
THE CONCEPT OF TIME IN THE MIDDLE AGES

M. Reeves

The Judeo-Christian understanding of time provides the overall framework for medieval life. Time was linear: it had a beginning and an end. It began with Creation and would end with Last Judgement. Thus it was taken for granted that God was in control of this timeprocess and all happenings therein. There was a 'sacred' history - the pilgrimage of God's chosen people through the ages - and a 'secular' history - the rise and fall of empires - but both were equally ruled by God's Providence. Alongside the linear concept, however, a cyclical perception of human living, with ancient roots, persisted. The cycles of the seasons to a large extent controlled the business of practical living, not only for the peasantry but also for the military classes. The cycle of the church's liturgical year created the pattern of worship, celebration and recreation. The recurring cycle of ages, inherited from Greek thought found some echoes in medieval times. But the expectation of an end to time, with an accompanying scenario of Last Things, dominated the imaginations of medieval people.

How much longer would the world endure? That was the question which - if not openly posed - always lay just beyond the surface in the medieval consciousness. Direct speculation on the count-down was blocked by Christ's warning: "It is not for you to know the time and the seasons..." (Acts of the Apostles 1:7). Nevertheless as Richard Landes has shown, shifts in dating systems in the early Christian centuries reveal this underlying preoccupation.¹ The common Judeo-Christian chronology counted from a putative date of Creation and held that the world would last for six millenia. Christians believed themselves to be in the sixth millenium but the crucial question was where they placed the Incarnation and consequently themselves. This question gave concern to the church authorities for two reasons. First, they wished to restrain outbursts of hysterical excitement sparked off by prophets proclaiming that the sixth millenium was nearly at an end. Secondly, they opposed the persistent dream of a seventh millenium which would be a paradise on earth. as Landes argues, two major date-shifts in the west, first by Eusebius (as translated and popularised by Jerome) and secondly by Bede, served

successively to push the end of the sixth millenium further into the future.² But the very opposition of the leading churchmen to speculation about end-time shows that dangerous expectations, both of fear and hope, continued to simmer below the surface.

Because the moving moments of time were directed by Providence, history could be interpreted in patterns. The two pervading medieval patterns, both derived ultimately from the Bible, were mediated largely from St. Augustine's writings. St. Pauls had expounded the doctrine of salvation three stages: *ante legem* (before Moses); *sub lege* (under the law); *sub gratia* (under grace, from the Incarnation onwards).³ To these a fourth stage: *in gloria* (beyond time) was added. The other great medieval pattern, as already implied, was that of the World week, based on the Seven Days of Creation. The first could be called an interior pattern of God's self-revelation to human souls; the second framed the whole history of human action. In this five ages were held to have run from Creation to the First Advent of Christ. The six embraced post-Incarnational history but a question mark hung over its conclusion. The Seventh Age corresponded to the Sabbath on which God rested and was therefore clearly to be an age of rest and blessedness. Did it belong inside the time-process or outside? St. Augustine treated it ambiguously, distinguishing it from the Eighth Day of eternity, yet locating it outside time, apparently conceived as the rest of redeemed souls running concurrently with the Sixth Age.⁴ In disseminating this view Augustine was blocking those dreams of the final millennial age on earth which had been current in the first and fourth centuries. For Augustine the climax of history had already been reached and passed in the Incarnation. The interval between the First and the Second Advents of Christ was simply a time of waiting and of the garnering of individual souls: there was no place for progress towards ends which could be achieved within time. The false hope of an apotheosis of history must be quenched, for the world was running down into senectude. The only 'end' to be looked for was Last Judgement when history would be wound up, for God's transcendent purposes lay outside time.

This was the prevailing medieval attitude. The Middle Ages lived under the shadow of End-time: people had no sense of looking ahead through countless ages to come. A persistent rumour whispered that Antichrist was already born, presaging the final tribulation of the Church, to be followed swiftly by Last Judgement. About 950 AD in an age of violence and insecurity when the Carolingian Empire was breaking up, Queen Gerberga, sister of the future Otto I and wife of the late Carolingian Louis IV, asked the Abbot Adso to gather together all that was known about Antichrist. His *Libellus de Antichristo* became a medieval bestseller.⁵ Certain moments in time tended to heighten the anxiety which overshadowed the future. Such would arise when, according to one or other of the chronologies calculated from the Creation (*Annus Mundi*, AM), the six millennium was believed to be approaching its end. But the practise of

dating the Christian era from the Incarnation (*Annus Domini*, AD), which was first popularised by Bede, gave new possibilities for 'crisis-dates'. In particular it was to be expected that the approach of the year 1000 AD would raise popular emotions to fever-pitch. Whether or not this was so has been the subject of debate of historians.⁶ The year itself passed without any violent upheavals. But if church leaders played it down, barring the path to forbidden calculations, this was probably because the tension was indeed present. The sense of an impending was certainly present in Ralph Glaber's view of the world in 1033, the thousandth anniversary of the Passion.⁷ In general, however, the orthodox Gospel view that the day of the Lord would come as a thief in the night incited the faithful to watch and pray rather than to cry 'Lo here, Lo there!'

Yet such a passive, even negative, attitude towards the meaning of history could quench neither the urge to trace out the progressive workings of divine purpose in history nor the yearnings for a more optimistic future within time. Eusebius and Orosius, for instance, for all their opposition to millennial dreams, both saw the hand of Providence in the Church's triumph under Constantine and interpreted secular as well as sacred history as revealing God's ongoing purpose.⁸ Men could not refrain from seeking the signs of divine operations in the past and then, by extension, in the present and future. The characteristic method of this approach was that of 'concord'. Time was divided into two great dispensations of pre- and post-Incarnational history. Events and people in the old Dispensation prefigured, or from a concord with parallel events and people in the New. Thus God's unfolding designs could be discerned, as typological fulfillments of the Old Dispensation were unveiled in the New. The origins of this method of understanding spiritual history can be seen in the New Testament itself, preeminently in the letters of St. Paul. Among the early Church Fathers Tertullian (c.160-c.225 AD), for instance, was filled with a strong sense that all the detailed happenings in the Old Testament were prophetic *figurae* always pointing forward. He is, for example, greatly excited by the fact that Moses renamed Oshea as Joshua, which in Hebrew is the same as Jesus. For it was Joshua, not Moses, who led the Israelites into the Promised Land, thus prefiguring Christ's mighty act in leading 'the second people' out of the desert into the eternal life of the land of 'flowing with milk and honey', not through the discipline of the Mosaic law, but through the grace of the Gospel.⁹

This method of interpreting concords between the Old and New Dispensations became a standard medieval practise. But it was in general used only to illuminate the Gospel narratives and the beginnings of the church. Following St. Augustine, the seeking of 'signs' to interpret later centuries, or even the future was discouraged. Yet - to repeat - the desire to seek clues about the future could not be wholly quenched. Robert Lerner has shown that the solution proposed to a problem in an eschatological arithmetic offered a chink of light on this subject. It originated

with St. Jerome -anti-millenarian though he was - who became interested in the discrepancy between two prophecies in the book of Daniel: the 290 'days' interpreted as a reign of Antichrist and the 1335 'days' of waiting for the faithful. Jerome concluded that there would be a space of 45 'days' (i.e. 1335 - 1290) between the death of the Antichrist and the Last Judgement, a time which would be given for the repentance of believers.¹⁰ In the following centuries commentators interpreted this in a fairly negative sense until in the twelfth century the *Glossa Ordinaria* struck a new note in its gloss on Daniel 12:12: *dies quietis et pacis post mortem Antichristi xlv superioribus adduntur ad refrigerium sanctorum et ad penitentiam subversorum*.¹¹ The idea of a period for refreshment of the saints opened up a chink of hope in the 'rock-face' which, in the Augustinian tradition, blocked the end of history.

The twelfth century, in fact saw the growth of a new interest in the meaning of time, in its periodization and in the progress evident through the movement of time. There was a striking new awareness of change in human experience when seen in relation to the timeless realities of the Faith. Thus Honorius of Autun wove an interplay of the patterns of history - the three *tempora* and the six *aetates* - with the stages in celebrating the Mass, thereby subsuming the time process within the timeless liturgy.¹² In a similar interpretation of the repeated cycle of canonical hours, the third *vigilia*, which symbolized the *tempus gratiae* and the sixth *aetas*, was seen as representing in its three *horae* three stages in post-Incarnational history: the time of the Apostles' preaching, the time of persecution and the *tempus pacis* under Constantine.¹³ Here was the beginning of a periodization of the sixth age. In his *Gemma animae* Honorius also gives a more positive meaning to the space after the death of Antichrist: the three days before Easter signify the rule of Antichrist but at the kindling of Easter fire the death of Antichrist is celebrated and the fire of the holy Spirit is rekindled in the Church in a time of great rejoicing and the baptism of multitudes.¹⁴ Again, the Song of Songs provided him with an end-time concord: in the dawn after the night of Antichrist the Church will go forth early into the field of the world to sow the seed of the world, recall lapsed Christians and convert the pagans.¹⁵

Gerhoh of Reichersberg in his *De quarta Vigilia* uses the storm in which the disciples tossed on the sea of Galilee as a *figura* of the Church's history, linking it with the monastic night vigils.¹⁶ In the first vigil the martyrs triumphed over the storm of persecution until wind and waves were stilled in the great tranquillity under Constantine. The second storm was of Aries, Sabellius and other heretics against whom confessors laboured and prevailed. In the third vigil the ship of the Church was imperilled by inner corruption over which the Holy Fathers and Roman pontiffs from Gregory I to Gregory VII contended and prevailed. But now, in the fourth vigil, the greatest storm is rising into the tempest of

Antichrist. Only Christ walking on the waters could rescue His Church from being engulfed. Here Gerhoh's disciple intervenes in the discussion pointing out that Christ enters the ship and stills the storm *before* they reached land. Does this mean that before He comes finally in judgement He will come to the still voyaging Church to give a great tranquillity? Gerhoh replies by affirming this very positively. The distance still to be traversed before reaching the shore of eternal peace is the space between the destruction of Antichrist and the Second Advent, a time in which Christian people will be filled with great joy. In his *De investigatione Antichristi* Gerhoh also speaks briefly of the new spiritual leaders who will reform the Church just before the Second Advent.¹⁷

Two twelfth-century writers who express their sense of change by periodising the life of the Church since the Incarnation were the Premonstratensians, Anselm of Havelberg and Eberwin of Steinfeld. Professor Bischoff has underlined the important step taken by both of discarding Augustinian tradition by the periodization of Church history. "Because the Church exists in historical time, therefore such historical time is significant. The timeless unity and homogeneity of the Church's existence have clearly become a problem. Change is now perceived within this existence."¹⁸ Anselm tackles this problem in his dialogue *De unitate fidei et multiformitate vivendi ab Abel justo usque ad novissimum electum*. Is change bad, he asks? Is it true that '*tanto esse contemptibilem, quanto mobiliorem*'? Against this he asserts that from the beginning the Church of God has been one in essence but multiform in its modes, continually renewing its life and institutions as the Holy Spirit revivifies it.¹⁹ He divides Church history since the Incarnation into seven *status*, typified in the opening of the seven seals of the Apocalypse. But, however innovative this may be, for Anselm the Augustinian shadow still hangs over the final *status*: the sixth will see the earth-shaking persecution of Antichrist and the seventh - figured in the 'silence' at the opening of the seventh seal - offers no hope of an earthly bliss but is placed beyond the winding up of history.²⁰ Eberwin, however, makes a more radical advance. He uses the six jars of wine at the marriage of Cana as a *figure* of the six ages of the Church, recognising change in the Church as a graduated process in which "the flow of church history accelerates towards its end."²¹ In the last age within history, which is now beginning, the Church will grow in perfection through a new order of 'the humble' surpassing all the old orders. Bischoff sees here "the emergence of a new and unaugustinian eschatology."²² The Incarnation is seen not so much as the climactic end of redemption history as its centre, while the following periodization of Church history points towards a further stage of perfection before the end of time.

In short, a certain doctrine of progress was slowly being formed in the medieval period. Not, of course, in terms of an endless vista of human achievement: the End still loomed near, while any change for the better

could only be the work of divine grace. The catalyst in this development was the Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore who lived in the second half of the twelfth century. His originality lay in the way he applied the doctrine of the Trinity to the process of history. He had been partially anticipated by Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075-1129/30). In his great work *De Trinitate et operibus eius*²³ Rupert set out to interpret the whole of history as the work of the Trinity and accordingly divided his work into three parts, from Creation to Fall, from the Fall to the Passion, from Christ's Resurrection to the consummation of the *saeculum*. But although, from one point of view, the seven Gifts of the Spirit mark progress in the third part, Rupert cannot, as an Augustinian, place a seventh age within time. It can only be a sabbath of rest running parallel with time.

In a much more unequivocal approach Joachim interpreted development throughout the time-process as the work of the Trinity in three stages (*status*), that of the Father (Law), that of the Son (Grace), and that of the Spirit (Illumination and Love). Equating these three stages with the Seven World Ages, he assigned the five ages of the Old Dispensation to the first *status* and believed that the sixth stage, embracing the second *status*, would run until a time about two generations beyond his own. The seventh stage, equated with the third *status* would then begin - still within time.²⁴ Thus the three progressive stages would come to full fruition in a future age of the Spirit which Joachim located within time. Here lay his most original thought. But it was not a simply progress in which each stage superseded and obliterated the previous one. Joachim insisted that all three persons of the Trinity worked all through history, while each of the two succeeding stages began within and subsumed into itself the preceding one. The Age of the Spirit in no way diminishes the power of Christ, the Son, or God, the Father. The sources of this new vision lay in the Biblical exegesis and the figural method of concords. But now, in addition to the widely used 'pattern of twos', Joachim read the signs in a concord of 'threes'. In particular, he sought through concords to delineate the leadership of the third *status* to come. He expected, for instance, a future twelve corresponding to the twelve patriarchs and apostles.²⁵

He saw Zorobabel, at the transition between the Old and New Dispensations, as prefiguring a *novus dux* who would lead the pilgriming Church out of Babylon into the new age at the transition from the second to the third *status*.²⁶ Most famous of all were the concords he drew between various 'pairs' of divine agents in the Old Testament and then in the New as prototypes of two new orders of spiritual men²⁷ who were also to be the leaders at this *transitus* which itself was often figured by him in the crossing of Jordan into the Promised Land and in the outgoing of the church from Jerusalem. The two orders are seen as a preaching and a hermit order which Joachim saw figured in the raven and dove sent out by Noah.²⁸ Using the concept of orders more generally, he saw the *status* of

the Father characterised by married men, that of the son by clergy, while the quintessence of the third *status* would be embodied in the life of the contemplative monasticism.²⁹

It is important, however, that in presenting the vision of an Age of Spirit to crown all history, Joachim did not underplay the tribulations of the earthly pilgrimage nor the essential imperfection of the time-process. The figure of seven seals and openings provided him with a double pattern of seven persecutions in the Old Dispensation and seven in the New.³⁰ He expected the seventh and greatest persecution of Antichrist to strike at the end of the second *status*, before the transition of the third. In his own day he believed this was imminent.³¹ Moreover, although he used the concept of the Sabbath Age closing the World Week, the 'silence', at the opening of the seventh seal and the binding of Satan for a thousand years as figures of the blessedness which would characterise the third *status*,³² Joachim was not a true millenarian. His Age of the Spirit was not a supernatural kingdom descending from heaven, but the culmination of a progressive movement he discovered within earthly history itself. It was therefore subject to the limitations of the time-process and was in no way to be confused with the blessedness of the Eighth Day of eternity. Under the laws of finity existence it must itself deteriorate before the winding up of history at the Second Advent and the Last Judgement. In some passages Joachim forecasts a final persecution symbolised in Gog and Magog.³³ Joachim's contribution to medieval thinking on the significance of the time-process did not constitute a revival of earlier millennial dreams but an attempt to trace a progressive revealed divine activity in history and to affirm its culmination in a positive achievement within the human state.

In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the expectation of such an Age of Spirit was focussed on three images, all of which derived wholly or partly from Joachim's prophetic expectations. The idea of new orders to raise human living to a new level of spirituality which springs directly from Joachim's prophetic expectation inspired visionaries in a succession of orders. His figure of Noah's raven and dove, as well as other symbolic 'pairs' used by Joachim, was appropriated in the thirteenth century by both the Dominican and Franciscan orders.³⁴ In the latter it fuelled the passionate devotion of the 'Spirituals' to the rigour of St. Francis's Rule and Testament. The belief that they were called to a special witness and mission in the End-time - inspired partly by 'two witnesses' of Apocalypse 11:3 - resulted in a defiance of Church authority which led to expulsion, persecution and sometimes martyrdom. The Fraticelli, scattered throughout Italy, the Provençal followers of Petrus Johannis Olivi, the Catalan Tertiaries and followers of Arnold of Villanova, who in the mid-fourteenth century revised the Time-table for the Last Things³⁵ - all these based their radical views on the conviction that the prophetic key to the meaning of the time-process had been given to them alone. In a more

quietist spirit certain Augustinian hermits applied Joachim's description of the coming hermit order to themselves.³⁶ In the sixteenth century the Abbot's prophecy concerning the semi-contemplative, semi-preaching order was perceived to apply with extraordinary aptitude to the Society of Jesus.³⁷ What more potent inspiration could there be at a time when the Jesuit mission was opening out into the eschatological commission to preach the Gospel throughout the world before the end?

The germ of the second image, that of an Angelic Pope, is found in several passages of Joachim's works, as in the prophecy of a new Zorobabel already mentioned and in interpretations of a new Joseph and a new David³⁸, but it was not fully worked out until the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. Its latter emergence seems to be an attempt to reconcile a radical expectation for the future with a sense of institutional continuity. The 'abominable scandal' of the Eternal Evangel disseminated by an extreme Franciscan, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino in the University of Paris in 1254/5, had alerted many to the revolutionary implications of a third *status* in which the Bible would be superseded by the works of Joachim (The Eternal Evangel) and ecclesiastical authority transferred to a barefooted order.³⁹ Later, Olivi, radical in his apocalyptic expectation struggled with the necessity of preserving the traditional authority of St. Peter's successors.⁴⁰ The strange and unpredictable election of the hermit, Peter of Morrone, as Celestine V in 1295 perhaps represented a rash attempt to bridge the prophetic gap. Its failure underlined the hard fact that prophecy could not thus be dragged back into the present. By the early fourteenth century the need to reconcile the present institution with the visionary future foretold for it was met in a group of new prophecies of which the most famous were the *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*.⁴¹ This was a series of fifteen prophetic figures and text representing a sequence of popes which, at a crucial point, pass from history to prophesy. The authors, provenance and exact date are still under debate⁴² but the key concept seems clear: the transition under divine intervention from a worldly, corrupt papacy to the blessed rule of the Angelic pope or popes which would close the *seculum*. Whoever the authors they found a model in Byzantine Oracles attributed to Leo the Wise. In both series continuity of authority is held in tension with institutional transformation. In the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries the fifteen *Vaticinia*, to which a second series of fifteen was later added, became a best-seller. while the myth of the Angelic pope was expanded into a vision of world rule in which corruption would cease, harmony and peace would reign and all men would be gathered into one fold under one shepherd.

In another set of prophecies associated with the *Vaticinia*, the *Liber de Flore*,⁴³ The Angelic popes fulfill their role with a secular partner, a great kingly leader. The myth of the Last world Emperor is much older than Joachim's time.⁴⁴ It arose in Syria in a time of crisis during the

seventh century when the onslaught of Islam brought Christians under great pressure. The speed with which it spread to Byzantium and then to the West demonstrates vividly the need for some focus of hope at a time when a menacing prospect blocks the future. In the West the Abbot Adso incorporated the prophesy into his *Libellus de Antichristo*. Before the last things a great Christian emperor would arise. He would deliver Christians from persecution, destroy all infidels and establish a reign of peace and plenty. But this would be only transitory felicity. At the appearance of Antichrist the Emperor would resign the insignia of his office in Jerusalem and render his soul to God. Then the greatest tribulation of all times would begin, to be ended only by the second coming of Christ.

This collapse of human rule before Antichrist registers a deep pessimism. But during the thirteenth century the old legend became touched with a more positive Joachimism.⁴⁵ We see this in the partnership of Pope and Emperor in the *Liber de Flore*⁴⁶ and also in the imperial 'saviour' expected by Dante who is to be an agent of moral regeneration in Church, State and society.⁴⁷ At the end of the fourteenth century the myth was crystallised in a text known as the Second Charlemagne prophecy. Here a great king of the French line goes through the usual programme of subduing his enemies, but he is then seen as the chastiser of evil in the Church and finally - in the most Joachim form of the prophecy - he will be crowned emperor by an angel *after* the death of Antichrist.⁴⁸

The Joachimist concept of a flowering human life in an Age of the Spirit which was to be the climax of history was widely disseminated in Western Europe, though often in attenuated and unacknowledged form throughout the Renaissance period. The second Charlemagne prophecy appears in many places and forms, notably to enhance Charles VIII's role in Italy in 1494/5 and to support the Emperor Charles V claims to world empire in the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ The Savonarolan movement in Florence, with its theme of tribulation and chastisement to be followed by an age of peace and blessedness, contained elements of Joachimst prophecy imaginatively caught into two of Botticelli's pictures.⁵⁰ The image of the Angelic pope haunted renaissance popes of the early sixteenth century.⁵¹ In Germany this image was actually applied to Luther while the prophecies of Joachim were invoked by Thomas Munzer.⁵² Columbus believed his destiny to have been revealed in the book of prophecies which he collected.⁵³ The fascinating point is that in this period the linear vision of a culminating Age of Spirit could be fused in the imagination of Humanists with the classical dream of a returning Age of Gold. An outstanding exponent of this view was Cardinal Giles of Viterbo, a brilliant humanist scholar and linguist, a leading orator at the Fifth Lateran Council and a strong supporter of Julius II and the two Medici popes, Leo X and Clemence VII.⁵⁴ He saw the whole process of Christian history as about to rise to its second culminating point, while at the same time

reviving classical myths which pointed to the approaching cyclical Golden Age. All the 'signs' were there: the revival of the glories of Rome, centred especially on St. Peter's, the flowering of the humanist learning, the opening of the secret springs of knowledge, both biblical and classical and, matched with all this, the astonishing opening of a new world in the achievement of the explorers. So in his writings he calls first on Leo X and finally on Clement VII and Charles V, in a prophetic partnership to bring about world wide peace by conquering and converting all nations and thus, before the end of time, fulfilling the prophecy that there shall be one sheep fold and one shepherd.⁵⁵

It is significant that such a person as Giles, himself a member of the Augustinian Order of hermits, could become intoxicated by this vision of fulfillment within history. But the austere, orthodox view that within time only a rising scale of tribulation could be expected persisted strongly, often in conflict with the optimistic dream.⁵⁶ Rumours of the appearance of Antichrist occur regularly clustering round such catastrophes as the Sack of Rome in 1527. Both types of medieval belief concerning the meaning and end of time linger on much longer than is often supposed. When Isaac Newton in the seventeenth century had finished *Principia*, his great work opening up the principles of the physical universe, it was still to the Apocalypse that he turned in a desire to unravel the secrets of time.

Notes:

1. R. Landes, 'Lest the millennium be fulfilled: Apocalyptic expectations and the pattern of Western Chronography 100-800 C.E.', *The use and the abuse of eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst, A. Welkenhuysen (Louvain, 1988), p. 137-211.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 138-140, 149-56, 174-8.
3. Romans, 5: 13-1. See A. Luneau, *L'histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Église. La doctrine des âges du monde* (Paris 1964), pp. 45-7, 357-79.
4. See P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London '67), pp. 156, 296-7; M. Reeves, 'The originality and influence of Joachim of Fiore', *Traditio*, XXXVI (1980), p. 273.
5. Adso, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, *Corpus Christianorum continuatio Medivalis*, XLV (Turnhouse: Brepols, 1976), pp. 20-30. On this work, see D. Verhelst, 'La préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antichrist', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xxxix-xl (1973), pp. 52-103; M. Rangheri, 'La "Epistola ad Gerbergam reginam de ortu et Temporum Antichristum" di Adson de Montier-en-Der e le sue fonte', *Studi Medivali*, 3 rd. ser., xiv (ii) (1973), pp. 672-732.

6. See H. Focillon, *L'An Mil* (Parijs 1947), p. 50-63.
7. For R. Glaber see references *ibid* ppp. 50-4.
8. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History of the Church*, tr. G.A. Williamson (Harmondsworth, 1965), pp. 381 ff.; Orosius, *History against the pagans*, trs. I. B. Raymond (New York 1936). V,2: VI,22.
9. Quoted by E. Auerbach 'Figura', trs. R. Mannheim, *Scenes from the drama of European literature*, (New York 1959), p. 28. See numbers 13:16.
10. R. Lerner, 'Refreshments of the Saints: A time after Antichrist as a station of early progress in Medieval thought', *Traditio*, xxxii (1976), p. 97-144.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
12. Honorius of Autun, *Selectorum psalmorum expositio*, PL., 172 cols. 273-4.
13. Idem, *Gemma Animae*, PL., 172 cols. 615-626.
14. *Ibid.*, col. 679.
15. Idem, *Expositio in Cantica Cantorum*, PL.; 172, cols. 471-2.
16. Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De quarta vigilia noctis*, MGHS. *Libelli de lite*, 3, pp. 508-25.
17. Idem, *De investigatione Antichristi*, MGHS. *Libelli de lite*, 3, p. 352.
18. G. Bischoff, 'Early premonstratensian eschatology: The Apocalyptic myth', *The spirituality of western Christendom* ed. R. Elder (Kalamazoo, 1976), p. 54.
19. Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, PL., 188, cols. 1141-4.
20. *Ibid.*, cols. 1149-59.
21. Bischoff, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 54.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
23. Rupert of Deutz, *De trinitate et operibus eius libri XLII*, PL., col. 167.
24. For the full range of Joachim's number attrens, see M. Reeves *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Ages. A study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 17-20, 25-6; M. Reeves, B. Hirsch-Reich, *The figurae of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 1-19.
25. See references in Reeves, Hirsch-Reich, *Figurae*, pp. 7, 17-18, 33, 63, 132, 156-7, 180 n. 3.
26. Joachim of Fiore, *Liber concordie* (Venetië, 1519), ff. 55 v- 56 r.
27. See references in Reeves, *Influence*, p. 142-3.
28. Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527), f.81 v.
29. See references in Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 135-9; Reeves, Hirsch-Reich, *Figurae*, p. 171-2, 207-9, 244-6, 255.
30. See Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 5, 12; Reeves, Hirsch-Reich, *Figurae*, pp. 9, 120, 133-6, 144; Joachim of Fiore, *De Septem Sigillis*, ed.

- M. Reeves, B. Hirsch-Reich, *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xxi (1954), pp. 239-47.
31. See Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 5, 12; Reeves, Hirsch-Reich, *Figurae*, pp. 9, 120, 133-6, 144; Joachim of Fiore, *De Septem Sigillis*, ed. M. Reeves, B. Hirsch-Reich, *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xxi (1954), pp. 239-47.
 32. *Exos*, ff. 14 r - 16 r, 123 r, 210 v - 212 r. See also Reeves, Hirsch-Reich, *Figurae*, pp. 9-10, 123, 125, 138, 140, 253.
 33. See reference in Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 303-5; Reeves, Hirsch-Reich, *Figurae*, pp. 10, 152.
 34. See references in Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 146-8. On the eschatological mission of the Franciscans in general, see E.R. Daniel, *The Franciscan concept of mission in the High Middle Ages*, (Kentucky, 1975).
 35. On the Fraticelli, see D. Douie, *The nature and effect of the heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester, 1932); also Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 210-20. On Olivi and the Provençal Joachimites, see D. Burr, *The persecution of Peter Olivi, transactions of the American philosophical society*, 66 (Philadelphia, 1976); R. Manselli, 'Spirituali e Beguini in Provenza', *Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo. Studi Storici*, 31-34 (Rome, 1959); Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 194-209. On Arnold of Villanova and Joachimites in Spain, see H. Lee, 'Scrutamini scripturas: Joachimist themes and *Figurae* in the early Religious writings of Arnold of Villanova', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld institutes*, 37 (1974), pp. 33-56; Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 219-25.
 36. Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 251-73.
 37. *Ibid.* pp. 274-90.
 38. Joachim of Fiore, *Lib. Conc.*, ff. 56 r, 89 r, 92 v, 122 v.
 39. See references in Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 60-1.
 40. D. Burr, *op. cit.*
 41. The pioneer work on this strange set of prophecies was done by H. Grundmann, 'Die Papstprophetien des Mittelalters', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, xix (1929), pp. 77-159. Since then questions of date, authorship and provenance have been reopened, notably by Robert Lerner, 'On the origins of the earliest Latin pope prophecies. A reconsideration', *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften*, bd. 33, V (Hannover, 1988), pp. 611-35. See also, M. Reeves, 'Some popular prophecies from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries', *Studies in church history*, 8, *Popular belief and practice*, ed. G. Cuming, D. Baker (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 107-34.
 42. It is hoped to publish an edition of the Leo Oracles and the Pope Prophecies with a full discussion of these problems.
 43. See H. Grundmann, 'Die Liber de Fiore', *Historisches Jahrbuch*,

- XLIX (1929), pp. 33 - 91
44. The origins and early history of this myth were brilliantly unravelled by Paul Alexander in a series of studies. His final conclusions were brought together in *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkely, Los Angeles, London, 1985), ed. posthumously by D. Abrahamse.
 45. See Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 309-14.
 46. *ibid.*, pp. 320-1, 403-4.
 47. The possibility of Joachimist influence on Dante's conception of an expected political saviour is explored by M. Reeves, in an essay in *Kathegetria. Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her Eightieth Birthday*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (forthcoming, 1989)
 48. See Reeves, *Influence*. pp. 328-31.
 49. *ibid.*, pp. 354-72.
 50. H. Ulmann, *Sandro Botticelli* (Munich, 1893), p. 148-9; F. Saxl, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V (1942), p. 84; D. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1970), pp. 336-8.
 51. A. Morisi, *Apocalypsis Nova. Ricerche sull' origine e la formazione del testo dello pseudo-Amadeo* (Rome, 1970); M. Reeves, 'Roma Profetica', *La Città dei Segreti. Magia, astrologia e cultura esoterica a Roma (XV-XVIII)*. ed. F. Troncarelli (Milan, 1985), pp. 281-97.
 52. *Eyn wunderliche Weyssagung von dem Babstumb, wie es ihm biz an das endt der wilt gehen sol, in figuren oder, gemal begriffen zu Nurnberg in Cartheuser Closter, und ist seher alt* (Nuremberg, 1527). For Munzter, see references in Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 490-1
 53. *Racolta e documenti e studi pubblicati dallo R. Commissione Colombiana pel quarto centenario dalla scoperta dell' America* (Rome, 1894), Pt. I, vol. ii, *Scritti di Cristophoro Colombo*, ed. C. Lollis, *Libro de las profeciás*, pp. 76-160; see also pp. 202, 434-5.
 54. On Giles of Viterbo, see J. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform* (Leiden, 1968); idem, *Rome and the Renaissance. Studies in Culture and Religion* (London, 1981).
 55. See the passages quoted in Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 356-6. The theme of one sheepfold and one shepherd (John 10:16) appears in many profetic writings, see *ibid.*, index, under *Unum ovile et unus pastor*.
 56. Examples of an pessimistic reaction against Joachimist dreams appear in the writings of Jacobus de Paradiso and Henry of Langenstein, both cited by Reeves, *Influence*, pp. 425-7.



Een Middeleeuwse klokkenmaker aan het werk.