

Early crusading apocalyptic in the context of the western apocalyptic tradition.

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EARLY CRUSADING APOCALYPTIC
IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WESTERN APOCALYPTIC TRADITION.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to describe the development in Judaism and Christianity of apocalyptic ideas - in particular that of the Millennium, the temporary kingdom supervised, on God's behalf, by his earthly representative, the Messiah.

Early Christian apocalyptic differed from Jewish only in that it set up Christ as the Messiah and expected his imminent return to institute the Millennium. Despite official disapproval, this sense of chiliastic immediacy never disappeared and, at the end of the eleventh century, it was able to exercise an important influence on the First Crusade.

Although Urban II did not preach the Crusade as an apocalyptic movement, it became one in the writings of the chroniclers and in the actions of the participants. In certain parts of Europe, social and economic conditions and a decade of disasters and signs identical to the traditional Messianic Woes had created a sense of anxiety and disorientation among the poor which could only be resolved by participation in an apocalyptic movement.

In the north, it was Peter the Hermit who articulated this process, while, on the official Crusade, Peter Bartholomew, finder of the Holy Lance, focussed the sense of election of the poor upon Raymond of Toulouse, whom he tried unsuccessfully to force into a messianic rôle.

The Crusade was seen in the light of the conviction that the world was about to end, as the fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecy, as led and helped by God, as having apocalyptic attributes of egalitarianism and as leading the participants to the boundaries of life and death, to a millenarian kingdom centering on the New Jerusalem. The rôle of Antichrist was projected on to the Moslems and the Crusaders saw themselves as God's elect, marked by the sign of the Cross, for whom the Crusade was divine litmus-test of their fitness for salvation.

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PREFACE.

My original intention was to write this thesis simply on Crusading Apocalyptic. However, realising the lack of any adequate account of the apocalyptic tradition as a whole down to the twelfth century, I felt myself constrained to shift my focus to make good - to some extent, at least - this deficiency. The result is a rather different work from the one I had envisaged, one which attempts to trace the development of the tradition from its earliest beginnings and how its ideas achieved concrete expression in the First Crusade.

Apart from the latin bible, I have used both the New English Bible and the Authorised Version, the latter mainly when the turn of phrase has sunk so deeply into general usage as to make the use of the more accurate modern translation merely confusing.

I have included, in my footnotes, references to a number of later Greek writings which, although not strictly relevant, are sufficiently illuminating to merit inclusion.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Fuller descriptions of the collections of sources listed here will be found in the body of the Bibliography.

A.N.C.L.	<u>Ante-Nicene Christian Library</u> , ed.A.Roberts and J.Donaldson.
Charles, A.P.O.T.	R.H.Charles, <u>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.</u>
C.H.M.A.	<u>Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi</u> , ed. J.G.Eccardus.
M.G.S.S.	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores</u> , ed. G.H.Pertz.
P.G.	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca</u> , ed.J.P.Migne.
P.L.	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</u> , ed. J.P.Migne.
P.P.T.S.	<u>Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.</u> This collection seems to circulate in two forms, in the originally published 24 volumes and in the 13-volume collected edition; my references to volumes are to the former, since these are still discernable in the later edition.
R.H.C.Occ.	<u>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux.</u>
R.H.G.F.	<u>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</u> , ed. M.Bouquet, et al.

Biblical abbreviations:-

A.V.	Authorised Version.		
Ac.	Acts of the Apostles.	Jl.	Joel.
Am.	Amos	Jn.	The Gospel According to St.John.
Cor.	Corinthians.		
Dan.	Daniel.	1,2 Jn.	Epistles of John.
Deut.	Deuteronomy.	Lk.	Luke.
Eccles.	Ecclesiastes.	Mal.	Malachi.
Eph.	Ephesians.	Mic.	Micah.
Ex.	Exodus.	Mk.	Mark.
Ezk.	Ezekiel.	Mt.	Matthew.
Gal.	Galatians.	Pet.	Peter.
Gen.	Genesis.	Philipp.	Philippians.
Hab.	Habakkuk.	Ps.	Psalm.
Hag.	Haggai.	Rev.	Revelation.
Heb.	Hebrews.	Rom.	Romans.
Hos.	Hosea.	Ths.	Thessalonians.
Is.	Isaiah.	Tim.	Timothy.
Jam.	James.	Zch.	Zechariah.
Jer.	Jeremiah.	Zph.	Zephaniah.

CHAPTER 1.

THE FORMATION OF THE APOCALYPTIC TRADITION IN JUDAISM: THE BIBLE
AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA.

As will emerge in the course of this chapter, the apocalyptic material in the christian Bible - even the words attributed to Christ himself - is essentially Judaistic in character. However, the bible as we have received it does not contain all the material necessary for an understanding of this Jewish apocalyptic tradition. We must also examine, not only the relatively familiar Apocrypha, but also the Pseudepigrapha, pseudonymous apocalypses and other writings written after the third century B.C., when the supremacy of the Law had left no room for prophecy and the closing of the hebrew canon meant that any new writing, to exercise any influence, must purport to be the work of an ancient author.¹

The religion of Israel became distinguished from the general background of ancient near-eastern religion by the appearance, from about the eighth century B.C., of monotheism:² Yahweh came to be regarded, not simply as a national god, but as 'the one and only God, the omnipotent Lord of History who controlled the destinies of all nations'³ and whose chosen people was Israel.⁴ It was from the gap between the expectation and the reality⁵ of this deterministic view of history⁶ that apocalyptic arose. The actual political status of the Jews clearly did not match their exalted rôle at the centre of history, and what had previously been a cyclical philosophy of history, centering around the annual kingship ritual of re-creation,⁷ now became linear, looking towards a final and permanent restitution of all things

1. See Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, Intro., p.viiff. In my account of the composition and dating of the various Jewish sources I have relied mainly on Charles' Introductions to the works he prints, ibid., vols. 1 & 2, and on his Eschatology: the Doctrine of a Future Life.

2. R.H.Charles, Eschatology, p.3.

3. N.Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, p.19.

4. Ibid.; S.G.F.Brandon, The Judgment of the Dead, p.56; S.H.Hooke, 'The myth and ritual pattern in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic', in The Labyrinth. Further Studies in the Relation between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World, p.217.

5. Hooke, loc.cit.; S.Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p.152.

6. P.Vielhauer, 'Apocalypses and Related Subjects; Introduction', in E.Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, vol.2, p.590f.

7. F.H.Borsch, The Son of Man in Myth and History, p.90 seq.; Mowinckel, op.cit., pp.23f.,80f.

at some future time.¹ However hopeless the situation might seem now, they could bask in the assurance that the divine purpose would ultimately be vindicated and God's plan carried through to its completion.²

At first, this future hope was entirely this-worldly, looking to a political restoration of the nation by Yahweh;³ but the political realities of Israel's situation made such a hope increasingly untenable, and the nation's compensatory dream became dualistic.⁴ The dualistic view of the world distinguished between this age and the age to come. The present age was despaired of: it was transient, all things in it were perishable and it was dominated by evil powers. Divine intervention and cosmic catastrophe would separate it from the coming age, which was to be eternal, imperishable and marked by God's destruction of the evil powers and the establishment of his blessed Kingdom.⁵

The seeds of this idea can be seen towards the middle of the second century B.C, in the Book of Daniel, where the evil and transient earthly kingdoms were contrasted with the everlasting Kingdom to be established by God,⁶ and it reached its fullest expression in Jewish apocalyptic some two hundred years later in 2 Baruch:

Because whatever is now is nothing,
But that which shall be is very great.
For everything that is corruptible shall pass away,
And everything that dies shall depart,
And all the present time shall be forgotten,
Nor shall there be any remembrance of the present time, which is
defiled with evils....
For that which is to be shall be the object of desire,
And for that which comes afterwards shall we hope;
For it is a time that passes not away.
And the hour comes which abides for ever.
And the new world (comes) which does not turn to corruption those
who depart to its blessedness....⁷

1. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p.96, seq.; Borsch, Son of Man, p.135ff.; Hooke, Myth and Ritual Pattern, p.220f., regards the notion of time in Jewish apocalyptic as cyclical in that it involved one final and complete turn of the wheel, with a return to conditions as at the Beginning.

2. Charles, Eschatology, p.205.

3. See, for example, Ps. 110

4. The future hope becomes eschatological under the influence of dualism: Mowinckel, op.cit. p.263ff.; both he, ibid., pp.264,271, and O.S.Rankin, 'The Festival of Hanukkah', in Hooke, Labyrinth, p.199, suggest that Jewish dualism derived from Iranian belief in two world-ages.

5. Mowinckel, op.cit., p.263f.; Vielhauer, Apocalypses, p.588f.

6. Dan.2.37-44; 7.1-14,18-27.

7. 2 Bar. 44.8-12, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.503; this is a composite work, dating from the second half of the first century A.D.

It was the moment of divine intervention that effected the separation of the two ages, as in the Salathiel Apocalypse of 4 Ezra:¹

But the Day of Judgment shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come; wherein corruption is passed away, weakness is abolished, infidelity is cut off; while righteousness is grown, and faithfulness is sprung up.²

Christ's teaching of a present manifestation of the future kingdom³ was non-dualistic; indeed, his very presence in this world, clothed in flesh, was anti-dualistic. But the Synoptic Apocalypse⁴ announced a definite and catastrophic End, separating this world from the Kingdom of God.⁵ St. Paul distinguished between this corruptible life and the eternal life to come:

So it is with the resurrection of the dead. What is sown in the earth as a perishable thing is raised imperishable. Sown in humiliation, it is raised in glory; sown in weakness, it is raised in power; sown as an animal body, it is raised as a spiritual body.⁶

and he also carried on the distinction between the two ages.⁷

Apocalyptic dualism led, not only to a devaluation of this age as being corruptible and evil, but also to the belief that there would be a catastrophic climax of evil and chaos immediately preceding the End - the 'Messianic Woes', the birth pangs of the messianic age. To the apocalyptic writer, this coming climax as heralded by the signs which he could already discern of the rapidly increasing physical decay and moral degeneration of the world. This process of decline was expressed through the image of the world growing old:

1. On the Salathiel Apocalypse, written about A.D. 100 and incorporated into 4 Ezra at its compilation some 20 years later, see Charles, Eschatology, pp.338f., 347; A.P.O.T., vol.2, pp.542,552.

2. 4 Ez.7.113f., in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.590; see also 4.11, p.565; 7.30f., p.582.

3. See below, p. 21.

4. Most of the apocalyptic sayings attributed to Christ occur in the so-called Synoptic Apocalypse at Matthew 24.3-31 = Mk.13.3-27 = Lk. 21.5-28. Opinion seems to vary as to how far it is based on Christ's actual words and how much it owes to interpolation. Vielhauer, 'Apocalyptic in Early Christianity: Introduction', in Hennecke, Apocrypha, vol.2, pp.608, 617, believes that it is entirely the work of the Evangelists. J.A.MacCulloch, 'Eschatology' in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed.Hastings and Selbie, vol.5, p.382f., removes a prophecy relating to the fall of Jerusalem and concludes that Christ preached a distant End at an unknown time. Charles Eschatology, p.378 seq., removes an adapted Jewish apocalypse relating to the fall of Jerusalem and concludes that Christ expected to return soon and suddenly.

5. Mt.24.3-31, especially vv.21,29ff.; and parallel; see also Mk. 10.30; Lk 18.30.

6. 1 Cor.15.42-4; and see 2 Enoch 65.10, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.468. 2 Enoch is an Egyptian work, dating from early in the first century A.D.

7. Rom.12.2; 1 Cor.1.20; and especially Eph.1.21.

For the world has lost its youth
The times begin to wax old.¹

As the world grows older and weaker, 'so much the more shall evils increase upon the dwellers on earth'.² And just as the children born to a woman late in life are 'inferior in stature', so men born in the world's old age are inferior to those who lived when it was newly-created.³

As the world sinks into its final decline, the powers of evil grow stronger and extend their hold over it; the heathen powers assemble for a final assault on the holy people. In Daniel, the fourth beast makes war on the saints and prevails until God intervenes.⁴

The final symptoms of the world's decay are the Messianic Woes themselves, a series of more or less supernatural signs and happenings which mark the cosmic catastrophe separating this age from the next and herald the coming of the Messiah.⁵ In the eighth century B.C., Hosea announces the deaths, from famine, of birds, beasts and fish.⁶ In the (probably) late fifth century Book of Joel, the Day of the Lord is to be preceded by dreams, visions and portents; the sun will be darkened and the moon turned to blood.⁷ It is in the Pseudepigrapha, however, that the fur really starts to fly. In the third Sibylline Oracle, the coming of the Messiah is preceded by a period of disastrous, world-engulfing war,⁸ and the End is announced by a series of portents:

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1. 4 Ez.14.10, p.621; also 2 Bar.85.10, p.525, quoted below, p. 12.
 2. 4 Ez.14.16, p.621.
 3. 4 Ez.5.50-5, p.573; cf. Gen.6.4; and see Jubilees 23.9-21, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.47f., which describes the growing physical and moral degeneracy of the last generations of men. Also 2 Bar.83.10-21, p.523f.
 4. Dan.7.21f.; likewise, Jl.2.1-21; 3.9-12; Jub. 23.22f., p.48; 1 Enoch. 90.13-19, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.258 (this is a 2nd-1st century B.C. work of multiple authorship); 2 Bar.70.7, p.517; 4 Ez.13.5-12, 33-8, p.616ff.; Lk.21.20-4; Rev.9.14-19; 16.12-16; 19.17-19.
 5. The Woes also herald the new creation (see below, p. 11) and may derive from the mythical rage of the powers of chaos over the new creation in the ancient new year re-creation ritual; see Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p.272; also Hooke, Myth and Ritual Pattern, p.232.
 6. Hos.4.3; cf. Zph.1.2f.
 7. Jl.2.28-31.
 8. Sibylline Oracles, 3.632-52, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.389f. On their dating, see ibid., pp.371-4.

swords appear in the sky, dust falls from heaven, there are signs in the sun and moon, blood flows from stone and a battle is seen in the clouds.¹ The late second century B.C. Book of Jubilees describes the last generation of men, who live in deceit and corruption, fighting among themselves, so that God sends the heathen against them as punishment.²

In 2 Baruch, the Woes are divided into twelve instalments:

In the first part there shall be the beginning of commotions. And in the second part slayings of the great ones....the fall of many by death....the sending of the sword....famine and the withholding of rain....earthquakes and terrors....a multitude of spectres and attacks of the Shedim....the fall of fire.... rapine and much oppression....wickedness and unchastity. And in the twelfth part confusion from the mingling together of all those things aforesaid.³

The book also announces a time of affliction in which wisdom, honour, strength and beauty will all be reversed, 'phantasmata' will be seen and envy and passion will lead to bloodshed.⁴ There will be hatred and violence, confusion and suffering; the social order will be overturned, a great army will invade and the general destruction of mankind will ensue amid earthquake, fire and famine.⁵

Ezra paints a very similar picture: truth and faith are drowned in panic and iniquity; the Roman Empire collapses; the sun shines at night and the moon by day; blood flows from wood and stone speaks; the Antichrist appears, the birds flee and the sea casts forth its fish; a mysterious voice is heard by night; fire bursts from a great fissure in the earth; wild beasts migrate and women give birth to monsters; fresh water turns salty; friends quarrel; intelligence and wisdom are lost and men's efforts come to nothing; one-year-old children speak and premature babies live; sown places are found to be unsown and full storehouses empty; a trumpet sound and springs run dry for three hours.⁶

1. Sib.3.796-806, p.392.

2. Jub.23.18-25, p.48.

3. 2 Bar.27.2-13, p.496.; in fact there are only eleven woes listed, since the seventh is wanting.

4. Ibid. 48.31-7, p.506f.

5. Ibid. 70.2-10, p.517f.

6. 4 Ez.5.1-12, p.569f.; 6.21-4, p.576; see also 9.3, p.599.

The Synoptic Apocalypse predicts wars and persecutions as preceding Christ's return; pseudo-Christ's and false prophets perform miracles and the 'abomination of desolation' stands 'in the holy place'; there are famine, plague and earthquakes; the sun and moon are darkened and the stars fall.¹ The New Testament Epistles are content on the whole to announce a moral decline and, in particular, false teachers as preceding the End.²

There is a return to wholesale death and destruction on a cosmic scale at the end of the first century A.D. in the Revelation of St. John. When the first six seals are opened, the four horsemen spread war and death; there is a great earthquake, the sun turns black and the moon to blood; the stars fall, the heavens roll up and mountains and islands are moved.³ The trumpets likewise bring fire and devastation, a terrible plague of locusts from the abyss and an invasion from the East.⁴ The vials of wrath bring sores on the reprobate; all waters are turned to blood; the sun becomes scorching hot; darkness and pain fill the kingdom of the Beast; the kings of the East invade and the nations are gathered for the last battle; there are voices, thunderings and lightnings; cities fall in a great earthquake; islands and mountains are destroyed and there is a great hail.⁵

A necessary corollary of the dualistic element in apocalyptic, with its despair of the world, and of the catastrophic element, with its expectation that this age would go under amid chaos and destruction, was the belief that a new creation would be established, in which the righteous would enjoy eternal, perfect bliss. The hope for political, this-worldly restoration in the early Jewish future hope was replaced by the expectation of a completely new and transformed world, which would follow the destruction of this world. Judaism had originally

1. Mt.24.3-29, Mk.13.4-25 and Lk.21.7-26 have only minor divergences. At Lk.21.20,24, Jerusalem is taken by the Gentiles; see also 2 Bar. 20.2, p.492; 4 Ez.6.19, p.576.

2. 1 Tim.4.1-3; 2 Tim.3.1-13; 2 Ths.2.3; 2 Pet.2.1-3; 1 Jn.2.18,22; 4.3; Jude 18. In the small apocalypse at Ac.2.16-21, Peter merely quotes Jl.2.28-32.

3. Rev.6.1-8,12-15.

4. Rev.8.7 - 9.19.

5. Rev.16.1-21.

taught the eternity of this world,¹ but in the post-exilic period the destruction of the present creation came to be expected,² and a new one was announced to replace it.³ Christ's adherence to this tradition was taken up and elaborated by Peter, who saw this creation engulfed in fire before its replacement by a new heaven and earth.⁴

Almost all apocalyptic writers were inspired by the conviction that the end of this world was nigh;⁵ indeed, without this conviction apocalyptic literature loses most of its impact. Thus the writer of the Book of Daniel associated the End with the 'abomination of desolation', Antiochus IV Epiphanes, during whose reign he was, in fact, writing.⁶ Over two hundred years later, the Apocalypse of Baruch announced the same expectation:

For the youth of the world is past,
And the strength of the creation already exhausted,
And the advent of the times is very short,
Yea, they have passed by;
And the pitcher is near to the cistern,
And the ship to the port,
And the course of the journey to the city,
And life to (its) consummation.⁷

Christ's preaching of an imminent consummation⁸ was generally followed by the first generation of Christians. St. Paul expected to be alive at the Second Coming,⁹ the time of which was fast approaching;¹⁰ and the Christ of the Revelation assured the Churches, 'Behold, I come quickly'.¹¹

1. Ps.93.1; 96.10; 104.5; 148.6; Eccles.1.4.

2. Ps. 102.25f.; Is.34.4; 51.6.

3. Is.65.17; 66.22; Jub.1.29, p.13; 4.26, p.19; 1 En.45.4f., p.214; 91.16, P.265 (new heavens only); 2 Bar.32.6, p.499; 57.2, p.513;

4 Ez.7.75, p.587. On this idea and its possible origin in Persian religion, see Charles, Eschatology, pp.127-9.

4. Mt.24.35 = Mk.13.31 = Lk.21.33; 2 Pet.3.7,10,12f.; also I Cor.7.31; Heb.12.26-8; 1 Jn.2.17; Rev.21.1.

5. Hooke, Myth and Ritual Pattern, p.231; Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.573 n.

6. Dan.11.30-45; 12.11f.; and passim. On the dating of Daniel to Antiochus' reign (175-164 B.C.), see J.Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel, pp.224-7. Other Old Testament references to an imminent End include Is.13.6; Zch.14.1; Mal.4.1.

7. 2 Bar.85.10, p.525; see also 82.2, p.522; and 4 Ez.4.44-50, p.568; 5.50-55, p.573; 14.10-12,16, p.621.

8. Charles, Eschatology, p.386f., cites Mt.16.28 = Mk.9.1 = Lk.9.27; Mt.10.23; Mk.14.62; see also Mt.24.33f. = Mk.13.29f. = Lk.21.31f., and Jn.21.22. But MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.383, argues that Christ preached a distant End.

9. I Ths.4.15.

10. Rom.13.11f.; 1 Cor.7.29; Heb.10.25; and in the other N.T. Epistles see Jam.5.8f., 1 Pet.4.7; 1 Jn.2.18; but cf. 2 Pet.3.8f., which speaks of a delay before the End. Vielhauer, Apocalyptic, p.611f., argues that the expectation of signs before the End in early Christianity, and especially in 2 Ths.2, reflects a weakening in the expectation of an imminent End.

11. Rev.3.11; 22.7,12,20.

The early Jewish future hope was purely nationalistic in tone: the apocalyptic process would climax in a Day of Yahweh, a non-ethical day of national vindication and vengeance when all the heathen nations which had oppressed Israel would be utterly annihilated, after which Israel would live in a state of peace and blessedness.¹ But the concept of the Day of Yahweh was revolutionised by prophets like Amos, who, in the eighth century B.C., recognised that Israel too had sinned and directed God's vengeance against her.² Henceforth there grew up, at first alongside the older, non-ethical concept, a new, universalistic tradition in which God's anger was directed, not indiscriminately against the heathen nations, but against the wicked determined by ethical considerations.³ Christ's description of the Last Judgement followed this new tradition: irrespective of nationality, the righteous would be saved because of the works of charity they had performed for others, while the wicked had earned damnation by refusing to perform such good works.⁴ St. Paul took the same view: God had no favourites.⁵

1. Charles, Eschatology, pp.82-7,95-7.

The Day of Yahweh possibly derived from ancient myths of the destruction of hostile evil powers, which had been reflected in near-eastern enthronement rituals: Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp.145,147.

A day of vengeance on the nations: Is.34.2f.,8; Jl.3.1-16; Hab.3.12f.; Zph.3.8; Hag.2.22; Zch.14.1-15, and especially v.12; Assumption of Moses 10.7-10, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.422; Judith 16.16f., in ibid., vol.1, p.267.

The Day of Yahweh accompanied by cosmic manifestations of God's wrath: Is.13.6-13; 24.1-23; Ezk.38.20; Jl.3.15f.; Hab.3.3-11; Mic.1.4; Zch.14.4-7; Wisdom of Solomon 5.20-23, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.1, p.543; Ass.Mos.10.3-6, p.421f.

2. Am.5.18; 9.8-10; & passim; also Hos.4.1-11 & pass.; Zph.1.12 & pass.; Hab.1.55ff. See MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.378; Charles, Eschatology, pp.88-91.

3. Jub.5.13-17, p.20; 1 En.38, p.209f.; 53, p.220; 61.8, p.226; 62.1-13, p.227f.; 63.8, p.229; 69.27, p.235; 102.3f., p.273; Sib.4.183-90, p.396; 2 En.48.8f., p.459; 50.3-5, p.460; 51.1-3, p.461; 52, p.461f.; 60.2-5, p.465; 2 Bar.24.1, p.496; 51, p.508; 4 Ez.7.35, p.583; Psalms of Solomon 2.36-40, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.634.

4. Mt.25.31-46; Christ also describes the Judgment at Mt.13.37-43.

5. Rom.2.7-11; cf. Ps.Sol.2.18, p.633

God favours the lowly and oppressed and judges the rich and powerful more harshly: Wis.6.1-9, p.543f.; Sirach 35.16-20, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.1, p.439f.; Is.2.12; 35.3-6; 1 En.62.9-11, p.228; 94.8-10, p.266; Mt.5.3-12 = Lk.6.20-6; Mt.19.23f. = Mk.10.23-5 = Lk.18.24f.; Jam.2.5; 5.1-6.

So long as the messianic Kingdom was conceived of as eternal, the Day of Wrath or Judgment took place at its inauguration, but when it became temporary¹ the Day was deferred until its close and inaugurated the Kingdom of God.²

Judgment was usually to be according to men's works³ listed in heavenly records, as in the Revelation:

I could see the dead, great and small, standing before the throne; and books were opened. Then another book was opened, the roll of the living.⁴ From what was written in these books the dead were judged upon the record of their deeds....and into (the lake of fire) were flung any whose names were not to be found in the roll of the living.⁵

There is a clear distinction here between the 'books', which simply record men's deeds,⁶ and the 'Book of Life', a list of those predestined to salvation.⁷

An alternative method of judgment was by the weighing of men's souls in balances (psychostasia).⁸ Christ's own description of the Judgment, however, says nothing of either of these methods. He simply separates the sheep from the goats,⁹ perhaps by an intuitive

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1. The messianic kingdom becomes temporary, see below, p.20.
 2. 1 En.91.12-15, p.264 & n.; 2 Bar.30, p.498; 4 Ez.7.28-33, p.582f. In Rev.20.4f., 11-15, a preliminary judgment sets up the saints in the millennial kingdom, at the close of which the general judgment ensues. In Christ's account of the End, there is no earthly kingdom, so the Judgment simply inaugurates the Kingdom of God: Mt.13.37-43; 25.31-46.
 3. Mt.16.27; 25.34-45; Rom.2.6; 1 Cor.3.12f.; see also Prov.21.2f.; 24.12.
 4. The Authorised Version has 'Book of Life', the familiar term.
 5. Rev.20.12,15; cf. the complex system at Jub.30.19-22, p.59.
 6. Dan.7.10; 1 En.81.1-4, p.245f.; 89.61-77, p.255f.; 90.17,20, p.258f.; 98.7f., p.269; 104.7, p.276f.; 2 En.52.15, p.462; 2 Bar.24.1, p.496; 4 Ez.6.20, p.576; most refs from Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.216 n. See also Is.65.6.
 7. Predestination: at Rev.13.8, all men worship the Beast and incur damnation, except those whose names are written in the Book of Life. And at Rev.17.8, the Book is said to have been compiled at the beginning of the world.
Book of Life also at Dan.12.1; Mal.3.16; Ps.69.28; Lk.10.20; Philipp.4.3; Rev.3.5; 1 En.47.3, p.216; 108.3, p.280.
Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.216 n., points to the origin of the heavenly Book of Life in the registers of Israelite citizens at Ex.32.33 and Is.4.3. Hooke, Myth and Ritual Pattern, pp.226,229,233, derives the heavenly books from the fixing of the destinies in ancient ritual. See also MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.391.
 8. 1 En.41.1, p.212; 61.8, p.226; 2 En.49.2(B), p.460; 52.15, p.462; see also Job 31.6; Prov.16.2; Ps.62.9; Dan.5.27; Ps.Sol.5.6, p.637. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p.396, derives the idea from Persian and Egyptian religion. On Judgment of the soul in ancient Egypt by weighing it against Māāt (truth), see Brandon, Judgment, pp.10f., 23-5, 29-31; the idea passes directly from Egyptian religion into early Christianity, ibid., pp.121-3.
 9. Mt.25.32.

recognition of the righteous and the wicked, or possibly by some external mark that the two categories bear.¹

As the term implies, vengeance on the heathen on the Day of Yahweh was to be executed by God himself, and when the later tradition of an ethical Judgment evolved, he continued to occupy the important position of Judge.² But with the central position which the figure of the Messiah came to occupy in later Jewish apocalyptic, he came more and more to assume the function of judge. He would sit on the throne of glory³ and perform the judgment as God's instrument.⁴ Christ announced his own return as judge,⁵ and he was followed in this in various places in the New Testament.⁶ Sometimes the righteous saints were given authority to execute the judgment.⁷

There were two traditions in apocalyptic circles concerning the fate at the End of non-believers. The first, more rigorous, tradition took a particularist viewpoint: the heathen, irrespective of any moral worth, would be automatically and utterly destroyed. The second, universalistic view allowed that righteous heathens could be saved and might share in a future state of blessedness.

The narrow tradition was closer to the original Jewish concept of a Day of Yahweh and, in its most extreme form, expected all the Gentiles to be annihilated as a punishment for not having been Jews.⁸

1. See Ps.Sol. 15.10, p.646; the Mark of the Beast at Rev.13.16f.; 20.4; possibly also 2 Bar.51, p.508.

Not only men, but also angels are judged at 1 En.10.13f.; p.194; 61.8f., p.226; Mt.8.29; 1 Cor.6.3; 2 Pet.2.4.

Satan is also judged, for example at 1 En.10.6, p.194; 55.4, p.221; see Charles, Eschatology, p.414; Mowinckel, op.cit., p.394f.

2. Is.1.24-8; 4.3-5; Ezk.20.36-8; Dan.7.9f.; Mal.3.5; 1 En.47.3, p.216; 50, p.218; 54.5f., p.220; 60.2, p.224; 62.10ff., p.228; 90.20, p.259; 4 Ez.7.33, p.583; Mt.6.4,6,14f.,18; 18.35; Rom.14.10-12; Heb.12.23; Rev.20.11f.

3. 1 En.61.8, p.226; 62.2f., p.227; 69.29, p.235; Mt.19.28; 25.31.

4. 1 En. 41.9, p.213; 46.1-6, p.214f.; 49.3f., p.217; 55.4, p.221; 61.8, p.226; 62.2f., p.227; 69.27, p.235; 2 Bar.72.2, p.518; 4 Ez. 12.32f., p.614; Ps.Sol. 17.26, p.649. See Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p.393f.

5. Mt.24.30f., & par.; 13.41f.; 25.31-46; 16.27; Jn.5.22-7.

6. Ac.10.42; 17.31; 2 Tim.4.1; 1 Pet. 4.5; Jam.5.8f.; Rev.22.12.

7. Wis.3.7f., p.539; 1 En.48.9, p.217; 91.12, p.264; 95.3, p.266; 96.1, p.267; 98.12, p.269; Mt.19.28; Lk.22.30; 1 Cor.6.2f.

8. Is.34.1-10; Jer.25.32f.; Jl.3.2; Zph.3.8; Hag.2.22; Zch.1.18-21; 12.3f.,9; 4 Ez.13, pp.616-19; Ass.Mos.10.7-10, p.422. See Charles, Eschatology, p.165.

A more moderate attitude was that those nations that had been hostile to Israel would be destroyed¹ and the rest converted,² often merely to serve Israel.³

The second viewpoint allowed for the complete conversion of the heathen and their admittance to full membership of the kingdom.⁴ Christ said that he would come to separate the sheep from the goats, irrespective of nationality,⁵ and his followers came to accept the idea that salvation was to be extended to non-believers.⁶ The author of the Revelation extended the promise of salvation to 'every tribe and language, people and nation',⁷ although, in the New Jerusalem, Israel seems to enjoy some primacy, for while the redeemed from the twelve tribes dwell within the holy city, the nations live outside it, walking in the light of its radiance.⁸

1. Dan.7.11f.; Zch.14.12f.; 1 En.90.9-18, p.257f.; Sib.3.660-97, p.390.

2. Is.19.16-25; 45.14,22; 49.22f.; 2.2-4 = Mic.4.1-3; Jer.12.14ff.; 4.2; 16.19; Mal.1.11; Sib.3.710-31, p.391.

3. Dan.7.14; Is.14.2; 66.12,19-21; 1 En.90.30, p.259; 2 Bar.72, p.518; Ps.Sol.17.32, p.650.

4. Is.49.6; 60.3; Tobit 13.10-18; 14.6, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.1 p.236ff.; 1 En.10.21, p.195; 48.4, p.216; 50.2-5, p.218; Testament of Levi 14.4, in ibid., vol.2, p.312. Righteous Gentiles are witnesses against Israel, or are used as a standard against which Israel is judged: Testament of Benjamin 10.10, in ibid., vol.2, p.359.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, ibid., vol.2, pp.282-367, were written at the end of the 2nd century B.C.

5. Mt.25.31-3; in the Sermon on the Mount, the conditions for entry into the Kingdom are purely ethical: Mt.5-7; see also Mt.21.40f. = Mk.12.9; Mt.22.8f.; Lk.14.22-4.

6. See Peter's dream of the sheet of unclean animals let down from heaven: Ac.10.9-16; 11.18; and for his later attitude, when he expected the conversion of non-believers at the End: 1 Pet.2.12. Similarly, contrast Paul's original view, as at 2 Ths.1.8, with his later attitude at Rom.2.9-15; 11.25,30-32.

7. Rev.5.9; also 7.9.

8. Rev.21.24,26; see also 22.2, where Israel eats fruit from the Tree of Life, while the nations are healed by its leaves.

Alongside the development of the Day of Yahweh into the ethical Day of Judgment, there developed an eschatology of the individual. As first conceived, the future kingdom consisted of the righteous living at the time of its inauguration and, although the kingdom itself might be eternal, its members were mortal; thus the nation would be restored, but the individual righteous man would suffer the common fate of all mankind - departure from the face of God into Sheol.¹ But the righteous dead also had a claim to some reward for the oppressions they had suffered in Yahweh's name, and by the second century B.C. the resurrection of the righteous dead - foreshadowed in Ezekiel's early sixth century description of the Valley of Bones² - had become an accepted part of Jewish eschatology.³ The almost universal expectation of a resurrection of the righteous only⁴ was followed by both Christ and Paul.⁵ Since neither of them preached a temporary messianic kingdom,⁶ they presumably expected the resurrection at the inauguration of the eternal Kingdom of God. The Revelation of St. John, however, in reverting to a temporary kingdom on earth, introduced a double resurrection. The first precedes the millennium and is of the martyrs, who then reign with Christ; after 1000 years, all the dead - wicked as well as righteous - are raised for the Last Judgment.⁷

1. MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.377; Charles, Eschatology, pp.83 seq., 180,211f.

2. 'I will fasten sinews on you, bring flesh upon you, overlay you with skin, and put breath in you, and you shall live; and you shall know that I am the Lord.' Ezk.37.6, but see generally vv.1-14, and similarly Hos.6.2. These passages are a metaphor for the restoration of Israel, MacCulloch, op.cit., p.377f.

3. See Is.26.19; Dan.12.2f.; 2 Maccabees 7.9-11,22f.; 12.40-45; 14.46, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.1, pp.141,149f.,152. On the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection, see Charles, Eschatology, pp.72,129-41,244f., 295,299f.,358 & pass.; also Brandon, Judgment, p.63f.; and MacCulloch, loc.cit. Also Charles, A.P.O.T., vol..2, p.218 n.

4. Charles, Eschatology, p.138f.

5. Christ: Mt.22.23-33 = Mk.12.18-27; but contrast Jn.5.28f., which has the resurrection of the good and wicked, although Charles, op.cit., pp.428-30, dismisses these verses as interpolated.

Paul: 1 Ths.4.15-17.

According to Charles, op.cit., pp.396-8,444 & n., Luke puts words into the mouths of both when he reports them as preaching a general resurrection at Lk.20.27-40 and Ac.24.15.

6. See below, p.21.

7. Rev.20.4-6, 12f.; the Messiah surrounded by a community of the Elect, 4 Ez.14.9, p.621; 1 En.39.6f., p.210f.; they are revealed with him for the messianic kingdom, 4 Ez.7.28, p.582.

The future blessed kingdom was to be supervised by the Messiah, who evolved, although no straight line of evolution can be discerned, from a mortal, although idealised, future king into a superhuman, even semi-divine being. The vagaries of this evolution were dictated by the way in which historical events influenced the hopes and fears of the people; the degree to which the Messiah enjoyed supernatural attributes was in direct relation to the deterioration of the political situation of the Jews.¹ But, in the early stages of his development at least, the Messiah was no more than Yahweh's deputy, the political and spiritual leader of the restored nation - king and high priest rolled into one.

He is not a redeemer per se, as the Messiah became in later times: the LORD is the redeemer, and the King-Messiah is only the head of the redeemed people, its political and spiritual king.²

At first, he was to be an ideal warrior-king of David's line, who would sit

.....on David's throne and on his kingdom, to establish it and sustain it with justice and righteousness from now and for evermore. The zeal of the Lord of Hosts shall do this.³

Haggai and Zechariah actually saw the promise of a Messiah of the line of David as fulfilled in the person of Zerubbabel, governor of the nation at its restoration in 537 B.C.⁴

Messianic expectations became more colourful in the Pseudepigrapha, inspired by the intensification of Israel's sufferings which culminated in the disaster of A.D.70.⁵ Despite the supernatural aura which the Messiah acquired in these works, he remained essentially a warrior,

1. See Klausner, Messianic Idea, p.242; also Cohn, Millennium, p.22.

2. Klausner, op.cit., p.241; and see Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp.175-80.

3. Is.9.7; see also 11.1-5; Jer.23.5; 30.9; 33.15; Ezk.34.23f.; Hos.3.5; 4 Ez.12.32, p.614; Ps.Sol.17.23f.; p.649; Mt.1.1; Lk.1.32.

4. Hag.2.21-3; Zch.4.6-10; see Klausner, Messianic Idea, pp.185,192, 194-6; Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp.119-21. In some O.T. prophets there is no Messiah at all: Klausner, op.cit., p.241.

5. Ibid., pp.274-6.

who would overthrow the hostile wicked powers¹ and perform the judgment.²

Whereas Jewish apocalyptic had looked for a future Messiah, an essentially human warrior-king who would carry through God's purpose, Christianity set up an entirely divine Messiah who had come once already and would come again to reign, to judge mankind and to arrange eternity. The Gospels make no mention of the warrior attributes of the Messiah; in the person of Christ he has become the entirely supernatural Son of Man, whose Second Coming will bring, not an earthly kingdom, but immediate judgment and the end of the world.³

Jewish ideas concerning the Messiah remained, however, very influential among early Christians. In St. Paul's little apocalypse, Christ acquitted warrior-like attributes to destroy Antichrist:

And then he will be revealed, that wicked man whom the Lord Jesus will destroy with the breath of his mouth, and annihilate by the radiance of his coming.⁴

In the Revelation, this reversion to a Jewish Messiah was taken still further, as the warrior-Christ rode forth to battle:

1. 1 En.46.1-6, p.214f.; Ps.Sol.17.21-44, p.649f.; 2 Bar.37.7-40.4, p.501; 72.2, p.518; 4 Ez.12.31-3, p.614; 13.25-53, p.618f.; in contrast,

a passive Messiah at 1 En.90.37f., p.260; 2 Bar.29.3, p.497.

2. There is a dying Messiah at 4 Ez.7.29, p.582, quoted below, p.21 with parallels. Hooke, Myth and Ritual Pattern, p.232, regards this as unique in Jewish apocalyptic. Klausner, Messianic Idea., p.520, however, argues that the Jewish Messiah was always mortal.

Mowinckel, He That Cometh., pp.282,314,360f.,385, sees a split in late Judaism between orthodox belief in a this-worldly, political Messiah and apocalyptic circles which transformed him into the Son of Man, a transcendent, universalistic figure derived from ancient myths.

On these mythological origins of the Messiah and the Son of Man, and their later identification, see Mowinckel, op.cit., pp.181-6, 420-37; Hooke, Labyrinth, intro., p.viii; Myth and Ritual Pattern, pp.218f., 232f.; E.O.James, 'The Sources of Christian Ritual and its Relation to the Culture Pattern of the Ancient East', in Hooke, Labyrinth, p.251; Borsch, Son of Man, p.137 & pass.

3. See Mt.24.30 & par.; 25.31f.

4. 2 Ths.2.8.

Then I saw heaven wide open, and there before me was a white horse; and its rider's name was Faithful and True, for he is just in judgment and just in war....and he was robed in a garment drenched in blood....and the armies of heaven followed him....From his mouth there went a sharp sword with which to smite the nations; for it is he who shall rule them with an iron rod, and tread the winepress of the wrath and retribution of God....¹

In the period of the prophets, the hope for a state of 'future national blessedness',² an eternal age of material prosperity which would ensue upon Yahweh's destruction of Israel's enemies, became, like other elements in Jewish eschatology, more spiritualised and ethical. Amos directed God's anger against the sinners of Israel: the nation would be sifted before a righteous remnant was restored.³ The future kingdom became the Messianic Kingdom, a theocratic kingdom of the regenerated nation, enriched by the actual presence of Yahweh or his Messiah, and fulfilling the divine will.⁴

As originally conceived, the messianic kingdom was to be eternal, inaugurated by the Day of Judgment. About 100 B.C., however, under the influence of dualism, with its extreme devaluation of this world, the earth came to be no longer regarded as a fitting setting for an eternal kingdom.⁵ The first stage of this process can be seen in 1 Enoch 83 - 90, a section of the book written at about the mid-second century B.C.; the eternal habitation of God and his saints must be holy and incorruptible, so a heavenly Jerusalem is erected instead of the earthly city to be the centre of the kingdom.⁶

By the first century A.D., the earth is no longer in any way suitable for an eternal kingdom: the messianic kingdom has become temporary and - whatever national hope there may be of an earthly restoration - the final goal of the individual righteous man is in the Kingdom of God, in heaven or in an entirely new creation.⁷ In the Ezra-Apocalypse,⁸ not only is the messianic kingdom temporary, but

1. Rev.19.11-15, also vv.17-21; & cf. Ezk.39.17-20.

2. Charles, Eschatology, p.83.

3. Am.9.8-12; see also Is.4.2-6; 10.20-23; 11.11-16; & especially Zph.3.13-20.

4. Charles, Eschatology, p.83f.; see Is.2.2-4; 40.10f.; Jer.30.18-22; Mic.4.1-5; Zch.2.10-12. On the rule of the Messiah see also Is.11.1-5; Jer.23.5; Ezk.34.23f.; 1 En.62.13-16, p.228f.; 90.37f., p.260; 4 Ez. 7.28, p.582.

5. On this change, see Charles, op.cit., p.247ff.; and Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p.340f.

6. 1 En.90.28f., p.259; see Charles, op.cit., p.223.

7. Ibid., pp.127f., 178-81,248; Mowinckel, op.cit., pp.274f.,340f.

8. On the Ezra-Apocalypse in 4 Ezra, see Charles, op.cit., p.339.

the Messiah is mortal and dies at its close:

For my Son the Messiah shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and shall rejoice the survivors four hundred years. And it shall be, after these years, that my Son the Messiah shall die, and all in whom there is human breath. Then shall the world be turned into the primæval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left.¹

Christ himself is not reported as having preached any messianic kingdom; instead, he seems to have announced one Kingdom of God in two aspects: a present spiritual reality and a future consummation coming by both a gradual spiritual development and a sudden, catastrophic, divine intervention. He himself had inaugurated the kingdom in its earthly and not fully realised form by his incarnation.² Paul carried on this spiritualisation of the temporary kingdom, although his teaching that Christ was already reigning and striving with his enemies probably owed something to Jewish tradition.³ But the general expectation of a temporary messianic kingdom among the early Christians caused them to ignore Christ's preaching about the Kingdom of God in favour of the expectation that he would return to establish the Millennium.⁴ The Revelation of St. John - owing more to Jewish tradition than to Christ⁵ - outlined a programme for the Last Things which remained a standard pattern throughout the Middle Ages. After the destruction of the world-power (Rome), the Messiah would appear to overthrow the forces of evil. Satan would be bound for 1000 years:

1. 4 Ez.7.28-30, p.582; see also 1 En.91.12f., p.264; 5.9, p.190; 2 Bar.30.1, p.498; 40.3, p.501; 4 Ez.12.34, p.614. In some first century A.D. writings hope of the messianic kingdom is abandoned altogether in despair: Charles, Eschatology, pp.299,332.

2. MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.382; Charles, op.cit., pp.364-75; A.Robertson, Regnum Dei, pp.66,70-74.

3. MacCulloch, op.cit., p.386; see 1 Cor.15.24-6, a passage misinterpreted as preaching the millennium.

4. See Cohn, Millennium, p.23f.; Borsch, Son of Man, p.28.

5. Borsch, op.cit., p.240; Vielhauer, Apocalyptic, p.622f. Hooke, Labyrinth, p.viii, points out the survival of ancient myth-forms in the Revelation.

Then I saw an angel coming down from heaven with the key of the abyss and a great chain in his hands. He seized the dragon, that serpent of old, the Devil or Satan, and chained him up for a thousand years....

Then I saw thrones, and upon them sat those to whom judgment was committed. I could see the souls of those who had been beheaded for the sake of God's word and their testimony to Jesus.... These came to life again and reigned with Christ for a thousand years, though the rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were over. This is the first resurrection....

When the thousand years are over, Satan will be let loose from his dungeon; and he will come out to seduce the nations....¹

The Jewish future hope expected the restored nation to centre on Jerusalem, which would become a place of righteousness, salvation and glory, an example to the rest of the world and 'a theme of endless praise on earth'.² The city would be lifted up³ as God's dwelling-place on earth,⁴ from which his words would flow to the world⁵ and to which the nations would flock to worship.⁶

This increasing exaltation of Jerusalem,⁷ combined with the dualistic devaluation of this-worldly things, led to the expectation that God would send a new, heavenly Jerusalem at the End to be the abode of the saints.

1. Rev.20.1-8; after the last battle, the general resurrection and Last Judgment ensue, leading into the eternal Kingdom of God, 20.8 - 21.8. The 1000-year messianic kingdom - the Millennium - is first mentioned at 2 En.33.1f., p.451; see further Charles' note on that page and MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.380.

At 4 Ez.7.28f., p.582, quoted above, p.21, the messianic kingdom lasts 400 years.

Borsch, Son of Man, p.79, describes the Iranian 'Yima', the First Man and First King, who once reigned in an earthly paradise for 1000 years and was expected to emerge from a subterranean place at the end of time.

2. Is.62.7, also vv.1-6; and Is.33.20; 4.5; 54.11-14; 65.17-19; Hag. 2.7-9; Zch.14.10f., 16f., 21; Jl.3.17.

3. Zch.14.10; Is.2.2f. = Mic.4.1f.

4. Is.24.23; Ezk.48.35. Zch.2.5, 10-12; Jl.3.17.

5. Is.2.2f. = Mic.4.1f.

6. Is.60; 66.18; Jer.3.17; Zch.8.20-23; 14.16-19.

7. See especially Is.60 and Ezk.40 - 48.

The growing transcendence and enlargement of the idea of God, combined with the deepened consciousness of sin, and the consequent sense of the unfitness of Jerusalem as God's habitation, led to the evolution of the doctrine of a heavenly Jerusalem complete in all its parts.¹

So, from about the middle of the second century B.C., apocalyptic circles proclaimed the heavenly city:

And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars....And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than the first, and set it up in the place of the first....²

Christ apparently announced the coming destruction of Jerusalem, but had nothing to say of its restoration or replacement.³ St. Paul spoke of the heavenly city,⁴ but the classic expression of the image come, of course, in the Revelation:

I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, made ready like a bride adorned for her husband. I heard a loud voice proclaiming from the throne: 'Now at last God has his dwelling among men!'⁵

In accordance with the custom of apocalyptic of transferring the imagery of near-eastern creation myths from the beginning to the end of time, the messianic kingdom tended to be envisaged as a return to paradisaical conditions as described in the first three chapters of Genesis. Thus, according to Ezekiel:

Men will say that this same land which was waste has become like a garden of Eden.⁶

1. Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.482 n.

2. 1 En.90.28f., p.259; see also 2 Bar.4.2-7, p.482; 4 Ez.7.26, p.582; 8.52, p.597f.; 13.36, p.618.

3. Mt.24.2 = Mk.13.2 = Lk.21.6; also Lk.19.41-4; 21.20,24.

4. Gal.4.26; Heb.12.22.

5. Rev.21.2f. 21.10-27 describes the city as made of precious stones; cf. Tob.13.16f., p.238.

Just as the heavenly city of Rev.21 is at the centre of the eternal Kingdom of God, so the millenarian kingdom centres on the earthly Jerusalem, Rev.20.9.

6. Ezk.36.35; cf. Is.51.3.

The features of Eden can be seen to recur in descriptions of the messianic kingdom,¹ and in the Testament of Levi the Messiah actually re-opens the garden to mankind:

And he shall open the gates of paradise
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.²

As in Eden, nature will be beautiful and fertile, so that the saints live amid natural abundance.³ There will be peace and security, righteousness and joy among men⁴ and among animals.⁵ The kingdom centres on a holy mountain;⁶ the waters of life flow there⁷ and the tree of life supplies food and medicine.⁸

Since the apocalyptic view of history was at once both optimistic and pessimistic, the optimistic expectation that divine intervention would put everything right and establish a kingdom of the saints was matched by the pessimistic belief, not only that the messianic kingdom would be inaugurated by cosmic catastrophe, but that it would also end in a further resurgence of evil.⁹

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1. See MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.377; Borsch, Son of Man, p.136. See also F.Kampers, Die deutsche Kaiseridee in Prophetie und Sage, p.3f.
 2. T.Lev.18.10f., p.315; see also Testament of Dan 5.12, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.334; 1 En.32.3-6, p.207; 2 En.8 - 9, p.433ff.; 4 Ez.8.52, p.597; and the third Sibylline fragment printed by Charles, op.cit., vol.2, p.378, lines 46-9.
 3. Is.4.2; 30.23-6; 32.15; 35.1f.,6f.; Jer.31.12; Ezk.34.26f.; 36.29f.; 47.6-12; Jl.3.18; Am.9.13-15; Zch.8.12; 1 En.10.18-20, p.195; Sib.3.620-23, 659f.,744-50, pp.389-91; 2 Bar.29.4-8, p.497f. See Gen.1.29f.; 2.9; also 3.17-19.
 4. Is.2.4; 25.6-8; 32.16-19; 35.3-6; 65.18-20, 22; Jer.31.12-14; Ezk.34.28; Hos.2.18; Mic.4.3f.; Zch.9.10; 14.11; 1 En.10.17, p.194; 25.6, p.205; 58,p.223; Testament of Judah 25.3-5, in Charles, op.cit., vol.2, p.324; Sib.3.751-9, p.391f.; 2 Bar.73f., p.518.
 5. Is.11.6-8; 65.25; Ezk.34.25; Hos.2.18; see Gen.2.19f.; 1.30.
 6. Is.2.2f.; 11.9; 25.6,10; 65.25; 66.20; Ezk.34.26; Mic.4.1; Zch.8.3; 14.10; 1 En.24.1 - 25.3, p.204.
 7. Ps.46.4; Ezk.47.1-12; Jl.3.18; Zch.14.8; Rev.22.1f.,17; see Gen.2.10.
 8. Ezk.47.12; 1 En.24.4 - 25.5, p.204f.; 32.3-6, p.207; T.Lev.18.11, p.315, quoted above. 2 En.8.3f. (A), p.434; 4 Ez.8.52, p.597; Rev. 2.7; 22.2,14; see Gen.2.9; 3.22.
The creation monsters Behemoth and Leviathan are to be food for the saints in the messianic kingdom: 2 Bar.29.4, p.497; 4 Ez.6.49-52, p.579; see also 1 En.60.7-9, p.224 & Charles' note.
 9. See M.Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages, pp.295-301.

This idea first appears in Ezekiel, where, even after Israel has been restored, there is another time of distress, the war with Gog and Magog.¹ The restored and united nation is living in prosperity under their king 'my servant David',² when God summons 'Gog, prince of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal'.³

The Israelites, brought out from the nations, will all be living undisturbed; and you will come up, driving in like a hurricane; you will cover the land like a cloud, you and all your squadrons, a great concourse of peoples.⁴

But the object of the exercise is simply to prove God's power and righteousness; he shakes the world as he annihilates Gog and his horde:⁵

Thus will I prove myself great and holy and make myself known to many nations; they shall know that I am the Lord.⁶

The Jews realise that their sufferings are deserved, but that now their righteous God will love and protect them.⁷

Gog and Magog have no place in the Synoptic Apocalypse, or elsewhere in the New Testament where there is no earthly messianic kingdom. But with its revival as the Millennium in the Revelation, Gog and Magog re-appear at its close:

When the thousand years are over, Satan will be let loose from his dungeon; and he will come out to seduce the nations in the four quarters of the earth and to muster them for battle, yes, the hosts of Gog and Magog, countless as the sands of the sea. So they marched over the breadth of the land and laid siege to the camp of God's people and the city that he loves. But fire came down on them from heaven and consumed them.⁸

1. Klausner, Messianic Idea, p.126ff., where he also sees the origins of the myth in the contemporary political situation.

2. See Ezk.37.21-8.

3. Ezk.38.3.

4. Ezk.38.8f.

5. Ezk.38.16, 19-22.

6. Ezk.38.23.

7. Ezk.39.21-9. See also Zch.12; 14, which are based on Ezk.38-39: Klausner, Messianic Idea, p.201. Also 1 En.56.5-8, p.222; Sib.3.319-22, p.384; 512, p.388; 632-97, pp.389-91; and see Klausner, op.cit., p.375f. On Gog and Magog and the dying Messiah in later Jewish apocalyptic, see ibid., pp.496-501.

8. Rev.20.7-9. Note that at Ezk.38.19-22; Hag.2.21f.; Zch.12.9; 14.3f., 12f.; Sib.3.369-97, p.390f., and Rev.20.9, God destroys them without human participation. Judah joins in: Zch.14.14. The heathen destroy themselves: 1 En.56.7, p.222.

The forces of evil would make their final and most powerful appearance in the apocalyptic process as the Antichrist.¹

Originally he was conceived as a man, as God's last, mighty opponent on earth, a godless, tyrannical ruler, or a false prophet leading men astray by his miracles. But gradually he came to be thought of as a supernatural being, a manifestation of Satan himself.²

The first appearance of the Antichrist was in Daniel, where Antiochus IV Epiphanes was transformed into a monstrous tyrant, who sets himself up against God, persecutes the saints and reigns for three and a half years, establishing the 'abomination of desolation' in the Temple; his destruction immediately precedes a time of tribulation and the resurrection.³ This tradition of Antichrist as a military and political figure is reflected in the first century A.D. in Baruch's vision of the Forest:

The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword, and he will be bound, and they will take him up to Mt. Zion, and My Messiah will convict him of all his impieties.... And afterwards he will put him to death....⁴

The transformation of the Antichrist into a supernatural being was probably due to the influence of the myth of Beliar, a satanic spirit who would be destroyed at the End.⁵ In St. Paul's Second Letter to the Thessalonians, Antichrist has become 'a God-opposing man armed with miraculous or Satanic powers',⁶ whom Christ will destroy at his Second Coming:

1. On the Antichrist tradition and its origins, see W. Bousset, The Antichrist Legend and his articles, 'Antichrist', in Encyclopaedia Biblica, vol. 1, cols. 177-84, and Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 1, pp. 578-81; R. H. Charles' introduction to his edition of the Ascension of Isaiah, pp. li-lxxiii; M. R. James, 'Man of Sin and Antichrist', in J. A. Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, vol. 3, pp. 226-8.

2. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p. 273.

3. Dan. 7.8, 19-25; 8.9-13; 9.27; 11.21-45; 12.1f., 11. Antiochus is similarly transformed in Ass. Mos. 8, p. 420; see also Ps. Sol. 2.29f., p. 633, where Pompey the Great becomes the Dragon.

4. 2 Bar. 40.1f., p. 501; cf. 4 Ez. 5.6, p. 569.

5. T. Lev. 18.12, p. 315; T. Judah 25.3, p. 324; T. Dan 5.10f., p. 334; and see Charles, Asc. Isaiah, p. lv ff.

6. Charles, op. cit., p. lxi f.

That day cannot come before the final rebellion against God, when wickedness will be revealed in human form, the man doomed to perdition. He is the Enemy. He rises in his pride against every god, so called, every object of men's worship, and even takes his seat in the temple of God¹ claiming to be a god himself.

....that wicked man whom the Lord Jesus will destroy with the breath of his mouth, and annihilate by the radiance of his coming. But the coming of that wicked man is the work of Satan. It will be attended by all the powerful signs and miracles of the Lie, and all the deception that sinfulness can impose on those doomed to destruction.²

In the Jonnanine Epistles the actual term 'antichrist' is used for the first time, as a collective name for false teachers 'who do not acknowledge Jesus Christ as coming in the flesh' and whose appearance 'proves to us that this is indeed the last hour'.³

In the Revelation, Antichrist appears in various guises. As the Second Beast he is a false prophet,⁴ but armed with Satanic powers, drawing down fire from heaven and bringing a statue of the First Beast to life.⁵ This identification of Antichrist with a monstrous beast again reflects the habit of apocalyptic of transferring elements from near-eastern creation myth and ritual to the end of time. The figure of Antichrist as a dragon-like monster is derived from the myth of a chaos-dragon, whom God defeated at the Creation, but who will return at the End for a decisive return-bout.⁶

The last element which went into the making of the completed figure of Antichrist was the first century A.D. myth that the Emperor

1. Cf. Mt. 24.15 = Mk. 13.14 for what may be the same idea in the Synoptic Apocalypse. The idea originates at Dan. 9.27; 11.31.

2. 2 Ths. 2.3-10; cf. the description of a wonder-working Antichrist who raises the dead, etc.: Sib. 3.63-70, p.380. In 2 Ths. he has become a religious, rather than political and military, figure; contrast Dan. 11.21-45; 2 Bar. 40.1f., quoted above, p.26; Rev. 13.1-10, 17.

3. 2 Jn. 7; 1 Jn. 2.18 See also 1 Jn. 2.22f.; 4.3.

4. Rev. 16.13.

5. Rev. 13.13ff.

6. See T.K. Cheyne, 'Dragon', in Encyclopaedia Biblica, vol.1, cols. 1131-4; and Bousset, 'Antichrist', Enc. Rel. Eth., vol.1, p.578; Vielhauer, Apocalyptic, p.613; Hooke, Labyrinth, p.viii; Borsch, Son of Man, p.136. See Dan. 7.7f.; Is. 14.12-15; 27.1; 51.9; Ezk. 29.3; Ps. 74.13; Testament of Asher 7.3, in Charles, A.P.O.T., vol.2, p.345; Ps. Sol. 2.29, p.633; Rev. 12; 13.4, 11.

Nero was not dead, but alive and about to return from the East to take vengeance on Rome. As this belief persisted, a number of pseudo-Neros appeared and the myth found its way into late first century apocalyptic writings.¹

The description of one of the seven heads of the First Beast of the Revelation shows the assimilation of the attributes of Nero Redivivus into the figure of Antichrist:

One of its heads appeared to have received a death-blow; but the mortal wound was healed.²

In the Ascension of Isaiah, Beliar/Antichrist descends in the form of Nero:

Beliar...shall descend...from his firmament in the form of a man, a lawless king, a slayer of his mother, who...will persecute the plant which the Twelve Apostles of the Beloved have planted.

He wins over the kings of the world and makes the sun appear at night and the moon by day.³ He claims to be God and almost all of mankind worship him, including most Christians; the faithful remnant flee to the desert.⁴ He rules for just over 3½ years,⁵ until Christ comes with his angels to thrust him into Gehenna.⁶

As well as representing the final resurgence of evil, Antichrist also acts in the apocalyptic process as a sort of litmus test on mankind: those who resist his threats and blandishments and adhere to the faith will be saved, while those who submit to him will be damned.⁷

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1. Pseudo-Neros: Tacitus, The Histories (ed.C.H.Moore), 1.2; 2.8f., vol.1, pp.4f.,172-5; Suetonius, The Lives of the Caesars: Nero 57 (ed. J.C.Rolfe), vol.2, p.186f., Dio Cassius, Roman History (ed.E.Cary), 63.10, vol.8, p.210f.; Zonaras, 'Annales' 11.15, P.G.134 col.966. In Apocalypses: Sib.4.119-22, p.395; 137-9, p.396; 5.137-54, p.399f.; 361-80, p.404; and see the note on 3.63, p.380; Rev.16.12.
 2. Rev.13.3; also vv.12,14 and 17.8,11. He reigns for 3½ years,13.5. He blasphemes against God and makes war on the saints, 13.5-7.
 3. Cf. 4 Ez.5.4, p.569.
 4. Cf. Mt.24.15-18 = Mk.13.14-16; Lk.21.21; Rev.12.6,14.
 5. 3 years, 7 months and 27 days - the 1335 days of Dan.12.12.
 6. 'Ascension of Isaiah' 4.2-14, ed.Vielhauer, in Hennecke,Apocrypha, vol.2, p.648; Charles dates it to before 100 A.D. in his introduction, p.lxx ff.;but see also Vielhauer's account of its composition, Hennecke, Apocrypha, vol.2, p.642f. Nero also returns as Antichrist in Sib.5.28-34, p.397; 215-27, p.401. Nero as the Dragon, 'Christian Sibyllines' 8.88,157, in Hennecke, Apocrypha, vol.2, pp.728,730 (late 2nd century A.D.).
 7. Rev.13.16f.; 20.4f.; 2 Ths.2.11f.

In order to give everyone a fair chance, however, God sends two witnesses to preach against him and save what souls they can at the last moment.

The last words of the Old Testament promised the return of Elijah to inspire Israel to repentance so that all might be in order for the consummation,¹ and Christ himself identified his own forerunner, John the Baptist, with Elijah.²

The idea was fully elaborated in the Revelation: there are now two witnesses, who prophesy and perform miracles in Jerusalem during the reign of the Beast, until he kills them, to the general relief and joy of unrepentant mankind. They are resurrected, however, after 3½ days, and ascend to heaven.³ These two witnesses were almost universally identified with Elijah and Enoch by later commentators; apart from the long-established tradition that Elijah would return, both he and Enoch were known to have been translated into heaven without having died and could more easily therefore return to earth.⁴

1. Mal.4.5f. (late 5th century B.C.); see also Sirach 48.10, p.500f.; 1 En.90.31, p.259 & n.; and Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p.229 & n. For a summary of the tradition of forerunners of the Messiah, see ibid., pp. 298-302.

2. Mt.11.13f.; 17.10-13; Mk.9.11-13; Lk.1.17; Jn.1.19-25. See also Mt.16.14 & par.

3. Rev.11.3-12.

4. See on Elijah, 2(4) Kings 2.11; Sirach 48.9f., p.500f.; 1 En.89.52, p.255; 93.8, p.263. On Enoch, Gen.5.24; Sirach 44.16, p.482; 49.14, p.506; Wis.4.10f., p.541; Jub.4.23, p.19; 1 En.39.3, p.210; 70.1-3, p.235; 2 En.36.2, p.453; Heb.11.5.

At the transfiguration Elijah was accompanied by Moses, Mt.17.3 & par.; this may owe something to Deut.18.15.18f.; see Bousset, Antichrist Legend, p.207f. (hereafter cited as Antichrist); Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p.299f., where he also cites 4 Ez.6.26, p.576, on a multiplicity of forerunners.

On later commentators and their identifications of the witnesses, see below, p.46, n.1.

CHAPTER 2.

THE CHILIASTIC PERIOD IN CHRISTIANITY, FROM THE FIRST TO THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Christianity evolved out of a Jewish environment and inherited Jewish literary forms and religious beliefs, especially in the field of Apocalyptic, where the person and teachings of Christ seem at times irrelevant; the Revelation of St. John, in particular, owed almost nothing to Christ and sprang straight out of the Jewish apocalyptic tradition.¹ The early Christian leaders were charismatic prophets who employed apocalyptic terminology and ideas,² and the Didache, a compilation of Church regulations probably composed in the first decade of the second century, ends in a small Apocalypse.³ It was generally accepted that the End might come at any moment, and vivid descriptions of the Messianic Woes and of the Antichrist reflected the swift elaboration of the apocalyptic process.

This tendency was also reflected in ideas concerning the nature of Christ himself:

The earliest Christology was not expressed in the cool identification of Jesus with the Logos as the rational principle of the universe, but in the fervid vision of the Son of man breaking the power of the demons and ushering in the new aeon with divine judgment and mercy.⁴

This expectation of Christ's imminent return was reinforced by the circumstances of the early Church: its members were a tiny, inward-looking minority, responding to frequent persecutions with the conviction of their imminent vindication:

1. On the relation of early Christianity to Judaism, see J. Daniélou, 'Patristic Literature', in R.P.C. Hanson (ed.), The Pelican Guide to Modern Theology, vol.2: Historical Theology, pp.33-42.

2. See W. Schneemelcher, 'Apocalyptic Prophecy of the Early Church: Introduction', in Hennecke, Apocrypha, vol.2, p.684; and J. Pelikan, The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition, p.99.

3. Chapter 16 of the Didache, ed. Vielhauer, Apocalyptic, pp.627-9.

4. Pelikan, Catholic Tradition, p.123. To the Synoptic Apocalypse attributed to Christ may be added the 'Epistula Apostolorum', a 2nd century work which purports to record a discussion between Jesus and his apostles after the resurrection in which he announces the End as coming about 150 or 180 A.D.; see chap.17, in Hennecke, Apocrypha, vol.1, p.200f.

That the little flock thus placed should look passionately for the kingdom promised them by Christ, that they should hold tenaciously to the graphic and definite descriptions of its glories which they had received, and expect its realisation not at the far off consummation of a historical process in continuous development, but as the result of a convulsive breach with history which would by a sudden catastrophe reverse the existing supremacy of the powers opposed to Christ, was surely but natural and to be expected.¹

The kingdom to which early Christians looked forward, however, was not in fact that promised by Christ, but the earthly messianic kingdom of the Jewish apocalyptic tradition which received its definitive expression in Revelation 20.1-7.² Chiliasm - belief in the millennium - prevailed generally in the Church for two and a half centuries and in the West for four until it was finally discredited. The early charismatic leaders were replaced by officials as the Church settled down to a prolonged existence in this world. Christ failed to put in his expected reappearance and imminent apocalyptic receded from the centre of the official faith as theologians looked for an individual, rather than a collective, salvation. But the expectation survived that, at any given time, the End was nigh, and the millenarian hope retained its popular emotional appeal.³

In the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr conceded that God had delayed the End, but announced that it was now on its way.⁴ The fourth World Kingdom would end; ten kings would reign and be followed by an eleventh - the Antichrist. He would be destroyed after 3½ years and Christ would institute the millenarian kingdom, which would last for 1000 years centered on the New Jerusalem. Justin reported this as the belief of himself and many Christians, but admitted that many other 'true Christians' did not share it.⁵

1. Robertson, Regnum Dei, p.131f.

2. Quoted above, p.22.

3. On the decline of a vivid eschatology in early Christianity see Cohn, Millennium, pp.26,29; Pelikan, Catholic Tradition, pp.123-32; Robertson, Regnum Dei, pp.131-5,161f.; Schneemelcher, Apocalyptic Prophecy, p.684.

4. Justin Martyr, 'Apology' 1.45; 2.7, in A.N.C.L.2, pp.45,77; 'Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew' 28; 32, in A.N.C.L.2, pp.121,126f.

5. Justin, Dialogue, 31f.; 80, pp.125-7, 199f. The 4 kingdoms and 10 kings derive from Dan.7.3-8,17-27. On 2nd century millenarianism, see further the 'Epistle of Barnabas' 6; 15, A.N.C.L.1, pp.111f.,127f.; Xn.Sib. 7.144-9, p.725; and the passage from Papias quoted by Irenaeus, below, p.33f.

An exercise in applied Chiliasm occurred when, in 156, Montanus announced on behalf of the Holy Spirit that the New Jerusalem was about to descend from heaven to Pepuza in Phrygia to be the centre of the Kingdom of the Saints.¹ Montanism spread widely, and made one particularly distinguished convert:

In the early years of the third century we find Tertullian writing of a wondrous portent: in Judaea a walled city had been seen in the sky early every morning for forty days, to fade away as the day advanced; and this was a sure sign that the Heavenly Jerusalem was about to descend. It was the same vision which... was to hypnotise the masses of the People's Crusades as they toiled towards Jerusalem, some nine centuries later.²

According to Tertullian, the Saints would be resurrected into the millenarian kingdom sooner or later according to their deserts; at the end of the thousand years the world would be destroyed and the Last Judgment and the eternal Kingdom of God would ensue.³

Montanism was not, in fact, essentially an apocalyptic movement, so much as an attempt to revive the tradition of prophetic utterance in the Church; but the campaign against the new movement did much to discredit millenarianism in the East as a Jewish heresy rather than a Christian doctrine.⁴ In fact, in accordance with the general cooling of apocalyptic fervour, chiliasm was in any case already dying in the East. It lacked adequate authority in the New Testament as a whole and was antipathetic to the new spirit of a Church beginning to settle down in the world; the stimulus of persecution disappeared and more rational theologians began to reject belief in the Millennium. The attack in the East came mainly from the Alexandrian School⁵ and, in

1. See Rev.21.2,10.

2. Cohn, Millennium, p.26, citing Tertullian, 'Against Marcion' 3.24, A.N.C.L.7, p.170f.

3. Tertullian, loc.cit.

4. See Pelikan, Catholic Tradition, pp.97-108; Cohn, op.cit., p.25f.; Robertson, Regnum Dei, pp.136-47; Schneemelcher, Apocalyptic Prophecy, p.688; MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.388; H.Chadwick, The Early Church, p.52f.; also Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History (trans. Lake et al.), 5.14-19, vol.1, pp.471-95; Theodoretus, 'Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium' 2.3; 5.21, P.G.83, cols.390,519; Philastrius of Brescia, 'Liber de Haeresibus' 59, P.L.12 col.1174; Hippolytus, 'Refutation of all Heresies' 8.12, A.N.C.L.6, p.325f.

5. Dionysius of Alexandria, in Eusebius, op.cit.7.24f., vol.2, pp.191-9. see Robertson, op.cit., p.155f.

particular, from Origen (c.185-253) who, in accordance with his general spiritualisation of scriptural exegesis, substituted for a collective eschatology an eschatology of the individual soul and presented the Kingdom of God not as a concrete future event but as something within the soul of each believer.¹ He specifically refuted the grossly materialistic conception of the Millennium which had grown up among those who looked forward to:

...bodily pleasure and luxury...eating, and drinking, and performing all the functions of flesh and blood...marriages, and the begetting of children, imagining to themselves that the earthly city of Jerusalem is to be rebuilt...Moreover, they think that the natives of other countries are to be given to them as ministers of their pleasures....

Those who expected all this were misinterpreting passages of scripture which were meant to be understood figuratively, in order to fulfill their hope that the future would see a restoration of present things.²

At the same time as Montanism hastened the end of chiliasm in the East, its survival in the West was ensured by the writings of Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons (c.177-202), who, in the catalogue of apocalyptic lore which he included in Book 5 of his treatise 'Against Heresies', repeated the millenarian fantasies of Papias of Hierapolis.³ The Roman Empire would be split among ten kings; then Rome would fall and Antichrist would come, 6000 years after the creation of the world, to set himself up as God and reign for 3½ years, sitting in the Temple at Jerusalem. His reign was to be a moral filtration: the reprobate would follow him, but the elect would endure his oppressions to prove themselves worthy of salvation. When Christ came to destroy Antichrist, the just would be resurrected and the Millennium instituted. Its purpose would be two-fold: it would allow the elect a period to become acclimatised, as it were, to God and would provide a just reward for all they had

1. See Cohn, Millennium, p.29.

2. Origen, 'De Principiis' 2.11f., A.N.C.L.10, pp.145-8; the passage quoted is on p.146. On the end of chiliasm in the East see, in addition to the citations above, p.32, n.4, J.P.Kirsch, 'Millennium and Millenarianism' in the Catholic Encyclopaedia, vol.10, p.308f.

3. Papias' account of the Millennium probably originated early in the 2nd century; see Cohn, Millennium, p.26f.; and Daniélou, Patristic Literature, p.36, n.15.

endured on the same earth on which they had suffered:

For it is just that in that very creation in which they toiled and were afflicted and were tried in every way by suffering, they should receive the reward of their suffering; and that in the very creation in which they were killed for the love of God they should be revived again; and that in the very creation in which they endured servitude, they should also reign.¹

A restored creation would pour forth its fruits for the saints, living around the Heavenly Jerusalem until, at the end of the 1000 years, an entirely new creation would be the setting for the eternal Kingdom.

The day will come in which vines shall appear, having each ten thousand shoots, and on every shoot ten thousand twigs, and on each true twig ten thousand stems, and on every stem ten thousand bunches, and in every bunch ten thousand grapes, and every grape will give five-and-twenty metretres of wine. And when any one of the Saints shall take hold of a bunch, another bunch shall cry out, 'I am a better bunch, take me; bless the Lord through me.'²

Alongside the development of such fiercely materialistic chiliastic dreams, there was a general elaboration of apocalyptic imagery, especially that associated with the figure of Antichrist and the Messianic Woes. Bousset suggested 'that in many cases the eschatological revelations have been passed on, not in written records, but in oral tradition, as an esoteric doctrine handled with fear and trembling. Hence it is that not until later times does the tradition come to light in all its abundance.'³

Early in the fourth century, Lactantius gave an elaborate description of the chain of events which, 6000 years after the Creation, would usher in the Millennium. After a worldwide crescendo of wickedness and violence, the Roman Empire is ruled by ten kings, three of whom are destroyed by a king from the north to whom the other seven submit. This king - a first Antichrist - oppresses the entire world amid mounting destruction and signs of cosmic magnitude. When only a tenth of mankind is left alive, God sends a wonder-working prophet to turn their hearts to himself. But at this point the second, proper Antichrist comes to kill the prophet, perform miracles and set himself up as Christ during a reign of 3½ years. When the righteous flee, he pursues and surrounds them; but God sends a great king to destroy his army.

1. Irenaeus, 'Against Heresies' 5.32.1, A.N.C.L.9, p.141; Cohn's translation, Millennium, p.27.

2. Irenaeus, op.cit. 5.33.3, p.146; Cohn's trans., loc.cit. Irenaeus goes on to describe the abundance of other produce and the harmony of the animal kingdom. He admits his debt to Papias, 5.33.4, p.146. The passage echoes 2 Bar.29.5f., p.497. and 1 En.10.19, p.195, and may ultimately derive from midrash on Gen.27.28; MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.388.

3. Bousset, Antichrist, p.30f., where he also cites passages suggestive of such a secret tradition.

Christ comes again to fight three subsequent battles with Antichrist, whom he finally destroys. Now the righteous dead are resurrected to reign with Christ for 1000 years, served by some survivors of the heathen nations and begetting many holy children; it is an age of natural abundance, harmony and beauty. At its end, Satan leads the nations in a final assault on the Holy City; but God sends torments upon them so that, maddened by suffering, they destroy each other, while the saints shelter in caves. After seven years of peace, God renews the earth for eternity and the unrighteous are resurrected to go to everlasting punishment.¹

A similar pattern appears in the expectations of Commodianus, writing probably in the fifth century. The capture of Rome by the Goths, who are sympathetic towards Christianity, is followed by the return of Nero as a first Antichrist. Elijah and another prophet preach against him but are killed. After Nero has reigned for 3½ years, the second Antichrist comes from the East, kills him, sacks Rome and sets himself up in Jerusalem. God comes against him, leading the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel from beyond the Euphrates; Antichrist flees to the north, but is destroyed. The Millennium ensues, with the saints living in the Heavenly City, marrying and begetting children amid paradisaical conditions until the Last Judgment.²

In fact the fifth century saw, not the end of the world, but the end of the chiliastic tradition as an accepted part of the faith of the western Church. The conditions which had given the doctrine such a powerful appeal to early Christians no longer prevailed, as had been the case in the East two centuries before. The last nail was hammered into its coffin by St. Augustine (354-430), himself a chiliast early in his career.³ He now re-interpreted Revelation 20 so as to make the 1000 years the period between the two advents of Christ, the reign of the Church on earth, during which the souls of the saints also reign in heaven. This new doctrine was generally accepted by the Church, and belief in the Millennium became a heresy.⁴

1. Lactantius, 'Divine Institutes' 7.14-26, A.N.C.L.21, pp.460-84.

2. Commodianus, 'Carmen Apologeticum', lines 810-1000, ed. B. Dombart, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol.15, pp.168-80. There are also two Antichrists in Sulpicius Severus' early 5th century 'Dialogus' 2.14, P.L.20, col.211f.

3. Augustine, 'De Civitate Dei contra Paganos' 20.7.1, P.L.41, col.667; 'Sermo' 259.2, P.L.38, col.1197; 'Epistola' 199.6.17 (to Hesychius, 'de Fine Saeculi'), P.L.33, col.910.

4. Augustine, Civ. Dei 20.9.1-3, col.672ff. See also MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.388; Cohn, Millennium, p.29.

CHAPTER 3.

THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION, FROM THE FIRST CENTURY DOWN TO THE TIME OF THE CRUSADES.¹

During the entire period from the first to the eleventh century, despite the disappearance of chiliasm, most of the apparatus of the apocalyptic tradition remained unchanged. It had scriptural foundation, real or imaginary, and continued to exert a powerful emotive appeal. Thus despite the discrediting of the Millennium there existed a cohesive body of ideas concerning the apocalyptic process which we find reflected in the writings of theologians of a thousand years of the history of the Church, and which provided the bedrock of a literary tradition over which the winds of particular social and economic forces were to blow the dust of a more intermittent, popular tradition.

Associated with the belief that Christ would reign on earth for 1000 years was the idea that this millennarian kingdom would begin 6000 years after the creation of the world. Thus six world-days of 1000 years would be followed by the world-sabbath, and the history of the world could be made to follow the pattern of its creation.² This idea does not appear anywhere in the New Testament, but by the second century Christian writers had picked it up,³ and it survived the discrediting of the Millennium in the same form⁴ and in another variation whereby the duration of the world was divided into six ages.⁵ Some

1. The attribution and dating of sources in this and the following chapter is based on B. Altaner, Patrology; P. Glorieux, 'Pour revaloriser Migne', Mélanges de Science Religieuse (Cahier supplémentaire, 1952); P. C. Spicq, 'Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge' Bibliothèque Thomiste (1944).

2. See MacCulloch, Eschatology, pp. 380, 388; Charles, Eschatology, pp. 190, 315. The idea first appears at 2 En. 33.1, p. 451 - see Charles' note there; also Jub. 4.30, p. 19; Ps. 90.4; 2 Pet. 3.8; and Gen. 1.1 - 2.3.

3. Epist. Barnabas 15, p. 127; Irenaeus, Heresies 5.28.3, p. 132; Cyprian, 'Treatise' 11.2, A.N.C.L. 13, p. 52; Commodianus, 'Instructiones' 35, A.N.C.L. 18, p. 451; Carmen 791, p. 166; Victorinus, 'On the Creation of the World', A.N.C.L. 18, p. 391; Lactantius, Div. Inst. 7.14, p. 460f.

4. Primasius, 'Commentariorum super Apocalypsim B. Joannis libri quinque' 5.20, P.L. 68, col. 914; Cassiodorus, 'Expositio in Psalmum 6', P.L. 70, col. 59; Isidore of Seville, 'De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos' 2.15.5f., P.L. 83, col. 523; Ralph Glaber, 'Historiarum sui Temporis libri quinque' 1.5, P.L. 142, col. 628. Bede, however, denied this: 'De Temporum Ratione' 67, P.L. 90, col. 572; 'Epistola' 3 ('ad Plegwinum Apologetica'), P.L. 94, col. 673f. See also Augustine, Civ. Dei 20.7.1., col. 667.

5. Primasius, op.cit. 2.6, col. 839; Honorius Augustodunensis, 'De Imagine Mundi libri tres' 2.75, P.L. 172, col. 156; Werner II of Küssenberg, 'Deflorationes SS. Patrum' (attributed to Werner I of St. Blaise) 1, P.L. 157, col. 735; 'Chronica Regia S. Pantaleonis', in C.H.M.A., vol. 1, col. 736; Lambert of St. Omer, Liber Floridus, ed. Derolez, 6, p. 42 (transcription, p. 8f.).

early writers asserted that Christ had come halfway through the sixth world-day, 5,500 years from the Creation,¹ and from this it followed that the End could be dated to A.D.500.² But most writers preferred simply to assert that the End was nigh, underterred by the failure of previous such expectations to be fulfilled.³

(p.36, n.5) According to Bede, there were to be six ages, followed by a seventh, of the Sabbath-Rest, and an eighth, of the Resurrection: de Temp.66, col. 520f.; 67, col.572f.; 'Hexaameron' 1, P.L.91, col.38. Similarly: Augustine, Civ.Dei 22.30.5, col.804; Haymo of Auxerre, 'Expositionis in Apocalypsin B.Joannis libri septem' (attributed to Haymo of Halberstadt) 4.13, P.L.117, col.1104; Hemmo 'De Varietate Librorum' (attributed to Haymo of Halberstadt; Hemmo - or Emmo - wrote in the first years of the 9th century) 1.12, P.L.118, col.884; Herveus of Bourgdieu, 'Homiliae et Exhortationes' (attributed to Anselm of Canterbury) 4; 12, P.L.158, cols.603f.,658; Honorius, 'Sacramentarium' 61, P.L.172, col.777f. On the 7th world-day/Sabbath Rest, see further, below, p.70ff.

Bruno of Asti, 'Expositio in Apocalypsim' 5.17, P.L.165, col.700, has 7 ages, derived from Rev.17.10, of which the 7th is the 3½ year reign of Antichrist. Quodvultdeus, 'Liber de Promissionibus et Praedictionibus Dei' (attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine), P.L.51, cols.733-858, divides the history of the world into 4 times, of which the 4th, during which Antichrist comes, is only half a time, making 3½ altogether (see especially col.837f., and below, p.52) before the 5th time of the Kingdom of God.

The 'Tiburtine Sibyl' has 9 ages: E.Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen, pp.129,137,178-81. See also Bede (attrib.), 'Sibyllinorum Verborum Interpretatio' (in fact an 11th-12th century version of the Tiburtina, hereafter cited as Bede's Sib.), P.L.90, cols.1181-3.

1. Hippolytus, 'On Daniel' 4, A.N.C.L.6, p.447; 'Gospel of Nicodemus. Part 2: The Descent of Christ into Hell' (Greek Form), 3, A.N.C.L. 16, p.171; Hilarianus, 'Libellus de Mundi Duratione' 16, P.L.13, col.1104.
2. Hilarianus, op.cit.16f., col.1104f. See also Hippolytus, loc.cit.; Lactantius, Div.Inst. 7.25, p.481; Augustine, Epist.199.7.20f., col. 911f.; the belief was also reported by Bede, Epist.3, col.674.

Quodvultdeus, de Promiss. 4.4, col 840, writing in the middle of the 5th century, took the 1000 years as running from the time of Daniel; Christ had come after 490 years, so the End would come, presumably, in 510.

3. 'First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians' 23, A.N.C.L.1,p.24; Epist.Barnabas 4, p.105f.; 'Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians' 11, A.N.C.L.1, p.159; Justin, Dialogue 28, p.121; Tertullian, 'Apologeticus' 21, A.N.C.L.11, p.93; Commodianus, Carmen 791f.,p.166; Cyprian, 'Epistle' 55.1 (to the Thibaritans), A.N.C.L.8, p.180; Treatise 5.3-5, 23; 7.2,25, A.N.C.L.8, pp.425-7,440,453f.,467; and Treatise 11.1, A.N.C.L.13, p.52; Lactantius, op.cit.7.14,25, pp.462,481; Cyril of Jerusalem, 'Catechesis 15, de Secundo Christi Adventu' 4-8, P.G.33, cols.875,878f.; Hilarius, 'Contra Arianos, vel Auxentium Mediolanensem' 5, P.L.10, col.611; Ambrose, 'Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam' 8.39, P.L.15, col.1776; Sulpicius, Dialogus 2.14, col.212 (reporting that Antichrist has already been born); Maximus Taurinensis, 'Homilia' 117 (de Camelo), P.L.57, col.528; Primasius, super Apoc.3.11; 5.20, cols. 869,914; Gregory the Great, 'In expositionem Beati Job Moralia' 31.27. 54,P.L.76, col.603, also 33.32.56, col.709; 'Registri Epistolarum'

(Continued, p.38)

(p.37, n.3) 4.25, P.L.77, col.694; Bede, de Temp.66; 69, cols.521, 574; Odo of Cluny, 'De Vita Sancti Geraldī Auriliacensis Comitī', Praefatio, P.L.133, col.641; Peter Damian, 'Epistola' 4.5,9, P.L.144, cols.300, 313; St. Bruno, 'In Epistolam 1 ad Thessalonicenses' 4, P.L.153, col.408 (According to Glorieux, 'Migne', p.61, the commentaries on St. Paul's Letters to the Thessalonians attributed to St. Bruno are by an anonymous 11th century author; but Spicq, Esquisse, p.55, regards them as genuine); Anselm Cant., 'Liber Meditationum et Orationum' 2, P.L.158, col.722; Peter of Pisa, 'Vita Paschalis II Papae, auctore Petro Pisano' 10, P.L.163, col.19; Bruno Ast., in Apoc.4.14; 5.18; 7.22, cols.683,701,733; Honorius, Sacrament.61, col.778; Hugo of St. Victor, 'De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei' 2.17.25, P.L.176, col.608; St. Bernard, 'Epistola' 1.7; 56, P.L.182, cols.74,162f.; 'Sermones in Cantica Cantorum' 72.5, P.L.183, col.1131; Alpertus of Metz, 'Libellus de Diversitate Temporum' 1.15, C.H.M.A.1, col.102; 'Concilium Troslejanum', Praefatio, in J.D.Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio, vol.18, col.266; Alcuin, 'Epistola' 78, in Monumenta Alcuiniana; Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, ed.P.Jaffé, vol.6, p.345; Gregory VII, 'Registrum' 7.21; 9.14, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae Selectae, vol.2, pp.497f.,593; 'Epistolae Collectae' 46, Monumenta Gregoriana; Bibl.Rer.Germ., vol.2, p.574; 'Anselmi Gemblacensis Continuatio' an.1124, M.G.S.S.6, p.379; 'Chronicon Hugonis, monachi Viridunensis et Divionensis Abbatis Flaviniacensis' 2, M.G.S.S.8, p.390; 'Ekkeberti Vita S.Haimeradi' 1, M.G.S.S.10, p.599; Benzo of Alba, 'Bensonis Episcopi Albensis ad Henricum IV Imperatorem libri VII' 1; 4.6; 6.2, M.G.S.S.11, pp.597,642,659; Otto of Freising, 'Ottonis Episcopi Frisingensis Chronicon', Prologue; 2.13; 5.prol.; 7.34, M.G.S.S.20, pp.118,149,213f.,267; 'Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris auctoribus Ottone Episcopo et Ragewino Praeposito Frisingensibus' 1.48, M.G.S.S.20, p.378.

Otto, Chron.8.18, p.286f., and Theoderich, 'Description of the Holy Places' 32, trans.A.Stewart, P.P.T.S.17, p.51, both tell the story of how, just outside Jerusalem, simple pilgrims used to make piles of stones upon which to sit at the Last Judgment.

The End will come when the number of the Elect has been made up: Justin, Apology, 1.45, p.45f.; Paschasius Radbertus, 'Expositio in Evangelium Mattaei' 7.13, P.L.120, col.507; 'Historiae Farfenses. Hugonis opuscula' 16, M.G.S.S.11, p.539. See also 'Recognitions of Clement' 3.26, A.N.C.L.3, p.250; Berengaudus, 'Expositio super septem visiones libri Apocalypsis' 4.14.14-19, P.L.17, col.897; and Cassiodorus, in Psalm.82, col.597, where Antichrist hastens the End by killing the saints and thus making up the number of the Elect.

The End will come when the Gospel has been universally preached (see Mt.24.14; Mk.13.10): Paschasius, op.cit.11.24, col.804f.; Haymo, in Apoc.7.20, col.1187; Bruno Ast., 'Commentaria in Matthaeum' 4.99, P.L.165, col.270; Rupertus Abbas Tuitiensis, 'Commentaria in Apocalypsin' 9.15, P.L.169, col.1113; Werner, Deflor.1, col.742; Hugo, de Sacrament. 2.17.1, col.597; see also Alpertus, de Div.Temp.1.15, col.102; Alcuin, Epist.78, p.345.

The Jews must be converted before the End; Haymo of Auxerre, 'Homiliae de Tempore' (attributed to Haymo of Halberstadt) 2, P.L.118, col.24; Anselm of Laon, 'Ennarationes in Evangelium Matthaei' 24, P.L.162, col.1454; Bruno Ast., loc.cit.; Rupert, loc.cit. See further, below, p.64.

The End is still some way off: 'Epistola Adsonis ad Gerbergam Reginam de Ortu et Tempore Antichristi', in Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte, p.110; Bruno Ast., loc.cit.

(Continued, p.39)

The belief that the world was nearing its end was sometimes expressed by the idea that it had grown old; according to Cyprian of Carthage (d.258),

...the world has now grown old, and does not abide in that strength in which it formerly stood; nor has it that vigour and force which it formerly possessed.¹

Current natural disasters were evidence of the extreme old age of the world and heralded its imminent dissolution. Ambrose of Milan (339-97) saw the barbarian invasions as fulfilling Christ's prophecies of the Last Things, and claimed that present famines, plagues and persecutions were symptoms of the world's terminal sickness.² Justin Martyr, Tertullian,

(p.37, n.3) No-one can know the time of the End: Augustine, Epist.197.2 (to Hesychius), col.899 (but cf. below p.40,n.2) Andreas of Caesarea, 'Commentarius in Apocalypsin' 7, P.G.106, col.243; Arethas of Caesarea, 'Commentarius in Apocalypsin' 7; 60, P.G.106, cols.550,750; Julianus Toletanus, 'Prognosticon' 3.1, P.L.96, col.497; Haymo of Auxerre, 'In Epistolam 1 ad Thessalonicenses' (attributed to Haymo of Halberstadt) 5, P.L.117, col.773; Gregory of Tours, 'Historiae Ecclesiasticae Francorum libri decem' 1, P.L.71, col.162f.; Chron.Hugo, 2, p.390 (although it is near); Werner, Deflor.1, cols.742,748,756; Herveus., Hom.4, col.603; Anselm Laon, in Matt.24, col.1455; Bruno Ast., in Matt.4.100, col.274f.; 'Commentaria in Lucam' 2.47, P.L.165, col.442; Anon. (c.1160), 'In Epistolam I ad Thessalonicenses' (attributed to Hugo of St.Victor), Quaestio 14, P.L.175, col.590; de Sacrament.2.17.1, col.597; Herveus Burgidolensis Monachus, 'In Epistolam I ad Thessalonicenses' 5, P.L.181, col.1377f.; Bede, de Temp.67f., col.572f.; Lambert, Lib.Flor.156, p.439. See also 'Chronicon S.Andreae Castri Cameracesii' 3.42, M.G.S.S.7, p.550, where for each individual the end of the world is the moment of his own death; the author quotes Ac.1.7 and Mt.24.36; see also I Ths.5.2f. and 2 Pet.3.10.

1. Cyprian, Treatise 5.3-5, A.N.C.L.8, pp.425-7; see also cap.13 of a Treatise 'On the Glory of Martyrdom' attributed to Cyprian, A.N.C.L.13, p.239; Gregory, 'XL Homiliarum in Evangelia, libri duo' 1.1.1, P.L.76, col.1077 and, especially, 1.1.5, col.1080; Paschasius, in Matt.11.24, col.801f.; Bede, de Temp.66, col.521; Benzo, ad Hen.IV 6.2, p.659; Glaber, Hist.3.4, p.651, describing the rebuilding of churches after 1000 as the world shaking off its old age and reclothing itself in a white garment of churches.

2. Ambrose, Lucam 10.10, col.1806f.; see Lk.21.9-11 & par. At. 10.14, col.1808, Ambrose declared that the prophecy of Mt.24.14 = Mk.13.10, that the Gospel would be preached throughout the world before the End (see above, p.38), had been fulfilled through the conversion of the Goths and Armenians; see also Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis 15.8, col.879, and Augustine, Epist.198.6, col.904 (Hesychius to Augustine).

Sulpicius Severus (d.420/25) and Cyril of Jerusalem (d.386) were among other early writers who saw in current events proof that the End was imminent,¹ but, as St. Augustine pointed out, despite all the wars, tribulations, earthquakes, famines and conquests that had occurred and had been hailed as heralding the end of the world, Christ's Second Coming had so far been conspicuous only in its absence.²

Nevertheless, signs of the world's imminent dissolution continued to be greeted with undiminished enthusiasm. Peter Chrysologus (d.c. 450) noted the triumph of the heathen, the prosperity of the wicked and other signs of the reversal of the natural order of things,³ while at the end of the sixth century Gregory the Great saw Messianic Woes everywhere he looked.⁴ Early in the ninth century, Agobard of Lyons saw all the signs prophesied in 2 Timothy 3.1-5 being fulfilled and expressed his gratification that God had prepared Louis the Pious as a remedy for the ills of these Last Days; he wrote to Louis suggesting that, in preparation for the imminent coming of Antichrist, he should order the collation of all known Antichrist-lore.⁵

1. Justin, Dialogue 110, p.237; 82, p.202; Tertullian, Marcion 3.24, p.170f. (see above, p.32); Sulpicius, 'De Vita Beati Martini' 24, P.L.20, col.174; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis, 15.6f., col.878. See also Origen, 'Contra Celsum' (trans. Chadwick) 7.9, p.402.

2. Augustine, Sermo 93.6, col.576; but contrast Epist. 199.7f.20-24, col.911ff., and the letter from his correspondent Hesychnius, 198.5f., col.903f., where signs of the End are discerned.

3. Peter Chrysologus, 'Sermo' 47, P.L.52, col.332.

4. In Job 21.22.35, P.L.76, col.210; in Evang. 1.1.1, col.1077f., and 1.1.5, col.1080; Reg. 3.29, col.627.

5. Agobard, 'De Insolentia Judaeorum' 1, P.L.104, col.69; 'Epistola de Judaicis Superstitionibus' 27, P.L.104, col.100; see also Alcuin, Epist. 78, p.345, similarly on Charlemagne's rôle in the Last Days.

Signs of the imminent End were discerned by:

'Pseudo-Ephrem' (late 4th century) 1f., in C.P.Caspari, Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten, pp.208-10 - moral decline, wars, plague, famines and earthquakes; all signs predicted by the Synoptic Apoc. are being fulfilled.

Gregory Tours (538-94), Hist. 10.25, col.556f. - plague, famine, a false Christ; see Mt.24.7, 11, 24.

Bede (673-735), Hex. 1, col.38 - iniquity and cooling of charity; see Mt.24.12.

Haymo of Auxerre (d.855), Hom.Temp. 2, cols.19, 24 - most of the signs of the Synoptic Apoc. discerned; the others will assuredly follow.

Paschasius (d.c.865) in Matt. 11.24, col.801f. - wars, plagues, famines, earthquakes, greed and pride; see Mt.24.7, 12.

Christian Druthmarus (d.c.880), 'Expositio in Evangelium Matthaei' 56, P.L.106, col.1456 - the Gospel preached everywhere (cf. above, p.39, n.2).

Gerbert, 'Ex Remensi Concilio S.Basoli', in R.H.G.F. 10, p.526, reports Arnulf of Orleans' recognition, in 991, of the falling-away which, according to St. Paul, 2 Ths.2.3, would immediately precede the coming

(p.40, n.5)

of Antichrist. Arnulf also invoked 2 Ths.2.4 and pointed to Antichrist sitting on the papal throne, ibid., p.524. Whether he really meant this, or just believed in calling a spade a mechanical digger, must remain a matter for conjecture. The papal party responded in kind by insisting that those who attacked Rome were Antichrists and invoking 1 Jn.2.18 ('there are many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time'); 'Leonis Abbatis et Legati ad Hugonem et Rotbertum Reges Epistola', M.G.S.S.3, p.686f.

Glaber, Hist.1.5; 2.6-12, cols.627,635-44, writing c.1040, listed the prodigies which occurred around 1000 and concluded that they marked the unbinding of Satan after the 1000 years (Rev.20.7), i.e., the beginning of the End. He also reported how the flood of pilgrims to Jerusalem in 1033 was interpreted as presaging the coming of Antichrist, 4.6, cols. 680-82.

Joannes Carthusiae Portarum Monachus (12th century), 'Epistola 1, ad Stephanum fratrem carne et spiritu', P.L.153, col.901 - iniquity and cooling of charity.

'Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium' (to 1051) 3.32, M.G.S.S.7, p.478 - the burning of a church in 1029 or 1030 heralds the Last Judgment, according to a Bishop Gerard.

'Annales Altahenses Maiores' (wr.c.1075) an.1065, M.G.S.S.20, p.815 - the Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-65 fulfills Lk.21.24. (Those who participated in the pilgrimage were apocalyptically motivated, see below, p.81.

'Brunwilarensis Monasterii Fundatio' (wr.1076-79) 20, M.G.S.S.11, p.406 - iniquity and cooling of charity.

Benzo, ad Hen.IV (wr.1086) 3.2; 6.2, pp.623,659 - the Investiture Contest in general, and the awfulness of Hildebrand in particular.

'Vaticinium Sibyllae' (Usinger's Sibyl), M.G.S.S.22, p.376 - the evils of Henry IV's reign (during which the Sibyl was written) mark the beginning of the apocalyptic process.

Ralph Ardens (died on the Crusade of 1101), 'Homiliae in Epistolas et Evangelia Dominicalia' 1.4, P.L.155, col.1679 - invasions (pressura gentium), earthquakes, tempests, plagues.

'Landulfi Historia Mediolanensis (early 12th century), Intro., M.G.S.S.8, p.36; see also 3.24, p.91.

Anselm Gembl.Cont. (to 1135), pp.376f.,380f., listing disasters and prodigies which mark (an.1127, p.380) the loosing of Satan.

Otto, Chron.(wr.1143-47) 6.36, p.246f. - the Investiture Contest fulfills Dan.2.34, 42; 7.2, p.248 - the situation at the time of the first Crusade fulfills Lk.21.10 (see further, below, pp.99-103, 148-150); 7.9, p.252 - a moral decline (see 2 Tim.3.2f.), resulting from the forces of evil having one last fling, is matched by an increase in good, as the righteous sense the imminence of the Kingdom of God.

'Laurentii de Leodio Gesta Episcoporum Viridunensium et Abbatum S. Vitoni' (written 1144) 32, M.G.S.S.10, p.512 - the Cistercian and Premonstran Orders are the two witnesses whom God is to send at the end of the world (Rev.11.3-12).

St.Bernard (1090-1153), 'Sermones de Tempore: in Psalmum 90' 6.7, P.L.183, col.200; Sermo in C.C.33.16, col.959.

Werner of Küssenberg (d.1174), Deflor.1, col.739 - wars, earthquakes, signs in the sun, moon and stars; see Lk.21.10f.,25.

The signs which were expected to herald the End ranged from human abnormalities through natural disasters to signs of cosmic dislocation. In human affairs there would be a reversal of moral standards: wickedness, hatred, blasphemy, lust, pain, pride and so forth would reign supreme, and the world would be enveloped in wars and violence, both internal and international. The Church would suffer persecutions and the teachings of false prophets and pseudo-Christ; it would enter into a final decline, weakened by persecution, internal discord and a corrupt priesthood.¹ The growing dislocation of all things would be indicated by abnormal births among humans and natural disasters: famine and starvation, drought, earthquakes and pestilence. There would be freaks of weather and signs in the heavens.²

The Woos were justified as a final sifting of the Elect; in such extremities men's moral worth would be definitively revealed.³ To Paschasius they were symptoms of the world's terminal sickness,⁴ to

1. Cf., however, the idea that the Gospel would be preached everywhere before the end, above, p.38.

2. Didache 16.3f., p.627; 'Apocalypse of Thomas', ed.M.R.James, The Apocryphal New Testament, pp.556-8 (where children are born with grey hair), 560; 6 Ezra 15f., ed.H.Duensing, in Hennecke, Apocrypha, vol.2, pp.696-700; Xn.Sib. 2.35-8, 155-9 (where children eat their parents), 163-6 (where births cease altogether), p.712f.; Epist.Apostolorum 34; 37, p.215ff.; Asc.Is. 3.21-31, p.648; 'Apocalypse of Peter' 1, ed. Vielhauer, in Hennecke, op.cit., vol.2, p.668; 'Revelation of Esdras' in A.N.C.L. 16, p.471; 'Apocryphal Apocalypse of John', in A.N.C.L. 16, p.494; Lactantius, Div.Inst. 7.15f., pp.463, 466f.; Hippolytus (attrib.), 'Discourse on the End of the World' 6-8, A.N.C.L. 9(part 2), p.102f. (where he announces, among other things, the collapse of family hierarchies, the breakdown of normal relations between master and servant, disrespect towards the old and intolerance of the young); see also ibid. 27, p.116, where similar natural disasters mark the end of Antichrist's reign; Tertullian, Marcion 4.39, pp.344, 346; Victorinus, 'Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John' 16.12-14, A.N.C.L. 18, p.412f.; Hilarius, 'Commentarius in Evangelium Matthaei' 25.2, P.L. 9, col.1053; Ambrose, Lucam 10.10, 37, cols.1806f., 1813; 'Expositio in Apocalypsim B.Joannis' [once attributed to St. Augustine but now assigned by Altaner, Patrology, p.567, to Gennadius of Marseilles (d.c.500), and by Glorieux, Migne, p.24, to Caesarius of Arles (c.470-543)] Homilia 6, P.L. 35, col.2426; Isidore, 'Sententiarum libri tres' 1.24.4, P.L. 83, col.592; Bede's Sib., col.1184f.; Smaragdus, 'Collectiones in Epistolas et Evangelia' P.L. 102, col.518; Haymo, Hom.Temp. 2, col.17f.; R.Ardens, Epist. & Evang. 1.4, col.1678f.; Bruno Ast., in Luc. 2.47, col. 440ff.; Lambert, Lib.Flor. 124, p.281; 'Pseudo Methodius' 11-13, in Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte, pp.80-89.

The 15 signs preceding the Last Judgment, derived from Jerome, are listed by Peter Damian, 'De Novissimis et Antichristo' 4, P.L. 145, col.840ff.; R.Ardens, loc.cit.; Lambert, op.cit. 156, p.438f.

3. 6 Ez. 16.74, p.702; Haymo, Hom.Temp. 2, col.20; see also Origen, Celsus 8.31, p.475.

4. Paschasius, in Matt. 11.24, col.828.

Haymo they were the result of natural forces combining to punish the reprobate¹ and to Gregory the Great they were a warning to men to prepare for the End.² Ralph Ardens wrote that God would send the woes for the consolation of the elect and the confusion of the reprobate; they were directed against those who had come to rely on those material things whose destruction each sign involved and marked the overthrowing of the foundations of a false security.³ The Second Epistle attributed to Clement of Rome pointed out to the faithful that we must endure afflictions before our reward, as the sour grape precedes the ripened fruit.⁴ Some writers interpreted the woes - often alongside a purely literal interpretation - in an allegorical, spiritual sense; thus the falling of stars (Mt.24.29; Rev.6.13) could also signify the falling of reprobate members from the Church under the onslaught of Antichrist, the darkening of the sun and moon (Mt.24.29 & par.) the eclipse of the Church during his persecution, and so forth.⁵

The last and most important of the disasters which were to precede the end of the world was the collapse of the Roman Empire; the idea that the city would endure until the End was to persist throughout the Middle Ages.⁶ Early Christianity had inherited the Jewish

1. Haymo, Hom.Temp. 2, col.19, see also cols.17f.,20-22; cf.Rev.16.2.

2. Gregory, Reg. 11.66, col.1203.

3. R.Ardens, Epist. & Evang. 1.4, col.1678f.

4. 2nd Epistle of Clement 11, A.N.C.L. 1, p.62; cf. Epist. 1 Clement 23, p.24. The 1st Epistle was written c.96, the 2nd spurious one before 150.

5. See Victorinus, Apoc. 6.9-14, p.412f.; Origen, 'Commentaria in Evangelium Secundum Matthaeum Series', 34 seq., P.G. 13, col.1646 seq.; Ambrose, Lucan 10.37, col.1813; Expos.Apoc. (attrib. Augustine) 6, col. 2426; Primasius, super Apoc. 2.6; 3.9, cols.839,860; Haymo, op.cit. 2, col.18f.; Paschasius, in Matt. 11.24, col.817; Bruno Ast., in Apoc. 2.6; 3.8; 5.16, cols.638f.,646-50,691-4; Rupert, in Apoc. 5.8f., cols.978-1004; and see below, p. 46, n.1, for allegorical interpretations of the 2 Witnesses of Rev.11.3-12.

Lactantius, Div.Inst. 7.15, p.462f., noted the parallel between the woes and the plagues on Egypt at Ex.7 - 12.

6. Kampers, Kaiseridee, p.14f.; Bousset, Antichrist, p.130f.

antagonism towards Rome as the last hostile world power,¹ but this was soon reversed and Rome came to be generally regarded as the force which held off the coming of Antichrist - the restraining power of 2 Thessalonians 2.7.²

Christians were therefore exhorted to pray for the survival of the Empire, in order to ward off the horrors of the Last Days.³ The fall of Rome made no difference; Roman rule had simply been temporarily transferred to the Greeks, to return to the West with the coronation of

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1. 4 Ez.11f., pp.609-14; Rev.13; 17f.; Xn.Sib.8.9-13,37-41, p.725f. Rome was identified with the Babylon of Rev. by Tertullian, Marcion 3,13. p.146; and see Arethas. in Apoc.52-4, cols.714-22. Rome identified with the 4th Beast of Dan.7.7,23: Hippolytus, Dan.1, p.446; 'Treatise on Christ and Antichrist' 25, A.N.C.L.9 (part 2), p.16; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis 15.13, col.887; Theodoretus, 'Commentarius in Visiones Danielis Prophetae' 7.7, P.G.81, col.1419; Jerome, 'Commentariorum in Daniele Prophetam liber' 7.7, P.L.25, col. 530; and see Otto, Chron.2.13, p.149, and 6.36, p.246f., where Gregory VII's excommunication of Henry IV becomes the Church smiting the kingdom of the earth, Daniel's 4th world-kingdom; see also Rupert, in Apoc. 5.9; 7.12, cols.994,1045. Rome is also a hostile power in Commodianus, Carmen 808 seq., pp.167-74.
2. '...qui tenet nunc, teneat, donec de medio fiat' (Vulgate). Rome the restraining power: Tertullian, 'De Resurrectione Carnis' 24, A.N.C.L.15, p.258; Theodoretus, 'Interpretatio Epistolae 2 ad Thessalonicenses' 2.6, P.G.82, col.663; Ambrose (attrib.- perhaps by Ambrosiaster), 'Commentaria in Epistolam ad Thessalonicenses secundam' 2, P.L.17, col.456; Primasius, 'Commentaria in Epistolam 2 ad Thessalonicenses' 2, P.L.68, col.648; Ps.-Meth.10, p.78. This reversal was obviously reinforced by the conversion of the Empire to Christianity. According to the 'Disputatio adversus Judaeos' attributed to Anastasius the Sinaite, P.G.89, col.1211, Christ was using the Roman Empire to feed his people until the establishment of the eternal kingdom. Paul did not talk openly of the Roman Empire falling so as not to provoke persecution by an Empire that regarded itself as eternal: John Chrysostom, 'In Epistolam Secundam ad Thessalonicenses' 4.1, P.G.62, col.485; Jerome, 'Epistola' 121.11 ('ad Algasiam'), P.L.22, col.1036f.; Sedulius Scotus, 'In Epistolam 2 ad Thessalonicenses' 2, P.L.103, col.223; Haymo of Auxerre, 'In Epistolam 2 ad Thessalonicenses' (attributed to Haymo of Halberstadt), 2, P.L.117, col.780; Rabanus Maurus, 'Expositio in Epistolam 2 ad Thessalonicenses' 2, P.L.112, col.571; Anselm of Laon (and collaborators), 'Glossa Ordinaria: Epistola 2 ad Thessalonicenses' (attributed to Walafrius Strabus - see Spicq., Esquisse, p.111ff.) 2.6, P.L.114, col.622; Herveus, in 2 Thess.2, col.1393f., where he also gives alternative interpretations. See also Rabanus, op.cit.2, col.570, where he reports Ambrose's nomination of God as the withholding power; and St. Bruno (attrib. - see above p.38,) 'In Epistolam 2 ad Thessalonicenses' 2, P.L. 153, col.419, on 'Christianum imperium et unitas fidei'; also Otto, op.cit.8.2, p.279.
3. Tertullian, Apologeticus 32, p.111; 'Ad Scapulam' 2, A.N.C.L.11, p.47; Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.25, p.481; and see Kampers, Kaiseridee, p.12. Generally on the transformation of attitudes towards Rome, see Bousset, Antichrist, pp.27,123-31.

Charlemagne.¹ At the Council of Rheims, in 991, Arnulf of Orleans pointed to the falling-away of Christendom from allegiance to Rome as the falling-away which Paul had foretold as immediately preceding the coming of Antichrist,² but when the year 1018 was marked by appalling disasters no-one concluded that the End had come, according to Thietmar of Merseburg, precisely because there had been no falling-away of nations from the Roman Empire.³

Rome, then, would fall at the End;⁴ the Empire would be torn by civil wars, which would culminate in the simultaneous rule of ten kings; then the Antichrist would appear, to kill three and subjugate the other seven and to inaugurate his reign of terror.⁵ Since his teaching would be so convincing and since to follow him entailed inevitable damnation, it was only fair that someone should point out to

1. Thus, for example, Otto, Chron., prol.; 4.30f.; 5.31; 6.22, pp.118, 211f., 226, 239.

2. Gerbert, ex Rem.Council., p.526, see above, p.40, n.5. See further on the falling-away, St. Bruno, in 2 Thess.2, col.418f.; Rabanus, in 2 Thess. 2, col.570; Primasius, in 2 Thess.2, col.648; Haymo, in 2 Thess. 2, col.779; Sedulius, in 2 Thess.2, col.223; Herveus, in 2 Thess.2, col.1392; Anon. (c.1160), 'In Epistolam 2 ad Thessalonicenses' (attributed to Hugo of St. Victor), Quaestio 6, P.L.175, col.591.

3. 'Thietmari Chronicon' 8.4, M.G.S.S.3, p.862. Thietmar died later the same year.

4. Primasius, loc.cit.; Rabanus, op.cit.2, col.571; Haymo, op.cit.2, col.779f.; Sedulius, loc.cit.; Atto of Vercelli, 'Expositio in Epistolam 2 ad Thessalonicenses' 2, P.L.134, col.658f.; Werner, Deflor.1, col.746; Herveus, op.cit.2, col.1392f.; Bede's Sib., col.1185; Ps.-Ephrem 5, p.213f.; Adso, p.109f.; Godfrey of Viterbo, 'Pantheon' 16.24, M.G.S.S.22, p.147; Usinger's Sib., p.376.

5. The origin of this idea was at Dan.7.7f., 17-27. The most vivid version of it is that of Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.16, p.465; see also Irenaeus, Heresies 5.26.1, p.125f., Hippolytus, Daniel 7, p.449; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis 15.12, col.886; Theodoretus, Daniel.7.7, col.1419; Arethas, in Apoc.36, col.671; 54, col.722; Jerome, Daniel 7.8, col.531; Bede, 'Explanatio Apocalypsis' 3.17, P.L.93, col.184; Haymo, in Apoc.6.17, col.1147; Bruno Ast., 'Homilia' 2, P.L.165, col.750f.; Rupert, in Apoc.7.12, col.1045; see also Primasius, super Apoc.4.17, col.899, and Quodvultdeus, de Promiss.4.8, col.844f. For alternative versions of the fall of Rome before Antichrist, see Commodianus, above, p. 35, and Ps. -Ephrem 1, p.209f.

mankind his true nature. So God would send his witnesses to preach against him and save as many souls as possible. The Two Witnesses were almost universally identified with Elijah and Enoch.¹

1. Apoc. Peter 2, p.669; Hippolytus, Christ & Antichrist 43, p.25; (attrib.) Discourse 29, p.118; Tertullian, 'De Anima' 50, A.N.C.L.15, p.522; Gosp. Nicod. 2.9, pp.175,207 (greek and latin forms); Apocr. Apoc. John, p.495; John of Damascus, 'De Fide Orthodoxa' 4.26, P.G.94, col. 1218; Ammonius of Alexandria, 'Fragmenta in Daniele' 9.27, P.G.85, col. 1378; Andreas, in Apoc.30, col.311; Arethas, in Apoc.30, col.650; Berengaudus, super Apoc.4.11.2, col.868; Cassiodorus, in Psalm.51, col.377; Gregory, in Job 14.23.27; 15.58.69, P.L.75, cols.1053,1117; 'Homiliarum in Ezechielem Prophetam libri duo' 1.12.8, P.L.76, col. 921; Quodvultdeus, de Promiss., l.13, col.847; Bede, de Temp. 69, col.574; Alcuin, 'De Fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis' 3.19, P.L.101, col. 51 - but see also his 'Commentariorum in Apocalypsin libri quinque' 5.11.3, P.L.100, col.1147, where he reports Victorinus' identification, Apoc.11.3-5, p.419, with Elijah and Jeremiah, as well as that with Elijah and Enoch, but prefers himself to identify the Witnesses with the Church; Rabanus, 'Commentariorum in Ecclesiasticum libri decem' 10.3, P.L.109, col.1084; Anselm of Laon (and collaborators), 'Glossa Ordinaria: Apocalypsis B. Joannis' (attrib. Walafrius Strabus) 11, P.L. 114, col.730; Haymo, in 1 Thess.5, col.773; in 2 Thess.2, col.780; Hom. Temp.2, col.24; in Apoc.3.11, col.1070, where he misquotes Mal. 4.5f. to read 'Enoch et Eliam' and interprets them as also symbolising the Church's preachers of all times, corresponding to the 2 Testaments, the 2 kinds of martyr, etc.; also ibid.4.13, col.1102; 7.19, col.1179; Taio of Saragossa, 'Sententiarum libri quinque' 5.26, P.L.80, col.980; Burchard of Worms, 'Decretorum libri viginti' 20.94, P.L.140, col.1053; P. Damian, de Noviss.2, col.839; Werner, Deflor.1, col.747 - but cf. col.743, where only Elijah comes; Ivo of Chartres, 'Decretum' 17.105, P.L.161, col.1010; Bruno Ast., in Apoc.2.6, col.637f., but cf. 3.11, col.662, where Enoch and Elijah also spiritually signify the doctors of the Church; Rupert, 'Commentaria in Job' 18.20, P.L.168, col.1042, Chron. Hugo 2, p.383; Otto, Chron.8.5, p.280; Godfrey, Pantheon 16.24, p.147; Bede's Sib., col.1186; Ps.-Meth.14, p.95; Ps.-Ephrem 9, p.219; Adso, p.112; Tiburtina, p.186; Lambert, Lib. Flor.156; 160, pp.438,459. They are accompanied by St. John: Hippolytus, Discourse 21, p.111; Arethas, op.cit.29, col.646; Ambrose, 'Ennaratio in Psalmum 45' 10, P.L.14, col.1138; see Jn.21.20-23; Rev.10.11. This expectation was attacked by Tertullian, de Anima 50, p.522. Elijah comes alone, Justin, Dialogue 49, p.149ff.; Commodianus, Instru- ctiones 41, p.454; J. Chrysostom, in 2 Thess.4.2, col.488; Theodoretus, Daniel.12.1,12, cols.1534,1542; Augustine, Civ. Dei 20.29, col.703f.; Primasius, super Apoc.3.11, col.869f.; or with another, unspecified witness, Commodianus, Carmen 837-64, p.169ff.; see also Expos. Apoc. (attrib. Augustine) 10, col.2435; at the time of the Investiture Contest, Adalbert of Bremen jokingly identified Benzo of Alba with Elijah, Benzo, ad. Hen. IV 3.19, p.630. See also Hugo, de Sacrament. 2.17.6, col.598. Elijah and Moses, Jeremiah or Enoch: Hilarius, in Matt.20.10, col. 1032. A 'great prophet': Lactantius, Div. Inst.7.17, p.467. Enoch only, see Bousset, Antichrist, p.251. The 'History of Joseph the Carpenter' 32, A.N.C.L.16, p.76f., has 4 witnesses - Enoch, Elijah, Schila and Tabitha. The 2 witnesses are the 2 Testaments: Expos. Apoc. (attrib. Aug.) 8, col. 2432. The Church preaching through the 2 Testaments, or the 2 types of martyr, Primasius, op.cit.3.11, col. 866; see also Haymo, Alcuin and Bruno Ast., cited above.

Their actual career invariably followed the outline given in Revelation 11.3-12. They would come immediately before Antichrist, or in the first half of his reign, to preach against him for 3½ years, urging repentance and performing miracles in order to strengthen the faithful and sometimes to convert the Jews,¹ until he finally killed them.²

Nowhere does the extraordinary consistency of the apocalyptic tradition over a thousand years emerge more clearly than in the material concerning the Antichrist.³ He was generally expected to be a man through

(p.46, n.1) Laurent.Leod.Gesta 32, p.512, identified the witnesses with the Cistercians and Premonstrans. On the identity of the witnesses, see further Bousset, op.cit., pp.27, 203-11.

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1. On the conversion of the Jews by the Witnesses, see below, p.64.
 2. Hippolytus, Christ & Antichrist 43, p.25; 46f., p.27; (attrib.) Discourse 21, p.112; Commodianus, Instructiones 41, p.454; Carmen 837-64, p.169ff.; Victorinus, Apoc.11.3-7, p.419f.; Gosp.Nicod.2.9, pp.175,207 (greek & latin forms); Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.17, p.467; Arethas, in Apoc.30, col.650f.; Berengaudus, super Apoc.4.11.2-13, cols.868-72; Primasius, super Apoc.3.11, col.869f.; Gregory, in Job 14.23.27; 15.58.69, P.L. 75, cols.1053,1117; Bede, de Temp.69, col.574; Alcuin, de Fide 3.19, col.51; Rabanus, in Eccles.10.3, col.1084; Haymo, in 2 Thess.2, col.780; in Apoc.3.11, cols.1070-73; 4.13, col.1098; 7.19, col.1179; Quodvultdeus, de Promiss.4.13-16, col.847ff.; P.Damian, de Noviss.2, col.839; Werner, Deflor.1, col.747; Ivo. Decretum 17.105, col.1010; Bruno Ast., in Apoc.4.13; 5.16, cols.675, 695f.; Hom.2, col.751; Honorius, 'Elucidarium' 3.10, P.L.172, col.1163; Hugo, de Sacrament 2.17.6, col.598; Bede's Sib., col.1186; Ps.-Ephrem 9f., p.219; Ps.-Meth.14, p.95f.; Adso, p.112; Tiburtina, p.186; Chron.Hugo 2, p.383; Otto, Chron.8.5, p.280; Godfrey, Pantheon 16.24, p.147; Lambert, Lib.Flor. 156, p.438. They are resurrected after 3 days and ascend into heaven: Commodianus, Carmen; Victorinus; Gosp.Nicod.; Lactantius; Bede's Sib.; Ps.-Ephrem; Tiburtina; Godfrey, all loc.cit.
 3. For a representative, but by no means exhaustive, selection of material on the career of Antichrist, see, in roughly chronological order: Asc.Is.4.2-14, p.648f.; Apoc.Peter 2, p.669; 'Apocalypse of Zephaniah', in James, Apocr.Anec., p.155; Justin, Dialogue 32, p.126f.; Recog.Clement 3.60, p.271; Irenaeus, Heresies 5.25.1-3, pp.121-3; 5.30.2-4, p.137f.; Hippolytus, Daniel 2, p.446; 39f., p.460f.; Christ & Antichrist passim; (attrib.) Discourse 18-35, pp.109-121; Origen, Celsum 6.45, p.362f.; Victorinus, Apoc.1.16, p.397; 12.6, p.423; Apocr.Apoc.John, p.494f.; Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.17, p.467f.; Hilarius, in Matt.25.3f., col.1054; Hilarianus, de Mundi Duratione 17, col.1105; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis 15.12-16, cols.886-91; Ps.-Ephrem 6-10, pp.216-20; Ambrose (attrib), in 2 Thess.2, col.456f.; 'De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum' 7.32, P.L.14, col.684; Lucam 10.15-17, col.1808; Sulpicius, Dialogus 2.14, col.211f.; John Chrysostom, in 2 Thess.3.2, col.482; Rufinus of Aquileia, 'De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum', P.L.21, col.321; Jerome, Daniel 7, cols.531,534; 11, cols.566-74; Epist.121.11, col.1037; Augustine, Civ.Dei 18.53, col.616; 20.13, col.678; 20.19.4, col.687; Prudentius, 'Liber Cathemerinon; Hymnus 6, ante Somnum', lines 101-12, P.L.59, col.837f.; Quodvultdeus, (Continued p.48)

(p.47, n.3) de Promiss.4.8-11, col.845ff.; Commodianus, Carmen, lines 865-90,927-30, pp.171f.,175; Quaest.Antiochum 110, col.666; Ammonius, Daniel 7, col.1375; 9.27, col.1378; Theodoretus, Interp.2 Thess.2.3, col.663; Haeret.Fab.5.23, col.526; Primasius, super Apoc. 2.6, col.839; 3.11, cols.867-70; 4.16f., cols.893,900; in 2 Thess. 2, col.648; Cassiodorus, in Psalm.9, cols.86-8; Gregory Tours, Hist. Franc.1, col.162; Gregory the Great, in Job.13.10.13; 14.22.26; 15.58.69, P.L.75, cols.1023,1053,1117; 25.16.34; 31.24.43; 32.15.23-6; 33.32.56; 33.36.61, P.L.76, cols.343,596,649-52,709,712f.; Andreas, in Apoc.19, col.282; 36, col.334; Isidore, Sentent.1.25.4f., col.593; 'Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum: in Genesim' 31.35.37f., P.L.83, col.282; Taio, Sentent.5.26, cols.978-80; Oecumenius (spurious), 'Commentarius in Epistolam 2 as Thessalonicenses' 2, P.G.119, col.118; Anastasius the Sinaite, 'Anagogicarum Contemplationum in Hexaemeron' 10, P.G.89, col.1018; Ps.-Meth.14, pp.94-6; Bede, Apoc.1.7, col.150; 2.13, cols.169-72; 3.20, col.191; de Temp.69, col.594; Hex.1, col.38; 'Quaestiones Super Genesim' (among Bede's Dubia & Spuria), P.L.93, col.360f.; John Damasc., de Fide 4.26, col.1218; Alcuin, in Apoc. 1.1.15, col.1098; 4.6.13, col.1127; 5.11, cols.1147-9; 'Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesim' 49.16, P.L.100, col.564f.; de Fide 3.19, col.51; Berengaudus, super Apoc.1.1.14f., col.775; 4.12.3f., col.876; 4.13.2-14, cols.883-6; Agobard, de Jud.Superstit.23, col.97; Haymo, in Apoc.1.1, col.956; 2.6f.; cols.1031f.,1037; 3.11f., cols.1069,1072,1082f.; 4.13, cols.1092-1102; 5.16, col.1127; 6.17, cols.1142,1146; 6.20, col.1183; 7.20, col.1186f.; in 1 Thess.5, col.773; in 2 Thess.2, cols.779-82; Hom.Temp.2, col.19; Rabanus, in 2 Thess.2, col.570ff.; de Univ.2.2, col.45f.; Sedulius, in 2 Thess.2, col.223; Xn. Druthmarus, in Matt.56, col.1456; Paschasius, in Matt.11.24, cols.807,817; Hincmar, Praed.Dei 27, col.280; Arethas, in Apoc.19, col.606; 29, col.647; 30, col.651; 36, col.675; 37, col.678; Atto, in 2 Thess.2, col.658; Adso, pp.106-12; Tiburтина, p.185f.; Bede's Sib., col.1185f.; Burchard, Decret.20.93,95, col.1052f.; P.Damian, de Noviss.2, col.839; St.Bruno, in 2 Thess.2, col.419; Chron.Hugo 2, p.383; Lambert, Lib. Flor.50, p.126 (transcription, p.54); 124, p.281, 156, p.438; Ivo, Decretum 17.104, 106f., cols.1009-11; Anselm Loan, in Matt.24, col.1451f.; Glossa Apoc.9, 11, cols.726,728,730; Bruno Ast., 'Expositio in Genesim' 50, P.L.164, col.228f.; 'Expositio in Job' 21, P.L.164, col.625f.; 'Expositio in Psalmos' 9,51, P.L.164, cols.725-9,884f.; in Matt.4.99f., cols.269-72; in Apoc.2.6f., cols.638,642; 3.9,11, cols.652ff.,661; 4.12f., cols.668,674-7; Hom.2, col.751; Rupert, 'De Trinitate et Operibus Ejus - de Operibus Spiritus Sancti' 8.17, P.L.167, col.1802; 'De Trinitate et Operibus Ejus - in Leviticum' 2.30, P.L.167, col.819; in Job 41.3, col.1186f.; in Apoc.4.7, cols.962,964; 8.13, cols.1063-8, 1071,1078,1080f.,1083; 11.20, col.1180; 'De Trinitate et Operibus Ejus - in Genesim' 9.32, P.L.167, col.557; Hugo, de Sacram.2.17.3-5, col.597f.; Herveus, in 2 Thess.2, cols.1392-6; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.10, col.1163; Bernard, Sermo in C.C. 33.16, col.959; Otto, Chron. 3.45,47, pp.190,193; 5,prol., p.214; 8.1-6, pp.278-80; Anon (attrib. Hugo), in 2 Thess.Q.6-12, col.591f.; Werner, Deflor.1, cols.740-47; Godfrey, Pantheon 16.24, p.146f.

whom Satan would work in some way.¹ He would be a Jew of the tribe of Dan² who would come from the East³ or, according to another

1. Otto, Chron.8.3, p.279f., states that Antichrist may be a Roman Emperor. According to Bede, de Temp.69, col.574, he is a man of impious lineage, educated in the magical arts, who allies with Satan and receives his power; quoted by Hincmar of Rheims, 'De Praedestinatione Dei et Libero Arbitrio dissertatio posterior' 27, P.L.125, col.280.

According to Rabanus, 'De Universo' 2.2, P.L.111, col.45, 'Antichristus ergo filius est ferocis diaboli'; see also Hippolytus, Christ & Antichrist15, p.11; Origen, Celsus 6.45, p.362; Rabanus, in 2 Thess.2, col.571.

Satan assumes human form; Theodoretus, Daniel.7.26, col.1434; Haeret. Fab.5.23, col.526; Taio, Sentent.5.26, col.978; and see Chron.Hugo 2, p.383.

Antichrist's primitive origins survive in Ps.-Ephrem 5, p.214, where he is described as 'ille nequissimus et abominabilis draco'. See further, on the nature of Antichrist, Bousset, Antichrist, pp.138-43. 2. See Gen.49.17; Jer.8.16; Num.2.25 with Is.14.13f.; and Rev.7.5-8, where Dan is omitted from the list of the Tribes of Israel.

According to one story, Antichrist was to be the product of a sinful union between a prostitute and a man; at the moment of conception, Satan would enter the womb, so that Antichrist would be utterly possessed by him; see Werner, Deflor.1, col.744; Rupert, in Apoc.8.13, col.1065; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.10, col.1163; Adso, p.107; he is born of a foul virgin, Ps.-Ephrem 6, p.215f.; also Hippolytus, Discourse 22, p.113.

Antichrist is described in terms of Behemoth and Leviathan by Quodvultdeus, de Promiss.4.6, col.841; Gregory, in Job 32.15-19, P.L.76, cols.649-57; Rupert, in Job 41, cols.1186-92; see Job 40.15 - 41.34. Cassiodorus, in Psalm.51, cols.371-7, explains Ps.52 (A.V.) as describing Antichrist. To Remi of Auxerre, 'Enarratio in Zechariam Prophetam' (attributed to Haymo of Halberstadt, but very probably by Remi), 11, P.L.117, col.261, the foolish shepherd of Zch.11.15-17 is Antichrist. And see the various commentaries on the Revelation which I cite, on the 2 Beasts of Rev.13. On Antichrist's Jewish origins, see further Bousset, Antichrist, pp.133-5, 166f., 171f.

On his physical appearance, see the 8th-century fragment in M.R.James, Apocrypha Anecdota, vol.1, p.153; 'Apocalypse of Zephaniah' in ibid., p.155; Rev.Esdras, p.472; Apocr.Apoc.John, p.494f.; 'Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem' 109, P.G.28, cols.663,666. On his character, see Berengaudus, super Apoc.4.13.1f., col.881ff. For a vivid 12th-century visionary account of Antichrist, see Hildegard of Bingen, 'Scivias sive Visionum ac Revelationum libri tres' 3.11, P.L.197, cols.709-24.

3. He is born in Babylon: Bede, Apoc.3.17, col.184; Haymo, in 2 Thess. 2, col.780; Werner, Deflor.1, cols.744,747; Rupert, in Apoc.8.13, col.1065; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.10, col.1163; Anon., in 2 Thess.(attrib. Hugo) Q.6, col.591; Adso, p.107; Jerome, Daniel.11.25f., col.567.

He is from Persia, where the tribe of Dan lives; Quodvultdeus, op.cit. 4.9, col.845; Andreas, in Apoc.27;51, cols.302,367; Arethas, in Apoc. 51, col.710.

See also Commodianus, Carmen 891f.,905,932, pp.172-5.

tradition, from Galilee,¹ and would establish the centre of his tyranny in the Temple in Jerusalem.² His reign would fall into two parts: in the first he would attempt to win men over by means of miracles, persuasion and simulated sanctity; in the second he would resort to violence and intimidation.³ His false miracles would include his own simulated death and resurrection, bringing down fire from heaven, and

1. This tradition was especially popular in the Pilgrim Guides and Accounts of the Holy Land; Antichrist was to be born and/or brought up by the Sea of Galilee at Chorazin (Kerāzeh), Bethsaida and Capernaum. See Fetellus, 'Description of Jerusalem and the Holy Land', trans. J.R. MacPherson, P.P.T.S. 19, p.28; John of Würzburg, 'Description of the Holy Land' 26, trans. A. Stewart, P.P.T.S. 14, p.67; Theoderich, Description 46, p.66; 'Anonymous Pilgrim' 6, cap.5, trans. A. Stewart, P.P.T.S. 24, p.53; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.10, col.1163; Ps.-Meth. 14, p.93; Adso, p.107; Lambert, Lib.Flor. 50; 156, pp.126 (54), 437. Werner, Deflor. 1, col.744f., also describes how Antichrist is nursed there and educated by magicians, etc.

The scriptural foundation would appear to have been Christ's prophecy at Mt.11.21-4 = Lk.10.13-15.

2. 2 Ths. 2.4 - 'in templo Dei sedeat' - was generally understood to signify the Temple in Jerusalem; but, according to some writers, the Temple signified the Church in general: J.Chrysostom, in 2 Thess. 3.2, col.482; Theodoretus, Haeret.Fab. 5.23, col.530; in 2 Thess. 2.4, col.663; Oecumenius, (spur.) in 2 Thess. 2, col.119; Jerome, Epist. 121.11, col.1037; Rabanus, in 2 Thess. 2, col.570f.; Anselm Laon, in 2 Thess. 2.4, col.622; Adso, p.111. See also Haymo, in 2 Thess. 2, col.780.; Herveus, in 2 Thess. 2, col.1392, where the Temple is the building in Jerusalem or the minds of Christians; Augustine, Civ.Dei 20.19.2, col.685f., was also unable to make up his mind.

The papacy identified with Antichrist sitting in the Temple (the papal throne), see above, p.41. Benzo, ad.Hen.IV 6.2, p.659, identified Hildebrand with Antichrist sitting in the Temple of Peter.

3. In some later accounts, Antichrist's methods were elaborated, so that he had a specific strategy for dealing with every type of man. According to Werner, Deflor. 1, col.745., he would win over rulers with gifts and riches, the common people by intimidation, the wise by his eloquence and learning and those who held worldly things in contempt and were therefore, presumably, immune to these ploys - monks, etc. - by his signs and prodigies. Likewise, Honorius, Elucidarium 3.10, col.1163.; see also Otto, Chron. 8.4, p.280; Herveus, in 2 Thess. 2, col.1395.

causing a statue to move and predict the future;¹ he would set himself up as Christ or God² in Jerusalem and attempt to enforce worship of himself.³ It was when this approach failed that he would resort to violence and intimidation, and the last great persecution would ensue.⁴ The reprobate would submit and follow his, receiving his mark,⁵ but the Elect would manage to hold out,

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1. According to Anselm of Laon, Glossa Apoc.13, col.733f., he simulated death and resurrection, was borne through the air by demons, caused an evil spirit to descend on to his ministers as fire from heaven and made a statue move and predict the future. According to Werner, Deflor.1, col.745, he would bring fire from heaven to consume his opponents, cause trees to bloom and die and make the sea rough and calm; the dead would appear to rise to speak on his behalf, but this would not be a true resurrection, since the devil would enter and raise the bodies and - in an apotheosis of ventriloquism - speak through them; likewise Honorius, Elucidarium 3.10, col.1163. Antichrist's miracles owe much to Rev.13.3,13-15; see also Bousset, Antichrist, pp.175-81. And compare the wonder-working attributes of Simon Magus: Recog.Clement 2.9,15; 3.47, pp.197f.,202,263; Hippolytus, Heresies 6.15, p.214; 'The Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul', A.N.C.L.16, pp.263,266-8,272f.
 2. See 2 Ths.2.4. According to Anselm Laon, op.cit.13, col.734, Antichrist would give his ministers the gift of tongues in a parody of Pentecost. Imitation of Christ is a recurring theme in his career; see, for example, Hippolytus, Discourse 22, p.112f.
 3. Antichrist enforces conversion to Judaism, see below, p.65, n.1.
 4. The persecution makes up the number of the elect and thus hastens the End, Cassiodorus, in Psalm.82, col.597. Satan knows that the End is very near, so he rages all the more fiercely during Antichrist's reign, so that, at the eleventh hour, as many men as possible will be consigned to eternal damnation to keep him company: Taio, Sentent.5.26, col.978; Burchard, Decret. 20.93, col.1053; Ivo, Decretum 17.104, col.1009; Rupert, in Job 41.12, col.1189; see also Otto, Chron.7.9, p.252.
 5. See Rev.13.16f.; 16.2; and Bousset, Antichrist, p.200ff.

fleeing from him or suffering martyrdom, despite the almost unendurable extremities of his blandishments and violence.¹ Operating only by God's permission,² he would purge the Church of its reprobate members and purify the Elect through their sufferings.³ His world-wide reign of terror would last $3\frac{1}{2}$ years⁴ before he was destroyed by Christ.⁵

During the Chiliastic period, Christ's Second Coming, as well as being to destroy Antichrist, would be to establish the millenarian kingdom, during which he would reign for 1000 years on earth with his saints.⁶ The righteous living would be joined by the resurrected saints and some heathens or sinners might be allowed to survive as their slaves.⁷ Many writers had a crudely materialistic conception of the Millennium, which was sometimes imagined as a return

1. See Mt.24.24 & par.

2. Haymo, in Apoc.4.13; 6.20, cols.1095,1183; Hom.Temp.2, col.19; Sedulius, in 2 Thess.2, col.223; Otto, Chron.8.3,p.279; Werner, Deflor. 1, col.743; Herveus, in 2 Thess.2, col.1396.

3. See Rev.12.4.

Haymo, in Apoc.4.13, col.1096f., asserted that the Saints must suffer under Antichrist before their reward, just as Christ suffered; after all, they are not sinless.

4. See Dan.12.7; Rev.12.14.

5. Antichrist's death at the hands - or rather mouth - of Christ was usually envisaged in terms of 2 Ths.2.8. Antichrist suffers a military defeat: Commodianus, Instructiones 42, p.454f.; Carmen 983-8, p.178f.; Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.17, p.468; Bruno Ast., in Apoc. 6.19, col.711; see also Jerome, Daniel.11.44f., col.574; and Rev. 19.19-21.

Alternatively, Michael might kill him on the Mount of Olives: Haymo, in 1 Thess.5, col.773; P.Damian, de Noviss.2, col.839; Godfrey, Pantheon 16.24, p.147; Tiburtina, p.186; Bede's Sib., col.1186; see also Jerome, 'Commentariorum in Isaiam Prophetam libri duodeviginti' 8.25, P.L. 24, col.291; and Honorius, Elucidarium 3.10, col.1163. See Dan. 11.45 - 12.1. He is killed by Christ or Michael: Bede, de Temp. 69, col.574; Haymo, in 2 Thess.2, col.781; Hincmar, Praed.Dei 27,col.280; Werner, op.cit. 1, col.747; Anon, in 2 Thess. (attrib. Hugo) Q.9, col.591; Adso, p.112f. Enoch and Elijah destroy Antichrist, Cassiodorus, in Psalm.51, col.377. According to Anon, op.cit. Q.10, col.592, Antichrist was apparently to be resurrected, to be killed again by Christ; this was presumably to reconcile his destruction with the idea of a pause between it and Christ's coming; on this pause, see below, p.72.

6. 'Apocalypse of Paul' 21f., ed. Duensing, in Hennecke, Apocrypha, vol.2, p.773; Justin, Dialogue 80, p.199f.; Victorinus, Creation, p.391; Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.22,24, pp.475, 478-80; Augustine, Sermo 259.2, col.1197; Epist.199.6.17, col.910; Hist.Joseph 26, p.73; Tertullian, Marcion 3.24, p.170f.

7. Commodianus, Instructiones 80, p.474, where this serves them as a period for repentance before the Last Judgment; Lactantius, op.cit. 7.24, p.478; and see Origen, de Principiis 2.11.2f., p.146.

to paradisial conditions in the line of Jewish tradition. The principle was stated at the beginning of the second century by the author of the Epistle of Barnabas: 'Behold I make the last like the first.'¹ In the fifth Book of Esra (c.200 A.D.), God promised that the Christians would enjoy the Tree of Life forfeited by the Jews,² and in the late-fourth century Apocalypse of Paul the Apostle, visiting Heaven, was shown a land seven times brighter than silver and told,

When Christ...comes to reign, then by the fiat of God the first earth will be dissolved and this land of promise will then be shown and it will be like dew or a cloud; and then the Lord Jesus Christ...will be revealed and he will come with all his saints to dwell in it and he will reign over them for a thousand years...³

The Second Christian Sibylline Book heralded a future state of paradisial egalitarianism:

Earth the same for all, not divided by walls
And fences, will then bear fruits more abundant
Of its own accord; livelihood held in common, wealth
unapportioned!

No pauper is there, no rich man...but all share in common.⁴

Irenaeus reported Papias' vision of abundance and harmony⁵ and Commodianus described the setting in which the saints would marry and beget children:

There are prepared all the revenues of the earth, because the earth renewed without end pours forth abundantly. Therein are no rains; no cold comes into the golden camp. No sieges as now, nor rapines, nor does that city crave the light of a lamp. It shines from its Founder.⁶

1. Epist.Barnabas 6, p.111; see also Origen, de Principiis, 1.6.2,p.55; Irenaeus, Heresies 5.32.1, p.141 (earth restored to its primaeval condition); on this idea in Jewish apocalyptic, see above, p.23.

2. 5 Esra, 2.12, ed.Duensing, in Hennecke, Apocrypha, vol.2,p.693; and see 2.18f.,p.694; also see above, p.24, n.8.

3. Apoc.Paul 21, p.773; there is a river of milk and honey, and the palms and vines are as riotously superabundant as in Papias' description (above, p.34), ibid.22,p.773.

The four rivers of Eden (Gen.2.10-14) flow around the city of Christ, ibid.23, p.775; and Paul is shown the Trees of Knowledge and of Life at 45, p.789f.

4. Xn.Sib.2.319-24, p.718. This book dates from the mid-2nd century A.D.

5. Irenaeus, Heresies 5.33.3f., p.145f.; see above, p.34.

6. Commodianus, Instructiones 44, p.456f.

In Lactantius' description, the righteous live, begetting many holy children, in the sacred city erected by God at the centre of the earth. The moon shines as brightly as the sun, which, in turn, shines with seven times its previous brightness. The earth pours forth its fruits; the mountain flow with honey, there are streams of wine and rivers of milk and wild animals are at peace with each other and with man.¹ This city of Lactantius' was, of course, the Heavenly Jerusalem, for whose descent the Montanists had waited and which had been seen to come down to Judaea in the vision reported by Tertullian.² As promised in Revelation 21, the New Jerusalem would be let down from heaven to be the focal point of the millenarian kingdom.³

Other writers took exception to such reductively materialistic concepts of the Millennium and suggested allegorical interpretations of those passages of scripture which seemed to announce a period of sensual delights:

Meanwhile, you who interpret the call to this supper as an invitation to a heavenly banquet of spiritual satiety and pleasure, must remember that the earthly promises also of wine and oil and corn, and even of the city, are equally employed by the Creator as figures of spiritual things.⁴

Origen realised that materialistic Chiliasm was the product of an inability to conceive of a state of future bliss in non-sensuous terms; chiliasts believed that:

...the promises of the future are to be looked for in bodily pleasure and luxury...eating, and drinking, and performing all the functions of flesh and blood...And consequently they say, that after the resurrection there will be marriages, and the begetting of children, imagining to themselves that the earthly city of Jerusalem is to be rebuilt...Moreover they think that the natives of other countries are to be given them as the ministers of their pleasures..scriptural illustrations are adduced by them, the meaning of which they do not percieve is to be taken figuratively...According to the manner of things in this life...do they desire the fulfillment of all things looked for in the promises, viz. that what now is should exist again.⁵

1. Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.24, pp.478-80. His millenarian kingdom was not to be world-wide, but surrounded by other nations, ibid., p.480.

2. Tertullian, Marcion 3.24, p.170f.; see above, p.32.

3. Justin, Dialogue 80, p.199f.; Irenaeus, Heresies 5.34.4, p.150f.; 5.32.2, p.153f.; Tertullian, loc.cit. Commodianus, Instructiones 44, p.456ff.

The heavenly Jerusalem descends, after the discrediting of the Millennium, for the Kingdom of God, see below, p.64, n.3.

4. Tertullian, op.cit.4.31, p.313; see also 4.39, p.347f.

5. Origen, de Principiis 2.11.2, p.146f.; see also Celsus 4.29; 7.28f., pp.204, 417f.

But while such theologians might have been content to counter extravagantly materialistic expectations by stressing the spiritual nature of the future kingdom of the saints,¹ others went further and denied the Millennium in any form whatsoever.²

At the conclusion of the Millennium - or, after it had been discredited, after the destruction of Antichrist at the Second Coming - there would ensue the general resurrection of the dead for the Last Judgment.³ The Judgment would be performed according to

1. Justin, Dialogue 81, p.201; Tertullian, Marcion 4.31,39, pp. 313,347f.

2. See above, pp.32f., 35 & n.4.

Rejection of the Millennium was often associated specifically with the rejection of the materialistic fantasies of Cerinthus: Theodoretus, Haeret.Fab.2.3; 5.21, cols.390,519; Victorinus, Apoc.20.1-6, p.430f. (this part of Victorinus is a later anti-millenarian interpolation, according to L.E.Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers. The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation, vol.1, p.337); Agobard, de Jud.Superstit.9, col.86; Honorius, 'Liber de Haeresibus'; P.L.172, col.236; Otto, Chron.3.20, p.183. See also Philastrius, de Haeresibus 59, col.1174.

Belief in the Millennium a Jewish error: Jerome, 'Commentationum in Joelem Prophetam liber' 3.7f., P.L.25, col.982; Rupert, in Apoc.1.1, col.848; Otto, Chron.8.20,26, pp.287,292. See also Isidore, de Fide 2.15. 5-7, col.523; Bede, de Temp.67, col.572f.; Berengaudus, super Apoc.7.22.10, col.965; Jerome, in Isaiam 18.64, col.627f.; in Daniel. 7, col. 533; Otto, Chron.8.26, p.292. See also Rom.14.17.

The New Jerusalem interpreted as a symbol of the Church: Berengaudus, op.cit.6.21.2, col.937; 7.21.11, col.946f.; Expos.Apoc. (Attrib.Aug.) 1; 3; 19, cols.2417,2422,2450-52. See also Origen, Celsum 7.29; 8.19f., pp.418,465f.

3. I have recoiled from any detailed discussion of the resurrection, a topic of considerable complexity - and, in the biological speculations of one or two of the more literally-minded apocalyptists, not without its comic moments. The essential points are that those left alive at the End undergo instantaneous death and resurrection; that the body is reconstituted whatever the manner of death; that the bodies of the risen righteous, at least, are perfect and incorruptible - and often of the same age as Christ at his resurrection; and that, unlikely though it may all seem, God really can do it. See Apoc.Peter 4, p.670; Xn.Sib. 2.221-37, p.715; Apoc.Thomas, p.561; Fragments of a lost work on the Resurrection by Justin Martyr, in A.N.C.L.2, pp.341-53; Tertullian, Marcion 3.24; 5.7,9f.,12, pp. 171,402,413,419f.,423f.,432f.; Resurrect. Carnis passim, but especially caps.14f.;17;29f.;56, pp.238-40,244,264-6,319; Origen, de Principiis 2.10.2f., pp.138-40; Celsum 5.17-23, pp.277-81; Apocr.Apoc.John, p.496; Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.20f.,23, pp.471,473,477f.; Theodoretus, op.cit.5.19f., cols.511-19; Hilarius, 'Tractatus in 2 Psalmum' 41,P.L.9, col.285f.; in Psalm. 52.17, col.334 - where those rejected by God are left in confusion, trying to gather together their scattered bones; Jerome, Epist.108.22-4 ('ad Eustochium Virginem'), cols.900-902; Augustine, Civ.Dei 20.6; 22.12-21, cols.665f.,775-84; 'Enchiridion ad Laurentium; sive, de fide, spe et charitate, liber unus' 84-92, P.L.40, cols.272-5; Gennadius Massiliensis, 'De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus' 6f., P.L.58, col.982f.; Fulgentius of Ruspe, 'De Trinitate liber unus' 13, P.L.65, col.508; 'De Fide, seu de Regula Verae Fidei, ad Petrum, liber unus' 35, P.L.65, col.688f.;

men's deeds,¹ although some writers extended its scope to include their words and thoughts.²

The idea that those still living at the End would be joined by the resurrected souls and bodies of all men who had ever lived for a universal judgment³ had to compete with the expectation of a limited judgment. At first, it was expected that the heathen would pass straight to damnation and that judgment would be confined to those who had actually heard the message of Christ;⁴ but soon perfect

(p.55, n.3) Julian, Prognost.3.14-23, cols.503-13; Alcuin, de Fide 3.20, col.52; Hemmo, de Var.Lib.1.6, col.881; Gregory Tours, Hist. Franc.10.13, cols.540-43; Taio, Sentent.5.29, cols.983-5; P.Damian, Epist.4.5, col. 301; R.Ardens, 'Homiliae' 1.44, P.L.155, col.1488f.; Ivo, Decretum 17. 110-14, cols.1011-13; Rupert, de Operibus S.S. 9.9-11, cols.1813-16; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.11, col.1164f.; Hugo, de Sacram.2.17.11,13-20, cols.600-606; Herveus, 'In Epistolam 1 ad Corinthos' 15, P.L.181, cols.986-96; in 1 Thess.4, col.1375f.; Chron.Hugo 2, p.383; Otto, Chron.8. 10-13, pp.282-4; Lambert, Lib.Flor.101; 103; 156; 160, pp.203,439,459.

1. 'Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians' 11, A.N.C.L.1, p.184; Epist.Barnabas 4, p.107; Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.20, p.471; Augustine, Civ.Dei.20.14, col.679f.; Quodvultdeus, de Promiss.4.19, col.851; Primasius, super Apoc.5.20, col.920; Bede, Hymni de Die Judicii', among Ascetica Dubia in P.L.94, col.560; Haymo, in Apoc.5.15, col. 1125; 7.20, col.1190f.; Gregory Tours, op.cit.10.13, col.543; Paulinus of Aquileia, 'Liber Exhortationis' 62, P.L.99, col.271; Anselm Cant., Lib.Medit.2, col.723; Ivo, 'Sermones' 7, P.L.162, col.567; Anselm Laon, in Matt.25, col.1464; Bruno Ast., in Apoc. 6.20, col.716; Rupert, in Apoc.11.20, col.1188; Honorius, 'Expositio in Psalmos Selectos', P.L.172, col.281; Hugo, op.cit. 2.17.22, col.607; Herveus, 'Commentaria in Isaiam' 8.66.16, P.L. 181, col.584; in 1 Corinth.3, col.842, but see col.844, where the fire that tests these works is the fire of tribulation in this world; Gregory VII, Epist.Coll.14, p.540; Chron.Hugo 2, p.384; Lambert, op.cit.170, p.493.

2. J.Chrysostom (spurious), 'In Secundum Adventum Domini' 1, P.G. 59, col.621; Cyril of Alexandria, 'Homilia 14: de exitu anima et de secundo adventu', P.G.77, col.1071; Rufinus, 'Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum' 34, P.L.21, col.372; P.Damian, Epist.4.5, col.302; Godefridus Abbas Admontensis, 'Homiliae Dominicales' 8, P.L.174, col.55; Hemmo, de Var.Lib.3.14, col.941; Herveus, 'Expositio in Epistolam ad Romanos' 2, P.L.181, cols.622,624; and see Anon.(c.1160) 'In Epistolam ad Romanos', (attributed to Hugo of St.Victor) Quaestio 56, P.L.175, col.447f., where not only the appearance of deeds, but the good or evil intention behind them is judged. See Rom.2.15f.

3. Apoc.Peter 4, p.670f.; Hippolytus (attrib), Discourse 37-41, pp.122-25; Tertullian, Apologeticus 48, p.136; Paulus Winfridus Diaconus, 'Homiliae de Tempore' 73, P.L.95, col.1215.

4. Cyprian, Treatise 12.3.31, A.N.C.L.13, p.166, where he cites Jn.3. 181.; Ps.1.5; Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.20, p.471, although he allows some heathens to survive as slaves during the Millennium, ibid.7.24, p.478; Ambrose, in Psalm.1.51,56, P.L.14, cols.948f., 951f.; 118.5.44, P.L.15, col.1266f.

Christians, too, could look forward to evading the ordeal and passing straight to salvation.¹

The actual process of judgment could be by any one of four methods: the opening of heavenly records, some intuitive recognition of the individual soul's merit by the Judge, the weighing of souls, or testing by fire.

Judgment from books carried the endorsement of the Revelation of St. John, whose distinction between books of deeds and the Book of Life, a list of the saved, continued to be observed. Each individual would be called before the Judge and his deeds would be revealed from the books, or, if his name was to be found in the Book of Life, he would automatically join the ranks of the Elect.²

Perhaps because, literally interpreted, either the list of the saved or the books of deeds must be redundant, and because of the physical difficulties involved for God in wielding such necessarily huge books, but also - and probably far more importantly - because of a decline in vivid, literal apocalyptic belief,³ complex allegorical interpretations were developed. The Book of Life came most frequently to symbolise God's foreknowledge of who was predestined to be saved and who to be damned,⁴ and the books of deeds to symbolise the opening

1. See below, p.67.

2. J.Chrysostom (spur.), 'In Secundum Adventum Domini', P.G.61, col. 775; Leo the Wise, 'Canticum Compunctionis', P.G.107, col.313; Arethas, in Apoc.28, col.638; Bruno Ast., in Apoc.6.20, col.716. The books are seen in heaven: Asc.Is.9.22, p.657f. A book recording all events in heaven and earth and the 'judgments and righteousness' of all men, which will be opened at the End: Apocr.Apoc.John, p.493f. See Rev.20.12-15. Since the Book of Life was usually a list of the saved, those not in it were necessarily the damned, and the idea arose that these would worship Antichrist: Irenaeus, Heresies 5.28.2, p.131f.; Andreas, in Apoc.36, col.335; Berengaudus, super Apoc.4.13.8, col.885. See Rev.13.8.

3. See below, pp.66-70.

4. Julian, Prognost.3.39, col.515f.; Anselm Laon, Glossa Apoc.20, col.745; Haymo, in Apoc.4.13; 6.17; 7.20, cols.1097, 1146, 1191; Rupert, de Operibus S.S.9.22, col.1826; in Apoc.8.13; 11.20, cols. 1075f., 1187; Otto, Chron.8.16, p.285f. It is a symbol of God's power to recall events to the individual soul's memory: Primasius, super Apoc.5.20, col.920; Julian, op.cit.3.36, col.514f.; see also Augustine, Civ.Dei 20.14f., col.680f., where he has it both ways. It symbolises Christ: Anselm Laon, loc.cit.; Haymo, in Apoc.7.20, col.1190; Burchard, Decret.20.107, col.1057, where Christ's coming to judgment results in everything being revealed as if written; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.14, col.1167f., where it is Christ's life in which are to be read all the precepts men have obeyed or neglected. See also Ivo, Decretum 17.117, col.1014, where it is the insight into his own conscience which comes to each man when he sees the Judge coming; Rupert, de Operibus S.S.9.20, col.1824, where it symbolises the manifestation of justice; and Quodvultdeus, de Promiss.4.19, col.852, where it is the revelatory power of God's justice.

of individual souls' consciences,¹ a process approaching judgment by divine intuition.² Christ's division of the sheep from the goats in the Synoptic Apocalypse was seemingly based on an intuitive recognition of the nature and merits of the individual soul. This principle reappeared a number of times in its pure form,³ but other writers preferred to follow the earlier Jewish tradition whereby the wicked and righteous were to bear distinguishing physical marks. Sometimes the righteous would be marked beforehand,⁴ or else at the Judgment itself they would

1. Quodvultdeus, de Promiss. 4.19, col.851f.; Julian, Prognost 3.36, col.514; Anselm Laon, Glossa Apoc. 20, col.745; Haymo, in Apoc. 7.20, col.1190; Bruno Ast., in Apoc. 6.20, col.716; Rupert, de Operibus S.S. 9.20, col.1824; in Apoc. 11.20, col.1187; Anon. (c.1160), 'In Epistolam 1 ad Corinthos' (attributed to Hugo of St. Victor), Quaestio 50, P.L. 175, col.523; Hugo, de Sacrament. 2.17.22f., col.607; Otto, Chron. 8.16, 19, pp.285-7. See Rom.2.15f. They symbolise the lives and works of the saints, by comparison with which the wicked are judged: Julian, loc.cit.; Haymo, loc.cit.; Burchard, Decret. 20.107, col.1057; Ivo, Decretum 17.117, col.1014; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.14, col.1167f.;

They are the divine precepts, as revealed in Scripture, against which men are measured: Augustine, Civ.Dei 20.14f., col.680f.; Ambrose, in Psalm. 1.52, P.L. 14, col.949f., combining both interpretations; Primasius, super Apoc. 5.20, col.920; Anselm Laon, loc.cit.; Haymo, loc.cit. See also Rupert, in Apoc. 8.13, col.1075f., where he speaks of 'libri mali' or 'libri mortis', which seem to be lists of the reprobate; and Berengaudus, super Apoc. 6.20.13, col.934, where he sets the many books of the reprobate against the single Book of Life. Jerome, Daniel. 7, col.532f., has a book of the living and a book of the earth - 'liber viventium' and 'liber terrenus' - which contain respectively men's good and evil deeds.

2. Christ reveals the inmost recesses of men's consciences by divine intuition, Bernard, Epist. 7.13, col.101. See also Honorius, Elucidarium 3.14, col.1167f.; Godefridus Admont., Hom.Domin. 8, col.55; Hugo, de Sacrament. 2.17.8, 10, col.600; Herveus, in Roman. 2, col.624.

3. Cyprian, Epist. 55.10, p.188; J.Chrysostom, 'Homilia 79/80 in Matthaeum' (on Mt.25), P.G. 58, col.717; P.Winfridus, Hom.de Temp. 73, col.1215 - 'Sicut pastor pecus secernit a pecore, ita Dominus noster, qui est verus pastor, quem oves suae agnoscunt, cumque sequuntur, separabit in die iudicii bonos a malis', see Jn.10.14; Werner, Deflor. 1, col.748ff.; Bruno Ast., in Matt. 4.103, col.284; Rupert, de Operibus S.S. 9.12-20, cols.1816-24.

See also, just repeating Christ's words (Mt.25.31 seq.): Quodvultdeus, de Promiss. 4.19, col.851; Haymo, in Apoc. 6.17, col.1150; Hom Temp. 29, col.203f.; Gregory Tours, Hist.Franc. 10.13, col.543; Anselm Laon, in Matt. 25, col.1463f.; Bruno Ast., in Psalm. 49, col.875; and see Paschasius, in Matt. 11.25, cols.858, 862.

4. Cyprian, Treatise 5.22, A.N.C.L. 8, p.439; 12.2.22, A.N.C.L. 13, p.121f., where he quotes Ex.12.15; Ezk.9.4-6; Rev.7.3; 14.1. See also Rev.9.4; Gen.4.15, and above, p.15.

shine forth while the wicked would remain sunk in gloom and shadow.¹ Judgment by Psychostasia - the weighing of souls in scales - seems rarely to have been attested, at least before the twelfth century, despite its later popularity.²

It was generally accepted that the destruction of the earth which would precede the establishment of a new creation³ would be through the medium of fire.⁴ This fire could also be regarded as having a less destructive function: it would simply burn away all evil from the earth before the ensuing perfect eternity.⁵ But fire might also play a part in the process of judgment.

1. Hippolytus (attrib.), Discourse 39, p.123f.; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis 15.25, col.906f.; Origen, de Principiis 2.10.2, p.138; Fulgentius, de Trinitate 13, col.508; Honorius, Elucidarium.3.11, col.1165. See Mt.13.43, and perhaps 1 Cor.15.40f.

2. Its first appearance in Christian literature was in the Testament of Abraham, cited by MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.390, and Brandon, Judgment, p.122f. Among Greek writers, see Leo the Wise, Canticum, col.310; J.Chrysostom (spur.) in 2 Advent., P.G. 61, col.776; Theophanes Kerameus, 'Homilia' 18, P.G.132, col.395. There is a suggestion of psychostasia in Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.20, p.471, where good and evil deeds are 'compared and weighed'; see also Benzo, ad Hen.IV 1.25, p.609, and Anselm Cant., Lib.Medit.2, col.723, where he seems to be moving towards psychostasia in his description of good and evil deeds being set against each other at the Last Judgment. See generally, Brandon, op.cit., pp.120-6, where he also cites an elusive sermon of St. Augustine.

3. See below, p.63.

4. Xn.Sib.2.196f., p.714; Apoc.Thomas, p.561; Justin, 'On the Sole Government of God' 3, A.N.C.L.2, p.333 (quoting Sophocles; opinion is divided as to whether this work is genuine or spurious, but it is certainly early: see A.N.C.L., vol.2, p.4.); Apoc.Peter 5, p.671; Hippolytus (attrib.), Discourse 37, p.122f.; Commodianus, Instructiones 45, p.457; Berengaudus, super Apoc.4.14.14-19, col.896, and see also 5.16.16, col.908 and 6.20.9, col.932f.; Augustine, Civ.Dei 18.23.1, col.579; Bede, de Temp.70, col.575; Apoc.3.21, col.194; Pascasius, in Matt.11.24, col.829; Rupert, in Apoc.11.20, col.1185f.; Honorius, de Sacrament.62, col.778; Chron.Hugo 2, p.383; Otto, Chron.8.8. p.281. See MacCulloch, op.cit., p.390, Bousset, Antichrist, pp.238-45.

5. Commodianus, Carmen 1041, p.184; Origen, Celsum 4.21; 5.15f., pp.198, 275f.; Julian, Prognost.3.46, col.518; Anselm Laon, Glossa Apoc. 21, col.745f.; Haymo, Hom.Temp.2, col.25; Bruno Ast., in Apoc.6.21, col.716f.; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.15, col.1168; Anon. (attrib.Hugo), in 2 Thess. Q.1, col.590.

A river of fire would flow before the judgment-seat, sweeping away the wicked to the Inferno, but not harming the Elect, except, perhaps, to purge them of minor sins.¹

The Judge would be Christ,² who might delegate some of his

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1. Xn.Sib.2.252-4,315f., pp.716,718; Cyril of Alexandria, Hom.14, col.1071; Hist.Joseph 26, p.73f.; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis 15.21, col.899; Ambrose, in Psalm.118.20.12, P.L.15, col.1487; Origen, 'Homilia 3 in Psalmo 36' P.G.12, col.1337, where he compares the passage through the river of fire to the passage of the children of Israel through the Red Sea at Ex.14.21-9; Colsum 5.15f., p.275f.; Bede, Hex.4, col.157f.; Alcuin, de Fide 3.21, col.53; Haymo, in 2 Thess.1, col.778f.; in Apoc.7.20, col.1189f.; P.Damian, Epist.4.5, col.301f., quoting Mal.3.2f.; 4.1; John Carthus., Epist.1, col. 901; Rupert, in Apoc.3.4, col.906; Lambert, Lib.Flor.170, p.493; see also Herveus, in Isaiam 8.66.16, col.584; in 1 Corinth.3, cols. 842,844; Rabanus, 'Expositio in Epistolam ad Corinthios Primam' 3, P.L.112, col.37. Commodianus, Instructiones 43, p.456, gives an especially loving account of the scene. The fire which consumes the earth is that which purges mankind: Ivo, Sermo 7, col.568; Rupert, 'Commentarium in Sophoniam Prophetam' 1.1, P.L.168, col.658f.; Anon., in 2 Thess. (attrib.Hugo) Q.1f., col.590; 'Pastor of Hermas' 4.3, A.N.C.L.1, p.347; P.Damian, de Noviss.3, col.839. MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.390, derives the part played in Christian apocalyptic by fire from Egyptian religion and from the Parsi myth of a world-fire which is like warm milk to the righteous and like molten lead to sinners. See also 1 Cor.3.13; Is.43.2.
2. Apoc.Peter 1, p.668, but cf.4, p.670; Xn.Sib.2.243f., p.716; Epist.Apostolorum 16, p.200; Epist.Barnabas 4, p.107; Epist.Clement 2.1, p.55; Justin, Dialogue 118, p.247; Recogn.Clement 1.49, p.175; Hippolytus (attrib.) Discourse 38, p.123; Tertullian, Marcion 4.29, 35, pp.304,331; Cyprian Epist.55.3, p.182; Treatise 12.2.28; 12.3.33, A.N.C.L.13, pp.125f.,168; Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.20, p.471; Cyril of Jerusalem, op.cit.15.25, col.906; Augustine, Civ.Dei 20.30.1, col. 704f.; Leo the Great, 'Sermones' 9.2; 74.2, P.L.54, cols.161,398; Facundus of Hermione, 'Epistola Fidei Catholicae in defensione trium Capitulum', P.L.67, col.871; Cassiodorus, in Psalm.9.18, col.85; Gregory, in Job.6.7.9, P.L.75, col.734; 26.27.51, P.L.76, col.379f.; in Evangelia 2.29.7, col.1217; Bede, Apoc.3.15, col.179; de Die Jud., col.560; Anselm Laon, 'Explanatio in omnes psalmos' (attributed to Haymo of Halberstadt) 71, P.L.116, col.434; Haymo, in Apoc.5.15, col. 1125; Hom.Temp.2, col.22; Hemmo, de Var.Lib.3.13, col.940f.; Paschasius, in Matt.3.5, col.244f.; 11.25, cols.858f.,862; P.Winfridus, Hom.de Temp.73, col.1215; Ratherius of Verona, 'Sermones' 2.20, P.L. 136, col.701; Paulinus, Lib.Exhort.62, col.271f.; John Carthus., loc.cit.; R.Ardens, Hom.1.15,19,44, cols.1357,1373,1488; Werner, DeFlor.1, cols.748ff.,761; Ivo, Sermo 7, col.567; Anselm Laon, in Matt.25, col.1463; Bruno Ast., in Psalm.49, col.874f.; in Matt.4. 103, col.284; in Apoc.6.20, col.715; Honorius, in Psalm.Select., col.281; Elucidarium 3.12-14, cols.1165-7; Hugo, de Sacrament 2.17. 7, col.599; Herveus, in Roman.2, col.624; in 1 Thess.4, col.1375f.; Bernard, Sermo in C.C.73.5, col.1136; Lambert, op.cit.101; 170, pp. 203,493; Chron.Hugo 2, p.383f.; Otto, Chron.8.15, p.285; Bede's Sib., col.1186; Usinger's Sib., p.376. See also P.Damian, Epist. 4.5, col.301f.; and Ivo, Decretum 17.116, col.1013, where God judges.

functions to angels,¹ the Apostles, who would judge the Jews,² and the Elect.³ The Judgment was to take place in the Valley of

1. Angels separate out the wicked from among the just, see Mt.13.49; Peter Chrysologus, Sermo 47, col.332f.; Bede, 'In Lucae Evangelium Expositio' 5.17, P.L.92, col.547; Julian, Prognost.3.35, col.514; Paschasius, in Matt.3.5; 7.13; 11.25, cols.245,507,862; see also Bede, de Die Jud., col.558; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.13, col.1166.

2. Andreas, in Apoc.9, col.251; Arethas, in Apoc.61, col.750f.; Hilarius, in Matt.20.10; 21.7, cols.1032,1038; Gregory (spurious), 'Expositiones in librum 1 Regum' 1.3.25, P.L.79, col.76; Chron.Hugo 2, p.383.

They judge with Christ: P.Winfridus, Hom.de Temp.73, col.1216; Remi of Auxerre, 'Enarrationes in Psalmos' (spurious - they are, in fact, 12th century) 1, P.L.131, col.153; Bruno Ast., in Apoc. 1.1, col.610, where they are joined by the Prophets.

According to the author of the 9th century 'Poetae Saxonis annales de gestis Caroli magni imperatoris' 5.671-94, M.G.S.S.1, p.279, certain Apostles would lead in to the Last Judgment those nations for whose salvation they had been responsible.

See Mt.19.28; Lk.22.30; and on the judgment of the Jews, see further, below, p.65.

3. Cyprian, Epist.80.2, p.326f.; Treatise 11.12, A.N.C.L.13, p.74, both quoting Wis.3.4-8, p.539; Hilarius, in Psalm.149.4, col.887; Gregory, in Job 6.7.9; 10.31.52, P.L.75, cols.734,950; 26.27.51, P.L.76, col.379f.; Bede, 'In Matthaei Evangelium Expositio' 4.25, P.L.92, col.109 (according to Glorieux, Migne, p.52, this is a spurious work; but Spicq., Esquisse, pp.30,398, regards it as genuine); Julian, op.cit.3.12f., col.502f.; P.Winfridus, loc.cit.; Remi, (spur.) loc.cit.; Ivo, Decretum 17.116, col.1013; Herveus, in 1 Corinth.6, col.864 f.; Gregory VII, Reg.3.15, p.277; 'Enhardi Fuldensis Annales', an.738, M.G.S.S.1, p.345; Otto, Chron.8.17, p.286; also Andreas, loc.cit.

The Saints judge in the sense that others are judged by comparison with them: Anselm Laon, Explan.Psalm.1, col.200; Honorius, op.cit. 3.14, col.1167; Anon., in 1 Corinth.(attrib.Hugo) Q.50, col.523; and see above, p.58, n.1.

For a similar idea in Jewish apocalyptic, see above p.16, n.4.

The saints judging with Christ are associated with the four-fold judgment, see below, p.67f.

See Is.3.14; Dan.7.22; Mt.19.28; 1 Cor.6.2; Rev.2.26, 3.21; 20.4.

The sun, moon and stars participate, 'Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea' 3, A.N.C.L.16, p.240.

Satan is present at the Judgment to claim his own: Paulinus, Lib. Exhort.62, col.271f.; see also J.Chrysostom, 'Homiliae in Genesin' 20.4, P.G.53, col.171; Petrus Cellensis, 'Liber de Panibus' 15, P.L.202, col.995ff.

Jerome, Daniel.7, col.533, has Satan present as prosecuting counsel at the Last Judgment.

Jehoshaphat outside Jerusalem,¹ and would be absolutely impartial: riches, position and power would count for nothing² - indeed, the rich and powerful might find themselves judged more rigorously³ and the poor might be exalted.⁴ This would be a judgment entirely based on individual merit, in which no intercession would be possible.⁵

1. Rev.Esdras, p.471; Andreas, in Apoc.26, col.295; Arethas, in Apoc.26, col.622; Jerome, in Joel.3.12f., col.984; Valerius, 'Opuscula' 12, P.L.87, col.429; John of Würzburg, Description 17, p.51; Anon.Pilgrim 1.3, p.2; 6.9, p.69; Lambert, Lib.Flor.170, p.494; and see Paschasius, in Matt.11.24, cols.795f.,815.

Otto, Chron.8.18, p.286f., reports how simple pilgrims collected stones or other markers in Jehoshaphat in anticipation of the Last Judgment; cf.Theoderich, Description 32, p.51. See Jl.3.2,12.

The Judgment will take place in the air: Xn.Druthmarus, in Matt.56, col.1469; Haymo, in 1 Thess.4, col.772; Bruno Ast., in Psalms.49, col.875; Herveus, in 1 Thess.4, col.1376; Werner, Deflor.1, col.748; Otto, loc.cit.; see 1 Ths.4.17.

On the earth, but not localised in Jehoshaphat: Otto, loc.cit.; Honorius, Sacrament.62, col.778; Elucidarium 3.12, col.1165 (on earth and in the air).

Julian, Prognost.3.2, col.497f.; Paschasius, op.cit.11.24, col.796, and Haymo, loc.cit., give allegorical interpretations.

See also Facundus, Epist.Fid.Cath., col.871, and J.Chrysostom, in 2 Advent., P.G.61, col.775.

2. Epist.Apostolorum 26, p.208f.; Epist.Barnabas 4, p.107; J.Chrysostom, op.cit., col.775f.; R.Ardens, Hom.1.5, col.1357; Bruno Ast., in Job 21, col.625; Rupert, in Sophon.1.1, col.658f.; Herveus, in Roman.2, col.622.

3. Cyprian, Treatise 12.3.112, A.N.C.L.13, p.196, quoting Wis.6.6, p.544; Bede, de Die Jud., col.558; Haymo, in Apoc.7.20, col.1190; Bruno Ast., in Gen.50, col.229; Gregory VII, Reg.2.51,73, pp.193,235; Otto, Chron., dedication, p.116, quoting Wis.6.1-5, p.543f.; and 8.17, p.286; see also Commodianus, Instructiones 29f., p.448f.; Gregory in Job 26.27.49, P.L.76; col.378.

It was the special responsibility of those to whom God had entrusted the welfare of the mass of mankind that concerned the bishops assembled at Trosley in 909: Concilium Troslejanum, cited above, p.38.

4. Cassiodorus, in Psalms.9.18, col.85. Jerome, Epist.14.11 ('ad Heliodorum Monachum'), col.354, stressed that the Judge, Christ, had been the son of a working man and a woman who served for wages - 'Tunc tu rusticanus et pauper exultabis, et ridebis, et dices: Ecce crucifixus meus ecce iudex...Hic est ille operarii et quaestuariae filius'. And see Bernard, Sermo de Temp.4.5 (de Adventu Domini), col.49, where he says that, although the other virtues bring the promise of salvation, with poverty it is actually given.

5. Augustine, Civ.Dei 21.18,24, cols.732f., 736-41; Bede, Hex.3, col. 149; de Die Jud., col.560; 'Aegidii Aureavallensis Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium' 3.29, M.G.S.S.25, p.102; and see P.Damian Epist.4.5, col.302.

The saints do intercede in Chron.Hugo 2, p.384, and Xn.Sib.2.331f., p.718.

On the absolute rigour of the Last Judgment, see also Hemmo, de Var. Lib.3.14f., col.941f.; Taio, Sentent.5.31, col.987; and J.Chrysostom, in 2 Advent., P.G.61, col.775f.

The earth, consumed by fire,¹ would be replaced by a new creation, a pure and fitting setting for the eternal Kingdom of God.² St. Augustine expected the burning away of the corruptible elements of the earth, while the saints waited in a higher region beyond the reach of the flames for the new Creation to be made ready for them.³ The wicked would be consigned to eternal damnation,⁴

1. See above, p.59.

2. Epist. Barnabas 15, p.128; Hippolytus (attrib.), Discourse 37, p.123; Commodianus, Instructiones 45, p.457; Apocr. Apoc. John, p.497 seq.; Lactantius, Div. Inst. 7.26, p.482; Origen, de Principiis 1.6.4, p.58 - although he believed in a series of creations, 3.5.3, p.255f.; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis 15.3, col.874; Hilarianus, de Mundi Duratione 19, col.1106; Berengaudus, super Apoc. 6.20.9, col.933; 7.21.1, col.936; Irenaeus, Heresies 5.36.1, p.155; Arethas, in Apoc. 64, col.758; Bede, de Temp. 70, col.575; Apoc. 3.21, col.194; Julian, Prognost. 3.47, col.518; Anselm Laon, Glossa Apoc. 21, col.745; Haymo, in Apoc. 7.20f., cols.1189, 1191f.; Paschasius, in Matt. 7.13, col.507; 11.24, col.825; Smaragdus, in Epist. & Evang., col.519; Burchard, Decret. 20.109, col.1058; Werner, Deflor. 1, col.740; Ivo, Decretum 17.119, col.1014; Anselm Laon, in Matt. 24, col.1454f.; Bruno Ast., in Apoc. 6.20f., col.715ff.; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.15, col.1168; Hugo, de Sacram. 2.17.28; 2.18.1, col.609f.; Chron. Hugo 2, p.383; Otto, Chron. 8.9, p.281f.; Tiburtina, p.187; Bede's Sib., col.1186; and see MacCulloch, Eschatology, p.390.

3. Augustine, Civ. Dei 20.16, 18, cols.682, 684f. He was followed by Burchard, op. cit. 20.110, col.1058; Ivo, op. cit. 17.120, col.1015; Hugo, loc. cit.; Julian, op. cit. 3.49, col.519.

4. Visions of Hell became an apocalyptic form in their own right; see T. Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, passim. Origen, de Principiis 1.6.3, p.57; 2.10.6, p.143, suggested that the damned might eventually be reconciled to God (see also Xn. Sib. 2.331 seq., p.718, where God will rescue men from damnation at the request of one of the saved); but Augustine, Civ. Dei 21.17, 23, cols.731f., 735f.; insisted that no amelioration was possible - torment was eternal and unrelenting. On the nature and eternity of damnation, see - often refuting Origen: Apoc. Peter 5-12, pp.672-78; Xn. Sib. 2.285 seq., p.717; Cyril of Alexandria, Hom. 14, cols.1071-90; Gennadius, de Eccles. Dogmat. 9, col.983; Bede, in Matt. 4.25, col.110; Epist. 15, col.702f.; Julian, Prognost. 3.40-43, col.516f.; Remi of Auxerre, 'Commentariorum in Isaiam libri tres' (attributed to Haymo of Halberstadt), 2.24, P.L.116, col.833f.; Haymo, in Apoc. 7.20, cols.1188f., 1191; Hom. Temp. 29, col.204; Hemmo, de Var. Lib. 3.25-46, cols.945-58; Paschasius, in Matt. 7.13, col.507f.; 11.25, col.870; Taio, Sentent. 5.33, col.988ff.; Valerius, Opuscula 12, col.429; P. Winfridus, Hom. de Temp. 73, col.1218f.; Smaragdus, 'Commentaria Regulam Sancti Benedicti' 4.45, P.L.102, col.778; Jonas Aurelianensis Episcopus, 'De Institutione Laicali libri tres' 3.19, P.L.106, col.273ff.; Ivo, Decretum 17.102f., col.1008f.; 17.113, col.1012; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.4, col.1159f.; Otto, Chron. 8.21-5, pp.289-92.

and the sight of their sufferings would be a source of endless satisfaction to the saved looking down from the Kingdom of God,¹ where they would live for ever in a transformed, uncorruptible state of bliss,² centering on the Heavenly Jerusalem.³

Some Christians looked forward to the eventual conversion and reconciliation of the Jews to Christ, but the hard-liners expected their damnation. The actual conversion might be carried out, during the reign of Antichrist, by the Witnesses,⁴ or there

1. Apoc. Peter 13, p.679, see also 7, p.673f., where murderers in hell are tormented in the sight of their victims; Cyprian, Treatise 5.24, A.N.C.L.8, p.441; Honorius, Elucidarium.3.5, col.1161, where the saved feel no pity, even for their own families.

2. Tertullian, Marcion 3.24, p.171; Lactantius, Div. Inst.7.26, p.482; Julian, Prognost.3.50-62, col.519-24; Alcuin, de Fide 3.22, col.54; Haymo, in Apoc.7.20, col.1190; Hemmo, de Var. Lib.1.6, col. 881f.; Aelred of Rievaulx, 'Meditatio' (attributed to Anselm of Canterbury, Lib. Medit.17), P.L.158, col.799.

The reward of the elect described and contrasted with the fate of the damned: Valerius, Opuscula.12f., col.429; Jonas, de Inst. Laic.3.19f., cols.273-8; Honorius, op. cit.3.16-21, cols.1168-76; Hugo, de Sacram. 2.18. 1-22, cols.609-18; Otto, Chron.8.21-34, pp.289-300.

3. Quodvultdeus, de Promiss.5.3, col.853; Hilarianus, de Mundi Duratione 19, col.1106; Apocr. Apoc. John, p.499; Bede, Apoc.3.21, col.194; Haymo, in Apoc.7.21, col.1210f.; Honorius, op. cit.3.15, col.1168; Valerius, loc. cit.; Otto, Chron.8.26, p.292; also John of Würzburg, Description, p.701.

4. Theodoretus, Daniel.12.1, col.1534; Amnonius, Daniel.9.27, col.1378; 12.7, col.1379; Berengaudus, super Apoc.4.11.2,13, cols.868,872; but cf.4.13.11, col.886, where only a few are converted and most follow Antichrist; Augustine, Civ. Dei 20.29f., cols.704,706,708; John Damasc., de Fide 4.26, col.1218; Primasius, super Apoc.3.11, col.870; Gregory, in Ezech.1.12.8, col.921; Bede, de Temp.69, col.574; Alcuin, de Fide 3.19, col.51; Haymo, Hom. Temp. 2, col.24; Burchard, Decret.20.97, col.1054; Werner, Deflor.1, col.743; Ivo Decretum 17.108, col.1011; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.10, col.1163; Hugo, de Sacram.2.17.6, col.598; Lambert, Lib. Flor. 170, p.498; Adso, p.112. See Mal.4.5f.

See also Commodianus, Carmen 937-40, p.175; Arethas, in Apoc.39, col. 683; Rabanus, 'Commentaria in Cantica', P.L.112, col.1148; Taio, Sentent.5.25, col.978; Anselm Laon, in Matt.24, col.1454; Bruno Ast., in Psalm.9, col.729; in Matt.4.99f., col.270f.; Rupert, de Operibus S.S.8.19, col.1803; in Apoc.9.15, col.1113; Godefridus Admont., Hom. Domin.8, col.55f.; Godfrey, Pantheon 16.24, p.146; Tiburtina, p.185; and Is.10.22; Jer.33.16; Mt.17. 11; Mk.9.12; Rom.9.27f.; 11.25f.

might be a connection between Antichrist and the Jews, who would accept him as their Messiah and seal their fate.¹ Alternatively, their fate could be decided later in the apocalyptic process, one way or the other: when Christ came in all his glory and destroyed Antichrist, they might realise their mistake and repent accordingly,² or they might simply be consigned to Hell with the minimum delay at the Last Judgment.³

1. Hippolytus (attrib), Discourse 23f., p.113f.; Victorinus, Apoc. 2.9, p.400; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis 15.11f., col.886; Theodoretus, in 2 Thess. 2.11, col.667; Haeret.Fab. 5.23, col.527; John Damasc., de Fide. 4.26, col.1215; Oecumenius (spur.), in 2 Thess. 2, col.122f.; Arethas, in Apoc. 30, col.651; Hilarius, in Matt. 25.3f., col.1054; Ambrose, in Psalms. 43.19, P.L.14, col.1100; in 2 Thess. 2, col.456; Berengaudus, Super Apoc. 4.13.11, col.886; Jerome, Epist. 121.11, col.1038; Daniel. 7; 9, cols.534,548; Gregory, in Job 29.32.75; 31.24.43, P.L.76, cols.520,597; Isidore, in Gen. 31.42, col.283; Bede, Apoc. 2.13, col.170; Haymo, in 2 Thess. 2, col.780; in Apoc. 4.13; 5.16; 7.19, cols.1101,1127,1180; Primasius, in 2 Thess. 2, col.648; Sedulius, in 2 Thess. 2, col.223; Werner, Deflor. 1, col.747; Anon., in 2 Thess. (attrib.Hugo) Q.6, col.591; Herveus, in 2 Thess. 2, col.1395; Adso, p.111.

The Jews believe that they will reign with Antichrist for 1000 years: Ammonius, Daniel. 7, col.1375 - but cf. 9.27; 12.7, col.1378f., cited above p.64, n.4.

The Jews persecute the elect during Antichrist's reign: Ivo, Decretum. 17.104, col.1009.

Antichrist enforces general circumcision: Ps.-Ephrem 7, p.217; Gregory Tours, Hist.Franc. 1, col.162, See also Hincmar, Praed.Dei 27, col.280; Ambrose, loc.cit.; Haymo, in 2 Thess. 2, col.780; Werner, loc.cit. & col.745; Anon., loc.cit., and Adso, pp.107,111, where Antichrist circumcises himself. He is a Jew, see above, p.49. Some Jews follow him, but the rest - those predestined to salvation - are converted by Elijah and Enoch: Alcuin, in Apoc. 5.11.8, col.1149; Haymo, in Apoc. 3.11, col.1073.

2. Justin, Apology 1.52, p.51; Dialogue 32, p.126; Tertullian, Marcion 3.7, p.132; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis 15.22, col.899; J.Chrysostom, Hom. 76/77 in Matt. (on Mt.24), col.698; Bruno Ast., in Job 21, col.625; Otto, Chron. 8.7, p.280; Lambert, Lib.Flor. 50; 156, pp.126 (54), 438. See Zch. 12.10-12; Rev. 1.7; also Is. 63.17.

According to Bruno Ast., 'Expositio in Leviticum' 16, P.L.164, col.438f., Antichrist is the scapegoat, bearing the sins of the Jews into the Inferno with him, while they are converted; likewise, Rupert, in Levit. 2.30f., col.819f. see Levit. 16.10,20-22.

3. Hippolytus (attrib.), Discourse 40, p.124f.; Narr.Joseph Arim. 3, p.241; Hilarius, in Matt. 21.7, col.1038; Justin, Dialogue 74, p.191; Gregory (spur.), in 1 Regum 1.3.25, col.76; Haymo, in 1 Thess. 4, col.772; in 2 Thess. 1, col.778; Remi (spur.), in Psalms. 1, col.153; Aelred, Medit., col.796; Honorius, Sacrament. 62, col.778. The Jews were often thus consigned to Hell as part of a package consisting of heretics, false Christians, Jews and pagans.

CHAPTER 4.

THE DECLINE AND REVIVAL OF AN IMMINENT ESCHATOLOGY IN THE WEST.

The basic elements of the apocalyptic process remained essentially the same in the West down to the time of the Crusades, except in one very important respect. The belief that Christ would return to institute a temporary millenarian kingdom on earth had been discredited and declared a heresy. Christ was thereafter expected to come again solely to destroy Antichrist and conduct the Last Judgment, in immediate anticipation of the eternal Kingdom of God.

However, the disappearance of Chiliasm from the official teachings of the Church was merely symptomatic of a deeper change in the nature of Christian apocalyptic belief. Early Christians had clung to belief in the Millennium - despite its absence from Christ's teachings - because it provided the compensatory dream which, as a persecuted minority, they so desperately needed. Not only would they be vindicated, but this would happen on earth and in terms of things to which they could look forward without any of the apprehensions which must necessarily attach themselves to the eternal Kingdom of God, with its incomprehensible and alien attributes of utter spirituality and eternity. The Millennium may have become reductively materialistic, but it did at least express pie-in-the-sky in a form calculated to make the ordinary man's mouth water. When Chiliasm declined, it was because it was no longer needed; Augustine and his successors apparently felt sufficiently secure and content in this world as it was to announce that mankind was now living in the Millennium, fully realised as the Church.

At about the same time apocalyptic belief, hitherto seemingly a unified whole, separated into two strands: first, a continuous, intellectual, literary tradition, based to a considerable extent on scriptural commentary and, in its later, pure form, using apocalyptic for a moral, didactic purpose - as an Awful Warning to Christians; and, secondly, a more intermittent, popular tradition, operating at practical levels in response to collective anxieties, often provoked by socio-economic stimulæ, frightening natural phenomena and the like, and manifesting itself as what are called 'apocalyptic movements'.

The two strands, literary and popular, can be seen entwined together in early Christianity, in the writings of, for example, Lactantius, Irenaeus and Commodianus.¹ In the East we even find a major theologian, Tertullian, actually participating in Montanism, an actively chiliastic movement.² After the abandonment, in the West, of the chiliastic element, the two strands diverged and the literary tradition formed itself into a sort of book wisdom. Augustine can almost be said to mark the point of separation, when he abandoned the chiliastic beliefs of his youth, finally to discredit them by his reinterpretation of Revelation 20.³

Let the writings of, say, Lactantius be compared with those of any writer of the post-Augustinian period. Lactantius' apocalyptic views are defensive and compensatory: he looks out from the true light of Christianity into a threatening world of dark, hostile forces, heathen and cosmic; his description of them and of the vindication of the Elect is comprehensive and vivid to the point of hysteria. Later writers, perhaps because secure on the winning side, are infinitely more restrained, and reflect academic interest as much as genuine apocalyptic conviction. They seem, as a general rule, to discuss apocalyptic matters as just another aspect of Christian doctrine, or as a subject arising from the context of a piece of Scripture undergoing commentary. The tendency towards allegorical interpretation perhaps reflects a certain embarrassment at the excesses of Old and New Testament apocalyptic.

The outward-looking attitude of Lactantius has gone and the simple dualism between Christians and heathens no longer holds. The Last Judgment now involves a complex four-fold division. The heathen are now to be damned without even undergoing judgment, but Christians are not all assured of salvation and fall into three categories: those who are so perfect as to be saved without even having to be judged - and who may even help with the judging;⁴

1. See above, pp.33-5.

2. See above, p.32.

3. See above, p.35.

4. See above, p.61 and n.3.

those who are saved only after being judged; and those who heard but failed properly to respond to Christ's message and are damned after judgment.¹ The Last Judgment has ceased to be a defensive fantasy of divine vindication and has been transmuted to a didactic purpose, as moral reinforcement. To belong to the Church no longer carries the assurance of automatic salvation, and the Judgment is used as a warning of the sticky end awaiting those whose inner state does not match their outward profession of faith. A number of writers reminded their readers of the ordeal ahead, the happy outcome of which depended on their good behaviour now.² With the same purpose, elaborate descriptions of the horrors of damnation

1. Julian, Prognost.3.3, col.513f.; Hemmo, de Var.Lib.3.17f., col. 942f.; P.Winfridus, Hom.de Temp.73, col.1216; Jonas, de Instit.Laic. 3.18, col.271f.; Ratherius, Sermo 2.20, col.701; Burchard, Decret. 20.106, col.1057; R.Ardens, Epist. & Evang.1.5, col.1683; Bede, in Matt. 4.25, col.109; Gregory, in Job.26.27.50f., P.L.76, cols. 378-80; Rabanus, in 1 Corinth.3, col.37; Ivo, Decretum 17.116, col. 1013f.; Anselm Laon, in Matt.25, col.1463f.; Remi (spur.), in Psalm. 1, col.153; St.Bruno, 'Expositio in Psalmos' 1, P.L.152, col.642; Rupert, de Operibus S.S.9.12, col.1816f.; Peter Comestor, 'Sermo' (as Hildebert of Mans, 'Sermo' 14), P.L.171, col.411 (a 3-fold judgment); Honorius, in Psalm.Select., col.281; Sacrament.62, col. 778; Elucidarium 3.13, col.1166; Anon., in Roman. (attrib.Hugo) Q.53, col.447; in 1 Thess.Q.13, col.589ff.; Otto, Chron.8.17, p.286. See Ps.1.5; Mt.19.28; Jn.3.18; Rom.2.12.

The idea that not all ostensible Christians are, in fact, among the Elect is also reflected in Antichrist's purging of the Church, see above, p.52.

2. R.Ardens, Hom.1.19, col.1375; Epist. & Evang.1.5, col.1683f., where he points out the sheer embarrassment of being among the reprobate at the Last Judgment, in the sight of the judge, the angels and the saints; Werner, Deflor.2, col.1042; Anselm Cant., Lib.Medit. 2.17, col.796; Elmer of Canterbury, 'Meditatio', attributed to Anselm, ibid. 1.13f., col.721f.; Ivo, Sermo 7, col.568; Geoffrey Babion, 'Sermo' (as Hildebert of Mans, 'Sermo' 108), P.L.171, col. 836, where he points out that although the wicked appear to flourish now, it will all be different at the Judgment; 140, col.947. Cyril of Alexandria, Hom.14, cols.1071-90, points out the contrasting fates of the wicked and the blessed and how these are determined by our conduct in this world; his motive for good behaviour is fear and his description of the Judgment is a prolonged cry of agonised personal terror. Similarly, Smaragdus, in Reg.S.Benedict.4.44, col.777f.;

Hemmo, de Var.Lib.3.15, col.941f., and 3.46, col.958, where he concludes his description of the horrors of damnation with a reminder that we should take evasive action in this world.

were appended to accounts of the Judgment and contrasted with the beatific vision of the Kingdom of Heaven.¹

Although there are still, as we have seen,² vast quantities of Antichrist-lore, most of it is merely the mechanical repetition of material from the tradition. Antichrist has lost his monstrous, cosmic overtones: he has been shackled with the dead weight of tradition and given a specific function as a purgative force dismissing the reprobate from the Church and purifying the Elect, and has been changed, like the Last Judgment, into just another weapon in the theological armoury of moral reinforcement.³

Much the same happened to Gog and Magog. They originated in the context of specific barbarian invasions at the time of Ezekiel,⁴ and the term Gog and Magog was often 'synonymous with barbarian, especially with the type of barbarian that bursts through the northern frontier of civilisation'.⁵ Thus they were identified with the various invading barbarians: the Scythians, Celts, Goths, Huns and so forth.⁶

This tendency towards specific identification did survive into the post-Augustinian period,⁷ but there also grew up an alternative tradition which interpreted Gog and Magog allegorically. This seems first to have been reported in the early years of the fifth century by Jerome, who dismissed the literal interpretation, associated as it was with the idea of the Millennium, as a belief of 'Judaei et nostri Judaizantes', and substituted the Church's true explanation. Gog was to be interpreted as 'tectum' and Magog as 'de tecto' - 'shelter' and 'from shelter'.

'Shelter' signifies heresiarchs, and 'from shelter' those who adopt their teachings.⁸

Only a few years later, this interpretation was taken a stage further by Augustine, who associated Gog and Magog with the binding of Satan at Revelation 20.1-3.

1. See above, p.64, especially n.2.

2. See above, p.47, n.3, for a roughly chronological selection of Antichrist material.

3. See above, p.52.

4. See above, p.25, n.1; and A.R.Anderson, Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations, p.7f.

5. Ibid., p.8.

6. Ibid., pp.8-14.

7. See below, p.83; and on Gog and Magog in the Sibylline tradition, see below, p. 74, n.1.

8. 'Tectumque interpretabimur haereticorum principes; et de tecto eos, qui illorum susceperunt doctrinas'; Jerome, 'Commentariorum in Ezechielem Prophetam libri quatuordecim' 11.38, P.L.25, col.356f.; see also col.359, and in Joel.3.12f., col.984.

The binding signified the restriction of Satan's field of activities during the thousand years of the Church's reign. Gog and Magog - 'Gog shelter, Magog from shelter: as it were, a house and one who comes forth from a house' - became the heathen nations generally in whose hearts Satan was now confined (tectum) and his final breaking forth (de tecto) at the End in the person of Antichrist.¹

Writers after Augustine followed this allegorical interpretation and the image of Gog and Magog, like that of Antichrist, lost most of its original power.²

Augustine's reinterpretation of Revelation 20.1-6 in allegorical terms was almost universally followed, with only minor variations.³ There was no mention of the Millennium in its original form during this period, except to dismiss it.⁴ The idea did, however, survive in three transmuted forms: as the sabbath-rest of the souls of the righteous dead, as the pause between the death of Antichrist and the Last Judgment, and, most importantly, as the reign of the Last Emperor.

Augustine had originally interpreted the reign of the saints with Christ (Rev.20.4) as the present reign of the Church on earth and of the souls of the martyrs in heaven;⁵ in the middle of the sixth century Primasius of Hadrumetum followed him: the souls of the righteous dead reign during the thousand years with Christ, before they are reunited with their bodies at the resurrection.⁶

1. 'Gog tectum, Magog de tecto: tanquam domus et ipse qui procedit de domo'; Augustine, Civ.Dei 20.11, col.676; see also col.677, and 20.7f., cols.667-71.

2. Quodvultdeus, de Promiss.4.4, col.840; Primasius, super Apoc. 5.20, col.918; Bede, Apoc.3.20, col.193; Haymo, in Apoc.7.20, col.1186f.; Werner, Deflor.1, col.742f.; Bruno Ast., in Apoc.6.20, col.714f.; Rupert, in Apoc.11.20, col.1184; Hugo, de Sacrament. 2.17.2, col.597; see also Anselm Laon, Glossa Apoc.20, col.745.

3. Thus, Primasius, op.cit.5.20, cols.914-16; Gregory, in Job 32.15.22, P.L.76, col.649; Bede, Apoc.3.20, col.191; Anselm Laon, op.cit.20, col.744; Haymo, in Apoc.4.14; 7.20, cols.1105,1182-86; Bruno Ast., in Apoc.3.9; 6.20, cols.651,712f.; Rupert, in Apoc. 11.20, col.1179f.; Hugo, op.cit.2.17.2-4, col.597f.; Otto, Chron. 8.2, p.279.

4. See above, p.55, n.2.

5. Augustine, Civ.Dei 20.9.1-3, cols.672-4.

6. Primasius, super Apoc.5.20, col.916.

This transference of the concept of the Millennium to the eschatology of the individual was completed at the end of the century by Gregory the Great:

Christ suffered on Good Friday, rested in the sepulchre on the sabbath, and rose from the dead on the Lord's day. This present life is our Good Friday, because of its sorrows and pains. But we shall rest in the grave as if on the sabbath, because after the dissolution of the body we shall come to the rest of the soul. On the Lord's day...we shall rise bodily from the dead, and rejoice in the glory of the soul and the body together.¹

and subsequently by Bede:

By the six days in which God created this world and the seventh in which he rested from all his work and which because of that he sanctified with the blessing of perpetual peace, we do not truly and catholically understand the six thousand years of the labours of the world and the seventh thousand of the reign of the saints on earth with Christ; rather, the six ages signify the toils of the world in which the saints labour in this life for Christ, and the seventh signifies the unbroken rest in another life which the souls of the saints, released from their bodies, will enjoy with Christ.²

1. 'Sexta enim feria (Christus) passus est, Sabbato quievit in sepulcro, Dominico autem die resurrexit a morte. Praesens etenim vita nobis adhuc sexta est feria, quia in doloribus ducitur, et in angustiis cruciatur. Sed Sabbato quasi in sepulcro quiescimus, quia requiem animae post corpus invenimus. Dominico vero die...., jam corpore a morte resurgimus, et in gloria animae etiam cum carne gaudebimus'; Gregory, in Ezech.2.4.2, col.973. See also Hemmo, de Var.Lib.1.12, col.884.

2. '....intelligamus sincere et catholice sex illos dies in quibus mundi hujus ornatum perfecit Deus et septimum in quo ab omni opere suo quievit, quem ob id perpetuae quietis benedictione sanctificavit, non sex annorum millia saeculi laborantis et septimum regni beatorum in terra cum Christo, sed sex potius aetates significare mundi labentis in quibus sancti laborant in hac vita pro Christo, et septimam perpetuae quietis in alia vita quam solutae a corporibus percipiunt animae sanctae cum Christo'; Bede, de Temp.67, col.572f.

After the rest of the soul during this seventh age, it would rejoin the body at the resurrection and the eternal eighth age would ensue.¹

Bousset pointed out the appearance, by the time of Jerome, of the idea of a pause between the destruction of Antichrist and the Last Judgment.² A number of writers repeated and elaborated this idea,³ and Bousset may well have been right in connecting this 45-day pause with the survival and later full revival of the Millennium.⁴

The reappearance in the West of the expectation of a millenarian reign was in association with the myth of the Last Emperor. This legend was probably first attested in the Syriac Apocalypse of the Pseudo-Methodius, composed in northern Mesopotamia in the third quarter of the seventh century. The text was quickly translated into Greek, and then into Latin, probably later in the

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1. Bede, de Temp. 67, col. 573. See also Hex. 1, col. 38; Ivo, Decretum 17.76f., col. 997.; Herveus., Hom. 4; 12, cols. 603, 658; Honorius, Sacrament. 61, col. 778; see also Otto, Chron. 6.36; 8.10, pp. 247, 282. Isidore identified the Millennium with the eternal Kingdom of God, de Fide 2.15.5-7, col. 523. On the intermediate fate of the soul between death and the resurrection for the Last Judgment, see Nicetas, 'Explanatio Symboli' 11, P.L. 52, col. 872; Bede, 'In Secundam Epistolam Sancti Petri' 2, P.L. 93, col. 77; Julian, Prognost. 2, cols. 475-98; Hemmo, de Var. Lib. 3.1-8, cols. 933-6; Gregory Tours, Hist. Franc. 10.13, col. 542; Taio, Sentent. 5.21, col. 975; Honorius, Elucidarium 3.1-8, cols. 1157-62; Hugo, de Sacrament. 2.16.3f., cols. 584-7; Chron. Hugo 2, p. 384f.; Anon., in 1 Corinth. (attrib. Hugo) Q.4, col. 514. The distinction between this state and that after the Last Judgment is not always entirely clear-cut.
2. Bousset, Antichrist, p. 225, citing Jerome, Daniel. 12.11f., col. 579. The pause was generally expected to be of 45 days, based on the difference between the 1290 and 1335 days of Dan. 12.11f.
3. Bede, de Temp. 69, col. 574f.; Apoc. 1.8, col. 154; Epist. 15, col. 708; Alcuin, de Fide 3.19, col. 51; Remi, in Isaiam 2.24, col. 834, and Bruno Ast., in Matt. 4.100, col. 275, claimed that the purpose of the pause was to prove the patience of the elect by keeping them guessing as to the exact time of the End; see above, p. 37, n. 3 (on p. 39). The pause is to allow the elect time to repent if they have wavered under the onslaught of Antichrist; Haymo, in 1 Thess. 5, col. 773f.; in 2 Thess. 2, col. 781; Hincmar, Praed. Dei 27, col. 280; P. Damian, de Noviss. 3, col. 839; Werner, Deflor. 1, col. 748; Honorius, op. cit. 3.10, col. 1164; Anon, in 2 Thess. (attrib. Hugo) Q. 10, col. 592; Herveus, in 1 Thess. 5, col. 1379; in 2 Thess. 2, col. 1394f.; Otto, Chron. 8.7, p. 280; Adso, p. 113. See also Theodoretus, Daniel. 12.12, col. 1542.
4. Bousset, op. cit., p. 225f.

seventh century or early in the eighth, by a monk writing in Merovingian Gaul.¹

The Pseudo-Methodius describes a period of dreadful tribulations and persecutions at the hands of the Ishmaelites (i.e. the Moslems). But at its height there arises a Greek or Roman Emperor who slaughters and enslaves the Ishmaelites, before inaugurating a period of world-wide peace and tranquillity such as has never been seen before. As described by the Pseudo-Methodius, this is nothing less than a return to earlier notions of the Millennium, with the substitution of the Last Emperor for Christ:

There will be joy throughout the world; men will live together in peace, cities will be rebuilt, priests will be relieved of the necessities of day-to-day life, and mankind will rest in that time from its tribulations....In that state of peace, men will inhabit the earth with joy and gladness, eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, exulting and rejoicing and constructing buildings; there will be no fear or anxiety in their hearts.²

1. P.J.Alexander, 'Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs. The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor', in Medievalia et Humanistica, new series, 2 (1971), pp.57-61. The Last Emperor has generally been thought to have been of earlier origin - e.g., Cohn, Millennium, p.31, dates his earliest appearance to the mid-4th century, following Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte, pp.164-70. But Alexander suggests, n.35, p.66f., that the Last Emperor was not present in the earlier Greek versions of the Tiburtine Sibyl and only appeared in the early-11th century Latin translation, under the influence of the Ps.-Methodius. On the Tiburtina and the dating of the Latin translation, see Alexander, The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress. Alexander, Last Roman Emperor, p.66f., also dismisses the idea that the Last Emperor appeared in the late-4th century so-called Pseudo-Ephrem. On the other hand, Kampers, Kaiseridee, pp.8-10, 17-19, discerned the early origin of the legend in the late Roman Empire.

2. 'Erit enim laetitiam super terram et commorabuntur homines in pace et reedificabunt civitates et liberabuntur sacerdotes de necessitatibus suis et requiescent homines in tempore illo a tribulationibus suis....In hac igitur pacem sedebunt homines super terra cum gaudio et laetitia comedentes et sese potantes, nubentes et dantes ad nuptias exultantes et gaudentes et aedificationes construcentes, et non erit in corde eorum timor vel sollicitudo'; Ps.Meth.13, p.91. Cf. especially the attack on Chiliasm by Origen above, p.54.

But then the Gates of the North are opened and the nations, including Gog and Magog, shut in by Alexander the Great break out and spread destruction throughout the world.¹ God, however, sends 'unum ex principibus militiae suae' to destroy them. The Emperor then goes to Jerusalem, where he waits for 10½ years, until Antichrist appears. He then goes to Golgotha, where the Cross has been re-erected:

...and the king will take the crown from his head and place it over the cross, and he will raise his hands to heaven and hand over the kingdom of the Christians to God the Father and the cross will be taken up into heaven with the king's crown.... And when the cross has risen into heaven, at the same time the king of the Romans will give up the ghost. Then all his sovereignty and power will be destroyed, so that the son of perdition may manifestly appear.²

Although the myth of the Last Emperor had thus been made available to the West, through its Latin translation, by early in the eighth century, it would then seem to have disappeared for over two hundred years,³ not to re-appear until the second half of the tenth century when, at the request of Queen Gerberga, wife of

1. On Gog and Magog and their enclosure by Alexander, see Ps.-Meth.8, pp.72-5; Tiburtina, p.186; Bede's Sib., col.1185; Godfrey, Pantheon 16.24, p.146f.; Haymo, in Apoc.7.20, col.1187; Xn.Druthmarus, in Matt.56, col.1456; Bruno Ast., in Apoc.6.20, col.714f.; Honorius, de Imag.Mundi 1.11, col.123; Chron.S.Pantal., col.712f.; Lambert, Lib.Flor. 79, p.188f. (69), written c.1120, has a map of the World, showing Gog and Magog to the east, near India and beyond Babylon, beyond the 'Mare Caspium' and a range of mountains. See also Anderson, Alexander's Gate, passim; G.Cary, The Medieval Alexander, pp.130f., 295f.

Not only does the Ps.Methodius' description of the Last Emperor's reign. (see above, p.73) closely resemble descriptions of the Millennium, but also Gog and Magog appear at its end, as they came at the end of the Messianic Kingdom in Jewish tradition, see above, p. 24f. Curiously, they make no appearance in the early, chiliastic period of Christianity - except, perhaps, in Commodianus, Instructiones 42, p.455.

2. '.....et tollit rex coronam de capite suo et ponet eam super crucem, et expandit manus suas in caelum et tradit regnum christianorum Deo et patri et adsumetur crux in caelum simul cum coronam regis... Et cumque exaltabitur crux in celum sursum, etiam tradet continuo spiritum suum Romanorum rex. Tunc destruetur omnem principatum et potestatem, ut appareat manifestus filius perditionis'; Ps.-Meth.14, p.93f. The whole account of the Last Emperor is ibid.13f., pp.88-94. Whereas Antichrist had previously appeared at the commencement of the Millennium, he now moves to the end of the Emperor's reign, since he must come at the end of the Roman Empire and immediately precede Christ's Second Coming.

3. Kampers, in pursuance of his thesis of a continuous Last Emperor tradition from the time of the late Roman Empire, adduced in its support Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne, Epist.78, p.345; but Alcuin's relief at the presence of Charlemagne in the Last Days - like

Louis IV of France, Adso of Moutier-en-Der wrote his 'Libellus de Ortu et Tempore Antichristi',¹ which closely followed the Pseudo-Methodius in the passages concerning the Last Emperor.² Adso's treatment of his reign is, however, very brief:

...one of the kings of the Franks shall wield Roman rule undiminished in the last times. And he will be the greatest and last of all kings. After he has governed the kingdom happily, he will eventually go to Jerusalem and lay down his sceptre and crown on the Mount of Olives.³

Shortly after the appearance of Adso's Libellus, at the end of the tenth century or in the earliest years of the eleventh, a fourth-century version of the Tiburtine Sibyl was re-edited and the passages from the Pseudo-Methodius concerning the Last Emperor grafted on. This version has been lost, but Sackur edited a text derived from it, composed under Conrad II (1024-39) in north Italy, in which the Last Emperor is restored in all his millenarian glory.⁴

(p.74, n.3) Agobard's at the presence of Louis the Pious, see above, p.40 - falls well short of a nomination to the rôle of Last Emperor. See Kampers, Kaiseridee, p.35 and n.3, p.186.

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1. Text of Adso in Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte, pp.105-13; there is a translation in J.Wright, The Play of Antichrist, pp.100-110.
 2. The only important innovation is that the Last Emperor has become a Frankish king; Alexander, Last Roman Emperor, p.61. Note also that he lays down his regalia on the Mount of Olives, rather than on Golgotha as in the Ps.-Methodius.
 3. '...unus ex regibus Francorum Romanum imperium ex integro tenebit, qui in novissimo tempore erit. Et ipse erit maximus et omnium regum ultimus. Qui postquam regnum feliciter gubernaverit, ad ultimum Ierosolimam veniet et in monte Oliveti sceptrum et coronam suam deponet'; Adso, p.110.
 4. Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte, pp.177-87; dating in Alexander, Oracle of Baalbek, p.3.

The revival of speculation about the Last Emperor reflected at an intellectual level what would appear to have been a general revival of imminent eschatology towards the millennium of Christ's incarnation. Christian writers, since about the time of Augustine, had consistently used the assertion that the End was nigh as a form of moral reinforcement; but none had reflected an imminent, living tradition: they merely looked around them and noted the moral turpitude of their lesser brethren and the decay of the world, or made elaborate calculations based on the age of the world and fanciful reading of Scripture. Their conclusion that the world's end was imminent carried with it the implication that they could congratulate themselves upon being among the Elect and the message that everyone else should be like them while there was still time.

Sometimes, however, these speculations did aspire to the condition of apparently genuine concern. Agobard of Lyons - like Alcuin - may have been essentially concerned to flatter the Emperor, but he did go so far as to suggest the collation of Antichrist-lore - a not entirely impractical suggestion, since there was very little anyone could do about Antichrist, except recognise him for what he was and take evasive action.¹ The clergy assembled at Trosley in 909 acknowledged with considerable trepidation that they would have to accept responsibility at the imminent Last Judgment for the lamentable moral state of their flocks.² Queen Gerberga was sufficiently concerned about the apocalyptic process and its imminence to ask Adso to compile an account of it in which he was able to reassure her that the End was still some way off.³ In about 1011, a monk enjoyed an elaborate vision of Heaven and Hell and the Last Things, during which he was told that the time was short,⁴ and Glaber, in the middle of the eleventh century, was obsessed by a sense of apocalyptic imminence.⁵ About 1090, a provincial synod was held at Ravenna to refute the announcement by Bishop Rainer of Florence that Antichrist had already been born; and in 1106 Pope Paschal II had to hold a synod in Florence itself to deal with him, which was interrupted by the popular excitement the affair provoked.⁶

1. See above, p. 40 & n.5; 74, n.3.

2. Concilium Troslejanum, col.266.

3. Adso deduced, p.110, that the End was still some way off because the Roman Empire still survived as the French monarchy; on the survival of Rome until the end of the world, see above, p. 43ff.

4. Chron.Hugo 2, p.390, written about a century later.

5. See above, p. 40, n.5 (on p.41).

6. See C.Erdmann, 'Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert', in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 51, (1932), pp.386-93, where he prints the relevant texts.

It is difficult, however, to separate such genuine apocalyptic concern, not only from moral reinforcement, but also from political propaganda expressed as Antichrist designations. The habit of projecting this monstrous apocalyptic rôle on to political opponents dates from the earliest appearances of Antichrist;¹ the identification with Nero became traditional,² and, during the fourth century, Hilary of Poitiers identified the arian Emperor Constantius with Antichrist.³ But the practice, like other manifestations of applied apocalyptic, fell into disuse. When Gregory of Tours described the self-appointed Messiah from Bourges, who announced his divinity in 591, as 'that Christ, who should rather be called an Antichrist'⁴ he was really just playing with words and alluding, not to the Antichrist, but to Christ's prophecy of false Christs and prophets.⁵

1. See above, p. 26.

2. See above, p.27f; also Commodianus, Instructiones 41, p.454; Carmen 823 seq., p.168 seq.; Victorinus. Apoc.13.16, p.425; Lactantius, 'Of the Manner in which the Persecutors Died' 2, A.N.C.L.22, p.166; J.Chrysostom, in 2 Thess.4.1, col.486; Oecumenius, (spur.) in 2 Thess.2, col.119; Sulpicius, Dialogus 2.14, col.211f.; 'Historia Sacra' 2.28f., P.L.20, col.144f.; Jerome, Daniel.11, col. 568; Augustine, Civ.Dei 20.19.3, col.686; Quodvultdeus, de Promiss. 4.8, col.845; Sedulius, in 2 Thess.2, col.223; Werner, Deflor.1, col.744; Anon., in 2 Thess. (attrib.Hugo) Q.9, col.591; Herveus, in 2 Thess.2, col.1393; Otto, Chron.3.16, p.181; see also Haymo, in Apoc.6.17, col.1145f.; and O.M.Dalton, The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours, vol.2, p.481. And see Kampers, Kaiseridee, pp.9,14.

3. Hilarius, 'Liber contra Constantium Imperatorem' 5, P.L.10, col. 581. Constantius earned Hilary's wrath by his refusal to grant a hearing of his attack on Saturnius, the arian bishop of Arles, Altaner, Patrology, p.426.

4. 'Christus ille, qui magis Antichristus nominari debet'; Hist. Franc. 10.25, col.557. For an account of the heretic's career and sticky end, see Cohn, Millennium, p.41f.

5. Gregory Tours, op.cit.10.25, col.556; see Mt.24.11,23f.

An early tenth century chronicler, describing the ravages of the Saracens in Italy in 865, implied this identification by quoting 2nd Thessalonians and the Revelation,¹ but its real revival did not come until the Council of Rheims in 991, when Arnulf of Orleans initiated a new and profitable line by identifying the Papacy with Antichrist, and provoked a response in kind from the papal party.²

Accusations flew thick and fast during the Investiture Contest. At a synod held in Milan during the 1060s, the deacon Ambrose attacked the patarene leaders, Ariald and Landulf, as the faithless, devil-inspired prophets foretold in the last times by Paul.³ Shortly after the election, in 1080, of Guibert of Ravenna as the antipope Clement III, Bishop Gevehard of Salzburg wrote to Herman of Metz. that the election represented Christendom leaning towards Antichrist and worshipping Nebuchadnezzar's statue.⁴ In 1087, Victor III attacked Clement as a precursor of Antichrist,⁵ and about twenty years later the chronicler Hugo described Clement as having taken up Antichrist's work and saw Henry IV's capture of Rome in 1084 in similar terms, as the abomination of desolation.⁶ Henry's receiving of bribes from candidates for the vacant abbacy of Fuldo, in 1075, provoked Lambert of Hersfeld to lament:

Oh, what behaviour, what times! Oh, abomination of desolation standing where it ought not, and mammon sitting publicly in our times in the Temple of God and exalting itself above all that is called God or that is worshipped.⁷

In 1103, Paschal II wrote to Robert of Flanders to thank him for taking action against schismatics in Liège, adherents of Henry IV, whom he identified with Antichrist.⁸ Benzo of Alba, a master of

1. 'Chronicon Casinense' 28, M.G.S.S.3, p.229, quoting 2 Ths.2.8 and Rev.2.16.

2. See above, p.40, n.5 (on p.41).

3. Landulfi Hist.Med.3.24, p.91; see 1 Tim.4.1-3.

4. Chron.Hugo 2, p.460.

5. Petrus Diaconus (1075-1139), 'Chronica monasterii Casinensis; auctore Petro Diacono' 3.72, M.G.S.S.7, p.751.

6. Chron.Hugo 2, pp.459-61, where he alludes, in connection with Henry, to Rev.13.14f. and Mk.13.14.

7. 'Et ô mores, ô tempora! o abominationem desolationis stantem in loco ubi non debet, et mammonam nostris temporibus publice sedentem in templo Dei extollentem se supra omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur!'; 'Lamberti Hersfeldensis Annales (to 1077)', M.G.S.S.5, p.236; see Mk.13.14; 2 Ths.2.4.

8. 'Nullum profectò gratius Deo sacrificium offerre poteris, quam si eum impugnes qui se contra Deum erexit, qui ecclesiae Dei regnum auferre conatur qui in loco sancto Simonis idolum statuit....'; 'Epistolae Paschalis II Papae' 24 ('ad Robertum Flandrensium Comitem') R.H.G.F.15, p.26.

vituperation, demonstrated just how literally such identifications should be taken. He set up Hildebrand as Antichrist as early as 1063:

Prandellus (i.e. Hildebrand) has revealed himself to be
Antichrist....

The false monk Prandellus has a thousand vices;
We recognise his deformities and leperous flesh
As we rescue the Church from his evil.
This veritable Satan assumes angelic appearance
And the man of perdition sits in the Temple of Peter.¹
The time has come for the highest judge to destroy him.¹

But it is difficult to believe that Benzo, despite his obvious enthusiasm for his topic, really meant that Hildebrand was Antichrist, for, if that was the case, there was no point in the imperial party trying to overthrow him - indeed, they were wasting valuable time which could have been better spent fleeing to the mountains.² Moreover when, in 1086, Benzo inserted this passage unaltered in the final version of his work, his Antichrist had been dead for a year.³

Gregory VII was not to be outdone. He announced, in 1077, that Henry IV and Rudolf of Swabia were limbs of Antichrist and, in 1080, that Guibert of Ravenna was Antichrist and a heresiarch.⁴ That was not all: the bishops of Lombardy were precursors of Antichrist⁵ and kings and princes who set their own interests above God's were limbs of Antichrist⁶ - a label which he also

1. 'Seque esse Antichristum Prandellus innotuit....
Falsus monachus Prandellus habet mille vicia,
Quem cognoscimus deformem, carne leprositia,
Ab aecclesia tollendus hac sola malicia.
Angeli vultum assumit Sathanus verissimus,
Et in templo Petri sedet homo perditissimus;
Tempus est, ut eum perdat Discretor altissimus.'

Benzo, ad Hen.IV 6.2, p.659; see 2 Ths.2.3f.

2. The elect flee, see above, p.52, and Mt.24.16.

3. On the dating of Benzo, see Erdmann, Endkaiserglaube, pp.403-7.

Benzo also identified Hildebrand with Antichrist elsewhere: op.cit. 2.4; 3.10; 6.6, pp.614,626,666; and his followers as 'hiis antichrist-alibus' at 5.1, p.648.

4. Gregory VII, Reg.4.24; 8.5, pp.337,522.

5. Ibid. 1.11.15, pp.18,23f., writing in June and July, 1073.

6. Ibid.4.2, p.295, writing in August, 1076.

attached to the usurping bishop of Terouanne, Lambert.¹

Such accusations and counter-accusations cannot be taken at all literally, but, at the same time, they must have contributed to a general atmosphere in which apocalyptic terminology was becoming increasingly familiar and eschatological ideas and fears achieving an increasing currency at all levels of society.

People had long indulged in apocalyptic panics, an almost automatic response to any unsettling event. In 763, stars falling from the sky provoked a general terror that the world was about to end,² and there were similar scares in 840, as the result of a solar eclipse,³ and in 945.⁴ On December 22, 968, Otto I was leading his troops into Calabria when the sun was eclipsed; his soldiers were seized with terror, believing that the Day of Judgment had come, and cowered in wine-barrels, luggage-chests and under wagons, to the amazement of the more rational members of the army who had to entice them out.⁵ In 975, Lorraine was engulfed by the fear that the world would end in 992, since in that year the Day of the Annunciation fell on Good Friday.⁶

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1. Gregory, Reg. 9.35, p.624, writing in 1083; also Epist.Coll.42, p.569f. Gregory had also announced, Reg.4.1, p.289f., in July, 1076, that Antichrist was busy everywhere through his limbs. Out of the political arena, see also the early-12th century 'Chronicon Sancti Huberti Andaginensis' 71, M.G.S.S.8, p.605, where heretics are teeth in the jaws of Antichrist and the Bishop of Liège is his satellite; Ivo (d.1116), Decretum 4.6; 12.19; 17.104, cols.265,785,1009; Rupert (d.1135), in Apoc.1.1, cols.853,855; 'Magister Adami Gesta Hammenburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum' (written c.1075) 2.55, M.G.S.S.7, p.326; St. Bernard, Epist.252, col.452; and Epist.336, col.539, where he identified Peter Abelard as a precursor of Antichrist.
 2. 'Stellae subito visae de coelo cecidisse, ita omnes exterruerunt, ut putarent finem mundi imminere'; 'Annales Xantenses' (to 874), M.G.S.S.2, p.222; see also Sigebert of Gembloux (c.1030-1112), 'Chronica', M.G.S.S.6, p.333.
 3. 'Andreae Presbyteri Bergomatis Chronicon' (9th century) 11, M.G.S.S.3, p.235.
 4. 'Annales Sancti Maximini Trevirensis' (to 987), M.G.S.S.2, p.213.
 5. 'Anselmi Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium' 24, M.G.S.S.7, p.202; Anselm received an eye-witness account from the bishop Wazo.
 6. '...fama pene totum mundum impleverat, quod, quando Annuntiatio Dominica in Parasceve contigisset absque ullo scrupulo finis saeculi esset'; Abbo of Fleury, 'Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum Reges Francorum', P.L.139, col.472.

The news of the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by the Calif al-Hākīm, which reached the West in 1010, caused a scare¹ and there may have been others in 1014 and 1033.² In 1064, a great number of pilgrims set off to be in Jerusalem for Easter 1065, since many of them believed that the Last Judgment was to occur then:

At that time many noblemen went to Jerusalem, to visit the Holy Sepulchre, deceived by the common opinion, that the Day of Judgment was at hand, since Easter that year fell on March 27, which is the day of the resurrection of Christ. Inspired by this terror, not only common folk, but even leaders of the people, notable for their birth and rank, and the bishops of several cities, marked by great glory and the highest honour, left their country, families and fortunes to take up their crosses and follow Christ along the narrow way.³

Abbo's Lorraine rumour had expected the End when the feast of the Annunciation - a fixed festival celebrated on March 25 - coincided with Good Friday. When Good Friday comes on March 25, Easter must follow on the 27th; so the people of Lorraine and the participants in the pilgrimage of 1064-65 were responding to the same belief, one which must, moreover, have enjoyed widespread popularity and which proved tenacious over a long period of time.⁴

1. William Godell, 'Chronicon' 4, R.H.G.F.10, p.262, writing at least 60 years later.

2. E.Pognon, L'An Mille, p.xi, lists, among the alleged terrors of 1000, a panic of 1014 described by the 'Annales Quedlinburgenses', M.G.S.S.3, p.82f., which, however, evidences no explicit apocalyptic motivation. Neither is there anything explicitly apocalyptic about the panic of 1033 described in a contemporary excerpt 'Ex Miraculis S.Agili', R.H.G.F.10, p.364f.; but the account of swords of fire inspiring fears and rumours, leading to a penitential procession accompanied by thunder and hail, is very suggestive.

3. 'Eo tempore multi nobiles ibant Ierosolimam, invisere sepulchrum Domini, quadam vulgari opinione decepti, quasi instaret dies iudicii eo quod pascha illo anno evenisset sexto Kalend. Aprilis, quo scribitur resurrectio Christi. Quo terrore permoti non solum vulgares, sed et populorum primores, genere et dignitate insignes, et ipsi diversarum civitatum episcopi, magna gloria et summo honore fulti, patriam, cognatos et divitias reliquerunt, et per artam viam crucem baiolantes Christum secuti sunt'; 'Vita Altmanni Episcopi Pataviensis' 3, M.G.S.S.12, p.230. See Erdmann, Endkaiserglaube, p.385; and E.Joranson, 'The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-1065', in L.J.Paetow (ed.), The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by His Former Students, pp.3-43, and especially p.12f.

4. Joranson, Great German Pilgrimage, p.12f., n.30; this coincidence, he points out, occurred in 908, 970, 981, 992 and 1065. He also points out that the apocalyptic overtones of the pilgrimage are corroborated by the Ann.Altahenses Maiores, an.1065, p.815, written less than ten years after the event and setting it up as the fulfillment of Lk.21.24 and Rom.11.25.

Similarly long-lived was the popular concern aroused by Bishop Rainer's announcement that Antichrist had already been born.¹ When, shortly before the First Crusade, the synod of Ravenna wrote to him to refute his assertion, they noted the consternation he had caused among the people. This excitement still had not died down some fifteen years later when, in 1106, the Synod of Florence was held to refute him on his home ground:

...that year the lord Pope held a council in Tuscany at Florence, to dispute the assertion of the bishop of that place, that Antichrist was already born. But the mob of people who gathered in a hysterical tumult to hear the outcome of the discussion prevented the dispute from being discussed or the council from being brought to a satisfactory conclusion.²

A panic in Liège in 1117 spread to other towns in Lorraine³ and there were further scares in 1134⁴ and 1141.⁵ In Liège again, in 1145, the canons of the Church of St. Lambert were so terrified by a series of dreadful storms, in which one of their number was killed by a thunderbolt, that they expected the Last Judgment and, praying in a frenzy of terror at the altar of the Virgin Mary, left their teeth marks in the stone of the altar.⁶

1. See above, p.76.

2. '...eo anno domnus papa in Tusciam apud Florentiam concilium celebravit, in quo cum episcopo loci de Antichristo, quia eum natum dicebat, satis disputatum est, sed frequentia populi, qui ob audiendam rei novitatem hinc inde confertim tumultuatimque confluxerat, nec concilium finem nec disputatio deliberationem suscepit'; Peter of Pisa, Vita Paschal.10, col.19, quoted by Erdmann, Endkaiserglaube, p.386f.

3. The original panic was caused by an earthquake and thunderstorm; it spread after floods and clouds of fire or blood; see Ekkehard of Aura, (writing c.1125) 'Chronicon Universale', M.G.S.S.6, p.252f.; also 'Annalista Saxo' (to 1139), M.G.S.S.6, p.754.

4. A thunderstorm sparked it off; 'Continuatio Burburgensis' (an. 1114-64), M.G.S.S.6, p.457.

5. The immediate inspiration was a great storm accompanied by supernatural manifestations; human heads and monstrous birds were seen. But the period was also marked by freakish weather, which caused famine and floods, and the birth of a child with two heads and three hands. 'Balduini Ninovensius Chronicon', M.G.S.S.25, p.531f., writing about a century later.

6. Aegidii Auraevall.Gesta 3.29, p.102. Such feats of dental prowess were apparently not uncommon in the twelfth century; C.R.Beazley, The Dawn of Modern Geography, vol.2, p.125, relates the story of how, earlier in the century, Fulk Nerra the Black, visiting the Holy Sepulchre, 'contrived to bite off a piece of the rock with his "teeth of iron"'.

Despite the reinterpretation of Gog and Magog in allegorical terms,¹ any invading barbarian tribe was likely to be identified by a terrified populace with the hordes whose coming heralded the end of the world. Jerome noted the identification of the Scythians with Gog and Magog, and Augustine, Primasius, Haymo of Auxerre and Bruno of Asti (d.1123) of the Getae and Messagetae; all expressed their disapproval and pointed out the Church's true, allegorical interpretation.² In the mid-ninth century, Christian Druthmarus identified the Huns with Gog and Magog.³ At the end of the tenth century, Remi of Auxerre went into the matter in considerable detail, in a letter to the Bishop of Verdun:

First I must dismiss as frivolous and utterly without truth the opinion which has gripped innumerable men as much in your part of the world as in mine, whereby the Hungarians, that race odious to God, are thought to be Gog and Magog...Men say that these are the Last Times and that the end of the world is imminent, and for that reason they identify as Gog and Magog the Hungarians, who have never been heard of before their recent appearance.⁴

He went on to repeat Jerome's report of the identification with the Scythians in association with the Jewish error of belief in the Millennium, before passing on to the true interpretation as heretics and their followers, who persecute the Church at the instigation of the devil.⁵ In about 1075, Adam of Bremen nominated the Goths,⁶ and at about the same time Benzo of Alba cast the Normans of Sicily in the rôle in his own apocalyptic scenario.⁷

1. See above, p. 69f.

2. Jerome, in Ezech.11.38, col.356f.; Augustine, Civ.Dei 20.11, col. 676f.; Primasius, super Apoc.5.20, col.918; Haymo, in Apoc.7.20, col. 1186f.; Bruno Ast., in Apoc.6.20, col.714f. (or Goths)

See also Quodvultdeus, de Promiss.4.13, col.848; Otto, Chron.1.4, p.133.

3. Xn.Druthmarus, in Matt.56, col.1456.

4. 'Ac primum dicendum opinionem quae innumeros tam in vestra quam in nostra regione pervasit, frivolum esse, et nihil verum se habere, qua putatur Deo odibilis gens Hungrorum esse Gog et Magog...Dicunt enim nunc esse novissimum saeculi tempus finemque imminere mundi, et idcirco Gog et Magog esse Hungros, qui nunquam ante auditi sunt, sed modo in novissimo temporum apparuerunt'; Remi of Auxerre, 'Epistolae duae R. ad D.Episcopum Verdunensem', in an appendix to Remi's writings, P.L. 131, col.966. It is interesting to note that the identification was apparently the result of an already general belief that the end of the world was imminent.

5. Remi, Epist., col.966f. See Jerome, in Ezech.11.38, col.356f.

6. Magister Adami Gesta 1.28, p.295.

7. See below, p.87.

In christian apocalyptic, the prophetic tradition dated back to Montanus¹ and to Christ himself. In the third century, Origen had allowed Celsum to parody wandering preachers, claiming to be Christ and announcing the end of the world,² and although the prophet of 591, described by Gregory of Tours as an Antichrist, had no apocalyptic message,³ the practice had become sufficiently well established for the prophetess Thiota to turn it to her financial advantage in 847 and attract a considerable following of laity and even clergy with her message of impending doom, until dealt with by the Council of Mayence.⁴ Towards the middle of the tenth century, in Paris, the young Abbo of Fleury heard and refuted a prophet who announced for 1000 the coming of Antichrist, to be closely followed by the Last Judgment;⁵ and it would appear that, in 960, a hermit named Bernard of Thuringia convinced a considerable number of people that the End was nigh - although others took him less seriously.⁶ About 1128, St. Norbert announced the birth of Antichrist within a generation⁷ and in 1148 a council was called at Rheims to deal with a certain 'Eun' (usually known as Eudes de l'Etoile) who attracted a large following with his announcement that the formula 'per eum qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem' - 'through him who is to come to judge the living and the dead and the world by fire' - applied to himself.⁸

1. See above, p. 32.

2. Origen, Celsum 7.9, p.402.

3. See above, p. 77.

4. She admitted to the Council that she had been put up to it by a priest, and that the sole aim was financial gain, 'Annales Fuldenses' (to 863), M.G.S.S.1, p.365; Sigebert, Chron., an.848, p.339.

5. Abbo, Apologeticus, col.471.

6. Joannis Trithemius, Annales Hirsaugienses (2nd edition, 1690), vol.1, p.103. Although this account is very late, one aspect of Bernard's career, the mysterious appearance of crosses on men's clothes, is corroborated by a number of earlier sources: Chron.S. Pantal., col.893; 'Annales Hildesheimenses' and 'Annales Quedlinburgenses', an.958, both in M.G.S.S.3, p.60; 'Widukindi Res Gestae Saxonicae' 3.61, M.G.S.S.3, p.462. This suggests that Trithemius' account of Bernard, unlike his notorious account of the terrors of 1000, *ibid.*, p.143 - and see below, p.85, n.1 - may well have been founded in fact.

Neither episode is present in the 1st edition of 1559.

7. St. Bernard, Epist. 56, col.162f.

8. 'Continuatio Praemonstratensis' (1114-55), M.G.S.S.6, p.454.

There is a full account of his career and death in Cohn, Millennium, p.44ff.

On 12th century heresiarchs, see further R.I. Moore, 'The Cult of the Heresiarch', paper read at the Second International Congress of Ecclesiastical History held at Oxford, September, 1974.

The famous legend that, as the millennium of Christ's incarnation approached, Europe was gripped by a terror that the world was about to end has been dismissed as a mere fiction by historians since the late nineteenth century,¹ and a picture of vague uneasiness and localised, unexceptional outbursts of apocalyptic activity substituted. On the whole I accept this; but the ease with which these historians have been able to dispose of the case for a pavlovian reaction to the number 1000 has led them to overstate their own case for 'business as usual'.² There does seem to be evidence of a revival of imminent eschatology during the period leading up to the millennium and on to the time of the First Crusade.

The frequency of apocalyptic scares - sparse and unreliable though the evidence may be - would appear to have increased. With the Investiture Contest, the terminology of apocalyptic abuse had moved into the standard political vocabulary and, no doubt, into the streets. The Last Emperor legend, although available to the West since about 700, had never caught on until revived by Adso in 954 and by the editor of the Tiburtine Sibyl around 1000.³ At about that time Liudprand of Cremona, visiting Constantinople, noted that the Greeks and Saracens possessed books which they called 'Visions of Daniel', but which he knew as Sibylline Books⁴ -

1. See Dom.F.Plaine, 'Les prétendues terreurs de l'an mille', in Revue des Questions Historiques 13 (1873), pp.145-64; R.Rosières, 'La Légende de L'An mil', in Revue Politique et Littéraire. Revue des Cours Littéraires, 2^e série, vol.13, 7^e année (1877-78), pp.919-24; J.Roy, L'An Mille. Formation de la légende de l'an mille. Etat de la France de l'an 950 à l'an 1050; G.L.Burr, 'The Year 1000 and the Antecedents of the Crusades', in American Historical Review 6 (1900-01), pp.429-39; F.Duval, Les terreurs de l'an mille; A.Vasiliev, 'Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East', in Byzantion 16 (1942-43), pp.476-87; E.Pognon, L'An Mille; G.Duby, L'an mil; P.Wolff, The Awakening of Europe, pp.116-118; and see P.Alphandéry and A.Dupront, La Chrétienté et l'Idée de Croisade, vol.1, p.24f. The legend is attested by Trithemius, Chron.Hirsau., vol.1, p.143, and by W.Robertson, 'A View of the Progress of Society in Europe from the Subversion of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century', in The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V, (1769), vol.1, pp.23,238f. It has proved remarkably tenacious, for a number of people have expressed belief in it, in conversation, unprompted by myself. It also appears in H.Junker, 'The Apocalypse of Our Time is Over', in Rolling Stone 76 (Feb. 18, 1971), p.39, col.2. This article, despite its quaint terminology, conveys some idea of the apocalyptic element that has permeated the 'underground' culture of the last ten years.

2. This is also argued, in different terms, by H.Focillon, L'An Mil, especially pp.39-64.

3. See above, p. 74f.

4. 'Ego autem Sibyllanos'; 'Liudprandi Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana' 39, M.G.S.S.3, p.355.

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which indicates that he had read a version of the Tiburtina, or something similar, in circulation in the West. The works of Adso and the Tiburtine editor represent, in fact, a return to comprehensive, literal apocalypses of the type not seen in the West since the pre-Augustinian period and in vivid contrast to the allegorical contortions of apocalyptic commentators since that time.

That outbursts of popular apocalyptic hysteria may have been more common than the chroniclers - perhaps anxious to cover up the embarrassing folly of the people¹ - reported, is suggested by a remark of Thietmar of Merseburg, who, in 1018, considered it sufficiently significant to note that the disasters of earlier that year had not provoked an apocalyptic panic.² The author of the mid-twelfth century *Vita Altmanni* made the same point - that such scares were a not exceptional phenomenon among the masses - when he remarked that not only common folk, but even noblemen and bishops, had gone on the pilgrimage of 1064-65 in anticipation of the Day of Judgment.³

With this pilgrimage, apocalyptic expectations expressed themselves, for the first time, in the desire to undergo a collective consummation in Jerusalem itself⁴ and, as the idea of the Crusade to Jerusalem developed, during the eleventh century, in the collective consciousness of the West, it picked up the apocalyptic colouring which tinged European thought.

In particular, the idea of a warlike expedition to Jerusalem influenced the legend of the Last Emperor. During the course of the eleventh century, the Tiburtine Sibyl was reissued in a series of different versions, each with adaptations indicative of a living tradition.⁵ The Sibyl could be adapted to any political

1. Erdmann, Endkaiserglaube, p.385, suggests a cover-up concerning the apocalyptic motivation of the pilgrimage of 1064-65, to avoid embarrassing the participants. See also DUBY, L'an mil, p.33ff., where he suggests that there was a cover-up over any panic which may have occurred in 1000 and goes on to present the intriguing hypothesis that Otto III's exhumation of Charlemagne was intended to stress the continuing existence of the Roman Empire and thus counter fears that the End was imminent, for the End could not come, of course, while the Empire lasted.

2. Thietmari Chron.8.4, p.862.

3. See above, p.81, where I quote the relevant passage.

4. Although see Glaber, Hist.4.6, col.680ff., where he describes how the mass of pilgrims going to Jerusalem in 1033 led some observers to conclude that this heralded the coming of Antichrist.

5. See Alexander, Oracle of Baalbek, pp.3f.,60-66.

purpose, so that the editor's political opponents were transformed into monstrous forces of evil, whose activities heralded the final crescendo of the apocalyptic process, centering on the paradisial reign of a representative of the editor's faction. But the central figure, the Last Emperor, tended still to be some way off¹ and his connection with Jerusalem limited to his journey there to surrender his regalia at the end of his reign,² until Benzo of Alba adapted the legend to his own purposes, set up Henry IV as Last Emperor and assigned to him a crusading role. In 1063, he concocted a letter, purportedly from the Greek Emperor Constantine Ducas to Henry, suggesting a joint expedition to the Holy Sepulchre, to be followed by the extirpation of the Normans and pagans, so that 'christiana libertas' might flourish until the end of the world. But by 1086, Benzo had thought better of it and assigned the rôle - now made more explicit - to Henry alone:

There is still a long road ahead of him, as the Sibylline prophecy testifies. For when Apulia and Calabria have been set in order and restored to their former state, Constantinople will witness his coronation. Then he will proceed to Jerusalem where, after worshipping at the Holy Sepulchre and the other Holy Places, he will be crowned to the praise and glory of him who lives for ever. Babylon will be reduced to a state of wonderment, seized by a longing to lick the dust from his feet as he comes to Sion. Then shall be fulfilled what was written: 'And his sepulchre shall be glorious'.³

The Last Emperor's journey to Jerusalem thus acquired warlike attributes and became a sort of Crusade and the prelude to his millenarian reign - something it had never been in the original Sibyl. Finally, this point was made again when, sometime before the fall of Jerusalem in 1099, a passage from the Tiburtina,

1. See Erdmann, Endkaiserglaube, pp.395,402f., on the expectation of the Last Emperor at a time still some way off in two 11th century versions of the Tiburtina, one dating from the reign of Henry II or Conrad II and the other - Usinger's Sibyl, printed in M.G.S.S.22, p.375f. - from the time of the Investiture Contest.

2. See above, p. 74.

3. 'Adhuc enim longa sibi restat via, sicut Sibylle testatur prophetia. Nam ordinatis et in statum pristinum collocatis Apulia scilicet atque Calabria, videbit eum Bizas coronatum in sua patria. Deinceps erit egressio eius usque ad urbem Solimorum, et salutato sepulchro ceterisque dominicis sanctuariis coronabitur ad laudam et gloriam viventis in secula seculorum. Stupens igitur Babylon, desiderans lingere pulverem pedum eius, veniet in Syon. Tunc implebitur quod scriptum est: 'Et erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum'; Benzo, ad Hen.IV 1.15, p.605; see Is.11.10.

The letter of 1063 is at 2.12, p.617.

On these passages, their relation to the Sibylline tradition and the combination by Benzo of apocalyptic and crusading ideology, see Erdmann, Endkaiserglaube, pp.403-8.

suggesting that, after the conversion of the Jews, the Holy Sepulchre would be venerated by all men,¹ was interpolated into Adso's Libellus and acquired a new significance, whereby the Last Emperor's journey took as its objective the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre.² Even when it was still a twinkle in the papal eye, the Crusade had acquired an apocalyptic relation.

1. 'Iudei convertentur ad Dominum, et erit ab omnibus sepulcrum eius gloriosum'; Tiburtina, p.185. See, again, Is.11.10.

2. See P.L.101, col.1296; the passage interpolated is printed by Erdmann, Endkaiserglaube, p.411 - and see pp.408-13 on this interpolation and its significance.

CHAPTER 5.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

1. Popular Reaction to Urban's Crusade Appeal.

The speech which Urban II delivered, on November 27, 1095, to the clerics and laymen assembled in the open air at Clermont has come down to us in the eye-witness accounts of four contemporary chroniclers: Robert the Monk, Baudri of Dol, Fulcher of Chartres and Guibert of Nogent,¹ each of whom had his own ideas about what Urban ought to have said and no qualms about making good any omission. Behind their amendments, Urban's object was essentially remedial: the Crusade would help Christians in the East against the Turks and, by diverting the warlike energies of the West to this task, put an end to what had become a state of virtually endemic civil war in Europe. Various attempts have been made to reconstruct, from the chronicle accounts, Urban's exact argument;² but, for the purposes of this thesis, what he actually said is less important than what he was believed to have said.

According to Fulcher, the Pope stressed the current evils in Europe and pointed out to his audience how, by going to the aid of their brothers in the East, they could kill two birds with one stone.³ Baudri reported that Urban reminded them that it would be better to divert their aggressive instincts against the Saracens, whose offences and desecrations in the Holy Land he enumerated, than against their fellow-Christians. The apocalyptic note crept in when he reminded them of Jerusalem's biblical associations:

1. Robert the Monk, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', in R.H.C.Occ.3, pp. 717-882; Baudri of Dol, 'Historia Jerosolimitana', in R.H.C.Occ.4, pp. 1-111; Fulcher of Chartres, 'Historia Iherosolymitana Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Peregrinantium', in R.H.C.Occ.3, pp. 309-485; Guibert of Nogent, 'Historia quae dicitur: Gesta Dei per Francos', in R.H.C.Occ.4, pp. 113-263.

2. See D.C.Munro, 'The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095', in American Historical Review 11 (1905-06), pp. 231-42; H.E.J.Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade', in History 55 (1970), pp. 177-88.

H.E. Mayer, The Crusades, p.9f. & n.6 on p.290f., gives his own reconstruction and discusses Cowdrey's article and the question of whether Urban waved Jerusalem like a carrot in front of the noses of the faithful. See also S. Runciman, A History of the Crusades: vol. I, The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, p.107f.; on pp. 328-33 he gives a useful summary of the latin sources for the Crusade.

3. Fulcher 1.2f., pp.322-4. Fulcher actually went on the Crusade and wrote up his account in 1101.

The children of Israel who were led out of Egypt and, by their crossing of the Red Sea, prefigured you, appropriated that land, under Joshua's leadership, by force of arms, expelled from there the Jebusites and the other inhabitants and dwelt in the earthly Jerusalem, the image of the heavenly Jerusalem. ¹

Robert's view of the crusade as a whole had a faintly apocalyptic colouring, which spilled over his eye-witness account of Clermont. Urban addressed the assembled crowd as elected and set apart by God. ² He spoke of the sad news from the East and listed the appalling atrocities of the Moslems against Christians, including one of Antichrist's atrocities, enforced circumcision. ³ He reminded the Franks of the deeds of such great rulers as Charlemagne and exhorted them not to allow themselves to be held back by family ties or anxieties about their lands - after all, the present wars in France were the result of over-population. Let them set out, instead, for the land flowing with milk and honey. ⁴ He continued:

1. 'Filiis Israel ab Aegyptiis educti, qui, Rubro Mari transito, vos praefiguraverunt, terram illam armis suis, Jesu duce, sibi vindicaverunt; Jebuseos et alios convenas inde expulerunt; et instar Jerusalem coelestis, Jerusalem terrenam incoluerunt'; Baudri 1.4, p.14 - and see generally pp.12-15. See also Ex.33.2f. Baudri's History is for the most part a rewrite, of about 1110, of the Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum (ed. R.Hill), written before 1101 by an anonymous soldier who went on the Crusade with Bohemond of Antioch and subsequently proceeded to Jerusalem under Tancred.

2. '... a Deo electa et dilecta'; Robert 1.1, p.727; on the sense of election of the Crusaders, see below, pp.162-6. Robert, too, based his History on the Gesta and wrote about 1122.

3. Ibid., p.727f.; also 'Epistula Alexii I Komneni imperatoris ad Robertum I comitem Flandrensem', in H.Hagenmeyer, Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100. Eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, no.1, p.131. This letter is, in fact, a forgery of about the time of the Crusade, circulated for propaganda purposes; see also P.Riant, 'Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades', no.31, in Archives de l'Orient Latin, vol.1, p.71 seq.; E.Joranson, 'The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders', in American Historical Review 55 (1949-50), pp.811-32; K.M. Setton and M.W.Baldwin, A History of the Crusades: vol.1, The First Hundred Years, p.228.

Antichrist enforces circumcision, see above, p.65, n.1.

4. Robert 1.1, p.728, quoting Ex.3.8.

Jerusalem is the navel of the world, a land fruitful above all others and like another paradise of delights. ¹

The idea that Jerusalem stood at the centre of the world ² was common enough. ³ But Robert seems also to have had Urban say that the fully realised goal would be a millenarian kingdom, seen in terms of a return to paradisial conditions in the line of Jewish and early Christian tradition and of the Sibylline vision of the reign of the Last Emperor. ⁴

In Guibert's version of Urban's speech, the figure of Antichrist loomed over the Crusade. Urban began, conventionally enough, by speaking of Jerusalem and of the civil disorders in the West; but the actual call to arms was entirely apocalyptic:

Meanwhile you should consider carefully the revival of Christendom which your mother the Church of Churches wants and which God will perform through you, for he wishes to restore the East to the faith in preparation for the approaching time of Antichrist. It is of course obvious that Antichrist will attack neither the Jews nor the heathen nations, but that he will, as the etymology of his name suggests, concentrate on the Christians. And if he can find no Christians - for there are at present hardly any in the East - there will be nothing for him to destroy and no-one whom he can attack. According to Daniel and Jerome (in his Commentary on Daniel), he is to set up his tent on the Mount of Olives ⁵ and it is certain that he will sit in Jerusalem,

1. 'Iherusalem umbilicus est terrarum, terra prae ceteris fructifera, quasi alter Paradisus deliciarum'; Robert, 1.2, p.729.

2. '... in orbis medio posita', added Robert, loc.cit., to hammer the point home.

3. See Haymo, in Apoc. 2.4, col.1008; Bruno Ast., in Psalm. 49, col. 874; Hist.Farfenses, p.540; Monachi Anonymi Scaphusensis, 'De Reliquiis Sanctissimae Crucis et Dominici Sepuchri', 1, R.H.C.Occ. 5, p.335. The idea was especially popular among the writers of pilgrim guides and accounts: 'The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land' 1.13, trans. J.R.MacPherson, P.P.T.S. 10, p.16f.; 'Relatio de Peregrinatione Saewulfi ad Hierosolyman et Terram Sanctam', trans. Brownlow, P.P.T.S. 21, p.39 (= p.12 of the accompanying English trans.); Fetellus, Description, p.37; J.Würzburg, Description 3; 11, pp.10,34; Theoderich, Description 16, p.28; Anon.Pilgrim 1.2; 3.4; 6.9; 7, pp.2,16,63,70. See Ps. 74.12.

4. See above, pp. 23f., 52ff., 73.

5. See Jerome, Daniel. 11.44f., col.574; and Dan. 11.45.

as the Apostle said, 'in the Temple of God, as if he were God';¹ moreover, according to Daniel again, there can be no doubt that he will first kill because of their Christian faith the kings of Egypt, Libya and Ethiopia.² But he cannot do this until Christianity has been established where there is now paganism. If therefore you study the practise of holy war - so that just as you received from Jerusalem the seed of the idea of God, so you may restore to that place the grace you have borrowed, and so that through you may be spread the catholic name which is to be destroyed by the evil of Antichrist and the enemies of Christ - who can fail to conclude that God, who exceeds all hopes in the abundance of his virtue, will make you the igniting spark whereby the reeds of paganism will be so consumed that he will be able to incorporate Egypt, Libya and Ethiopia, which have fallen away from the communion of our beliefs, within the basic area of his law; and that the 'man of sin, the son of perdition' will thus find opponents?³

The Gospel proclaims: 'Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the gentiles until the time of the nations is fulfilled'.⁴ Now the 'time of the nations' can be understood in two ways. Firstly, that the nations have dominated the Christians at their pleasure and have wallowed unopposed in the filth of all the foulness of their lusts (they are said to have their time, in which they seek to worship all things, as was said: 'My time is not yet come, but your time is always prepared'; whence he used to say to pleasure-seekers, 'You will have you time').⁵ Secondly, the 'time of the nations' is the fulfillment of the nations into which they are to enter before Israel is saved.⁶ This time will perhaps be to some extent fulfilled when, with God's help, you beat back the power of the pagans. With the end of the world now imminent, if the nations are to cease being converted to the Lord, since, according to the apostle, there must be a falling-away from the faith,⁷ it is first necessary before the coming of Antichrist, according to the prophets, for Christian rule to be restored in those areas, either by you or by whomsoever God may choose, so that the head of all evil who is to occupy the throne of that kingdom may find nourishment from the faith against which he is to fight. So consider the

1. See 2 Ths.2.4.

2. See below, p.94, n.1.

3. See 2 Ths.2.3.

4. See Lk.21.24.

5. See Jn.7.6.

6. Israel is saved before the End, see above, p.64.

7. See 2 Ths.2.3, and above, p.45.

possibility that perhaps the Omnipotent has provided you for this task; that he will restore Jerusalem through such a treading-down of you. ¹

1. 'Et est vobis praeterea summa deliberatione pensandum, si ipsam matrem ecclesiarum ecclesiam, vobis elaborantibus, ad Christianitatis cultum refluere, Deo per vos agente, contigerit, ne forte contra propinqua Antichristi tempora ad fidem partes Orientis aliquas restitui velit. Perspicuum namque est, Antichristum, non contra Judaeos, non contra gentes bella facturum; sed, juxta etymologiam sui nominis, Christianos pervasurum. Et, si Antichristus ibidem Christianum neminem, sicuti hodie vix aliquis habetur, inveniat, non erit qui sibi refragetur, aut quem jure pervadet. Juxta enim Danihelem et Iheronimum, Danihelis interpretem, fixurus est in Oliveti monte tentoria; et Iherosolimis, 'in Dei templo, tanquam sit Deus', certum est, apostolo docente, quod sedeat, et juxta eundem prophetam, tres reges, Aegypti videlicet, Affricae et Aethiopiae, haud dubium quin pro Christiana fide primos interficiat. Quod quidem nullatenus fieri poterit, nisi, ubi nunc paganismus est, Christianitas fiat. Si ergo piorum praeliorum exercitio studeatis, ut sicut ab Iherosolimis Dei notitiae seminarium accepistis, ita illic mutuatae redhibitionem gratiae restituatis; ut per vos nomen catholicum propagetur, quod Antichristi Antichristianorumque perfidiae refragetur: quis non conjicere potest quod Deus, qui universorum spem exuberantia virtutis exsuperat, per scintillam vestram tanta paganitatis arundineta consumat, ut Aegyptum, Affricam Aethiopiamque, quae a nostrae credulitatis communiione desciscunt, intra hujus rudimenta legis includat; et 'homo peccator, filius perditionis', aliquos rebelles inveniat? Et ecce Evangelium clamat 'Iherusalem calcandam a gentibus, donec impleantur nationum tempora'. Bifariam intelligi possunt 'tempora nationum': aut quia Christianis ad placitum dominatae sunt, et pro suis libidinibus turpitudinum omnium volutabra sectatae sunt, et in cunctis his nullum obicem habuerunt (tempus enim suum habere dicuntur, quibus ad votum cuncta suppetunt, ut est illud: 'Tempus meum nondum advenit; tempus autem vestrum semper est paratum'; unde et voluptuosis solet dici: 'Vos habetis tempus vestrum'); aut rursus, 'tempora nationum' sunt plenitudines gentium, quae, antequam Israel salvus fiat, subintraturae sunt. Haec tempora, fratres carissimi, modo forsitan implebuntur, dum per vos, Deo cooperante, paganorum potentiae repellentur; et fine saeculi jam propinquo, etsi gentes desinent converti ad Dominum, quia, juxta apostolum, oportet fieri a fide discessionem, primum tamen necesse est, juxta prophetias, ante adventum Antichristi, in illis partibus, aut per vos, aut per quos Deo placuerit, renovari Christianitatis imperium, ut omnium malorum caput, qui ibidem thronum regni habiturus est, fidei aliquid, contra quod pugnet, repperiat nutrimentum. Cogitate itaque quod vos ad hoc Omnipotens fortasse provideat, quatinus Iherusalem per vos a tanta conculcatione restituat'; Guibert 2.4, p.138f.

Guibert used the Gesta and Fulcher, but added important personal information; his account dates from c.1109.

All of Urban's listeners would have agreed that the apocalyptic process, culminating in the Last Judgement and the eternal Kingdom of God - to which the final words of the passage I have quoted seem to look forward - was a desirable thing; but before any of this could come about, Antichrist must come and the tribulations of his reign must be endured. These are the assumptions upon which Guibert's version of the Pope's speech rested. Christianity must be restored in the East so that Antichrist, who, as his name suggested, would not attack Jews or heathens, but only Christians, would have someone to attack. He was soon to come and set himself up in Jerusalem. His first Christian victims were to be the kings of Egypt, Libya and Ethiopia - but they must first be converted to Christianity. So the Crusade must go and do this - all the more urgently since the end of the world was nigh. The Crusade had become a massive exercise in collective self-sacrifice, whose object was to establish a temporary Christian kingdom, centering on Jerusalem and lasting until destroyed by Antichrist. Although the figure of the Last Emperor does not appear, Guibert must have been influenced by Sibylline literature in this concept of a temporary Christian kingdom, founded as the result of a warlike expedition to the East. ¹

Whatever Urban himself may have envisaged, as soon as word of the Crusade left his mouth, the whole thing got out of hand. The Crusade took form in the mind of every individual, not as intended by its initiator, but according to the fantasies projected on to it by each

1. See above, p.73f., on the Last Emperor's temporary millenarian kingdom; and p.86ff. on his warlike expedition to liberate Jerusalem in Benzo and the Adso interpolator.

Guibert returned to this idea later in his chronicle, see below, p. 161. The conversion of the three kings in anticipation of their destruction by Antichrist derives from Dan.7.24; they became three out of the ten last kings who were to be killed at the collapse of the Roman Empire, see Jerome, Daniel.7.8, col.531; Bede, Apoc.3.17, col.184; Haymo, in Apoc.6.17, col.1147; Rupert, in Apoc.7.12, col.1045; and see above, p.45. See also R.W.Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing; 3. History as Prophecy', in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser., 22 (1972), p.163.

There is a fifth account of Clermont by William of Malmesbury, which was written some 30 years after the event and adds nothing of interest; 'De Gestis Regum Anglorum' 4.347, ed. W.Stubbs (Rolls Series), vol.2, pp.393-8; and see also 4.344, p.390, where William imputes purely political motives to Urban.

individual imagination. Urban had perhaps counted on unleashing frustrated martial energies and land hunger, simple piety, obedience to Rome, fraternal feelings for eastern Christians, the desire for adventure, and so forth. But he was clearly not prepared for the extraordinary response he met, not only among the People's Crusade, but among the rank and file of the official expedition. Baudri described the spontaneous spreading of the call to the Crusade among the poor through 'mutual, sermon-like exhortations':¹

The bishops preached and laymen shouted the word abroad unrestrainedly; the word of God was sown and each day the number of Crusaders grew....men exhorted each other in both secluded and busy places, so that everyone discussed it. No doubt to hasten this process, certain divine signs were said to have occurred, of whose veracity I am not altogether ignorant.²

Norman Cohn has suggested that the extraordinary success of Urban's appeal can be attributed to the fact that the Crusade provided an ideal vehicle for the resolution of the anxieties and insecurities of the poor at the end of the eleventh century. The People's Crusade centred on northern France, Flanders and the Rhine Valley, areas where over-population and rapid economic and social change were beginning to have their effect. The settled agricultural life which had been the norm for generations had never been easy. Life was lived on a bare subsistence level, where a bad harvest could lead to famine; and, apart from the weather, there had been the invasions of the Northmen and Magyars³ and the disruption of private feudal wars. Even when there was no such disruption by weather or warfare, the peasants lived in a degrading condition of dependence and servitude, subject to the various feudal dues and services.

1. Mayer, Crusades, p.12.

2. 'Praedicabant episcopi, et voce liberiori jam illud idem vociferabantur laici; verbum Dei seminabatur, et quotidie numerus Jerosolimitanorum augebatur....alii alios cohortabantur, et in angulis et in compitis, inde singuli sermocinabantur. Nimirum pro his agendis dicunt quaedam divinitus contigisse signa, quae nos omnino non ignoramus vera'; Baudri 1.6, p.16; see also Guibert 2.6, p.140f.

3. On the barbarian invasions of the 9th and 10th centuries and the abject terror they inspired among the people of Europe, see M.Bloch, Feudal Society, (trans. L.A.Manyon), pp.3-56.

The invaders are identified with Gog and Magog, see above, p.83.

But despite the hardship, poverty and dependence of agricultural society, the individual peasant was ultimately secure. The purpose of social institutions - of all forms and at all levels of society - has always been to relieve men of the almost unsupportable responsibility for their own existences. The peasantry of the period around 1000 were relieved of this responsibility by custom, communal routine, ties of kinship and the Church. Village life centred around an agricultural routine which was collective and based on long custom - as, too, were social relationships. Relations with the Lord were likewise customary and also mutual, since the Lord was equally subject to custom and, in an age when population was still sparse, dependent on his peasants for their labour. The peasantry were further supported by ties of kinship and the whole edifice - as well as any deeper questions - was shored up by the presence of the village priest.

Living from day to day upheld by this web of custom and mutual obligation, with its metaphysical sanctions, the peasant was protected from anything which might threaten his ontological security. He need never ask any question penetrating to the core of his self, since that self seemed to lie outside, finding its existence and expression in material things, other persons and the complex web of interdependence that bound them all together.

The network of social relationships into which a peasant was born was so strong and was taken so much for granted that it precluded any very radical disorientation. So long as that network remained intact peasants enjoyed not only a certain material security but also - which is even more relevant - a certain sense of security, a basic assurance which neither constant poverty nor occasional peril could destroy.¹

But this state of affairs changed as, from the eleventh century, areas of Europe became sufficiently peaceful for the population to increase and commerce to develop. By the time of the First Crusade, the agricultural system of north-eastern France, the Low Countries and the Rhinelands could no longer support the population. Much of the surplus population drifted into the towns - especially the restless, ambitious, imaginative, and so forth, chafing under the restrictions of life under the manorial system.

1. Cohn, Millennium, p.56.

Life in the towns opened out undreamt of possibilities, and for those who 'made good' new forms of security replaced those left behind in the villages. But those who did not make a success of their new lives felt their poverty and failure all the more keenly in the urban context. Their feelings of disorientation were far greater than under the manorial regime, for they now lacked that body of custom and network of social relationships which had sustained them. There was no longer anything to protect them from the harsh winds of reality; the responsibility for their own existences could no longer be laid on other people and material things - it rested with the individual alone.

This was a burden which the urban poor could not bear, and it was the absolute necessity for something on to which it could be off-loaded that projected them along the road to Jerusalem. The situation in which they found themselves at the end of the eleventh century was not necessarily worse than anything they might have suffered previously; it was simply that they found it more intolerable. They needed a supportative belief system to relieve them of the responsibility for their own existences, and it was this that the Crusade, considered as an apocalyptic movement, supplied. ¹

The Crusade, as preached by Urban, was not in any way apocalyptic - indeed, I have been unable to discover any sense of apocalyptic imminence anywhere in Urban's writings; but it acquired apocalyptic attributes because it was a religious, collective movement, involving a physical journey towards a promise of salvation; and perhaps also because the idea of the Crusade had acquired apocalyptic overtones even before it was actually preached, as in the writings of Benzo and the Adso interpolator. ² Whether or not Urban actually set up Jerusalem as the goal, it soon became so and its eschatological associations - together with the intoxicating widening of geographical horizons which the mere mention of its name must have produced - completed the process whereby the Crusade became an apocalyptic movement for those who had need of one.

1. This argument owes much to Cohn, Millennium, pp.53-60.

2. See above. p. 86ff

The most serious blasts of reality with which the poor had to cope were the signs and disasters that buffeted them.¹ Conditions during most of the eleventh century had, apparently, not been too intolerable. But the years 1085-1095 had seen a decade of uninterrupted calamity: rainstorms, floods and drought had destroyed the harvests and there had been famine, deaths and the re-appearance of the St. Anthony's Fire - and the areas most ravaged were precisely those from which the popular Crusade drew its following.² Bernold of Constance related that the plague of 1094 caused so many deaths that there was no room in the cemeteries and the dead had to be buried in trenches. People reacted with an hysterical return to piety:

Many people, as their deaths became a probability, took confession and did penance and left; but those who were too infirm to travel had to accept that their days were numbered. In fact, almost all the weak and aged prepared themselves for the certainty of their own deaths, although they had never before done anything holy. But now they abstained from worldly vanities - such as jokes, the frequenting of taverns and other worthless pursuits of that sort - and incessantly ran to do confession and penance and to commend themselves to the priests.³

An apocalyptic movement could explain such tribulations and deprive them of their terror by transforming them from inexplicable blows of fate, or of a vengeful or capricious divinity, into the Messianic Woes, the death-throes of the old order and the birth-pangs of the new, and a necessary prelude to a future but imminent state of bliss.

1. On the relation between disaster and millenarianism see, with a pinch of salt, M. Barkun, Disaster and the Millennium.

2. See Cohn, Millennium, p.63, and Alphandéry & Dupront, Chrétienté, vol. 1, pp.44-8, both of which cite T. Wolff, Die Bauernkreuzzüge des Jahres 1096, p.108 seq. See also Runciman, 1st Crusade, p.114f.

3. 'Nam maxima multitudo cum penitentia et confessione et probabili fine discesserunt, quem infirmitate detenti sibi post aliquot dies proventurum praescierunt. Quippe omnes pene infirmi ad certitudinem obitus sui se praeparaverunt, quod alio tempore vix aliqui sancti facere potuerunt. Ipsi etiam superstites a secularibus vanitatibus, id est a iocis, a tabernis et aliis huiusmodi superfluis abstinere studuerunt, et ad confessionem et penitentiam currere, seque sacerdotibus commendare non cessaverunt'; 'Bernoldi Chronicon' (to 1100), M.G.S.S.5, p.460f. He noted that the plague raged throughout Germany, France, Burgundy and Italy.

Several of the chroniclers, describing the state of Europe immediately before the Crusade, saw in it the fulfillment of Christ's prophecy of the Last Days:

When Henry IV was the ruler of Rome and Alexius of Constantinople, as had been prophesied in the Gospel there arose everywhere nation against nation and kingdom against kingdom; there were great earthquakes in many places, plagues, famines, terrors in the heavens and great signs. And since the Gospel trumpet had now announced to all nations the coming of the just judge, behold! the universal Church contemplated prophetic signs portending things throughout the entire world. ¹

Baudri, too, remembered Christ's prophecy:

On April 4, 1095, on the fourth day of the week and the twenty-fifth of that moon, innumerable witnesses throughout Gaul saw such a mass of moving stars that they would have been taken for hailstones, had they not shone; some said that they were falling, but I would not go so far as definitely to say that. But I do know, as the true word testifies, why and when 'the stars shall fall from heaven'. ²

All the signs announced by Christ to his disciples occurred in the years immediately preceding the First Crusade. There were wars and dissension, ³ famine, ⁴ plague ⁵ and earth-

1. 'Tempore Henrici IIII Romani et Alexii Constantinopolitani principis, iuxta presagium euangelicum surrexit undique gens contra gentem et regnum adversus regnum, et terraemotus magni erant per loca, et pestilentiae et fames terroresque de caelo et signa magna: et quia iam in omnes gentes euangelica tuba iusti iudicis adventum preconabatur, ecce etiam totum circumquaque mundum signa prophetata portendentem universalis aecclesia contemplatur'; Ekkehard, Chron., p.212; see Lk.21.10f. See also ibid., p.214f., where Mt.24.24. is fulfilled. He was followed by Ann.Saxo, an. 1095, p.728; Otto, Chron.7.2, p.248, and Chron.S.Pantal., col. 909f. On the Woes, see above pp. 8 - 11, 39 - 43.

2. 'Anno siquidem ab incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo quinto, pridie nonarum Aprilium, feria quarta, luna vigesima quinta, visus est ab innumeris inspectoribus in Gallis tantus stellarum discursus, ut grando, nisi lucerent, pro densitate putarentur: opinabantur etiam quidam eas cecidisse; nos tamen de earum occubitu nihil temere praesumimus affirmare. Novimus tamen, veritate testante, quia quandoque "stellae cadent de coelo"'; Baudri 1.7, p.16, quoting Mt.24.29.

3. Fulcher 1.5, p.326; Guibert 2.7, p.142; Robert 1.1, p.728; Ekkehard, Chron., p.213f.; Chron.S.Pantal., col.909f.

4. Guibert 2.6, p.141, where he gives a particularly vivid account of the famine and its effects; Ekkehard, Chron., pp. 212-4; Chron.S.Pantal., col.909f.; Sigebert, Chron., ann.1090,1095, p.366f.

5. Bernold, Chron., p.460; Ekkehard, loc.cit. & p.207; Sigebert, Chron., an.1089, p.366; Chron.S.Andreae 3.13, p.542f.; 'Cosmae Chronica Boemorum' 3.3, M.G.S.S.9, p.103; 'Annales Rosenveldenses' 35,38, M.G.S.S.16, p.101; Chron.S.Pantal., col.909f.

quakes; ¹ there were false prophets and iniquity; ² the sun and moon were darkened ³ and the stars fell. ⁴ There were a series of signs in the sky, ⁵ as described by the mid-twelfth century Annals of St. Disibod:

In the years 1095 and 1096 certain heavenly portents presaged by frequent signs events unprecedented in the history of the world. I shall describe two, so that people will take the others on faith. A sort of fire, like a bolt of lightning, shaped in length like a spear, but broader, was seen to zig-zag in broad daylight with the brightness of the sun. All who saw it were struck with unexpected terror, although it did not harm anyone. On the same day, towards sunset and with no cloud in the sky, balls of fire were seen to shine forth in various parts of the sky and to establish themselves

1. Albert of Aix, 'Historia Hierosolymitana' 1.5, R.H.C.Occ.4, p.274; Ekkehard, Chron., p.212; Chron.S.Pantal., col.910; Sigebert, Chron., an.1095, p.367.

'For nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places', Mt.24.7.

Albert's History is a compilation of legends and eye-witness accounts, probably collected over many years from returned crusaders, etc., and put together in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century.

2. False prophets, Ekkehard, Chron., p.214f.

Iniquity, Fulcher, 1.2,5. pp.322f.,326; Sigebert, loc.cit., where the famine leads to thefts and arson by the poor; and see especially the passage from William of Tyre discussed below, p. 102f.

See Mt.24.11f.,24.

3. An eclipse of the sun was described by Ekkehard, Chron., pp.207; Chron.S.Pantal., col.909; Ann.Rosenveld.36f., p.101; and 'Annales Casinenses', an.1094, M.G.S.S.19, p.307. Signs in the sun: Ekkehard, Chron., pp.208,214; Chron.S.Pantal., col.909.

The moon eclipsed: Ekkehard, Chron., p.208; Sigebert, Chron., an.1096, p.367; Ann.Casin., an.1096, p.307, and especially Guibert 2.17, p.149f. See Mt.24.29.

4. Guibert 2.17, p.149f.; Baudri 1.7, p.16, quoted above, p. 99.

'Historia Peregrinorum Euntium Jerusolyman, seu Tudebodis Imitatus et Continuatus' 1, R.H.C.Occ.3, p.173; Sigebert, Chron., an.1095, p.367, describing how one meteorite left a crater; 'Lupi Protospatarii annales', an.1095, M.G.S.S.5, p.62, describing how they fell in Apulia and covered the ground: Chron.Hugo 2, p.473f.; Ann.Casin., ann.1095,1097, p.307.

A shooting star: Ekkehard, Chron., p.214; ChronS.Pantal., col.909. See Mt.24.29; Rev.8.10 - 9.1.

5. 'Fearful sights and great signs shall there be from heaven', Lk.21.11.

in other places in the heavens, Some men were of the opinion that there were not fireballs, but angelic powers, prefiguring the great movement of nations that ensued.¹

Other aerial signs included swords and torches,² knights,³ a dragon⁴ and auroral displays.⁵ A road of fire was seen in the sky⁶ and blood-red clouds were seen to rush together from east and west, rising to the centre of the heavens.⁷ Most significant was the sign reported by Ekkehard:

Some men who were watching over horses at pasture reported that they had seen a sort of city in the sky, with many crowds of men on horseback and on foot making their way towards it from all directions.⁸

1. 'Anno Domini 1095, ac sequenti, id est 1096, quaedam caelitus portenta saeculis imminere, antea nec visa nec audita, signis frequentibus praesagabantur; de quibus duo ponamus, ut de reliquis fidem certiore habeamus. Species ignis in modum fulguris ad longitudinem hastae formatus, sed latior, clarissimo die et in ipso solis fulgore discurrens, oculos intuentium terrore improvise percutiebat, et tamen nemini nocebat. Super haec quadam die, sole ad occasum ruente et nebecula in aere nulla apparente, ignei quasi globi diversis aeris in locis emicuerunt, rursusque aliis in firmamenti partibus se condiderunt. Hoc quidam non ignem, sed angelicas fuisse opinabantur potestates, commotionem gentium, quae secuta est, praefigurantes'; 'Annales Sancti Disibodi', an.1095, M.G.S.S.17, p.15f. The fireballs/angels are taken from an earlier account, written before 1108, Ann.Rosenveld,40, p.101. Sigebert, Chron., an.1093, p.366, also reported a spear in the sky.

2. Ekkehard, Chron., pp.207,214; Chron.S.Pantal., col.909.

3. Ekkehard, Chron., p.214; Chron.S.Pantal.,col.909.

4. Ann.Rosenveld.36f.,p.101; Chron.S.Pantal.,col.909.

5. Ekkehard, Chron., p.214; Chron.S.Pantal., col.909; Cosmas, Chron.3.4, p.103.

6. Hist.Peregrin.1, p.173; this was presumably, like many of the aerial signs, a comet. See also Ann.Casin., an.1098, p.308.

7. Ekkehard, loc.cit.; Hist.Peregrin., loc.cit.; Chron.S.Pantal., col.909; Alphandéry remarked of this prodigy that just as the earthly Jerusalem is the centre of the earth, so the clouds rising to the centre of the heavens would meet in the heavenly Jerusalem: Alphandéry & Dupront, Chrétienté, vol. 1, p.63f.

8. 'Referebant aliqui qui in equorum pastibus vigilabant, civitatis se speciem in aere vidisse, diversas etiam turbas diversis ad eam partibus tam equestri quam pedestri itinere properantes perspexisse'; Ekkehard, loc.cit., and also in Chron.S.Pantal., col.909.

The city in the sky was, of course, the heavenly Jerusalem, whose descent Tertullian had described in the third century ¹ and whose gates would swing open with the capture of the earthly city. ²

Ekkehard also reported the prefiguration of the Crusade by a swarm of locusts, flying in a column several miles long and so densely packed that they cast a solid shadow on the ground below. ³ There were whirlwinds, floods and monstrous births, ⁴ and men experienced dreams and visions. ⁵

William of Tyre, writing seventy years later, gave what must have been a very accurate reconstruction of the tribulations and anxieties of the years immediately preceding the First Crusade. In the West, and throughout almost all the world, faith and virtue had failed, so that the end of the world seemed nigh:

The world was justifiably felt to be declining towards its evening, and the Second Coming of the Son of Man to be near. For the love of many waxed cold, and no faith was to be found upon the earth; the social order was in utter confusion, and the world seemed to want to revert to its original state of chaos.

The goods of the poor were continually plundered by the followers of warring princes; churches and monasteries were pillaged and the right of sanctuary was disregarded. The streets of towns were unsafe and on the highways robbers did not spare even pilgrims and priests. Everywhere there were fornication and incest, luxury, drunkenness and gambling; in a Church rife with simony, the priesthood shared the sins of the people. And despite all the signs of the imminence of the End, men persisted in their evil ways:

Those with a tendency towards evil were undeterred by the Lord's warning prodigies, either in the heavens above or on the earth below. For there were plagues and famines, fearful sights in the heavens, great earthquakes in divers places and all the other

1. See above, p. 32.

2. See below, p. 157ff.

3. Ekkehard, Chron., p.207; see Rev.9.3,7.

4. Ibid., pp.207,214; monstrous births figure among earlier lists of woes, above, pp. 10, 42.

5. Hist.Peregrin., loc.cit.; see Jl.2.28; Ac.2.17.

things which the Lord carefully enumerated in the Gospel.¹

To the disoriented poor, the apocalyptic tradition defused the disasters and signs they found so bewildering and terrifying, and explained and contained them as the Messianic Woes; and an apocalyptic movement gave them an appropriate and satisfying response. The Crusade provided the ideal framework over which to hang such a movement. It was collective, so that there was always mutual reinforcement, and it involved physical movement, which restored to the participants a sense of direction in their lives. It provided compensation for their present dissatisfaction by involving them in a cosmic movement of absolute importance, whose goal was the heavenly Jerusalem and eternal bliss; and they did not have to accept responsibility for their existences and the attainment of that goal, for the movement was initiated and led by God. Moreover, it announced the end of this order in which the forms of the insecurity they had suffered operated, and its replacement by a new order in which such forms no longer existed. Encouraged by the promises of the preachers of the popular Crusade, the poor transformed themselves into the Elect and handed over the direction of their lives to God, who would lead them to the earthly Jerusalem, the attainment of which would open to them the gates of the heavenly city and of a perpetual state of bliss in which their present anxieties would simply wither away.

The precipitating factor that turned Urban's expedition into an apocalyptic movement of the poor was the appearance of a number of popular preachers, notably Peter the Hermit, who may be regarded as the forerunner of the series of great twelfth century heresiarchs - Tanchelm, Peter de Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, Arnold of Brescia - whose careers were made possible by the changing social conditions of the period and by

1. 'Videbatur sane mundus declinasse ad vesperam, et Filii hominis adventus secundus fore vicinior. Nam multorum refrixerat caritas, et fides non inveniebatur super terram; confusis ordinibus cuncta ferebantur, et in chaos pristinum mundus videbatur redire velle.'

'Nec pronos ad malum revocare poterant Domini comminantis prodigia in coelo sursum et signa in terra deorsum. Erant enim pestilentiae et fames, terroresque de coelo, et terrae motus magni per loca, et caetera quae Dominus in Evangelio diligenter enumerat.'

William of Tyre, 'Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum' 1.8, R.H.C.Occ.1.1, p.25f.; see Mt.24.7; Lk.21.11.

The world returns to primaeval chaos; cf. the passage from the Ezra-Apocalypse quoted above, p. 21.

the crisis in the Church initiated by Hildebrand. ¹

It would seem useful to introduce at this point the anthropological concept of 'liminality' - derived from the latin 'limen' - threshold - which arises from the discussion of 'rites de passage', "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age". ² Such a change falls into three stages: the first is the detachment of the individual or group from an earlier fixed state, and the third is the consummation of the passage to the new state; in between these lies the state of liminality or outsidership, between what was and what will be and outside the normal classifications of law, custom and convention.

The liminal tendencies in Christianity come to the fore in an apocalyptic context, and the poor of the First Crusade operated in such a state. They had detached themselves from all their previous ties and certainties and threw themselves into a transitional state which would be consummated in the attainment of the heavenly Jerusalem. This

1. R.I. Moore has suggested that the impulse leading to rebellion against the Church was the same as that which produced reform within it, and that the disappearance of heresy in the late 11th century was the result of the absorption of the relevant impulses into the ecclesiastical reform movement. But, he argues, in disarming one monster, Hildebrand raised another, by calling upon the people to act as judges of their clergy. The power and influence of the priest had come from his position as an outsider, detached from other men; but now the community looked at him through different eyes and he was toppled from that special position. Moore writes:

'In the eleventh and early twelfth-century west the growth of population and still more its movement into the towns created social groups which lacked structure, guidance and leadership, and therefore sought to create their own by conferring spiritual power upon those who showed themselves able to exercise it, whether or not they did so by episcopal appointment'; Moore, Heresiarch, p.16f. See also his article 'The Origins of Medieval Heresy', in History 55 (1970), p.34f. He is trying to account for the appeal of the great 12th-century heresiarchs; but his analysis, if correct, could equally well apply to their forerunner, Peter the Hermit.

2. V.W. Turner, The Ritual Process, p.80, citing A. van Gennep, The Rites of Passage (trans. Vizedom & Caffee, London, 1960). I have reservations about the use of this concept, which drags after it so much anthropological jargon and, even worse, opens the way to the habit of the social sciences of treating human life as so much toothpaste to be squeezed back into the tube; however, I have found Turner's analysis useful and some of the properties of liminality which he lists, p.92f., are strikingly reflected in the Crusade: these include many of the attributes of poverty (see below, pp. 168-170), continuous reference to mystical powers (see below, pp. 117-30, 154f.), community and equality (see below p. 153f.), sexual continence (see below, p. 166), and the acceptance of pain and suffering (see below, p. 167 f.).

ambiguous state was articulated for them by Peter the Hermit, as a prophet with liminal attributes. Peter, like so many of his heretical twelfth century successors, was an outsider, not only geographically - he was said variously to have come from Amiens¹ or Spain,² but his preaching career would appear to have begun in Berry³ - but, more importantly, by appearance.

Dissociation by habit was more important. Henry (of Lausanne)'s shabby clothes, long hair, unshaven beard and bare feet marked him a man apart, just as Robert of Arbrissel, another successful preacher in the west of France at the turn of the century, was distinguished by his hair shirt, covered only by a torn cloak, his bare feet and legs, and his Celtic tonsure. Marbod of Rennes likened him to a lunatic in appearance, but his wild aspect helped him, as it did Henry, to appeal to the dispossessed, the beggars and prostitutes, who were his most celebrated disciples. His penitent's garb advertised incessantly his readiness to take the sins and afflictions of his followers upon his own shoulders.... At the same time the badges of poverty symbolised for the preachers, as they did for the hermits, and had done for the desert fathers, emancipation from the ties and preoccupations of the world, and released their exhibitors from the bonds which constricted the actions and judgements of ordinary men.... That a man could obtain influence, and arouse devotion, by setting himself apart from his fellows, is plain. He did so on two levels, because so far as he dissociated himself from humanity he participated in divinity, and thereby attained supernatural powers.⁴

This could be a description of Peter the Hermit, who wore a plain, cowled tunic with a cloak, and whose legs and feet - like those of Robert of Arbrissel - were bare.⁵ The *Historia Peregrinorum* (c.1140) described him as having the attributes of outsidership of his twelfth century successors:

...there was a certain local hermit in Gaul called Peter: a very religious man, given to holy deeds and content to live at the extreme edge of this life. His appearance was totally uncivilised,

1. Guibert 2.8, p.142; Albert 1.2, p.272. See also La Chanson d'Antioche, 1.10, ed. P.Paris, vol.1, p.13 & n.1.

2. Ann.Saxo, an.1096, p.728; Ann.Rosenveld.40, p.101; Ann.S.Disibod., an.1095, p.16; 'Helmoldi Presbyteri Chronica Slavorum' 1.31, M.G.S.S. 21, p.33.

3. Albert, loc.cit.; and see Runiciman, First Crusade, p.114; Mayer, Crusades, p.43. On geographical outsidership, see Moore, Heresiarch, p.2f.

4. Moore, op.cit., p.3f.

5. Guibert, loc.cit.

his manner fiery, his feet bare, his stature short, his face thin and his clothing suggestive of the most extreme poverty.¹

Especially suggestive is the remark that he was content to live at the extreme edge of this life. C.J.Holdsworth has shown how, in post-Conquest England, hermits enjoyed powers and influence bestowed upon them by the permanently liminal state they occupied, living on the geographical, social and temporal frontiers, poised on the edge of life and death.²

As such an outsider, Peter was able to solve problems insoluble to those directly involved in them, as his twelfth-century successors were to do; he even, like Henry of Lausanne, dealt with the growing problem of prostitution:

He came, unless I am mistaken, from the town of Amiens and led a solitary life in monastic habit in some unknown place in the upper part of Gaul. Leaving there, for reasons of which I am ignorant, he preached in many towns and municipalities and was surrounded by such multitudes of people, given so many gifts and so widely praised for his sanctity, that I cannot remember anyone else receiving such honour. Of everything that was given to him, most was liberally distributed to the poor; he made honest women of prostitutes by providing them with husbands; by his wonderful authority he restored peace and harmony where there had been discord. Whatever he did or said seemed half divine....³

1. '...fuit quidam eremi accola in Galliarum regione, Petrus nomine, vir quidem summae religionis, sanctisque deditus actibus, ac omnis vitae huius extremitate contentus, cuius nimirum color penitus incultus erat, spiritus fervens, pedes nudi, statura brevis, facies, facies macilenta, tegimen vilissima cappa'; Hist.Peregrin., p.169.

See also the earlier descriptions of Peter by Ralph of Caen, 'Gesta Tancredi, in Expeditione Hierosolymitana' 81, R.H.C.Occ.3, p.664, on which the author of the Hist.Peregrin. drew; Robert 1.5, p.731, where he attributes Peter's reputation for sanctity to his dietary eccentricities; and Guibert 2.8, p.142, part of which I quote on this page.

2. C.J.Holdsworth, 'Hermits and the Powers of the Frontier', paper read at the Second International Congress of Ecclesiastical History, Oxford, Sept., 1974, pp.10, 13f. Also illuminating in this context is P.Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', in Journal of Roman Studies 61 (1971), pp.80-101.

3. 'Quem ex urbe, nisi fallor, Ambianensi ortum, in superiori nescio qua Galliarum parte solitariam sub habitu monachico vitam duxisse comperimus: inde digressum, qua nescio intentione, urbes et municipia praedicationis obtentu circumire vidimus, tantis populorum multitudinibus vallari, tantis muneribus donari, tanto sanctitatis praeconio conclamari, ut neminem meminerim simili honore haberi. Multa enim fuerat, ex his quo sibi dabatur, dilargitione erga pauperes liberalis, prostitutas mulieres non sine suo munere maritis honestans; in discordibus ubique paces et foedera, mira auctoritate, restituens. Quicquid agebat namque seu loquebatur, quasi quiddam subdivinum videbatur'; Guibert 2.8, p.142. See Moore, Heresiarch, p.5f.

As a demi-divine being, Peter's commission to preach the Crusade came from the very top. In one version of his career, he had gone, some years before the Crusade, on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where Christ had appeared to him in the Holy Sepulchre, to tell him to obtain a letter of commission from the Patriarch of Jerusalem:

...and obtain from him, together with the seal of the holy cross, letters authorising you as my delegate; then return with all possible speed to your homeland. Reveal the persecutions and injuries suffered by our people and the attacks on the holy places, and stir up the hearts of the faithful to purge the holy place Jerusalem and restore the holy rites. For, despite the many dangers and temptations that lie ahead, the gates of Paradise now stand open to those called and elected.¹

In another, probably more authentic, version, Peter became the bearer of a heavenly letter, which he reinforced by a passage from the Synoptic Apocalypse which turned the Crusade into part of the apocalyptic process:

So that the things portended by these signs² might come about, a certain man called Peter appeared from the borders of Spain. Coming out from seclusion, he moved all Provence³ by his preaching and persuaded to follow him not only common folk, but kings, dukes and other men of rank, and even bishops, monks and other men of the Church. He carried around with him a letter, which he claimed had come from heaven, instructing all Christendom to march to Jerusalem bearing arms, to expel the pagans and to occupy the city with its lands for ever. He backed all this up with the testimony of the

1. '...et ab eo sumes, cum sigillo sanctae crucis, litteras legationis nostrae; et in terram cognationis tuae quantocius iter accelerabis; calumpnias et injurias populo nostro et loco sancto illatas reserabis, et suscitabis corda Fidelium ad purganda loca sancta Iherusalem, et ad restauranda officia sanctorum. Per pericula enim et temptationes varias Paradisi portae nunc aperientur vocatis et electis'; Albert 1.4, p.273 - and see generally 1.2-5, p.272f.

See also Hist.Peregrin., p.169; Chanson 1.3, 10-12, vol.1, pp.6, 13-19; and Caffaro's mid-12th century 'De Liberatione Civitatum Orientis' 2, R.H.C.Occ. 5, p.48, where Gabriel appears to Peter Bartholomew, whom Caffaro confused with the Hermit.

2. See above, p. 100f. where I quote an account based on the preceding lines of the annals quoted here.

3. According to H.Hagenmeyer, Le vrai et le faux sur Pierre l'Hermitte (trans. F.Raynaud), p.149, Provence, at this period, could mean all the provinces south of the Loire, which would include Peter's starting-point, Berry.

Gospel, where Jesus, delivering a sermon on the destruction of that city, concluded: 'And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the gentiles, until the time of the nations is fulfilled'.¹

Peter preached from Berry and Orleans, through Champagne and down the Meuse, then through Aachen to Cologne, where he arrived at Easter, 1096.² From there he set out, on about 20 April, for the east and Jerusalem. He was accompanied by some lesser nobility,³ but for the most part his followers were an ill-assorted collection of the poor of both sexes, with a sprinkling of criminals, apostates and eccentrics, having no idea of the dangers ahead⁴ or of the geographical distances involved; the poor carried in their ox-carts their possessions and children, who, 'when they came to any castle or town, asked if this was the city of Jerusalem to which they were travelling.'⁵

1. 'Ut ergo hec manifesta fierent, que signa portenderant, quidam cui Petrus nomen erat, in finibus emersit Hyspanie, qui ut ferebatur primum reclusus, inde claustris exiens, predicacione sua totam commovit Provincian, et non solum viros plebeios, verum etiam reges duces ceterasque mundi potestates. Ad maiora veniam episcopos, monachos reliquosque ecclesie ordines, ut se sequerentur, persuasit, quandam circumferens cartulam, quam de celo asserebat lapsam, quaque continebatur universam de cunctis (sic.) mundi partibus christianitatem Iherusalem armis instructam migrare debere, indeque paganos propulsantem, eam cum finibus suis in perpetuum possidere. Hocque de illo ewangelii confirmabat testimonio, ubi Ihesus de destructione urbis illius sermonem faciens sic concludit: 'Et Iherusalem,' inquit, 'calcabitur a gentibus, donec impleantur tempora nacionum'; Ann.Rosenveld.40, p.101. See also Ann.Saxo. an.1096, p.728; Ann.S.Disibod., an.1095, p.16; Helmold, Chron.Slav.1.31, p.33f.; and Hagenmeyer, Pierre l'Hermite, p.137, where he quotes from a codex of Ekkehard of Aura's 'Hierosolymita'; also Lk.21.24. On the development of these legends concerning Peter, see Riant, Inventaire, pp.93-6, and on some other heavenly letters, p.111. Cohn, Millennium, p.62, seems to confuse these two stories, and has Christ present Peter with the heavenly letter in the Holy Sepulchre.

2. Runciman, First Crusade, pp.114,121; Mayer, Crusades, p.43.

3. Runciman, op.cit., p.122.

4. Ekkehard, Chron., p.214; Bernold, Chron., p.464.

5. '... et ipsos infantulos, dum obviam habent quaelibet castella vel urbes, si haec esset Iherusalem, ad quam tenderent, rogitare'; Guibert 2.6, p.142.

Ekkehard described how they set out for the promised land, taking wives, children and possessions, to the astonishment of the inhabitants of areas through which they passed who had heard nothing of the Crusade because of the Investiture Contest. His account brings out well the newly-found sense of security which they had derived from undertaking the march to Jerusalem:

Almost everyone in Germany, having no idea at first of the cause of this migration, laughed at the legions of horsemen, masses of infantry and hordes of peasants, with their wives and children, who passed through the country as if seized by some unknown madness. They gaped with astonishment at these strangers who took uncertainties for certainties, left their native lands, renounced all their possessions and committed themselves to following the uncertain dream of the promised land. ¹

Fulco's account of the People's Crusade, written in the mid-12th century, may well be derived from reliable local tradition when it describes how they had entirely handed over to God the responsibility for their lives. They had made no preparation of any sort, since He would provide; anyway, as God's elect, bearing the sign of the cross, they were entitled to take whatever they needed:

So, led by Peter the Hermit and Walter Sans-Avoir, they travelled in the safety of armed bands, subject to no restraint. They believed that everything they saw was theirs to take freely and by right; and if, on the journey, anything was justly denied them, they took it by force against any opposition. They had not bothered to set aside much money, expecting that everything they needed would be set aside for them en route - after all, they were the heralds and disciples of the Gospel, so they would receive clothing and food from the Gospel....

Arriving at Pannonia, they showed the crosses sewn on to their garments and entered without opposition. Once in the city, however,

1. 'Inde est, quod omnis pene populus Theutonicus in principio profectionis huius causam ignorantes, per terram suam transeuntes tot legiones equitum, tot turmas peditum totque catervas ruricularum, feminarum ac parvulorum, quasi inaudita stulticia delirantes subsannabant, utpote qui pro certis incerta captantes, terram nativitatis vane relinquerent, terram repromissionis incertam certo discrimine appetent, renunciarent facultatibus propriis, inhiarent alienis'; Ekkehard, Chron., p.214.

they demanded as free gifts whatever caught their eyes, taking by force anything they were not given and breaking the peace ...¹

The People's Crusade set off under its various leaders; most were turned back or killed, but those few who got through to Syria re-appear alongside the official Crusade as the Tafurs.²

ii. Raymond of Agiles and the Poor Pilgrims: the Preservation of the Crusade's Apocalyptic Momentum towards Jerusalem.

While in northern France, Flanders and the Rhine valley the poor formed themselves into autonomous bands, in that other densely populated, highly urbanized area, Provence, they streamed into the army of the Count, Raymond of Toulouse. As a result there developed in that army an exaltation as intense as that which prevailed in the hordes which followed the 'prophetae'.³

Among the poor pilgrims of Raymond's army we can see the apocalyptic reflex operating in greater detail and over a longer period of time; for they survived the journey to reach Jerusalem and their story is recounted by a sympathetic observer - Raymond of Agiles.⁴

Raymond has received a very bad press: modern historians of the Crusade treat him with extreme caution, especially over the Holy Lance episode,⁵ while his translators, J.H. and L.L. Hill, describe his account as a 'clever fabrication'. They regard him as 'a medieval

1. 'His ducibus dicti gestantes arma manipli
Ibant securi, nullo moderamine cauti,
Credentes proprii gratisque existere juris
Omnia quae cupidis demonstrarentur ocellis,
Nec per iter coeptum quicquam sibi jure negandum,
Quin potius ferro quamvis prohibente petendum.
Nam neque curarant stipendia multa parare,
Qui sibi sperarent stipendia ubique patere,
Seque, Evangelii praecones discipulosque,
Ex Evangelio capere indumenta cibosque ...
Pannonias veniunt, crucis ante insignia monstrant
Vestibus insuta, nullisque obstantibus intrant.
Ingressi, gratis quae sunt sibi visa requirunt,
Non data diripiunt, hostiliter ostia frangunt ...'

Fulco, 'Historia Gestorum Viae Nostri Temporis Jerosolymitanae' 2.9-18, 21-4, R.H.C.Occ.5, p.704.

2. See below, p. 170f.

3. Cohn, Millennium, p.65.

4. Raymond of Agiles, 'Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem', in R.H.C.Occ.3, pp.231-309. He started to write up his chronicle at Antioch in 1098 and finished it the following year.

5. See, for example, Runciman, First Crusade, p.328; Mayer, Crusades, p.46.

Baron Munchausen', a 'spinner of tall crusading tales', and dismiss him as superstitious and prejudiced - the very qualities that make him, far from 'a clever writer who liked to make fiction appear factual', so valuable a reflector of the superstitions and prejudices that filled the minds of the rank and file crusaders.¹ Although Raymond went on the Crusade as chaplain to Raymond of Toulouse, he identified himself with the poor pilgrims who had flocked to the army, sympathising with their sufferings and anxieties and reflecting their hopes and sense of divine purpose.

At the centre of the apocalyptic history of the First Crusade lies the story of the Holy Lance. Its finding and the subsequent developments have been dismissed as a fraud² and Raymond of Agiles' account treated with appropriate suspicion. But nobody seems to have looked at Peter Bartholomew's career in its entirety, from the details and circumstances of his first vision through all his bizarre antics to his death at the ordeal, let alone wondered whether it might not all actually be true and significant to the history of the Crusade. Raymond of Agiles was an eye-witness: Peter was entrusted to his custody by Count Raymond; Raymond, alone of all the chroniclers, was present at the finding of the Lance and carried it into battle outside Antioch and, later, at Ascalon; he gave evidence at the enquiry into the authenticity of the Lance which led to Peter's fatal ordeal; and when Peter lay on his death-bed it was with the air of a man who felt himself betrayed by a friend that he accused Raymond of having secretly wanted him to undergo the test by fire.³

Some of the events are absolutely unquestionable: Peter did find something and he did die trying; to prove that it was a genuine relic of Our Lord; the other chroniclers corroborate this. From Raymond alone we have received a detailed account of the career which encompassed

1. J.H. & L.L.Hill, Raymond d'Aguilers: Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem, Introduction, pp.5,7,10,12.

2. Runciman, First Crusade, p.245; Mayer, Crusades, p.56f.

3. See below, pp. 119, 121f., 123f., 128 & n.2, 145,n.2and, on the last point, Raymond 18, p.284f.

these two events, a career so extraordinary that, to the best of my knowledge, no modern historian has given a full account of it,¹ but which, when it is examined in its entirety in the context of the Crusade as an apocalyptic movement, will be found to possess an inner consistency which demands that it be taken at very nearly face value.

I have already shown that the period towards the year 1000 had seen a revival of the sense of apocalyptic imminence that had characterised pre-Augustinian Christianity. In particular, there had been a series of end-of-the-world panics, the most dramatic of which had been the Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-65 which can be regarded, in apocalyptic as much as in other respects, as a sort of dry run for the Crusade of 1096.² The Pilgrimage had, however, been not so much a panic as a movement and therefore differed from the other manifestations that preceded it in that it demanded from the participants an active commitment to a long and dangerous journey from which, should its expected apocalyptic climax be realised, there could be no return. It is this element of commitment that separates apocalyptic movements - usually centred around some prophet or messiah, principally, in the case of the First Crusade, Peter the Hermit and later Peter Bartholomew - from academic speculations and temporary panics: the individual participant in a movement could not limit himself to uttering pious sentiments or biting altar-stones,³ he must put his money where his mouth was and publicly embark on a course of action from which, however anticlimactic the consummation, there could be no return to the life he had known before.

In embarking on the First Crusade, the poor pilgrims - like their brothers in the north who had followed Peter the Hermit and his fellows - made an absolute commitment to a journey from which there could be no return to the lives they had known. This commitment was not only

1. Runciman, First Crusade, pp.241-3, does give a full description of Peter's early visions; but his account of his career between the uncovering of the Lance and the ordeal is far from complete. Mayer, Crusades, p.56 et seq., and Setton and Baldwin, Crusades, vol.I, pp. 320-30, give only the most summary accounts.

2. See above, pp. 74-88 and, especially, p.81.

3. See above, p.82.

physical, in the sense that they had disposed of what possessions they had and created a fracture in their lives which could never be wholly mended to undertake a journey involving unimaginable dangers; it was absolute: they had laid their very souls on the line. Their sense of personal security and identity rested upon the feeling of momentum towards the goal of Jerusalem and the establishment of the millenarian kingdom; any check could fatally fracture the fragile sense of security which they had built out of the idea that they were being led by God towards the heavenly city. This sense of momentum is absolutely fundamental to an understanding of the career of Peter Bartholomew and of the history of the Holy Lance. Peter's prophetic rôle at the heart of the Crusade of the poor pilgrims was to articulate their desperate need to experience a sense of movement and progress towards Jerusalem.

If the security of the poor pilgrims depended upon their sense of momentum towards Jerusalem, their feelings of insecurity can be measured from the amount of divine intervention necessary at any time. That everything went well, from this point of view, as far as Antioch is indicated by the fact that there was - with a few exceptions - a marked cessation of signs of divine intervention between the prodigies that accompanied the departure of the Crusade and the earthquake of December 30, 1097, which marked the beginning of the run-up to the discovery of the Holy Lance.

But God was called upon to act on a couple of occasions. In April, 1097, as Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois were embarking from Brindisi, one of the boats split, drowning four hundred men and woman. This disaster, so early in the Crusade and not attributable to any human agency, was a violent disconfirmation for the witnesses.¹ But this was overcome when crosses were found imprinted in the shoulders of some of the recovered bodies, marking a limited divine intervention in response to a specific disconfirmation. Even so, many weak-hearted Crusaders abandoned the army and returned to their homes.²

1. On disconfirmation, in the context of a modern apocalyptic movement, see L.Festinger, H.W.Riecken and S.Schachter, When Prophecy Fails. A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World.

2. Fulcher 1.8, p.330.

The Crusaders' initial enthusiasm carried them through the early setbacks. The siege of Nicaea was of short duration,¹ but some of them felt ready to believe that the victory at Dorylaeum was theirs because God had sent a heavenly army to help them.² In late September or early October, 1097, the papal legate, Adhemar of Le Puy, and Patriarch Simeon of Jerusalem wrote to the faithful in Scandanavia that although the Crusaders were few in comparison with the pagans, truly God was fighting for them; and the Patriarch went on to relate a confirmatory vision:

...the Lord appeared before him in a vision, and promised all those who laboured in this expedition that on the dreadful and final Day of Judgement each one of them would come before him wearing a crown.³

The presence of Christ would appear to have been summoned up in response to the need for some reassurance that the Crusaders' hardships in the face of overwhelming odds would indeed earn them a worthwhile reward. But in general the army still maintained its feeling of moving forwards towards its goal: when, on September 10, 1097, a comet had been seen, no-one had felt the need to interpret or respond to it:

...we saw a sign in the sky, shaped like a sword with its point towards the east and shining with a brilliant whiteness. But we did not know what it portended for the future, for we had committed the present and the future to the Lord.⁴

1. Although Christ was later to tell Stephen of Valence that he had helped them there: Gesta 9.24, p.58; Peter Tudebod, 'Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere' 10.9, R.H.C.Occ.3, p.69; Robert 7.1, p.821. On Stephen's vision, see below p. 120. Tudebod was a Poitevin priest who went on the Crusade but who, in describing it, some time before 1111, used the Gesta as his basis.

2. See below, p. 156, n.3.

3. 'Uerum et uere pro nobis pugnat Deus....'
'...ei apparuerit in uisu ipse Dominus, et promiserit in hac expeditione laborantibus, quod ante se in tremenda et extrema iudicii die quisque procedet coronatus'; 'Epistula Simeonis patriarchae Hierosolymitani et Hademari de Podio S.Mariae episcopi ad fideles partium Septentrionis'; Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe 6, p.142, dating the letter to c. 8 Oct. Riant, Inventaire, appendix 2, p.221, also prints it, dating it to late Sept., 1097.

4. '... vidimus in coelo signum quoddam, quod alburno splendore fulgens apparuit in modum ensis figuratum, cusptide versus Orientem protendo. Sed quod futurum promittebat nesciebamus, sed praesentia et futura Domino committebamus'; Fulcher 1.14, p.337.

At first the siege of Antioch went well, and as late as the end of November, 1097, Anselm of Ribemont was able to write:

We are besieging Antioch with great enthusiasm and its capture seems imminent; we have corn, wine, oil and everything we need in unbelievably abundant supply. ¹

But in fact the march of the saints had become bogged down. They had been on the road for over a year and were now frustratingly close to Jerusalem. As the siege of Antioch dragged out over eight months, amid appalling conditions, the apocalyptic atmosphere which had enveloped the calling of the Crusade began to seep back in.

By the end of 1097, all the countryside around Antioch had been pillaged and food was running short. The farther foraging expeditions had to go, the more vulnerable they became to ambush. As evidence of disconfirmation mounted, the soldiers could only assume that it was their own sinfulness that was compromising their divine election, and they began a series of purificatory acts, designed to restore them to a state of collective purity, by expelling the women from the camp. ²

In the reaction of the army to this disconfirmation, caused by the dissonance between their sense of election and the reality of their situation, a parallel may be observed with the modern apocalyptic movement described by three American sociologists. They describe how the non-arrival of the expected rescuing flying-saucers was followed by the failure to materialise of the awaited cataclysm, and note the contrast between the continued faith of members of the group of believers who remained together and loss of faith by those who experienced disconfirmation in isolation. They write:

It is reasonable to believe that dissonances created by unequivocal disconfirmation cannot be appreciably reduced unless one is in the constant presence of supporting members who can provide for one another the kind of social reality that will make the rationalization of disconfirmation acceptable. ³

1. 'Scitote, quia obsedimus Antiochiam, cum omni alacritate, in proximo ut putamus capiendam, abundantes frumento, uino, et oleo et omnibus bonis, supra quam credi potest'; 'Epistula I Anselmi de Ribodimonte ad Manassem archiepiscopum Remorum', in Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe 8, p.145, whose dating I follow, rather than that of Riant, Inventaire, appx.3, p.221f.

2. Fulcher 1.15, p.340.

3. Festinger, Riecken & Schachter, When Prophecy Fails, p.205; see also p.228f.

Fulcher seems to have described the same phenomenon: in the camp, the soldiers lent each other mutual support, but those who left in search of food were deprived of this and often failed to return:

Rich and poor alike suffered from hunger and the daily likelihood of death, and had not God gathered them together in a flock, as a good shepherd does his sheep, no doubt they would all have fled, despite their oaths to see the siege through. But many, who, because of the lack of food, went on expeditions of several days' duration to nearby castles in search of the necessary provisions, did not return to the army afterwards, but deserted the siege. ¹

On December 30, 1097, an earthquake was followed by a display of aurora borealis. God was unmistakably warning his army to mend its ways, and Adhemar ordered rituals of appeasement: fasting, prayers, alms-giving, a procession, and so forth. ²

The rôle of Peter the Hermit and the other prophets of the People's Crusade had been to articulate and focus the unconscious collective impulses operating among the disoriented poor. Perhaps as the result of the disastrous end of their Crusade, Peter had lost his prophetic charisma and inspiration; in January, 1098, he attempted to desert from the Crusade. ³ His mantle passed to Peter Bartholomew, a provençal peasant of rather dubious repute, whose career began at the time of the earthquake of December 30, 1097. Peter Bartholomew was a genuine sensitive, whose visions expressed the collective fears and hopes of the army, and the contradictions of whose career were the result of the

1. 'Desolati tam fame quam quotidiana occisione, tam divites quam pauperes, erant. Et nisi eos Deus, tanquam bonus pastor oves suas, gregatim constringeret, proculdubio prorsus inde omnes aufugerent, licet obsidionem obtinendam jurassent. Multi tamen, propter panis penuriam, per plures dies quaerebant in castellis propinquieribus quae victui suo necessaria erant; nec postea revertentes ad exercitum, obsidionem penitus deserebant'; Fulcher 1.15, p.340f.

2. Raymond 6, p.245. On the earthquake and aurora, see also Fulcher 1.15, p.341, and Bartolf of Nangis, 'Gesta Francorum Expugnantium Iherusalem' (a rewrite, with additions, of the early part of Fulcher, c.1108) 12, R.H.C.Occ.3, p.498, where he saw these signs and the sufferings of the army as fulfilling Christ's prophecy of plague, famine and earthquakes in the Synoptic Apoc., at Mt.24.7; see further below, p. 148. Bartolf went on, p.498f., to give an especially vivid account of the sins that had brought the army to this sorry pass and of their repentance.

3. Guibert 4.8, p.174, where he compared Peter's desertion to the fall of stars from heaven at Rev.6.13; 8.10; 9.1 - a comparison which must have owed something to the expectation that the reprobate would fall from the Church like the stars under the onslaught of Antichrist, see above, pp. 52, 69. See also Gesta 6.15, p.33; Robert 4.12, p.781.

mixture of genuine 'psychic' powers and opportunism typical of his breed. It is impossible to be certain what actually happened when he uncovered the Holy Lance in the Church of St. Peter on June 14, 1098, nor does it really matter; but Peter was sincere in relating his visions - and that sincerity is not compromised by the fact that his visions may have owed more to his own unconscious anxieties and hopes, and those of his fellows, than to divine intervention.

The immediate inspiration of his first vision was the terror inspired in him by the earthquake:

During the first earthquake which occurred at Antioch, while the Frankish army was still besieging the city, such terror seized me that I could utter no words except, 'God help me'. It was night, and I was lying in my tent, without anyone whose company might revive me. And when, as I have said, the earthquake had been going on for a long time, and my fear was still increasing, two men stood before me....¹

The elder of the two men - who was shortly to reveal himself as St. Andrew - was of medium height and had red hair, sprinkled with white, black eyes and a long, wide, white beard; the other - who remained unidentified for the time being - was younger and taller, and 'more beautiful in form than any son of man'.² The visions of Peter Bartholomew - and, as we shall see, those of Stephen of Valence - were much influenced by painted images, and presumably this apparition was the product of Peter's memory of some Greek icon he had seen earlier in the Crusade.³ But, at the same time, it is interesting that the description should have omitted any mention of clothes and

1. 'In primo terrae motu qui apud Antiochiam factus est, quum exercitus Francorum obsideret eam, tantus timor me invasit, ut nihil praeter 'Deus adjuva me' dicere possem. Erat enim nox, et ego jacebam; nec in tegurio meo erat aliquis cujus consortio refoverer. Quum autem, ut dixi, concussio terrae diutius duraret, et timor meus semper excresceret, coram me duo viri adstiterunt...' Raymond 10, p.254.

2. '... speciosus forma prae filiis hominum'; Ps.44.3 (A.V.45.2); this phrase is, of course, a retrospective addition by Raymond, loc.cit.

3. The Hills, in accordance with their vision of Raymond concocting almost every detail of his chronicle from his service-books - Raymond d'Aguilers, p.11 - regard the descriptions of these and all other celestial visitors as fabricated by Raymond, as if he were the only person in the army ever to have looked at painted images, see ibid., pp.12; 55, n.9; 94, n.6. In fact, Stephen of Valence's description of Christ is confirmed by the author of the Gesta, among others, see below, p. 120 & n.5.

confined itself to the apocalyptic colours red, white and black.¹

St. Andrew told Peter to arrange a meeting of Raymond of Toulouse, Adhemar and Peter Raymond of Hautpoul, a vassal of Raymond. After instructing him to rebuke Adhemar for his failure sufficiently to preach to, exhort and bless the people, the saint told Peter that he would show him the Holy Lance, which he was to give to Count Raymond. He then led Peter, clad in his nightshirt, into Antioch to the Church of St. Peter, where he reached beneath the ground and produced the Lance, which he placed in Peter's hands. He told him to wait until the city fell,

And then come with twelve men and search for it in this place from which I drew it, and in which I now replace it.²

Then, replacing the Lance, he led Peter back to the Christian camp.

Reflecting upon his own poverty, Peter was afraid to go to Raymond and Adhemar with his story. So St. Andrew and his companion appeared for a second time on February 10, 1098 - the first day of Lent - while he was away from Antioch on a foraging expedition. Peter explained that he had not gone forward because he was afraid on account of his poverty:

And he said to me, 'Do you not know why God has led you all here, how far he distinguishes you above all others, and how he has particularly elected you? He has brought you here to wreak his vengeance on those who have held in contempt his name and his servants. He has so set you apart, that the saints now at rest, with foreknowledge of the grace of divine disposition, long to take on flesh again and fight with you. God has chosen you from among all peoples, just as ears of wheat are gathered from among the oats. For in your merits and grace you surpass all who have come before you or who shall come after, just as the price of gold surpasses that of silver.'³

1. Cf. the description of the 4 horsemen of Rev.6.2-8; and the monster of the Pastor of Hermas 4.1-3, pp.345,347. And see Silverstein, Visio Sancti Pauli, p.75.

2. 'Et tunc venies cum duodecim viris, et quaeres eam hic unde ego abstraxi, et ubi eam recondam'; Raymond 10, p.254.

3. 'Et dixit mihi: "Necisne cur Deus huc vos adduxit, et quantum vos diliget, et quomodo vos praecipue elegit? Pro contemptu sui et suorum vindicta, vos huc venire fecit. Diliget vos adeo ut sancti jam in requie positi, divinae dispositionis gratiam praenoscentes, in carne esse et concertare vobiscum vellent. Elegit vos Deus ex omnibus gentibus, sicut triticeae spicae de avenaria colliguntur. Etenim meritis et gratia praeceditis omnes qui ante et post vos venient, sicut aurum pretio praecedit argentum'; Raymond 10, p.254.

Cohn, Millennium, p.65, sees St. Andrew as reassuring Peter of God's election of the poor, but the passage and its context do not seem to me to support this interpretation. I prefer to agree with Runciman, First Crusade, p.242, that the saint was talking of the Crusaders in general.

Peter returned to Antioch, but was still afraid to come forward. He was at St. Symeon with his lord, William Peter, when, on March 20th, St. Andrew and his companion appeared again, to repeat the instructions and add new ones for Count Raymond to follow when he came to the River Jordan.¹ Peter at last tried to arrange a meeting with Raymond and Adhemar, but failed, and went to Mamistra on his way to Cyprus. A fourth vision ordered him back to Antioch and when he took ship he was three times driven back by storms. He then fell sick and returned to the city only after its capture by the Christians on June 3.

On June 10, in a battle outside the walls of Antioch, Peter was almost crushed to death between two horses. St. Andrew made a fifth appearance and he came forward at last. Adhemar did not believe him, but Raymond of Toulouse was utterly convinced and put him in the care of his chaplain, Raymond of Agiles.²

It seems to me almost certain that Raymond took his account of the preceding events from Peter's dictation after the visionary was placed in his custody. Of the two other eye-witness accounts of the Crusade, the author of the Gesta believed in Peter, while Fulcher, who was hostile, was absent with Baldwin of Edessa's expedition at that time, and based his account of all events between October, 1097, and August, 1099, on the Gesta and Raymond, adding only his own prejudices. Fulcher did, however, include in his chronicle the letter of September, 1098, in which the leaders of the Crusade described to Urban II the finding of the Lance in the same general terms as used by most of the chroniclers, and confirmed their belief in its authenticity.³

1. Raymond 10, p.255. On Raymond of Toulouse at the Jordan, see below, p. 143.

2. Raymond 10, pp.253,255.

There are accounts of Peter's visions in a number of the other chronicles, none of which contradict Raymond of Agiles; see Gesta 9.25, p.59f.; Tudebod 10.10, p.70f.; Hist.Peregrin.73, p.201f.; Ralph 100, p.676f.; Baudri 3.9, p.67f.; Guibert 5.19, p.196f.; Robert 7.2, p.822f.; see also 'Epistula cleri et populi Luccensis ad omnes fideles' (Oct., 1098), in Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe 17, p.166 and Riant, Inventaire, appx.4, p.224.

3. Fulcher's own hostile account is at 1.18, p.344; the letter is at 1.23, p.350f., and as 'Epistula Boemundi, Raimundi comitis S. Aegidii, Godefridi ducis Lotharingiae, Roberti comitis Normanniae, Roberti comitis Flandrensis, Eustachii comitis Boloniae ad Urbanum II papam', in Hagenmeyer, op.cit.16, pp.161-5, & especially p.163.

More serious than Fulcher's hostility are Adhemar's reservations about the Lance and its finder; see Runciman, First Crusade, p.243.

By now the army was in the mood to listen readily to Peter's tale. Throughout the first five months of 1098, the situation had deteriorated, with many Crusaders dying at the hands of the Moslems, or from hunger or exposure. As disconfirmation mounted, there were many desertions and an upsurge of prodigies and visions.¹ The capture of Antioch was followed by the arrival of Kerbogha's army and a worsening of the situation; morale plummeted again as famine returned and desertions recommenced.² It was in these circumstances that Peter Bartholomew came forward to reaffirm that God was, despite appearances, still with the Crusaders. As if to confirm his message, a priest from Valence, named Stephen, came forward in his wake.

Stephen's initial inspiration, like Peter's, was terror: he believed that the Turks had broken into the city and that death was imminent and inevitable.³ He was weeping in the Church of the Blessed Mary, when a figure appeared to him and, having verified that these were Christians now in possession of Antioch, revealed himself, by the nimbus that appeared behind his head as in Church paintings,⁴ as Christ. Learning from Stephen that the army had no single commander, but that they generally respected a bishop, he instructed him to tell that bishop - Adhemar - that the Christians had alienated him by their foul sins, whose appalling stench could be smelt even in heaven, but that if they turned from sin he would return to them and send help within five days.⁵

The army had so lost confidence in its own election that wholesale desertions had become commonplace and the leaders were expected to abandon the Crusade at any moment. Stephen's vision countered such

1. Ralph 53f., p.646f.; and see also 60f., p.650f.; Fulcher 1.16, p.341; Bartolf 12, p.498; 'Epistula 2 Stepheni comitis Carnotensis ad Adalam uxorem' (March, 1098), Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe 10, p.150.

2. Ralph 79, p.622f.; 'Epist.Luccensis', Hagenmeyer, op.cit., p.166. Riante, Inventaire.p.224; Tudebod 10.12, p.73; Raymond 11, p.258; 'Epist. Boemund., Raimund., et al.', in Fulcher 1.23, p.351, Hagenmeyer, op.cit., p.162f.; Albert 4.34-43, pp.412-19; Chanson 7.12, vol.2, p.151.

3. Raymond 11, p.255f.; on Peter's terror see above, p. 117.

4. Stephen's visions, like those of Peter Bartholomew, owed a great deal to painted images.

5. Gesta 9.24, p.57f.; Raymond, loc.cit.; also Tudebod 10.9, p.68; Robert 7.1, p.821; Guibert 5.17, p.195.

fears: the present situation was the result of the army's sins; ¹ only when they had purified themselves to a state more befitting their elect status would God return to them and bring them victory. The immediate result of Stephen's vision was an oath of solidarity by the Princes, which relieved the anxieties of the poor pilgrims:

Then the princes swore that they would not flee from or leave Antioch, except by common consent. For the people had been afraid at that time that the princes wanted to flee to the port. Thus many were comforted - for the night before hardly anyone had remained steadfast in the faith and had not felt the urge to flee. ²

All our leaders immediately agreed to take an oath not to flee, for life or death, so long as they lived. Bohemond is said to have taken the oath first, followed by the Count of St. Gilles, Robert of Normandy, Duke Godfrey and the Count of Flanders. Tancred truly swore and promised that so long as he had forty knights with him he would not retreat from this battle or from the journey to Jerusalem. All the Christians rejoiced greatly to hear this oath. ³

Thus reassured, the army awaited the promised sign, amid mounting expectation and proliferating visionary activity, ⁴ and further encouraged in their expectation of imminent divine vindication when a meteorite was seen to fall on the Turkish camp. ⁵

Almost all the chroniclers described or at least mentioned the finding of the Holy Lance, but again Raymond of Agiles, who was actually

1. Perhaps it was these sins that accounted for Christ's remarkable lapse from omniscience in failing to recognise his army.

2. 'Tunc juraverunt principes quod de Antiochia non fugerent, neque egrederentur, nisi de communi consilio omnium. Etenim populus ea tempestate existimabat quod principes vellent fugere ad portum. Confortati sunt itaque multi. Etenim in nocte praeterita pauci steterunt in fide, qui fugere non voluissent'; Raymond 11, p.256.

3. 'Consiliati sunt omnes maiores nostri in illa hora, ut iurarent omnes sacramentum quod nullus illorum fugeret neque pro morte neque pro uita, quamdiu uiui essent. Primus dicitur iurasse Boamundus, deinde comes Sancti Egidii, et Rotbertus Nortmannus, ac dux Godefridus, et comes Flandrensis. Tancredus uero iurauit ac promisit tali modo, quia quamdiu secum quadraginta milites haberet, non solum ex illo bello sed etiam ab Hierosolimitano itinere non esset recessurus. Nimis autem exultauit Christiana congregatio, hoc audiens sacramentum'; Gesta 9.24, p.59; see also Chanson 7.20, vol2, p.167.

4. 'Eo tempore contigerunt nobis plurimae revelationes, per fratres nostros'; Raymond 11, p.257.

5. Ibid.; Gesta 9.26, p.62; Chanson, loc.cit.

present, must be regarded as the most accurate:

Somewhat comforted, then, our people awaited the fifth day, as foretold by the priest. ¹ On that day, when all the necessary preparations had been made and the Church of St. Peter had been cleared of everybody else, twelve men, together with the man who had brought the message of the Lance, began to dig. The party of twelve included the Bishop of Orange, Count Raymond's chaplain (the author of this account), the Count himself, Pontius of Baladun and Farald of Tournai. After digging from morning until evening, we began rather to despair of finding the Lance. The Count had to leave to guard the citadel; but in his place and those of the men exhausted by digging, others took over and carried on the work with renewed strength. Eventually Peter, seeing that we were tiring, disrobed and took off his shoes and, clad only in his shirt, jumped into the pit, where he entreated us to pray to God that he would reveal to us his Lance for the comfort and victory of his people. At last the grace of Peter's piety prevailed upon the Lord to reveal his Lance to us. And I, the author of this account, kissed it, when only the point protruded from the ground. The joy and exultation which then filled the city are indescribable. Thus the Lance was found on June 14. ²

1. I.e. Stephen of Valence.

2. 'Confortati igitur aliquantulum nostri, diem quintum, quem praedixerat sacerdos, expectabant. Die autem illa, praeparatis necessariis, duodecim viri, cum homine illo qui de lancea dixerat, ejectis de ecclesia Beati Petri omnibus aliis, fodere coepimus. Fuit autem in illis duodecim viris episcopus Aurasicensis, et Raimundi comitis capellanus, qui haec scripsit, et ipse comes, et Pontius de Baladuno, et Faraldus de Tornaiz. Quumque a mane usque ad vesperum fodissemus, in vespere desperare quidam de inventione lanceae coeperunt. Discesserat enim comes propter castelli custodiam; sed loco illius et aliorum qui fodiendo fatigabantur, alios recentes inducebamus, qui viriliter operi insisterent. Videns autem juvenis qui de lancea dixerat nos defatigari, discinctus, et discalciatis pedibus in camisia in foveam descendit, atque obtestatus est nos ut Deum deprecaremur, quatinus nobis lanceam suam redderet, in confortationem et

victoriam suae plebis. Tandem per gratiam pietatis suae commonitus est Dominus ut lanceam suam nobis ostendat. Et ego qui scripsi haec, quum solus mucro adhuc appareret super terram, osculatus sum eam. Quantum gaudium et exultatio tunc civitatem replevit, non possum dicere. Inventa est autem lancea octavo decimo kalendas Julii'; Raymond 11, p.257.

Raymond's account is, in its main points, confirmed by: Gesta 9.28, p.65; Tudebod 11.4, p.77; Baudri 3.14, p.74; Guibert 6.1, p.203; Albert 4.43, p.419f.; 'Epistula 2 Anselmi de Ribodimonte ad Manassem archiepiscopum Remorum' (July, 1098), Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe 15, p.159.

On Fulcher's hostility see above, p. 119.

Also hostile was Ralph of Caen, who reported Bohemond's character-assassination of Peter - 'a man who, I hear, frequents taverns and markets, a lover of stupid jokes and trivialities': 'homini quem audio cauponas frequentare, fora percurrere, nugis amicum, triviis innatum' - and his attack on the Lance. Ralph claimed that Peter had an arab lance up his sleeve and that the finding was no miracle but a nifty piece of sleight of hand; Ralph 100-102, p.677f.

Raymond's remark that he kissed the Lance while only the point was still protruding from the ground is especially significant: had Peter Bartholomew himself stuck the relic into the earth, he would surely have done so point first.

In a vision the following night, Peter followed up this success, fought off the challenge from Stephen and cemented his position as divine mouthpiece when St. Andrew informed him that the mysterious companion of his previous visitations had been no less a person than Christ himself. The saint reiterated that the Lance was reserved for Count Raymond and gave liturgical instructions for the future celebration of the anniversary of its finding. A further vision passed on practical instructions for the coming battle and promised that ninety percent of the Turks would be dealt with by the resurrected dead Crusaders. To this assurance of supernatural intervention St. Andrew added an almost explicit promise that the millenarian reign of the saints was about to dawn:

Be assured that those days have come which the Lord promised to the Blessed Mary and his apostles, when he would raise up the kingdom of the Christians, casting down and treading underfoot the kingdom of the pagans. ¹

After appropriate purificatory devotions, ² the Christians marched out to battle on June 28 as God's elect ³ and, according to Raymond, as a religious procession rather than in military order. ⁴

The visions of Peter and Stephen - as well as those of others not individually reported - and the finding of the Lance had proved to the army that God was indeed with them, and had restored their confidence in their rôle. Nor did God fail to live up to his promise of aid in the battle. To Raymond of Agiles, carrying the Lance with

1. 'Sed scitote profecto quia advenerunt dies illi quos promisit Dominus beatae Mariae et apostolis suis, quod elevaret regnum Christianorum, dejecto et conculcato paganorum regno'; Raymond 11, p.259. On the earlier vision see ibid. 11, p.257.

2. Gesta 9.29, p.67f.; 'Epist.Luccensis', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p.166f., Riant, Inventaire, p.224; 'Epist.2 Anselm.', Hagenmeyer, op.cit., p.160.

3. 'O quam beata gens cujus est Dominus Deus ejus! O quam beatus populus, quem Deus elegit!' Raymond 12, p.259, quoting Ps.32.12 (A.V. 33.12).

4. Ibid. 12, p.260; but cf. Gesta 9.29, p.68 & n.

Adhemar's contingent, this took the form of a shower of rain which refreshed the Christians and their horses, and of the addition of soldiers to the army, so that they outnumbered the Turks.¹ But others saw appear from the mountains an innumerable army with white horses and banners, led by Saints George, Mercurius and Demetrius.²

Now - as Raymond of Agiles, totally oblivious to strategic considerations noted - with Kerbogha defeated, the way to Jerusalem lay open. But the sinful army preferred to wallow in idleness and luxury in Antioch.³ As the friction between Bohemond and Raymond of Toulouse intensified into an open rupture, a further split appeared between the quarrelling princes on the one hand and the poor pilgrims on the other. Peter Bartholomew's visions soon began to reflect the frustration of the latter at being prevented from proceeding to Jerusalem⁴ by what they saw as irrelevant squabbling over the possession of a city of only marginal importance whose capture had already held them up for almost a year. When, shortly after his death on August 1, 1098, Adhemar appeared to Peter with St. Andrew, to assure the Crusade of continued support from their dead companions and to repent of his doubts of the Lance, the saint instructed that Bohemond should be allowed to keep the city, subject to certain conditions - in particular, provision for the poor - to be applied to the holder of any captured city by Count Raymond and the poor pilgrims.⁵ But the dispute over Antioch dragged on and the divinely-ordained mission of the Crusade continued to be ignored:

1. Raymond 12, p.261.

2. Gesta 9.29, p.69; Baudri 3.17, p.77; Guibert 6.9, p.206. The roster of saints is slightly different in Tudebod 11.8, p.81 (Geo., Dem. & Theodore); Hist.Peregrin.82, p.205 (Geo., Merc. & Theo.); Chanson 8.51, vol.2, p.262f. (Geo., Maurice, Merc. & Dem.); Wm.Malmesbury 4.365, vol.2, p.420 (Geo. & Dem.). According to the 'Epist.Luccensis', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p.166f., Riant, Inventaire, p.224, a citizen of Lucca, Bruno, who was in Antioch between March and July, 1098, reported the appearance of the army with white banners to rout the Turks, but mentioned no saints.

In Robert 5.8; 7.18, pp.796,836, the Turks see the heavenly army. On such divine intervention see further, below, p. 155f.

3. Raymond 13, p.262.

4. See Baudri 3.27, p.87.

5. Raymond 13, p.263f.

And thus, as the result of these disagreements and internal quarrels, the interests of the poor were brought to nothing, and nothing was done to carry out the orders which the Princes received from St. Andrew.¹

Andrew appeared yet again to Peter and told him to order Raymond to get on with it:

...the Lord orders you (Raymond) to delay no more, for unless Jerusalem is first captured you will receive no help.²

So the situation remained through the summer and autumn of 1098. On November 5 the princes met formally in Antioch to discuss what was to be done with the city; Bohemond's party claimed it as persistently as Raymond reminded everybody of their oaths to Alexius binding them to restore it to the Byzantine Empire. Again, the poor saw their desires and interests being ignored; they realised at last that they must look to themselves if they were to attain their goal:

When the people saw this, they began to say, at first to their companions and neighbours, but then openly to all, 'Since the princes, either through fear or because of the oath they swore to the Emperor, refuse to lead us to Jerusalem, let us elect some strong man from among the soldiers, whom we shall faithfully serve under and who will look after our interests, and, if it is God's will, under his leadership we shall reach Jerusalem. Is it not enough for our leaders that we have been here for a year and that 200,000 of our soldiers have lost their lives here? Some of them want the Emperor's gold, while others want Antioch surrendered to themselves. But we, led by Christ on whose behalf we came, wish to pursue our journey. May those who want to stay in Antioch perish like its former inhabitants. Because if this dispute over Antioch lasts any longer, we shall tear down its walls; then the concord that prevailed among our leaders before the capture of the city will be restored through its destruction. Otherwise we shall return to our homelands, before we are utterly annihilated by hunger and exhaustion.'³

1. 'Atque sic per hujusmodi discordias et seditiones, res pauperum annulatae sunt. De hoc consilio quod acceperunt apud Sanctum Andream principes, nihil fuit'; Raymond 13, p.264.

2. '...mandat tibi Dominus ne diutius moram facias, quia nisi prius Iherusalem capta fuerit, succursum nullum habebis'; ibid.13, p.266. On the implications of these instructions, see below, p. 142.

3. 'Haec autem quum populus vidisset, coepit dicere quisque ad socium suum et ad vicinum, deinde palam omnibus: "Quoniam principes, vel propter timorem vel propter juramenta quae imperatori fecerunt, nos in Iherusalem ducere nolunt, eligamus de militibus aliquem fortem, cui fideliter serviendo, et tuti esse possimus, et, si gratia Dei est, eodem milite duce in Iherusalem perveniamus. Eho! non sufficit principibus nostris quod hic per annum fuimus, et ducenta millia armatorum hic consumpta sunt? Habeant qui volunt aurum habere imperatoris, et qui volunt redditus Antiochiae habere. Nos autem, Christo pro quo venimus duce, iter nostrum aggrediamur. Pereant male qui volunt habitare Antiochiae, sicut nuper habitatores ejus perierunt. Quod si haec tanta lis diutius propter Antiochiam datur, diruamus muros ejus; et pax quae ante captam civitatem principes tenuit, destructa civitate eosdem tenebit. Alioquin, antequam omnino fame et taedio hic deficiamus, ad propria reverti debemus" '; Raymond 14, p.267f.

At the end of November the army laid siege to Ma'arat; they were soon suffering from famine, and desertions recommenced. But the threat to the sense of election of the poor was averted when St. Andrew and St. Peter appeared to Peter Bartholomew unrecognisably clad in filthy rags. They identified themselves and explained that they were dressed like this to show him the reward of faithful devotion to God: they had gone to him dressed in this way, to be transformed into overpowering brightness and beauty. And with this they suited the action to the word, so that Peter collapsed in terror at their sudden radiance. The message was clear: the elected poor could look forward to undergoing the same transformation. Peter's account of the vision led, next morning, to alms-giving and prayers to God 'ut plebem pauperum suorum, pro solo nomine liberaret'.¹

Ma'arat fell on December 12, but still the Crusade did not move on. So Peter of Narbonne, a priest in Raymond's contingent and now Bishop of Albara, called a meeting at which knights and poor pilgrims knelt at the feet of Raymond, the recipient of the Lance, and begged him to assume leadership of the Crusade. If he would not, he should hand over the Lance to the people and they would proceed to Jerusalem under the leadership of Christ. Despite his reservations, Raymond gave in to their tears and set a date for departure. When he tried to garrison Ma'arat the poor - presumably fearing yet another delay as a result of Raymond's continued persistence in getting his priorities wrong - tore down its walls with their bare hands.² Their sense of election at this time was confirmed when six or seven poor pilgrims were killed by the Saracens and crosses were found marked in the right shoulders of their corpses.³

On January 13, 1099, Raymond of Toulouse set out barefoot as a pilgrim from Ma'arat at the head of the army.⁴ Godfrey of Lorraine,

1. Raymond 14, p.268f.

2. Ibid. 14, p.270f.

3. Ibid. 14, p.272.

4. Ibid.; Gesta 10.34, p.81; Baudri 4.1, p.89; Robert 8.8, p.850; Gilo, 'Historia Gestorum Viae Nostrae Temporis Hierosolymitanae' 5, lines 299-304, R.H.C.Occ. 5, p.786.

Robert of Flanders and Bohemond hung back until complaints from the common Crusaders forced them to agree to follow Raymond towards Jerusalem.¹ He laid siege to Arqa on February 14, and the other princes joined him there. It was there, too, that Peter Bartholomew saw his last vision. For almost a year now he had been relaying instructions, not only for the spiritual well-being of the army, but also concerning practical details. He had, in fact, almost usurped the rôle of leader of the Crusade. This time he really pulled out all the stops.

Christ appeared to him on the Cross, indicating his five wounds which, he explained, reflected the five ranks of the Christian army, from the utterly fearless - like Christ himself - in the first rank to the abject cowards - Pilates and Judases who betrayed their Lord - in the fifth. Peter was to instruct Count Raymond to call out the army in military array:

'When the time comes, let the Count gather the princes and people together, ordered as for battle or as for the assault on a camp. Then let the foremost herald cry three times, "God help us." and let him try to complete the array. Then, as I say, you will see the ranks and you, and the other believers, will be able to distinguish the unbelievers.' I asked, 'What shall we do with the unbelievers?' And the Lord answered, 'Do not spare them, but kill them, because they are my betrayers, brothers of Judas Iscariot. Give their possessions to the men of the first rank, according to their needs. If you do this as I have told you, you will find the right road which has so far eluded you.'²

Clearly what Peter had in mind was a rigorous purging of the Crusade, so that only the pure - the Elect - would be left for the final stage of the march to Jerusalem; once this had been done, no further obstacle could intervene, and it was to the failure of the army to rid itself of its dross that all the difficulties it had encountered were to

1. Albert 5.28, p.449. Bohemond, of course, soon turned back, see Runciman, First Crusade, p.270f.

2. 'Congreget comes principes et populum disponantque de bello, vel de castris oppugnatione aliquid, quum tempus fuerit; proclametque notissimus praeco, Deus adjuva, ter, atque dispositum complere tendat. Tunc, sicut dixi tibi, ordines videbis, et tu, et alii qui his creditis, incredulos distinguetis.' Et dixi: 'Quid de incredulis faciemus?' Et respondit mihi Dominus: 'Non parcatis eis; sed occidite, quia proditores mei sunt, fratres Judae Scarioth. Res vero illorum his qui de priori ordine sunt concedite, prout necessariae fuerint. Si sic agitis, invenistis viam rectam quam hactenus circuistis'; Raymond 17, p.279f.

be attributed. The purging would be performed on the basis of a judgement of individual merit revealed, as at the Last Judgement itself, by physical indications - in this case position in the drawn-up army.¹ The redistribution of the wealth of the executed reprobate among the members of the first rank according to need suggests, furthermore, that the reprobate were expected to be relatively wealthy, and the first rank to be composed of the poor.

Peter had, however, gone too far this time and men began openly to question his election to the rôle of divine mouthpiece and, as a result, the authenticity of the Lance itself:

When we revealed this vision to our brothers, some began to say that they had never believed that God would speak to man in this way, ignoring the princes and bishops to show himself to a mere peasant; and thus they began even to doubt the authenticity of the Holy Lance.²

An inquiry was held into the question of the Lance, and a number of confirmatory visions were reported; Raymond of Agiles was present, to describe how he had kissed the point of the Lance while it was still embedded in the ground.³ In the end it was Peter himself, utterly convinced of the genuineness of his visions and of the relic he had

1. See above, p. 58f., where the elect and reprobate have distinguishing physical marks or different degrees of radiance at the Judgement. And cf. the selection of Gideon's army at Judges 7.4-7.

2. 'Quum autem haec fratribus ostendissemus, coeperunt quidam dicere quod nunquam crederent quod hujusmodi homini loqueretur Deus, et dimitteret principes episcopos, et ostenderet se rustico homini: unde etiam de lancea Domini dubitabant'; Raymond 17, p.280f.; note his use of 'ostendissemus': he was still closely associated with Peter. Adhemar had always had serious doubts about the Lance and some were aware of these; see Raymond, loc.cit., where Arnulf of Rohes explained that his scepticism was based on Adhemar's doubts; also Fulcher 1.18, p.344. On Bohemond's early attack on Peter, see above, p. 122, n.2. Peter claimed that Adhemar had appeared to him, immediately after his death in August, 1098, to repent of these doubts, for which he had been cast into Purgatory, Raymond 13, p.262; on a similar vision of Peter Desiderius, see below, p. 129, n.3.

3. The inquiry is described by Raymond 17, p.281f.; he kisses the Lance, see above, p. 122f.

uncovered, who insisted upon undergoing the ordeal which led - whether as a result of the burns he received or of his wounds at the hands of the mob when he emerged unharmed from the flames - to his death. ¹

Raymond of Toulouse now wanted to delay the march on Jerusalem until Alexius could join them, while the poor pilgrims backed those who argued for pressing on at once. ² In response to the Count's immobility, Adhemar appeared to Stephen of Valence with instructions. Raymond finally agreed to move on, but at Tripoli he tried to persuade the army to stop and invest the city, so that St. Andrew had to appear to Peter Desiderius with instructions to get on to Jerusalem. ³

On June 7, 1099, the Crusade finally settled down around the walls of Jerusalem; but soon the soldiers found themselves in difficulties. They suffered from the heat and from lack of food; expeditions to fetch water were subject to ambush, and an assault on June 13 failed. Quarrels arose over the possession of Bethlehem and then over the disposition of Jerusalem itself; desertions began and, early in July, news came that a huge relieving force had set out from Egypt. ⁴

In a situation strikingly similar to that outside Antioch, supernatural reassurance was again forthcoming. Adhemar appeared to Peter Desiderius, to tell him:

'Say to the princes and all the people: "All you who have come from so far away to worship God and the Lord of Hosts here must purify yourselves of your foul deeds and refrain from your evil-doing. Then you must walk barefoot round the city of Jerusalem,

1. He died of his burns according to the hostile chroniclers: Fulcher 1.18, p.344f., and Ralph 108, p.682. He was barely singed by the flames, but was crushed to death in the rush for pieces of his clothing as relics, according to Raymond 18, p.283f., and Guibert 6.22, p.218. Albert 5.32, p.452, reported both versions. The Princes' letter to Urban II, of Sept., 1099, still showed belief in the Lance, 'Epistula (Dagoberti) Pisani archiepiscopi et Godefridi ducis et Raimundi de S. Aegidii et universi exercitus in terra Israel ad papam et omnes Christi fideles', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe 18, p.169f.; so did Paschal II's letter of April 28, 1100, to the Crusaders, 'Epistula Paschalis II papae ad omnes cruce signatos in Asia triumphantes', ibid. 22, p.178. The Lance was carried into the Battle of Ascalon, see below p. 145.

2. Raymond 18, p.286; Albert 5.36, p.455; and see Runciman, First Crusade, p.272.

3. Raymond 18, pp.286-89. Peter Desiderius was a priest who, at the inquiry into the authenticity of the Lance, had reported a vision in which Adhemar appeared to him to explain that he had been sent to Purgatory because of his doubts about it, ibid. 17, p.281.

4. Runciman, op.cit., pp.281-3.

invoking the name of God, and you must fast. If you do all this and lay siege vigorously to the city for nine days, you will capture it. Otherwise, the Lord will multiply upon you all the evils which you have already suffered.' ¹

The army immediately acknowledged its faults and made preparation for the procession. On Friday, July 8, the barefoot army set off round the city; the clergy went first, carrying crosses and relics, then came the princes and knights, with trumpets and banners, and finally the foot soldiers and pilgrims. Having completed the circuit and endured the mockeries of the Moslems within the walls, they ascended the Mount of Olives. ² There they performed mutual forgiveness and almsgiving, before hearing several sermons, including, according to Baudri, one from Arnulf of Rohes, in which he reminded them of the interpenetration of the city before them with the Heavenly Jerusalem:

This city, which you see before you, is the reason for all our labours. It is the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the form of that city for which we long.... This Jerusalem, which you see, to which you have come and which you have now reached, prefigures and promises to you that heavenly city.... ³

He reminded them that the defenders of the earthly city were ministers of the powers of evil and pointed out the consequences of failure to wrest it from them:

It is unquestionably to be feared that the heavenly city will be closed to us and removed from our grasp if, by our laziness, we allow a malignant enemy to withhold our home from us. ⁴

To other chroniclers, too, the capture of Jerusalem was an apocalyptic event. Raymond of Agiles referred to the description of the apocalyptic

1. 'Loquere ad principes et ad omnem populum, dicens: Vos qui venistis de tam longinquis regionibus, ut Deum et Dominum exercituum hic adoraretis, sanctificamini ab immunditiis vestris et revertatur unusquisque ab operibus suis pravis. Et post haec, nudis pedibus circuite civitatem Iherusalem, invocantes Deum, et jejunabitis. Si sic egeritis, et oppugnaveritis civitatem viriliter usque ad novem dies, capiatur. Alioquin, omnia mala quae passi estis, vobis a Domino multiplicabuntur'; Raymond 20, p.296.

2. Ibid. 20, p.296f.; and see Runciman, First Crusade, p.284.

3. 'Haec, quam videtis, totius nostri causa est laboris. Haec tamen Jerusalem coelestis instar est; haec civitatis illius ad quam suspiramus forma est....ista Jerusalem, quam videtis, cui advenistis, cui adestis, illam civitatem coelestem et praefigurat et praetendit'; Baudri 4.13, p.100f.

4. 'Pro certo timendum est ut civitas illa coelestis nobis claudatur, nobis auferatur, si nobis desidiosus a malignis hospitibus nostra domus abdicabitur'; Baudri 4.13, p.101.

process in the Revelation when he described how, during the massacre of the defenders of the city, the Christians rode in blood 'up to the knees and up to the bridles of the horses'.¹

Ralph of Caen described how, in what must be a purely fictitious episode in view of the Islamic prohibition of images, Tancred came upon a statue in the Temple; his deductive approach was seasoned with sublime self-confidence:

Perhaps this is a likeness of Mars or Apollo;
Perhaps it is even Christ. But it does not bear the attributes
of Christ;

It has no cross, no crown of thorns, no nails and no pierced side.
So it cannot be Christ. It is rather the forerunner of Antichrist,
The evil and pernicious Mohammed.

If only his companion, the future one, were here now,
Then my feet would tread down both Antichrists!²

The defeat of the Egyptian army, too, acquired apocalyptic overtones. When, in Europe, in 1099, a great light was seen in the northern sky by night, it was interpreted, according to Hugh of Flavigny, as a sign against 'the multitudes of the Prince of Babylon, who came to overthrow those who had captured Jerusalem, and whose number was as the sands of the sea'.³ The final phrase is a clear allusion to the description of Gog and Magog roused up by the unleashed Satan against the millenarian kingdom of the saints at Revelation 20.8.

1. '... usque ad genua, et usque ad frenos equorum'; Raymond 20, p.300; see Rev.14.20. Ref. from Hills, Raymond d'Aguilers, p.128, n.22.

2. 'Forsitan hoc Martis vel Apollinis est simulacrum:
Numquid enim Christus? non hic insignia Christi,
Non crux, non sertum, non clavi, non latus haustum.
Ergo neque hic Christus: quin pristinus Antichristus,
Mahummet pravus, Mahummet perniciosus.
O si hujus socius nunc afforet, ille futurus!
Jam meus hic ambos pes supprimat Antichristos.'

Ralph 129, p.695; also Hist.Peregrin,124, p.222, where the author alludes to St. Paul's account of Antichrist at 2 Ths.2.4: 'Qui vernaculus est barathri, nunc in templo Dei, tanquam sit Deus, sedere conspicitur'. The identification of Mohammed with Antichrist, although very much rarer than one might have anticipated, is not entirely unprecedented. In about 854 a group of Spanish Christians, under the stimulus of Moslem persecution, made elaborate calculations proving that Mohammed was the eleventh horn of Dan.7.8,20-25, and that the End would come in 867; see Southern, History as Prophecy, p.163f. See also K.Heisig, 'Die Geschichtsmetaphysik des Rolandsliedes und ihre Vorgeschichte', in Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 55 (1935), pp.10-18.

3. '... multitudinem principis Babyloniae, qui venerat ad proterendos eos qui Hierosolimam ceperant, quorum numerus erat ut arena maris'; Chron. Hugo 2. p.481.

The apocalyptic element came to the fore in the letter written by Daimbert, Godfrey and Raymond of Toulouse to Urban only a month after the battle, in September, 1099. They described how, before the battle, the Christians prayed to God to help them defeat the forces of the devil and establish a universal kingdom of Christ:

...so that, through this battle and the destruction of the soldiers of the Saracens and of the devil, he might spread the kingdom of Christ and of the Church from sea to sea. ¹

The millenarian implications of this passage are reinforced by the letter's description of how, during the actual battle, nature itself helped the Christian army:

The entire world fought for us....the army caught many thousands of camels, cattle and sheep. And when, by the order of the princes, the soldiers abandoned them to advance into battle, all the animals, incredible though it may sound, formed themselves into many huge squadrons. Then these animals accompanied us, halting when we halted, advancing when we advanced and running when we ran. Moreover the clouds shielded and cooled our men from the heat of the sun. ²

In Commodianus' description of the return of Christ at the head of the descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel to destroy Antichrist and his army from the north - Gog and Magog, obviously - before living for ever in a holy Jerusalem, the whole Creation rejoiced to see the heavenly people: as at Ascalon, clouds protected them from the sun, mountains subsided before them and fountains burst forth along their route. ³

1. '...in praesenti bello, confractis uiribus Saracenorum et diaboli, regnum Christi et ecclesiae a mari usque ad mare usquequaque dilataret'; 'Epist. Dagoberti et al.', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p.171f. See Zch.9.10 and Ps.72.8 (A.V.72.8).

The passage is also in Ekkehard, Chron., pp.210.217.

2. 'Pugnabat certe orbis terrarum pro nobis....multa milia camelorum et boum et ouium cepit exercitus. Cumque iussu principum populus haec dimisisset, ad pugnam progrediens, mirabile dictu, multas et multiplices turmas cameli fecerunt, similiter et boues et oues. Haec autem animilia nobiscum comitabantur, ut cum stantibus starent, cum procedentibus procederent, cum currentibus currerent. Nubes etiam ab aestu solis nos defenderunt et refrigerabant'; 'Epist. Dagoberti et al.', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p.172f. And see Ekkehard, Chron., pp.210,217.

Cf. the refreshing shower of rain which fell during the battle with Kerboqha, above, p. 123f.

3. Commodianus, Instructiones 42, p.455; Carmen 959-72, p.177; and see Cohn, Millennium, p.28f.

Nature similarly helped the saints of its own accord in the millenarian fantasies of Lactantius, Div.Inst.7.24, p.479f., and Papias, reported by Irenaeus, Heresies 5.33.3f., p.145f., part of which I quote above, p. 34.

See Alphanféry & Dupront, Chrétienté, vol.1, p.132f.

But whereas Commodianus and his fellows of the Chiliastic period of Christianity had expected Christ to return to lead the march of the saints, no-one after St. Augustine could look forward to such a hope. Christ could enjoy a well-deserved rest until called upon to perform the Last Judgement, and any messianic rôle before then would be fulfilled by a human agent, the Last Emperor.

iii. The Last Emperor on the Crusade; the Election of Raymond of Toulouse.

Ekkehard described how the purity of the elect going on the People's Crusade was compromised by the presence among them of pseudo-prophets and dishonest men and women raised up by the devil:

It was these who were responsible for the story that Charlemagne had risen from the dead for the Crusade along with I do not know who else....¹

There is nothing here to suggest that Charlemagne was being resurrected to fill the rôle of Last Emperor;² nor can I find any evidence that such an identification had ever been made.³ His reappearance to lead the Crusade can largely be attributed to the development of the legend that he had once gone on a pilgrimage - even a Crusade - to Jerusalem.⁴ At Clermont, according to Robert the Monk, Urban had reminded his audience of the example set them by Charlemagne and his successors,⁵ and many of the chroniclers described how the Crusade travelled to

1. 'Inde fabulosum illud confictum est de Karolo Magno quasi de mortuis in id ipsum resuscitato et alio nescio quo nihilominus redivivo'; Ekkehard, Chron., p.215.

2. This is what Cohn implies, Millennium, p.72f.

3. On Kampers attempt to have Alcuin make this identification see above, p. 74, n.3.

4. On Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Jerusalem see Kampers, Kaiseridee, p.56f; Cohn, op.cit., pp.72,338f.; J.Bédier, Les Légendes Épiques. Recherches sur la formation des Chansons de Geste, vol.4, pp.122-67, 435-69.

5. Robert 1.1, p.728.

Constantinople along the road built by Charlemagne.¹ But Ekkehard's story, in actually raising him from the dead to lead the Crusade, clearly went much farther than this.

Two precedents immediately spring to mind: the resurrection of Christ himself and the legend of Nero redivivus;² there is also a suggestive passage in the Pseudo-Methodius, where the Last Emperor is described as awakening like a man from a wine-induced sleep,³ but this is merely a quotation from Psalm 78.65 and I see no reason to suppose that it was intended to refer to physical death and resurrection. K.Heisig, in a fascinating account of Charlemagne's burial and of his exhumation by Otto III, discovered essentially pre-Christian burial-rites overlaid with a thin Christian veneer, and derived the idea of a return from the dead from the same general framework of primitive belief.⁴ Gaston Paris, too, discerned pagan origins, but preferred to operate within a more strictly European framework and derived the idea from the sun's victory over winter and beliefs concerning Odin in Germanic folklore.⁵

I do not see the necessity, however, of adducing primitive survivals of this sort since, at any time and in any cultural framework, people who have identified themselves with some dead hero have refused to accept the fact of his death and have expected his reappearance. In our own century, there have been those who claimed that Lord Kitchener had not drowned at sea, or that the film-star James Dean had survived his fatal car-crash, although horribly disfigured. There is really no need to suggest some complex survival of belief behind Charlemagne's resurrection, when the Crusaders may, quite simply, have been reacting

1. Gesta 1.2, p.2; Tudebod 1.2, p.10f; Hist.Peregrin.3, p.174; Baudri 1.9, p.18, n.9; Robert 1.5, p.732; Petrus Diaconus, Chron.4.11, p.765.

2. Nero redivivus, see above, p. 27f.

3. '... et expergiscitur tamquam homo a somno vini'; Ps.-Meth.13, p.89. See Heisig, Geschichtsmetaphysik des Rolandsliedes, p.64f.

4. Heisig, Geschichtsmetaphysik des Rolandsliedes, pp.54-62, and especially p.54f.

5. G.Paris, Histoire poétique de Charlemagne, p.434.

Christ and that all his enemies would be defeated.¹ As Cohn remarks,

What can all this mean but that this petty German lord was assuming the role which Bishop Benzo had tried in vain to impose upon the Emperor Henry - that he had decided to be the eschatological emperor who was to unite the Western and Eastern Empires and then make his way to Jerusalem.²

In the light of Emicho's sense of election, his Jewish massacres perhaps acquire a new significance and become, not simply the result of bloodlust and the hope of plunder, but the result of his victims' refusal to submit to the conversion which, it had been prophesied, they would undergo at the hands of the Last Emperor.³

In the event, however, Emicho set off through Hungary, where his army was destroyed; he escaped and returned to Germany, to die in 1117.⁴ But after his death he acquired attributes of a sleeping hero, as described by Ekkehard under the year 1123:

Over a period of several days, a considerable number of armed knights were seen near Worms, riding around together as if enjoying each others' conversation and returning, at about the ninth hour, to the same mountain from which they had been seen to emerge. At last some of the inhabitants of the region, despite their terror of this unnatural congregation, approached them, armed with the sign of the cross, and asked one of them, in the name of the omnipotent God, to explain the reason for this apparition. To which he replied, among other things, 'Despite what you may think, we are not phantoms, nor the troop of soldiers that we might appear to be, but the souls of recently dead soldiers. The weapons, garb and horses which were formerly the instruments of our sins are now the material with which we are tormented, and indeed we are utterly consumed by fire, although your corporeal eyes may not be able to

1. Salomo bar Simeon, 'Bericht', in A. Neubauer & M. Stern, Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, vol. 2, p. 92 (German trans. of Hebrew text). This account, written c. 1140, is based on earlier written and oral sources.

2. Cohn, Millennium, p. 73. On Benzo's nomination of Henry IV, see above, p. 87.

3. See Alphandéry & Dupront, Chrétienté, vol. 1, p. 76; Tiburтина, p. 185. The Jews are converted before the End, see above, p. 64.

4. On the collapse of his expedition, see Albert 1.28f., pp. 293-5; Ekkehard, Chron., p. 208; Runciman, First Crusade, p. 141; Cohn, loc. cit. On his death Ekkehard, Chron., p. 253; Otto, Gesta Friderici 1.13, p. 359.

discern it.' Count Emicho, who had been killed a few years before, was said to appear in this company, explaining that he could be redeemed from this punishment by prayers and almsgiving. ¹

Whatever the origins of the details of this story, the simple fact is that Emicho's influence in his lifetime had been so strong in the Rhinelands that people could not believe that he was dead. But although he may, after his death, have come to add a rôle very close to that of sleeping hero to that of Last Emperor, he was the only eschatological leader of the Crusade to do this. Charlemagne did not add the attributes of Last Emperor to those of sleeping hero; and although Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse may have been set up as Last Emperor, they remained determinedly insomniac.

The evidence for Godfrey's nomination is sparse and ambiguous. Alphandéry adduced his presentation to the high altar in Jerusalem as a small child and his coronation with a crown of thorns ² as well as a soldier's vision of Godfrey on Mt. Sinai, reported by Albert of Aix,

1. 'In pago Wormaciensi videbatur per aliquot dies non modica et armata multitudo equitum euntium et redeuntium, et quasi ad placiti colloquia nunc hic nunc illic turmas facere, circa nonam vero horam cuidam monti, a quo et exisse videbantur, se reddere. Tandem quidam de incolis regionis illius non sine magno timore huiusmodi tam prodigiosae concioni, crucis signaculo munitus, appropinquat, mox quandam ex illis occurrentem sibi personam per nomen omnipotentis Domini nostri manifestare causam populi qui sic appareret adiurat. Cui ille inter caetera: "Non sumus," inquit, "ut putatis fantasmata, nec militum ut a vobis cernimur turba, sed animae militum non longe antehac interfectorum. Arma vero et habitus atque equi quia, nobis prius fuerant instrumenta peccandi, nunc nobis sunt materia tormenti, et vere totum ignitum est quod in nobis cernitis, quamvis id vos corporalibus oculis discernere non possitis." In huiusmodi comitatu dicitur etiam Emicho comes, ante paucos annos occisus, apparuisse, et ab hac poena orationibus et elemosinis se posse redimi docuisse'; Ekkehard, Chron., p.261.

Appearance from a mountain became an attribute of the Last Emperor: both Charlemagne and Frederick Barbarossa were said to sleep in mountains; see Alphandéry & Dupront, Chrétiené, vol.1, p.76.

2. The text - La Conquête de Jérusalem 5.28, ed. C.Hippeau, p.191 - does not support Alphandéry's interpretation, Chrétienté, p.131f., where he distorts it to back up his argument. He writes: 'Ne faut-il pas trouver aussi une intention d'élection divine dans le rite qu'accomplissent...les barons après l'élection: "Au maistre autel l'offrèrent à guise d'enfanchon" '. But this is a wilful compression of lines 4815-16 of the Conquête, which read:

'Au maistre autel l'offrèrent, par grant devocion.
Là où Dex fu offert à guise d'enfanchon.

He is equally suspect on the subject of the crown of thorns; Cohn, Millennium, p.67, makes much more sense of it by having King Tafur present Godfrey with a branch of thorns in memory of the crown.

where he was promised blessing and grace such as Moses received:

What could this vision mean, except there would arise a spiritual leader of Israel of the character and gentleness of Moses, preordained by God and appointed leader of the people. ¹

Albert also related another vision in which Godfrey appeared as the sun, with an innumerable flock of birds flying round him, ² just as the sleeping-place of Frederick Barbarossa was surrounded by birds in the later Kyffhäuser legend. ³ And Robert the Monk described Godfrey in terms very close to the description of the Last Emperor in the Tiburtine Sibyl:

He was of elegant features, tall in stature, gentle of speech, distinguished in his conduct, and so gentle in military matters, that he seemed more like a monk than a soldier. ⁴

Certainly there is some suggestion of Godfrey's election here; but it is retrospective and part of the general accretion of legendary material to the person of Godfrey after his death and in the light of his special status as first Christian ruler in Jerusalem. ⁵

For the eschatologically-minded poor during the actual course of the First Crusade, the major figure was Raymond of Toulouse. It must already have become plain, from my account of the career of Peter Bartholomew, that the poor pilgrims of the army were trying to project some special rôle on to Count Raymond. The question now to be answered is what exactly that rôle was, and how far Raymond was prepared to live up to it.

1. 'Quid in hac visione aliud considerandum, nisi quia in spiritu et lenitate Moysi surgeret dux spiritualis Israhel, a Deo praeordinatus et principis populi constitutus?' Albert 6.34f., p.486f. See Alphandéry & Dupront, Chrétienté, vol.1, pp. 125, 131.

2. Albert 6.36, p.487.

3. See P.Munz, Frederick Barbarossa. A Study in Medieval Politics, pp.3,12.

4. 'Hic vultu elegans, statura procerus, dulcis eloquio, moribus egregius, et in tantum militibus lenis, ut magis in se monachum quam militem figuraret'; Robert 1.5, p.731.

'Hic erit statura grandis, aspectu decorus, vultu splendidus atque per singula membrorum liniamenta decenter compositus'; Tiburtina, p.185.

5. In addition, William of Malmesbury reported a legend of Godfrey's descent from Charlemagne and a story of how he was chronically sick until, hearing of the Crusade, he vowed to go if God would restore his health, which, of course, God promptly did - a story which, perhaps, reflects the tendency of the elect person to appear ex nihilo; see Wm.Malmesbury 4.373, vol.2, p.431f.

Presumably as the result of previous consultation with Urban, Raymond was the first of the magnates to announce his intention of taking the Cross, on December 1, 1096, only four days after Urban's sermon at Clermont. ¹

Among the leaders he stands out as the one least open to imputations of material ambition as his motive for taking the cross, but his character is far from being an open book. ²

His unquestionably sharp eye for the main chance was tempered by a sincere religious piety which, at times, bordered on naivety. Thus when, in August, 1097, he fell so seriously ill that he was thought to be dying, a Saxon count was able to save him by claiming to be the bearer of a message from his patron saint, St. Giles, encouraging him to recover. ³

Raymond's first intimation of the special rôle he had been elected to play would appear to have come when he was appointed bearer of the Holy Lance at Antioch. At his first appearance, on December 30, 1097, St. Andrew told Peter Bartholomew:

Come, and I shall show you the lance of our father Jesus Christ, which you are to give to the Count; for God, by whom he (Christ) was begotten has granted it to him (Raymond). ⁴

And once the Lance had been uncovered, St. Andrew reminded Peter of its future ownership:

Behold, God has given to the Count what he has never wished to give to anyone else, and he appoints him vexillifer of this army, so long as he remains resolute in his love. ⁵

1. Runciman, First Crusade, p.110.

2. Mayer, Crusades, p.46.

3. Raymond 4, p.241; Hist.Peregrin.30, p.184.

4. 'Veni, et ostendam tibi lanceam patris nostri Jesu Christi, quam comiti donabis: etenim Deus eam concessit illi ex quo genitus est'; Raymond 10, p.254. For the last phrase I have adopted the translation of my supervisor, Prof. R.M.T.Hill; Alphandéry, Messianisme, p.6, translated it as referring to Raymond's father, to represent the preceding of the elected person by someone a little inferior - a forerunner standing, presumably, in much the same relation to him as that of John the Baptist to Christ - and drew the parallel of Philip Augustus and his father, Louis VII. This is typical of the wishful thinking that mars Alphandéry's work in this field (for another example, see above, p. 137, n.2); nevertheless, my discussion of the election of Raymond of Toulouse owes much to this article.

5. 'Ecce Deus donavit comiti quod nulli unquam donare voluit, et constituit illum vexilliferum istius exercitus, siquidem perseveraverit in amore ejus'; Raymond 11, p.257.

Raymond was, then, to be unique among men as the possessor of the Lance and the vexillifer - standard-bearer - of the army. Possession of the Holy Lance carried with it imperial attributes, for since 926 the German Emperors had possessed as an emblem a sacred lance, that of St. Maurice with a chamber in the shaft containing relics of Christ,¹ which was carried before them at the imperial coronation.² Moreover, as Alphandéry has shown, the Lance was equivalent to the vexillum of the resurrected warrior Christ,³ and several writers of the period described the Cross as the vexillum of Christ at his Second Coming.⁴

According to legend, Charlemagne had carried the tip of the Lance in the pommel of his sword,⁵ and Benzo related how he had received a vexillum together with the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and had prophesied Henry IV's election as standard-bearer of Christendom:

The ambassador from the bishop of Jerusalem brought me many relics, and the keys of the Sepulchre together with a vexillum, as a blessing; but this prophecy reaches out to you, who will be the 'signifer' of the Christian religion in this work by the will of God.⁶

1. See Chron.S.Pantal., col.884; Otto, Chron.6.18, p.237; R.Folz, L'idée d'Empire en occident du Ve au XIVe siècle, p.85f.; E.Duckett, Death and Life in the Tenth Century, p.53f.

2. Benzo, ad Hen.IV 1.9, p.602.

3. Alphandéry, Messianisme, pp.19-21.

4. R.Ardens, Hom.1.19, col.1374; Werner, Deflor.1, cols.740,757f.; Anselm Laon, in Matt.24, col.1453. Lambert, Lib.Flor., p.507 (108), showed the figure of Ecclesia holding a chalice - another of Raymond's attributes: see J.H. & L.L.Hill, Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles, pp.1,140, on how he took the chalice of St. Robert with him on the Crusade - and a cross on a long staff with a banner; there is a caption: 'Vexillum sanctę ecclesię crux'. P.L.165, col.273n., informs us that Jerome and Bede both alluded to the sign of the Son of Man of Mt.24.30 as a vexillum, but gives no precise reference. The heavenly letter which circulated at the time of the Second Crusade set up Louis VII as Last Emperor with 'vexilla rosea', see below, p. 144f.

5. Song of Roland, laisse 183, trans.D.L.Sayers, p.147; reference from P.Rousset, Les Origines et les Caractères de la Première Croisade, p.120, n.4. The song was, of course, composed at about the time of the Crusade.

6. 'Legatus praeterea Hyerusolomitae episcopi detulit michi multas reliquias, et claves sepulchri cum vexillo, causa benedictionis; sed hec prophetia tendit oculum ad te, qui eris in hoc opere per voluntatem Dei signifer christianae religionis'; Benzo, op.cit.1.17, p.606.

The similarity of the terms 'vexillifer' and 'signifer' - both meaning standard-bearer - carries with it the implication that Raymond was, like Henry, being set up as Last Emperor through the conferring of the Lance.¹ Since the Last Emperor was a substitute for the returned Christ of the earthly millennium, the messianic overtones of Raymond's possession of the Lance help substantiate this implication.² Possession of the Lance conferred leadership of the Crusade upon Raymond: when the army was bogged down at Ma'arat, the people begged him, if he would not lead them onwards, to surrender it.³ His leadership, moreover, was over a movement whose aim was, as St. Andrew explained, the establishment of a millenarian kingdom.⁴

What makes it impossible absolutely to identify the rôle to which Raymond was being elected as that of Last Emperor is the absence of any follow-up. His immediate duty was, of course, to lead the people to Jerusalem; but then what?

As Peter Bartholomew lay dying after undergoing the ordeal, he gave Count Raymond final instructions for the disposition of the Lance:

When you reach Jerusalem, have the army implore God to prolong and continue your life, and he will do so for as long as you have already lived. Furthermore, when you return to the West,

1. For Benzo on Henry as Last Emperor, see above, p. 87.

2. Raymond's possession of the Lance and of a chalice - see above, p. 140, n.4 - would seem also to link him with the Grail Legend, in which a bleeding lance, obviously that which pierced Christ's side, accompanies the Grail itself; see Alphandéry, Messianisme, p.10f., and his article 'Les Citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première croisade', in Revue de l'histoire des religions, 99 (1929), p.145n. The questions of sleeping emperors, holy lances, etc., would here appear to touch upon areas outside the apocalyptic tradition which it is impossible to investigate in a work of this sort. Alphandéry, Messianisme, p.8f., also pointed out that Raymond went to uncover the Lance, as instructed by St. Andrew, with a messianic college of twelve persons. He drew a parallel with Charlemagne and his twelve peers sitting at the table of the Last Supper. In Raymond of Agiles' account, however, it is Peter Bartholomew, if anyone, who has the twelve companions: Raymond 10; 11, pp.254,257, quoted above, pp. 118, 122. The figure of thirteen altogether at the uncovering is confirmed by Gesta 9.28, p.65; Baudri 3.14, p.74; Guibert 6.1, p.203; Robert 7.3, p.823.

3. See above, p.126.

4. Raymond 11, p.257, already quoted above, p. 123.

place the Lance of the Lord five leagues from the Church of St. Trophimus, ¹ and have a church built there to house it. Let money be minted there, which you shall swear will never be false; nor shall you allow anything of any kind to be done falsely there. The place will be called Mount Joy, and these things will be done throughout Provence. For the Blessed Peter promised his disciple Trophimus that he would send him the Lance of the Lord. ²

Raymond was 56 or 57 at the time, so the doubling of his lifespan clearly carried him into the realm of the supernatural and is reminiscent of the 112 or 122-year reign of the Last Emperor in the Sibyllines. ³ This was not the first time that Peter had told Raymond that his final destiny lay beyond Jerusalem; at Antioch he had passed on a warning from St. Andrew that the Count would receive no divine aid until Jerusalem was captured. ⁴ Peter Desiderius gave the same warning, but promised Raymond, beyond Jerusalem, possession of Alexandria and Babylon (i.e. Cairo). ⁵

It was in accordance with Peter Bartholomew's programme, envisaging his return to the West, that Raymond's followers acted when they finally reached and captured Jerusalem, not only spreading lies to block his election to the kingship, but, according to Raymond of Agiles, wanting him to lose possession of the Tower of David, so that he would then return to Provence. ⁶

1. The Church of St. Trophimus, where he had enjoyed a vision of Christ, was in Arles; the saint had gone there when St. Peter sent him to convert Provence to Christianity; see G. de Manteyer, La Provence du Ie au XIIe siècle, p.67f., and Ac.20.4; 21.29.

2. 'Quum veneris in Iherusalem, fac ut exercitus postulet Deum quatinus vitam tuam prolonget et continuet, et Deus prolongabit eam tantundem quantum vixisti. Tu autem, quum reversus fueris, prope quinque leugas ecclesiam Sancti Trophimi lanceam Domini pones, et ecclesiam ibi fabricari facies; et fiet ibi moneta, quam tu jurabis ne falsa fiat; sed neque aliud aliquid falsum ibi fieri permittes. Vocabitur ille locus Mons Gaudii; et fient haec infra Provinciam. Etenim beatus Petrus Trophimo discipulo suo promisit quod lanceam Domini ei mitteret'; Raymond 13, p.264. On the implications of this passage, see further below, p. 146f.

3. Tiburtina, p.185 (112 years); Godfrey, Pantheon 16.24 p.146. and Bede's Sib., col.1185 (112 years).

4. Raymond 13, p.266.

5. Ibid.19, p.289.

6. Raymond 20, p.301. Possession of the crown and the Tower would not have prevented him from fulfilling Peter Desiderius' programme.

The dead hand of Peter Bartholomew continued to lie on Raymond's shoulder. In the visionary's third visit from St. Andrew, the saint had added new instructions:

... and also tell the Count, when he comes to the Jordan, not to allow himself to be immersed in it, but to cross over it in a boat; then, when he has crossed, let him be sprinkled with water from the river, dressed in a linen shirt and trousers. He must take off these garments when they are dry and keep them with the Lord's Lance.¹

Now, after losing the Tower of David to Godfrey, Raymond left Jerusalem in a rage; Raymond of Agiles accompanied him:

So, leaving Jerusalem to go to Jericho, we collected palm-leaves and came to the Jordan; and just as Peter Bartholomew had instructed we constructed a raft of branches and, placing the Count on it, rowed him across; since we had no boat this seemed the best thing to do. After this, we called everyone together and had them pray to God for the life of the Count and of the other princes.² Then we dressed him in the new shirt and trousers and baptised him as we had been instructed; but why that man of God ordered us to do all this, we still cannot imagine.³

Baptism in the Jordan and the gathering of palm-leaves had long been the customary conclusion of pilgrimage to the Holy Land; but this ritual clearly went further than that. The linen garments, worn only for the ceremony itself, recall the holy garments of the biblical priesthood, worn only within the inner court of the Temple,⁴ and, with their implications of sacred 'apartness', reinforce the aura of election surrounding Raymond.

1. '...haec quoque dices comiti, quum venerit ad Jordanem fluvium, non intinguatur ibi, sed navigio transeat: quum autem transierit, camisia et bragis lineis indutus, de flumine aspergatur. Et postquam siccata fuerint ejus vestiments, reponat ea, et conservet cum lancea Domini'; Raymond 10, p.255.

2. This was perhaps in fulfillment of Peter's dying instructions that the army should pray to God for the prolongation of Raymond's life: see above, p. 141.

3. 'Itaque profecti ab Iherosolymis Jericho, acceptis palmis venimus ad Jordanem; et sicut praeceperat Petrus Bartholomeus, facta rate de viminibus, et imposito desuper comite, eum transveximus; quippe quum non haberemus navem, sic nobis melius visum fuit. Post haec convocata multitudine, exegimus quatinus rogarent Deum pro vita comitis et aliorum principum; dehinc indutum tantum camisia et braccis novis, sicut nobis praeceptum fuerat in eo de baptisate, pereginus; sed quare taliter homo Dei praeceperit adhuc ignoramus'; Raymond 20, p.301f. The last phrase and the construction of the raft in the absence of a boat both have the ring of truth; the Hills, of course, think otherwise: Raymond d'Aguilers, pp54, n.54; 131, n.6.

4. Ezk.44.17-19; see also Ex.28.39-43; 39.27f.

The crossing of water in this way does seem to be associated with the rôle of Last Emperor. At the time of the Second Crusade there circulated a heavenly letter announcing the election of Louis VII of France and associating his baptism, which involved a change of name, with crossing water:

'I say to you L(ouis), shepherd of bodies, whom the spirit of the time of the pilgrim God has inspired, addressing you by the first letter of the sum total that makes up your name.' In the course of this writing under a certain husk of words concerning the storming of the royal city and also of ancient Babylon, a triumph over the entire Orient, after the manner of Cyrus, king of the Persians, or of Hercules, was promised to the aforesaid Louis, king of France. Hence such words as these are found therein: 'When you have arrived at the side of the eternal seated square and come to the side of the eternal standing squares and to the product of the blessed number and the actual first cube, raise yourself to her whom the angel of your mother ¹ promised to visit and did not visit, and you shall extend from her even to the penultimate - when the promiser ascends her first, the promise fails on account of the best goods - then plant your rose-coloured standards even as far as the uttermost labours of Hercules, and the gates of the city of B(abylon) will open before you. For the bridegroom has set you up as a mainsail, he whose bark has almost foundered and on whose peak is a triangular sail, that he who preceded you may follow you. Therefore your L(ouis) will be turned into a C., ² who diverted the waters of the river, until those who

1. This probably refers to Louis himself, since the other shorter version of the letter, in the 'Annales Corbeiensis', M.G.S.S.3, p.14. reads 'son of your mother' - 'filius matris tuae'.

2. The initial C. may denote Constans, Charlemagne, Christ or Cyrus. Constans was the name of the Last Emperor in the Tiburtina, p.185. Cyrus is the suggestion of C.C.Mierow, whose translation, The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa, p.25f., I use here.

The actual connection of the historical emperor Constans (d.350) with the Last Emperor legend is problematic. He was formerly regarded as the original of the Last Emperor - see Cohn, Millennium, p.31 - but the recent work of Alexander - see above, p.73, n.1 - makes this very doubtful. Interestingly, however, Kampers, Kaiseridee, p.18, refers to coins of his reign which show him crossing water in a boat and carry an inscription that he is sailing towards a 'felix reparatio temporum'. See further on baptism and the crossing of a river by an elected person, Alphandéry, Messianisme, pp.3-5, where, in particular, he alludes to a passage where the drowning of Frederick Barbarossa acquires eschatological significance in terms of a baptismal river-crossing: 'Annales Stadenses', an.1191, M.G.S.S.16, p.351.

toil to procure sons have crossed the stream. ¹

Unfortunately we have no further information on the development of this strand in the story of Raymond and the Crusade after the Jordan ritual. The Holy Lance was carried into battle at Ascalon in August, 1099; ² Raymond took it with him to Constantinople in 1100, before losing it on the Crusade of 1101 at the Battle of Heraclea. ³

Raymond's projected eschatological career hardly corresponds at all with the programme set out in the Silylline Books. They envisaged the defeat of the infidel by a great Emperor, who would then reign over the earth amid millenarian conditions before finally going to Jerusalem to surrender his power to God and make way for the Antichrist. ⁴ In Raymond's case, however, the journey to Jerusalem occurred at the beginning of his projected career and represented the culmination, not of his entire reign, but of a process of election through the acquisition of the attributes of a messianic Last Emperor. The model for Raymond's career, as laid out for him by Peter Bartholomew and the poor pilgrims, was that constructed for Henry IV by Benzo of Alba, ⁵ and it

1. ' "Tibi dico L pastor corporum primo elemento materiae tuae sylvae, quem inspiravit spiritus diei peregrini Dei." In cuius scripturae tenore quodam verborum involucro de expugnatione regiae urbis necnon antiquae Babilonis, et ad instar Ciri regis Persarum vel Herculis totius Orientis triumphus praefato Iudewico Francorum regi promittebatur. Unde talia ibidem dicta reperta sunt: "Cum perveneris ad costam tetragoni sedentis aeterni et ad costam tetragonorum stantium aeternorum et ad multiplicationem beati numeri per actualem primum cubum, surge ad eam quam promisit angelus matris tuae visitare, et non visitavit, et pertinges ad ea usque ad penultimum primum, cuius cum ascenderit promissor, defecit promissio propter optimam mercem, et figantur vexilla tua rosea usque ad extremos labores Herculis, et aperietur tibi porta civitatis B. Nam erexit te sponsus Arthemonem, barcha cuius pene cecidit, in capite cuius triangulare velum, ut sequatur te qui praecessit te. Tuum ergo L. vertetur in C. qui dispersit aquas fluminis, donec pertransirent illud qui student in procuratione filiorum" '; Otto, Gesta Frid-
erici, Proemium, p.351.

2. Raymond 21, p.303; Tudebod 16.3, p.113, where he states that Raymond of Agiles carried the Lance.

3. See Ralph 145, p.708; Caffaro 11, p.58; Albert 8.15, p.568. On Count Raymond's last years, down to his death in Feb., 1105, see the Hills, Raymond IV, pp.120-40.

4. See above, p. 73f.

5. See above, p. 87.

shows that, outside the literary tradition with its essentially political overtones ¹ transmitted by the Sibylline Books in their various recensions, the legend of the Last Emperor existed as a living, popular tradition.

In going on the Crusade the people were, as I have already suggested, ² responding to conditions in their homelands: the march to Jerusalem offered them a solution to the threat posed to their sense of security by changing social and economic conditions. In his final instructions, Peter Bartholomew told Raymond of Toulouse to return to Provence and construct near Arles - the town with which St. Trophimus was associated ³ - a shrine for the Lance:

Let money be minted there which you shall swear will never be false; nor shall you allow anything of any kind to be done falsely there. The place shall be called Mount Joy. ⁴

There is some suggestion here of the identification of Arles with Jerusalem, for Montjoie was the name of the hill, a few miles from the city, from which pilgrims first saw Jerusalem. ⁵ Had an important element in the economic pressures which set in motion the poor pilgrims of Raymond's army been the state of the coinage? In Languedoc, by the end of the 11th century, the centralisation imposed by the Carolingians had long since fragmented, so that a multitude of diverse and rival coinages were in circulation:

'L'instabilité monétaire, cette plaie du système monétaire médiéval, ne devait pas épargner le Languedoc. Les contemporains se lamentent à l'envi sur les altérations fréquentes, et accusent barons et prélats de frapper des monnaies toujours plus faibles. De fait, pour augmenter leur profit ou pour satisfaire la demande de numéraire, les monnayeurs diminuent, soit le titre, c'est-à-dire l'alliage, soit le poids des pièces, quand ce n'est pas les deux à la fois.' ⁶

1. See above, p. 86f., on the political motivation behind the various recensions of the Tiburtine Sibyl.

2. See above, pp. 95-7, 103.

3. See above, p. 142, n.1.

4. See above, p. 141f., where I quote the full instructions, of which this is a part.

5. See Runciman, First Crusade, p.278.

6. M.Castaigne-Sicard, Monnaies Féodales et Circulation Monétaire en Languedoc (Xe-XIIIe siècles), p.9.

It would seem that Peter Bartholomew envisaged Raymond returning, after his election to a messianic rôle had been brought to its culmination at the Jordan, to Provence, to establish there some sort of millenarian kingdom and cure the social and economic ills which had launched his followers on the Crusade. This can be no more than a suggestion, for Raymond, unfortunately, did not return to the West.¹ But then he had always filled his messianic rôle very reluctantly, and supernatural agents had had to devote a great deal of time and effort to trying to spur him on.²

iv. The Apocalyptic Ambience of the Crusade.

There now remain a number of loose ends to be tied up, for the curious relationship that existed between Raymond and the poor was not an isolated phenomenon on the Crusade, but represented rather an intensification of the apocalyptic ideas that permeated the entire movement.³ Several of the chroniclers were convinced that the end of the world was imminent and saw the Crusade in the light of this conviction. Fulcher of Chartres evinced no personal apocalyptic convictions - indeed, he remarked that the deeds of the Franks would be remembered 'usque in finem saeculi', a meaningless statement unless there was still a reasonably long period of time left until the End⁴ -

1. Raymond had apparently sworn, upon taking the Cross, never to return to his native land, Wm. Malmesbury 4.388, vol.2, p.457; see also the Hills, Raymond d'Aguilers, p.23, n.7. He sold all his possessions, according to Robert 2.2, p.739. See also Guibert 2.18, p.150.

2. See above, pp.125, 129, 142.

3. The story of Raymond's relationship with the poor pilgrims is continued below, p. 170.

4. Fulcher 1.29, p.360.

Similar indirect evidence that the chronicler regarded the end of the world as still distant emerges from other chronicles:

Raymond 17, p.280: in Peter Bartholomew's last vision, Christ gave instructions for the purging of the army - see above, p. 127 - and the dispensing of justice; equivocating judges, he concluded, would never be absolved: 'non exsolvetur usque ad ultimum saeculi diem'.

Hist. Peregrin. 106, p.216: writing about 1140, when legendary material had begun to fill out the bare story of the Crusade, the author related how a prodigy involving the spontaneous lighting of a candle promised to Bohemond a long line of successors: 'longa hereditas, longaue successio generis usque ad finem saeculi'.

Robert, Prologus, p.723, wrote that, to him, the Crusade was the most wonderful event since the creation of the world, and that he felt moved to set it down for present and future men to read; he also looked forward, 3.15, p.764, to the establishment of a millenarian kingdom for future generations to enjoy - see further, above, p. 91 and below, p. 160.

Wm. Malmesbury 4.346, vol.2, p.396, reported Urban II as stating that the Crusaders would be praised through all the ages to come.

but, in the epitome of the earlier part of his History, attributed to Bartolf of Nangis and written about ten years after the Crusade, the authentic apocalyptic tone appeared in the account of the sufferings of the army outside Antioch and of the signs of December 30, 1097.¹

Although we learn nothing of the reaction of the Crusaders themselves, it is clear that Bartolf was familiar with the Synoptic Apocalypse, and had discerned its partial fulfillment outside Antioch:

At that time an incredibly bright red glow appeared in the sky, along with a sign in the form of a cross moving in an unwavering path towards the East; then many people felt earthquakes in many places, so that in these times might be fulfilled what the Lord said in the Gospel: 'There shall be famines and pestilences and earthquakes in divers places'.²

Ekkehard of Aura's view of the Crusade reflected even more dramatically his own conviction that the world had grown old and was near its end and that it was time to bale out. While those who remained attached to the pleasures of this decaying world wallowed in their own stupidity and self-deception, other, wiser men - including, naturally, Ekkehard himself - looked to the future and praised the Crusaders who had abandoned all worldly ties to enter the service of God.³ He saw the signs which had preceded the First Crusade as those which, it had been foretold, would precede Christ's Second Coming;⁴ and Baudri of Dol and William of Tyre - despite the intervening seventy years - drew the same conclusion.⁵

This tendency for Crusade chroniclers to regard the expedition in the light of their own beliefs achieved its most complete expression in

1. See above, p. 115f.

2. 'Eo tempore rubor immensae magnitudinis apparuit in coelo, et signum in modum crucis figuratum versus Orientem recto tramite incedens; multi etiam per loca terrae motum senserunt, ut adimplerentur his temporibus quae in Evangelio Dominus ait: 'Erunt pestilentiae et fames, et terrae motus per loca'; Bartolf 12, p.498, citing Mt.24.7.

3. Ekkehard, Chron., p.211f.

4. Ibid., p.212, citing Lk.21.10f., quoted above, p. 99 & n.1, where I list the chronicles borrowing from Ekkehard. Ekkehard also noted the fulfillment of Mt.24.11,24 in the presence of pseudo-prophets, leading the elect astray, on the Crusade: ibid., p.214f.

5. Baudri, quoted above, p. 99.
William, quoted above, p. 102f.

the account of Guibert of Nogent, writing about 1109, who totally identified the Crusade with the apocalyptic process and in effect projected on to it from outside what the poor pilgrims actually experienced through participating in the Crusade. He believed that the end of the world was near and was all the more impressed by the deeds of the Crusaders because of their context:

Even if ancient times were noted for their pure virtue, the gift of nature has by no means disappeared from the men of our age upon whom the end of the world has fallen. The deeds of former times are deservedly praised to stress the rare qualities of their performers; but the deeds so usefully performed by ordinary men as the world collapses into its old age deserve far more justly to be mentioned. ¹

It was in the light of this conviction that the End was imminent that he had Urban preach the Crusade at Clermont so that there would be enough Christians in the Holy Land for Antichrist to kill when he shortly appeared to reign in Jerusalem. ²

This sense of apocalyptic imminence did not exist solely in the minds of the chroniclers, however. The spurious letter of Alexius Comnenus to Robert of Flanders, circulated at the time of the Crusade or shortly afterwards to encourage men to take the Cross, invoked the spectre of Antichrist. ³ When the Jews of Trèves, given the choice of conversion or death by the People's Crusade, went to the Archbishop for help, he exhorted them to accept baptism, pointing out that according to the calculations of one of their own prophets, Daniel, the Second Coming of Christ was almost upon them. ⁴ The solar eclipse of 968 had sent Otto I's troops cowering for shelter in terror that the end of the world had come, until reassured otherwise; it was, no doubt, for the same reason that, when, the night before the Crusade encamped outside

1. 'Etsi enim in antiquis virtus defaecata praeminuit, tamen in nobis in quos licet saeculorum finis devenerit, dos naturae nequaquam prorsus extabit. Praedicantur merito pro hominum novitate priscis acta temporibus. sed multo justius efferrī digna sunt, quae mundo prolabente in senium peraguntur utiliter a rudibus'; Guibert l.1, p.123.

2. On the Crusaders as Antichrist-fodder, see above, pp. 91-4. On the millenarian ideas which followed from Guibert's sense of apocalyptic imminence, see below, p. 161.

3. 'Epist. Alexii', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p.135f. On this letter and its dating, see above, p. 90, n.3.

4. 'Gesta Treverorum' 17, M.G.S.S.8, p.190.

Jerusalem, the moon was eclipsed and turned to blood, the soldiers were terrified until instructed that the sign portended the destruction of the Saracens.¹

In summoning the Crusade, Peter the Hermit invoked Christ's Prophecy of the Last Days in the Synoptic Apocalypse,² an idea which he shared with several of the chroniclers.³ The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* likewise saw the Crusade as the fulfillment of Christ's words, marking the opportunity for each man to make a personal decision:

When there now approached that term which the Lord Jesus daily reveals to his faithful, especially through his words in the Gospel: 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me,' a powerful movement took place throughout all regions of Gaul....⁴

The use of the word 'terminus' introduces a sense of finality and completion which creates an apocalyptic ambience; to the author, the Crusade represents a collective personal apocalypse, something happening in the heart of each man, to which extravagant cosmic sideshows involving mass death and destruction are irrelevant: each man must make his own decision whether or not to take the Cross and follow Christ and this will determine his fate at the Last Judgement. As a concrete event the Crusade has become - like the career of Antichrist - a litmus-test, revealing the individual's inner, spiritual state by his reaction to an external event. Those who responded to the call to the Crusade would - like those who were to respond appropriately to

1. Albert 5.43, p.461. Biblical references to the moon being darkened and turned to blood at the End abound; the most prominent, however, are J1.2.31; Mt.24.29. & par.; Ac.2.20; Rev.6.12. On Otto's army and the eclipse of 968, see above, p.80.

2. See above, p. 107f.

3. Hartolf, see above, p. 148.

Guibert, see above, p. 91ff., where passages from Daniel and 2 Thess. are also fulfilled; and below, p. 161.

Ekkehard, see above, pp.99, 148 & n.4.

Baudri, see above, p. 99.

William of Tyre, see above, p. 102f.

4. 'Cum iam appropinquasset ille terminus quem dominus Iesus cotidie suis demonstrat fidelibus, specialiter in euangelio dicens: 'Si quis uult post me uenire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me,' facta est igitur motio ualida per universas Galliarum regiones'; Gesta 1.1, p.1; see Mt.16.24, also vv.25-7 which set the passage in its eschatological context; and parallel.

the battle-cry in Peter Bartholomew's last vision - show themselves to be the Elect. ¹

In Graindor of Douai's early thirteenth-century *Chanson d'Antioche*, a revised version of a vernacular epic composed early in the twelfth century and often attributed to Richard the Pilgrim, who apparently went on the Crusade with Robert of Flanders' army, ² the expedition of the Crusaders took place as the fulfillment of Christ's prophecy, on the Cross, that after a thousand years ³ a people would arise to avenge him and free the whole world:

'Friends,' said our Lord, 'know in truth
That a new people will come from beyond the sea,
To exact revenge for the death of their Lord:
None of the pagans of the east will survive.
The Franks will free all the earth....' ⁴

1. On Antichrist as a litmus test, see above, pp. 28, 51f., and on Peter's vision, see above, p. 127.

2. The *Conquête de Jérusalem* is a sequel to the *Chanson*, composed in the same way.

3. Perhaps derived from Rev.20.2f., via St. Augustine and the later commentators who turned the thousand years of the Millennium into the period of the Church's reign on earth between Christ's two advents; see above, pp. 35, 70.

4. ' "Amis," dist Nostre Sire, "sachiés tout vraiment
Que de là outre mer venront novele gent,
Qui de la mort lor père penront le vengeance:
Ne demorra Paiens des ci que' en Orient.
Li Franc auront la terre tote delivrement...." '

Chanson 1.9, vol.1, p.12; the thousand years is at 1.7, p.10

By undertaking this task of revenge the Crusaders assured themselves a place among the sheep at the Last Judgement, Adhemar assured them at Nicaea, 2.17, vol.1, p.112f.

The Crusade also appeared as the fulfillment of apocryphal prophecy in Raymond of Agiles. At the inquest into the Holy Lance a priest called Ebrard told of how a Syrian Christian had related to him a vision of St. Mark and had added that it was prophesied in a Gospel of St. Peter that the Christian people who were to capture Jerusalem would be besieged in Antioch and would only escape after the Holy Lance had been found. And, when Raymond of Toulouse asked some Syrian Christians about the best route to Jerusalem, they replied that if the Crusaders were indeed the captors of Jerusalem prophesied in the Gospel of St. Peter, they would use the coastal route; *Raymond* 17, p.281; 18, p.288.

On the Crusade as fulfilling prophecy, see also *Robert* 3.15, p.764.

quoted below, p.160f; *Raymond* 11, p.259, quoted above, p.123; 'Epist. Dagoberti et al.', Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p.168; 'Epist. Paschal', *ibid.*, p.178 - and see p.373f., n.7, for some further references.

God had not, however, merely contented himself with organising prophecies of the Last Days for the Crusaders to respond to and fulfill; to make sure that everything went according to plan he had initiated and involved himself in the Crusade. In the story of Peter the Hermit's pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, Christ appeared to him in a vision and gave him instructions for the calling of the Crusade,¹ and in another version of his inspiration he had received instructions from heaven in a letter.² To Ekkehard and Robert, the expedition was not initiated by any human agency, but divinely ordained,³ and it was God who had united Christians of all languages, tribes and nations into one body to accomplish the task before them.⁴ Baudri described the soldiers as 'Dei militibus,'⁵ and Petrus Diaconus could not believe that the Crusade could have been the result of anything but direct divine intervention, foreshadowed by a shower of shooting stars on April 4, 1095:

...innumerable stars were seen everywhere to fall from the sky towards the west of the earth. At the same time an incalculably great multitude from the nations of the West created a movement, the like of which had never before been heard of; it was wonderful that so many peoples and princes should have acted together so suddenly, so unanimously and with such firmness of purpose, without any man having so commanded them. Indeed, no-one who read about it, heard about it or saw anything of it could have brought about such an event. So that no-one could doubt that it could never have been carried through, or even begun, without celestial approval and divine disposition.⁶

1. See above, p. 107. The Hist.Peregrin. 1, p.173, as well as relating this legend, also attributed the initiation of the Crusade to divine impulse expressed through portents and to direct divine inspiration of Urban II.

2. See above, p. 107.

3. Ekkehard, Chron., p.211; Robert, Prologue, p.723.

4. Ekkehard, Chron., p.213

5. Baudri 4.1, p.39.

6. '...stellae innumerabiles de coelo versus occidentalem plagam ubique terrarum cadere visae sunt. Eodem tempore innumerabilis et inaestimabilis multitudinis occidentalium gentium facta est motio, omnibus certe retro-actis saeculis inaudita et admirabilis, cum profecto tot simul gentes, tot principes, tam subito, tam unanimiter, tamque constanter, absque hominis ullius imperio conspiravisse, nemo qui legerit, nemo qui vel audierit aliquando, vel viderit alicubi, valeat reperiri. Unde non sine coelesti nutu ac dispositione divina id geri, vel etiam incipi potuisse, nemo qui possit ambigere'; Petrus Diaconus, Chron.4.11, p.765.

Guibert suggested that Christ had intervened with the summons to the Crusade in order to rectify economic injustices in the West ¹ and he regarded the Crusaders as mere pawns in God's cosmic game, to be sacrificed to the wrath of Antichrist so that the apocalyptic process might be carried through to its conclusion. ² The warlike heroes of the ancient world could not hope to compete with these men who had set out under God's leadership for the Holy Land. ³

As participants in the march of the saints, led by God, the members of the People's Crusade felt themselves to live outside practical considerations, freed from the responsibility to take care of themselves and standing beyond the conventions of the laws of property: as disciples of the Gospel, marked by the sign of the Cross, they felt entitled to take whatever they required from the towns through which they passed. ⁴

Like a good shepherd, God watched over his sheep; ⁵ St. Andrew explained to Peter Bartholomew that it was God who had led them to the Holy Land ⁶ and, when Raymond of Toulouse was being his usual immobile self at Ma'arat, the poor asked him to hand over the Lance, so that they could proceed to Jerusalem under Christ's leadership. ⁷

This transference of leadership to the heavenly sphere left room on earth for the sense of egalitarianism which is so often a characteristic of millenarian movements, ⁸ and which, in the Christian tradition,

1. Guibert 2.6, p.141.

2. See above, pp. 91-4.

3. '...sine domino, sine principe, solo videlicet Deo impulsore...'; Guibert 1.1, p.123f.

4. Fulco 2.9-18, 21-4, p.704; quoted above, p. 109f.

5. Fulcher 1.15, p.340; quoted above, p. 116, where it is to this that he attributes the fact that the Christians did not desert outside Antioch.

6. Raymond 10, p.254; quoted above, p. 118. St. Andrew also assured Raymond of Toulouse and Adhemar that God was with them, Hist.Peregrin. 73, p.201.

7. Raymond 14, p.270f.; see above, p. 126.

8. On egalitarianism and its influence on millenarian movements from the 2nd half of the 14th century, see Cohn, Millennium, pp.187-280. On an egalitarian millennium in the 2nd Christian Sibylline Book, see above, p. 53.

reflects both the idea that the millennium, as a return to paradisaical conditions, must necessarily entail a restoration of the pre-social state of freedom and equality which obtained in Eden, and the idea that in an apocalyptic context, leading up to the Last Judgement, all men stand equal before God, irrespective of social rank,¹ as well as being a corollary of the compensatory sense of exaltation and election of the poor which lay at the heart of the apocalyptic element in the Crusade.²

Somewhat idealistically, Guibert described the Crusaders as living in fraternity and subject only to God:

No-one had ever heard of the like: that any of these nations should set out from their own lands without king or prince; that great and small, subject only to God, should learn equally to bear their burdens, that the servant should not have to respect his master, nor the lord make use of his servant except in the spirit of fraternity.³

And when Christ asked who was the leader of the army, Stephen of Valence replied that they had no one leader, although all respected Adhemar.⁴ In about 1120, Gilo of Paris, more aggressively, had God cast down the princely leaders of the Crusade:

God, casting down the leaders and the highest of the people,
Gave the kingdom to his poor, and raised the few,
Lest those powers which should be ascribed to the Lord
Should be claimed for their own by a self-congratulatory
humanity....⁵

The soldiers were constantly reassured of their rôle as God's elect by concrete instances of divine assistance, so that they were

1. According to Otto, Chron.8.17, p.286, Christians who suffer damnation at the Last Judgement are so condemned because they have kept for themselves things which God bestowed on mankind for the common use of all.

2. On the sense of election of the poor, see below, pp. 168-71.

3. 'Sicut sane nemini a saeculo constat auditum ut sine rege, sine principe, ulla de locis propriis egrederetur gentium; ut, sub solo Deo, parvus et magnus par addiscerent portare jugum, ut non respectaret servus ad dominum, nec dominus nisi fraternitatem usurparet in famulum'; Guibert 7.23, p.243.

4. Raymond 11, p.256; see above, p. 120.

5. '...Deus, abjectis ducibus populique columnis,
Pauperibus dat regna suis, paucisque triumphat,
Ne sua, quae Domino sunt ascribenda potenti,
Applaudens humana sibi natura vocaret....'
Gilo 6.15-18, p.790.

able to assert with absolute confidence, 'God is fighting for us'.¹ Urban had promised them divine aid,² and when, at Antioch, the situation in which they found themselves seemed to belie this assurance, Christ appeared to Stephen of Valence to show how he had, in fact, helped them all along the line and to reassure them that, if they abandoned the sinful habits which had caused him to withdraw his support, he would help them again.³ Peter Bartholomew's entire career represented an assurance that God was indeed with his army, and Peter was able to pass on specific promises to this effect.⁴ When the finding of the Lance, in Robert the Monk's slightly confused account, led to the Princes' oath of solidarity, the people welcomed the divine aid for which they had been waiting.⁵

In practical terms, there were several ways in which God helped them. He multiplied the number of the Christians so that they outnumbered the Turks,⁶ or caused animals to move with the army so that the enemy overestimated its numbers and lost confidence.⁷

1. '... pro nobis pugnat Deus'; 'Epist.Simeon.et Hademar.', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p.142, and Riant, Inventaire, p.221. See also 'Epist.Boemund., Raimund. et al.', Hagenmeyer, op.cit., p.163; Fulcher 1.23, p.351; Gesta 9.22, p.53, where he reports Kerbogha's mother as telling him 'deus eorum pro ipsis cotidie pugnat'; Albert 3.35, p.363, where Adhemar announces, 'Jam enim hodie pro vobis pugnabit Deus'; Ekkehard, Chron., p.217; 'Epist.2 Stephan.', Hagenmeyer, op.cit., p.151 - and see ibid., p.246, n.18.

2. Gesta 1.1, p.1f.; Guibert 2.4, p.139.

3. Gesta 9.24, p.58; Tudebod 10.9, p.69; Guibert 5.17, p.195; Robert 7.1, p.821; Raymond 11, p.256, see above, p. 120. According to Raymond 21, p.302, the revealing of the hiding-place of the True Cross by the inhabitants of Jerusalem was inspired by the recognition that the Crusaders were God's elect, for whom he had won battles and opened cities.

4. Gesta 9.25, p.60; Tudebod 13.3, p.91, where the capture of Ma'arat, like that of Antioch, depends on repentance by the Crusaders; Guibert 5.19, p.196, where St. Andrew promises Peter Bartholomew that God will open Antioch to them.

5. Robert 7.3, p.823.

6. Raymond 7, p.246f.; 12, p.261; 21, p.304.

7. Fulcher 1.31, p.362; Wm.Malmesbury 4.371, vol.2, p.429; and see Raymond 21, p.304.

Nature intervenes on behalf of the Crusaders, see above, p. 132.

According to Fulcher, Christ appeared in a vision to Firouz, to tell him to betray Antioch to the Christians, and to Crusaders deserting the city after its capture, to persuade them to stay.¹ Divine help came most dramatically, however, in the form of heavenly warriors, who were said to be always at the ready,² and who appeared at the Battle of Dorylaeum³ and outside Antioch.⁴ The Crusaders also enjoyed the assistance of those of their comrades who had died in the course of the expedition; at this point the dissolution of the boundaries between heaven and earth becomes, with the overtones of the resurrection of the dead that now appear, decidedly apocalyptic.⁵

These dead Crusaders had returned to help their comrades from heaven, where they had gone immediately upon dying as martyrs. In describing this process, the author of the Gesta invoked the vision of the martyrs in heaven, receiving white robes and calling for vengeance, which followed the opening of the fifth seal in the Revelation of St. John the Divine:

1. Fulcher 1.17, p.342f.; 1.20, p.346.

2. Thus Hist.Peregrin., prol., p.173; 'Epistula Patriarchae Hierosolymitani et aliorum episcoporum ad occidentales', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, 9, p.147; and, most interestingly, Robert 5.8, p.796, where Firouz asks Bohemond about the innumerable army which always helps the Crusaders and Bohemond explains that they are martyrs for Christ, led by Sts. George, Demetrius and Maurice, whom God sends whenever the Crusaders need help.

3. The heavenly army at Dorylaeum can be explained as the relieving force; see Hist.Peregrin. 27, p.183; Raymond 4, p.240; Bartolf 9, p.496; Chanson 2.17; 3.12, vol.1, pp.113,161; Petrus Diaconus, Chron. 4.11, p.767; and, especially, Robert 3.17, p.765, where the defeated Sultan describes the appearance of the relieving force in terms reminiscent of the heavenly army.

4. See above, p. 124 On two later appearances by the heavenly army, see Conquête 6.11; 8.42, pp.216f.,339f.

5. See Tudebod 10.9, p.69; Raymond 11, p.258; 13, p.262f.; Fulcher 1.20, p.346. Adhemar was seen by many of the soldiers during the capture of Jerusalem, almost a year after his death: Raymond 20, p.300. The returned saints too, of course, had been resurrected from the dead. On the breaking-down of the barrier between life and death as an indication of the eschatological atmosphere of the Crusade, see Alphandéry & Dupront, Chrétienté, vol.1, p.132, where they also adduce, in this context, the cases of Charlemagne redivivus and Emicho, see above, pp. 133-7.

...many of our men were martyred at Nicaea, and with joy and gladness happily rendered up their souls to God; and many of the poor folk died of hunger for the name of Christ. They all carried in triumph into heaven the robes they received as martyrs, crying with one voice: 'O Lord, avenge our blood, which was shed for you, who art blessed and praiseworthy for ever. Amen.' ¹

This assurance of immediate salvation for those killed on the Crusade applied on an individual level a principle of the Crusade as a collective movement; for in undertaking the expedition, those involved were moving into an eschatological realm, and their goal became, not the earthly city of Jerusalem, but an apocalyptic consummation in its heavenly counterpart. Within the apocalyptic context, the envisaged final state could be more or less earthly. When Peter the Hermit received his commission from Christ in the Holy Sepulchre to preach the Crusade, he was told that the gates of Paradise stood open to those who undertook it. ² According to Robert the Monk, Urban made a similar promise at Clermont:

Undertake this journey for the remission of your sins, assured of the unfading glory of the Kingdom of Heaven. ³

And when, in September, 1098, the Princes wrote back to the Pope, they expressed the hope that he would come to join them and open the gates of the earthly and heavenly Jerusalems. ⁴ To Albert of Aix, Jerusalem was the gateway to heaven ⁵ and when Robert the Monk described its

1. '...et multi ex nostris illic (i.e. Nicaea) receperunt martyrium, et letantes gaudentesque reddiderunt felices animas Deo; et ex pauperrima gente multi mortui sunt fame pro Christi nomine. Qui in caelum triumphantes portarunt stolam recepti martyrii, una uoce dicentes: "Vindica Domine sanguinem nostrum, qui pro te effusus est; qui es benedictus et laudabilis in secula seculorum. Amen" '; Gesta 2.8, p.17, alluding unmistakably, if inaccurately, to Rev.6.9-11. Dead Crusaders also receive the white robe of martyrdom at ibid.7.18, p.40.

Martyred Crusaders go immediately to heaven: Ralph 106, p.681; Robert 1.10, p.734; Chanson 1.3,9, vol.1, pp.6,12; Conquête 2.4,36, pp.40,71; 'Epist.2 Stephan.', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p.150.

In a passage appended to a 13th century ms. of Raymond of Aglies, the names of Crusaders killed at Ascalon are written in the Book of Life, R.H.C.Occ.3, p.308.

2. Hist.Peregrin., p.169; Albert 1.4, p.273; Chanson 1.11, vol.1, p.17.

3. 'Arripite igitur viam hanc in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum, securi de immarcescibili gloria regni coelorum'; Robert 1.2, p.729.

4. '...portas etiam utriusque Hierusalem nobis aperias'; 'Epist. Boemund., Raimund. et al.', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p.164; Fulcher 1.23, p.351.

5. '... porta est coelestis patriae'; Albert 6.27, p.482.

ancient nobility and sanctification by the presence of Christ, he concluded:

Because of these deeds and others of the same kind, it is the form and mystical sacrament of that heavenly Jerusalem, of which it is said: 'Sion is the city of our strength, salvation is appointed as its wall and bulwark. Open the gates, that the righteous nation which keeps the truth may enter in'.¹

Of course, these writers meant that the eventual reward of capturing the earthly Jerusalem would be the attainment of the heavenly city at some indefinite time, after the individual's death, when the Kingdom of God, centering on and symbolised by the heavenly Jerusalem, was established for eternity; in fact they probably meant little more than that the attainment of the Crusade's goal would bring the assurance of salvation.² But if, outside the walls of Jerusalem, Arnulf of Rohes encouraged the army by pointing to the city before them as the form and prefiguration of the heavenly Jerusalem and emphasised that the attainment of the latter depended upon the wresting of the former from the ministers of evil who now held it,³ can the rank and file soldiers and poor pilgrims have grasped the true significance of the imagery he was using? It seems more likely that, in their state of apocalyptic exaltation, they totally identified the two Jerusalems and saw the goal of the Crusade as the attainment of the heavenly city, completely merged with its earthly counterpart. It was the vision of

1. 'Pro his et hujusmodi figurativis actionibus, forma est et mysticum sacramentum illius Iherusalem coelestis, de qua dicitur: "Urbs fortitudinis nostrae Syon salvator, (sic.) ponetur in ea murus et antemurale. Aperite portas, et ingredietur gens justa, custodiens veritatem" '; Robert 9.26, p.882; see Is.26.1f.

On the two Jerusalems, see also *ibid.* 9.1, p.863: 'hujus terrenae Iherusalem'; 'Epist.Patriarch.', Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p.146, on the 'caelestis Ierusalem'; 'Epistula Paschalis II papae ad consules Pisanos' (Aug., 1100), *ibid.* 23, p.180, on the 'terrestrem nempe Ierusalem, urbem equidem perfecti decoris et gaudium uniuersae terrae'.

Paschal wrote to Robert of Flanders, in 1103, rejoicing that, having returned from the earthly Jerusalem, Robert had set his eyes on the heavenly city; his actions against adherents of Henry IV would ensure him of that reward: *Epist.Paschal.* 24, p.25f. (in *R.H.G.F.* 15)

A dissenting voice was Anselm of Canterbury, who wrote in 1086 that the desire to go to the earthly Jerusalem was a distraction from concern with the heavenly city; Anselm, *Epist.* 117, cited by Cowdrey, *Urban II's Preaching*, p.184.

2. Thus *Chanson* 2.17, vol.1, p.112f.

3. See above, p.130.

the former that the People's Crusade had seen in the sky, drawing them on; ¹ and this vision was repeated, according to Albert, in September, 1098:

...a wonderful vision in the height of the heavens was shown to all those keeping the watch: from all parts of the sky, the stars came together in one densely-packed mass, of an area of about two acres, and shone with fiery splendour, like coals glowing in a furnace and contracted into a solid ball. Then they expanded into a prolonged and terrible fire and encircled the pole like a crown in the shape of a walled city. For a long time they remained thus in a ring, until finally one side opened to reveal an entrance and a road. ²

The appearance of such a city some nine hundred years before had been, according to Tertullian, a sure sign of the imminent descent to earth of the heavenly Jerusalem. ³

In the Revelation of St. John, the descent of the heavenly Jerusalem marked the inauguration of the Kingdom of God; ⁴ in the Crusade, the capture of Jerusalem - identified to a greater or lesser extent with its celestial counterpart - marked the inauguration of a kingdom whose nature was envisaged in terms influenced - again to a greater or lesser extent - by the attributes of the millennium or of its later form, the reign of the Last Emperor. The kingdom which was to centre on Jerusalem after the defeat of the pagans carried the apocalyptic attributes of eternity, in the preaching of Peter the Hermit's heavenly letter, ⁵ and of universality, in the letter of the princes after the battle of Ascalon. ⁶ In the letter of the

1. See above, p. 101f.

2. '...cunctis qui aderant in custodia vigiliarum visio mirifica in coeli culmine ostensa est, quasi ex omni plaga coeli stellae in unum collectae strictimque densatae, in spacio latitudinis unius atrii, tria jugera continentis, igneo fulgore, sicut prunae in camino ardentes et in globo contractae, scintillabant, et post hanc diutinam et terribilem flagrantiam rarescentes, in modum coronae cinxerunt polum sub specie (see R.H.C.Occ.4, p.447, note b.) civitatis muratae; diuque sic in gyro persistentes indivisae, ad ultimum aditum et viam in uno latere sui circuli scissae exhibuerunt'; Albert 5.25, p.447.

3. See above, p. 32.

4. See Rev.21.

5. See above, p. 107.

6. See above, p. 132.

Patriarch Simeon of Jerusalem and the greek and latin clergy with the Crusade to the West, written in January, 1098, the recipients were summoned to the heavenly Jerusalem¹ and to a land flowing with milk and honey, in terms derived from Christ's summons to the righteous in his own account of the Last Judgement:

...come, my chosen sons, come to me, and take from the sons of idolatry who have risen against me the crown predestined for you from the beginning of the world.²

The Holy Land also became the land flowing with milk and honey - an image derived from the Exodus,³ but also reflecting the millenarian dreams of material abundance of the early chiliastic phase of Christianity⁴ - in Robert the Monk's account of Urban's sermon, in which the Pope called upon his listeners to set out for the land flowing with milk and honey, situated at the centre of the world:

Jerusalem is the navel of the world, a land fruitful above all others and like another paradise of delights.⁵

Robert did not regard the end of the world as imminent;⁶ but he envisaged its future in the form of a quasi-millenarian kingdom which was to be established by the Crusade and would enjoy paradisial attributes. He returned to this point in his description of the Christians rejoicing after their victory at Dorylaeum:

This is what God promised through Isaiah the prophet to Jerusalem his chosen: 'I shall make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations. And thou shalt suck the milk of the Gentiles and shalt suck the breast of kings: and thou shalt know that I the Lord am they saviour and they redeemer, the mighty One of Jacob.' The eternal excellency is the nobility of illustrious men; the breast of kings is the treasury of riches from digging is the earth. That nobility is fed from the breasts of kings,

1. See above, p. 158, n.1.

2. '...uenite, filii mei dilectissimi, uenite ad me, suscipite coronam ab insurgentibus in me idolatriae filiis, ab initio mundi uobis praedestinata'; 'Epist.Patriarch.', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p.148. See Mt.25.34.

3. Exod.3.8.

4. See above, pp. 34, 52ff.

5. On Robert's account of Clermont, in which Urban looked forward to the establishment by the Crusade of a millenarian kingdom with paradisial attributes, see above, p. 90f.

6. See above, p. 147, n.4.

when worldly power is subjected to it. So that there will be joy and gladness, not so much in this generation, as in the future generations of the world.

Guibert, too, had Urban look forward to the establishment of an apocalyptic kingdom centering on Jerusalem; but it was to be of short duration, lasting only until the imminent appearance of Antichrist,² and, by virtue of its very temporary nature, reflecting less the idea of the Millennium than that of the reign of the Last Emperor. Guibert returned to this idea when he came to describe the siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Crusade. The time of the nations, the period during which, Christ had prophesied in the Synoptic Apocalypse,³ the heathen were to hold the holy city, had ended with its liberation. But God had not initiated the Crusade to free only Jerusalem; in preparation for the imminent coming of Antichrist, all the nations around Jerusalem would be conquered and a sort of preliminary judgement instituted, whereby the Christians would convert the elect and kill the reprobate. The result would, of course, be a Christian empire of the elect, to last the short time that remained until the coming of Antichrist marked the beginning of the final stage of the apocalyptic process:

Unquestionably we know that God did not initiate this (Crusade) simply for the liberation of one city; but that he planted a seed, which will bear fruit widely and over a long period of time, in preparation for the rage of the Antichrist whose coming is imminent. The Crusaders will conquer all the peoples around Jerusalem, to the right and left: those elect to the right, they will convert to the piety of Christianity; but the reprobate, who occupy the left, they will destroy as deserving death.⁴

1. 'Hoc est quod per Esaiam prophetam spondit suae dilectae Iherusalem: "Ponam te in superbiam saeculorum, gaudium in generationem et generationem; et suges lac gentium, et mamilla regum lactaberis, et scies quia ego Dominus salvans te, et redemptor tuus fortis Jacob." Superbia saeculorum, nobilitas est virorum illustrium; mamilla regum, divitiae thesauros suos in terram fodientium. Quae nobilitas mamilla regum pascitur, quum ei mundana potestas subjicitur. Et inde habet gaudium et laetitiam non tantum in hac generatione praesenti, sed et in futura saeculorum generatione'; Robert 3.15, p.764; see Is.60.15f.

2. See above, pp. 91-4.

3. See Lk.21.24.

4. 'Proculdubio enim scimus Deum ista nequaquam pro unius civitatis liberatione coepisse, sed contra venturi rabiem Antichristi haec semina, longe lateque fructificatura, jecisse. Omnes itaque populos ad dextram et sinistram in circuitu devorant, dum hinc electos, quos dextera innuit, ad pietatem Christianitatis incorporant, illinc reprobos, qui sinistrorsum pertinere noscuntur, digna caedis ultione devastant'; Guibert 7.21, p.239 - and see also p.238.

In some of the chronicles, the coming of Antichrist was not a future event, but a present one. The atrocities of the Turks in Jerusalem included enforced circumcision, one of Antichrist's pastimes;¹ and the Moslems appeared as 'satellites of Antichrist',² the 'people of Antichrist',³ and worshippers of Apollyon.⁴ Then, at the end of the People's Crusade, in October, 1096, Rainald surrendered Xerigorden to the Turks in return for a promise that his life would be spared if he embraced Islam,⁵ he was, according to Robert the Monk, throwing in his lot with Antichrist.⁶ And in the story of Tancred and the statue in the Temple, Mohammed became a precursor of Antichrist and the presence of his statue in the Temple the fulfillment of St. Paul's prophecy of Antichrist sitting in the Temple.⁷

From a theological point of view, the purpose of the apocalyptic process is to formalise for all eternity the distinction between the elect - predestined from the beginning of the world to salvation - and the reprobate - similarly predestined to damnation. Anyone who went on the Crusade with a pure and sincere heart was taking God's part in the process and must necessarily be among the elect. Urban told the Franks at Clermont that they had been elected and chosen by God,⁸ an assertion with which no-one would have argued. To Bartolf of Nangis they were the

1. See above, p. 90.

2. 'satellites Antichristi'; Robert 7.8, p.828.

3. 'la gent Antecrist'; Chanson 1.4,12. vol.1, pp.8,21; 5.36, vol.2, p.58.

4. Conquête 3.6, line 1985, p.82; 4.13.3233. p.131; 5.4.4143, p.166; 6.8.5309, p.213; 8.43.8659, p.340. See Rev.9.11, where Apollyon is one of the names of the angel of the bottomless pit who leads the plague of locusts from the pit against mankind. I think that Apollyon is a more likely translation of the Conquête's 'Apollin' than the alternative that springs to mind, Apollo.

5. See Runciman, First Crusade, p.130.

6. '...et in sortem illius qui sedem suam elegit ad Aquilonem devenit'; Robert 1.9, p.734, alluding to Is.14.13 - see above, p. 49, n.2.

7. See above, p. 131. See also Monachi Anon. Scaphusensis, De Reliquiis 1, p.335, where the capture of Jerusalem by the Moslems is the abomination of desolation of Dan.9.27; Mt.24.15, and Mk.13.14.

8. 'a Deo electa et dilecta'; Robert 1.1, p.727.

faithful and elect, elected and predestined by God, ¹ and Robert was just one of those who quoted Psalm 33 to describe them as elected by God to his inheritance. ² In the Holy Sepulchre, Christ announced to Peter the Hermit the opening of the gates of Paradise to those called and elected, ³ and when, in September, 1097, he appeared to the Patriarch Simeon, he promised the Crusaders the reward of the elect, a crown at the Last Judgement. ⁴ To Stephen of Blois, the Crusaders were God's elect, ⁵ and when the True Cross was discovered in Jerusalem, in August, 1099, the inhabitants of the city handed it over to the Crusaders as God's elect. ⁶

Referring to the words of St. Matthew's Gospel about those who would follow Christ (Matthew 16.24), Urban, at Clermont, distributed cloth crosses to all those who were prepared to go, and they then sewed them on to the shoulders of their surcoats. The cross was to be the badge of every crusader on every crusade. As a symbol it had a double significance. First, it was a sign of God's protection, a sign that the wearer belonged to a special community, the sign of a pilgrim with the privilege of bearing arms. Second, it was a legal symbol, vouching for worldly privileges, for the Church issued far-reaching ordinances in favour of the crusader.... The distribution of a cloth cross by the clergy was probably also intended to prevent, ⁷ unwanted elements of no military value from joining the crusade.

1. '...fidelibus atque electis, imo a Deo praelectis et praedestinat-
atis'; Bartolf 36, p.516.

2. '...beata gens, cujus est Dominus Deus ejus, populus quem elegit in hereditatem sibi'; Robert, prologus, p.723, quoting Ps.33.12 (A.V. = Ps.32.12 of the Vulgate).

The army was addressed in the same terms before the battle of Sept. 7, 1101: Ekkehard, Chron., p.222; and Raymond of Agiles described them thus, marching out to fight Kerbogha, Raymond 12, p.259, quoted above, p. 123, n.3.

3. 'Paradisi portae nunc aperientur vocatis et electis'; Albert 1.4, p.273 - see above, p. 107.

4. '...promiserit in hac expeditione laborantibus quod ante se in tremenda et extrema iudicii die quisque procedet coronatus'; 'Epist. Simeon. et Hademar.', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p.142; Riant, Inventaire, p.221.

5. '...omni electo Christi exercitu'; 'Epist.2 Stephan.', Hagenmeyer, op.cit., p.149.

6. 'Manifestum est quod Deus vos elegit'; Raymond 21, p.302.

7. Mayer, Crusades, p.41f.

On the sewing on of crosses, see Gesta 1.1, p.2; Hist.Peregrin., p.170; 1, p.174; Fulcher 1.4, p.325; Robert 1.2, p.729f.; Wm.Maresbury 4.346, vol.2, p.396; Bernold, Chron., p.464; Lupi Prot.Ann., an 1095, p.62; Petrus Diaconus, Chron.4.11, p.765.

But the sign of the cross also echoed the sign of the elect and the mark of the beast in the Revelation,¹ the mark which Antichrist was expected to set upon the reprobate who followed him,² and perhaps even the belief that the Last Judgement might be performed upon the basis of physical marks distinguishing the righteous from the wicked.³ As a token of his election, Emicho showed the cross which a messenger from Christ had marked in his flesh;⁴ and, in Caffaro's mid-twelfth century version of the summoning of the Crusade, when the angel Gabriel appeared to Peter Bartholomew⁵ to tell him that God wanted the Holy Sepulchre liberated, he marked his right shoulder with a cross, again as a token of election, and told him to show it to Adhemar of Le Puy.⁶ Nor, according to Ekkehard, was this an exceptional phenomenon:

Some men showed the sign of the Cross, divinely marked on their foreheads, their clothes or other parts of their bodies, and believed that these stigmata marked them out as soldiers of the Lord.⁷

The sign of the Cross also had a protective function, as in Revelation 9.3f., where the locusts from the pit have no power to hurt those marked with the seal of the Elect. Raymond of Toulouse attacked the Turks at Nicaea, protected by the sign of the Cross,⁸ while to Fulcher the Crusaders were identified and protected by it.⁹

1. Rev.7.3; 13.16f.; 16.2.

2. See above, p. 51.

3. See above, pp. 15, 58.

4. See above, p. 135 & n.6.

5. Caffaro got Peter the Hermit and Peter Bartholomew mixed up; thus he had the former find the Holy Lance, Caffaro 7, p.54f.

6. Ibid.2, p.48.

7. 'Nonnulli etiam crucis signaculum sibimet in frontibus vel vestibus sive in quolibet corporis loco divinitus inpressum ostendebant, ipsoque se stigmatate ad eandem Domini militiam prescriptos credebant'; Ekkehard, Chron., p.214. See also Bernold, Chron. p.464; Chron.S.Pantal., col.909; and above, p. 109f., where, in Fulco's description of the Popular Crusade, the poor believe that the sign of the Cross which they bear entitles them to take anything they want.

8. '...undique signo crucis armatus'; Gesta 2.8, p.15; see also 6.17, p.37.

9. 'Sane pugnatorez Dei merito victoriae signo insigniri et muniri debebant'; Fulcher 1.4, p.325.

When six or seven poor pilgrims were killed at Ma'arat, crosses were found marked on their right shoulders,¹ just as when four hundred Crusaders were drowned as their ship sailed from Brindisi in April, 1097, crosses were found imprinted in the shoulders of some of the recovered corpses.² The fact that not all the bodies bore the cross of election perhaps reflects the fact that, just as when Antichrist came many members of the Church would follow him and be revealed as among the reprobate,³ so not all those who went on the Crusade were, in fact, truly among the elect. It was to this compromising of the purity of the Crusade by the presence of reprobate members that Peter Bartholomew, in his last vision, attributed the setbacks that the army had suffered; once they had been amputated, the remaining, uncompromisedly elect members could proceed unimpeded to Jerusalem.⁴ Fulco described Godfrey of Bouillon addressing his troops, trying to restore their crusading zeal after the disheartening disasters related by returning members of the People's Crusade, and explaining the whole sorry business away as a divine litmus-test:

For the hand which justly gives the proud their deserts
Similarly gives the humble the gift of prosperity.
The furnace which proves the shining gold
Also destroys the worthless lead;
The open space from which the wind blows away the chaff
Also serves as a resting-place for the pure grain.⁵

1. Raymond 14, p.272. See also cap.4 of the part of Richard the Pilgrim's 'Chétifs', which Paulin Paris prints at the end of his edition of the 'Chanson d'Antioche', vol.2, p.294. According to the author of the Hist.Peregrin.2, p.174, this phenomenon occurred throughout the entire duration of the Crusade.

2. See above, p. 113.

3. See above, p. 52.

4. See above, p. 127f.

5. 'Namque manus meritis quae dat sua jura superbis,
Mitibus haec eadem dat munera prosperitatis.
Denique splendiferum quae fornax comprobatur aurum,
Haec eadem reprobatur velut ad nihil utile plumbum;
Quae moto paleas exterminat area vento,
Haec eadem puro servat loca congrua grano.'

Fulco 2.95-100, p.713.

More common, however, was the presumption that all the Crusaders were elected, reflected in the idea that they must all repent of sinful behaviour which had caused God to punish them or to withhold his help, and that they must restore themselves to a state of purity befitting their elect status. When, outside Antioch, food ran short and foraging expeditions were subject to ambush, the army blamed their own sinfulness and expelled the women from the camp.¹ They recognised the aurora and earthquake of December 30, 1097, as a warning to mend their ways, and Adhemar ordered a three-day fast, prayers, alms-giving and other appropriate rituals of purification and appeasement.² As the leaders later wrote to the West, they were held up outside the walls of Antioch for nine months while God humbled their pride.³

But even inside the city they continued with their offensive behaviour, and Christ appeared to Stephen of Valence to complain that they were now satisfying their lusts with Christian and pagan women and that the stench of their sins was rising to heaven. Their present predicament had come about because such behaviour had alienated him; but if they mended their ways and performed purificatory rituals he would return to them.⁴ The army indulged in an orgy of penance and affirmed their membership of the college of the elect.⁵ The same thing happened, at the end of 1098, outside Ma'arat, and Peter Bartholomew reported a vision in which he learned that the capture of the city depended upon their repenting their sins and performing acts of piety.⁶

1. See above, p. 115.

2. See above, p. 116.

3. 'Epist. Dagobert. et. al.', Hagenmeyer, Kreuzzugsbriefe, p. 169.

4. Gesta 9.24, p. 58; Tudebod 10.9, p. 69; Raymond 11, p. 256; Guibert 5.17, p. 195; Robert 7.1, p. 821. See above, p. 120.

5. '...quod nullus nostrum deinceps de isto sancto, quoad vixerat, subterfugiat collegio'; Baudri 3.8, p. 67.

6. Tudebod 13.3, p. 91; Raymond 14, p. 269.

The sufferings of the army were not, however, merely a punishment for their sins and a warning to repent, but also a precondition of salvation. Just as gold was refined by passing through fire, and just as the elect were to be proved by the persecution of Antichrist¹ and by passing through the river of fire at the Last Judgement,² so the Crusaders were to be proved by suffering so that, purged of their sins, they would shine forth in the untarnished purity of their election:

Like gold three times proved by fire, and seven times purged, they had long been elected by God, as I believe, and, tested by these calamities, were cleansed of their sins.³

Robert the Monk was of the same opinion: God had allowed the famine at Antioch to prove his army.⁴ Christ had explained to Peter the Hermit in the Holy Sepulchre that the way to Paradise lay open to those who participated in the Crusade only through dangers and temptations,⁵ and Urban made this plain at Clermont:

'Brothers, you must suffer many things for the name of Christ - misery, poverty, nakedness, persecution, destitution, sickness, hunger, thirst and the like - just as the Lord told his disciples: "You must suffer many things for my name's sake;" and, "Do not be ashamed to speak before the faces of men; for I shall give you a mouth and eloquence," and then again, "A great reward shall be yours."'⁶

1. See above, p. 52.

2. See above, p. 59f.

3. 'Itaque illi, quasi aurum ter probatum igni, septiesque purgatum, jamdudum a Domino praelecti, ut opinor, et in tanta calamitate examinati, a peccatis suis mundati sunt'; Fulcher 1.16, p.341, describing the sufferings of the army outside Antioch. Cf. the passage from Fulco quoted above, p. 165.

4. 'Hanc itaque famis acerbiter, ut suos probaret, evenire permisit Deus'; Robert 4.12, p.782.

5. Albert 1.4, p.273, quoted above, p. 107.

6. 'Fratres, uos oportet multa pati pro nomine Christi, uidelicet miseriae, paupertates, nuditates, persecutiones, egestates, infirmitates, fames, sites, et alia huiusmodi, sicuti Dominus ait suis discipulis: "Oportet uos pati multa pro nomine meo," et: "Nolite erubescere loqui ante facies hominum; ego uero dabo uobis os et eloquium," ac deinceps: "Persequetur uos larga retributio" '; Gesta 1.1, p.1f., quoting Ac.9.16; 2 Tim.1.8; Lk.21.15; Mt.5.12. This passage probably owes more to the Anonymous than to Urban.

In the apocalyptic process a period of tribulation and suffering must be undergone before salvation can be attained, and it was among the poor pilgrims, whose sufferings - both before and during the Crusade - were greatest, that the apocalyptic exaltation that accompanied the Crusade was most intense.

The poor, aged, and infirm who lagged behind Raymond's army were slaughtered like cattle by the wild tribesmen of Sclavonia, who wrested from them their last scanty belongings. They died in droves of famine at Nicaea and Antioch. They were cut off and massacred by the Turks at Marra, and died miserably in a thousand skirmishes and ambushes along the way. What their condition must have been in June, 1098, when the Crusaders were pent up in Antioch by the Turks, when many soldiers had lost or eaten their horses, and having sold their arms were reduced to fighting with Turkish weapons, when a noble German knight could no longer live by begging, and had to be fed by scraps from Godfrey's table - this may best be left to the imagination. ¹

The need to compensate for such suffering found a foothold in the Christian tradition of the sanctity of poverty which culminated in the expectation of the dramatic vindication of the poor at the Last Judgment. But in more immediate terms, the poor came to regard themselves as specially elected by virtue of their poverty;

...the poor who went on the Crusade regarded themselves as the elite of the crusaders, a people chosen by God as the barons had not been chosen. ²

When the poor died of famine at Nicaea, they were as much martyrs as those killed in battle and entered heaven in triumph, ³ and the Hermit of the Mount of Olives told the Princes that Jerusalem would fall to the poorest. ⁴

The exaltation of the poor occurred most intensely within Raymond of Toulouse's army, and it was in the chronicle of his chaplain that their story was most sympathetically presented. To Raymond of Agiles the poor were without question the elect of God, through whom his

1. W.Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade', in Speculum 21,(1946), p.10.

2. Cohn, Millennium, p.65.

3. Gesta 2.8, p.17, quoted above, p. 157.

4. 'Et cil la prenderont de plus povre façon'; Conquête 5.2, line 4060, p.163.

will would be done and whose cause would be vindicated through the Crusade.

When Egyptian ambassadors witnessed the battle of February 9, 1098, Raymond claimed that,

...seeing the wonders which God performed through his servants, they glorified Jesus the son of the Virgin Mary, who trod down the most powerful of tyrants through his poor ones. ¹

Peter Bartholomew was elected to articulate the hopes and anxieties of the army by virtue of his own poverty ² and when, on the occasion of St. Andrew's second appearance, Peter explained that he had not reported his vision to the Princes because he was afraid on account of his poverty, the Saint reassured him. ³ In August, 1098, St. Andrew passed on instructions for aid for the poor and for the disposition of captured cities, adding that Count Raymond and the poor were to supervise their application. ⁴ At Ma'arat, in December, St. Peter joined St. Andrew, dressed in the rags of poverty, to demonstrate the transformation to celestial glory to which the elected poor could look forward; ⁵ and further confirmation came from the finding of crosses in the flesh of the six or seven poor pilgrims killed by the Saracens. ⁶ In Peter's last vision, Christ's order that the reprobate members of the army should be killed and their possessions redistributed among the most purely elect, according to need, suggests that the former were expected to be relatively wealthy and the latter poor. ⁷

1. '...qui videntes mira quae Deus per servos suos operabatur, Jesum Mariae Virginis filium glorificabant, qui per pauperes suos potentissimos tyrannos conculcabat'; Raymond 7, p.247.

2. '(Dominus) pauperem quemdam rusticum elegit'; ibid.10, p.253.

3. See above, p. 118.

4. 'Si autem facere noluerint, comes cum filiis Dei eos flagellet'; Raymond 13, p.264.

5. See above, p. 126.

6. See above, p. 165.

7. See above, p. 127f.

To Gilo, however, the exaltation of the poor at the expense of their leaders was not dictated by apocalyptic motives, but so that credit would be given, not to any human agency, but to God alone; see above, p. 154.

Despite Raymond of Toulouse's reluctance to fill the messianic rôle which the poor projected on to him,¹ he did to some extent reciprocate their conviction that a special relationship existed between them, by accepting a special responsibility towards the poor pilgrims of his army. When, in September, 1098, the interests of the poor were being set aside, Raymond returned from Azaz to Antioch, where he called together his knights, 'so that he might lead into Saracen territory² the poor people, who were failing in Antioch from hunger and weakness'.³ When the stalemate at Ma'arat brought about a renewal of their sufferings, the chroniclers agreed that Raymond recognised his responsibility for the poor by giving in to their pleas and abandoning his dispute with Bohemond to lead them towards Jerusalem again, himself barefoot in humility and, perhaps, in emulation of them.⁴ The author of the *Historia Peregrinorum* wrote:

And so the count hastened to go before the others, because the poor pilgrims were dying of hunger and he wanted to lead them to that place where they would be able to live happily.⁵

Nevertheless, the poor constantly saw their interests overlooked,⁶ and their frustration found expression in the visionaries' pressure on the Princes - and especially on Raymond - to move on. Indeed, it must have seemed that, but for the pressure exerted by the poor, the Crusade would never have got beyond the region of Antioch.⁷

The sense of their own election among the poor reached its greatest intensity among the Tafurs, probably survivors of the People's Crusade who had somehow reached the East.⁸ Guibert of Nogent described

1. See above, pp. 138-47.

2. See *R.H.C.Occ.*3, p.243, note a.

3. '...ut plebem pauperum in Hispaniam conduceret, quae fame et taedio in Antiochiae deficiebat'; *Raymond* 13, p.264f.

4. See above, p. 126, n.4.

5. 'Ideoque festinavit comes ire ante alios, quia pauperes peregrini moriebantur fame, et ille cupiebat illos conducere in illa loca ubi feliciter vivere valerent'; *Hist.Peregrin.*93, p.209.

6. See above, p. 124f.

7. On the constant pressure on the Princes to move on towards Jerusalem, see above, pp. 124-9.

8. On the Tafurs, see Cohn, *Millennium*, p.65ff.

them as barefoot, weaponless and penniless, and as living in unsurpassed squalor on plant-roots and the like under their leader, King Tafur, a one-time Norman knight. They made a virtue of their extreme poverty and would search their own members for money; any individual with enough to buy his own weapons was relegated to the main army. ¹

Guibert wrote from the viewpoint of an outsider; but from inside the Tafurs appeared in a very different light, as elected by their poverty to a status far above that of even the Princes. In the vernacular epics, King Tafur used to shout instructions to the Princes, ² and it was he who, as the highest person present, crowned Godfrey of Bouillon, ³ who said that he would hold Jerusalem only of King Tafur. ⁴ When, despite Godfrey's pleas, the Princes announced their intention of deserting Jerusalem, King Tafur pledged himself and his followers to stay, adding that the poor were worth far more than knights anyway:

Ten thousand knights have been counted;
And then there are the poor, who have not been counted,
But who are worth far more than the knights. ⁵

1. Guibert 7.23, p.241f.

2. Chanson 6.35, vol.2, p.127; Conquête 2.32f., lines 1617-22, 1627-41, p.66f.

3. '...de no li plus haus hom'; Conquête 5.28, lines 4830-36, p.192.

4. Jersalem voil tenir de lui et de son don'; ibid., line 4842.

5. 'A x. milliers a on les chevaliers nombrés,
Estre tos les ribaus que on n'a pas nombrés,
Qui moult mex i valoient que li autre d'assés.'
Ibid. 5.30, lines 4906-08, p.194.

CONCLUSION.

Someone to claim us, someone to follow,
Someone to shame us, some brave Apollo,
Someone to fool us, someone like you...
We want you, Big Brother.¹

In examining the First Crusade against the background of the apocalyptic tradition I have been able to show how it reflected many diverse elements in that tradition and how certain participants in the Crusade turned it into an apocalyptic movement. There was no real precedent for this: the Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-1065 represented perhaps a small-scale dress rehearsal, but in 1096, for the first time at least since Montanism, all the factors came together which make possible a full-blown apocalyptic movement.

One result of my examination of the First Crusade has been a rehabilitation of Raymond of Agiles' account of the events surrounding the discovery of the Holy Lance at Antioch. Michael Barkun, in his book 'Disaster and the Millennium' writes:

In any attempt to write the natural histories of millenarian movements, the record is often so spotty that it is impossible to reconstruct a sequence of events. These movements...rarely leave a satisfactory written record behind. What we know of specific movements frequently comes from outsiders. European movements often involved people no more able or disposed to produce a written record than their Asian and African counterparts. What does survive frequently comes from the hands of their adversaries, clerics and government officials who come to know the movements only when they constitute perceived threats to their own positions. The occasional traveller or journalist who happens upon a movement in some remote area is another source of partial and only intermittently reliable information....

Millenarian movements hence enter the historical record only at those points where outsiders stumble upon them or where they reach a level of high public visibility....As a result, millenarian movements live an underground existence most of the time. They may be of central significance in the lives of their members, but this centrality often coexists with public obscurity.²

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1. David Bowie, 'Big Brother'; this song, which I have transcribed from the record album Diamond Dogs (1974), is, I understand, a fragment of an abortive project based on George Orwell's 1984.
 2. Barkun, Disaster and the Millennium, p.42f.

Raymond's account of Peter Bartholomew and the poor pilgrims and of their attempt to turn Raymond of Toulouse into the Last Emperor has a consistency about it which suggests to me that it is true. If this is the case, then Raymond's chronicle represents exactly what Barkun is looking for - an account of a millenarian movement told from inside by a sympathetic observer and probably taken in part from the dictation of the prophet at the centre of the movement, whose guardian the chronicler was.¹ All the other material concerning the Crusade that I have assembled must be regarded as subsidiary to Raymond's account, as reinforcing the certainty of the presence of an apocalyptic element in the Crusade.

The First Crusade is important because it offers us a chance to see, from inside, the operation of the apocalyptic reflex. And it is important that we should understand this reflex, since it represents, not abnormal or psychotic behaviour, but merely a more dramatic form of normal human behaviour. The flying-saucer group described by Festinger, Riecken and Schachter² were, it is obvious from their account, perfectly ordinary people - neither lunatics nor fools. They suffered nothing worse than humiliation and financial loss; but the equally ordinary men and women who followed Peter the Hermit and Raymond of Toulouse were indulging in something much more serious which no more than a fraction of them can have survived. They would have stood a better chance of survival had they stayed at home; but the belief that personal security can be found outside oneself - through, in this case, following the unlikely figure of Peter the Hermit or through gathering beneath the protection of Raymond's supposed aura of election - sent them skurrying like lemmings towards the mirage of the Heavenly Jerusalem, over the eastern horizon.

The fundamental mechanism of the apocalyptic reflex in this almost instinctive search for security outside oneself in material things³ and solidarity groups of all sizes and types. Just as the pursuit of the Millennium, however haunting and even glorious, is a one way trip, so joining any movement and sacrificing one's individuality to the ease and safety of wearing a badge is an

1. See above, pp. 110f., 119.

2. When Prophecy Fails; This is one of the exceptional cases of inside observation of a millenarian movement noted by Barkun, Disaster and the Millennium, p.42f.

3. See above, p. 43, where Ralph Ardens directs God's wrath, expressed as the Messianic Woes, against false security founded in material things.

ontologically terminal state. Barkun suggests that millenarian movements do not spring from collective madness, but points out that the leaders of such manifestations are more suspect:

It does appear true that psychologically atypical individuals often graduate towards leadership positions...The prophetic role...offers an acceptable niche to individuals who without it might be perceived as threatening deviants.

In complex, modern societies similar observations have been made...political leaders have been disproportionately recruited from among manic-depressives and paranoid - schizophrenics.¹

Peter Bartholemew was a manifest lunatic; yet he was able to come within a hair's breadth of precipitating the massacre of a fifth of the army.² Totalitarianism and oppression thrive on the consent of the oppressed and their active participation in their own oppression - Hitler would have remained a fifth-rate artist had he not found almost an entire nation ready and willing to act out his personal fantasies.

The First Crusade provides us with an object-lesson in what happens to us when we follow leaders, when we try to find salvation in the message and example of those least able to give it - other people. Security is not in anyone else's gift, except in a temporary and delusory sense:

And when he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God should come, he answered them and said, 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation;
'Neither shall they say, "Lo here!" or, "lo there!" for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you.³

1. Disaster and the Millennium, p.143; Barkun's work provides many flashes of illumination, despite his tendency to lurch towards the jargonistic contortions which make so much work in this field utterly unintelligible.

2. See above, p. 127f.

3. Lk.17.20f.

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