print.
- Corfis, Ivy A. *Diego de San Pedro's Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda: A Critical Edition*. London: Tamesis, 1985. Print.
- Cuella Esteban, Ovidio. *Bulario aragonés de Benedicto XIII. III. La curia de Peñíscola (1412—1423)*. Vol. 3. Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el católico,” 2006. Print.
- Dandeleit, Thomas James. *Spanish Rome: 1500—1700*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2001. Print.
- Duke, Rachele. “Traduzione.” Message to the author. 9 Feb 2014. Email.
- Dutton, Brian. Introduction. *Obras completas III: El duelo de la virgen, Los himnos, Los loores de nuestra Señora, Los signos del juicio final*. By Gonzalo de Berceo. London: Tamesis, 1975. 3—4. Print.
- . Introducción. *Obras completas I: La vida de San Millán de la Cogolla*. 2nd Ed. By Gonzalo de Berceo. London: Tamesis, 1984. Print.
- Eiximenis, Francesc. *Dotze de Crèstia*. INC 1103. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Valencia: Lambert Palmart, 1484. *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*. Web. 15 January 2014.
- . *Libro del conocimiento del fin del mundo*. MS 9-2176. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
- . *Vida de Jesucrist*. INC 1126. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*. Web. 15 January 2014.
- . *Vida de Jesucrist*. MS II-552. Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid.

- . *Vida de Jesucrist*. MS 795. Biblioteca Pública del Estado en Palma de Mallorca, Palma de Mallorca. *Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico*. Web. 15 January 2014.
- . *Vida de Jesucrist*. MS 2801. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- . *Vida de Jesucrist*. MS 4187. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- . *Vida de Jesucrist*. MS 5626. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- . *Vida de Jesucrist*. MS 6176. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- . *Vida de Jesucrist*. MS 8321. Bibiothèque de l’Arsenal, Paris.
- . *Vida de Jesucrist*. MS 18722. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- Emmerson, Richard Kenneth. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature*. Seattle: U of Washington, 1981. Print.
- Emmerson, Richard K. and Ronald B. Herzman. *The Apocalyptic Imagination in Medieval Literature*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1992. Print.
- Faci, Fr. Roque Alberto. *Aragón, reyno de Christo, y dote de María Santísima*. Zaragoza: Oficina de Joseph Fort, 1739. *Google Book Search*. Web. 23 July 2013.
- Farinelli, Arturo. *Italia e Spagna*. Vol. 2. Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1929. Print.
- Faulhaber, Charles, et al. *Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts*. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1984. Print.
- Finoli, Anna Maria. “Lingua e cultura spagnola nell’Italia superiore alla fine del ‘400 e ai primi del ‘500.” *Instituto Lombardo* (1958): 635—47. Print.
- Flores, Juan de. *Grisel y Mirabella*. Ed. María Grazia Ciccarello di Blasi. Roma: Bagatto Libri, 2003. Print.

- Frenk, Margit. *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica: Siglos XV a XVII*. Vol. 1. Mexico D.F.: UNAM, 2003. Print.
- Galera i Pedrosa. Els llibres del cor de l'església canònica de Sant Vicenç de Cardona, segons un inventari de l'any 1507." *Faventia* 17 (1995): 95—113. Print.
- Gracia, Jorge J. E. "Francesc Eiximenis' Sources." *Catalan Studies: Estudis sobre el Catalá*. Ed. J. Gulsoy and J.Sola-Sole. Madrid: Hispam, 1978. 173—87. Print.
- Guadalajara, José Medina. *El anticristo en la España medieval*. Madrid: Laberinto, 2004. Print.
- . *Las profecías del Anticristo en la Edad Media*. Madrid: Gredos, 1996. Print.
- Guixeras, David and Xavier Renedo. "Introduction." *Francesc Eiximenis: An Anthology*. Trans. Robert D Hughes. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008. Print.
- Gumerlock, Francis X. *The Seven Seals of the Apocalypse: Medieval Texts in Translation*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2009. Print.
- Gwara, Joseph J. and Diane Wright. "A New Manuscript of Juan de Flores' *Grisel y Mirabella*: Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana Vat. Lat. MS 6966, ff. 68r—76v." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 77 (2000): 503—26. Print.
- Heist, William W. *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday*. East Lansing: Michigan State College P, 1952. Print.
- Izbicki, Thomas. "The Shadow of the Schism." *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378—1417)*. Ed. Joelle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki. Leiden: Brill, 2009. 443—46. Print.
- Käsemann, Ernst. *New Testament Questions of Today*. Philadelphia: Fortress P, 1969. Print.

- Kinane, Karolyn and Michael A. Ryan, eds. *End of Days:Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity*. Jefferson [NC]: McFarland, 2009. Print.
- Krey, Philip D, and Lesley Smith. *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*. Leiden: Brill, 2000. Print.
- Krey, Phillip D. "The Apocalypse Commentary of 1329: Problems in Church History." *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*. Leiden: Brill, 2000. 267—88. Print.
- Laird, Paul R. *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico*. Warren, Mich: Harmonie Park P, 1997. Print.
- Langlois, Ch[arles] V. "Hugo de Novocasto o De Castronovo, Frater Minor." *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*. Ed. A. G. Little and Frederick Maurice Powicke. Manchester [Eng.]: 1925. 269—75. Print.
- Las señales que serán en el mundo quando verná a reynar el Anticristo*. Ms. 940. Trivulziana Library, Milan.
- Lerner, Robert E. "Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore". *Speculum* 60 (1985): 553-70. *JSTOR*. Web. 9 May 2010.
- . "Frederick II, Alive, Aloft, and Allayed, in Franciscan-Joachite Eschatology". *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*. Leuven: Leuven UP, 1988. 359—84. Print.
- . *Liber Secretorum Eventum*. Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1994. Print.
- . *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment*. U of California P: Berkeley, 1983. Print.

- . "The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath." *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Eds. Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1992. 51—71. Print.
- López de Meneses, Amanda. "Gitanos en España 1415." *Pomezia* 77 (1972): 80—83.
- Maas, Paul. *Textual Criticism*. Trans. Barbara Flower. Oxford: Clarendon, 1958. Print.
- Mackenzie, David. *A Manual of Manuscript Transcription for the Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language*. 5th ed. Revised and expanded by Ray Harris-Northhall. Madison: HSMS, 1997. Print.
- Maimonides, Moses. *The Guide for the Perplexed*. Trans. M. Friedlander. New York: Dover Publications, 1956. Print.
- Marino, Nancy F. "Inventing the Catholic Queen: Images of Isabel I in History and Fiction." *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*. Ed. Barbara F. Weissberger. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008. 186—199. Print.
- Martínes de Medina, Gonçalo. "Tú que te vees en alta coluna." *El cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*. Ed. Francisque Michel. II. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1860. 45—49. *Google Book Search*. Web. 20 January 2014.
- Martínez de Ampíes, Martín. *Libro del Anticristo declaración . . . del sermón de San Vicente (1496)*. Ed. Françoise Gilbert. Navarra: Universidad de Navarra, 1999. Print.
- McGinn, Bernard. *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia UP, 1979. Print.
- Monfrin, J. "La bibliothèque de Francesc Eiximenis (1409)." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*. Vol. 29 (2): 1967: 447—84. *JSTOR*. Web. 25 December 2013.

- Montaner, Alberto. Prólogo. *Cantar de mio Cid*. Barcelona: Centro para la edición de los clásicos españoles, 2007. Print.
- Mueller, Elijah Nicolas. "Temple and Angel: Apocalyptic Themes in the Theology of St. John Damascene." *Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity*. Ed. Robert J. Daly. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic. 240—49. Print
- New King James Version*. Introd. and notes by John R. Kohlenberger. New York: Oxford, 2004. Print.
- Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. *Estudio biográfico sobre los poetas del Cancionero general*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007. Print.
- PhiloBiblon*. 30 Nov. 2013. <<http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/index.html>>.
- Poole, Kevin R. "Beatus of Liébana: Medieval Spain and the Othering of Islam." *End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity*. Eds. Karolyn Kinane and Michael A. Ryan. Jefferson [NC]: McFarland, 2009. 47—66. Print.
- Porro, Giulio. *Trivulziana: catálogo di codici manoscritti*. Torino: Stamperia Reale, 1884. Print.
- Pou y Martí, Pedro Jose María. *Visionarios, Beguinos y Fraticelos Catalantes (Siglos XIII—XV)*. Madrid: Colegio "Cardenal Cisneros", 1991. Print.
- Puig y Puig, Sebastián. *Pedro de Luna: Último papa de Aviñón: (1387—1430)*. Barcelona: Políglota, 1920. Print.
- Puig i Oliver, et. al. *Catàleg dels manuscrits de les obres de Francesc Eiximenis, OFM, conservats en biblioteques públiques*. Vol. 1. Barcelona: Institute d'Estudis Catalans i Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya, 2012. Print.

- Rollo-Koster, Joëlle. "Civil Violence and the Initiation of the Schism." *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378—1417)*. Ed. Joelle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki. Leiden: Brill, 2009. 9—66. Print.
- Romeo, Galindo. *La biblioteca de Benedicto XIII (Don Pedro de Luna)*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1929. Print.
- Rosemann, Phillip W. *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's Sentences*. Toronto: Broadview P, 2007. Print.
- Rupescissa, Johannes de "Vade mecum in tribulatione." *Appendix ad Fasciculum Rerum Expetendarum & Fugiendarum ab Orthuino Gratio*. Ed. Edward Brown. London: Richard Chiswell, 1690. 496—508. *Google Book Search*. Web. 15 January 2014.
- . *Vade mecum in tribulatione*. MS 1877. Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca.
- . *Vade mecum in tribulatione*. MS 18. Biblioteca Capítular de la Catedral de Oviedo, Oviedo.
- . *Vade mecum in tribulatione*. MS 9-2176: Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
- Ryan, Michael. "Antichrist in the Middle Ages: Plus ca change." *History Compass*. 7 (2009): 1581—92. Print.
- . *A Kingdom of Stargazers: Astrology and Authority in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon*. Ithica: Cornell UP, 2011. Print.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994. Print.
- Simonin, H.-D. "Les Écrits de Pierre de Tarentaise." *Beatus Innocentius PP. V: Petrus de Tarantasia O.P. Studia et Documenta*. Roma: Sabinae, 1943. 163—335. Print.

- Starnes, Casey. "Ancient Visions: The Roots of the Judeo-Christian Apocalypse." *The End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity*. Eds. Karolyn Kinane and Michael A. Ryan. Jefferson [NC]: McFarland, 2009: 24—46. Print.
- Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Castilla, el cisma y la crisis conciliar (1378—1440)*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1960. Print.
- . *Benedicto XIII: ¿Antipapa o papa? (1328—1423)*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2002. Print.
- Thiog'o, Ngugi wa. "Decolonising the Mind." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Eds. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan. Singapore: Blackwell, 2004. 1126—50. Print.
- Vázquez Janeiro, Isaac. "Anticristo 'mixto,' Anticristo 'místico.' Varia fortuna de dos expresiones escatológicas medievales." *Antonianum*. 63 (1988): 522—50. Print.
- Vidal y Micó, Francisco. *Historia de la portentosa vida, y milagros del valenciano apóstol de Europa S. Vicente Ferrer*. Valencia: Joseph Estevan Dolz, 1735. *Google Book Search*. Web. 15 January 2014.
- Viera, David J. *Bibliografía anotada de la vida i obra de Francesc Eiximenis (1340?—1409)*. Rafael Dalmau: Barcelona, 1980. Print.
- Villabla, Joaquín de. *Epidemiología española, o historia cronológica de las pestes, contagios, epidemias y epizootias que han acaecido en España desde la vendia de los cartagineses hasta el año 1801*. Tomo I. Madrid: D. Fermín Villalpando, 1803. *Google Book Search*. Web. 22 March 2014.
- Visari, Giorgio. *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Scupltors, and Architects*. Trans. Gaston du C. de Vere. New York: Random House, 2006. Print.

- Weiß, Stephen. "Luxury and Extravagance at the Papal Court in Avignon and the Outbreak of the Great Western Schism." *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378—1417)*. Ed. Joelle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki. Leiden: Brill, 2009. 67—88. Print.
- Whalen, Brett Edward. *The Dominion of God: Christendom and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2009. Print.
- Whinnom, Keith. "The Problem of the 'Best-Seller' in Spanish Golden-Age Literature." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 57:3 (July 1980): 189—98. Print.
- Williams, John. *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*. London: Harvey Miller, 1994. Print.