

THE VOICE OF HONEST INDIGNATION:
A STUDY OF REFORMIST APOCALYPTICISM
IN RELATION TO PIERS PLOWMAN

TWO VOLUMES

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CHAPTER III

LEAVEN OF HOPE AND LEAVEN OF MALICE: TRUE AND FALSE APOSTLES IN
ANTIMENDICANT AND JOACHITE APOCALYPTICISM OF LATER MEDIEVAL BRITAINIntroduction: 'Ordo' Prophecy in Medieval Apocalyptic Thought

For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch as to deceive (if possible) even the elect.

--Matt. 24:24

Apocalyptic thought is concerned mainly to distinguish the false from the true. Actors in the current drama of the times are therefore often labelled with black and white terms on the basis of suspicions or hopes gleaned from the grammar of biblical apocalyptic imagery. Medieval apocalypticism, therefore, can be read as a history of groups which were considered to be either the new apostles or the much feared pseudo-apostles of any given author's time. In the later Middle Ages many new groups or clerical orders were heralded as true apostles and seen as a long-awaited leaven of hope for the future. Equally, apocalyptic thinkers warned of other orders or groups whom they believed to be the pseudo-apostles, forerunners of Antichrist, and false brethren. As is so often the case, one man's hope for the future was another man's despair. The apocalyptic tendency to single out one religious ordo for praise or blame was fuelled by the controversies and rivalries which raged throughout the later Middle Ages as both old and new orders tried to justify their particular choice of path to Christian

perfection.¹ In the twelfth century, apocalyptic thinkers who were members of newly-founded religious orders often tended to incorporate their order into a future plan for renewal, resulting in some of the first traces of apocalyptic optimism in medieval thought.² The new tendency to read current events into an apocalyptic scheme of history gave way to much labelling of various groups as either the new apostles or pseudo-apostles of the day. However no ordo ever received as much apocalyptic attention, both positive and negative, as the fraternal orders did. They appear at the centre of much apocalyptic prophecy and controversy, either as the order upon which the future renewal of the Church depends or as the malignant disease which will be its scourge or downfall.³ From the perspective of medieval apocalyptic thought, then, it is not at all unusual that Langland should have given the friars the key role he did in Piers Plowman.

Although many orders claimed for themselves the role of Joachim of Fiore's viri spirituales, none were so strongly associated with this role in the medieval mind as the fraternal (especially the Franciscan) orders. By the mid-thirteenth century, Joachim's prophecies of the coming two new orders of viri spirituales had been claimed by the Dominicans and Franciscans. In 1255 Humbert de Romanis and John of Parma, Generals of the Dominican and Franciscan orders respectively, issued a joint encyclical in which they stated that their orders had a mission to save the world in these last days (Reeves, Influence, p. 146). The friars were hailed by other religious groups as the leaven of Church renewal and it was precisely these apocalyptic claims which

were so skilfully overturned by antimendicant propagandists to redefine the friars as the pseudo-apostles of the End Time. Langland presents an interesting case in the context of thirteenth and fourteenth-century pro- and antifraternal apocalyptic thought because he fits none of the ideological categories which one routinely sees in this literature. His antimendicantism is mixed with what seems to be a genuine hope for the reform of the friars and a surprisingly "fraternal" view of clerical poverty and the evils of church endowment.

To complicate the situation even further, one must beware of limiting consideration of the background to this problem in Piers Plowman solely to the well-known Joachite and antimendicant prophetic traditions. Hildegard, as we shall see, also contributed (unwittingly) to the mendicant controversies and there is also to be considered the virtually untapped literature of the shorter religious and political prophecies which carried pro- or antimendicant material as well. A good example of this latter phenomenon can be seen in Robert Lerner's recent study of the changing fortunes of the Tripoli prophecy in the hands of various scribes. In the midst of the original version of this 'dark' prophecy there occurs an 'ordo prophecy.' After predicting the chastisement of the clergy through the agency of "a certain people called 'without a head' or reputed to be wanderers," the author wrote, "A new order thrives: if it should fall, woe to the Church" (Lerner, Powers, p. 16). As Lerner suggests, the new order is most likely either the Franciscan or the Dominican order, both at the height of their prestige about the time the earliest version of this prophecy was

written (c. 1240). The prophet sees a double purification of the Church: by the headless hordes externally and by one of the new orders internally (Lerner, Powers, p. 23).⁴ In a later version of the prophecy, written in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, another scribe was to alter the prophecy by deleting the line about the new order and adding that "the mendicant orders and many other sects will be annihilated" (Lerner, Powers, p. 43). From this time forward this one-line ordo prophecy suffered various fortunes at the hands of scribes. The copyist of the fourteenth-century English MS BL Harley 485, a collection of devotional and ascetic texts, softened the antimendicantism of the text to make the line a general warning to all lax clergy (Lerner, Powers, pp. 106-7), while another English scribe, writing at the end of the fourteenth century, copied the prophecy into an antimendicant collection which included the writings of William of St. Amour and Pseudo-Hildegard (Lerner, Powers, pp. 107-8). Clearly these shorter prophecies were infinitely adaptable to the various ideological and propagandist uses of ordo polemics.

Langland's particular apocalyptic view of the mendicant orders could have come from a variety of prophetic sources. The one school of apocalyptic (or pseudo-apocalyptic) thought which we know him to have been in contact with is the antimendicant one, and the first section of this chapter will deal largely with the apocalypticism and ideology of this type of literature. It is important, however, to realize that antimendicant literature initially arose out of an apocalyptic controversy sparked by the Joachite expectation of new spiritual men and

was fired for decades by medieval clerical concerns with the relative merits of the paths to perfection chosen by rival orders. In this sense antimendicant eschatology can be viewed as a type of ordo prophecy, a negative response to the positive claims of the Joachite groups who will form the subject of the second section. Langland's concerns with the issues of ordo prophecy, therefore, can be seen as inextricably tied up with the apocalyptic expectations which this type of prophecy produced.

Not all of Langland's fraternal prophecy is antifraternality--a realization which is at first startling, because we think of him so much in the context of other antifraternality writers. The disendowment prophecy in Passus V is not antifraternality at all; in fact, it suggests a sympathy for the friars' predicament which is too often overlooked. Langland did not go as far as John of Rupescissa in foreseeing the reformed friars as the hope of a new age, but he is desperately concerned with their reform and this is perhaps why it makes more sense to consider Piers Plowman from the standpoint of the wider tradition of what I have called ordo prophecy. As we will see, there are many things which distinguish Langland's antifraternality from that of the propaganda he drew upon and not the least of these is his sense that the friars have a rightful place within the Church after their reform.

I. Leaven of Malice: Antimendicant Prophecy and Ideology

If there is one type of apocalyptic literature which we can be certain Langland knew, it is the antimendicant prophecy written during the thirteenth-century clerical conflicts at the University of Paris.⁵

The prophetic motifs used with such effectiveness by William of St. Amour and his circle as a weapon against the friars were to be the mainstays of antimendicant literature and propaganda for decades to come. Although these motifs were taken up by many poets, satirists and propagandists who had no apocalyptic expectations themselves, the conventional charges laid against the friars continued--from Rutebeuf to Dunbar--to be those derived from biblical descriptions of the pseudo-prophets or false brethren who would plague the Church during the last days.⁶ Until quite recently, scholars have not been sufficiently aware of the eschatological foundations of antimendicantism and have persisted in reading what is essentially a biblical typology as social history.⁷ In the case of a writer like Langland this has led to a good deal of misunderstanding of both his apocalypticism and his attitude toward the fraternal orders. While I hope to be able to untangle a few of these threads here, it should be hastily added that all the evidence is not yet in: much more work needs to be done on the eschatological and polemical literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as the apocalyptic material, before we will know for sure how and why a writer like Langland holds the peculiar mix of attitudes he does. The great clerical issues of the fourteenth century --mendicancy, poverty, and apostolic lifestyle and livelihood--generated a huge literature, the marks of which are everywhere evident throughout Piers Plowman. Anyone familiar with the battlelines of the monastic, fraternal and secular camps can only be amazed at the way they have been scrambled in Piers Plowman.⁸ Patterns and fragments of patterns are

certainly evident, as in Langland's use of antimendicant motifs, but these do not tell the whole story. Langland's views on poverty and mendicantism could be the subject of any number of volumes--here we can only stress the association of these themes with medieval apocalypticism and hint at the complexities.

I will look first at the beginnings of antimendicantism with the eschatology and ecclesiology⁹ of William of St. Amour and his circle in order to establish the similarities and, more surprisingly, the differences between his point of view and Langland's. Then I will turn briefly to the transmission of these ideas in fourteenth-century England and finish with a reading of Langland's own antimendicantism in the last passus of the poem.

William of St. Amour and the Scandal of the Eternal Gospel

If the eschatological basis of antimendicant propaganda has not been fully understood by literary scholars, the apocalyptic tensions which gave rise to it during the 1250s at the University of Paris are even less well known. The apocalyptic expectations of Joachim of Fiore had infiltrated especially the young Franciscan order by this time. Many Franciscans, and by no means the extremists only, believed that Francis was the angel of the sixth seal (Rev. 7:2) who had brought about the renewal of Christ's teachings which Joachim expected (Leff, Paris, p. 258). With both the Franciscans and Dominicans claiming the role of Joachim's predicted new orders and the ominous prospect of the year 1260 coming upon them, apocalyptic tensions were high.¹⁰

To these were added the ecclesiological tensions created by the arrival of the friars into the pastoral domain. The secular clergy were not used to having to share pastoral duties, nor the income they engendered, with anyone else and both the growing numbers and popularity of the new orders began to pose a threat to those who had traditionally controlled the cure of souls. At the University of Paris, traditionally dominated by secular masters, the friars were making significant inroads. When in 1250 they tried, with the help of the Pope, to increase the number of magisterial chairs held by friars, a dispute arose which exacerbated the already all-too-evident problem of the friars' capacity for attracting large numbers of students (and thus tutorial fees) away from the secular masters (Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," p. 295). Wielding papal and royal favour, as well as a general and ever-growing popularity, the friars became the cause of a good deal of jealousy and paranoia on the part of the seculars. The uneasiness of the secular clergy was further exacerbated by the knowledge that the friars were not subject to any diocesan authority in the pastoral field (Leff, Paris, p. 259). From the standpoint of those in the traditional hierarchy of the episcopal system, the friars appeared to be dangerously footloose. One of the main characteristics of antimendicant thought is precisely this sense of threat and paranoia which stems partly from confronting a force outside of the traditional system. So pervasive is this mentality that it was to survive long after the reasons for many of the charges had disappeared, as the work of Penn Szittyá and other scholars has shown.

In the midst of this unstable situation a fanatical and mentally unbalanced Franciscan, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, launched his Liber Introductionis to the works of Joachim of Fiore¹¹ in which he claimed, among other things, that there would soon be no further need for the secular clergy in the coming new age (Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," p. 291). Guided by the new viri spirituales (the friars themselves, Gerard claimed), the Church was about to enter the Age of the Holy Ghost, in which the New Testament would be superseded by the Evangelium Aeternum, in the same way as the Old Testament was once superseded by the New. This Eternal Gospel was none other than the works of Joachim prefaced by Gerard's Introduction. The situation at the university, which had seethed for so long, now boiled over. The secular masters had acquired a stick with which to beat the friars and, with William of St. Amour as spokesman, they lost no time in developing their own apocalyptic propaganda with which to fight this new apocalyptic threat. In the scandal that ensued the seculars tried as much as possible to associate the friars with this heretical brand of Joachimism and for reasons which are still unclear, the Joachite Minister General of the Franciscan order, John of Parma, was forced to resign, while Gerard himself ended his days in prison. Shortly after these events William of St. Amour published his Tractatus de periculis novissimorum temporum, in which he showed that Gerard's Eternal Gospel heralded the coming of Antichrist and that the friars were none other than his precursors, the pseudo-apostles of the last days of the world. The biblical typology which William drew upon to paint his portrait of

the friars as the hypocrite false prophets of the End comprises the set of conventions by which the fraternal orders were to be caricatured by satirical and polemical writers throughout the next two hundred years. Both the episode of the Eternal Gospel and William's antifraternality typology were immediately immortalized in the poetry of Rutebeuf, and Jean de Meun:

Et se ne fust la bone garde
de l'Université, qui garde
la clef de la crestienté,
tout eüst esté tourmenté,
quant par mauvese entencion,
en l'an de l'incarnacion
.M. et .II.C. .V. et .L.,
n'est hom vivanz qui m'en desmante,
fu bailliez, c'est bien chose voire,
por prendre comun examplaire,
un livre de par le deable,
c'est l'Evangile Pardurable,
que li Sainz Esperiz menistre,
si con il apparoit ou tistre,
ainsinc est il entitulez;
bien est digne d'estre brulez.
A Paris n'ot home ne fame,
ou parvis devant Nostre Dame,
qui lors avoir ne l'i peüst.
La trovast par granz mespraisons
maintes teles comparaisons :
autant con par sa grant valeur,
soit de clarté soit de chaleur,
seurmoute li soleuz la lune,
qui trop est plus trouble et plus brune,
et li noiaus des noiz la quoque,
ne cuidiez pas que je me moque,
seur m'ame le vos di sanz guile,
tant seurmoute ceste evangile
ceus que li .IIII. evangelistre
Jhesucrist firent a leur tistre.
De tex comparaisons grant masse
i trovast l'en, que je trespasse.
(Romance of the Rose, lines 11761-94).

Jean de Meun even quotes the prophecy of the demise of the secular clergy:

tant con Pierres ait seigneurie,
 ne peut Jehan moutrer sa force.¹²
 Or vos ai dit du sen l'escorce,
 qui fet l'entencion repondre;
 or en veill la moële espondre.
 Par Pierre veust la pape entendre
 et les clers seculiers comprendre,
 qui la loi Jhesucrist tendront
 et garderont et deffendront
 contre touz enpeecheürs;
 par Jehan, les preecheürs,
 qui diront qu'il n'est loi tenable
 fors l'Evangile Pardurable,
 que li Sainz Esperiz envoie
 por metre genz a bone voie.
 (Romance of the Rose, 11826-40).¹³

The De Periculis was, at the friars' request, condemned by the Pope and William was exiled in 1256, but by then the damage was done. William had scored a propaganda victory which was to last for centuries. According to Matthew of Paris public opinion was swayed by the De Periculis and people began to ridicule the mendicant orders:

alms which had heretofore been generously given were now refused; they were called hypocrites, successors of Antichrist, false preachers, flatterers and advisers of kings and princes, scorners and usurpers of priests; skilful intruders of royal apartments, prevaricators abusing the confessional. . .
 (McDonnell, p. 458).

These charges and this tone, even this style of epithet-mongering, stuck. The animosity of the secular clergy knew no bounds. There is no chapter in the history of apocalyptic literature which deals in such shrill and vitriolic material, even though apocalypticism attracted

urgent and fanatical polemicists of all kinds. As Penn Szittyá has remarked, antimendicantism is not a very noble chapter in the history of mankind ("Antifraternal Tradition," p. 313). It seems hard for us to understand the impetus for such hatred.

Turning to the De Periculis itself, there are several themes which should be highlighted in view of Langland's overt use of this material: William's biblical typology, his periodization of history and eschatology, his views on the ecclesiological issues which first put the seculars and mendicants at loggerheads, and finally his marked paranoia. Only the first of these, the biblical typology, has ever been discussed in much detail with regard to Piers Plowman, and it will receive the briefest treatment here. The other three themes are perhaps of more value in highlighting Langland's view of salvation history and his clerical ideology. Penn Szittyá has done some very illuminating work on the eschatological typology of antimendicant prophecy, first in his unpublished doctoral thesis, "'Caimes Kynde': The Friars and the Exegetical Origins of Medieval Antifraternalism," then in subsequent articles.¹⁴ On many of the details of this typology, the reader is referred to his studies; for the brief summary which follows I am much indebted to his work and to the work of other scholars whose names appear in the notes.

Of William's typology Szittyá writes,

The exegetical method of William of St. Amour is a direct corollary of his attitude toward history, which is, it should be stressed, symbolic, not empirical. His frame of reference for understanding the friars is not recent history but Salvation

History, and it is therefore natural that he should turn to Scripture to explain events around him which were unsettling, even terrifying, because symbolic of the End ("Antifraternal Tradition," p. 291).

William used three main biblical texts as the basis for his portrait of the pseudo-apostles, which he was able to superimpose over the public's image of the contemporary friars without once mentioning the friars by name or directly referring to current events.¹⁵ Drawing upon Christ's denunciation of the Pharisees in Matthew 23, William charged that the pseudo-apostles feign piety and only do good works "to be seen of men" (vs. 5). Furthermore, they "love the first places at feasts and first chairs in the synagogues, and salutations in the marketplace, and to be called by men, Rabbi" (vs. 6-7).¹⁶ This last charge proved a goldmine to William. "Rabbi" being rendered "magister" in the Vulgate, he could relate the command "ne vocemini magistri" directly to the friars' zeal to take up magisterial chairs at the university--and as the only biblical verse which could be made relevant to current university politics William had to make the most of it.

Drawing upon II Thessalonians 3:6, William attacked the friars' doctrine of mendicancy and the novelty of their evangelical lifestyle:

Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us. . . . Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you: . . . For also, when we were with you, this we declared to you: that, if any man will not work, neither let him eat. For we have heard there are some

among you who walk disorderly; working not at all, but curiously meddling (II Thessalonians 3:6, 8, 10-11).¹⁷

From the reactionary viewpoint of the secular masters, the very fact that the friars stood outside of the ecclesiastical tradition was a condemnation in itself--a condemnation which verse 6 of the Pauline epistle seemed to support. It is a short step from being outside the received tradition to being perceived as "disorderly" and "curiously meddling," and this was a step which William was only too willing to take: the theme of idle curiosity recurs throughout the De Periculis at every opportune moment. The question of the relative merits of begging and manual labour was an issue which had always divided the seculars and mendicants. The Thessalonians passage gave William all the ammunition he needed to condemn the fraternal orders of meddling and idleness.

Finally, drawing upon II Timothy 3, William tagged the friars with all the characteristics of the pseudo-apostles whom Paul had warned would come to plague the Church at the End Time:

Know also this, that in the last days shall come dangerous times. Men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, haughty, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, ungrateful, wicked, without affection, without peace, slanderers, incontinent, unmerciful, without kindness, Traitors, stubborn, puffed up, and lovers of pleasures more than of God, having an appearance indeed of godliness, but denying the power thereof. Now these avoid. For of these sort are they who creep into houses and lead captive silly women laden with sins, who are led away with divers desires (II Timothy 3:1-6).¹⁸

The central point here, as in the other passages, is the characteristic hypocrisy or feigned piety of the pseudo-apostles. In part the

friars had laid themselves open to such charges by the indiscreet manner in which some had claimed the status of the Joachite viri spituales, and in which fraternal apologists had stressed the mendicant ideal as both the highest mode of perfection and a return to the true apostolic life. Such claims for the apostolic perfection of one's order were commonplace throughout the Middle Ages--in fact it is hard to overestimate medieval concern for this subject--but obviously the conspicuous zeal--and success--of the fraternal orders on this score had irritated the seculars deeply. The type of the false magician, which Langland may be drawing upon in XXII. 377-9, also derives from William's use of this passage, as does his use of the penetrans domos motif and his condemnation of fraternal learning. Paul writes that the pseudo-apostles will be:

Ever learning and never attaining to the knowledge of the truth. Now, as Jannes and Mambres resisted Moses, so these also resist the truth, men corrupted in mind, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall proceed no farther; for their folly shall be manifest to all men, as theirs also was (II Timothy 3:7-9).¹⁹

Note that Paul promises that these pseudo-apostles will be found out and "proceed no farther." This was obviously one of the attractions of the identification for William, who dearly hoped for the demise of the friars and hoped that his "exposure" of their "true" colours in his treatise would do the trick.²⁰

William finished the De Periculis with his famous forty signs that the friars are indeed false apostles:

Since these Seducers have repeatedly claimed to be Apostles, or men sent by God to preach, and to save souls through their ministry according to the words of the Apostle: "For such false apostles are deceitful workmen, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ," therefore we shall set forth signs, some infallible, others very probable, by which Pseudo-Apostles can be distinguished from the true Apostles of Christ (trans. Miller, p. 246).²¹

These have received much attention from literary scholars and we need not pause long over them here. The signs include various themes culled mainly from biblical texts, as, for example, the assertion that true apostles do not penetrate houses (#1), or seduce the innocent (#2), or commend themselves (#4), or devour the goods of others (#13), or breed strife if they are not received (#15), are content with the food and drink offered them (#24), do not apply or depend on logic or philosophy (#37), and so on. Many of the signs are repetitive and many are obvious jibes at the friars' popularity (for example, #20 states that true apostles are badly received at first!) or their rivalry with the seculars for clientele (for example, #21: true apostles do not preach to those who already have apostles, or #34: true apostles do not preach to converts but to those as yet unconverted). Finally, in keeping with William's recurrent pretence that the seculars' attack is simply an objective attempt at probatio, there are signs like #33, which asserts that true apostles do not persecute those who try their validity.

In spite of the fact that the De Periculis was condemned and William exiled from France, his eschatological charges stuck and as any student of fourteenth-century English literature knows, these caricatures were alive and well, virtually unaltered, over one hundred

years after the Parisian disputes. The fact that so many of these charges made against the friars have their sources in biblical typology is highly suspicious and has led scholars to question seriously their value as social or ecclesiastical history. The work of scholars like Arnold Williams has shown that non-polemical and non-literary historical sources, such as bishops' registers, give us a very different picture of the activities of the fraternal orders and even, in some cases, of clerical attitudes toward them.²² Why intelligent, perceptive and thinking men like Chaucer, Gower, or Langland chose to perpetuate what was in large part a mythopoeic structure, and not a very nice one at that, is a fascinating question--reasons might range from personal animosities to the irresistibility of the satirical conventions. Here we can only speculate on Langland's motivations, which I suspect were threefold: I believe that he had reformist, apocalyptic and even personal reasons for his antimendicantism and it is the basis for these views which will occupy much of the rest of this discussion.

It is so rarely that Langland scholars are able to treat any medieval work as a source for Piers Plowman that it seems especially fortunate to have something so definite to fit into our otherwise highly tentative knowledge of Langland's apocalyptic reading. However, in spite of what Robertson and Huppé assert,²³ Langland did not swallow the De Periculis whole and in spite of many obvious parallels in symbolism, the two writers disagree on some fundamental points. Oddly enough, I think that Langland would have disagreed even more with the English antimendicant writers of his own century.²⁴ The only work done on

Piers Plowman and the De Periculis so far has tended to concentrate upon similarities in symbolism,²⁵ which is certainly useful, but I would like to turn now to more ideological questions.

As McDonnell has pointed out (p. 459), William saw a twofold menace in the rise of the new fraternal orders: evangelical poverty and a share in pastoral activity. All those who attacked the mendicant orders from William to Fitzralph knew themselves to be treading on dangerous ground because the new orders had been firmly established and their privileges granted by a series of papal decrees: to attack the friars was, in one sense, to attack the papacy. William therefore couched his criticisms in an attack on the ideology of voluntary poverty, as well as developing a radically restricted reading of the structures of Church government. These ecclesiological positions, overlaid by an eschatological garment, were meant as proof against counterattack by papal authorities. The two themes (poverty and ecclesiastical jurisdiction) are closely related and it is worth following William's arguments in some detail because he raises a number of points which readers of Piers Plowman will find familiar.

William begins by asserting that the friars cannot earn their livelihood from pastoral work; in his words, they cannot "live from the Gospel" (de Evangelio vivere) because they are not true apostles (De Periculis, p. 31), i.e. secular priests. If they are evangelizers, ministers at the altar, dispensers of the sacraments, then they are true apostles, William admits. But, "if they do not have these offices, they do not have the power of living from the Gospel (Si haec officia non

habent, hec vivendi de Evangelio potestatem habent)." Dawson explains William's position as follows:

The main issue raised by the tract was the right of the friars to administer the cura animarum, a right which no one had seriously questioned before, since the friars were priests and operated under papal license. William's essential argument was a simple one. He asserted that all power to preach and administer the sacraments had been invested by Christ in the apostles and disciples and in their successors, who are the bishops and the parish priests respectively. These are the only two ordines in the Church which possess the cura animarum, and no other such ordo can ever be instituted (Dawson, p. 233)

William argued that in order to take on the responsibility of the cure of souls, one had to be "sent," but the friars had not been sent and therefore were usurpers. Gordon Leff delineates the strict lines of status which William laid down in this way:

William recognized that, in taking up this position, he was opposing himself to the pope and bishops who had authorized the friars to preach; in order to overcome this difficulty he put forward a doctrine of extreme diocesan autonomy that effectively gave the clergy the power of deciding who could engage in pastoral activities in their dioceses--by invitation. William also divided the ecclesiastical hierarchy into two classes: the upper, consisting of seculars--bishops, priests, and deacons; and the lower, composed of faithful laymen and catechumens (including the regulars). As ordained by God, none of the lower class could act among the upper class (Leff, Paris, pp. 260-1).

Categorizing the friars as regulars, William could argue that they were overreaching their station, as it were, in their bid to do pastoral work and live from the Gospel--i.e. claim livelihood from the alms or oblations of the laity. I believe that this strict ecclesiological hairsplitting has some illuminating implications for two important

issues in Piers Plowman: first of all, for Langland's recurrent anxiety over the question of a fyndinge for the friars and secondly, for his anxiety--if the C-Text autobiographical passage is indeed autobiographical--over his own fyndinge. As a member of the lowest rank of the secular hierarchy, by William's definition Langland himself would not have had any right to "live from the Gospel"--i.e. from the oblations of the laity. As we shall see shortly, William's categories would certainly give concern to a cleric living by alms.²⁶

William goes on to argue that involvement in "foreign" (or "worldly") business (de curando negotia aliena) is not an acceptable way for viri religiosi who do not have cure to earn their keep. "Work with your hands, just as we taught you," he quotes from the passage in II Thessalonians and emphasizes that those who do not work will not eat. Throughout this section William is relying heavily on Augustine's De opere monachi and here he is especially careful to quote Augustine's gloss on this passage and the saint's assertion that to do bodily labour is not against the commandment, "Nolite solliciti esse, dicentes, quid manducemus?", as some have thought, rather, in many places in the Epistles Christians are urged to do bodily labour "lest they be compelled by need to ask for necessities (ne compellanter egestate necessaria petere)" (De Periculis, p. 32).²⁷ William was obviously trying to answer all the standard biblical texts used by the mendicants in their justifications of begging in this section of the De Periculis. He continues to defend the notion that there is danger in begging for necessities by saying that "those who wish to live from begging become

flatterers and deprecators and liars and thieves and decline from justice" (p. 32).²⁸ He then quotes from a strategic antimendicant text, Proverbs 30:8-9:

Remove far from me vanity and lying words. Give me neither beggary nor riches. Give me only the necessaries of life. Lest perhaps being filled I should be tempted to deny, and say: Who is the Lord? Or being compelled by poverty, I should steal, and forswear the name of my God (Proverbs 30:8-9).

Langland's Need is simply the incarnation of what this text asserts to be the result of need:

And nede ne hath no lawe ne neuere shal falle in dette
 For thre thynges þat he taketh his lyf for to saue:
 That is mete, when men hym werneth for he no money weldeth,
 Ne wyht þat now wol be his borwe ne no wed hath to legge;
 And he cacche in þat caes and come therto by sleithe
 He synegeth nat sothlich þat so wynneth his fode (XXXII. 10-15).

In this sense, Need is not so much a good or bad figure, as we shall see, but is simply the (personified) logical conclusion of a given set of circumstances. We will return to the Need passage shortly, but it should be noted here that Langland's use of this figure does serve as an example of "how thoroughly Langland had assimilated the literature of the mendicant controversies," as Adams had said (p. 298, n. 50).

William now moves to demolish one of the most important set-texts of mendicant apologist literature: "But you ask, 'Is it not the work of perfection to leave all things for Christ and afterwards to beg for Christ?'" (cf. Luke 18:22). He responds by shifting the emphasis from poverty to good works: "to leave all things for Christ and

follow him in imitation of good works is perfection" (p. 32). Not only is begging nowhere implied in the command to "sell all you have and give to the poor and follow me," William says, but begging has been prohibited by the Apostle Paul. How therefore does the perfect man live after he has relinquished everything? The answer is "either by manual labour or by entering a monastery where he may have the necessities of life."²⁹ From William's point of view, the options are severely limited. He has succeeded in leaving no room at all for begging as a clerical option. This gives us some perspective on Conscience's and Reason's confrontation with Will in the "autobiographical passage" on this question of Will's method of earning a livelihood--once Will has rejected their suggestion of manual labour, they turn to the question of where he fits into the ecclesiastical hierarchy in order to ascertain whether in fact he does have the right to "live from the Gospel." We will return to this complex passage and the questions it raises in this context a little later.

William now has the task of disproving that Christ ever begged--this particular question being among the most hotly debated in all the exchanges of polemical literature.³⁰ When Christ sent the disciples out with "neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes" (Luke 10:4), William insists that they were not living as mendicants because they deserved to have their necessities provided by the people to whom they ministered. He also insists that they did not ask for anything but were content with offerings, providing the remaining necessities by manual labour (p. 32). "Who feeds the sheep and does not partake of the milk?" he asks, and

stresses that he can find nowhere an account of the Lord having begged. Some of his arguments smack of the speciousness for which both sides of this controversy are known: Christ did not beg water of the woman at the well because the water was for communal use, William insists. When Christ told Zacheus, "this day I must bide in your house" (Luke 19:5) this was not begging, William insists, but pleasantry (urbanitas)!

Another issue which gave rise to much strained argumentation was the constant warring about the two Gospel references to Judas' purse or bag (loculus). Here the antimendicant propagandists were not on entirely sure ground: both times Judas' purse is mentioned (John 12:6 and 13:29) it is in close connection with his betrayal of Christ.³¹ St. Francis had therefore come to associate the purse with false apostles like Judas. True apostles, he argued, following Christ's directions in Luke 10, carried nothing. Traditionally Judas' purse had been seen as a testimony that Christ and the disciples held goods in common and had been used to support notions of corporate ownership. But the coming of the mendicants did much to upset traditional notions of the necessity and appropriateness of clerical wealth and one of the spin-offs of such controversies, as we shall see, was the growing discussion of clerical disendowment--yet another theme which is reflected in Piers Plowman. William himself must have felt defensive about the long-accepted tenet of clerical ownership, because he asserts that even though the mendicants say they are more perfect than monks (having neither goods of their own, nor in common), having goods in common does not impede or diminish the perfection of the regular orders (p. 33).

William concludes that the friars, since they cannot live from the Gospel, should follow Paul's instruction to do manual labour and suggests that "we should not give to them, but rather correct them" (p. 33). As Dawson has pointed out, William and later secular propagandists had no small difficulty in sustaining what was by this time a rather strained and outdated argument for manual labour:

The two principal arguments advanced by the seculars in these disputations concern the obligation of manual labor and the obligation to practise the common life. In support of the view that religious are required to maintain themselves by their own labor, they cited Paul's epistles, the Benedictine Rule, Augustine's *De opere monachorum*, and appropriate passages from the Decretum and the standard Gloss to the Scriptures. All were familiar authorities, and the principle that monks should labor was accepted by all. But the seculars had no strong case here, because it had also been accepted for about a century that this principle applied only to lay religious. The issue of manual labor was part of the larger problem of the relation between priestly and monastic status. The ancient distinction between the clerical and the monastic orders was by post-Carolingian times thoroughly obscured by the number of ordained monks and by the large-scale monastic ownership of churches and tithes. . . . Since the mendicant friars were clerics (even the Franciscans had become overwhelmingly clerical long before 1255), no one had questioned their right to receive alms, and William's opponents had little difficulty with this argument (Dawson, pp. 229-30).

When, in the 1270s, the controversy reached what Gordon Leff calls its second phase (Paris, pp. 263ff.), the attacks of the antimendicant propagandists were becoming more and more shrill. In 1269 Gerard of Abbeville preached a sermon in a Franciscan church in which he claimed that the pastoral office was the highest degree of perfection and laid much stress on the importance of temporal goods:

[He] accused the mendicants, in having renounced possessions, of attacking the position of the church; its endowments had been sanctioned both in scripture and by the Donation of Constantine. To demand their abdication was to undermine the church's authority and so fall into heresy. The church's care of souls depended on its being able to minister to those in need. It was upheld in this by the example of Christ's purse; why should he have had it if not because it was his intention also to bear it? (Leff, Paris, p. 264).

The secular polemicists, then, reached a position in which they had strenuously to defend ecclesiastical endowments and temporalities at the same time as they were drawing a number of invidious (and unpopular) distinctions between themselves and fellow clerics. Langland would have had trouble with a number of these arguments, notably their position on clerical temporalities and the view that unordained clerics should earn their living by manual labour, a point he makes somewhat defensively in the autobiographical passage in Passus V.

Even though Langland was no defender of the mendicant cause, it seems obvious that the antimendicant propagandists held a number of positions that Langland would not have been totally comfortable with. It is fair to say that his concerns were largely their concerns, and in many things they were his tutors, but he often arrives at rather different conclusions than they espoused. It should perhaps be pointed out here that the mendicant literature often travelled in MS anthologies which carried both pro- and antimendicant treatises, so that anyone who was an avid reader of the one type of literature would also have known the other.³² Furthermore, Langland in some respects shows as much familiarity and sympathy with the literature of the mendicant defenders

as he does with that of their attackers. The issues of clerical lifestyle and reform which the two sides so hotly debated have so often in this literature an apocalyptic edge that by the fourteenth century poverty and prophecy were common polemical bedfellows.³³ Unfortunately we cannot pursue here the poverty side of this partnership to the extent that the topic justifies, but I would like to try to offer a few summary observations on where Langland stands with respect to William's charges against his opponents, because Langland's notions of clerical reform are so inextricably tied up with his prophetic world view.³⁴

We have seen that William goes to great lengths to prove that Christ never begged, that begging was a highly suspect way of life for an able-bodied man to lead and that it would likely land him in sin. Langland sympathized with this view, but he was also drawn to the ideal of mendicant poverty. Bourquin has shown that Langland's Patience can be seen as a powerful embodiment of the Franciscan ideal of patient poverty and mendicancy.³⁵ Langland's view of mendicancy here is similar to that of Bonaventure, who argued in his defence against the seculars that Franciscan poverty was simply a means of overcoming cupidity and was, as such, a handmaiden of the higher virtue of charity.³⁶ We know that Langland knew the ideas set out in Bonaventure's Apologia, at the very least as they were embodied in the papal bull Exiit qui seminat,³⁷ and there are many echoes of Franciscan ideology in Piers Plowman that could likely be traced to Langland's intimate knowledge of the defences of Bonaventure and other prominent mendicant apologists. For example, since all the goods of the

Franciscan order were owned by the papacy, Bonaventure "sought to establish that the goods the order consumed were only those of 'simple use,' the bare essentials necessary to preserve mortal life in this world" (Leff, Paris, p. 266). This notion of the spiritual efficacy of voluntary poor living as a remedy against pride and avarice is at the heart of Langland's portrayal of Patience.³⁸ Langland's countryman, John of Pecham, also took part in the flurry of apologetics which William of St. Amour stirred up and made an influential contribution to its literature. He summarizes Franciscan poverty as follows:

This then is a summary of the poverty of the Friars Minor; that their community has dominion over nothing; that it cannot rule men by civil right; it can claim nothing as of its own right; it is bound to give fiscal dues to no one; it can receive nothing exceeding the bounds of poverty; it can acquire nothing for itself by inheritance; it can hold nothing by title of realty; it must live austerely (trans. Smith, pp. 14-15).

In many of these thirteenth-century Franciscan apologetics there are the seeds of the anti-endowment position which some friars took up in the fourteenth century. In his Questio Paupertate Bonaventure had probed this inflammatory area of rich endowments and benefices. He argued that if, as William suggested, the endowments of the Church were simply alms for the maintenance of those charged with the cure of souls and the destitute of society, then the monks as well as the friars should live by manual labour. However, since the contemplative life had always been regarded as valuable for its own sake, neither the monks, nor the friars (who combined the active and contemplative life) should have to labour (Douie, pp. 10-11).

Bonaventure goes on to argue that the seculars should be grateful that so many clerics preferred mendicancy to competition for the limited number of benefices (*ibid.*) and that even though St. Paul had laboured for a living those who were less spiritually gifted had to study in order to acquire the skills to fulfill their duties and so had no time to earn their living as he had (*ibid.*).

Aquinas similarly attacked William's argument that the friars should live by manual labour by demolishing William's carefully constructed distinctions between a religious and a priest. He argued that manual labour "was neither a precept nor a council; and, if it were, it would have applied universally to all" (Leff, Paris, p. 267). Aquinas put his finger on the aspect of this issue which particularly concerned Langland when he pointed to the number of secular clerics who had neither cure of souls nor lived by manual labour (*ibid.*, p. 268).

Although there is much in the seculars' polemics which Langland would have disagreed with, the pro-endowment stance of the antimendicant (and later, the monastic) apologists perhaps stands out as the clearest issue which would have kept Langland out of the mendicant camp (one could argue that many of his other sympathies with the ideology of mendicant poverty were just that--ideologies rather than practicalities). Langland seems to have believed that the secular clergy should live by tithes and first-fruits and that their endowments were a corrupting force (XVII. 218ff.), while he sees that the excess in monastic endowments should go toward providing for the friars (V. 173ff.).

The concept of voluntary poor living as a remedy against pride and avarice obviously gripped the imaginations of thinkers like Langland, even though it was impossible for him finally to concur with the realities of mendicancy as a means of livelihood. Langland was completely different from William of St. Amour and his party on this score. As McDonnell says of William's attacks on the mendicants,

It was hazardous to assail the cult of poverty, for its logic had the support of evangelical precept while its aims and methods fired the imagination. Once officially recognized, it defied frontal attack (McDonnell, p. 458).

This is no doubt why William felt his attack had to be couched in eschatological doomwarning and founded on charges of abuse and hypocrisy.

William's Apocalypticism

This brings us to the second major theme, after William's ecclesiology, which we should consider as background to Piers Plowman. William of St. Amour's apocalypticism itself has received little attention. Many scholars have suggested that it is not to be taken seriously.³⁹ However, as Dawson remarks very perceptively in a footnote to his study of William's ecclesiology:

But William's writings show a recurrent interest in schemes of historical periodization and a strong belief that the present age is the climactic age of world history. . . . This conviction naturally imparted to his thought a certain eschatological urgency, an attitude which was of course not uncommon. William's apocalyptic expectations were derived from traditional sources and were of the traditional pessimistic sort, quite unlike the vague 'Joachite' belief in a final eschatological

renewal which was currently fashionable among some mendicants (Dawson, p. 235).

William's apocalyptic expectations are really just eschatological; that is, he believes (or wants his audience to believe) that the End is near and all the signs are there, waiting to be read by a latter-day Daniel like himself. Langland may well have taken his antifraternality from William and his school, but his apocalypticism is an entirely different brand. There is not a scrap of reformist apocalypticism in William's thought: his reasons for attacking the friars, unlike Langland's, were annihilistic, not reformist. Langland's use of this heavily eschatological writer in the last passus of Piers Plowman has led many critics to mistake his own apocalyptic intentions, but a careful reading of the De Periculis set over against the poem reveals a rather different point of view. On this score Langland has more in common with William's enemies, the Franciscan Joachites, than with William himself.

William's view of historical periodization is not highly developed and it is all backward looking, i.e. William does not project any scheme of periodization into the future--for him there was no future--his only historical schema looks back into the past in order to explain the present. In chapter three he writes concerning the pseudo-apostles:

It says in Apoc. 6 concerning those who deceive under the habit of religion, "And when they had opened the fourth seal I heard the voice of the fourth creature saying, 'Come and see,' and behold a pale horse, and etc." Gloss: Seeing that he is not able

[to persecute the Church] through open tribulations nor through open heresies, the devil sends false brethren, who under the habit of religion maintain the nature of the red and black horse by perverting the faith; that is, they will do as much persecution in the Church as those called the red horse did open tyranny and those called the black, open heresy. Whence the persecution of these will be compared to the two past persecutions, and therefore, because they deceive under the figure of piety, they will be able to do more damage in the Church of God than some other men without this pretence, because as Gregory says in the Pastoral Care, "No man does more damage in the Church of God than those who, acting perversely, have the name of sanctity and holy orders. . ." (De Periculis, p. 23).^a

For William, then, the coming of the friars constitutes the third great persecution of the Church, after the first persecution of the early Church and the subsequent persecution of the Arian and other heretical groups.⁴⁰

The paranoia in William's view of the friars runs throughout the De Periculis. In chapter four William compares the pseudo-apostles with the false magicians of Pharaoh, seducing the people through feigned wisdom (pp. 23-24). Prophesying that the princes and people will be turned away from the counsels of the prelates of the Church by these seducers, William paints a grim picture of a coming persecution of the true apostles (i.e. the secular clergy) based on Christ's warnings to the disciples in Matthew 10 of how they will be maltreated for his sake. Treating the friars as a heretical sect, William speaks of how the people will be led into error and will "lose the name of sheep" because they permit themselves to be seduced (p. 24). Obviously William felt a certain amount of bitterness toward the laity as well as toward the friars on the score of fraternal popularity. He elaborates the forecast

of doom with the prediction that the just and faithful will have no refuge among men, so complete will be the power of the pseudo-apostles. Drawing again upon Matthew 10 (verse 21), he predicts that brother will deliver up brother to death, and the father his son, and "sons will rise up against parents, that is, prelates" he adds. By this exegetical twist the secular clergy are seen as the victims of their spiritual children. It will be seen that William spares no melodramatic detail in his bid to rouse the bishops and princes of the Church, whom he often exhorts by name, to act now to prevent this rising evil. He finishes chapter four with the familiar apocalyptic refrain that this persecution will bring more tribulation than ever before in world history.

William's eschatology (and it is an eschatology because he is talking about only the last days) is, as Dawson says, a thoroughly traditional one, based entirely on standard biblical texts. In chapter eight of the De Periculis he goes to great lengths to prove that the last age of the world is now come and he puts forward the standard Augustinian scheme of the seven ages of world history:

. . . we are in the last age of the world, for after this sixth age, which is full of strife, runs the seventh age, which is restful. There is no other age to come except the eighth, which is the age of resurrection. Therefore we are in the last age of this world and that age will not last for less time than the others (which ran for a millennium) and now will have run through 1264 years. It is therefore likely that we are near the end of the world [and that] we are nearer the dangers of the last times, which are to come before the Advent of Antichrist: . . . "Behold the judge stands by the gate." Gloss. He will come quickly to mete out retribution. Likewise Joachim in the Super Jeremiam says, "All time from 1200 onwards I reckon to be dangerous."⁴¹ Likewise Hebrews 10 (verse 37), "For yet a little and a very little while, and he

that is to come will come and will not delay" . . . Likewise Matthew 20 (verse 6), "Around the eleventh hour in truth he went out, and etc." Gloss. [that is], the eleventh hour from the advent of Christ until the end of the world and it is certain that of this eleventh hour 1264 years are now passed. . . . Therefore, that we are in the last times . . . we will show through eight signs, further to the aforesaid authorities, that the aforesaid dangers do now press upon us (De Periculis, p. 27).^b

What is really surprising about this passage is that in the midst of so much standard eschatological pessimism, William throws in the name of Joachim of Fiore as an authority--in view of the Joachite scandal which gave rise to William's polemics in the first place the citation is unbelievable. Clearly the Joachites had made quite an impact and even William of St. Amour, avowed enemy and accuser of the fraternal Joachites, felt that the citation was likely to be convincing. Even this apparently earnest use of Joachite prophecy, however, betrays William's fundamental lack of understanding of Joachism. For Joachim the coming of Antichrist in the thirteenth century was to be a watershed of history to be followed by a glorious renewal of Christian spirituality, not so much an end as a new beginning. William seems to have understood nothing of this system of thought. Many scholars have remarked in passing on the irony of William's dispute with a group who shared his apocalyptic mentality, but beyond the fact that both William and the Joachites shared forebodings about their own time, there is little to compare between the two.

We should look now at William's eight signs that the dangers of the End "do now press upon us." William rather cleverly makes the

Eternal Gospel itself a sign of the End. The first three signs all relate to this scandal, which is the only contemporary issue to which William directly refers. (Clearly he felt that this was the one issue related to the mendicants which it was safe to attack openly.) The other five signs are hardly distinguishable in tone or content from William's forty signs of the pseudo-apostles. The first three, however, are of interest from an apocalyptic standpoint. The first sign is

that some people laboured to change the Gospel of Christ into that gospel, which they assert to be greatly more perfect and better and more worthy. They call it . . . the Eternal Gospel, the coming of which will cancel the Gospel of Christ (De Periculis, p. 27).^c

William had a trump card here and he knew it: the fanatical, not to say heretical, ravings of Gerard of Borgo San Donnino were so obviously scandalous and sacrilegious that, to a credulous reader, they might well appear as the work of Antichrist.⁴² William continues,

The second is that that doctrine, which will be preached at the time of Antichrist, namely, the Eternal Gospel, was first set publically for an example among those where the study of the sacred scripture flourishes already in the year 1255. Whence it is certain that now it may be preached, unless there be something to detain it. Moreover, what might detain it, you know, namely the reign of Peter and of those who hold the place of the Apostles, that is, the Bishops. For unless there come first a revolt, the son of iniquity will not come. Whence, let the Bishops beware . . . the taking away of their power, just as is signified in the Eternal Gospel^d (De Periculis, p. 27).

Having successfully made the connection between the Eternal Gospel and the perverted doctrine which was expected in traditional eschatology to be preached at the time of Antichrist, William underlines the fact that

the scandal occurred in the most shocking of places--the university ("where the study of sacred scripture flourishes"). The abomination of desolation is upon us, he suggests--or is it? Drawing upon a favourite eschatological text, II Thessalonians 2:7-8 ("For the mystery of iniquity already worketh, only that he who now holdeth do hold, until he be taken out of the way. And then that wicked one shall be revealed . . ."), William snatches back the suggestion that Antichrist is all but arrived and takes advantage of Paul's cryptic comment to establish the heads of the secular clergy (the Pope and the Bishops) as the forces which stand between Antichrist and the Church.⁴³

Exegetes from the earliest times had scratched their heads over Paul's enigmatic statement: given the polemical positions of many apocalyptic thinkers it is hardly surprising that the role of "he who now holdeth" was usually assigned to the powers to whom the exegete was well disposed. The view William espouses is very much the traditional interpretation, although in these circumstances it becomes more pointed.⁴⁴ It should be noted that this is the type of apocalyptic ideology for which Langland would not have had much sympathy. The last passus of Piers Plowman portrays almost the exact opposite of the Pope and the Bishops (or secular clergy in general) holding out against Antichrist: if any Peter is the champion of the forces for good for Langland it is not the present Peter, but a new one--Piers. The marked difference between Langland and a number of other writers of "ordo" prophecies is that, unlike most of them, Langland is not writing in partisan support for any particular clerical group. In a sense this is

what allows him his truly reformist stance.

William ends the passage with a reference to II Thessalonians 2:3, which states that there must first be a revolt before the arrival of the son of iniquity. Traditionally glossed as the breaking down of the Roman Empire, it provides the basis for William's suggestion that the revolt will be against ecclesiastical authority, led by the pseudo-apostles.

The third sign has received substantial attention elsewhere and so needs little elaboration here.⁴⁵ Under this head William portrays himself as a latter-day Daniel who interprets the handwriting on the wall for the benefit of the Church. Each of the three mysterious words of the original text of Daniel 5:26-28 is interpreted by William as signifying some tenet of the scandalous Eternal Gospel.

The other signs all elaborate William's theories of the workings of the pseudo-apostles: their self-glorification, twisting of doctrine, specious holiness, attraction to the laity, and so on. Only the fifth sign holds out hope for the future in the midst of the gloom of unrelieved condemnation: it predicts that the pseudo-apostles will at some point be blamed for their false sanctity and, following Matthew 24:10, it says the Church will be scandalized. But William's prophecy of the fall of the friars is one of revenge, not reform. Defaming a group of opponents on the basis of a load of trumped-up exegetical charges of pseudo-apostleship has virtually nothing to do with the school of later medieval apocalyptic-reformist thought--however widely one has to cast one's net to "create" such a school for the purposes of

historical study, it is hard to make the net big enough to take in William of St. Amour. Apocalyptic thought is no stranger to black and white, partisan world views, but truly apocalyptic thought is more than this. Where other prophetic thinkers have a vision--a plan--for the future, William has only a desperate hope of annihilation of his enemies. For all Langland's antimendicantism, he does not make the friars carry the whole blame for the corruption of the Church and he does not envision their demise. The difference in viewpoint is fundamental and helps us to understand Langland's essential independence of his antimendicant sources.

Antimendicantism in Britain

The production of antimendicant literature continued throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, following the lead of William of St. Amour. Some writers were to continue the prophetic tone which William had set, others would discard it entirely. Among those thirteenth-century works which show evidence of the eschatological approach, however superficially, are the Liber De Antichristo, the Collectiones scripturae sacrae, and the short piece which will interest us here, the pseudo-Hildegardean prophecy "Insurgent gentes." All three of these works were probably written by disciples or members of William's circle.⁴⁶

The role of short prophecies in the spread of antimendicant thought is a virtually unexplored area of study. John Fleming identified three sources of antimendicant literature in the Middle Ages:

formal theological dissertations in the tradition of William of St. Amour, vernacular antimendicant satire in the tradition of Jean de Meun and Rutebeuf, and finally, "the rich body of left-wing propaganda" written by extremist friars themselves in condemnation of the growing laxity and "revisionism" of the moderate wing.⁴⁷ Interestingly, prophetic pieces or references to prophecies come up in all three categories. It is not possible here, unfortunately, to do justice to this whole area, but we will look briefly at one specimen of it which is known to have had a wide circulation in England, the pseudo-Hildegardean "Insurgent gentes."⁴⁸

Hildegard seems to have been best known in England as the prophetess who predicted the coming of the friars. Her name crops up in this context in vernacular antimendicant literature like Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, which cites Hildegard as an authority in the midst of a catalogue of antimendicant charges: "Herkne opon Hyldegare hou homliche he telle /How her sustenance is synne . . ." (lines 703-4).⁴⁹ It is not easy to discover the exact process by which Hildegard, who died decades before the inception of the mendicant orders, came to be associated with antimendicant propaganda, but it looks as if the story begins with the independent circulation of extracts from her letter to the clergy of Cologne, which, as we have seen, prophesied the disendowment and chastisement of the clergy at the hands of a coming group of pseudo-apostles.⁵⁰ Caesarius of Heisterbach records that when the first friars arrived in Cologne in 1220 they were spurned and shunned by the local clergy as the

pseudo-apostles whom Hildegard had predicted. He quotes the clergy as having said, "We fear lest these be the ones concerning which the Holy Spirit prophesied through the mouth of the blessed Hildegard, through whom the clergy will be afflicted and the city endangered."⁵¹ We have already seen how the Cologne prophecy impressed Gebeno of Erbach, who was apparently not alone in his view of its importance.⁵²

The Parisian propagandists in William's circle certainly knew of Hildegard's prophecies and used them as ammunition against the friars, to the extent of provoking a response on the subject from the English Franciscan John of Pecham.⁵³ Some zealot of William's circle went so far as to forge a prophecy which ran along the same lines as Hildegard's predictions to the clergy of Cologne had, but which suited the antimendicant propagandists' purposes much more exactly. The result was the rather un-Hildegardean doggerel "Insurgent gentes," which, although it predicts the rise of a group of false apostles as the original prophecy to the clergy of Cologne had, could never be mistaken for Hildegardean prose. Nevertheless, the prophecy began to circulate under Hildegard's name and was snatched up eagerly by antimendicant anthologists all over Britain and Europe.⁵⁴ One fourteenth-century English propagandist, Peter Pateshull, a prolific writer of antifraternal poems and treatises (according to Bale) even wrote a commentary on Hildegard's prophecies against the fraternal orders, the Vita fratrum mendicantium, now lost.⁵⁵

"Insurgent gentes," while definitely the work of William of St. Amour's school, does not go so far as to prophesy a coming

tribulation which the "true apostles" will suffer at the hands of the friars because of their seduction of the people.⁵⁶ Although the prophecy lacks nothing of William's vitriolic hyperbole, it does show less pessimism and less eschatology. It begins by cataloguing the usual antimendicant complaints and charges,⁵⁷

A group will arise who will squander the money of the people, embracing the method of beggars, walking without shame and contriving new evils. The order will be condemned by the wise and faithful of Christ. Strong and able-bodied, they will cease from labours and be at liberty for idleness, adopting rather the example of begging, they will strive excessively to resist the teachers of truth and to destroy the innocent with the mighty and seduce the powerful on account of the necessities of life and love of the world. The devil will plant in them four vices, namely, flattery, envy, hypocrisy and defamation: flattery, in order that they might be given [alms] more generously; envy, whenever [alms] are given to others and not to them; hypocrisy, in order that they might please through pretence; defamation, so that they might blame others and commend themselves.

On account of the praise of men and seduction of the simple, they will preach incessantly to the secular princes,⁵⁸ without devotion and by example of the martyrs, taking away the sacraments from the true pastors, plundering the alms of the poor, wretched and infirm, seducing people in great numbers, gaining the familiarity of women, teaching them how they might beguile their husbands and friends, and give their own goods to them secretly, indeed taking away an infinite number of things wickedly acquired, saying, "Give to us and we will pray for you," so that they might hide the vices of others and forget their own. Alas, they also take things from miserable robbers, despoilers, wasters, thieves, highwaymen, the sacrilegious, usurers, plunderers, adulterers, heretics, schismatics, apostates, wanton women, fraudulent merchants and false judges, tyrannical soldiers, princes living contrary to the law, and many perverse people, on account of the persuasion of the devil and the sweetness of sin and [their desire for] a delicate life here below, soon to pass over into loathing and eternal damnation.^e

This is really just invective masquerading as prophecy. The second half of the piece becomes slightly more eschatological, but there is

little here of William's urgency:⁵⁹

The people in truth from day to day will become harder, having experienced their seductions, and they will cease to give. And when they will have ceased to give, they [the pseudo-apostles] will go about to homes, famished like rabid dogs, with submissive eyes and lowered heads, just as vultures appeased with bread, to whom the people will cry out saying, "Woe to you, sons of grief, the world has seduced you, the devil has bridled your mouths and your hearts, your mind was wandering without discretion, your eyes delighted in vanities, your feet were quick to run into evil. . . .⁶⁰ Unstable teachers, delicate martyrs, confessors of filth, proud humble ones, . . . sweet sophists, peaceful persecutors, lovers of envy, sellers of indulgences, obliging correctors, yearners after drunkenness (?), desirers of honour, merchants of matrimony, sewers of discord, building on high. And when you will not be able to ascend higher, you will fall just as Simon Magus, through the prayers of the apostles. . . . So your order will be contrite on account of your seditions and iniquities."

Whosoever will have read, heard or published this prophecy will be partakers of all good things done among Christians.^f

There is a complacency about this prophecy which one does not find in the De Periculis. William is always trying to move the reader to act and act quickly, and the insecurity he must have felt in making the first public attack on these popular orders (who indeed had friends in high places) is everywhere evident. The author of "Insurgent gentes" has by contrast a smug self-confidence which I suspect stems from anonymity (or pseudonymity).

A glance back at a snippet of the genuine Hildegardean prophecy which, I suspect, started all this off, should give some sense of how far we have come from reformist apocalypticism:

Indeed it is necessary that the depraved works of men be purged through tribulation and contrition. But nevertheless many calamities will be accumulated to those who have inflicted

misery on others in their impiety. But those unfaithful men, seduced by the devil, will be the rod (scopa) of your castigation. . . . However, those deceivers are not the ones who will come before the last day, when the devil will fly on high . . . rather, they are a forerunning branch of them. But nevertheless, as soon as they will have been found out in the perversities of Baal and in other depraved works, princes and other great ones will attack them and just as rabid wolves they will be killed, wheresoever they are found. Then the dawn of justice [will arise] and your last [time] will be better than your previous one and from all the past [events] you will be frightened and will shine as pure gold and so for a long time you will remain (PL, col. 251C-252A).

The purposes and motivation of reformist prophecy are so different from those of this type of propaganda that it is hardly surprising that the genuine prophecies of Hildegard, like the letter to the clergy of Cologne, rarely circulate in the same MS as "Insurgent gentes." In British MSS "Insurgent gentes" is most often found among collections of treatises relating to the mendicant controversies.⁶¹ The letter to the clergy of Cologne, however, is much more likely to occur in a MS which contains other reformist prophecies or literature.⁶² I have not yet found an instance of the genuine and the fake Hildegardean prophecies travelling together, although clearly the Cologne prophecy was often read as antimendicantism.⁶³

This distinction between propagandist and reformist fraternal criticism is an important point to keep in mind when approaching the complexities of the antimendicant school in fourteenth-century Britain. As Jean Copeland has suggested, "A detailed study of the manuscripts existing in England for the rest of the fourteenth century [i.e. after the first decade] would reveal intimate connections between the earlier

controversies in Paris and later writings in England on the same subjects. There seems to be a direct descent of ideas from St. Amour, Ghent, and Pouilli, to Fitzralph and Wyclif" (Copeland, p. 150).⁶⁴

The English revival of interest in the thirteenth-century Parisian controversy is still something of a mystery. Copeland has shown that although many English clerics at Paris in the thirteenth century participated in the controversies, there was little interest in Britain in these issues (Copeland, p. 148). Relations between seculars and mendicants were never, at any point during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, without tensions, but exactly why there should have been the explosion of hatred that occurred on the English scene at this time with figures like Fitzralph and Wyclif is still difficult to say. Although there were certainly other agitants,⁶⁵ Fitzralph and Wyclif stand out as the most aggressive and dramatic of the period. Of the many similarities between them one in particular is striking: both began their careers as good friends and sympathizers with the fraternal orders only to turn tail and launch vicious attacks on them at some point. Reasons for each man's abrupt betrayal of former friends have exercised scholars and apologist biographers for years,⁶⁶ but despite the best of efforts we are left with the unalterable fact that these two great leaders of English antimendicantism were probably not acting on completely objective grounds. It is difficult to prove that either Fitzralph or Wyclif donned the mantle of William of St. Amour for purely altruistic or reformist purposes--the choice of mantle in itself obviates this line of reasoning, since propaganda can really only be

comfortably swallowed by other propagandists.

We will look briefly at Fitzralph's antimendicantism here in an attempt to distinguish between propagandist and reformist approaches in Langland's own time.⁶⁷ Some of the patterns in the Fitzralph story illuminate Langland's position very well, others are diametrically opposed to the positions we find in Piers Plowman. A complete study of the thought and writings of the two men would be fascinating, but unfortunately it cannot be undertaken here. A few important points, however, are in order.

Fitzralph's abrasive, not to say pugnacious personality⁶⁸ and his purist or even literalist tendencies were probably the predisposing factors in his antimendicantism. His rather sudden conversion to antifraternality in 1350 is explained by his latest biographer as having its roots in reformist interests:

Hence the most likely explanation for FitzRalph's sudden and total opposition to the friars is that on acquiring a large diocese to administer he was faced in an acute form with the problem of enforcing episcopal authority. The problem of the exempt religious who exercised a pastoral ministry was made more difficult by the tensions of a racially divided community, and FitzRalph showed an intense awareness of this situation (Walsh, Fitzralph, p. 363).

Scholars have tried to demonstrate that a growing antifraternality is evident in his sermon diary entries before this period, but as Walsh points out, this is not easy to uphold:

Close examination of his sermon diary, and especially of several sermons preached in England between his return from Avignon to Lichfield in late 1344 and his departure for Ireland after his

episcopal consecration, suggests that he was beginning to be concerned about abuses in the sphere of confession and burial rights but without specifically attributing these abuses to the friars. The general criticism of ecclesiastical failings, of licentious and ignorant clergy, negligent prelates, greedy benefice-hunters, and pluralists which he repeatedly expressed in the Avignon sermons of 1338-44 might be deemed to apply more appropriately to the secular clergy (Walsh, Fitzralph, p. 363).

Although there are antecedents to Fitzralph's later views in the earlier sermon diary entries, there is nothing to explain the sudden about-face which was to follow. However, at about the same time as Fitzralph's change of heart occurred, he was appointed by Clement VI to a commission "to investigate certain topics of dissension among the mendicant orders concerning property, dominion, possession, and the right of use, furthermore to examine that apostolic or evangelical poverty professed by the Franciscans."⁶⁹ If Walsh is correct in her argument that Fitzralph's appointment to the commission predated his first dramatic antifraternal sermon, then it seems likely to me that it was his close study of the ideological basis of fraternalism and the literature of the extremist Franciscan Spiritual positions which turned his head. As John Fleming has suggested, scholars have too often ignored the "antifraternal" literature of the Franciscan Spirituals themselves as a source for antifraternalism in England.⁷⁰ The purist severity and seemingly suprahuman expectations of the Franciscan Spirituals in their requirements for observance of St. Francis' Rule no doubt struck a sympathetic chord in Fitzralph as he studied their literature. These stringent ideals are imaginatively gripping, but, it seems, realistically impossible. Still, to the perception of an urgent

reformer and purist, such literature could have fostered the impression that the whole fraternal community had flagrantly deserted the precepts of Francis. Furthermore, Fitzralph did not always sufficiently distinguish in his condemnations between the Franciscan Order and the other fraternal orders with their different observances and constitutions.⁷¹ This fact alone would support the view that it was Franciscan extremist literature which prompted his antifraternality. As Walsh says,

His attitude to what had become a *raison d'être* of the mendicant orders seemed to be based on a rigid and literal interpretation of the rule of St. Francis which would have done credit to the extreme fundamentalists among the Fraticelli a generation earlier, though the full implications of Fitzralph's thinking about the friars' role only became clear six years later when he published De pauperie salvatoris (Walsh, Traditio 31, p. 231).

The resemblance of Fitzralph's arguments to those of the Franciscan Spirituals is particularly evident in the cruder form they took in the sermons he preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1356, during which he spelled out a comprehensive and frenetic attack on the friars' profession and adherence to their vows of poverty (*ibid.*, pp. 239 and 233). A group of representatives of the four orders drew up a list of twenty-one errors of which they accused Fitzralph on March 7, 1357, and despite the efforts of both Edward III and Pope Innocent VI to contain the dispute, it had obviously become a rampant public scandal by this point. The extremity and bitterness of Fitzralph's campaign certainly fits the theory that it was at least in part a fanaticism touched off by

fanaticism. The fact that Fitzralph got little support for his campaign at Avignon from the English bishops is perhaps the most telling evidence:

FitzRalph was clearly losing ground at the curia and Kilwington's defence strengthens the impression that FitzRalph had taken the case to Avignon on his own initiative and responsibility and that few English prelates lent their support. The contest between the friars and the secular clergy was widespread, but the reluctance of powerful interests to commit themselves to FitzRalph's extreme position of total condemnation of the mendicant orders gave the dispute a localised and personal appearance when it finally reached the papal courts. Many prelates who felt themselves seriously threatened by the dispute over the friars' activities took steps within their own dioceses and in accordance with the available canonical machinery to regulate those activities. Thus they could continue to profit from having in the pastoral field communities of religious whose level of education and commitment was so much higher than that of the average parish curate (ibid., p. 244).

There is a great deal of detailed historical evidence about the friars and their work in the fourteenth century which also lends weight to the view that such extreme antifraternality as Fitzralph's was unwarranted:⁷² for example, his charge that the friars were not interested in performing the less lucrative pastoral duties such as baptism and the last rites, "an accusation which must have caused particular resentment among those who had seen their confreres succumb in large numbers to the recent plague precisely because they had devoted themselves to the latter task" (Walsh, FitzRalph, p. 371).

Finally, evidence for the dissemination and ownership of Fitzralph's manuscripts reveals that his campaign was most popular with the possessionati, that is, with those likely to be most threatened by

the rise of the fraternal orders.⁷³ The manuscripts were usually owned by members of the episcopacy, educated seculars, or endowed religious (Walsh, Traditio 31, p. 227). The mendicant controversies, not to mention the very existence of the mendicant orders with their ideological position on clerical possessions, were giving rise to much speculation about the confiscation of clerical property on account of the sinfulness of the clergy. Fitzralph and later antimendicant writers were constantly supporting the possessionati side of the disendowment question.⁷⁴ This issue therefore seems to have been regarded as an extension of the antimendicant controversies, because the same antagonists and battlelines were involved, although not all calls for disendowment can be traced directly to fraternal sources.⁷⁵ The concomitant appeal to papal (as opposed to royal) power is another area in which Langland does not display the usual antimendicant positions. Outside of what both of them had inherited from William of St. Amour, Langland shows little in common ideologically with Fitzralph, or, with the antimendicant polemicist Uhtred of Boldon, despite Marcett's assertions to the contrary.⁷⁶

Unlike William of St. Amour, who would have (at the very least) totally removed the friars from the pastoral field and reduced them to the traditional equivalent of monastic lay brothers, supported by their own manual labour, or unlike Fitzralph, who would have legislated the friars out of any realistic right to the lucrative priestly duties such as confession and burial,⁷⁷ Langland seems to have envisioned a role for the friars once they had been suitably reformed by the provision of

a "fyndynge." The B-Text version of the disendowment prophecy, which promises the friars a share in what "Gregories godchildren vngodly despended" (B. X. 330), suggests that for Langland the friars were worthy to live from the offerings of the faithful in the same way as other members of the clergy. For all his criticism of fraternal avarice, Langland seems to feel that their problem--unlike that of the monastic and secular clergy--is rooted in their need, not their wealth, and it is this which he seeks to redress. It is worth noting that Langland brandishes the example of the Templars before the complacent secular clergy and not, as William of St. Amour and Fitzralph would have done, before the friars (XVII. 209). Langland seems more concerned with the problem of fraternal perversion of confession, caused, in his view, by the necessity of begging, than with questioning the friars' ecclesiastical rights to do pastoral work.⁷⁸

The difference between Langland's point of view, both in ideological and apocalyptic terms, and those of the antimendicant writers available in fourteenth-century Britain should now be clear, although we have done nothing more than scratch the surface. It remains for us to return to some of the important antimendicant passages of Piers Plowman to look at some of these similarities and differences in greater detail.

II. Piers Plowman and the Legacy of Antimendicant Eschatology and Ideology

Armed with a sense of the apocalyptic and ideological stances of some of the antimendicant literature which Langland would have had at

his disposal, I would like now to look at three passages of Piers Plowman which reflect knowledge of this material: the autobiographical passage in Passus V, Will's encounter with Need and the siege of Unity in Passus XXII.

The Autobiographical Passage

Langland's anxiety about the question of a "fyndynge" for the friars is, I believe, closely related to his preoccupation with a "fyndynge" for himself. We saw that William of St. Amour sought to restrict the clerical hierarchy to two classes: the prelates and priests of the secular clergy, and in a lower class, the regular clergy and the laity. Anyone in the lower class could not "live from the Gospel" and was therefore restricted to living by manual labour or entering a monastery, according to William.

This gives us some perspective on Conscience's and Reason's confrontation with Will in the autobiographical passage of the C-Text. The view of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and rights of livelihood within it expressed by the allegorical figures in this passage are not dissimilar to William of St. Amour's. It would seem that Will is too far down the ecclesiastical ladder to perform even minor clerical duties⁷⁹ and yet considers himself too far up to do manual labour (V. 13ff.), although his reply to these queries is rather apologetic and oblique (V. 35ff.). It is clear from Reason's questioning of him that it is difficult to tell whether Will is a layman or a cleric and, if he is a cleric, what means of livelihood he is entitled to. If only those with

cure of souls can live from the Gospel and Will neither performs manual labour nor is a member of a monastic order, his claim to beg his "bylyue" (l. 29) is tenuous indeed by strict secular ecclesiastical standards.⁸⁰ As Donaldson has shown, clerics in Will's position had to forge a livelihood for themselves on the fringes of the ecclesiastical hierarchy,⁸¹ which is what Will has done and is trying to do-- and justify. But as a would-be reformer and critic of clerical corruption, the need for self-justification becomes paramount and although the passage is riddled with self-doubt and ambiguity, Will does eventually manage a kind of apologia pro vita sua:

The lomes þat y labore with and lyflode deserue
 Is pater-noster and my prymer, placebo and dirige,
 And my sauter som tyme and my seuene psalmes.
 This y segge for here soules of suche as me helpeth,
 And tho þat fynden me my fode fouchen-saf, y trowe,
 To be welcome when y come, oþer-while in a monthe,
 Now with hym, now with here; on this wyse y begge
 Withoute bagge or botel but my wombe one (V 45-52).

Using the metaphor of manual labour, Langland skilfully walks a tightrope between the various doctrines and charges of the mendicant controversies. He manages to cut a path for himself, carefully avoiding excesses and carefully upholding ideals.

The compromise is in fact surprisingly Franciscan in point of view, while remaining acceptable (or nearly so) to the ground rules of secular ecclesiology. Will describes a means of livelihood which, following the tenets of Franciscan evangelical poverty, takes no care for tomorrow and saves nothing for tomorrow. In fact he performs a type

of spiritual labour in exchange for goods received. This scrupulous definition of what is essentially a lower order secular-mendicant lifestyle is, I suspect, original to Langland.⁸² It comes of his close knowledge and perpetual preoccupation with the literature of the mendicant controversies and is, incidentally, one of a number of passages in the poem which reveals as much sympathy for the mendicant point of view as others show for the antimendicant one. It strives to be acceptable to both sides--and perhaps, more importantly, to conscience.

Langland's extraordinary emphasis on begging without a bag comes, I think, as much from the Franciscan notion that only false apostles--like Judas--carry bags, as from antimendicant attacks on lax friars who do. Both stem, of course, from Christ's prohibition against bags when he sent the apostles out to minister, but Langland seems to come down here much more clearly on the fraternal side with its distrust of all worldly baggage (as symbolized by Judas' purse) than on the side of William of St. Amour and Gerard of Abbeville in their elaborate defences of Judas' bag and clerical endowments. It seems to have taken Langland some years--and two previous versions of Piers Plowman--to find himself ready to delineate his own stand. Whether it is simply a symbolic one--a symbol of voluntary clerical poverty which abhors worldly baggage and is not afraid to face tomorrow without it--or whether this is a lifestyle which Langland actually practised or believed was practicable, is difficult to say. If Conscience and Reason are commenting on realities external to the poem, then it sounds as if

this is a lifestyle which Will (or Langland) had trouble living up to. Like the friars, Will's will to adhere to this supremely challenging regime at times slips. As Penn Szittyá has pointed out, Langland tries in many ways to associate Will with the friars throughout the poem: both have a dubious "appearance of godliness" (to quote William of St. Amour), both wander,⁸³ both are always learning but never understanding, as William of St. Amour says.⁸⁴ But if Langland is harsh on both the friars and the dreamer at times, he also shows a deep awareness of the ideals which both are trying to live up to and from which both constantly fall. Like the righteous man of the friars' exemplum (X. 20ff.), who falls seven times a day but remains within the boat, Langland provides a boat--or perhaps a safety net--for the friars (and for himself)⁸⁵ in that he hopes for reform, which the antimendicant propagandists do not.

If one views Will's personal situation from the standpoint of William of St. Amour's attacks on the validity of clerical mendicancy (or any mendicancy of able-bodied men, for that matter), it becomes easy to see why Langland is so worried about the question of begging. If Langland himself lived or tried to live the lifestyle he describes in Passus V, then it is easy to see why he wished to idealize apostolic poverty and mendicancy--this would have put him in precisely the same position as the mendicants in having to request sustenance from the laity in return for pastoral services which fall outside traditional secular ministerial duties. His odd combination of views on the fraternal orders, poverty, manual labour and clerical endowments is just

about what one would expect of someone caught in his socio-ecclesiastical position. His first loyalty would seem to be to the secular ideology, but his precarious existence on the bottom rung of the secular ladder may have driven him to his idealization of mendicant poverty. Part of the motivation for his interest in all this may have been an attempt to understand and come to terms with his own position, or the position of unbeneficed secular clergy, as well as his all-consuming reformist zeal.

We could take our speculation one step further to suggest that his own predicament accounts for Langland's anger with the friars' abuses of mendicancy, as well as with the abuses of the various false hermits and minstrels. It would be most aggravating to see others abuse the goodwill and charity by which one must live and by which one has tried to live honourably. Whatever the case may be, it should be stressed that Langland's ideology of poverty is most likely, given his vast knowledge of the mendicant controversy literature, derived largely from fraternal sources, and it seems likely to me that Langland might have undergone a similar experience to Fitzralph's through his contact with this literature. The writings of both the mendicant apologists (like Bonaventure and Pecham) and the Franciscan Spirituals are very charismatic--it is hard to imagine anyone with the spirituality Langland exhibits not being moved by them. Where such literature seems to have brought out the wrath of the literalist Fitzralph, in Langland it may have induced a whole new attraction to and respect for the ideals of patient poverty--if only in the symbolic world of his dream visions.

Langland knew that mendicancy was a morally dangerous way for most men to try to live and he seems to look forward to a world without it--both for laity and clergy--but he seems also to have valued its symbolic and didactic power as a vivid way of expressing man's ultimate dependence on God and the tendency of worldly goods to disrupt that relationship.

Need

As we have seen, Langland created the figure of Need partly as a spectre of the result of mendicant poverty: as the verse from Proverbs says, those who are needy may be compelled to desert integrity in order to fulfill their need. There has been much discussion among Piers Plowman critics about the specious nature of Need's arguments⁸⁶ and certainly some suspicion is justified because Langland clearly associates Need with the "Kyng and oþere" who have just demonstrated some of the perversions of the cardinal virtues possible to straining self-justifiers:

And hit neyhed neyh þe noen and with Nede y mette
 That afrounted me foule and faytour me calde:
 'Couthest thou nat excuse the, as dede the kyng and oþere,
 That thou toke to lyue by, to clothes and to sustinaunce,
 Was bi techyng and by tellyng of Spiritus temperancie
 And þat thou nome no more then nede the taughte? (XXII. 4-9).

However, there is much more to the Need episode than this--as if demonstrating the potentialities for subtle moral perversions and deceptions (even self-deceptions) were not enough for any passage to bear. Pamela Gradon has recently suggested that Need is a friar⁸⁷ and shown briefly that his speech "is largely concerned with those

controversial concepts 'necessity' and 'temperance' enshrined in the Bull Exiit qui seminat--the Bull issued by Nicholas III which officially embodied St. Bonaventure's philosophy of Franciscan poverty as set out in his Apologia pauperum.⁸⁸ As such, everything Nede says is entirely orthodox and, although it is controversial, as Gradon says, Langland could not have despised or disagreed with it--nor, I think, does he. What I believe he is questioning here is not the validity of those primarily Franciscan teachings, so much as their inevitable potential for perversion in the hands of fallen man. In this sense I would adapt Gradon's view that Need is a friar to say that he is the embodiment of the fraternal predicament. The distinction is subtle but useful.

Langland's view of the friars is basically that they are trying to live up to an ideal which is humanly impossible to sustain--the exigencies of their lifestyle lead them, however subtly or self-deceivingly, to desert the path of integrity in order to fulfill their need. The fraternal predicament is also Will's predicament. Wandering and without a formal method of earning a living, he too must confront Need. There are two ways of viewing such poverty and both were accepted teachings in medieval theology. One was the view stressed by the antimendicant writers that need is dangerous because it may compel a man to sin--Langland clearly sympathized with this view because he sees this as the main reason why the friars need a "fyndynge." The second view, put forward by mendicant writers, was that complete, voluntary poverty conquered cupidity, helped a man set his sights on spiritual

rather than material goals and promoted humility. As Need says,

And Nede ys nexst hym [i.e. Temperance], for anoen he meketh
 And as louh as a lamb for lakkyng þat hym nedeth,
 For Nede maketh neede fele nedes louh-herted.
 Philosopheres forsoke welthe for they wolde be nedy
 And woneden wel elyngly and wolden nat be riche.
 And god al his grete ioye goestliche he lefte
 And cam and toek mankynde and bicam nedy (XXII. 35-41).

Langland sympathized with this view too; countless passages throughout the poem could be cited to bear witness to his reverence for the virtue of patient poverty. The Need passage is so difficult partly because it records the confrontation of these two opposing views--in partisan terms, the antimendicant and mendicant views of poverty--and the dreamer is paralyzed by the confrontation because he can neither wholly accept nor wholly reject either. We noted earlier that this episode is a waking vision, one of the handful of visions which seem to bear personal as well as more general significance for the dreamer. On the personal level of the allegory (that is, the significance for the dreamer's own life) the passage recalls the conflicts with regard to begging which come up in the autobiographical passage. The dreamer has been trying to live out his recently-learned belief⁸⁹ that God provides for the faithful and has run up against the reality that in many cases God does not--at least not in the direct and miraculous way which the charming tales of the desert fathers might imply.⁹⁰ Just as the passage reveals a conflict between ideology and reality on the level of the question of fraternal mendicancy, it reveals a similar conflict between ideology and reality in the dreamer's lifestyle. The conflict is

between the relative merit (or even validity) of two kinds of spiritual ascesis: encountering need leaves the dreamer to wonder whether it is better to live in faith that God will provide and thus endure hunger as an ascesis or whether it is better to endure the shame of begging as an ascesis, the latter being, as Need suggests, the humbling experience so valued by St. Francis.

When the scene opens, Will is disturbed and anxious about his predicament and it seems to be partly this anxiety which arouses Need's anger:

And as y wente by the way when y was thus awaked,
 Heuy-chered y zede and elyng in herte,
 For y ne wiste where to ete ne at what place.
 And hit neyhed neyh þe noen and with Nede y mette
 That afronted me foule and faytour me calde (XXII. 1-5).

Clearly a calm and willing acceptance of neediness is the preferred attitude, and in Need's final words to the dreamer,

Forthy be nat abasched to byde and to be nedy
 Sethe he þat wrouhte al þe worlde was willefolliche nedy,
 Ne neuere noen so nedy ne porore deyede (XXII. 48-50),

he suggests that an attitude of patient poverty and Christ-like humility would better suit the dreamer's neediness. Clearly the dreamer has been "abasched to byde and to be nedy" and, as the rhetorical question in line 6 suggests ("couthest thou nat excuse the . . .") the dreamer has also been reluctant to take what he needs or even ask for it--the relative validity of these inhibitions is as difficult for us to judge as they are for the dreamer himself. Is it more meritorious to

put aside all pride and beg (or even steal) or is it more meritorious to suffer hunger indefinitely and wait upon God's mercy? Is Need's exhortation to abject humility a more worthy path than the path of resisting the temptation he enjoins? And why does Need call the dreamer a "faytour"? Is he a false beggar because he does not suffer need in the right spirit and is therefore not a holy beggar? Or is he a false beggar because he begs when he has no need? Need's ensuing comments suggest the former reason, but both meanings may be implied in the charge. Presumably Need would be the best possible judge of "faytours"--i.e. of how needy beggars really are and how patiently they suffer that need.

This passage presents us with many questions but few answers and I believe this is what Langland intended. The warning signals with regard to the potential of Need's argument for perversion, both for the dreamer's own life and for the broader question of the fraternal ideology, are all there and flashing--but the warning signals do not tell all. The complexity of this passage should never be underestimated and we may never be able to plumb its depths sufficiently: a detailed knowledge of the mendicant controversies is a prerequisite and yet even that is only a starting point.

Robert Adams has recently argued on the basis of medieval exegesis of Job 41:13 that Need should be seen as a harbinger of Antichrist⁹¹ and it seems likely that this is yet another face of Need to be added to the list. Yet just because Need "goes before the face of Antichrist," there seems little reason to believe--as Adams

finally argues--that he is the "Noonday Demon" of the commentary tradition on Psalm 90:5-6.⁹² In the exegetical tradition of Job 41:13, need is simply a neutral misfortune that will herald the coming of Leviathan (Antichrist) and it is therefore important to distinguish between Need, whom Will meets as "hit neyhed neyh þe noen" and the noonday demon himself. On one level of the allegory Langland has subtly arranged for this perfectly orthodox but heavily Franciscan spokesman for patient poverty to arrive just before Antichrist and just before his poetic reworking of William of St. Amour's antifraternal motif of the pseudo-apostles. However, Langland does not confuse the friars with Antichrist and, unlike William of St. Amour, he does not cast friars alone into the role of harbingers of Antichrist: a good number of secular clergy share this honour in Passus XXII.

Before leaving this puzzling character, we should look briefly at Need's second appearance as counsellor, this time to Conscience, whose main problem at this point is not the friars but "inparfit prestes and prelates of holy churche" (XXII. 229)--that is, the secular clergy. Finding the friars willing to help but incompetent (l. 231), Conscience receives some advice from Need. It is for covetousness that the friars wish to have cure of souls, Need says, and because of their poverty they will end up flattering:

Late hem chewe as thei chose and charge hem with no cure!
 For lomere he lyeth þat lyflode moet begge
 Then he þat laboreth for lyflode and leneth hit beggares.
 And senne freres forsoke the felicite of erthe
 Lat hem be as beggares or lyue by angeles fode! (XXII. 237-41)

Just as in his confrontation with Will, Need is here once again a good judge of "faytours," but something we must realize about Need is that, like other personifications, his point of view is strictly limited to the point of view of what he personifies. Need is someone who approves of need and who therefore wishes to promote need. A poetic personification functions by self-promotion (thus the popularity of this form in medieval satire) and if we lose sight of this modus operandi of personification allegory in judging Need, he becomes simply an inexplicable turncoat, seeming to propound fraternal ideology in his first appearance and antifraternal ideology in his second.⁹³ In fact, in both cases he is simply being true to himself. In his advice to the dreamer he gives counsel on neediness and mendicancy, drawing upon orthodox doctrines of poverty; in his advice to Conscience he opposes the notion of the friars having cure of souls because this would remove their need --and Need would have lost a lot of clientele. Ironically, although the point of view he expresses here is an antimendicant propagandist one, St. Francis himself would have sympathized with it. Francis envisioned the Minorites as an order which would hold to abject poverty as an assurance of humility and a foil against cupidity and the distractions of worldly goods. Francis himself might have said, "Lat hem be as beggares or lyue by angeles fode!" He believed that if the brothers were true to their ideals, God would provide. Still more ironic is the fact that for all the critical accolades Need's advice to Conscience has received, in fact it runs counter to Langland's hope for the friars. Only a steady income will solve the fraternal problem in Langland's view

and although he is not clear about whether this should come through the friars having cure of souls or simply through Constantine's coffer, or both, the basic message is obvious enough. The ideology of abject poverty--need--will have to go. There are too few men who can master this ascesis without perversion of its ideals.

The Conclusion of Piers Plowman

Turning now to the poem's final scene, I would like to emphasize some of the distinctions between Langland's use of antimendicantism here and the vitriolic tradition of the propagandists which he was drawing upon. Although I do not wish to emphasize differences to the exclusion of similarities, it seems to me that Langland uses this tradition in a rather different way and for rather different purposes than he has been given credit for doing. Let us begin with his view of clerical corruption.

After the dreamer's encounter with Nede at the beginning of Passus XXII, he falls asleep and dreams that he sees Antichrist "in mannes fourme" come and overturn "the crop of treuthe" (XXII. 51ff.). Langland's Antichrist is the type which apocalyptic writers referred to as a mystic antichrist: his attack is moral and spiritual rather than social or political. This particular attack of Antichrist is primarily an attack on the Church and it comes largely from within the Church's walls. Corrupt clergy form the vanguard of the siege, and, contrary to what other scholars have assumed, the friars are not the only--or even necessarily the most reviled--of the clerical bêtes noires. Although

Langland obviously wants to make the friars fill an important slot in apocalyptic typology--and the fact of a pre-existing tradition obviously suited his purposes here very well--a careful reading of the passus does not entirely warrant a statement like Frank's:

There are attacks on evil churchmen throughout the last vision, but the fiercest charge is against the friars. The narrative ultimately focuses on them. They cause the final catastrophe. They are villains (Frank, p. 112).

The friars do indeed bring down Conscience's last defence, but Langland attributes this more to the fact that "they couthe nat wel here crafte" (XXII. 231) than to overt maliciousness. Throughout the passus Langland is able to draw upon the long-standing association of the friars with the pseudo-apostles of the last days, but the satirical tone which he reserves for the fraternal orders is somewhat different from the tone he uses to describe the attacks of other clerics. Unlike William of St. Amour, Langland does not make the friars the sole followers of Antichrist among the clergy:

Freres folewed þat fende, for he ʒaf hem copes,
And religious reuerensed hym and rongen here belles
And al þe couent cam to welcome a tyraunt
And alle hise as wel as hym, saue onelich foles (XXII. 58-61).

What is interesting about this passage is that the friars are the only ones who are provided with an excuse or rationale for following Antichrist ("for he ʒaf hem copes")--again, fraternal need is their Achilles' heel. Although there is much severity in Langland's treatment of the friars at various stages in the poem, there is nothing to compare

with the direct, sacrilegious onslaught on the Church which Langland gives the secular clergy in the attack of the "proute prestes" in XXII. 218ff.:

'By þe Marie,' quod a mansed prest, was of þe march of Ireland,
 'Y counte no more Consience, bi so y cache suluer,
 Then y do to drynke a draught of goed ale!'
 And so sayde syxty of þe same contreye,
 And shoten azeynes hym with shotte, many a shef of othes,
 And brode-hokede arwes--goddes herte, and his nayles--
 And hadden almost Vnite and holynesse adowne (XXII. 221-27).

Even as the poem progresses into the final scene, based as it is largely on antimendicant motifs, Langland shows more restraint than he has been given credit for. At this point Conscience cries for help against "imparfit prestes and prelates" (not friars) and the friars come forward to offer to help. Conscience complains of a series of typical antimendicant charges (flattery, ll. 235ff.; over-indulgence in "logyk," ll. 250ff.; uncontrolled numbers, ll. 253ff.), but none which he does not seem to feel could be overcome if the friars lived according to their rule (l. 247). Conscience thus welcomes the friars into Holy Church (despite Need's warning), on certain conditions, such as the requirement that the friars "leue logyk." This is precisely the point on which Langland portrays the friars as falling. Langland's argument seems to be that logic gives the friars a method of twisting the truth to suit their own purposes:

Enuye herde this, and heete freres go to scole
 And lerne logyk and lawe and eke contemplacioun,
 And preche men of Plato and preuen hit by Seneca

That alle thynges vnder heuene ouhte to be in comune
(XXII. 273-76).

But while the friars are learning philosophy, Hypocrisy is already attacking Unity and Frere Flaterare's eventual "attack"--if such a peaceable and legal entry may be called an attack--is only upon the already wounded. The fact that the friars' entry is "ecclesiastically legal" is, of course, part of William of St. Amour's point: the friars can do most damage, he says, because they are "familiar" enemies and their hypocrisy allows them this cover, but the friars have no monopoly even on hypocrisy in Piers Plowman and hypocrisy is the key charge of all antimendicant propagandists. It is interesting that Langland portrays the friar as going through all the right motions: he receives permission from the ecclesiastical authorities and, despite William of St. Amour, enters through the front door.⁹⁴ Langland could well have charged the friars, as so many antimendicant writers did, with performing pastoral duties without episcopal licence--but he does not. He shows none of the eagerness which the antimendicant writers do to lay blame everywhere it can be imagined.

The poem ends with the best-known of William of St. Amour's charges being played out within the walls of Unity. Sire Penetrans-domos enters and incapacitates Contrition by easy penance. In William's writings the penetrans domos charge works on two levels: the friars were thought to be illicitly entering not only the confessional but also the pastoral field. The domus that is being penetrated then, for William, is on one level the individual conscience, on another level

the pastoral work of the Church (Szittyá, "Caimes Kynde," pp. 189ff.). As Szittyá says, the friars have forced themselves upon the collective conscience of Unity and Piers, who is the head of all the confessors (cf. 1. 320), is called upon to save the Church. To what extent Langland's treatment of Conscience is indebted to William of St. Amour is hard to say. In Piers Plowman it is Contrition who "lyeth adreint" and Conscience is able to survive the attack and go on pilgrimage to seek Piers. If, as Szittyá has suggested, Conscience is here as much a figure of the Church as of the individual Conscience, the last lines of the poem fall into a slightly different perspective. The Church does not, as in the De Periculis, reject the friars and preside over their demise (De Periculis, ch. 11, p. 30); rather it seeks the reform of the friars through providing them with a livelihood and, presumably, the reform of all clerics through Piers' destruction of pride.

In one sense the whole of Piers Plowman is, as Burdach says, written against false prophets,⁹⁵ and it was thus most convenient for Langland to make use of an already established eschatological tradition of pseudo-prophets coming before the End Time. Langland clearly drew upon the antifraternality tradition in order to make a reformist point, but we should not confuse his motives with those of the propagandists who preceded him. They sought revenge and annihilation where Langland seems to seek only reform. Langland seems to have taken up antimendicantism, as we have said, for a number of reasons. Among those which I can discern (and there may well be others), are his desire to use it as a tool of reform and his irritation with the mendicants'

abuse of mendicancy--a lifestyle which he portrays his dreamer as leading and which he may himself have led. Finally, I believe that he took up antifraternalism as an apocalyptic weapon. It suited his need to express the state of crisis he saw in the Church. Langland broadened his attack to include more than the mendicants in his portrayal of Church crisis in the last passus, but he was able to adapt William of St. Amour's schema to suit both his very different apocalyptic view of history and his more even-handed view of where the clerical corruption in the Church lay. Both his apocalypticism and his sense of clerical corruption are broader than William's. As we have seen, Langland did not expect the Last Judgement immediately and he looks for a renovatio which is nowhere evident in William's use of traditional eschatology. William would have been scandalized by Langland's attack on the secular clergy and Fitzralph would have classed Langland among the pseudo-apostles themselves for his attack on clerical endowments.

Langland exhibits a stronger sense of justice and a greater soul than any of the propagandists he drew upon. And his sense of apocalyptic vision outruns the famous eschatology of William of St. Amour so fast as to make comparison difficult. We have come to expect from Langland a more subtle, thoughtful and evocative use of the intellectual traditions which came his way than most writers in those traditions ever mastered. His use of antimendicant material is no different. Langland is unhappy with fraternalism and wishes fervently for change, but he rises above the cowering, sour hatred of the antimendicant partisans. The distinctions, however, are subtle, and

though it is tempting to snatch up William of St. Amour as a key to all the antimendicant eschatology in Piers Plowman, the petty and vengeful eschatology which he bequeathed to the later Middle Ages cannot adequately illuminate for us Langland's larger, more constructive vision of the role of the friars in the divine plan.

II. Leaven of Hope: Joachite Apocalypticism

Although it varied according to the different contexts, the problem of poverty and the nature of evangelical perfection introduced a new element into the outlook of Joachism and the call for a return to the first apostolic principles, the present church came increasingly to be contrasted to the life of Christ and the apostles. There was a growing sense that the church had betrayed its primitive ideal; it is to be found not only among the Franciscan Spirituals, the Waldensians, and the Fraticelli, but in the political doctrines of thinkers like Dante, Marsilius of Padua, Ockham, Wyclif, Hus, to name only the most egregious. A return could be made only by the disendowment of the church, taking it to the poverty, humility, and simplicity preached and practiced by Christ and his disciples. The disputes of the schools went far beyond their walls (Leff, Paris, pp. 269-70).

In this short paragraph Gordon Leff collects and focuses the issues and themes which will concern us in this section. The apocalyptic thread in Piers Plowman is so interwoven with these questions that it is impossible to study it without addressing them. By Langland's time many small streams running in the same direction (to change the metaphor), motivated by the same forces, had combined to make a river of some considerable strength. A number of issues had coalesced around an apocalyptic sense of the need for reform: the problems of evangelical poverty and perfection, the sense that the Church had betrayed its primitive ideals, and the related perception that this could be corrected

only by clerical chastisement, disendowment and humiliation. The growing tendency among certain thinkers to compare the present Church, and especially the clergy, to the life of Christ and the apostles, and to question the discrepancies, came about, as Leff says, "largely under the influence of Joachimism." Just how largely is a question that has excited much scholarly debate in recent years,⁹⁶ but even those scholars who have argued that the influence of Joachimism has been overestimated would agree that its influence was considerable.

The dissemination of Joachimite ideas in Southern Europe was widespread and has received much scholarly attention, but the influence of Joachimism in Northern Europe, including Britain, is a much less well-charted territory.⁹⁷ Britain presents particular problems to the scholar of apocalyptic reform literature for a number of reasons. While the genuine works of Joachim were certainly available in thirteenth and fourteenth-century England, they seem frequently to have been known or used in an edited form.⁹⁸ English exegetes seem often to have "edited their Joachim," as Smalley says, perhaps to avoid radical or dangerous connections.⁹⁹ The result is that some of the most characteristically Joachimite teachings, like the belief in a coming "Age" of the Holy Spirit, are absent from a number of English treatments of Joachim's ideas.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the left-wing, rigorist segment of the Franciscan Order, the so-called Franciscan Spirituals, did not, for some reason, flourish in England the way they did in certain other countries.¹⁰¹ The Franciscan Spirituals were one of the biggest exporters or disseminators of Joachimite doctrine and

therefore, with a few exceptions, England missed out on--or partly missed out on--one of the main medieval sources of Joachimism by its relative lack of contact with Franciscan Spiritualism. Heretical groups,¹⁰² whose affinities with reformist thought we have noted before, were also important disseminators of Joachite doctrine, albeit often in a rather distorted form, and England, once again, turns up virtually no evidence of heresy until the Wycliffite period.¹⁰³

If we go beyond the inner circle of the genuine writings of Joachim and look for evidence of the dissemination of pseudo-Joachite material, one finds more to work with on English soil: certain pseudo-Joachite works seem to have been popular in England, but here again there seem to have been limitations to insular interest in such material. On the Continent pseudo-Joachite writings carried a great deal of political prophecy which was often quite specific to localized continental concerns.¹⁰⁴ Although it appears that there was enough British interest in European politics to motivate the sporadic copying of some such material, it is not difficult to see why Britain was not flooded with European-oriented Joachite prophecy the way certain parts of Europe were.

All this does not mean that there was no Joachimism in England. It simply means that one cannot approach the study of Joachimism in England in quite the same way that Continental Joachimism has so far been studied by scholars.¹⁰⁵ In England there are no easy answers or readily recognizable major sources of Joachimism. Lacking either a strong fraternal or heretical tradition of Joachimism, English Joachimism

expressed itself in other, and often fragmented ways. Several English chroniclers and writers mention or make use of Joachite material, as continental chroniclers did. Prophecies, especially of the shorter semi-political Joachite variety are legion in British MSS.¹⁰⁶ Certain Joachite writers did achieve a surprising degree of popularity in England (John of Rupescissa, for instance) and certain pseudo-Joachite works survive in numerous insular MSS (Super Esaiam, for example), easily outrunning the survival of the genuine works of Joachim.¹⁰⁷ Finally, the apologetics and controversies of various clerical orders carried Joachism to Britain.¹⁰⁸ Though Joachism came up on the receiving end of British antimendicantism, even this type of "ordo" prophecy played its part in the dissemination of Joachite ideas.

Morton Bloomfield turned to the English literature of monastic philosophy in his attempt to solve the problem of the comparative lack of insular sources for Joachite study and found a rich repository of the "quiet" apocalypticism characteristic of monastic circles and far removed from the active, sometimes revolutionary roles which Joachism had played in the history of groups like the Fraticelli abroad.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, this "quiet" apocalypticism of monastic ideology is probably truer to the spirit of Joachim of Fiore than the militant apocalypticism of many of the groups who marched under (or thought they were marching under) his banner. The strong interest in reading the meaning of history through the signs and patterns of biblical exegesis, the conviction that the coming Golden Age would represent not so much a

material as a spiritual renovatio of mankind, the expectation of a new age of contemplation and intensified spiritual fervour in which all communities would become to some extent monastic communities, the yearning for clerical reform and spiritual renewal are all marks of true Joachite thought. There are certainly elements of this in Piers Plowman and the fact that this approach is not the one taken here should in no way be interpreted as casting doubt on its validity. Rather, I would like to pursue a different line, one which I believe is complimentary to Bloomfield's work. In what follows we will be looking at some of the pseudo-Joachite prophecies which are known to have circulated in thirteenth and fourteenth-century England and at the ideology, world view and prognosis for the future, especially for the future of the Church, which such prophecies reflect in order to illuminate similar ideas in Piers Plowman. In so doing I will be using the term "Joachite" in its widest possible sense; in some cases this will include works which are not really Joachite in ideology but which travelled under Joachim's name or were subsumed into Joachite collections because they looked to copyists as if they belonged there.

Although it is not possible here to do a full study of pseudo-Joachite prophecy in England we can, even from the somewhat fragmented evidence of Joachism in fourteenth-century England, get a sense of the phases of development of this type of prophecy and its ideological message. The first phase of pseudo-Joachite prophecy included the popular Super Jeremiam, as well as the Super Esaiam and De Oneribus Prophetarum, both of which were probably better known in

England than the Super Jeremiam.¹¹⁰ A second phase of Joachite writings which reached Britain includes the popular Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus and the De Semine Scripturarum, the latter being a stray adopted pseudonymously into the Joachite family. John of Rupescissa, whom Bernard McGinn calls the "weathervane" of later fourteenth and fifteenth-century apocalyptic thought,¹¹¹ belongs to a third phase of Joachite writers and reflects the new, more hopeful view of the possibility for Church reform first evidenced in the second phase of pseudo-Joachite works, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Alongside the major works there are a number of short prophecies which travelled widely in British MSS and which carried the Joachite mentality to a wider audience in their concise, though often very obscure form. For reasons of time and space we will be considering only some of the religious elements of these works and leaving aside the political concerns which so often obsessed their authors. Since Langland shows almost no interest in continental politics, and a lively concern with the need for and possibility of Church reform, this approach seems justified.

While keeping to a roughly chronological order in looking at these Joachite writings, from their origin in the genuine works of Joachim through three progressive phases of Joachite imitators and followers, our main interest will be in various themes which are somehow reflected in Piers Plowman. The choice of passages to focus on will be, then, rather eclectic, if not eccentric, but I hope that the end result will be a sense of the type of literature which fostered certain

apocalyptic themes in the poem.

In the first section of this chapter we looked at the manifestations of the important apocalyptic theme of false brethren or pseudo-prophets in British antimendicantism. This type of eschatological world view was not inspired so much as touched off by Joachism, but it picked up on and exploited the Joachite tendency to divide the world into true and false apostles and envision the future as a perpetual battle between the two--a battle which leaves the future renewal or destruction of the Church hanging in the balance. While this is by no means characteristic of Joachite prophecy only, it comes as close as any single notion to capturing the mentality of later Joachite thought as it developed in the hands of disciples and imitators less subtle than the abbot of Fiore himself. I believe that this perpetual battle between true and false apostles is the heart of Langland's apocalyptic message, as a study of the themes common to Piers Plowman and to Joachite thought shows. In what follows we will look at Joachite notions of crisis in the Church and expectations of renewal, themes of clerical chastisement, disendowment and hopes for radical new leadership from outside the established hierarchy of clerical power.

Labouring Toward Spiritual Utopia: Langland and Joachim of Fiore

"Apocalypse," writes Frank Kermode "depends on a concord of imaginatively recorded past and imaginatively predicted future, achieved on behalf of us who remain 'in the midst.'"¹¹² This perception of apocalyptic methodology is true of no writer so much as of Joachim of

Fiore (1135-1202), abbot of Curazzo and later founder of the Florentian order. Joachim is perhaps now best known for his highly elaborate, even academic systems of concords for the interpretation of the entire course of history, yet some of his writings also reveal the moralistic urgency of a practical prophet, perhaps a legacy of his early days as an itinerant preacher.¹¹³ Like Hildegard, with whom his name was so often yoked in later Medieval writings, Joachim reflects some of the apparent contradictions of the prophetic personality. While yearning for the peace of study and contemplation, away from even the administrative duties of the monastery, Joachim was also an internationally known figure with an urgent message for the secular world and its leaders.¹¹⁴ Both writers were primarily interested in the role of the reformed Church in future history and concerned to warn their fellow clerics especially of the tribulations soon to come upon them. Like Hildegard, Joachim was directly or indirectly responsible for much of the religious prophetic ferment of the later Middle Ages,¹¹⁵ especially for the growth of the notion that the Church must suffer a great purgation before reform can be effected. Bloomfield has quoted a remark from Henry of Hassia which captures this belief succinctly:

It is true that Hildegard and the Abbot Joachim speak as if the end of the world and the coming of antichrist are to be preceded by one or many reformations of the Church or reductions to the state of primitive sanctity.^{116g}

As this comment shows, the distinctions between Hildegard's and Joachim's apocalyptic programmes and world views were lost on most later

readers,¹¹⁷ but the thrust of the message remains: a great flowering of spirituality and clerical purity would come about before the book of history would close for good.

The student of Piers Plowman can see in Joachim a number of patterns of thought which will remind him of Langland: whether this is because Langland knew Joachim directly or whether it is simply because he knew some of the apocalyptic reformist prophecy which Joachim helped foster, is difficult to say. What we can say is that there are many elements in his apocalyptic thought which are difficult to explain without reference to the reformist tradition which Joachim profoundly influenced. If Langland knew any of Joachim's ideas, I believe that it is more likely that they came to him through contact with some of the popular pseudo-Joachite works. However, as Bloomfield has suggested, there is at least a possibility that he knew something of the genuine works as well, although most of the parallels between Joachim and Langland seem too general to constitute definitive sources. Some of these will be noticed below.

Joachim used several numerical patterns and typological concords between the Old and New Testaments to illuminate the course of history and to explain his sense of impending crisis.¹¹⁸ His best known pattern is based on a Trinitarian reading of history: the "Age" of the Father or the first status, the "Age" of the Son or the second status and the "Age" of the Holy Spirit or the third status yet to come.¹¹⁹ During the Old Testament period spiritual leaders had been laymen (ordo conjugatorum) and had laboured to reveal the Law;

during the second status spiritual leaders have been clerics (ordo clericorum) and have laboured to teach the message of Christ's passion and resurrection. During the third status, however, the spiritual leaders will be monks or hermits (ordo monachorum or eremitarum)¹²⁰ and will oversee a new age ad libertatem contemplationis, because, he writes, as scripture attests "Ubi spiritus domini, ibi libertas."¹²¹

This threefold shift from the labour of teaching the Law, to the Gospel, to the interiorized work of contemplation has certain general parallels in the development of Piers Plowman, especially in the progressive changes of Piers throughout the poem. A number of scholars have sought to pin down what Frank has called the "haunting though obscure harmonies" between Joachite doctrine and Piers Plowman by seeing parallels between Dowell, Dobet and Dobest and Joachim's Trinitarian scheme of history.¹²² There are other possibilities, however, which do a little less violence to the poem and a little more justice to Joachim's sense of history. One of these is to focus on the role of Piers himself within the poem and the second is to view the end of Piers Plowman as occurring at roughly the same point of history as Joachim placed his own time, i.e. at the transitus through crisis to a new age of renewal.¹²³ We will begin with the first of these possibilities.

For Joachim the three trinitarian ages were an organic unity and a way of explaining what he saw as the grand movement of history toward spiritual freedom¹²⁴ and from preoccupation with the "letter" to

the "spirit":

The first of the three status of which we speak was in the time of the Law when the people of the Lord served like a little child for a time under the elements of the world. They were not yet able to attain the freedom of the Spirit until he came who said: "If the Son liberates you, you will be free indeed" (John 8:36). The second status was under the Gospel and remains until the present with freedom in comparison to the past but not with freedom in comparison to the future. For the Apostle says: "Now we know in part and prophesy in part, but when that which is perfect has come that which is in part shall be done away with" (1 Cor. 13:12). And in another place: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty" (2 Cor. 3:17). Therefore the third status will come toward the End of the world, no longer under the veil of the letter, but in the full freedom of the Spirit when, after the destruction and cancellation of the false gospel of the Son of Perdition and his prophets, those who will teach many about justice will be like the splendor of the firmament and like the stars forever (trans. McGinn, pp. 133-34).¹²⁵

In Piers Plowman, Piers is first seen as a teacher of the Law and as one who is concerned with the literal and physical aspects of "doing well." His sudden "conversion" at the end of the Visio comes about as a displacement of physical concerns in favour of spiritual ones, a point which is evident in the B-Text Tearing of the Pardon scene, with its implied denunciation of literalism, and in Piers' later teachings (and very comings and goings), which are both elusively eremitical and Christ-like. By the end of the poem Piers is sowing the Gospel rather than seeds and his agricultural tools have taken on a spiritual significance. Piers' movement from the labour of the Visio to an elusive mixture of eremiticism and Christian ministry in the Vita could be given a Joachite reading in the sense that Joachim perceived spiritual leadership as having left the duties of the ordo conjugatorum

behind after the Old Testament period. In his view, another important shift would come in the transition to the Third Status, after which the emphasis in spiritual leadership would move from the ordo clericorum to the ordo eremitarum. However, the seeds of this shift had been rooted, in his view, in earlier spiritual leaders such as Elijah and the Old Testament prophets, and later in St. Benedict and the monastic movement. The Second Status or "Age" of the Son, then, for Joachim, had been a period of development for the spiritual life which would later come to full fruition in the "Age" of the Holy Ghost and the entire course of history could be seen as the gradual blossoming of the eremitical life. After Piers leaves behind his wife and family¹²⁶ he takes on an increasingly clerical, even at times eremitical role in his appearances in the Vita, almost as if he were re-enacting the historical development of spiritual leadership as Joachim saw it.¹²⁷ Furthermore, Piers' anti-intellectualism (XV. 129ff.) and the very fact of Langland's choice of a reforming spiritual leader from outside of "establishment" circles could be markers of later Joachite thought and we will look at these themes more closely a little later. The point here is that Piers is partly a figure of the historical development of spiritual leadership through time, but we note that his full potential is only suggested and never realized in the poem itself.

This brings us to a second possibility for Joachite reading of the poem. In Joachim's terms, Langland breaks off the poem at the point of transitus into the Third "Age." For Joachim the Status of the Spirit had not yet come, but it was imminent. To reach it the Church had to

make a difficult transitus through the corruption and tribulation of the present times. Alongside his Trinitarian scheme he spoke of a pattern created by dividing the two Testamental ages into seven periods each.¹²⁸ By drawing a series of concords between the patterns of persecutions in the Old Testament and the New Testament period, Joachim could predict the future of the end of the New Testament period. He concluded that his own age was about to suffer the double tribulation of the sixth time in his exegesis of the meaning of the seven-headed dragon of Apocalypse 12:3:

I should like to consider more closely why the dragon's two heads are joined together at the same time, and why the Church's tribulations are doubled only in the sixth age so that a twin tribulation arises in this time alone. Just as the old Babylon was struck under the sixth seal, so the new one will be pierced under the present sixth opening. . . . Just as the sons of Israel used to walk through the desert for five days and on each morning of any week used to collect an omer of manna for the day, but only on the sixth day would gather a double ration so they could rest from labor on the sabbath (Exod. 16:16-23), so too he who says to his people "I will strike you seven times because of your sins" (Lev. 26:24) will permit the two final persecutions to happen in the one sixth time so that at the opening of the seventh seal peace may come and his faithful people can rest from their labors. Therefore, these two last heads are joined together, because both these tribulations of the final week are destined to be fulfilled under the one sixth time (trans., McGinn, Apoc. Spir., pp. 138-39).

Instead of trying to make Piers Plowman fit into a Trinitarian scheme of history in which the Dobest section of the poem has to be regarded as the "Age" of the Spirit fully realized, it might make more sense to see the Visio as a figure of the Old Testament period and the Vita of the New Testament period, with a vision of the Church in a state

of crisis, making its difficult transitus into the seventh period of renewal,¹²⁹ a time which Langland talks about but does not portray. Joachim describes the difference between the two ages in this way:

The difference is that those of the Old Testament refer more to the flesh, these of the New more to the spirit, albeit it must be recalled that there were indications of the spirit in the former, reminders of the flesh in the latter (trans. McGinn, Apoc. Spir., p. 122).

This qualification is important and Joachim is always stressing that the characteristic features of any later period have their roots in earlier ones. Likewise, a Joachite reading of Piers Plowman would, I believe, most helpfully identify the descent of the Holy Spirit and the passing out of the diverse gifts of Grace as the pentecostal roots of a coming "Age" of the Spirit beyond Passus XXII, not as the arrival of the "Age" of the Spirit in Dobest.¹³⁰

Indeed, Joachim's utopian view of the status of the Holy Spirit is often similar to Langland's. Prefacing the diagrammatic explanation of his utopian vision of the Third Status, Joachim quotes the following biblical passage:

Grace is given to each of us according to the measure of the gift of Christ. And hence he has said: "Ascending on high he led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men" (Ps. 67:19). He gave to some the gift to be Apostles, some to be Prophets, some to be Evangelists, others to be pastors and doctors, for the fulfillment of the saints in their ministry in the building up of the Body of Christ, until we all come together into the unity of faith and the recognition of the Son of God, into the perfect man, into the measure of the maturity of Christ (Eph. 4:7-13) (trans. McGinn, Apoc. Spir., p. 142).

In Piers Plowman, the building of Unity tries to achieve on the spiritual level what Piers' organization of the ploughing of the half acre tried to do on the physical or "fleshly" level. It is easy to read Piers Plowman as the progress of attempted utopianism through the literal and active stages to the spiritual and contemplative--although the word "contemplative" here, used in the context of Joachim's ecclesia contemplativa, denotes not so much a retiring from society as a reorganization of society into various groups, each following a lifestyle and devotional regimen appropriate to its level of "perfection." Joachim, like Langland, has the utopian tendency toward social and religious organization. In the Status of the Holy Spirit Joachim foresaw what McGinn has aptly called a monastic utopia¹³¹ in which all of society can participate, according to their spiritual capabilities, in the ordo eremitarum (or monachorum). He divides society into seven groups,¹³² each residing in a type of monastic oratory. Joachim lays out instructions, much like a monastic rule, for the behaviour, dress, and physical and spiritual labours of each group. The sixth oratory, for example, containing the secular clergy, is described as follows:

In this oratory will be gathered priests and clerics who wish to live chastely and in common, but who do not wish to abstain completely from the eating of meat and warm clothing. In winter they will fast on Wednesday and Friday, and they will obey their Prior according to the direction and order of the Spiritual Father who will be over everyone. They will not use mantles, but only capes so that there may be a difference between their dress and that of the laity. They will study the art of grammar and teach the boys and young men to learn how to speak and write Latin and memorize the Old and New Testaments as far as they

can. They will give a tithe of their labor and a tithe of the tithe they receive from the married into the hands of the Spiritual Father for the support of Christ's poor if they perhaps be in need of anything (trans. McGinn, Apoc. Spir., pp. 146-47).

The oratory of the laity is reminiscent of Piers' attempt to organize the half-acre:

No idle person will be found among these Christians, someone who will not earn his bread that he may have that from which to help those in need (Eph. 4:28). Let each one work at his own craft, and the individual trades and workers shall have their own foremen. Anyone who has not worked up to capacity should be called to account by the Master and censured by all. Food and clothing will be simple as befits Christians. Worldly garb will not be found among them nor dyed clothing. Honest and approved women will spin wool for the need of Christ's poor, and they will serve like mothers of the other women, instructing the young women and girls in the fear of God. They will give tithes to the clerics of all they possess for the support of the poor and strangers, and also for the boys who are studying doctrine. They do this so that in case they have more than they need and the rest have less, at the command of the Spiritual Father the surplus will be taken from those who have more and given to those who have less so that there may be no one in need among them but all things held in common (trans. McGinn, Apoc. Spir., p. 148).

Langland's utopian experiments both fail--or partially fail--but the poem ends with hope of a third attempt through the clerical reform which Piers will carry out. Like Joachim, Langland realized that all attempts up to the present time to establish "Jerusalem" had been imperfect, but like Joachim he praises the courage and perseverance of those in earlier times who tried--whether they were founders of religious orders or the desert fathers or Old Testament figures like David or Moses. Only once does Langland make his typological view of history and its prophetic

potential explicit in biblical terms, that is in his prophecy of a new David¹³³ to come, but Piers is the motivating force behind all three of Langland's reformist utopian experiments--the two portrayed in the poem and the one which Conscience seeks at the end. We will return to this problem shortly, but perhaps it should be said here that whether or not we choose to read these features in the poem as evidence of a genuine Joachimism or as simply analogous to Joachim's kind of typological and historicist utopianism is perhaps a question for each reader to decide for himself. No Joachimite reading of Piers Plowman that I know of is absolutely apt--but many of the parallels are, to use Frank's term again, haunting.

The notion of spiritual utopianism is inextricably tied up with the important Joachimite theme of Church reform and the question of reform brings us to the difficult issue of Joachim's relations with the Church.¹³⁴ Joachim himself remained a loyal son of the Church and in his Testamentary Letter asserts that he wishes all his writings to be submitted to the papacy for correction.¹³⁵ However, his views on the Trinity were condemned at one point, and his career as a monastic leader and reformer was at times stormy.¹³⁶ Many passages in Joachim's works are quite radical in certain ways and often left themselves open to revolutionary interpretations. As he proved in his own life, Joachim was not afraid of the idea of abandoning a traditional form in favour of something new if he thought that the quality of spiritual life would be enhanced. In this he differs from the kind of apocalyptic and reformist thinker whose gaze only looks longingly back

to a first pristine state either in the beginnings of an order or to the primitive Church itself.¹³⁷ In his Tractatus super quatuor Evangelia he discussed the transition which will be made in the Third Status from the papacy of the present, with its active, worldly preoccupations (symbolized by Peter) to the papacy of the future, which would be a monasticized, contemplative institution (symbolized by John). To support this notion of "Peter" yielding to "John" he writes,

We know that one order designated by the predecessor and another by the successor does not bring about difference of faith but the proper character of the forms of religious life. When any order begins to exist in solemn fashion it keeps the same name as long as it continues in the same form; but if some depart from it, and, having taken up another, better, form are changed for the better, they are not now said to be of the same order, but of another proceeding from it. Can he who sees that he will be succeeded in such fruit grieve that partial perfection in him will cease when it is followed by universal perfection? No, no! Let such a thought be far from Peter's succession! Let not envy languish over the perfection of the spiritual order which he will see to be one spirit with his God and walking according to his doctrine in all paths of his commandments (trans. McGinn, pp. 135-36)

In the hands of any disciple with a more literal mind than Joachim's (and there were many) this was heady stuff. As Bernard McGinn has said, "The Joachite tradition was a quasi-revolutionary element in the later Middle Ages, and though his would-be disciples went far beyond the Abbot of Fiore in many ways, he cannot be absolved of all responsibility for what was to come" (McGinn, p. 129). Gordon Leff has noted further that

Joachim's antitheses between the present era and the new one to come, between literal and spiritual understanding of the Bible,

between the carnal and the spiritual church, became translated into real terms until by the fourteenth century Joachimism had come to be an historicism justifying poverty and opposition to authority (Leff, Paris, p. 259).

Not all those who took up Joachimism did so in opposition to authority, but there can be little doubt that Joachim's writings appealed most to those who were dissatisfied with the institutionalized Church and the powers of its hierarchy. As Bernard McGinn shows, certain of Joachim's ideas and symbols became instruments for criticism of the Church from the thirteenth century onwards:

Joachim's stress on the domination of the spiritual and charismatic over the institutional and rational in the future church was diametrically opposed to the forces that triumphed in the thirteenth century. . . . In this sense the concept of the third age in the writings of Joachim of Fiore was a radical critique of the thirteenth-century church (McGinn, p. 129).

Important among these themes was the concept of the "Babylon" within the Church's walls. In a typical example of "ordo" prophecy, Joachim distinguishes the hypocrites and backsliders as a separate group:

Lest anyone say that these times are not very clear and excuse himself from understanding and personal involvement, let him know that all people found in the present world fall into three groups. The first are those who have fallen away from the faith, strangers to the Church's sacraments and to every good deed. The second is those who "believe, but fall away in the time of temptation" (Luke 8:13). "They profess that they know God, but they deny him by their deeds" (Titus 1:16). "They are glad when they have done evil and rejoice in the most wicked things" (Prov. 2:14). The third is those whose faith and works are good, that is, those whom Almighty God foreknew would be such in belief and in deed. The first have been called the "scarlet multitude," the second "Babylon," the third

"Jerusalem." If you consider the crowd of those men who to the full measure of their damnation are counted as members of the Christian religion, you have what is called the first Babylon, because by Almighty God's just judgment the pagans will rise against the bad Christians, will wreak vengeance on the apostate nations and the revenge of the living God on wicked sons. The multitude of the wicked have prevailed because the just were tepid (trans. McGinn, Apoc. Spir., pp. 115-16).

Babylon came to play an important role in the apocalyptic thought of later Joachite prophecies as a label for clerical corruption within the Church, against which a remnant of the faithful (a second important theme) would hold out until the coming age of spiritual renewal. In Langland's apocalyptic grammar this remnant is represented by the few "foles" who hold out against the "fendes lymes" for the love of Piers Plowman (XXII. 77). Like Langland, Joachim has something of an "apocalypse now"¹³⁸ mentality and he believed that Antichrist already stood upon the threshold of the age, but like Langland he did not see this as the End:

In this generation first of all the general tribulation will be completed and the wheat carefully purged of all tares, then a new leader will ascend from Babylon, namely a universal pontiff of the New Jerusalem, that is, of Holy Mother the Church. His type is found written in Revelation: "I saw an angel ascending from the rising of the sun having the sign of the living God" (Rev. 7:2). With him are the remnants of those who were driven out. He will ascend not by speed of foot nor change of place, but because full freedom to renew the Christian religion and to preach the word will be given to him (trans., McGinn, p. 135).

A third apocalyptic theme, then, which Joachim left as a legacy to the later Middle Ages was the concept of a reformist (or "angelic") pope.¹³⁹ This notion is not fully developed in the

original works of Joachim, but became an important concept in the thought of later disciples, giving rise to some of the most popular religious prophecies of the Middle Ages. It is certainly possible to analyze Langland's Piers from the standpoint of the Joachite vision of the reformed and spiritualized papacy. This is a point which we shall return to after we have looked at some of the later developments of the angelic pope themes, but for the present it can be said that Piers conforms to genuine Joachite thought in a few ways. First of all, as we have noted, his dramatic conversion from social leader to spiritual leader, from plowman to "palmare" is reminiscent of the dramatic change in the papacy from "Peter" to "John" which would come about in the "Age" of the Spirit. This change would bring about a more spiritualized, simplified role for the pope, who would now live a kind of eremitical life. But even though Langland really never shows us the post-reform Piers he so fervently hoped for, he does show us Piers' burgeoning development toward that powerful role of spiritual authority from his previous leadership of the half-acre society to his leadership in the building of Unity. As suggested above, in Piers' changing incarnations there is something of the flavour of Joachite typology of the great spiritual leaders of history. Take for example Joachim's concord between Moses in the Old Testament period and St. Paul in the New Testament period.¹⁴⁰ A typological reading of Piers as the Moses who is both a lawgiver (VII. 213ff.) and a leader of a lost people through a wilderness,¹⁴¹ or of Piers as a St. Paul whose mandate it is to build the post-pentecostal Church, would highlight both the

development of Piers as a spiritual guide and the understated role of Old and New Testament history as one of the organizing principles of the poem as a whole. All of Joachim's typological figures, whether or not they were originally expressed in finite concords between the Old and New Testaments or in the open-ended series of concords which looked forward to the Status of the Spirit, could (and did) create expectations of the rise of the type figure again in the future.¹⁴² Piers too is ever-returning: the Piers who will return to reform the Church has his roots in the leadership of "Mosaic" and "Pauline" figures of the Visio and Vita.

Before there could be Church reform, however, Joachim, like most apocalyptic thinkers, believed that there had to be a chastisement and purgation. During the time of the opening of the fifth seal, in qua nunc sumus, Joachim saw the persecution of the Church by the Roman Empire. He describes this in his "Commentary on an Unknown Prophecy" in this way:

There remains for us that other and worse Babylonian persecution, the fifth. In it mother Sion is led away to Babylon. The days are at hand of which the Savior said: "Days will come when you will desire to see a single day of the Son of man" (Luke 17:22). "There has been an abundance of peace until the moon was taken away" (Ps. 71:7), that is, until the Roman Church, borne away in exile, lost the splendor of its brilliance. Since it is already in the cloud of darkness, there are persecutions left, the first of which will especially injure the clergy, while two following not long after will be against all in general. . . . (trans. McGinn, p. 132).

This is the type of passage which later disciples were to fasten on, recycling and elaborating the imagery as well as the ideas, as we shall

see. It is evident from this passage that Joachim saw the fifth and sixth persecutions as coming in fairly quick succession, with the seventh added in upon the sixth to make the worst persecution of history.

Both the notion of an imminent persecution of the clergy (the fifth) and of a dual persecution (the sixth and seventh) which will be a general chastisement can be fit into Langland's apocalyptic scheme quite neatly. Throughout Piers Plowman the clergy are at the eye of the apocalyptic storm and Langland seems to feel that clerical rebuke is imminent, while apocalyptic events of a general or political sort are portrayed as somewhat more remote.¹⁴³ As we have seen, the Antichrist of Passus XXII is largely a clerical demon, whereas "the worst" that is described in the "dark" prophecy at III. 477 is a general tribulation. Langland may even be alluding to the Joachite dread of the sixth persecution or, in a better known periodization, of the sixth age in his symbolism of the "six sonnes" in III. 478. Although Joachim himself did not indulge in "dark" prophecies, he did write a commentary on one which was found among the papers of a cardinal after his death. The passage quoted above is from this commentary on a very popular prophecy of the later Middle Ages known alternatively as the Sibilla Samia or the Sibilla Delphica (McGinn, Citeaux 24, p. 119). It occurs in numerous MSS and in at least five chronicles, all British (ibid., n. 116). The prophecy is typical of the "dark" style favoured in the short, anonymous prophetic pieces of the Middle Ages:

Rome will be aroused against the Roman, and the Roman who was put in the place of the Roman will threaten Rome. The staffs of shepherds will be removed, and their consolation will be in repose. The zealous will be disturbed and will pray, and repose will be in the tears of many. The humble one will sport with him who rages, and destroying rage will be flattered. A new flock will slowly proceed to the mass, and those who were given a title of old will be fed on short rations. The hope of those who hoped has been frustrated because consolation rests in the one who provides security. Those who walked in darkness will come to the light, and what was divided and dispersed will be made one. A substantial cloud will start to rain since he who will change the world has been born. The lion will be substituted for by lambs and lambs will ravage lions. Rage will rise up against the simple, and a weakened simplicity will draw breath. Honor will be changed to disgrace and the joy of many will be sorrow (trans. McGinn, p. 131).

Without going into all the complexities of Joachim's interpretation of this prophecy we can note some of the themes which it presents: the persecution of the clergy and the loss of the Church's authority, the conversion of the Jews ("A new flock will proceed slowly to the mass")¹⁴⁴ and the quick succession of imagery of hope, "Those who walked in darkness . . ." alternating with despair, "Honour will be changed to disgrace. . . ."

It is possible to do a Joachite reading of Langland's own "dark" prophecy involving many of these elements at the end of Passus III:

Ac ar this fortune falle fynde me shal the worste
 Be sixe sonnes and a ship and half a shef of arwes;
 And the myddell of þe mone shal make þe Iewes turne
 And Saresines for þat syhte shal syng Credo in spiritum
 sanctum,
 For Machameth and Mede shullen mishap þat tyme,
Quia melius est bonum nomen quam diuicie multe (C. III.
 477-81).

As we have seen "the worst" tribulation in Joachim's terms was the one

expected in his own time. The six suns might be a reference to either the sixth persecution or the close of the sixth age--both dreadful times in Joachite theory. But tribulation always ultimately means renewal in this type of prophecy and Langland's hint that these obscure symbols will herald the conversion of the non-Christian peoples is typical of this mentality. The ship might, as Bennett suggested, represent the ship of Peter, which is also an important symbol in Joachite thought, a figure of the "ark" of the true Church being tossed on the seas of tribulation. The ship, as we shall see shortly, preserves the remnant who will save the world in the next age. The "half a shef of arwes" (i.e. twelve arrows) may, as Schmidt suggests,¹⁴⁵ represent the twelve Apostles who were to Judge the tribes of Israel at the Last Judgement (Mt. 19:28); however, since Langland is not here talking about the End of the World, it might make more sense to give this symbol a Joachite reading and see it as representing the twelve "spiritual men" (viri spirituales) who, in concord with the twelve patriarchs of the Old Testament and the twelve apostles in the New Testament, would renew the faith in the "Age" of the Holy Spirit.¹⁴⁶ The middle of the moon as a symbol of the Passover,¹⁴⁷ the one religious feast which Jews and Christians share, is typical of Langland's acute awareness of what Christians have in common with non-Christians¹⁴⁸ and may reflect an apocalyptic tradition that the Jews will be converted at the feast when both Jews and Christians give thanks for having been saved from the Angel of Death.

If this reading is correct (and we have no way of knowing

whether it is or not), then all the symbols would be somehow associated with the saving of mankind from tribulation and death. The sixth period in any of the Joachite systems of periodization is always one of the expected dangerous transitus to freedom and salvation, and this is certainly what it heralds in Langland's prophecy.

The Church in Crisis: Apocalyptic Themes in the
First Generation of Pseudo-Joachite Works

We will turn now to some of the themes which stand out as relevant to Piers Plowman in the first crop of pseudo-Joachite prophecies which followed the original writings of Joachim himself. Three of the most important works of this period, the Super Jeremiam, the Super Esaiam and the De Oneribus Prophetarum were especially widely circulated on the Continent. Such was the popularity of these works that by Langland's time they seem to be more generally familiar and accessible than Joachim's own writings. This seems to be particularly true of England, where copies of Super Esaiam and De Oneribus especially were quite widely disseminated.¹⁴⁹ In these works one finds a heightening of Joachim's criticism of the "Babylonian" Church and a shift in emphasis toward political concerns.¹⁵⁰

Most important from our point of view is the new attitude toward the papacy in particular and the Church in general. From Joachim's more positive view of the papacy (Reeves, Influence, pp. 395-97), the early pseudo-Joachite texts have moved to a negative outlook. The Super Jeremiam opens with a prediction of disaster for the Church and sees this prefigured in the downfall of Eli and his sons--a theme and

exemplum which we find in the Prologue to the C-Text of Piers Plowman as well (ll. 95ff.).¹⁵¹ As Marjorie Reeves says,

The attack on the wealth, worldliness, and pride of the Roman Church is developed and from this springs a more revolutionary attitude towards the transition from the second to the third status. A violent gesture, either by the papacy itself or by others towards it, begins to appear in the expected programme. Peter must cast off his coat and plunge naked into the waves, or the Church must "fall among thieves" on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho (Reeves, Influence, p. 397).

There develops in these prophecies a specific imagery of the imminent stripping away of the Church's possessions,¹⁵² and a growing sense of what one is tempted to call Noah's ark mentality, the notion of a remnant of the few faithful tossed on the stormy seas of persecution from a number of external forces.

These prophecies were eagerly taken up by groups like the Franciscan Spirituals when they found themselves persecuted for clinging to their rigorist stances on clerical poverty and it is easy to see their attractiveness to any writer or group with reformist notions of clerical poverty.¹⁵³ Although these prophecies follow the Joachite pattern of belief in a renewal of the Church after it has made its hazardous crossing from the Second to the Third Status, all the emphasis is upon the Church's imminent tribulation. They seem primarily concerned to paint a portrait of the Church in crisis and to this purpose they return again and again to a cluster of related themes, namely clerical poverty and disendowment, condemnation of the Donation of Constantine and of clerical corruption in general, and the pervasive

tendency to separate the world into true and false apostles.

These works are prime examples of the mentality of "ordo" prophecy, which, ironically, they share with the anti-Joachite antimendicant eschatology that they helped spark off. They seem to place all hope for the immediate future in the two new orders predicted by Joachim, usually identified in MSS as the Franciscans and Dominicans.¹⁵⁴ True to Joachim's lifelong concern with monastic reform and development, these prophecies look forward to the renewal and multiplication of future religious orders after the ruin of Antichrist (Reeves, Influence, p. 153).¹⁵⁵ The criticism of corrupt orders or groups (like the prelates or cardinals) and the expectation of reform and renewal of these same groups as well as the tendency to pin all hopes on new orders, all this is characteristic of "ordo" prophecy with its roots in both monastic ideology and the apocalyptic tendency to distinguish sharply and uncompromisingly between false and true brethren.

Also characteristic of such apocalyptic reformist thought is the forecasting of the demise or reshaping of outmoded institutions. Though many prophetic reformist thinkers have conservative tendencies (Hildegard, Joachim and Langland himself all fit this description), they are nevertheless not frightened of certain types of change. Like Hildegard, the author of Super Jeremiam sees both the end of the dotage of the clergy and the end of the pride of the Roman Imperium to be imminent, and looks forward to the ecclesia contemplativa which will remain behind after these have been swept away in the "Sabbath of the

people of God."¹⁵⁶

The Super Esaiam similarly condemns the clergy as mercenaries or hirelings (sunt mercenarii plurimi non pastores, f. 28^v) in a motif which we have seen before.¹⁵⁷ Both Langland and Gower use this label (Gower actually attributes it to Joachim), but as we have seen, the use of it in apocalyptic writings goes back at least to Hildegard. The passage in Super Esaiam goes on to promise, following Joel 2:10,¹⁵⁸ that the sun, moon and stars will be darkened in the extermination of the "mystical Babylon," that is, the multitudes of those walking carnally, especially the religious (f. 28^v). Typical of Joachite thought is this opposition of the carnal and spiritual Church and the association of the former with the "mystic" Antichrist, the destroyer of true spiritual life, in particular. The motif from Joel 2:10 is repeated again and again in these prophecies in their description of clerical chastisement:

Metaphorically the illustrious secular princes are represented in the sun, in the moon the prelates of the Church growing prosperous and suffering eclipse in adversity. Whence it follows "I will visit evil things upon the cities and upon the impious their iniquity: and I will bring to rest the pride of the arrogant and the power of the unbelievers I will humiliate." And this is what is said below: the stars of heaven, that is, the religious of the Church will not expand their light which is concealed by the darkness of cupidity and carnality (f. 28^v).^h

So well established was this motif that John of Rupescissa, a later Joachite writer, reversed it to describe the renewal of the Franciscan order after the chastisement as a multitude numberless as the stars.

Another favourite theme in these early pseudo-Joachite works, as we have seen, is the casting off of clerical temporalities as hindrances to spirituality, just as Peter's clothing would have hindered him from swimming ashore to meet Christ in John 21:7. Describing the events which will toss the ark of the Church on stormy seas (wars, schisms, domestic tyranny, sedition of cities, heresy, unbelievers and the like) the Super Esaiam predicts that the Pope will have to imitate Peter once again:

. . . and through this, because Peter's battered little ship will be endangered, it was necessary that the naked pastor, having cast off the baggage of temporal things, go out into the raging impassible waves to meet the coming of the Saviour (f. 58v).^{159/i}

This brings us to an important related theme in pseudo-Joachite prophecy: the Donation of Constantine. While for Joachim himself the time of Pope Silvester was the happiest of periods (see Reeves, Influence, pp. 178 and 395), the pseudo-Joachite writers held that the Church had been poisoned by the donation. As the De Oneribus Prophetarum says: "Woe to Ariel, which David conquered (Is. 29:1) because formerly in the time of Silvester that monarch [i.e. Constantine] subjected himself to the Church of Christ,¹⁶⁰ having deposited a leprosy" (Holder-Egger, p. 185). Another pseudo-Joachite prophecy, which is found in numerous British MSS, predicts the following for the ominous year 1260:¹⁶¹ ". . . Also, in the year [12]60 the Church and clergy will be daily in so much more contempt and disrepute than ever before since the time of Constantine who endowed the Church when

Silvester occupied [the papal throne] in the Roman Church."¹⁶² Condemnation of the donation is not overtly expressed here, but the habit of dating the Church's decline from this period was very common in Joachite texts. The Franciscan Joachite Peter John Olivi,¹⁶³ for example, read papal history as three distinct periods: the first ran up to the time of Pope Silvester and Constantine, during which popes had maintained apostolic poverty; the second, a period of decline into worldly decadence and corruption, which would continue to the end of the fifth (i.e. current) age; and finally the third era, when after the persecution of the "mystic antichrist," they would return to a state of absolute poverty (McGinn, "Angel Pope," p. 167).

This type of periodization fits Langland's view of Church history almost precisely and there can be little doubt that it was this kind of thing which he had in mind in certain passages of Piers Plowman. Not only does he date the decline of the Church from the Donation, as we have seen, but like the Joachites he sees an imminent persecution of the clergy by a type of antichristus mysticus which will herald not the End of the World, but a new age of reform. This is not to say that Langland could only have derived these notions from Joachite sources, but he almost certainly would have had to have derived them from one or more of a group of radical thinkers, who, as Gordon Leff has shown, shared similar anti-papalist and historicist views about the primacy of the model of the early Church. In order to contextualize the ideas of the pseudo-Joachite writers we should look briefly at this tradition of thinkers.

Marsilius of Padua, leaning heavily on the arguments of Franciscan apologists, attacked ecclesiastical possessions and dated the Church's decline from the Donation of Constantine (Leff, "Apostolic Ideal," p. 69). His arguments for the limitation of papal and ecclesiastical power to strictly spiritual functions were based on that influential medieval reformist notion of the apostolic ideal of the early Church.¹⁶⁴ They allowed a secular ruler full authority over the temporalities of the Church, even to the point of confiscation (ibid., p. 71).

After Marsilius, a number of other thinkers and groups expressed similar historicist views on the Donation and on temporalities, notably the Waldensians (ibid., p. 75), the Franciscan Spirituals (ibid., p. 74), Dante (ibid., p. 76), John of Paris (ibid., p. 78), Ockham (ibid., p. 79) and Wyclif (ibid., *passim*). Gordon Leff sees Joachism as one of the most powerful influences in shaping these historicist views of the apostolic ideal, the Donation, and the need to curtail the temporalities and temporal powers of the papacy and the Church. Leff writes, ". . . from the middle of the thirteenth century, if not before, it (Joachism) introduced a new element of historical criticism and prophecy into the outlook of time" (ibid., p. 73). Some of the writers who took up these ideas were more radical than others; some were orthodox while others were heterodox;¹⁶⁵ some had apocalyptic expectations and others had only political or reformist ones; but all show a debt to the Franciscan ideology of the thirteenth-century mendicant controversies and to the related phenomenon of fraternal

Joachism.

The fact that Langland expresses his views on disendowment and the Donation in the form of prophecy (V. 168-79 and XVII. 208-32) suggests to me that he was in touch with the apocalyptic wing of this group of writers rather than just the polemical, non-apocalyptic ones. He may well have known Marsilius' and Ockham's writings or ideas on the subject, but neither of these writers would have provided him with a model for the prophetic form into which he cast his views. It is really necessary in the later Middle Ages to turn to the pseudo-Joachite prophecies for a prophetic ideology comparable to Langland's, either the early monastic productions like the Super Jeremiam or Super Esaiam, or any of the later Joachite works, especially the Franciscan Spiritualist prophecies.¹⁶⁶

Given the tensions between mendicants and possessioners in fourteenth-century England it is easy to see why such prophecies would have been of interest to Englishmen. The antipapalism which Leff sees as characteristic of these historicist thinkers was rife in Britain and so it is not surprising that this fairly radical material found an audience here. Historical factors also contributed to the sympathy, especially among the nobility, for the taxation or even confiscation of clerical goods.¹⁶⁷ Edward III's French wars were expensive and the coffers of the rich possessioner-clergy proved too tempting a source of revenue to be passed over. In the late 1330s Ockham, although now living abroad, addressed his polemical work "An princeps" to the English problem of whether Edward should be allowed to draw upon the purses of

the clergy to support his "just" war (Offler, p. 220). Not only did Ockham support the notion of the secular power's rights to clerical revenue during time of war, but he also pushed the argument further to allow for the confiscation of goods from unjust clergy. In the Octo Quaestiones he writes,

Therefore, all the more can the churches justly be deprived of the honors, rights, liberties, and privileges granted to them if they are not faithful to the laymen who have granted these things. Again, faith should not be kept with a faithless enemy . . . If the churches do not keep faith with laymen, but begin to treat them with hostility, faith should not be kept with them, and they can be deprived of those things which have been granted to them (trans. McGrade, p. 87).

Ockham's Franciscan viewpoint on clerical property and his disgust at the wealth and luxury of the papal court initially prompted such views, as Knowles has said (II, p. 65), but they soon became influential in academic circles and even beyond.¹⁶⁸ Knowles has tried to trace the development of this disendowment question in the years after 1360 and he consistently points to the friars as the instigators of the controversy:

Either in answer to further provocation of which nothing is known, or acting on the maxim that attack is the best method of defence, the friars began to take the offensive in academic circles with attacks upon the endowed religious bodies, known in the phrase of the day as "possessioners"; these were the older orders of monks and canons, among whom, in a dispute of this kind, the greatest and richest houses, such as Durham, Canterbury and Glastonbury, were obviously the most vulnerable. . . . It would seem that the Minors at least had gone beyond a criticism of monastic property-holders to an attack, almost in the spirit of the fraticelli, on church possessions in general (Knowles, II, pp. 64-65).¹⁶⁹

As we have said before, there is little evidence in England of rigorist Franciscan views, but this outburst in the 1360s shows that England was not immune to such ideas, even if they took a rather specific, one-issue form there. This is probably the context in which pseudo-Joachite prophecies on the theme of clerical decadence and the need for disendowment began to be more widely disseminated in England, as mid-fourteenth-century productions like The Last Age of the Church show.¹⁷⁰

In the 1370s the question moved from the academic sphere to the wider realm of "practical politics," as Knowles says (p. 67).¹⁷¹ While writers like Uhtred of Boldon (ibid., pp. 64ff.) and Bishop Brinton (Gradon, "Dissent," p. 182) argued for the possessioners, a new opponent joined the lists on the side of the mendicant friars: Wyclif began to develop his doctrine of dominion during the 1370s, a doctrine of which, McIlwain said, "There is scarcely one significant point in it which had not been elaborated again and again in writings resulting from the great controversy within or concerning the Franciscan order."¹⁷² As Pamela Gradon says, Wyclif's notions on disendowment and the Donation of Constantine were "neither new nor novel" when he advanced them (p. 186).¹⁷³ The friars were still in the vanguard of the attack on the possessioners at this time and in 1371 two Austin friars laid a number of articles before Parliament¹⁷⁴ in which, "in a curious example of the blending of practical politics and reforming zeal" (Gradon, p. 187), they proposed monastic disendowment in order to provide revenue for the French wars. Gradon notes that the

articles take the matter even further by citing Augustine on clerical poverty and concluding that "a powerful man who, for their unnatural behaviour, would take from the monks their possessions and their liberty would be blessed by God."¹⁷⁵

In the midst of all this it is hardly surprising that Langland expresses the views he does on the Donation of Constantine and clerical disendowment; however, the apocalyptic models that he was imitating are likely to have come from prophetic sources propagated by the friars, who seem to have been the most obvious instigators even on the English scene. We will take a closer look now at these themes as they are handled in a third pseudo-Joachite text, the De Oneribus Prophetarum.

The De Oneribus seems to have been fairly well known in fourteenth-century England.¹⁷⁶ Imagery of destruction and desolation, so plentiful in the Old Testament prophets, is the language of this extremely dense work, which is a collection of "burdens" modelled on those of the biblical prophets.¹⁷⁷ The De Oneribus is so heavily allusive to the Bible that it is virtually impossible to follow without knowing the biblical references and reading them in parallel with the text. As with all such works the obscurity is partly intentional, but it would no doubt have seemed somewhat less obscure in its original monastic milieu.¹⁷⁸ The "Onus Babilonis et terre Chaldeorum" (Holder-Egger, pp. 172-73) gives a sense of the density of this kind of prophetic writing, which moves along by process of association of key words from disparate biblical verses and displays the kind of looseness of surface cohesion which we noted earlier in writers

Like Hildegard:

Upon the dark mountain [lift ye up a banner] (Is. 13:1). That mountain is your son, overthrown at the height of dignity, and perhaps therefore the darkness is appointed, because through him the universal church is covered with tears of pain. The Lord has covered the daughter of Sion with darkness, says Jeremiah (Thren. 2:1)(Holder-Egger, p. 172).^j

Drawing upon Jeremiah 5:25 the prophecy then speaks of the tumbling down of the pestiferous mountain which corrupts the whole earth, and predicts, by concord, the striking down and casting out of the Roman people. It then moves by association to a reworking of Is. 13:4-5:

[The noise of a multitude in the mountains, as it were of many people: the noise . . . of nations gathered together.] The Lord of hosts hath given charge to the troops of war, to them that come from a country afar off, namely, from the sides of the north (Holder-Egger, p. 172).^k

The nations from "the sides of the north" were traditionally thought to be the eschatological terrors of Gog and Magog, so the writer has succeeded in conjuring up these apocalyptic threats in a few words of allusion to Ezekial 39:2 in which God says to Gog "I will . . . make thee go up from the northern parts and bring thee upon the mountains of Israel." From here it is a short (apocalyptic) step to "the laying of the earth in desolation, and to the destroying of the famous [inclitos] of it, the sooner, the better,"^k a reworking of a fragment from Is. 13:9 (Holder-Egger, p. 172). Without as much as a hint that he is moving on to a direct allusion to Is. 13:10, ("For the stars of heaven and their brightness shall not display their light: the sun shall be

darkened in his rising, and the moon shall not shine with her light"), he then launches off into this prediction, "Truly the stars of heaven are the cardinals and rectors, part of which the tail of the dragon will destroy."^k Presumably the writer expected that his monastic audience would pick up the allusion to Is. 13:9 and then automatically follow the allusion to verse 10 which comes on its heels. If the prophecy is difficult enough with a knowledge of the allusions, it is often almost incoherent without them. Scribes were obviously concerned to fill in biblical references in the margins wherever they could,¹⁷⁹ which is somewhat heartening for the modern reader. It would seem that such a dense and disparate tissue of biblical texts and allusions was difficult even for contemporary monastic readers.

Enough has been said and quoted to give a sense of the character of this type of prophecy which in the space of about thirteen lines threatens the Roman Imperium, the city of Rome, the cardinals and rectors, and alludes to the coming of Gog and destruction of the clergy by the tail of the dragon,¹⁸⁰ all in the most obscure stream of biblical phraseology. The prophecy ends with a reworking of Is. 14:4-6 which prophesies against the King of Babylon:

How is the oppressor come to nothing, the tribute has ceased?
The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked, the rod of the
rulers, that struck the people in wrath with an incurable wound,
that brought nations under in fury, that persecuted in a cruel
manner.¹⁸¹ (Is. 14:4-6)

This is the same passage which Langland both quotes and draws upon for his own prophecy of disendowment and chastisement (V. 177-77a). The

"Onus Babilone"¹⁸² similarly ends its threats of clerical chastisement with the same biblical verse: "He will stop his exaction, the tributes cease, the rod of the depraved is broken or trampled underfoot [and], the bittern and ericius shall possess his destiny" (Is. 34:11).^{183/l}

Other prophecies in the De Oneribus deal in less oblique terms with the coming clerical chastisement--presumably the writer's desire to communicate at times overtook his penchant for obscurity. A "burden" entitled "Adversus montem Syon," with the rubric "Contra Clerum" predicts clerical disaster in a passage which contains motifs we have encountered before in Bridget and Robert of Uzès:

And so Jerusalem will be ruined and Judah destroyed in order that just as a field the Church will be utterly ploughed and haughtiness will be made to stoop from on high. Hereafter, the cadavers of the clergy, who condemn the law of God while through them his eloquence is blasphemed, shall be placed as dung in the middle of the street (Holder-Egger, p. 185).^{184/m}

The prophet sees this, however, as a purgation "through burning and in the spirit of judgement" (alluding to Is. 4:4), not as complete annihilation. Once again a remnant will be saved. This remnant is clearly to be made up of the clergy who have remained true to the spirit of the apostolic life of the pre-Donation age.¹⁸⁵

In another "burden" prophesying the destruction of Babylon entitled "Against the Desert of the Sea" ("Adversum desertum maris") and with the rubric "Contra prelatos," the author of De Oneribus draws extensively upon Is. 21 in his description of a horrible vision he has

had of the "threshing of Babylon" (Holder-Egger, p. 178). This chastisement will be so grim that it will be as if the little Christian boat (navicula Christiana) is being tossed between two fluctuating seas and suffering powerful winds (Holder-Egger, p. 178). Passages such as the following opened the way for persecuted groups like the extremist Franciscans to take up the Joachite rhetoric of the remnant of true apostles:

. . . because in those days from every quarter over the earth so much evil will have increased that men, worn out in strength and diminished in powers, will seek to die more than to live. O, if it be He who between cattle and cattle discerns (i.e. the Lord, cf. Ez. 34:17) and between pastors and hirelings (mercenarium) judges, perhaps the floods of public affairs will be quieted and the ark of the poor of the Church may not be submerged to such a degree in overflowing floods, but may be lifted up (Holder-Egger, p. 179).ⁿ

This is about as close as these prophecies come to optimism, although the Joachite periodization of the future that they are working with would have given them plenty of reason for hope. The focus seems always to be on the storm clouds ahead for the tossing ship of the Church:

But behold the weightiness of cares oppress her so heavily from all sides that the shipwrecked seamen also not now to safe shores of harbour but into deep dangers of the sea may be expelled. It will then be safer for the greatest rowers to return the tiny ship to land, than to proceed to the loss of the cargo and the foul mud of the deep. Why therefore do the precipitous cardinals of the Church sink into peril, who do not gain more experience of the unstable sea? Either the bishops should vomit up that which they have drained from their temporalities, or come to their senses again from the difficulty of the task of government that they have usurped to the injury of their subjects (Holder-Egger, p. 179).^o

The inevitability of disendowment, the constant charges of simony and "mercenary" interests among clergy and ever more shrill descriptions of the extent of clerical wickedness fill the pages of these prophecies. The pope himself does not escape condemnation.¹⁸⁶ One "burden" in the De Oneribus against "Elam, id est Roma" (Holder-Egger, p. 181) predicts the deposition of the pope and the perishing of the cardinals, with the usual play on "hinges" or "pegs." Joachim himself expected that a pseudo-pope "who would be similar to Simon Magus" would take over the chair of Peter, but as Reeves points out, this does not mean that he equated the Roman Church with the carnal Church of Babylon (Reeves, Influence, p. 9).

A number of short prophecies which are Joachite in flavour, or which simply came to travel with Joachite prophecies, are explicitly antipapal. "Gallorum levitas," a short prophecy found in a legion of MSS in Britain¹⁸⁷ and on the Continent, is an example of the kind of pro-imperium and antipapal/anticlerical prophecy which circulated in the later Middle Ages. This is basically a political prophecy, but the last four lines are of interest to us:

Constantine, you will fall and [so will] the horses made of
marble
And the lofty stone and many palaces of Rome.
The pope will die suddenly, Caesar will reign everywhere,
Under whom then the vain-glory of the clergy will cease
(Holder-Egger, p. 126).^p

In England, where antipapalism was especially rife, the prophecy was eagerly snatched up by chroniclers, and a folklore of its

discovery seems to have sprung up which accompanies it in most MSS. In Peter of Langtoft's version the prophecy is said to have been found "in ecclesia Petri et Pauli sub petra marmorea" (presumably the marble horses referred to in the prophecy inspired this), while in the version picked up by Walter of Coventry the verses are said to have been found "in sarcophago cuiusdam sollempnis clerici in urbe Rome."¹⁸⁸

Another short Joachite prophecy found in numerous English manuscripts with a number of variations in dating, focuses its future programme on a papal schism, portrayed in terms of the classic apocalyptic opposition of the true and false apostle:

In the year of the Incarnation 1250 nobles, princes and many Christians and powerful ones will fall down before the face of the pagans and they will be killed as if for nothing and many of them will be captured. Also, in [12]54 the Greeks will recover Constantinople and foully eject the Latins. Also, in [12]57 there will be two popes, one of Lyons and the other of Rome. The one of Lyons will be just and impartial. The other in truth will be unjust and unfair and they will excommunicate each other by turns. Also, in the year [12]60 the Church and clergy will be daily in so much more contempt and disrepute than ever before since the time of Constantine who endowed the Church when Silvester occupied [the papal throne] in the Roman Church. Also, in [12]65 all Greece will return to the obedience of the Roman Church. Then news of the preaching of antichrist will be heard (Reeves, Influence, p. 50).^{189/q}

Although fastening on the typical Joachite themes of papal and clerical corruption and the decline of the Church since the Donation of Constantine, this prophecy lacks the Joachite sense of optimism for the future--a good example of the endless possibilities for motifs and programmes which popular Joachite prophecy reflects.

Yet another short popular prophecy of the thirteenth century

predicts the demise of the papacy altogether. "Post Celestinum" runs, "After Constantine there will reign a haughty pope, after the haughty one, a catholic one, after the catholic one, a heretical one, after the heretical one, none" (Lerner, Powers, p. 90).^r Although as Lerner says, this prophecy was proven wrong at the very latest after the death of John XXII in 1334, it was still being copied later in the fourteenth century. Outdated prophecies never seemed to prove problematic to medieval scribes and collectors, who were often not above altering the date of a piece for the purposes of rejuvenation.

As we have seen, then, there was no shortage of radical prophetic criticism of the papacy and clergy on hand in fourteenth-century England for any who wished to make use of it. Some of this feeling even filtered down into the vernacular political prophecies, although on the whole these are an entirely different genre with an entirely different purpose. However, the anticlerical passages of vernacular prophecies give some suggestion of the extent of lay anger towards the clergy. "When Rome is Removed," a popular English prophecy which exists in three versions, predicts tribulation for all clergy:

What tyme ther fallys too somers yn on zere,
 Shall nothyre be sely, monke nor frere,
 Person ne preste ne no regulere
 Ma not be holpyn by preyere.¹⁹⁰

The prophecy is, like many prophecies, a composite of passages from different periods between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century. This particular passage was probably among those passages dealing with

social and ecclesiastical problems added in the fourteenth century.¹⁹¹

Slaughter of clerics was a recurrent motif in some vernacular prophecies, probably because of its shock value. In the "Prophecy of Thomas à Becket," the Archbishop asks for three crosses to be built on a field, which will be the scene of terrible events:

At yhon secunde cross þat I of say schall,
 Byschopis, Arsbischopis, abbotis, and priouris,
 And preloettis of haly kyrke, sall þar lyffis loss.¹⁹²

At least one fourteenth-century vernacular prophecy suggests that the laity will take matters into its own hands. "When Rome is Removed" prophesies,

Hereafter on oþir syde sorow sall Ryse,
 Þe barge of bariona bowne to the senkyne,
 Secularis sall set þame in spiritual clothis
 And occupy þar offices, ennoynted as þai war.
 Þar tonsurys tak wytht turnamentis Inowe,
 And trow tytyll of trouthe þat þe strenth haldis.¹⁹³
 Þat salbe tene for to tell þe tende of þar sorow.

This would seem to imply a lay takeover of spiritual duties, and if so is certainly more radical than most pre-reformation, Middle English prophecies. The passage was added to the prophecy in the fourteenth century, in all likelihood by someone with Lollard sympathies (or, as Hafekorn suggests, someone "vigorously against the papal church").¹⁹⁴ This is apparent in view of the writer's pessimism about the fate of the clergy (quoted earlier) and the opening lines of the prophecy, which were added at the same time: "Qwhen rome is removyde

in-to Inglande,/Ande the prest haffys the poppys power in hande."¹⁹⁵ Like many prophecies, it paints a picture of a spiritually decaying, worldly Church ("Holy chirche is awlesse") and promises an age of renewal and justice to come:

þen shall dame fortowne turne her whell;
Scho sall turne vp þat ar was doune,
And þan sall leawte ber her crowne.¹⁹⁶

However, in its suggestion that the laity will take charge of Peter's sinking ship it can best be compared with the prophecies of heretical groups.

Langland's prophecy of the chastisement of the clergy is not as violent as many of these prophecies, but they do help to sketch the tradition (or in some cases the fringes of the tradition) upon which he was drawing. Even though there is a distinction between writers who looked for genuine reform and therefore saw clerical chastisement as a means to that end and, on the other hand, writers who indulged in violent revenge fantasies, the line between the two is not always clearly drawn. The "knok" received by the clergy is nearly always violent in some measure.

It is interesting that at least one prophetic writer used the concept of a "knok" just as Langland did to describe a setback to the richly-endowed orders. The thirteenth-century Joachite Prophecies de Merlin contain more than one reference to "la grande colee que la reigion saint Benoit recevra."¹⁹⁷ Merlin begins by rebuking a Benedictine abbot for hypocritically wearing the habit of the holy

founder of his order but not justifying it by good works:

Ha, cheitis abbes, tu portes l'abit d'un mout saint homme, et se tu fusses tel comme tu as l'abit, je sai que tu en feisses les euvres auques bel[les] selonc ce que li saint home establi en sa relegion.¹⁹⁸

Merlin speaks of the growing pride of the order, which will eventually be struck down:

Lors parole Merlin et dist, Se vostre relegion fust bien maintenue au siecle molt feroit a loer. Mes il vet enorgueillissant et seurmoutant som orgueil plus et plus, jusques a tant que il recevront une collee tuit ensemble. Et se il ne fussent se garnis de rentes a poines trouvassent il que mengier.¹⁹⁹

The abbot asks when the blow will be delivered and Merlin replies,

Ce sera . . . apres ce que la grant cite que fist Constantin sera prise et desrobee par ceus de Gaule et par les Bon Mariniers, que des lors en avant seront maintes relegions au siecle en povre habit qui mout grant collee [donront] a vostre relegion.²⁰⁰

The "relegions en povre havit" are the Mendicant Orders, which are seen as dealing the blow to the regulars, a prophecy which in some ways came true, as we have seen, although certainly not in the sense that "Merlin" predicts here.²⁰¹

Although Merlin also predicts the fall of the Franciscans and the Dominicans, once more through pride, the role that he allots to the mendicants in dealing the blow to the monks is an interesting one in view of Langland's juxtaposition of the mendicants and the monks in his prophecy of a "knok." While neither writer has any illusions about the

problems of the mendicant orders, they both oppose the mendicant position favourably with that of the possessioners. Though Langland does not use the friars as a stick to beat the possessioners, he does point up, especially in the B-Text, the possessioners' guilt:

And þanne Freres in hir fraytour shul fynden a keye
 Of Costantyns cofres [þer þe catel is inne]
 That Gregories godchildren [vngodly] despended.
 And þanne shal þe Abbot of Abyngdoun and al his issue for euere
 Haue a knok of a kyng, and incurable þe wounde
 (X. 328-32).²⁰²

In the Prophecies of Merlin there is a great deal of emphasis on the reproof of lax clergy and the need for reform. Merlin explains the purpose of his life in exactly these terms, emphasizing both the apocalyptic and the reform aspects of his prophecies in very Joachite terms:

Nostre saigneur Jhesu Crist si bot que je nasquise en terre pour la honte des anemis d'enfer, et meisement pour conter en terre les mauves miracles du Dragon de Babilloinne . . . et pour descroistre un pou la mauvese euvre des clers.²⁰³

To some extent Joachim himself had opened the door for anticlericalism and extremism in some passages of his writings. For example, blunt marginal notations such as "clerus consumabiter" can be found beside his discussions of the Age of Peter (ordo clericorum) passing to the Age of John (ordo monachorum or eremitarum) in the third status (see Reeves, Influence, p. 395). The one lesson which the Abbot of Fiore struggled all his life to teach, that the "letter" kills and the "spirit" gives life, was lost on most later disciples and readers of

his prophecies. There is much in his writings which is potentially explosive and the early pseudo-Joachite writers, whether monastic or fraternal, were able to exploit these ideas in expressing their dissatisfaction with the clerical "establishment." The targets could be the papacy, a monastic order or orders, the right-wing party of the Friars Minor, or any other clerical group. By the time the first crop of pseudo-Joachite writings had established themselves Joachimism had become a vehicle for the apocalyptic expression of the sense of the Church in crisis. Although the major writings of this group, like the Super Jeremiam, the Super Esaiam and the De Oneribus began circulating in the mid-thirteenth century, they continued to be copied for decades and centuries, probably because the pessimistic emphasis of their message for the Church always found sympathetic readers. We will turn now to a later crop of pseudo-Joachite works which carried a more optimistic prognosis for the Church to later medieval readers, as the expectation of reform emerges from the ashes of ecclesiastical crisis.

The Church in Reform: Leaders of the Renewal

So far we have concentrated on prophecies which portray the Church in crisis, but there is a large group of prophecies which go beyond this initial stage to predict the Church's reform and to fit this reform into a sense of historical progression. In the second generation of pseudo-Joachite works a new element of hope emerges from the gloom of the earlier prophecies. The most obvious embodiment of this hope is the new role given to expected leaders of either Church or state who will

bring about the clerical reform.²⁰⁴ In the first generation crop of Joachite prophecy this role had always been played by the expected new orders of spiritual men, but toward the end of the thirteenth century prophetic fantasies of an "angelic pope" began to emerge alongside the more traditional expectations of a "Last Emperor." The concept of an "angelic pope" thus came rather late to the apocalyptic scene. The first known record of it occurs in the writings of the Englishman Roger Bacon, who tried to encourage first Pope Clement IV and later Gregory X to take on this new role. He writes to Clement,

O most holy Father and wisest Lord, may your glory deign to consider that you alone are able to bring the cure since there never has been, nor will be, I believe, a pope who knew the law as truly as you do. Even though some men know the law well, there is no hope that they will become pope. Forty years ago it was prophesied, and there have been many visions to the same effect, that there will be a pope in these times who will purify Canon Law and the Church of God from the sophistries and deceits of the jurists so that justice will reign over all without the rumbling of lawsuits. Because of the goodness, truth, and justice of this pope the Greeks will return to the obedience of the Roman Church, the greater part of the Tartars will be converted to the faith, and the Saracens will be destroyed. There will be one flock and one shepherd, as the prophet heard (John 10:16). One who saw these things through revelation has spoken of them, and he said that he would see these marvels in his own time. Certainly, if God and the pope so wished, they could happen within the space of a single year, or even in less time. They could happen in your reign (McGinn, p. 190).

He later wrote to Gregory X:

The proof of love is in action, as Gregory says, and therefore since we see such great corruption of life everywhere, especially among the clergy, their education is also necessarily corrupt. Many wise men have thought about this. Reflecting upon divine wisdom, the knowledge of the saints, the truths of history, as well as prophecies both sacred and solid (like those

of the Sibyls, of Merlin, of Aquila, of Festo, and of many other wise men), they have thought that the days of the Antichrist would come in this period. Therefore it is necessary that evil be stamped out so that God's elect plainly appear. A very holy pope will first come who will remove all the corruptions in education and the Church and all the rest. Then the world will be renewed and the fullness of peoples will enter in; even the remnants of Israel will be converted to the faith (McGinn, pp. 190-91).²⁰⁵

All such predictions rested on the central notion of the personal sanctity of the reforming pope.²⁰⁶ In a number of popular prophecies this idea was taken to quite an extreme. Just as in early Joachite writings both genuine and spurious, the men of the new orders were conceived as leading a life of eremitical or evangelical poverty,²⁰⁷ so too the new single-figure leaders, even the emperors, were now often visualized as eremitical figures. Given this situation, it is not surprising that the two reformist leadership roles of pope and emperor often become conflated in later prophecies.²⁰⁸

Both these figures have typological parallels in Piers Plowman: both an unidentified king and Piers himself, in many ways a type of ideal, latter-day Peter, are involved in Langland's predictions of Church reform. Furthermore, there is evidence in the poem that Langland conflates the two roles--either deliberately or because it did not much matter to him whether a holy secular leader or a holy pope reformed the Church so long as it was reformed. We know that by the end of the poem Piers is to be read in many ways as a papal figure. In Passus XXI Langland deliberately switches from speaking of "Peter" (l. 163 and l. 169) to "Peres" (ll. 183ff.) in the midst of his discussion of

Christ's post-resurrection appearance to the disciples and his founding of the Church upon the spiritual authority he gives to Peter,

And when this dede was doen, dobest he thouhte
 And ȝaf Peres power and pardoun he graunted
 To alle manere men, mercy and forȝeuenesse;

 Thus hath Peres power, be his pardoun payed,
 To bynde and to vnbynde bothe here and elles
 And assoile men of alle synnes, saue of dette one (XII. 182-84,
 188-90),

while at XXII. 318-21 Piers is described as having power over all clergy. On the other hand in the "lewed" vicar's assessment of what should be (as opposed to what is) the case on the score of leadership, Piers is definitely referred to as a type of world emperor:

And thow, Conscience, in kynges court and sholdest neuer come
 thennes,
 And Grace, that thow gredest so of, gyour of all clerkes,
 And Peres with his newe plouh and also his olde
 Emperour of al þe world þat men were cristene (XXI. 424-27).

The vicar goes on immediately to juxtapose this to the corrupt state of the present papacy (ll. 428ff.) while showing in the process that he sets little store by theories of papal dominion (l. 443).²⁰⁹

These views are entirely consistent with Langland's views on regnum and sacerdotium as we know them from other passages in the poem. In fact, the only non-secular figure of authority who is given a reforming role in Piers Plowman is Piers himself. Unlike Joachim Langland seems to look more to David the King than to David the "pastor" for spiritual leadership.²¹⁰ This, as we have said, is consistent with the

Marsilian line which Langland seems to follow, but it makes the figure of Piers even more complex to read than he already seems--if that is possible.

As far as the apocalyptic side of Langland's conflation of pope and emperor figures in Piers is concerned, there is precedent in medieval religious prophecy for such a mixture. In many prophecies the two figures help one another to carry out the renovatio,²¹¹ but in other prophecies the traditional characteristics of the two leaders are interchanged or interchangeable. A prime example of this phenomenon occurs in the development of one of the most popular of Latin religious prophecies in the Middle Ages (existing in over fifty MSS), the Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus, a series of illustrated predictions of future popes. They were apparently composed by a group of Joachite Franciscan Spirituals under the leadership of Angelo of Clareno in 1304, during the interregnum between the death of the Spirituals' enemy, Pope Boniface VIII, and Benedict XI (McGinn, p. 188). The Spirituals had recently returned from the East where they had come in contact with the Byzantine prophecies known as "The Oracles of Leo the Wise," which portrayed a series of present and future emperors. The form was easily adaptable to predictions of papal leadership. In "The Oracles of Leo the Wise" a hermit-emperor figure was especially amenable to transformation into an angelic pope and the Spirituals, with their idealization of evangelical poverty and their burning memory of the recently deposed hermit-pope Celestine V, took up the opportunity with gusto. The "hermit" figure depicted as a coming liberator-king in the

"Leo Oracles" is usually the twelfth figure in the series of sixteen kings.²¹² In the Vaticinia he becomes a pope and is usually pictured as a poorly-clad hermit either seated on or coming forth from a rock or tomb and being reverentially greeted by a messenger who calls him forth to take up the papal throne.²¹³ In the original "Leo Oracles" this figure is sometimes pictured as issuing from an island to which he had been banished or as arising from the dead. This imagery was easily adaptable to a religious context of a hermit "dead to the world," and it all no doubt contributed to the mystique of the eremitical life of poverty and asceticism which these prophetic writers are exploring. McGinn's translation of the caption under this figure in one of the versions gives a sense of this:

There will be revealed an anointed one who has the first name of a monk. He will live on a rock. "The lamentations of the others have come to me. Having left the world, I have a peasant's diet of herbs. I live in the world like a dead man, one groaning. I gather together good things and scatter every reward of evil doing" (McGinn, p. 195).

Another hermit figure which occurs earlier in the Vaticinia series appears as a robed man with a sickle in his hand, about to be crowned by an angel. This is the fifth figure and is, according to Marjorie Reeves, almost universally interpreted as an angelic pope ("Some Popular Prophecies," p. 113). The rather obviously apocalyptic aspect of the symbol of the sickle was in some instances exploited for its threatening potential (see Reeves, *ibid.*, p. 112). The heading under this picture in one version runs as follows: "The Raising of

Poverty. Obedience. Chastity. Temperance. The Destroyer of Hypocrisy" (Visions, p. 194).²¹⁴ This agricultural figure, universally interpreted as an angelic pope, and usually associated with the historical hermit-pope Celestine V (who maintained the eremitical ideals of simplicity and poverty even as pope) is ideologically analogous to a figure like Piers in Piers Plowman. The angelic popes are sometimes portrayed in peasant's dress and, like Piers, are the scourge of the corrupt and hypocritical. Such prophecies often take the ideal of poverty so far as to overthrow social conventions and name a holy pauper or peasant as a pope or emperor figure, as we shall see.

These odd but extremely popular prophecies were reproduced eagerly down through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as new readers tried to match current popes with the obscure drawings or rewrite the captions to make the prophecy fit a new or projected situation. The original set developed by the Franciscan Spirituals in 1304 made use of the vaticinium ex eventu technique to predate the supposed time of writing (i.e. in order to gain credibility by telling past history as if it were prophecy). In this set of fifteen papal figures the first popes from Nicholas III (1277-80) to Benedict XI (1303-3) are easily identifiable (McGinn, pp. 188-89), but the popes quickly become mythical creations after Benedict.

The Franciscan Spirituals' enemy Boniface VIII appears with the title "The Harvest of Hypocrisy will be in Abomination" (ibid., p. 195), having followed upon the sickle-bearing holy-hermit pope Celestine V, the Franciscan Spirituals' hero. The picture assigned to Boniface in

this set is of interest to us because it contains the motif of two heads --originally in the "Leo Oracles" these were most definitely monks' heads (see Mango, p. 65), but in the Vaticina the heads do not always retain their monastic tonsure. As Boniface is (especially in Franciscan Joachite thought) the type of the evil pope par excellence, there is a slight possibility that it is to this prophecy Langland is referring in his obscure prediction of doom in B. VI. 327:

Whan ye se þe [mone] amys and two monkes heddes,
 And a mayde haue þe maistrie, and multiplie by eizte,
 Thanne shall deop wi drawe and derþe be Iustice,
 And Dawe þe dykere deye for hunger
 But [if] god of hīs goodnesse graunte vs a trewe (B.
 VI. 327-31).²¹⁵

By the 1340s these prophecies had run their course (i.e. they had run out of popes) and so a new set of fifteen was developed which ended--unlike the old set--with Antichrist in the papal chair (McGinn, p. 189). Here a more conventional eschatology has taken over from the optimistic Joachite hope for the Church's End under an Angelic Pope. Remarking on this switch in eschatological views Marjorie Reeves has said,

Perhaps this is the reason why, in the second half of the fourteenth century, the two sets were put together, making thirty in all, with the second series placed first. This meant that the figure of Antichrist became less menacing in the middle of the Sequence and that it culminated in the clear angelic portraits of the first series. By the time number fifteen (i.e. 'Antichrist') was reached in actuality it could be interpreted as Urban VI and associated with the Schism (Reeves, "Some Popular Prophecies," p. 119).

This is the point in time during which Langland was writing the B-Text (Urban VI held the papal throne from 1378-89) and the fact that the first series of prophecies were tacked on after Antichrist to form a whole new prognosis of papal ups and downs would fit Langland's sense of apocalyptic periodization well. However, there is very little concrete evidence at present for connecting the Vaticinia with Piers Plowman other than general similarities in the expectation of an antipope, the idealization of eremitical poverty in the figure of Peter, the belief in a coming pope or series of popes who would reform the Church, and some tenuous bits of symbolism.²¹⁶ Still, the Vaticinia give us some sense of current apocalyptic mentalities with regard to the papacy-- obviously Langland was not the only writer who fantasized about a new Peter drawn from the ranks of the humble and godly poor, who would carry those ideals to the top of the Church hierarchy and see that they were followed by all within his power.

Martha Hitchcock Fleming has recently done a study, including editions and translations, of some of the most popular pope and emperor prophecies in circulation in the later Middle Ages. She bases her study on a gathering of prophecies in a fourteenth-century manuscript, probably of French origin, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. MS T. E. Marston 225 contains the Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus and a version of the popular Sibylline prophecy of the vision of the nine suns, along with a number of other "Last World Emperor" and "Angelic Pope" prophecies of various types. A number of prophecies in this collection show the usual concern with poverty and sanctity and the

tendency to combine or conflate papal and secular leadership roles.

The Sibylline vision of the nine suns which begins the collection is an example of the association of poverty with spiritual leadership in these prophecies. In the midst of a classic apocalyptic description of a coming time of evil, the Sibyl, who is explicating the meaning of the eighth sun, prophesies that a pauper to be found at the gate of the city of Messina will be made King of Sicily (Fleming, p. 106). This new king will cast out the Saracens from Calabria and Sicily, and recall the Christians, reign over a peaceful and prosperous kingdom and oversee the conversion of the Jews before the coming of Antichrist at the time of the ninth sun.²¹⁷ The Marston 225 prophecies are full of pauper-kings who are difficult to distinguish from popes. Such a king is the subject of a prophecy with the rubric "Concerning the esteemed pauper and chosen emperor, well known in story, who lived obscurely and unrecognized on the edge of Byzantium, that is, Rome (De laudato paupere et electo imperatore [per famam] noto et [que absconsus] ignoto habitante in prima extremitate Bicancii [idest Rome])" (Fleming, p. 129 and p. 38). This prophecy owes much to the Vaticinia tradition, as the reference to Byzantium might suggest. An angel calls the pauper-king forth from a tomb (in much the same way as one of the papal figures of the Vaticinia tradition is called forth) and says, "Arise, O seated one, and stand forth from the tomb and Christ will illumine you, for he calls you to feed the chosen people (Surge o sedens et sta de sepulcro et illuminabit te Christus. Vocat enim te ut paschas populum precipuum)" (Fleming, p. 129 and p. 39). He is given stone

tablets with two commandments on them: "to protect the good and set to flight the unfaithful . . . drive out the evil priests from the priesthood and install worthy ones in the holy place (dabit tibi tabulas lapideas a quibus sunt sculpta duo mandata: vindicare facere gentes bonas et impietates fugare . . . et similiter malos sacerdotes de sacerdotio fugare et dignos in sanctum sistere)" (Fleming, p. 130 and p. 39). The king is described in the riddling, paradoxical form so popular in prophecies as being both powerful and powerless, worthy and worthless, learned and unlearned, obscure but prominent (Fleming, p. 131). Leadership from the most unexpected quarter, from the poor, unlearned and socially subordinate, is again a favourite motif in these prophecies which exploit the mystique of the hermit or pauper for their own radical ends. We see something of this impetus in a figure like Merlin in Malory's Morte d'Arthur and in certain places in Piers Plowman, a point to which we will return.

Yet another piece in the Marston collection prophesies a series of reforming leaders which fluctuates indifferently between hermit-popes and pauper-kings. After a long period of suffering, an outstanding king will sit on the throne, watched over by angels. He will right all wrongs, both secular and ecclesiastical and "one shepherd" will dominate the eastern and western Churches, uniting all in a single faith (ibid., pp. 144-45). This king is followed by two angelic popes and a third "pauper," after which "a certain man of low condition" will be left on the throne of Peter, who will try to reform the Church, suffering many rebukes for his efforts (ibid., p. 158). In the midst of all this there

is a reference to the King of England preparing to make a journey "to redeem his own status" and the Holy Land by war (ibid., p. 156). This is actually the kind of "Last Emperor" prophecy one does find in English prophecies during the later Middle Ages.²¹⁸ The Joachite type of "Last Emperor/Angelic Pope" prophecy differs from this type in being far more concerned with Church reform and periodization and far less concerned with the recovery of France or with crusading ambitions--on this basis it is much easier to align the prophetic elements in Piers Plowman with the former tradition than it is with the latter.

The third section of the Marston MS contains a prophecy with another motif which has a parallel in B. VI. 328 ("And a mayde haue þe maistrie . . ."). The motif of the reign of an evil woman is fairly common in apocalyptic prophecy, no doubt because of the powerful symbolism of the Whore of Babylon.²¹⁹ In the Marston MS the rule of an Angelic Pope, under whom the clergy will return to the state of the early Church, is disrupted by "a sign of tribulation to come in the form of a decorated woman" (Fleming, p. xxxiii). A prophecy discussed by Bignami-Odier in connection with John of Rupescissa similarly uses the meretrix motif as a symbol of the Church itself, led into instability by the hungering of its clergy after money (Bignami-Odier, Roquetaillade, p. 224). The Sibylline oracles, as Bloomfield has pointed out, also prophesy the reign of a woman (Bloomfield, p. 212). This is simply another variation on the apocalyptic crisis of leadership theme which runs throughout Piers Plowman and medieval prophecy. Yet another variation on the same theme is Langland's citation of "Ve terre

ubi puer Rex est" (B. Pro1. 195a), also quoted in the pseudo-Joachite Super Esaiam.²²⁰ Any symbol of weak leadership it seems could be used as apocalyptic ammunition or as a sign of apocalyptic foreboding.

The "Last Emperor" and "Angelic Pope" prophecies, all underline the idealized importance of the eremitical lifestyle in a leader figure. It almost goes without saying that the popularity of such prophecies was no doubt largely attributable to disillusionment with the perceived corruption and worldliness of the Church and Curia, and lack of spiritual leadership from the papacy itself. The fourteenth century, which saw the production and proliferation of two sets of papal vaticinia and countless other prophecies in the same vein, was a period of profound upheaval for the papacy--it is no wonder that zealots of both religious and political orientations indulged in papal fantasies of this type.

Langland's "Peter" is a multifaceted figure and one would not wish to suggest thirteenth and fourteenth-century papal prophecy as the main source for such a complex character. However, I believe that Burdach was correct in recognizing the angelic pope tradition as at least one of the motivating forces behind Piers.²²¹ Burdach further recognized the eremitical role which Piers takes on in the middle section of the poem as relating to this radical but widely known prophetic typology. Langland's view of hermits and of the eremitical lifestyle is a huge topic and one that we can only glance at here. His great concern with distinguishing between true and false hermits is simply one facet of what I expect was a lifelong fascination with the

eremitical ideal.

Eremiticism usually involved the denunciation of all goods and, often, even of a stable place of residence.²²² Both the wisdom and the folly, the prudence and the madness of this lifestyle can be present at once in medieval treatments of the ideal.²²³ Perhaps no other mode of clerical life caused as much controversy from St. Benedict onwards (the friars were only the last major group of the Middle Ages to be caught up in the perpetual argument).²²⁴ While men like Peter Damian preached the worthiness of the eremitical lifestyle, others like Bernard denounced it, but all clerical apologists and theorists from all traditions praised the Desert Fathers and brandished the rhetoric of "a new Egypt."²²⁵ A study of where Langland fits in all this is much needed. Here we can only look at the apocalyptic face of eremiticism and note the charismatic power it exerted in this area of medieval thought. Whether, like Hildegard, a writer foresaw a wandering eremitical life for the post-reform clergy, or, like Joachim, a stable, monasticized ordo eremitarum, or whether, like the authors of the pope prophecies a writer simply chose to exploit what I have called the mystique of eremitical poverty, the fact that so many apocalyptic writers chose to espouse and idealize this concept remains astonishing for the modern scholar. I cannot help but feel that Langland's preoccupation with it is partly apocalyptic as well as evangelical--and this goes as surely for his anti-eremiticism as for his (less recognized) pro-eremitical idealism.

As we saw in one of the Marston prophecies, the popular

apocalyptic "one shepherd and one sheepfold" motif seems to have been versatile enough to have served for world emperors as well as "angelic" popes. Langland uses this motif similarly in his millennial prophecy of the general moral and spiritual reform which will be ushered in by a new David:

I, Consience, knowe this, for Kynde Wit me tauhte
That resoun shal regne and reumes gouerne
And riht as Agag hadde happe shal somme;
Samuel shal sle hym and SaueI shal be yblamed
And David shal be ydyademed and adaunte alle oure enemyes
And o cristene kyng kepe vs echone (III. 436-41).

The notion that David will "adaunte alle oure enemyes" seems to mean that this new leader is to be a secular force in the tradition of the "Last World Emperor," whose role in both vernacular and Latin prophecy is usually as a great conqueror or crusader. As one might expect, a number of kings and emperors in the Middle Ages were hailed as "new" Davids or "second" Davids,²²⁶ but analogues to prophecies of a coming, undesignated new David are rarer. Langland's use of this theme fits more easily into the context of pseudo-Joachite apocalypticism than into any purely political prophecy or propaganda that I know of. The roots of this tradition are in Joachim's own typological reading of David, although this differs in a few important ways from Langland's usage of the theme.

In the traditional Augustinian periodization the time of King David was the zenith of world history, as we have seen. Joachim took up this notion and developed it in his periodization of seven dominant,

ascendant kingdoms of the Old Testament and seven parallel kingdoms in the New Testament. The one bright spot in his Old Testament series is the fourth regnum, which is David's and which Joachim spells out as "Locus victorie: JERUSALEM: DAVID: PACIS VISIO" in one of his accompanying figures (Reeves, Figurae, p. 189). Parallel to this is the fourth regnum of the New Testament periodization, accompanied by the notation "Locus felicitas: ECCLESIA: SILVESTER PAPA: SPONSA CHRISTI" (ibid., p. 190). For Joachim, as we have seen, the time of Silvester was the happiest in the New Testament period, but, both the original and the later Joachite periodizations reflect the view that there has been no such period of glory for the Church since. In fact, Joachim parallels his own generation with Jeremiah's, thus implying the expectation of an imminent second Babylonian exile (ibid.). However, Joachim also expected a third "Jerusalem" in parallel with David's reign and Pope Silvester's time, and this was to occur after the Tribulation of the New Babylon and upon entry of God's people into the third status (ibid., p. 191). He writes in the Liber Concordia that at that time "there will be so much exultation in the Church as never before since the days of Constantine."²²⁷

David and Samuel are also paired together in another of Joachim's schemes, this time of the seven seals of the Old Testament. They occupy the position of the third seal in what is essentially a list of spiritual leaders from Joseph to Zorobabel, the latter being Joachim's type of what later came to be known as the Angelic Pope. In later Joachite thought the typology of David replacing Saul was used to

support the expectation that the true sons of the Church would eventually take spiritual supremacy over the "carnal church," just as the Roman Church had received it from the Synagogue (Bloomfield, Traditio, pp. 300-1). The Joachite use of the typology of David was, then, largely spiritual rather than political, but this is not so different from Langland's own "pacis visio," which fits the Joachite pattern of "the worste" before the best (III. 477ff.), and speaks specifically, though not exclusively, of clerical reform (ll. 465ff.). This prophecy of Langland's contains two more common apocalyptic motifs in the overcoming of avarice (Mede) and the conversion of the Jews. As we will see shortly many apocalyptic periodizations focussed on avarice as the main evil of the times and looked forward to its demise.²²⁸ The conversion of the Jews is a particularly appropriate apocalyptic concern in a Davidic prophecy; in fact, Langland treats the whole passage in an Old Testament messianic vein:

That Iewes shal wene in her wit and wexen so glade
 That here kyng be ycome fro þe court of heuene,
 That ilk Moises or Messie, þat men ben so trewe (III. 454-56).

Langland's concern in this prophecy and throughout the poem with the conversion of all non-Christian peoples is reminiscent of the great emphasis put upon such missions by the Franciscan Spirituals, many of whom were inspired by Joachite apocalypticism to hope for such a thing.²²⁹ Similarly, Langland shows little interest in militaristic crusading, which would be odd for a writer drawing upon political "Last World Emperor" prophecies. It would seem that although

his views were "pro-regnum" on the question of the division of temporal powers between secular and clerical authorities, spiritual reform was the dominant force behind his apocalypticism and religious prophecies were his main sources. Langland thus has more in common with the religious prophets of the later Middle Ages, for whom the distinctions between reforming kings and popes were often blurred, so long as they were reforming the Church.²³⁰

I would like to look now at a popular prophecy which contains a "novus David," known in the fourteenth century largely through its inclusion in Arnold (or Arnau) of Villanova's Tractatus de mysterio cimbolorum ecclesiae, written before the end of the year 1301. The short prophecy itself, usually called by its incipit, "Ve mundo in centum annis" ("Woe to the world in one hundred years"), is largely a political prophecy dealing with events of the Iberian civil wars and the victorious role of a King of Aragon (Lerner, Powers, p. 40 n. 6); however, there are a number of interesting religious motifs of the Joachite type scattered throughout and it is these which will interest us here.

Arnold of Villanova (1238-1311) was an important Joachite writer, whose Tractatus de tempore de adventu antichristi provoked something of an international academic controversy when he presented the first part of it to the theologians of Paris in 1299 (Daniel, Franciscan Concept of Mission, p. 92). English scholastics took part in this debate over whether or not the coming of Antichrist could be predicted and some of the surviving treatises show that both Arnold's writings and

other Joachite works were known in England at this time.²³¹

Arnold believed that the fourteenth century would see the worst battles with Antichrist and the greatest tribulations of the Church in history, to be followed by a reformation by a series of evangelical popes. He saw those groups currently living a life of evangelical poverty (especially the Franciscan Spirituals) as models of the lifestyle to which the whole Church would be reformed (Daniel, Franciscan Concept of Mission, p. 93).

Arnold attributes the revelation of "Ve mundo" to a very devout man who was nevertheless almost illiterate (virum fere illiteratum).²³² However, he wrote the revelation down "in an elegant Latin with miraculous style" but could not comprehend it by himself. Arnold tells us that with the help of a learned man, they were finally able to construe it. The prophecy was then communicated to Arnold in the words he sets out. This attribution, coupled with the remark made part way through the prophecy that "the nest of Aristotle" will be wasted away and made void,²³³ establishes the twin features of veneration of simplicity and hatred of scholasticism so often found in Joachite prophecy. The prophecy begins by predicting the continued loss of cities in the Holy Land until a new David comes to repair the ark of Syon.⁵ Other typical apocalyptic events such as the return of the Greek Church to obedience and the chastisement of the clergy are woven into a tissue of obscure political prophecy, but the last prediction is clear enough:

After this the son of perdition will rise up with vigour suddenly for the sifting out of mortals, inasmuch as the sons of Jerusalem will be separated with the sharpest sword from the sons of Babylon, so that the serpent (draco), bringing to an end in this action the final cruelty of his madness, may return mocked and vanquished in eternity ("Ve mundo," p. 55).^t

Arnold notes at the end of the prophecy that though many wonder whether the prophecy is to be believed, it suffices for him that the events predicted for the next one hundred years are in concord with those predicted by other prophets, notably Augustine, the Erithrean [Sibyl] and Daniel. Obviously what these collectors of prophecy looked for was concord among disparate prophecies or between any new piece which came their way and any they already knew from well established prophetic authorities. Arnold finishes by saying that another revelation was communicated to him by a certain cloistered religious, which he has not inserted here because of its prolixity and obscurity, although the mind boggles at the notion of something more obscure than "Ve mundo."

This motley collection of hermit-popes, pauper-kings and new Davids, then, embodied for the later Middle Ages all the hopes for clerical and Church reform which the apocalyptic mind could muster. How much of this material was known to Langland is impossible to say, but his prophecies exhibit enough of the salient characteristics, sympathies and accompanying apocalyptic mentality to allow us to link certain passages in the poem with these eccentric visions of future reform. Like everything else he touched he made these prophetic expectations his own--there is nothing derivative in his use of any of this material.

But it is difficult to imagine that he would have invented passages which look so much like Joachite prophecies had he known nothing of this tradition of leadership apocalypticism. We will look now at a second main thematic and structural device in such prophecies which Langland also shows evidence of knowing: their programmes of reform.

The Church in Reform: Programmes of Renewal

A number of prophetic works known to have circulated in England espouse detailed non-traditional programmes of future events and reforms as the main structural device of their apocalypticism. As we have seen, Langland shows enough fragmentary evidence of a non-traditional apocalyptic programme of his own to make it worth giving some space to the consideration of others with which he could have come in contact.

Arnold of Villanova was so taken with another, longer prophecy which came his way that he attributed it to Joachim of Fiore himself and wrote an extensive introduction to it.²³⁴ The De Semine Scripturarum was extremely popular in Britain and was cited by such diverse writers as Roger Bacon, John Wyclif and Hugh of Newcastle, and found its way into a handful of English chronicles and medieval library catalogues.²³⁵ It is based on the unlikely notion that clues to the meaning of history may be found in the letters of the three alphabets of the three languages used on the cross, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Each letter is allotted one century and any century can be understood by examining the characteristics of each letter. Most of the prophecy is concerned with "H" to "Z" (or the Incarnation to the End of

the World) of the Latin alphabet. Here the author surveys the history of the Church and the Roman Empire and the development of the Church is conceived, not surprisingly, as a succession of chastisements and renewals. During K to L, Christ liberated the Church from persecutions and during M from heresy. In the time of Q, simony had begun to penetrate the Church and by the time of X (i.e. the century from 1215-1315) the author declares the Church to be thoroughly corrupt. At this time Christ will drive out the unchaste and mercenary clergy, as he did the money-changers from the temple.²³⁶ The reformed Church will attract the "Gentiles" into it and all the peoples of the world will be received into the Church in the time of Y, the three arms of Y symbolizing Europe, Africa and Asia. Also under X, the Holy Land, which had been lost to the Saracens during V, is returned to Christian hands, but there will be more suffering, particularly among the clergy, from the effects of war, plundering and general turbulence during the X period. In view of the fact that the writer is (on the basis of internal evidence) probably writing about 1205, it is not surprising that he details his starkest prophecies, no doubt as warnings to clerics, for the X (1215-1315) and Y (1315-1415) periods. During the last period, Z, the author expects Antichrist to come--that is, some time after 1415. The traditional eschatological events are still a comforting two centuries or more away. Church reform, therefore, is the overwhelming concern of the writer, a reform which he believes will bring about the conversions of the Jews and Pagans.

Even though the De Semine was not originally Joachite, it

certainly shares many concerns with that tradition. It differs, however, in saving the coming of Antichrist for the End of the World, a pattern more common to traditional, non-exegetical eschatology than to the Joachite brand.²³⁷ As Marjorie Reeves has said, this work was no doubt of particular interest to fourteenth-century readers since it prophesied the End of the World soon after 1400. By the fifteenth century it must have looked far less interesting. Reeves cites a disgruntled comment about Joachim of Fiore by the fifteenth-century chronicler John Capgrave, based partly on the condemnation of his views on the Trinity and partly on the all-too-evident fact that the world had not yet ended, as "Joachim" had predicted in the De Semine:

1152. In this tyme was abbot Joachim in Calabir, that wrote many thingis upon the Apocalypse: but he erred in many thingis; first in a mater concernyng the Holy Trynyte. For the Cherch hath determind his opinion fals, in the beginning of the Decretales Ca. [capitulo] Dampnamus; and Mayster Pers, the Lumbard, that made the IIII bokes of Sentens, aftir bischop of Paris, mad mech thing ageyn this abbot Joachim. This same abbot mad also a other book "De Seminibus Literarum" where be gret craft he drove oute the ȝear in wherch the day of dome schuld falle. But he failed foule and erred in his counting (Reeves, Influence, p. 70).

The popularity of the De Semine in England before the fifteenth century, however, is impressive. It holds the honour of being one of the few Latin prophecies to have been cited extensively in a Middle English text. A reformist tract called The Last Age of the Church was edited in 1840 by J. H. Todd, who believed it to have been written by Wyclif. In his Preface he rightly exclaims over the influence of so much Joachism (which he calls the "prophetical

Speculations of the Beguines, circulated under the Name of the famous Abbot Joachim") hitherto unnoticed in scholarly discussions of Wyclif (Todd, pp. xi-xii). In fact the Last Age is rare among such tracts (and indeed among Middle English works in general) for its heavy use of not just the De Semine (which the author usually refers to as "þe seeds of profets") but also of the De Oneribus Prophetarum (which he refers to as Joachim's book "of þe chargis of profetis") and probably the Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus (which he calls "þe seyingis of popes"). All are attributed to Joachim and his name occurs throughout the little tract, alongside other less frequently cited prophetic authorities like Bede, the Sibyl and Merlin.

The tract is mainly concerned with the abomination of simony and is anxious to show that clerical tribulation is at hand. It begins with a rather dramatic opening based on a reworking of the devil's temptation of Christ with the promise of worldly things ("All these will I give thee, if falling down thou wilt adore me" Matt. 4:9):

Alas forsorwe grete prestis sitting in derkenessis and in schadewe of deop noȝt hauynge [i.e. not fearing]²³⁸ him þat openly criep al þis I wille ȝeue ȝif þou auance me (Todd, p. xxiii).

The author goes on to complain of the reservation of "fatte beneficis" and other forms of clerical income, and then cites Joachim and Bernard as authorities for the interpretation of Psalm 90:5-6 ("His truth shall compass thee with a shield: thou shalt not be afraid of the terror of the night. Of the arrow that flieth in the day, of the business that

walketh about in the dark: of invasion, or of the noonday devil") as referring to the four tribulations of history.²³⁹ The author summarizes the first three tribulations in this way:

Nyztly drede was whanne alle þat slowen seyntis demyd hem silf do seruyse to God/& þis was þe firste tribulacioun þat ontrede þe Chirche of God. Þe arwe fleyng in day was desceyt of heretikis/& þat was þe secunde tribulacioun þat entred þe Chirche of Crist. Þat is put of bi wisdom of seyntis/as þe firste was cast out bi stedfastnesse of martiris. Chaffare walkyng in derkeness is þe pryui heresie of symonyans/bi resoun of whiche þe þridde tribulacioun schal entre into Cristis Chirche/þe whiche tribulacioun or angusch schal entre þe Chirche of Crist in þe tyme of þe hundrid ȝeer of .x. lettre/whos ende we ben/as I wele preue/& þis myscheif schal be so heuy þat wel schal be to þat man of holy Chirche þat þane schal noȝt be on lyue (Todd, pp. xxiv-xxv).

The notion that the present age was characterized by rampant avarice and simony is very common in reformist thought, espoused by writers as influential as St. Bernard (as in the passage referred to above) and St. Bonaventure.²⁴⁰ The Last Age description of the third tribulation as "chaffare walkyng in derkeness" and similar descriptions throughout (e.g. "marchandise walkyng in derkeness," p. xxix and p. xxxi) are reminiscent both of the common Joachite motif of the clerical mercenarius and of Langland's own foreboding comment in the Prologue of Piers Plowman, spoken of the mendicants in particular:

Mony of þise maistres of mendenant freres
 Here moneye and marchandise marchen togyderes.
 Ac sith charite hath be chapman and chief to shryue lordes
 Mony ferlyes han falle in a fewe ȝeres,
 And but holi chirche and charite choppe adoun suche shryuars
 The most meschief on molde mounteth vp faste (Prol. 60-65).

What Langland only alludes to here the anonymous author is not afraid to spell out. Citing the various lines from the Joachite prophecy "Gallorum Levitas" (quoted above) he concludes:

Bei þat treten þes verse of Sibille/alle þat I haue
 seen/accorden in þis/þat seculer power of þe Hooly Goost
 elispirid/& þat deþ/veniaunce of swerd/myscheifs vnknowe
 bifore/bi whiche men þes daies schule be ponyschid/schulen falle
 for synne of prestis. Men schal falle on hem/& caste hem out of
 her fatte beneficis/and þei schule seye/he cam in to his
 benefice by his kynrede/þes bi couenant maad bifore/he for his
 seruyse/& þes for moneye/cam into Goddis Chirche (Todd,
 pp. xxxiii-xxxiv).

It is interesting to note that this is another instance of a vernacular writer using prophetic sources to support what have been usually regarded as simply Wycliffite views.²⁴¹ The author of Last Age says that he is writing in 1356 and if so this seems much too early for a vernacular Wycliffite treatise. It is instructive that all the main tenets of this tract (disendowment, clerical avarice, etc.) which cause it to be listed as Wycliffite even by modern scholars²⁴² can just as easily be derived--as the author so often tells us--from the Joachite works he is drawing upon. This is a good example of the kind of material in Piers Plowman which scholars have almost always used Wyclif to illuminate. I would argue rather that both Langland and other reformist writers, like the Wycliffites, were drawing upon the same sources, some of which must have been the kind of prophetic material that the author of Last Age drew upon. Fortunately for us he was not reluctant to drop a few names as he went.

The author of Last Age then proceeds with a detailed description

of the alphabetical periodization of the De Semine (pp. xxvi-xxviii) and then sets out to prove that the third tribulation will be manifested in the hundredth year of the letter "X." His reasons are rather ingenious:

I preue it bi two resouns/þe firste is þis. Petir þe Apostle þe whiche was in þe tyme of .I. lettre/myȝte not vttrily distrie Symoun Magus/but bi helpe of Poul/þe whiche was þe þritteneþ Apostil. So/ if .x. lettre be þe þritteneye fro .I. lettre/in þe tyme of .x. lettre Crist schal clanse his Chirche fro marchaundise walkynge in derkenessis. Þe secunde resoun is suche. ȝit cam noȝt tribulacions þat schal be in Goddis Chirche bi cause of chaffare walkynge in derkenesses/& þat þat is prophesied schal come (Todd, pp. xxviii-xxix).

He ends with the assertion that the fourth tribulation, "bi þe deuel of mydday þat is Antecrist" (p. xxx) will follow upon the third tribulation of "X" and this also, by an odd leap of logic, proves the imminence of the third tribulation.

The writer now says that he will prove by Bede "upon þe profetis of Sibille" and by Joachim's book of "þe seeds of profetis" and "opere writeris of stories" (!) that now is the time of "X" (p. xxx). He first explains that,

fro Crist til now/þrittene hundrid ȝeer and sixe & fyfty/so þat þere ben to come of our abece but foure & fourty ȝeer/& bi þis of þe hundrid ȝeere of .x. be passid sixe & fifty ȝeere (Todd, pp. xxx-xxxii)

and then shows that the sins of simony are indeed those of "marchaundise walkynge in derkenessis" (p. xxxi). He then makes reference to a passage in the De Oneribus (which is translated above):

þe manere of tribulacioun schal be such as Ioachim seip in þe book of þe charge of profetis. Men of holy Chirche schal be seyð in a manere of careyne/þei schal be cast out as dogge in myddis placis (Todd, pp. xxxi-xxxii).

Citing other authorities, he then shows that pestilences and other tribulations will be the punishment for "defaute of prestis" (this must have been especially pertinent in 1356 so soon after the Black Death had swept England). He then indulges in a bit of prodigy and portent prophecy by showing that his authorities say that when this tribulation is nigh "men schulle wante teeþ" and by reminding his audience that since the first pestilence "commonly" all children "ben such þat wanten eiȝte grete teeþ." He finishes this impressive array of authorities with citations from a common political prophecy of "Merlin," and from "Gallorum Levitas," which he attributes to the Sibyl.

As Reeves notes (Influence, p. 83), there is no trace here of genuine Joachist expectations of renewal, but the little tract is fascinating as evidence of the availability of a fairly wide range of prophetic sources to a mid-fourteenth-century English writer. The anonymous reformist certainly has concerns similar to Langland's for what he sees as rampant growth of simony in the Church and the need for clerical disendowment. We no longer need to turn to Wyclif to explain the presence of such ideas in a fourteenth-century English writer, and this, to me, is an important point. It will be some time yet before we can sort out the complex relationship between Langland's and Wyclif's works, but from an apocalyptic and reformist standpoint I believe that the relationship is one of independent contemporaries drawing almost

simultaneously upon the same sources. When we know more about currents of reformist and apocalyptic thought coming into and moving through fourteenth-century England we will be better able to solve this problem.

We will turn now to consider a key phase of many apocalyptic renewal programmes, including Langland's--that is, the prediction of a return to a first state of purity. We have seen that a great many prophecies speak in general terms of clerical reform but very few give specific details about what exactly this might mean. Many refer vaguely to some kind of process of clerical humbling, usually by tribulation and despoliation, but few outside of the odd theorist like Joachim ever go much further in their post-reform descriptions. Langland is unusual among writers and retailers of short prophecy in the extent of his concern with the kind of reforms which should be carried out. He shares with a number of major prophetic figures like Hildegard and Joachim a yearning for reform which attempts to translate prophetic dreams into specific "demands" of the future. His disendowment prophecy in Passus V asks two things of the future: that the possessioners be reduced to their pristine state (ad pristinum statum ire) and that the friars be given a "fyndynge" from Constantine's coffers. Throughout the poem he idealizes the past Church at the expense of the present one and voluntary poverty at the expense of contemporary clerical lifestyle.

There are a group of prophecies which speak more specifically about the aims of clerical reforms and many of these use the phrase ad pristinum statum (ire), or a close version of it, to describe their belief that the only acceptable path forward for the clergy is

backwards, to the simplicity of the ecclesia primitiva and adherence to the apostolic ideal. Before looking at a few ad pristinum statum prophecies we should note briefly what is meant by these two related notions of the primitive Church and a return to a pristine state.

As we saw earlier,²⁴³ notions of clerical adherence to the apostolica vita could be almost as diverse and numerous as the many apologists who propounded them. The later Middle Ages from the twelfth century onwards saw a burgeoning of new orders, new philosophies of apostolic perfection and new rivalries between clerical groups. A good example of the way that notions of ecclesia primitiva could be used to suit differing purposes is cited by Lester K. Little in his study of eleventh and twelfth-century hermits:

Ivo of Chartres tried to restrain Reginald the Hermit's attacks on the monks, which he believed to be indiscriminate, especially by reminding Reginald of such positive aspects of the cenobitic life as the opportunities it affords to exercise charity and the protection it affords against the exertion of the individual will. Ivo based most of his appeal on the form of life practised in the primitive church. The same theme served Reginald in replying, but his understanding of the phrase forma primitivae ecclesiae differed from Ivo's. With three brief citations from the Gospels on perfection and limitless charity, Reginald arrived at the heart of his argument "You know as well as I that cenobitic cloisters rarely or never include this standard of perfection . . . because they exclude as much as possible the poverty that Christ the pauper preached" (Little, p. 82).²⁴⁴

As we have seen in our study of Langland's antimendicantism, Langland does not toe a party line for any of the religious orders: he sometimes agrees and sometimes disagrees with different tenets of secular, monastic and fraternal ideology, so it is not really possible

to align him with one particular clerical group's philosophy of the apostolica vita. I believe that one of the most helpful "schools" to align him with is the group which Gordon Leff has defined as the radical historicist theorists of the apostolic ideal, mentioned above in the context of our discussion of the Donation of Constantine. Leff summarizes these thinkers in this way:

If the foregoing is tenable, it would seem to follow that the main source of anti-papalism and/or opposition to ecclesiastical power was the belief in an apostolic ideal. It did not, as we have seen, lead to a single doctrine, but it did express a common attitude towards the true nature of the church and the significance of Christ's life on earth. . . .

The effect was, as I have suggested, to introduce a new temporal-historical dimension into political thinking: and with it, not for the last time, the demand for a return to the past became a programme of action for the future. All the most radical political thinkers of the later Middle Ages were, it seems to me, historicists in some degree: Dante, Marsilius, Ockham, Dietrich of Niem, Wyclif, Hus. All derived their radicalism from invoking an apostolic ideal against the existing church. Invariably, temporal authority was the beneficiary.²⁴⁵

A number of prophetic writers fall into this "school" as well, especially the Joachite and Franciscan Joachite prophets. It is possible to find parallels to Langland's views on clerical poverty, the Donation of Constantine and the ecclesia primitiva in a number of non-prophetic writers, but the fact that Langland chose to express his views in prophetic form tells us that he was in contact with the prophetic wing of this school as well. In the prophecy in Passus XVII, in which he laments the poison of the Donation of Constantine and predicts the downfall of the clergy, and in the prophecy in Passus V, in which he predicts the repristination of the monastic orders, he is

following a certain pattern of reformist apocalyptic thought.²⁴⁶

We will now look at some of these repristination prophecies.

Guy Bourquin has pointed out that the phrase "ad pristinum statum (ire)" occurs often in the legends of St. Francis (Bourquin, p. 716), and it certainly occurs in Franciscan Joachimite prophecy. The most important example, as far as Langland is concerned, of Franciscan Joachimite prophecy of repristination in England is to be found in the writings of John of Rupescissa, which deserve separate consideration below because of their complexity. Other Joachimite prophecies of repristination carried to England seem to be mainly of the short variety.²⁴⁷

Bloomfield (p. 215, n. 64) noted two prophecies which made use of the "ad pristinum statum" motif--in fact, however, the two are slightly different versions of the same short "Last Emperor" brand of prophecy. The first, beginning "Externis populis dominabitur aquila fortis," was spuriously attributed to Grossteste²⁴⁸ and ends with part of the second prophecy (beginning "Ter tria lustra tenent cum semi tempora sexti"), recorded with a commentary in the Eulogium historiarum.²⁴⁹ Both prophecies share five lines in common (the first is eleven lines long and the second only six) and it is these five lines (beginning "En vagus in primo perdit . . .") which speak of the king reducing the clergy to their pristine state.²⁵⁰ In the first prophecy the five lines are tacked onto the end of a "Last World Emperor" prophecy of the Charlemagne type²⁵¹ in which the king, under whom faith will thrive, conquers Jerusalem and becomes emperor of

all the world. Both the political and the religious features of the prophecy show Joachite influence, but the text is so corrupt that it would be difficult to follow without also having the text of the last five lines of the second prophecy and the commentary which accompanies it in the Eulogium historiarum.

As the Eulogium commentator tells us, the king's reign has been divided into three periods by some needlessly complex mathematics which need not detain us here.²⁵² The prophecy tells us that in the first period the king will lose everything and become a wanderer, but that he will later regain all. The "en vagus" motif is interesting in itself because it shows the perpetual fascination of this type of prophecy with itinerant poverty--even in royal figures. However, the king conquers many kingdoms and from the middle to the end of the second period it seems his influence spreads (volutans) until he conquers the world. In the remaining period he will reduce the clergy "ad statum primum"--an act which the commentator interprets as implying the renewal of ecclesiastical privileges "which before were abundant" (et privilegia ecclesiastica renovabit, quae prius fuerant subpeditata, Eulogium, I, p. 419).²⁵³ He will also renew the holy places, which the commentator interprets as a return of the Holy Land from Pagan to Christian hands (*ibid.*) before rejecting all earthly things and, in the words of the commentator, "in locis sanctissimis finem faciet felicem" (*ibid.*)--the typical "Last World Emperor" motif of the king's peaceful death in the Holy Land.

Yet another extremely popular English political prophecy

(beginning "Anglia transmittet leopardum") ends with a similar five-line section which sounds like a variation on the Joachite ad pristinum statum theme. It speaks of the return of the Church to its first "liberty," the grinding of the altars of Babylon and the recovery of Jerusalem by a "Last Emperor" figure, who will then turn over the imperium mundi to a hermit,^u reflecting the same concerns with Church reform, holy leadership and poverty which we have seen before.

The ad pristinum statum motif seems to have been particularly popular in the fourteenth century (we know, for example, that it was used by Bridget of Sweden, Cola di Rienzo and John of Rupescissa), but it was also used by twelfth-century prophetic writers, notably Gerhoh of Reichersberg and Hildegard.²⁵⁴ The concept itself seems to have arisen during the period of canonical and monastic reform which the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw. Speaking of the controversies among the various orders at this time, Bischoff points out that they focused on the opposition between old and new:

[They] pitted the validity of the old and true original order against the worthlessness of deviant innovation. With the tenor of its traditionalism, this kind of valuation is, of course, the cantus firmus of all medieval reform, and scholarship has been generally agreed in considering the maxim "renewal through repristination" as the hallmark of the great canonical and monastic reform of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Bischoff, p. 46).²⁵⁵

Obviously the concept of repristination need not always be linked with later Joachite prophecy--in fact, there is something of an irony here because Joachim himself believed in a historical progress of

religious life in which, as Hildegard says, the last times would be better than the first ones. However, there can be little doubt that by the fourteenth century pseudo-Joachite and Joachite-influenced prophecies were the main carriers of reparation ideology, largely because of the Franciscan impetus behind so many of these works.²⁵⁶ Although Langland's apocalyptic reformism is not entirely backward looking, there is a strong vein of yearning for past glory in his thought. In this he is similar to one of the most influential of the Franciscan Joachite prophets of reparation, John of Rupescissa, who, like most Franciscan Spirituals, yearned for a return to the rigorist simplicity of the days of St. Francis for his own order and a return to the first apostolic principles for the clergy in general.

John of Rupescissa (1310-1365) has been described by Bernard McGinn as a "weathervane" of apocalyptic trends of the later Middle Ages and as such it is perhaps not surprising that many of his ideas are so strikingly similar to Langland's. John's incorporation of the Black Death into a rather spectacular and somewhat eclectic periodization of future history probably first boosted his popularity to the level it maintained throughout the Middle Ages.²⁵⁷ As Robert Lerner has pointed out, John was one of the first medieval writers to espouse literal millenarianism (i.e. a belief in one thousand years of peace and prosperity; see Lerner, "Black Death," p. 542, n. 17). In the Liber secretorum eventum he predicted that Antichrist would reign for three and one half years before 1370, but that by 1415 a millennium of peace

and justice would begin, during which men would beat their swords into plowshares. This would last until 2370 when the arrival of Gog and Magog would herald the End of the World (ibid., pp. 541-42).

John was heavily influenced in his visions by both Hildegard and Robert of Uzès, the influence of the latter being immediately evident in his prediction of the famine and plague of 1347, to be followed in 1348 by the piling up of cadavers (ibid., p. 541), a motif from Robert's writings which, as we have seen, the chroniclers made famous. John cites Robert's visions "comme temoinages mystiques," as Bignami-Odier says, of his forecasts of papal poverty and a coming angelic pope (Roquetaillade, p. 194). John also knew Gebeno's Pentachron well and makes frequent reference to Hildegard on the corruption of the world and as an authority on the End times (ibid., pp. 193-94). John's predictions of the disendowment of the clergy in the Vade Mecum also bear the mark of Hildegard's thought on this subject, as we shall see.

Not only was John familiar with these visionaries, but his writings can be seen as something of a clearinghouse for medieval prophecy in general.²⁵⁸ There seems to be scarcely a prophetic text or writer which he has not had contact with and one is tempted to say that it may have been partly through John's works that the tenets of European prophecy came to be more widely known in England in the fourteenth century. His knowledge of Joachite and Franciscan Spiritualist writings is especially impressive. John was himself a Franciscan with strong Spiritualist leanings and he seems to have written many of his prophetic works from various convent-prisons

including the papal prison at Avignon. It is not clear whether his prophetic activity caused his gruelling imprisonments or not, but he seems to have been free to write prophecies from prison and was commanded to do so at least once by a cardinal. There is every possibility that his attitudes toward apostolic poverty, like those of many Franciscans with Spiritualist sympathies, caused his imprisonment. Whatever the case may be, the writings of John of Rupescissa are a fascinating chronicle of the thoughts of an apocalyptic Franciscan, zealous for Church reform and filled with the sense of an urgent need for change and repentance.

It is this mentality which he shares with Langland. To the best of my knowledge, Konrad Burdach is the only commentator on Piers Plowman to have noticed the resemblance, calling Rupescissa a "forerunner" of Langland.²⁵⁹ Bloomfield (pp. 92-93 and 94) also mentioned John in the context of his discussion of mid-fourteenth-century forecasts of the date of the coming of Antichrist. There is however, no detailed scholarly discussion of John's ideas in relation to Langland's that I know of, and what is offered here is really only a beginning to such a study. Only the Vade Mecum in Tribulatione is available in print at the moment,²⁶⁰ but since this was the work which circulated most widely in Britain it makes a good starting point.

John entered the Minorite Order in 1322, having studied at the University of Toulouse, where he seems to have acquired both a hatred of pagan philosophy and a deep admiration for the works of the Franciscan Joachite Peter John Olivi.²⁶¹ He read prophecies avidly and had

visions himself, but, like Joachim of Fiore, says that he is no prophet but one who has unworthily received the understanding of prophecies:

Let it be known . . . , although in the Roman Curia I have denounced for all wishing to hear the terrible events about to come upon the whole world, that I am not a prophet sent from the Lord [prophesying] through the words "Thus says the Lord God" in the same way as Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel and the twelve most holy prophets, . . . [rather] the Lord Jesus Christ confers upon me most unworthily an understanding of the spirit of prophetic things of the Scriptures (Vade Mecum, p. 496).^v

The Vade Mecum is divided into "intentiones" ("concepts" or, perhaps, "teachings"), as if to reinforce this idea. He gives as his main purpose in writing down these prophecies the hope that others will be forewarned of the tribulations and be able to prepare themselves for what is ahead.

In the first "intentio" of the Vade Mecum, John says that the tribulations to follow are just a stage in a plan which will bring the whole world "under one shepherd and one sheepfold" (Vade Mecum, pp. 497-98). In order that this may be accomplished, all clergy must return to the way of life established by Christ and his apostles:

The second intentio is that the universal clergy . . . are to be reduced to the most holy mode of living of Christ and of the holy Apostles; since it would be otherwise impossible for the Church to recover the aforesaid lost and accursed generation (Vade Mecum, p. 498).^w

Without such reform, it is impossible that the infidels will turn to the faith of Christ and Rupescissa asks how the clergy can preach the humility and poverty of Christ with their great retinues and displays of

worldliness. For him the return to apostolic life as described by Christ in Matthew 10 is a purification process and he compares it with Isaiah 1:25-26:

"And I will turn my hand to thee, and I will clean purge away thy dross, and I will take away all thy tin. And I will restore thy judges and counsellors as of old. After this thou shalt be called the city of the just, a faithful city": for indeed the high prelates of Holy Church will soon (in proximo) live close by the rules of the life of Christ and the Apostles in Matt. ch. 10. Then they will be fit to convert the world. And to this way of living they will be reduced by the most hard tribulations (flagellis), of which they will see a foretaste before 1370 (Vade Mecum, p. 498).^x

He goes on to describe the tribulations which the clergy will endure in order to be purged of their pride and wrath, a subject to which he returns again and again throughout the work. The first Antichrist he calls the Eastern Antichrist (orientalis antichristus) and predicts the plagues and disasters which will come in his wake. He foresees a type of mob justice which will do away with tyrants and wealthy nobility.²⁶² The plagues will purge the world of the hardened reprobates (reprobi indurati) and will help "ad unitatem fidei catholicae reducendam."

In "intentione septima" he foresees that the Church will be despoiled of its temporalities:

The seventh intentio is to understand the way in which the universal Church will be denuded of all temporal things: the world will be indignant since before the year of our Lord 1365, against the pride of the clergy, the tyrannical and the lay people will suddenly and unexpectedly rise up and take away from them the rights of temporal ownership, kingdoms, troops, retinues, incomes, cities and castles, and they will leave these

in the purity and nakedness of the proclaimed gospel (Vade Mecum, p. 500).^y

This passage is very reminiscent of Hildegard's treatment of the same theme, especially John's comment "nor will they be able to obviate [these tribulations] by any possible excommunications or warlike threats" (nec ipsis quibuscunque excommunicationibus aut bellicosis insultibus poterint obviare).²⁶³ John then makes the common apocalyptic "false brethren" charge, here brought against all backsliding and hypocritical clergy: "Sathan has already seduced the hearts of many hypocrites walking in the habit of humility, in the semblance of holiness, in the image of penitence and in feigned zeal . . ." (Vade Mecum, p. 500).^z John predicts violent treatment of the hypocrite clergy at the hands of the people:

. . . to the extent of [public] knowledge of their villainy they [the clergy] will be destroyed and forsaken and massacred by the secular people: afterwards, moreover, [when] the princes of the Church will see that in no way is it possible to raise themselves up again from poverty, he [God?] will give them an afflictio intellectum in order that they may humbly recognize their sins and arrange to return to the mode of living of Christ and the holy apostles, and God will change the hearts of anger of the princes and people against them to peace, and they will be suitably appointed the necessities of life, as far as applies, by those who thrashed them (Vade Mecum, p. 500).^{aa}

This passage contains a number of now familiar ideas: first, that the clergy will receive wisdom through their chastisement and turn back to the apostolic life, and second, that the princes and the people will be the agents of the despoliation, much as Langland's

Ac þer shal come a kyng and confesse 3ow alle
 And bete 3ow, . . .
 And barones and here barnes blame 3ow and repreue . . .
 (V. 168-72).

In fact, two further passages in the Vade Mecum on the removing of temporalities from the Church add details of the participation of a reforming king and barons, as we shall see shortly. Finally, there is the usual reformist reference to the provision of the necessities of life ("& ordinabuntur duntaxat qui tribulantur eis, videlicet competenter necessaria vitae . . .").

Rupescissa follows the tradition of assigning the role of "reparator mundi" to two great leaders, "unum summum Pontificem" and an "Imperator sanctissimus." He introduces his Angelic Pope as the mysterious figure from Ezekiel 9, dressed in white linen, who places the mark of "thau" upon "the foreheads of the men who sigh and mourn for all the abominations that are committed in the midst thereof." He compares him to other biblical figures, among these the figure of Elias ("Elias quidem venturus est & restituet omnia"). In "intentione duodecima" he speaks of the various reforms which the holy pope will make. The avaricious clergy will be beaten with the "thin rope of the poor" (funiculis pauperculis), a vivid Franciscan image, and expelled from the Temple:

The twelfth instruction concerns the proximate restoration of the men of the Church and of the world through the celestial reformer who is at hand. He is the Elijah who, according to the word of God, will restore all things. With this whip (literally made of little cords, that is, of humble Friars) Christ will certainly expel all corrupt, lustful, and avaricious priests

from the Temple lest they minister to him in sacrifice. He will depose simoniacs from their ministry, and will hand over those who offend against nature to the secular arm to be sacrificed by fire so that nature can be purged. He will restore the ancient liberty of choosing prelates to the episcopal sees. He will make the ravenous wolves flee the flock, will place holy men upon a candlestick and hide unworthy ones under a bushel basket, will castigate flesh and blood considerations, will restore collapsed justice, and will apply apt medicine against all evils. He will also replant all the gospel virtues in men who have collapsed and strengthen good men in their holy resolve. He will finish the book of the restoration of the world by the art of Christ whose power will endure forever (McGinn, p. 232).²⁶⁴

The reforms of this angelic pope are seen by John, then, as an unfinished chapter in "the book of the restoration of the world"--a book which it has taken the entire history of humankind to write and which is, as yet, incomplete. In spite of the doom and gloom of so much of John's message, his view of history is powerfully melioristic in true Joachite style.

John then introduces a (French) "Last World Emperor" figure--although this is by no means the end of history:

The French king, who will come to see his angelic brightness at the time of his election, he²⁶⁵ will make Roman emperor, contrary to the custom of German elections. God will generally subdue the whole world to him--West, East, and South. He will be of such sanctity that no emperor or king from the beginning of the world is his equal in sanctity, save the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, our Lord Jesus Christ. The emperor will refuse to be crowned with a golden crown in honor of the crown of thorns of Jesus Christ. As an emperor of the highest sanctity, he will execute all the commands of the Restoring Pope previously discussed. Through these two the whole world will be restored. They will destroy the entire law and tyrannical power of Mohammed; both of them will pay personal visits to Greece and Asia, will end the schism, free the Greeks from the Turks, subjugate the Tartars to the faith, and restore the kingdoms of Asia (McGinn, pp. 232-33).²⁶⁶

Here we have a typical "Last World Emperor" programme except that for John this French king is not a "last" emperor at all and that he divides the traditional role between two kings. The second of these is a king of Sicily who,²⁶⁷ John predicts, will conquer Jerusalem and then relinquish everything for a friar's habit (p. 502).

In the thirteenth intentio John returns to his obsession with the stripping away of clerical property, this time focusing on the monasteries. The monks will suffer from the plundering of their lands a raptoribus populis & baronibus. Many monasteries will be destroyed and many clerics will be killed. Sounding again rather like Hildegard, John explains that "excess cannot be corrected except through excess" and that by these afflictions the riches of many religious will be reduced ad nihilum (p. 503).

He then moves on to consider the afflictions of the mendicants themselves. He says that they will suffer all the aforesaid tribulations of the clergy and more. The sins of the friars are the cause of all the coming tribulations, as predicted by St. Francis:

And the transgressors of the Order of Friars Minor are the reason that all the aforesaid tribulations will be poured out upon the world, just as the Lord expressly told the Blessed Francis [and] just as it is contained expressly in the old Legends; because the Lord told the blessed Francis that if the brothers, his sons, would remain in observance of the Rule shown to the blessed Francis (just as they had begun), the present tribulations would not come: therefore, while blessing the brothers at his death, concerning this tribulation he says through the spirit of prophecy, as it is written in ch. 14 of his life, that when the future trial by tribulation approaches, the faithful who persevere in what they have begun will be liberated (Vade Mecum, p. 503).^{bb}

It is on account of the friars' transgressions of their rule that God allows them to be impugned by preachers, a clear reference to the antimendicant attacks ("quoniam propter peccatum transgressionis Regulae permisit Deus scandalum impugnationis Evangelicae paupertatis per praedicatores contra fratres minores"). As St. Francis predicted, the hearts of the people will be set against the friars ("cor populi contra eos") until the friars shall be forced to flee to the desert. Like most reformist prophets, John constantly returns to the idea that those who have faithfully kept to the apostolic life will be saved ("Foelix qui in diebus illis ab obedientia & fide pauperis illius apostatice non discedet," (Vade Mecum, p. 502).

The future of the mendicants depends upon the angelic pope, who, after the tribulations, may take an interest in helping restore the order:

And unless God may have provided for the aforesaid reformer to reform the Order of Friars Minor utterly [literally, "from the bottom"] just as the rest, they will remain forsaken. But through the prayers of the Blessed Francis and the holy brothers, after the tribulation the Order will be reformed and it shall extend throughout the whole world, just as the stars of heaven which by reason of their multitude it is not possible to number: but not in pride of habits or buildings, nor in avarice or the rest of the present laxities, but in the mode of living of Christ and the Apostles and the Blessed Francis and their company (Vade Mecum, p. 503).^{CC}

John, like Langland, hopes for a papal reformer for the friars, for whose sake now "omnes praefatae tribulationes infundentur in orbem." We might expect the friars to be so central in the writings of a Franciscan, but, as we have said, this is more surprising in Langland

until one realizes the key role they played in apocalyptic reformist thought. Perhaps, too, for Langland, as for John and other reformist thinkers, those who had vowed the life closest to that of Christ were most responsible in transgressing and most crucial to the "renovatio mundi" as the leaven in the bread or the salt of the earth.

There is much more in Rupescissa's Vade Mecum which is of interest as an apocalyptic programme, but it is not directly relevant here. Like Langland, he has a millenarian vision of the time when men shall beat their swords into plowshares and when the Holy Ghost shall pour God's Spirit upon the world. Rupescissa also works, like Langland, with the uneasy partnership between desire for reform and apocalyptic vision. With something of a sense of humour he writes,

. . . if however the grave tribulations described below do not occur, it was this that I seek, namely, that the hardest sentence issued, in the form of lightning and fire, from the face of the "Ancient of Days" and from "the wrath of the Lamb sitting upon the throne" might be revealed through penance, just as at Nineveh, and I, confused and angry, may remain behind just as Jonah (Vade Mecum, p. 497).^{dd}

He advises that, in preparing for the tribulations ahead, the reader pray earnestly for reform, for, at the very least, those who "sigh and mourn for all the abominations" will be passed over (as will those who have kept the evangelical life). In Langland too, there is an "elect," made up of the fools for Christ and God's "priue disciples" (XXII. 61 and IX. 118), those few who have kept the faith and, especially in the case of the latter, have been faithful in the ascesis of apostolic poverty.

IV. Piers Plowman: A Joachite Reading

Having considered a number of medieval prophecies of Church reform we can now go back to some of the apocalyptic passages in Piers Plowman with some sense of their larger context. Obviously the Joachite prophecies do not tell us everything we would like to know about Langland's apocalypticism, but they do point up some of his main concerns.

Four main areas of interest emerge from placing Piers Plowman in the context of these prophecies. First of all, it becomes easier to understand Langland's perpetual concern with the distinction between true and false apostles against such a background. Secondly--and this is related to the first theme--there is the sense of crisis of leadership which emerges in various forms throughout the poem. Thirdly, we have Langland's fascination with eremiticism, evangelical poverty and the repristination of the clergy. And finally in such a context it becomes easier to understand what type of apocalyptic programme Langland imagined the future to hold.

Let us begin with the first of these notions. Konrad Burdach's remark that the whole of Piers Plowman is concerned with the condemnation of false prophets²⁶⁸ has a corollary, and that is that it must also be concerned with the seeking out of true ones. He pointed to an important passage in Zachariah 13 in which, after promising to "take away the false prophets and the unclean spirit out of the earth," the Lord prophesies:

And it shall come to pass in that day that the prophets shall be confounded, every one by his own vision, when he shall prophesy: neither shall they be clad with a garment of sackcloth, to deceive. But he shall say: I am no prophet. I am a husbandman: for Adam is my example from my youth. And they shall say to him: What are these wounds in the midst of thy hands? And he shall say: with these I was wounded in the house of them that loved me. Awake, O sword, against my shepherd and against the man that cleaveth to me, saith the Lord of hosts. Strike the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered. And I will turn my hand to the little ones (Zacharias 13:4-7).

These verses go a long way toward encompassing the complex triangular arrangement between Piers, "Peter" and Christ in Piers Plowman, as well as the apocalyptic ties which bind them together. The notion of the plowman as a true prophet (in the Zacharias passage, the only true prophet, the Christ), a man with no intellectual or spiritual pretensions, a man who has looked only to Adam, the most human of men, as a model--this notion comes very close to capturing the spirit both of Piers Plowman and of much medieval apocalyptic writing. These works convey a sense of desperation for simplicity and honesty in both clerical and political leadership, and a sense of defiance toward the "establishment" which does not seem to answer these needs. The impetus in much apocalyptic writing is to seek both answers and leadership from outside the circles of the learned and the powerful. The attack on superfluous possessions and on learning are just two symptoms of this mentality and both Langland's Christ and his Piers fit this concern with evangelical poverty and simplicity.²⁶⁹

The notion that only a leader of the utmost humility and simplicity--a leader like Piers--can bring about the needed or expected

reforms is one of the key tenets of Joachite apocalypticism, especially as it was espoused by rigorist Franciscans. Burdach, Donaldson and Bourquin have all shown Langland's acquaintance with and sympathy for the early Franciscan literature and especially the ideology of poverty, simplicity and anti-intellectualism which it fostered. In the thirteenth century even moderate Franciscans saw themselves as fulfilling Joachim's prophecy of a group of coming spiritual men to help mankind make the transitus into the next age. No less a figure than Bonaventure espoused the view that in the present age God was sending men of voluntary mendicancy to fulfil such a role through the destruction of avarice.²⁷⁰ By the fourteenth century it was no longer possible to maintain such a glorious view of the Franciscan mission. It is an irony of history that those who had been hailed as the true prophets came to be seen as the false ones. By Langland's time the lifestyle of voluntary mendicancy was seen to have destroyed more saints than it had made, but the ideology itself was not dead.

Langland seems to have supplied his own version of holy mendicants in his "lunatik lollar" figures:

Careth they for no colde ne counteth of non hete
 And aren meuynges aftur þe mone; moneyeles þey walke,
 With a good will, wittelles, mony wyde contreyes,
 Riht as Peter dede and Poul, saue þat þey preche nat
 Ne none muracles maken--ac many tymes hem happeth
 To profecye of þe peple, pleyinge, as hit were.
 And to oure syhte, as hit semeth, seth god hath þe myhte
 To zeue vch a wyht wyt, welthe, and his hele,
 And suffreth suche go so, it semeth, to myn inwyt,
 Hit aren as his postles, such peple, or as his priue disciples
 (IX. 109-18).

Donaldson has shown the precise connection between these lunatic mendicants and the joculatores domini of St. Francis ("merye-mouthed men, munstrals of heuene,/And godes boys, bourdyors" ll. 126-27), but he was unable to shed much light on their ability to prophesy (l. 114). The missing link may well be the Joachite side of what is almost certainly a Franciscan Joachite image.²⁷¹ We note that the other prominent holy fools in the poem are those few who resist Antichrist (XXII. 58-68) and this surely is something of a clue. While both sets of fools are indebted to St. Paul's "fools for Christ," the complexity of these particular holy lunatics is somewhat greater than the Pauline concept. Langland clearly associates the lunatic mendicants with Christ's own disciples (IX. 119-25), with the joculatores domini, with the few fools who hold out against Antichrist and finally with the dreamer himself, as we saw earlier. The one thing that all these figures have in common is their ability to prophesy, in both senses of the word (and this includes the dreamer). In Joachite terms, the faithful remnant of true apostles who hold to the apostolic life against all the onslaughts of Antichrist is those who will keep the ideals of Christianity alive until the dawn of the renewal. Such holy men are the focal point for Langland's concern about the crisis of leadership, apostolic poverty and the leaven of reform--they are the key figures in his apocalyptic grammar.

The only ambiguous figure in this list of holy mendicants is the dreamer himself and he is perhaps at the centre of the poem's concern to sort out the true from the false prophets. When the poem opens Will has

donned the guise of a hermit and with the most dubious of motives sets out to lead an eremitical life. The itinerant mendicancy he chooses may be seen as part of the eremitical ideal,²⁷² but Will's own motives are still a problem. He starts out as a false hermit mostly because he seems to believe that there are short-cuts to spiritual experience; that is, he believes that one can just simply go out and "hear wonders" (Pro1. 4). Obviously, an awareness of the "mony ferlyes" that "han falle in a few zeres" (Pro1. 63) is what has triggered this interest and this could be read as a legitimate desire to search for the meaning of present events by reading the signs of the times and their place in salvation history.²⁷³ However, there are no short-cuts to spiritual wisdom and this is something that Will does not seem to know when he sets out.

On the positive side, however, Will is not a false hermit in that he does increasingly take on the lifestyle of the holy ascetic in his wandering "meteless and moneyless." He has a very strong sense, right from the beginning of the poem that the false hermits are false because they will not endure the hardships of the ascetic road and in the autobiographical passage of Passus V he makes sure that the reader distinguishes the dreamer from this type of hermit. Such hermits do, unlike the dreamer and the lunatic lollers, carry bags, and worry about tomorrow; they do not, if they can help it, walk "wolleward and whatshoed" (XX. 1); they do, unlike the dreamer, salute the rich in the middle of the street because they know which side their bread is buttered on.²⁷⁴ Will may have begun his eremitical life for the

wrong reasons, but this does not preclude his endeavour from bearing good fruit in the end. Like the other mendicants in the poem who suffer the apostolic lifestyle--whether willingly, or like the lunatic lollars, of necessity--the dreamer is capable of visions and of "prophesying of the people, playing, as it were." I think we must concede Will a place among the fools for Christ with a prophetic vocation.

Let us look now at the apocalyptic side of Langland's sense of leadership crisis. As R. H. Robbins has shown, there was a good deal of the spirit of both political and religious dissent about in fourteenth-century England²⁷⁵ and as we have seen, there was plenty of potential for radical, even subversive interpretation of apocalyptic ideology. Notions such as the choosing of a world emperor or pope from the class of the itinerant poor, or the stripping away of all clerical possessions except the bare necessities of life are undeniably radical. All this is motivated by the desire for a vigorous spirituality which is felt to be lacking in present leadership and a desire to make a statement about what really matters in the apostolate: that is, the spirit and not the flesh in which it is clothed. These subversive apocalyptic fantasies may simply be symbolic gestures, but it is important to remember that symbols have their own power.

Implicit in Will's query as to how he can save his soul (I. 80) is the question, "Who can show me the way?"²⁷⁶ The motif of the search for a trustworthy model or leader repeats itself again and again throughout the poem, in the pilgrims' need to know the way to Truth, in Will's search for Dowell and in Conscience's ultimate search for Piers.

The need is, above all, for a leader of great sanctity through whom the Church can be re-spiritualized and restored.

The prophecies we have been discussing spring out of this same desire for renewal and re-sanctification through a leader of great holiness. What they express in their generalized and impersonal form, Langland tries to bring to life at a much more local level. We do not know much about the king he expected, but we do have an extensive portrait of Piers to give us some insight into the kind of leadership he admired. We have already noted the radical elements in Piers' leadership; here I would like to note the reformist aspects. In "setting the world to work," he tries desperately to straighten out as many social problems as he can, for example in his advice to the knight (VIII. 35ff.), in his attempt to deal with the Wasters and the lazy (VIII. 119ff.) and in the pardon sent to him from Truth which attempts to set out the duties and failings of the various groups of people and inspire them to turn toward a perfection of life in their own "estate": "Alle þe peple hadde pardon ynow þat parfitliche lyuede" (IX. 44). The case of the merchants is a good example:

Marchauntes in þe margine hadde many zeres,
 Ac no pena et a culpa no Treuthe wolde hem graunte
 For they holde nat here haliday as holi chirch hem hoteth,
 And for they swere by here soule and god mote hem helpe
 Azen clene consience for couetyse of wynnynge.
 Ac vnder his secrete seal Treuthe sente hem a lettre
 That bad hem bugge boldly what hem best likede
 And sethe sullen hit azeyn and saue þe wynnynge,
 Amende meson-dewes þerwith and myseyse men fynde
 And wyckede wayes with here goed amende. . . (IX. 22-31).

With this promise of salvation Langland actually pauses to give us a glimpse of the joy of the merchants:

"And y shal sende ȝow mysulue seynt Mihele myn angel
 That no deuel shal ȝow dere ne despeyre in ȝoure deyng
 And sethe sende ȝoure soules þer y mysulue dwelle
 And abyde þer in my blisse, body and soule for euere."
 Tho were marchauntes mury; many wopen for ioie
 And preyde for Peres the plouhman þat purchased hem þis bulles
 (IX. 37-42).

Such glimpses of enthusiasm testify not only to Langland's deep faith in the power of the Church's message to elicit real happiness, but also to Langland's belief that the crying need of his day was for good leadership. It is as if the reprobate merchants were not really reprobate at all, but needed only the simplicity and sincerity of Piers' pardon to set forth their role in society, thereby releasing a great burden of anxiety about how they could achieve this mysterious thing called "salvation."

Piers is a figure of reassurance and renewal as a guide toward salvation right from the beginning. His ability to cleanse and to purify is metaphorically expressed in his ploughing, "My plouh pote shal be my pyk-staff and pyche a-to þe rotes/And helpe my coltur to kerue and clanse þe forwes" (VIII. 64-65), and his reassurance of the path to salvation in his harvesting:

And alle þat helpen me erylle or elles to wedy
 Shal haue leue by oure lord to go and glene aftur me
 And maken hym merye þer-myde, maugrey ho bigruchen hit
 (VIII. 66-68).

Without attempting a complete critical reappraisal of the role of Piers in the poem, I would like to suggest that our understanding of that complex problem can be partly enriched by setting Piers against a background of the reform heroes of medieval prophecy.

Konrad Burdach actually suggested this comparison many years ago in his study of Piers Plowman. After a brief discussion of medieval prophetic writers such as John of Rupescissa and Cola di Rienzo, Burdach suggested that Piers Plowman might also be seen in the role of a "mystical Reformer of the future."²⁷⁷ He mentions a list of reforms which Piers champions in the poem, among which is his leadership "toward a state of freedom from all needs" ("der Bedürfnislosigkeit heraufführen"). He then goes on to say that Piers embodies two very different characteristics: a "possessionless and poor" aspect and a "busy, work-a-day" aspect in his role as ploughman.²⁷⁸ These two themes of possessionlessness and earning a living are at odds with one another throughout the poem. In Piers they represent two models of perfection: the model of the hard worker who labours for the good of his society and the model of evangelical poverty which Christ expected of his disciples.

When, in the B-text, Piers vows to give up the life of labour for the life of holy "carelessness," he is in effect passing to a higher state of perfection:

I shal cessen of my sowyng', quod Piers, '& swynke nozt so
harde,
Ne aboute my [bilyue] so bisy be na moore;
Of preieres and of penaunce my plouȝ shal ben hereafter,

And wepen whan I sholde [werche] þouȝ whete breed me faille.
 The prophete his payn eet in penaunce and in sorwe
 By þat þe Sauter [vs] seith, [and] so dide othere manye.
 That loueþ god lelly his liflode is ful esy:
 Fuerunt michi lacrimae mee panes die ac nocte.
And but if Iuc Iye he Iereþ vs [anoþer]
 By foweles [þat are] noȝt bisy aboute þe [bely joye];
 Ne solliciti sitis he seiþ in þe gospel, . . .
Haue þei no gerner to go to but god fynt hem alle'
 (B. VII. 122-31, 135).

This is the lifestyle of "godes priue disciples" and of all those who have folowed the commandment: "Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende quae habes . . . et veni, sequere me" (Matt. 19:21). Piers is considered throughout the Vita as an embodiment of this evangelical poverty:

And there cam Pacience as a pore thyng and preyede mete pur
 charite,
 Ilyk Peres the ploghman, as he a palmere were,
 Crauede and cryede, for Cristes loue of heuene,
 A meles mete for a pore man, or moneye, yf they hadde
 (XV. 33-36).

As we have seen, medieval writers of prophecy expected of their reforming heroes, even the secular ones, a high degree of sanctity, and this usually meant a state of apostolic poverty. Piers is much like any one of these reforming heroes. Like the men of Joachim's first order of "viri spirituales," Piers epitomizes the apostolic life, serving mankind and yet wanting nothing of the world ("de rebus mundanis nihil cupient"). Like Joachim's Peter and John, Piers passes from the "ecclesie laborantium . . . prius desudantum in vita activa" to the "ecclesie quiescentium . . . postea exultantum in vita contemplativa." Like the holy popes of the Vaticinia de summis pontificibus and other

prophecies, he is a leader drawn from the ranks of the patient and godly poor. Nearly all the prophecies of reform give some suggestion of the poverty and humility of the reforming hero, whether he comes from poverty to take up the position, or, by renunciation, goes to a state of poverty. When the "lewed vicory" (XXI. 409ff.) is giving his rough-edged version of how the world should be reformed, he actually puts Piers into much the same Holy Pope/Emperor role as we have seen in the prophecies (XXI. 425-30).

The third theme which the comparison with medieval prophecies brings out is the expectation of progression through return to a pristine state. The prophecy in Passus V tries to deal with this problem. The possessioners are to be beaten for the breaking of their rule (especially, here, their vow to poverty) and the means by which they have been able to break it, that is, their temporalities, are to be taken away from them: "And potte 3owe to 3oure penaunce, Ad pristinum statum ire,/And barones and here barnes blame 3ow and repreue" (V. 171-72).

The possessioners are to be returned to the observance of their rule, which, while not as radical as the Franciscan conception of the apostolic life, was in any non-partisan view a life of apostolic perfection. In Guy Bourquin's study of Franciscanism in Piers Plowman, he cites the following passage from Gilson on this problem:

Essayer de vivre la règle de S. Benoît jusqu'au bout, comme essayer de vivre celle de S. François, c'est essayer de vivre jusqu'au bout la vie de l'Évangile, et il n'y aura jamais rien de plus rare ne de plus original. . . .²⁷⁹

As Bourquin points out, the whole idea of aspiring to perfection, of perpetually searching for Dowel, Dobet and finally Dobest is part of a concern to return to this pristine state, to the life of Christ himself.

While being motivated by this concern throughout the poem and holding the ideal of perfect poverty in the highest esteem, Langland is also driven to forego it in his perpetual search for practical reforms. In the second part of the prophecy Langland submits one such idea for reform. He proposes that the friars be provided with a living, although this nearly turns the previous reform of the possessioners on its head: Constantine is now to be "cook and couerour" of the friars' churches. Of course, the keynote here is moderation as Langland no doubt intends that the friars will be given the necessities and no more, but in so doing he has taken away the fraternal ideal of absolute poverty.

Since we know that in other places Langland looked upon the ideal of evangelical poverty as the highest form of perfection, his desire to give the friars a "fyndynge" must spring from a recognition of the inability of most men to keep such a vow in day-to-day life. In the first section of this chapter we looked at the views and charges of the friars' critics regarding abuses of their rule, and noted that, while real abuses no doubt existed, these were in many cases exaggerated. A side of the mendicant story which has not often been stressed is the well-documented evidence that the friars were in fact often quite needy. Sheehan has shown, in his study of Franciscan poverty in England (1348-1538), that the daily quest for alms did not produce enough to

make ends meet and that the friars were rarely free from debt (pp. 319-20). There is also evidence of a slow, steady erosion of alms (p. 321). Sheehan concludes that the friars could not be supported by alms alone in medieval England and that their need was in many cases very real.²⁸⁰ Langland's representation of "Nede" as a friar was obviously quite apt. In such a situation, as Sheehan shows, abuses were bound to develop. In the harsh light of the everyday world, among everyday men Need is more common than Patience, and flattery is more practical than the pater-noster as a means to an end. In an earlier passus Patience had told Actyf,

"Lo, here lyflode ynow, yf oure beleue be trewe. . . .
Quodcumque pecieritis in nomine meo dabitur enim vobis. Et
alibi: Non in solo pane viuit homo."
 "Hastow," quod Actyf, "ay such mete with the ?"
 "ȝe," quod Pacience, and oute of his poke hente
 A pece of þe pater-noster and profred hit to vs all.
 And y lystnede and tokede what lyflode hit were
 And thenne was his fiat voluntas tua þat sholde fynde vs alle.
 "Haue, Actyf," quod Pacience, "and eet this when þe hungreth
 Or when thow claumest for colde or clingest for eny
 drouthe . . ." (XV. 239, 246-52).

This is truly the life of evangelical poverty, as starkly depicted as any rigorist Franciscan would have described it:

By so þat þou be sobre of syhte and of tonge,
 In ondyng and handlyng, in alle thy fyue wittes,
 Dar þe nat care for no corn ne for cloth ne for drynke,
 Ne deth drede ne deuel, deye as god liketh
 Wheþer thorw hunger or hete, at his wille be hit;
 For if thow lyeuest aftur his lore the shortere lyf þe betere.
Si quis amat Christum mundum non diligit istum (XV. 254-61).

Placed beside Need's comments, Patience's mode of livelihood can only

be described as that of a fool, hence the theme of the "fools for Christ" of St. Paul and Langland's concern with holy folly.

However, alongside this idealism Langland also gives us Conscience's response to Need's "realism"; it is, in my opinion, a double-layered one in which neither the real needs of life nor the ideals of evangelical poverty are disclaimed. Conscience offers the friars a "fyndynge," but it is a conditional one:

And corteysliche confortede hem and calde him in, all freres,
 And saide, "Syres, soethly wilcome be ȝe alle
 To Vnite and holi church, ac o thyng y ȝow preye--
 Holdeth ȝow in Vnite and haueth noen enuye
 To lered ne to lewed, but lyueth aftur ȝoure reule.
 Y wol be ȝoure borwh; ȝe shal haue breed and clothes
 And opere necessaries ynowe; ȝow shal no thyng lakke
 With þat ȝe leue logyk and lerneth for to louye.
 For loue lefte lordschipe, bothe lond and scole,
 Frere Fraunceys and Domyk, for loue to be holy (XXII. 243-53).

Like Patience, Conscience promises all the necessities of life "yf oure beleue be trewe" (XV. 238). The friars must stay within Unity, harbor no envious feelings (246) and live by their rule (247). Finally, they must "leue logyk" and learn to love.²⁸¹ Under these conditions they will lack for nothing.

If, however, the friars can make these reforms, Conscience promises them a "fyndynge": "Y wol be ȝoure borwh . . . ȝow shal nothyng lakke." If Conscience means provision for physical necessities, as is implied in the prophecy when "Constantyn shal be here cook and couerour of here churches," he has also not strayed beyond the ideal of perfect poverty, for his words are strongly reminiscent of Christ's question to

his disciples:

When I sent you without purse and scrip and shoes, did you want anything? But they said: Nothing (Luke 22:35).

While Langland seems to feel that most friars may require a "fyndynge" to keep them on the straight and narrow, Langland obviously could not deny the possibility of evangelical poverty to all, even with Antichrist knocking at the gates. Therefore Conscience's words work on two levels, one for the vast numbers of "apprentices" and one for the precious few "masters." As Langland is constantly trying to show, some will do well and some will do better, and some may even, against all odds, do best.

We turn finally to the question of Langland's eschatology. At the end of the reformer-king prophecy, Langland writes, "Ac ar þat kyng come, as cronicles me tolde,/Clerkes and holy churche shal be clothed newe" (V. 178-79). This rather odd comment appears at first to be tacked onto the prophecy as a way of distancing the coming of the reformer-king, as if to push him off a little further into the mists of future expectation. This is apparent in the version in the B-text as well: "Ac er þat kyng come Caym shal awake./Ac dowel shal dyngen hym adoun and destruye his myzte" (B. X. 334-35). What seems to be being described here, as we have seen, is an apocalyptic programme.²⁸²

In the B version we have a prediction of the appearance of Antichrist-- or an Antichrist--and his subsequent defeat at the hands of "dowel," followed by the reformer-king. In the C version we have the promise that Holy Church will be somehow renewed ("clothed newe") before the

arrival of the king. However, this only makes sense if there is an implied decline or attack on the Church between the renewal of Holy Church and the reforms of the king or if the two renewals are to be seen as one continuous process. In either case, both B and C versions are describing a period of renewal in the future, and in B this is definitely after a battle with the forces of Antichrist.

Other passages in the poem suggest a similar pattern. The prophecy at the end of the long millenarian prophecy in Passus III (III. 477-81) places "the worste" before the era of peace, not after it. There is also the promise at the end of the poem of the reforms which Piers will carry out, which implies the same pattern of renewal after tribulation. The image of "a knob vppon here crounes" in the prophecy itself may also be seen as a sign of permanent renewal after Antichrist since Langland continues "and incurable þe wounde." This obviously stems from the "plaga insanabili" of the quotation from Isaiah 14:5-6 ("Contriuit dominus baculum impiorum, virgam dominancium, plaga insanabili" V. 177). There is, however, another quotation which had a great significance in Joachite prophecy that uses the same image. The beast with seven heads receives a mortal wound in Revelation 13:3 which is then cured: "And I saw one of his heads as it were slain to death; and his death's wound was healed. And all the earth was in admiration after the beast" (Rev. 13:3). Many Joachites interpreted this blow to the head of the beast as having been dealt by St. Francis with his doctrine of apostolic poverty. Langland's point that the wound is incurable may suggest that this time the return to apostolic poverty

will be permanent.

Although there were always chiliasts, in spite of the Church's early attempts to efface the notion entirely, the idea of a prolonged renovatio occurring in an age of peace after Antichrist was, by the fourteenth century, most often associated with Joachite prophecy. However, once created it seems to have been disseminated widely in many different forms and certainly by the fourteenth century there would have been any number of ways that a writer could come in contact with Joachite ideas without having to read Joachim's works themselves.

The final passus of the poem describes the onslaught of Antichrist's forces, culminating in Conscience's search for Piers. As we have seen, various critics have puzzled over the problem of reconciling a battle with Antichrist, which in traditional eschatology would imply that the end of the world was at hand, and Conscience's expectation that Piers will return to destroy pride and solve the crisis of the friars. R. W. Frank writes,

There is, however, an element in the last vision which may suggest that as his poem closes Langland is contemplating the imminent approach of the Last Judgement. If this is true, the reform of the friars cannot really have been uppermost in his mind in these last lines. I refer to the appearance of Antichrist in the last vision. But although doctrinally the appearance of Antichrist was a sign of approaching Doomsday, by the fourteenth century people used Antichrist as a term of abuse, with no serious intention of announcing the Last Judgement. That is the way in which Langland uses the term here. . . .²⁸³

In the apocalyptic programmes of Joachite writings, and in many of the prophecies which they influenced, there is always an age of reform

before the Last Judgement and after Antichrist. We can cast the net even more widely to include all prophecies which espouse what Robert Lerner has called post-Antichrist chiliasm.²⁸⁴ This group consists mainly of exegetical writers whose apocalyptic theories were derived from speculations about the period for "refreshment of the saints" after the tribulations of Antichrist.²⁸⁵ Pre-Antichrist chiliasm is, as Lerner says, the most popular variety and is the kind most often found in vernacular works and prophecies.²⁸⁶ It is obvious that Langland's sense of the events of the End places him among the group of exegetical thinkers who espoused post-Antichrist chiliasm--a factor which, I think, sheds a little more light on Langland's intellectual background. Whether in the end we decide that Langland's is a Joachite-influenced eschatology or not, we know at least that the problem need not be put in the simplistic terms in which Frank and other critics have set it out.

Obviously, it is impossible to say for certain that Langland was influenced by a Joachite tradition of prophecy. What we can say, though, is that there are several elements in Piers Plowman which are characteristic of Joachite-influenced prophecy: the promise of reform after Antichrist, the belief of a necessary return "ad pristinum statum" and the expectation of a leader of great simplicity and sanctity are some of the aspects which we have looked at in some detail. To these may be added various other themes from Piers Plowman, such as the descent of the Holy Spirit and his distribution of gifts to strengthen Holy Church against Antichrist:

"For y wol dele today and deuyde grace
 To alle kyne creatures þat can his fyue wittes,
 Tresor to lyue by to here lyues ende
 And wepne to fihte with þat wol neuere fayle.
 For Auntecrist and hise al the world shal greue
 And acombre þe, Conscience, bote yf Crist the helpe.
 And false profetes fele, flateres and glosares,
 Shal come and be curatours ouer kynges and erles.
 And thenne shal pryde be pope and prince of holy chirche,
 Coueytise and vnkyndenesse cardynaies hym to lede"
 (XXI. 215-22).

There is also the centrality of the friars in Langland's concern for reform, his suspicion of contemporary studies of pagan philosophy and his use of various apocalyptic images or tableaux which are common in apocalyptic prophecy (such as the scenes of mass devotion he portrays in Passus VII and Passus XXI).

As the passage above prophesies, Langland sees the imminent apocalyptic crisis largely as a clerical one: the false prophets will be "curatours" over kings and earls while an antichrist figure, Pride, will rule the papal throne. This, for Langland, is the crisis developing even now in the Church and his vision at the end of the poem tries to capture the force of the onslaught of the false apostles. However, as we have seen, this is not the end of the world for Langland. Although we do not know everything we would like to know about his apocalyptic expectations, we know enough to align them with some of the radical and ultimately optimistic reformist prophets of his day. In Langland's apocalyptic grammar Piers, and perhaps the various "fools for Christ" figures of the poem, reappear again and again as the leaven of hope for a better age.

POSTSCRIPT: A FRAGMENTARY GRAMMAR OF APOCALYPTIC IMAGERY

This study has attempted to consider the extent to which Langland may be seen to reflect attitudes typical of what Robert Lerner has recently called the medieval European apocalyptic mentality (Lerner, "Black Death"). We have looked at some of the works which reflect this mentality and which were available in fourteenth-century England in our study of the Hildegardean visionary tradition, the non-visionary prophetic tradition of the Joachite thinkers, and the eschatological propaganda of the antimendicant writers. When supplemented by some knowledge of the formal and stylistic features of the early apocalypses of the Christian tradition, this body of material can begin to provide answers to some questions which have troubled critics of Piers Plowman for years. Whether it be the problem of Langland's "non-medieval" allegorical style or his troublesome beginning of a new pilgrimage after the coming of Antichrist or his seemingly odd obsession with the reform of the fraternal orders, an awareness of medieval religious apocalypticism has helped to illuminate some of the poem's supposed idiosyncrasies. This should suggest to us that it is not Langland who is "non-medieval" or idiosyncratic in his symbolism or inconsistent in his allegory, as so many critics have charged--it is we who do not know enough about the conventions and models he was working with. Some day, I hope that we will know much more than we do now about the reformist apocalypticism which lies behind the poem. Scholarship could further illuminate every

facet of apocalypticism touched on here (some of these areas for further study will be suggested below). This study has touched on certain areas of similarity between this distinctive world-view and Langland's, especially the ideology, the type of imagery and the style or manner of expression characteristic of medieval apocalypticism. What follows is an attempt to highlight some of the most important points in each area.

It should be apparent by now that reformist apocalypticism is motivated by the dual concerns of a felt need for social and spiritual renewal. To this end, writers try to place the current events and problems of their times within the larger framework of crisis and resolution in salvation history. As we said earlier in discussing Langland's concerns with the clerical and fraternal problems of his day, apocalypticism provided him with a framework in which he could understand the role of seemingly catastrophic developments in the course of history. Reformist apocalypticism was so comforting for many medieval thinkers not simply because it promised renovatio, but because it gave meaning to the ills of the present, and meaningless suffering is, as modern existentialism has taught us, the hardest of all types of suffering to bear. This brand of apocalypticism must have been particularly appealing to Langland because of the spiritual richness of its symbolism (compare, for example, the cardboard symbolism of contemporary political prophecy). Some sense of the literary theory behind the allegorizing tendency of apocalyptic thought can, I think, help to illuminate some of the unexpected poetic affinities between Langland's poetry and apocalyptic thought, and some of these perhaps are worth pointing out here.

Working from entirely different perspectives, historians, theologians and literary critics have all concluded that apocalypticism derives from an impetus toward unification or universalization.¹ There is a mythmaking tendency in apocalyptic thought which, in the Christian Middle Ages, so often reveals itself in typology as writers attempt to construct larger patterns out of their experience of the events around them. Apocalyptic writers work by grouping together events and individuals which they perceive as being similarly motivated and by unifying each behind a symbol or type, which then becomes a key player in a larger conflict, a conflict now explicable within the larger terms of salvation history. The Whore of Babylon, for example, thus comes to represent the unified forces of all who betray the righteous for earthly gain, all who commit spiritual "prostitution." But apocalyptic writers are especially concerned to label--that is, distinguish and expose--the hypocritical and the uncommitted. Self-advertising evil needs no prophet to decry its presence, but creeping malice and insidious weakness do. It is no accident that John's Revelation begins with letters to the Seven Churches in which the prophet attempts to categorize and expose the degree of commitment of each Church, coming down hardest on the lukewarm: "but because thou art . . . neither cold nor hot, I will begin to vomit thee out of my mouth" (Rev. 3:16). Apocalyptic thinkers are uncomfortable with undeclared forces and fear hypocrisy above everything else, especially when it masquerades as piety. The keynote of what both Christ and Paul had to say about eschatological events is in their persistent warning against false prophets. Distin-

guishing true from false apostles is, as we have seen, central to Langland's world view as well. The most dangerous characters in the poem are the subtle, or even unwitting perverters of righteousness, such as Mede, who perverts just reward, and the friars, who pervert confession, and these, as we have seen, are given apocalyptic significance in any archetypal reading of the poem.

Northrop Frye has tried to describe the unifying process behind apocalyptic thought in his analysis of the theory of archetypal imagery in Anatomy of Criticism in a way that, once again, highlights the double concerns of apocalypticism with social and spiritual transformation: He writes:

The apocalyptic world, the heaven of religion,² presents, in the first place, the categories of reality in the forms of human desire, as indicated by the forms they assume under the work of human civilization. . . . The city, the garden, and the sheepfold are the organizing metaphors of the Bible and of most Christian symbolism, and they are brought into complete metaphorical identification in the book explicitly called the Apocalypse or Revelation, which has been carefully designed to form an undisplaced mythical conclusion for the Bible as a whole. From our point of view this means that the Biblical Apocalypse is our grammar of apocalyptic imagery (Anatomy of Criticism, p. 141).

All apocalypses, including the Book of Revelation, are written in times of great spiritual conflict. The apocalyptic imagination attempts to understand the course of the current conflict by transforming the participating forces into unified symbols which become the grammatical elements of an often personal or local literary language. In this thesis we have been concerned to understand how some of the ele-

ments in Piers Plowman function as selections from Langland's own apocalyptic grammar and I have tried to suggest some of the typological sources of such elements in the apocalyptic traditions available to him. Scholars have for some years recognized certain elements in Langland's apocalypticism as deriving from Revelation (e.g. Mede as the Whore of Babylon, Holy Church as the Bride of the Lamb) or from the popular eschatology (e.g. Antichrist and his followers), but until we understand the other sources of his apocalyptic grammar we can hardly begin to interpret fully his symbolic language.

What, then, are some of these elements? Common to all apocalypses, as Frye says, are the central (utopian) images of the city, the garden and the sheepfold, usually unified by the apocalyptist into a pattern of single images in which the city comes to be represented by "One Building, Temple or Stone,"³ the garden becomes "One Tree (of Life)" and the sheepfold is represented by "One [sacrificial] Lamb," and all three elements are united in "One Man" and "One God"--a priest or keeper of the Temple or Building, a gardener or farmer of the One Tree, and a shepherd of all within the sheepfold, who is willing ultimately to give his life for the sheep. In Piers Plowman Piers plays all three of these roles--as plowman and subsequent gardener of the Tree of Charity, as the humanity of Christ who gives his life on behalf of his people, and finally as the high priest of the people of Unity, the name of Langland's "One Temple or Building," itself signifying the unifying impetus common to all apocalyptic thought.

On the other side of the conflict are the multitude of false

apostles who threaten the work of spiritual transformation at every turn--and in between the two groups are the wanderers who cannot be firmly distinguished from either group. As Holy Church points out at the beginning of Piers Plowman, the vast majority of humanity falls into this last category, and Langland's dreamer must go double service in the poem as the archetypal undeclared wandering apostle and conventional visionary narrator, all of which makes him a notoriously complex character. As we have seen, apocalyptic works deal in the perpetual conflict between true and false apostles, and the literary ones often attempt to do this by analogy to the narrator's own internal spiritual conflict--here we move from the social concerns of the apocalyptic form to the spiritual ones. We saw that in an apocalypse like Hermas, the visions which the narrator experiences soon begin to be a reflection of his own spiritual state, and visionary conventions, even simple ones like the distinction between waking and sleeping, often denote spiritual condition in medieval religious visions. The question of the visionary's credibility as a prophet comes to rest upon his credentials for the position, and among these medieval audiences came to expect a portrait of a social outsider who had rejected all worldly comforts and concerns. A profound anti-intellectualism and a persistent affirmation of weak-mindedness or "foolishness" on the part of the prophet is also characteristic of the conventions which I suspect Langland was drawing upon, and perhaps playing upon as well, in his brilliant overlapping of the earnest and the ironic in Will. When working with such a controversial message, a sense of self-effacement and even self-irony was obviously

quite useful to Langland. The message of an apocalyptic vision is always polemical and is always directed at a wider audience than may be willing to hear it. Any distance which the writer can put between himself and the perceived source of the controversial ideas presented is obviously going to be useful.

The fool is, then, the perfect self-image for the apocalyptic writer. The image of the fool, which we have noted as a recurrent motif in Piers Plowman, from the enigmatic lunatic lollars to the remnant of fools who oppose Antichrist to the anti-intellectualism⁴ of Piers and the dreamer himself, is both typologically and ideologically part of the Christian apocalyptic tradition. Spiritual wisdom is worldly folly and for all the reasons we have noted the indignant voice and image of the fool is often a key element in the medieval apocalyptic grammar, an element which Langland used for the multiple purposes of self-protection, self-sanctification and self-irony.

But such ambiguity can itself be seen as part of the apocalyptic tradition. By the sixteenth century, as P. V. Brady⁵ has shown, the ambiguous propheta figure--poorly clad, mad or mentally distracted, wandering, denunciatory--had become a stock figure in chronicles and broadsheets, a figure who needed no interpretation for contemporary readers and whose appearances were included among the other news of wonders, portents and signs of doom which filled the pages of such popular writings. The fact that such "newer prophets," as they were called in sixteenth-century Germany, were regarded by some as true spokesmen of God and by others as pseudo-prophets and forerunners of Antichrist, and

that this stock figure was even open to parody,⁶ suggests that the ambiguity of the medieval tradition which Hildegard and Langland were drawing upon lived to attain the status of a convention in Reformation Europe. By keeping the reader guessing as to which type of fool the dreamer is, Langland both protects himself by evading full responsibility for his prophecy and solicits prophetic status for his dreamer.

Ambiguity, then, is also an element of the apocalyptic tradition with which Langland is working. Any latter-day apostle had to be greeted with a judicious skepticism, and Langland has provided the means for probatio of all the apostle figures in Piers Plowman, from the friar at the Feast of Patience, who fails miserably, to Piers, who epitomizes apostolic perfection, to the dreamer himself, who keeps the reader guessing.

Also in the grammar provided by apocalyptic tradition is the notion that the current age of crisis is a transitus through which the Church must pass in order to be purged of its evils and from which it will arise again, chastened and pure. Joachim's image of the transitus as a narrow bridge over which few will be able to pass is a vivid one. For Langland, as for a number of reformist writers, the "Noah's ark" mentality is inherent in this perception: a few "foles" gathered into Unity, or a few true brethren huddled in the storm-tossed ark of the Church, as the pseudo-Joachite writers imagined the transitus. As we have seen, much of the symbolism of these writers is highly personal. In Robert of Uzès' writings, for example, the spiritual problem of the clergy was figured forth in a vision of the Church all but submerged in

dark waters, or as a cross sprouting rotten fruit on its golden "branches"; in Hildegard, a beautiful but blemished woman giving birth to a monstrous, foul shape; in Bridget, the decaying structure of the Lateran Church in Rome, with its rusty hinges ("cardines"); in Langland, Unity being attacked by "marsed" clergy. Images of God's vengeance on the clergy range from the gutted and despoiled monasteries of Hildegard's and John of Rupescissa's prophecies to the swath cut by Bridget's chastizing forester or ploughman to the "incurable wound" which Langland and some of the Joachite writers have adapted from biblical sources. Chastened clergy, usually leading an eremetical or apostolic life, shine as the "first dawn of justice" (in Hildegard) or the stars of the heavens (in John of Rupescissa), as they are returned ad pristinum statum. Apocalyptic leaders and reformers may appear in figures as disparate as the hermit popes of Robert of Uzès and the popular Joachite prophecies, or the obscure vir praeliator of Hildegard or the holy king or emperor figures of writers like John of Rupescissa and Langland himself, but all such leaders must be models of personal sanctity, poverty and simplicity of intellectual life. And all of them, like Christ himself, are drawn from shockingly low origins.

Such are the patterns of imagery which I suspect lie behind Langland's apocalypticism. On a more strictly ideological level, we have seen how the "new" theories of the final phases of salvation history seem to underlie Langland's sense of the Church's present crisis and hoped-for renovatio. Even though Langland's use of this material is both fragmented and restrained, the apocalyptic reformist tradition

illuminates the fragments and places them into a context in which problems, such as the meaning of Conscience's pilgrimage after the coming of Antichrist, can be solved. A knowledge of reformist apocalyptic ideology also makes it less necessary to compare Langland to unorthodox and revolutionary thinkers of his day in order to find a context for some of his anticlerical and renovationist ideas.

More work on the availability of Continental apocalyptic reformist writings in fourteenth-century England should illuminate these problems even further. We could also use further study of a number of related issues in fourteenth-century English history, especially the literature of the clerical controversies, current ecclesiological views of eremiticism and the social history of this vocation (or lifestyle--since for many it seems to be the latter more than the former). Few studies of reformist thought, either general or specific, have been done on the period between the Great Reform and the Conciliar movement. Work in any of these areas would place our knowledge of Langland's reformist apocalyptic on surer ground.

As more prophetic works are edited our knowledge of the non-visionary Joachite tradition in England will be improved and the missing links in what I have called the Northern European visionary tradition should begin to be closed. What is offered here is only a beginning in that direction. The lines I have drawn from Hildegard to Robert (to John of Rupescissa) to Bridget might well be redrawn to include other figures--and the exact connection between this stemma and Piers Plowman may yet be discovered. A critical edition of the Latin text of Hermas,

as it was known to the Middle Ages, is also a desideratum--so much more could be done to enhance our understanding of which early apocalypses were widely read in the Middle Ages and of how they were read. This could help us to determine whether it is reasonable to assume that medieval readers perceived the apocalypse as a distinct genre. A study like the present one may well raise more questions than it answers, but if the questions are the right ones then half the battle is behind us.

The most important question, however, is not so much which precise bit of apocalyptic prophecy Langland used as why he would have used apocalyptic prophecy in a poem so vitally concerned with the present. I hope that by now the answer to this question is clear: Langland used fragments of the apocalyptic tradition precisely because he does not believe that the End of the World is at hand, but rather because he believes that Providence is likely to leave mankind to reap the whirlwind it has sown for itself. The apocalypticism establishes Langland's sense of urgency and indignation; if his readers were disturbed by the eschatological signs and apocalyptic allusions or implications in his portrayal of current events, so much the better. The relationship between a passionate concern for present world problems and an elusive sense of apocalyptic crisis has been much discussed by scholars of that other great religious visionary of the Middle Ages, Dante. In a recent article on Inferno XIX, Emerson and Herzman comment on the relationship between the political and apocalyptic levels of the allegory in Dante:

This same sense of the local energized by the universal is what takes place in Inferno 19. Dante emphasizes both the contemporary and the apocalyptic, the simoniac popes and Antichrist. To put the matter specifically into the critical vocabulary most often associated with the Commedia, the language of fourfold interpretation: in this canto Dante emphasizes the anagogical level in order to heighten the impact of the allegorical.⁷

Langland too sometimes emphasizes the "anagogic" or apocalyptic in order to heighten the impact of the "allegorical" or contemporary. The role of the prophet is, after all, to paint a vision for the visionless of where the road now leads and juxtapose it with a vision of where it might.

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Introduction Footnotes

¹From "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell," Plate 12, The Poetry and Prose of William Blake, ed. D. Erdman (New York, 1970), pp. 37-38.

²All references to Piers Plowman are from the C-Text, edited by Derek Pearsall, unless otherwise indicated (see "Pearsall" in the Table of Abbreviations). References to the B-Text will be preceded by "B" and will be taken from the edition of Kane and Donaldson (see "B-Text" in the Table of Abbreviations). The Table of Abbreviations contains all other abbreviated footnote references.

³Cited in Reeves, Prophetic Future, p. 2, from Sermon 81,8, trans. P. R. Brown, Augustine of Hippo (London, 1967), p. 298.

⁴Some definition of terms would be helpful at this point. My sense of the word "apocalyptic" is well summarized in this quotation from a recent article by Marjorie Reeves: "Following the original sense of the word, I take 'apocalyptic' to mean here the disclosure of hidden divine purpose in history, to which common usage has added the dimension of imminent crisis" (from "The Development of Apocalyptic Thought: Medieval Attitudes" in The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature, ed. C. A. Patrides and J. Wittreich [Ithaca, New York, 1984], p. 40). "Eschatology" properly refers to the science of the four last things: death, judgement, heaven and hell, but I use the term, as most scholars in the field of apocalyptic studies do, to refer to the events just preceding the Last Judgement as well: the onslaught of Gog and Magog, the Coming of Antichrist, the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday, and so on. An apocalyptic thinker is someone who gives evidence of insight into the meaning and course of events which is not apparent to others. When this insight involves a superior knowledge of the last things--and in the Middle Ages this is frequently the case--apocalypticism acquires an eschatological orientation, as McGinn explains:

General eschatology becomes apocalyptic when it announces details of the future course of history and the imminence of its divinely appointed end in a manner that manifestly goes beyond the mere attempt to interpret the Scriptures. New and more precise descriptions of the last events are incorporated, frequently from a new revelatory source (the Sibyl was a popular one); and traditional eschatological imagery is made more vital by being applied directly to current historical events. In many cases those involved in such activity seem to have a sense of personal mission different from traditional teaching and preaching; they receive the reputation of prophets (from "Apocalypticism in the Middle Ages: An Historiographical Sketch," Medieval Studies XXXVII (1975) pp. 253-54).

A "prophet," in the modern sense of "one who predicts future events," captures only part of the meaning which is conveyed by medieval uses of

the term. The older sense of "one who speaks on behalf of God," that is, one who puts God's point of view to a particular (usually straying) people, gives a better understanding of the role and stance of such a figure. For some of the major apocalyptic thinkers of the period, like Joachim of Fiore and Hildegard of Bingen, prophecy also involved a special insight into the meaning of the Scriptures and into Salvation History itself. Finally, a visionary is "one who has visions; one to whom unknown or future things are revealed," with a special emphasis on receiving the communication in a visual way. (The above definitions are from the O.E.D.)

⁵There seems to be no consensus among scholars as to what the "new" apocalyptic theory of the later Middle Ages should be called. I have used the term "new" to distinguish it from the more established, popular eschatology (described below) which had its roots in various biblical passages, Sibylline sources, Pseudo-Methodius and Adso of Montier-en-Der's short treatise on Antichrist in his well-known letter to Queen Gerberga (see McGinn, Emerson, and the article by Marjorie Reeves cited above in note 4, pp. 42-47). Robert Lerner has recently written an article in which he suggests that (what I have called) the "old" and "new" apocalyptic theories might be distinguished from each other as "pre-" and "post-Antichrist chiliasm" (see Lerner, "Black Death," pp. 541ff. and see Chapter III, notes 284 and 285 of this thesis), according to whether any given writer foresaw better times to come before or after the reign of Antichrist. Although this is a very useful distinction, as an index of apocalyptic optimism, it creates some problems of application. For example, both Hildegard of Bingen and Joachim of Fiore depart significantly from the traditional Augustinian and the popular Sibylline eschatology in prophesying a period of spiritual renewal after Antichrist. But Hildegard's post-Antichrist renewal is really of less significance as a marker of historical optimism than her pre-Antichrist renewal(s): the former is really just a flourish of glory for the Church at the end of history; but the latter marks a real, radical sense of spiritual meliorism within history (Hildegard's apocalyptic programme is discussed in greater detail below in Chapter I). As Lerner himself has shown (see "Refreshment," p. 119) there are problems with over-emphasizing the optimism of the post-Antichrist period, because even Joachim of Fiore conforms somewhat to the pessimism of the old eschatology in his view of a brief but final Antichrist (symbolized by the Dragon's tail in the Book of Revelation) at the end of history. The main concern for all these writers (and, therefore, I think, for us) is really with what they see to be imminent crisis and renewal. Therefore, even though the question of how an apocalyptic writer saw the end of history is important, it is perhaps less important for our understanding of the contribution of apocalypticism to medieval thought than the question of their renewalist tendencies long before the End. I prefer, then, to emphasize the distinction between the old Augustinian historical pessimism and the optimism of "new" apocalyptic theories, the optimism of the latter differing from the popular pre-Antichrist chiliasm of the Sibylline

tradition in its new emphasis on spiritual and clerical (as opposed to material renewal). The term "pre-eschatological" apocalypticism simply denotes the view of a writer who envisions apocalyptic events before the traditional eschatological events of the "old" eschatology. The term "reformist" is not entirely adequate to cover all writers included in the "new" apocalypticism for the reasons given above. It is to be hoped that a suitable term can be found soon which will gain general acceptance and help us avoid the confusions of the present.

⁶The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Notre Dame, 1964; repr. of Oxford 1952 edition), pp. 291-92.

⁷See note 5 above on some of the sources of this pattern.

⁸For the ideas gathered below see: Töpfer, 47; McGinn, 95; Czarski, 19-21; and Lerner, "Refreshment," pp. 110-12.

⁹The difference between writers who use apocalyptic rhetoric for effect and those who have a distinctive interest in apocalyptic thought is usually immediately evident to anyone who has tried to fathom the complexities of the latter. Perhaps the difference could best be summarized by saying that those who use terms like "antichrist" or "pseudo-prophets" purely for effect have no apocalyptic system in mind. The reference usually lacks any meaning beyond the most superficial and therefore falls flat (e.g. as in Wycliffite tracts).

¹⁰See McGinn, p. 94.

¹¹Töpfer, p. 47.

¹²As mentioned above, Joachim of Fiore differs somewhat from other apocalyptic reformist writers in envisioning a new and better monastic system for the period of renewal after Antichrist. The word "lifestyle" is not a particularly happy one here because of its modern connotations, but it is the most precise word I can think of to describe the focal point of clerical concerns with apostolic perfection.

¹³See the section below entitled "Sources of Apocalyptic Thought in Medieval Britain."

¹⁴Cited in R. W. Southern, "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 3. History as Prophecy," Presidential Address to the Royal Historical Association, Transactions of the Royal Historical Association, 5th series, #22 (1972), pp. 172-72. On the use of translated passages from other scholars see note 15 below.

¹⁵The Latin texts for quotations which I have translated can be found in Appendix A (references to these quotations are designated by superscript letters to distinguish them from footnotes). I have not provided Latin texts for translated material from authoritative sources,

although in most cases I have been able to check these against the originals. (In a few cases, where the original is unpublished, I have provided the Latin text as well.) Until the recent publication of McGinn's Visions of the End and his Apocalyptic Spirituality, almost nothing from the apocalyptic works cited here was available in translation, and it has been a great help to have such an excellent model to follow in the often difficult task of translating some of these eccentric writers. In order to make this thesis a practical proposition from the standpoint of time and resources, I have been forced to restrict my choice of prophetic texts to those which have already been edited or transcribed, although there is much interesting material still in MS form.

¹⁶McGinn's own excellent but only recently published book (Visions of the End) is perhaps the closest thing to a guidebook to the field (see Table of Abbreviations). The quotation from McGinn just cited is from p. 252 of the article cited in note 4 above.

¹⁷See Reeves, Influence, pp. 165-66, 184-85 and 398-99.

¹⁸See the discussion of Gebeno's Pentachron in Chapter I below.

¹⁹The writer of The Last Age of the Church, discussed in Chapter III of this thesis, similarly prophesies clerical chastisement.

²⁰I.e. I define a "user" (as opposed to an author of such prophecies) as a writer who cites apocalyptic prophecy in a chronicle, sermon or other work. Whether Langland is an author or simply a user (or adapter) of such material in his prophetic passages is an interesting but, as yet, unanswerable question.

²¹Lerner suggests that post-Antichrist chiliasm (to use his terminology) was the province of theologians (see "Black Death," pp. 539-40 and p. 544) rather than popular writers.

²²Cf. the following passage from a fourteenth-century prophecy translated by Fleming in which, upon the anointing of a holy Last World Emperor figure, "ecstasy, fear and trembling will lay hold of the people. Afterward, striking their breasts, with tears running down their cheeks, and lifting their hands to the sky, they will say: 'So be it Lord, since you have given us that man, he pleases us'" (Fleming, pp. 135-36).

²³See for example the use of Saturn in the "Tripoli Prophecy" (Lerner, Powers).

²⁴"The Spheres and Planets," ed. F. J. Furnivall in The Book of Quinte Essence, E.E.T.S. #16 (London, 1866), p. 26.

²⁵All quotations from the Vulgate are taken from the Douay-Rheims translation in The Holy Bible: Douai Version (London, 1956). I have used the edition of the Vulgate cited in the Table of Abbreviations under "Vulgate."

²⁶See for example the prophetic passages involving wind-storms in Fleming, p. 134 and p. 160, or in the "Toledo Letter" (Lerner, Powers, p. 191). On the tree (often the Tree of Life) as a common motif in visions and apocalypses see Rüegg, pp. 100-8. In the Apocalypse of Paul, for example, which was very popular in the Middle Ages, Paul enters a garden which contains the Tree of Life and is greeted there by the patriarchs. Langland may have had this type of vision in mind when he wrote his Tree of Charity passage.

²⁷As, for example, John of Rupescissa (see Chapter III). For a discussion of the dangers of writing political prophecy in medieval Britain see Caroline D. Eckhardt, The Prophetia Merlini of Geoffrey of Monmouth: A Fifteenth-Century English Commentary (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 30ff.

²⁸See W. Heist, The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday (Detroit, 1952), pp. 28, 93-94 and 189-90.

²⁹Although Langland really never overtly discusses prophecy, there are a few places in the poem where he speaks of prophecy approvingly, for example, in XXI. 242-44, where he places the vocation of the prophet among those needful for society, classing it as a gift from the Holy Spirit. Similarly, the lunatic lollars who, for Langland, lead the most "perfect" of Christian lives, are graced with the gift of prophecy and he elsewhere portrays prophets as the most stoical sufferers of patient poverty (XII. 197-202).

³⁰See O'Sullivan on the political prophecies in Cotton Rolls ii. 23 and see Richard the Redeless, ed. M. Day and R. Steele, E.E.T.S. #199 (London, 1936), III. Lines 68-72.

³¹Ed. J. R. Lumby in Bernardus De Cura Rei Familiaris, E.E.T.S. #42 (London, 1870), Lines 225-33.

³²See the Prologue of "Winner and Waster" (lines 13ff.), ed. I. Gollancz, Select Early English Poems III (London, 1930).

³³See King Lear, Act III, Scene ii, lines 80-94.

³⁴J. Murray, The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune, E.E.T.S. #61 (London, 1875).

³⁵Discussed below in the section entitled "Previous Scholarship on Langland's Apocalypticism."

³⁶See the various Appendices of Reeves, Influence, and passim.

³⁷See Bloomfield, Appendix A and Bloomfield and Reeves, "Penetration."

³⁸See Lerner, Powers, passim and appendices.

³⁹See Bignami-Odier, Roquetaillade, appendix of extant MSS of John of Rupescissa.

⁴⁰See, for example, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 404 or the British Library copy of Super Esaiam (Venice, 1517).

⁴¹Ed. M. R. James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover (Cambridge, 1903).

⁴²See for example Bodleian MS Hatton 56 (S. C. 4062) in which there is a prophecy beginning "of wonders that shall fall after our day" (fol. 9^v) or Bodleian MS Douce 88 (S. C. 21662) in which a copy of the pseudo-Joachim "Pope Prophecies" is grouped with material on monsters and portents.

⁴³"The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York," Fasciculus J. W. Clark Dicatus (Cambridge, 1909).

⁴⁴This last item is most likely to be, coming as it does in the company of William of St. Amour, the Pseudo-Hildegardean prophecy "Insurgent gentes," discussed in Chapter III of this thesis.

⁴⁵The list of John Erghome's prophetic books occurs on pp. 53-54, #361.

⁴⁶As, for example, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 138, which contains Pseudo-Joachite prophecies and a work by John of Rupescissa along with a variety of historical and political pieces. Similarly, MS Lincoln's Inn Hall 73 and Trinity College Cambridge MS 740 are copies of the Eulogium Historiarum with texts of John of Rupescissa's Vade Mecum inserted in the middle (see N. R. Ker, Medieval MSS in British Libraries (London, 1969) Volume I, p. 127). Yet another type of historically-oriented MS which carries prophetic material is well-represented by Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 288, which contains a number of works relating to the Tartars along with a prophecy of Hildegard's and some theological material. On the threat of the Tartars as a focal point for apocalyptic thought, especially in the thirteenth century (which is when CCC 288 dates from) see Lerner, Powers.

⁴⁷See for example MS Phillips 3119 (described in A. G. Little, ed., Fratrus Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de

Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam (Manchester, 1915), pp. xivff.) or Trinity College, Dublin MS 514 (which also contains some historical works).

⁴⁸For prophecies in the midst of anticlerical and/or antimendicant texts see MS Digby 98 or MS Bodley 158 (S. C. 1997). Goliardic material occurs with a number of prophecies in MS Bodley 233 (S. C. 2188).

⁴⁹Theological works are a very common context for apocalyptic reformist prophecy: see for example MS Bodley 397 (S. C. 2228) which contains a pseudo-Joachite prophecy along with some other pieces relating to Salvation History. See also MS Trinity College, Dublin 347, which contains largely theological works, a geographical tract and some Joachite prophecies, or Trinity College, Dublin 517, which contains a prophecy of Hildegard's amidst several texts of clerical interest.

⁵⁰E. G. Bodleian MS Arch. Selden B. 8 (S. C. 3338).

⁵¹On Henry of Kirkstede see R. H. Rouse, "Bostonus Buriensis and the author of the Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiae," Speculum XLI (1966), pp. 471-99, and on Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 404 itself see especially the insightful commentary in Lerner's Powers, Chapter V. For listings of MSS partly or largely given over to Joachite texts, see notes 36-39 above.

⁵²My guess, however, is that if Langland had ever got hold of anything as comprehensive as Kirkstede's anthology we would see more evidence of it in Piers Plowman. Other interesting anthologies of popular Latin religious prophecy include Bodleian MS Hatton 56 (S. C. 4062) and Trinity College, Dublin MS 516. Although these MSS contain political prophecies as well, they show a definite interest in prophecy of Church reform.

⁵³Some of these citations will be mentioned in the chapters that follow. Marjorie Reeves has noted citations of Joachim, Joachite or related prophetic material in English medieval chronicles in: Galfridus le Baker of Swynebroke (Influence, p. 83); Roger of Wendover (Influence, pp. 45-46, 65 n. 1); Ralph of Coggeshall (Influence, pp. 12-14 and passim); J. Capgrave (Influence, p. 70); the Eulogium Historiarum (Influence, pp. 73-74); Matthew Paris (Influence, p. 49, p. 62 and passim), Peter of Langtoft (Influence, p. 50, n. 3 and p. 312, n. 1); Luke Wadding (Influence, p. 105 and pp. 239-41); Walter of Coventry (Influence, p. 312, n. 1); Henry Herford (Influence, p. 65, n. 1 and p. 170) and Roger of Howden (Influence, pp. 7-10 and passim). See also Lerner, Powers and M. Haeusler, Das Ende der Geschichte in der Mittelalterlichen Weltchronistik (Cologne, 1980) for treatments of a number of English chronicles with prophetic content, including some not listed above.

⁵⁴Speculum Historiale, Chapter CVIII (Graz, 1964-65, facsimile reprint of the Douai, 1624 edition), Volume 4, pp. 1324-25.

⁵⁵A number of these citations by English writers will be mentioned in the following chapters. See also Reeves, Influence, passim and Bloomfield, passim.

⁵⁶J. J. Jusserand, Piers Plowman: A Contribution to the History of English Mysticism (London, 1894).

⁵⁷On the connection between Langland's Franciscanism and his apocalypticism see the discussion below and see further in Chapter III of this thesis.

⁵⁸The relation of vision to autobiography will be discussed in Chapters I and II of this thesis.

⁵⁹See Frank, p. 17, n. 4 and Wells, p. 129, and see below, Chapter III for a discussion of their views.

⁶⁰Again, discussed in Chapter III below.

⁶¹For example, his stress on the notion that monasticism was eschatological in its point of view is certainly true in one sense, but seems remote from the very practical concerns of Langland's poem. Closer to the mark, I believe, is Bloomfield's concern with perfection, a question which exercised almost every thinking individual in Langland's time with regard to the validity of the various clerical lifestyles and their relation to the apostolica vita. Bloomfield is absolutely right to emphasize this aspect of Langland's concern with perfection although, as I have said, a treatment of the issue broader than simply the monastic view and a more explicit explanation of how the clerical "perfection" controversies related to medieval apocalypticism would have helped. It is hoped that this thesis will build upon Bloomfield's work by making some of these connections clearer, although a good monograph on the subject of clerical perfection in Piers Plowman would be helpful (the apocalyptic aspect is only one part of this problem). However, it should be underlined that the need for such explicitness would be less necessary if other Piers Plowman scholars had the requisite energy for understanding the ecclesiological background to Langland's poem.

⁶²Kell, p. 25 and n. 47; Kaske's comment appears in Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 62 (1963), p. 204.

⁶³See Holdsworth, p. 152 and the discussion of this subject below in Chapter I.

⁶⁴The relation of this thesis to Bloomfield's study is set out in more detail in Chapter III below.

⁶⁵M. W. Bloomfield, "Piers Plowman and the Three Grades of Chastity," Anglia 76 (1958), pp. 227-53.

⁶⁶Actually, one could argue that the tree does at least show the beginnings of an historical progression in the subsequent falling of the fruits as Old Testament patriarchs; however, Reeves regards this as a problem rather than as an indication of Joachite possibility (see her comment quoted below). This point highlights the difference between the historian's and the literary critic's concerns rather interestingly.

⁶⁷Dronke has also briefly discussed Langland's tree in the light of Joachim's theories (see Dronke, "Arbor," pp. 216ff.), finding Langland's treatment of Liberum Arbitrium to be quite similar to Joachim's.

⁶⁸Kaske's article appears in Anglia 77 (1959), pp. 117-44.

⁶⁹See K. Hoffman, "The Burning of 'Boke' in Piers Plowman," Modern Language Quarterly 25 (1964), pp. 57-65.

⁷⁰See especially Raymond St.-Jacques, "Langland's Bells of the Resurrection and the Easter Liturgy," English Studies in Canada 3 (1977), pp. 129-52.

⁷¹A number of other scholars have tried to dissociate Langland from Joachim of Fiore, although usually with less lucidity than Hoffman's refutation of Joachism in the speech of Book. For example, Erzgräber has tried to argue against Joachite influence on Piers Plowman by focusing on a few uncontextualized comments on Joachim of Fiore gleaned from H. Grundmann's Studien über Joachim von Floris (Leipzig, 1927). He cites a passage in which Grundmann (speaking of the period of spiritual fulfillment which Joachim expected in the third status) waxes eloquent about this time in which "our relations with God will no longer require the mediation of priests, sacraments and writings" ("... unsere Beziehungen zu Gott nicht mehr der Vermittlung von Priestertum, Sakramentum und Schriften bedarf," cited p. 73). Taking this as a literal rejection of the priesthood and sacraments by Joachim, Erzgräber bases his anti-Joachite argument on this dubious point by contrasting this view with Langland's. Erzgräber continues with the argument (p. 74) that Langland does not place the same emphasis upon the Holy Ghost as Joachim did and again cites Grundmann (p. 75) out of context to suggest that the abbot of Fiore saw Christ only as "an historical 'development-factor'" ("ein geschichtlicher 'Entwicklungsfaktor'"), which is hardly a just or accurate rendering of Joachim's Christology. Erzgräber's attempt to disprove Joachite influence is on the whole a very dubious and misleading exercise (see W. Erzgräber, Piers Plowman (Heidelberg, 1957), pp. 72-76).

⁷²See especially Bourquin and Bloomfield. In a recent thesis on poverty in Piers Plowman, Lynne Hunt Levy has argued for

Joachite influence, although with little real sense of either the implications of her argument or of the connection between the two themes of poverty and prophecy in the poem. She is, however, correct in her view that if Joachim's Trinitarian scheme is to be applied to the poem it should be done in such a way as not to force the third status upon it (see Chapter III below). Levy also gives a number of standard medieval non-Franciscan sources for the ideals of poverty which are useful. See Lynne Hunt Levy, "Piers Plowman and the Concept of Poverty," Ph.D. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1976.

⁷³See Leff, vol. I, Part One.

⁷⁴See M. W. Bloomfield, Essays and Explorations: Studies in Ideas, Language and Literature (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 165-66.

⁷⁵Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, p. 141.

⁷⁶See Emerson, pp. 197ff. and notes 78 and 79, and see also Frank, "The Conclusion of Piers Plowman" (discussed below), p. 309 and notes 2 through 10.

⁷⁷See Adams and further discussion of his article in Chapter III of this thesis.

⁷⁸In an extremely eccentric reading of Piers Plowman Walter Johnson has attempted (to quote his abstract) "to debunk several aspects of Piers Plowman and its author: indeed, its major claim is that Langland himself tries to effect just such a debunking in each of the three areas mentioned: that he makes no attempt to predict the earthly future and mocks those who do, that he has no pretensions to privileged visionary status and is wary of the spiritual dangers inherent in such pretensions; and, finally, that he has little use for visions of divinity that fail to enlighten the moral conduct of daily life." Johnson espouses some singular views of the poem; for example, he puts forward the notion that the B and C texts are not a progressive series of revisions (he prefers to think of A and C as "redactions for non-clerical audiences"), and the notion that Reason, Conscience and other authoritative speakers are misleading and untrustworthy, and the notion that Will is a deceptive, hypocritical and evil character. One thing that can be said for the thesis is that it does not lack originality (Walter Thomas Johnson, "The Prophecy of William Langland," University of California at Irvine Ph.D. thesis, 1977). Ira R. Adams, "Narrative Techniques and the Apocalyptic Mode of Thought in Piers Plowman" (University of Virginia Ph.D. thesis, 1973) is similarly, but less spectacularly, unreliable and unsubstantial.

⁷⁹A. V. Globe, "Apocalyptic Themes in the Sibylline Oracles, the Revelation, Langland, Spenser and Marvell," University of Toronto Ph.D. thesis, 1970.

⁸⁰An English Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse with Commentary,
ed. E. Fridner (Lund, 1961).

⁸¹It might be noted here that Fowler creates the illusion of having discussed Langland's use of motifs from the Apocalypse in his chapter entitled "The Apostolic Age and Apocalypse." The discussion, beginning on p. 156 and continuing to the end of the chapter, has virtually no substance (see David C. Fowler, Piers Plowman: Literary Relation of the A and B Texts (Seattle, 1961)).

⁸²For a discussion of the problems of Cohn's study see Lerner, "Dissent," p. 19.

⁸³Michael Klein, "The Apocalyptic Configuration in Literature: A Study of Fragmentation and Contradiction in Piers Plowman and its Implication for Modern Literature," University of Sussex D.Phil. thesis, 1973.

Chapter I Footnotes

¹On Hildegard's life see Schrader, c. 506; Dronke, Women Writers, pp. 144-83; Dronke's bibliographical entry on Hildegard (pp. 326-27) gives further references.

²Other German apocalyptic thinkers of the time include Rupert of Deutz, Otto of Freising and Gerhoh of Reichersberg. See McGinn, pp. 94-102 and accompanying notes, for introductory and preliminary bibliographical material on these writers.

³Hildegard also exerted her influence on two distinct types of literature related to apocalyptic thought: antimendicant writings (often through the spurious prophecy "Insurgente gentes" usually attributed to her in later antimendicant anthologies) and reformation polemics (see Reeves, Influence, passim). See Schrader, c. 519 for a brief treatment of Hildegard's later influence. As well as citations in contemporary sources, both medieval and modern library catalogues testify to the availability of her prophetic works in England.

⁴It is important to realize that many writers stayed with traditional sources, whether out of choice or ignorance is usually difficult to say. Reticence to use such material is understandable (because of its polemical and highly controversial nature many writers and compilers probably avoided it). We do not know enough about the users of later medieval apocalyptic prophecy but it is probably fair to say that those who made much use of such material were prepared to be considered radical in some way.

⁵See Roth, pp. LX-LXXXVI, for further references to mentions of these two visionaries in contemporary chronicles.

⁶On Hildegard's correspondence see Briefwechsel; Echtheit; Dronke, Women Writers, pp. 183ff.; Czarski, chapter III. For more general comments see Schrader, c. 513 and Franche, pp. 111ff.

⁷See, for example, Ep. LII, c. 269, from Werner of Kirchheim and Ep. CXLIV, c. 380, from a Cistercian prior.

⁸See Dronke, Women Writers, p. 190, on Hazzecha of Krauftal. It seems that Dronke was unaware that other abbesses had written Hildegard with the same problem (see, for example, Ep. C, c. 321 and Ep. CI, c. 322) and that he jumped too swiftly to the conclusion that the unidentified letter was Hazzecha's.

⁹See Dronke, Women Writers, p. 149 and Schrader, c. 514, on Hildegard's contacts with scholars. The monks of Villers sent thirty-eight questions to her on various mysteries such as the problem of what type of bodies the angels who appeared to Abraham had or what

type of fire burned in the burning bush Moses saw. See McDonnell, p. 288.

¹⁰See Dronke, Women Writers, pp. 163ff.

¹¹"Ego autem timida et paupercula per duos annos valde fatigata sum, ut coram magistris et doctoribus ac caeteris sapientibus in quibusdam majoribus locis ubi mansio illorum est, vivente voce ista proferrem. Sed quia Ecclesia divisa erat, vocem hanc interim subtraxi" (Ep. XLVIII c. 253B). This remark, which ends the letter and is not an interpolation, suggests that the schism was a powerfully disillusioning force in Hildegard's life. There is evidence that Hildegard felt compelled to do these preaching tours, see Dronke, Women Writers, p. 164 and see also Schrader c. 506 and 508.

¹²McGinn, p. 91. Although Hildegard's apocalyptic thought is unquestionably original, sources and analogues may be traced. See Liebeschütz, pp. 136ff. and pp. 146ff. and Czarski, passim.

¹³See Schrader, c. 517. Some of the problems encountered in translating Hildegard include her very original and idiosyncratic use of diction, a constant switching of tenses (this may or may not be related to the prophetic theme of the passage) and a frustratingly vague use of multiple pronouns often without clear antecedents, as well as the unreliability of present editions of works other than Scivias (see below).

¹⁴On Hildegard's competence in Latin see below, p. 167 and n. 160; p. 177. On the whole question of her "collaborators" see Echtheit, pp. 180ff.; Dronke, Women Writers, p. 307, n. 11; Schrader, c. 518 and A. Derolez, "The Genesis of Hildegard of Bingen's LDO," Litterae Textuales. Essays presented to G. I. Lieftinck (2 vols, Amsterdam, 1972), II, pp. 23-33.

¹⁵See Hayes, p. 366.

¹⁶See Russell, ch. IV, especially p. 118ff.

¹⁷Langland shows a definite but fragmentary knowledge of specific elements of the new apocalyptic theory, however this is underpinned by his powerful and obsessively thorough-going grasp of the issues and ideologies involved. The question for scholarship is this: to what extent do his concerns with these issues and ideologies stem from the influence of prophetic texts and to what extent do they arise from non-prophetic sources.

¹⁸Czarski, Rauh, Töpfer and Liebeschütz. See the Table of Abbreviations for specific page numbers in the cases of Rauh and Töpfer.

¹⁹However, we are still talking about texts written, in most cases, in Latin rather than the vernacular, thus qualifying the word

'popular' somewhat.

²⁰Schrader and Führkötter have done a thorough study of the letters in W and Z (Echtheit, p. 59ff.) and give a list of the genuine letters in each MS (that is, those which can be verified from W or Z or both, p. 84ff.).

²¹B presents a particular problem in that it contains virtually no addressees. Each letter has been made into a small treatise or homily by omitting the addressee and by supplying a title. The motive of the B redactor was purely didactic. Two of the unpublished letters from B are edited in Echtheit, three more in Dronke's "Problemata" and several more in his Women Writers. See Echtheit, p. 79ff.

²²Czarski, p. 101, n. 10; Echtheit, p. 159ff.

²³See, for example, Hildegard's letter to the clergy of Cologne which in the version extracted in the Pent. contains an interpolated section from the R tradition (discussed below, p. 33).

²⁴See below, note 27.

²⁵F. Haug, "Epistolae Sanctae Hildegardis," Revue Bénédictine 43 (1931) pp. 59-71.

²⁶Indications are that the number of extracts varies in different MSS of the compilation and that some have Gebeno's commentary while others do not. See Hauréau, p. 619 and Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue Général des Manuscrits Latins (Paris, 1966), vol. V, description of MS 3222, p. 187.

²⁷Hildegard's other works remained virtually unknown until the nineteenth century. Czarski has pointed out that while only four MSS of the LDO and ten of Scivias survive, there are, according to Pitra "innumerable" MSS of the Pent. in European libraries (p. 483, n. 1). No listing of all the MSS has been made, although Schrader and Führkötter suggested in a note in Echtheit (p. 8) that A. Borst was editing the compilation for MGH (I have found no trace of this edition). The editing of this work would be a difficult task, not only because of the number of MSS (for example, there are at least 11 in the Bibliothèque Nationale alone), but also because of the variations between MSS.

²⁸"sed laboris sui aeternam mercedem eos credimus recepisse."

²⁹"Benedictionis coelestis rore repleatur, qui hanc prophetiam amplexus fuerit, et qui eam in corde suo tenuerit; atque qui eam in vias planas produxerit."

³⁰"Igitur ad confutandos et convincendos hujusmodi pseudo-prophetas, libellum hunc compilavi."

³¹Pitra, p. 484, n. 1; Hauréau, pp. 616-17; Bloomfield and Reeves, "Penetration," pp. 789-90; Czarski, pp. 216ff.

³²p. 789. Presumably Bloomfield and Reeves mean by this comment a reference to the passage in which Gebeno gives his divisions of post-Incarnation history into seven ages, although this is by no means limited to Joachite thought. By their own admission the discussion of Joachim's doctrine seems to have been limited to his prophecy of the birth of Antichrist (see p. 790).

³³"Igitur ad confutandos et convincendos hujusmodi pseudo-prophetas, libellum hunc compilavi; maxime autem propter correctionem et emendationem claustralium et cleri eum descripsi, quia juxta prophetiam beatae virginis, gravissimi schismatis laqueus et confusionis in fine illius primi temporis super omnem clerum et ordinem ecclesiasticum extenderetur, ita ut de patria et locis suis expellantur, ubi Dei clementiam ad misericordiam ardore sacrae devotionis studeant revocare." (Pitra, p. 484).

³⁴"quia eorum suasionem et machinationem multa claustra destruentur" (p. 487).

³⁵This whole problem of later antimendicant "uses" of Hildegard's prophecies will be looked at in more detail in Chapter III. For what must be the earliest evidence that Hildegard was read as an antifraternal writer see McDonnell, p. 294; and see below, p. 111ff.

³⁶On Hildegard's cosmology see Liebeschütz, p. 119ff.; on her concept of man as microcosm of the greater macrocosm, see Schrader, c. 512 and Scholz, p. 365. Hildegard's cosmological metaphor for man is common in visionary writers who often use the symbolism of cosmological conflict to portray psychological and spiritual struggle, as is the case, for example, in Blake's prophetic books. Many passages in Hildegard have a Blakean quality, for example "the Word of God grows bright in the shape of man and thus we [the Virtues] shine within him, building up the limbs of his beautiful body" (from Ordo Virtutum, trans. Dronke, Poetic Individuality, p. 171).

³⁷Citation of one of Hildegard's writings will be done by reference to the work (Ep = Epistle, LDO, Sci., PSVD), edition, and location in the edition. Pent. at the end of the citation means that the passage is also found in the Pentachron.

³⁸See Liebeschütz, pp. 121, 126-27 and 139 especially.

³⁹The pattern (often including Abel as well) is used in many places. See for example PVSD, p. 53ff., and Ep. XLVIII, c. 245. Her periodization of Old Testament history follows a pattern which dates back to Origen and was made popular in the Middle Ages by Jerome and Gregory (Czarski, pp. 13-14 and p. 108, n. 66). Origen also correlated these Old Testament figures and their respective ages with the hours of the day (based on Christ's parable of the workers in the vineyard) and with the ages of man (Czarski, *ibid.*). It may be worth noting here, in view of Langland's use of the Abraham--Moses--Good Samaritan/Christ typology, that Hildegard too singles out Abraham and Moses for special treatment: "Sed et Abraham et Moyses, quasi duo planetae incarnationis Filii erant, quemadmodum et planetae velut flamma ignis sunt" (PVSD, Pitra, p. 353). Hildegard's treatment of the two figures is rather different in emphasis from Langland's. Hildegard emphasizes Abraham's obedience to God in his institution of circumcision, which, she asserts rather graphically, "wounded the neck of the old serpent" (*ibid.*). For Hildegard, circumcision was a prefiguration of the vows of chastity of the Christian priesthood; for Langland it seems to be a kind of blood sacrifice (C. XVII. 252ff.) and it is certainly not treated as the most important aspect of Abraham's service to God. Both Langland and Hildegard also focus on the visit of "the Trinity" to Abraham (C. XVIII. 240ff. and Pitra, *ibid.*). Hildegard remembers Moses for his giving of the Law, his obedience through mortification of the flesh and his offering of animal sacrifices, which in her view prefigure Christ's own sacrifice (*ibid.*), while for Langland he is mainly a law-giver (C. XIX. 1ff.).

⁴⁰See below, pp. 134-35.

⁴¹p. 143.

⁴²Russell, p. 106.

⁴³Czarski, p. 14.

⁴⁴Langland exploited the imagery of the Augustinian scheme in Passus XXII in his portrayal of the onslaught of "Elde" (XXII. 165ff.) in which even the dreamer himself is attacked.

⁴⁵"Quantum vero temporis ad finem saeculi & aduentum iudicis supersit, certum est neminem mortalem esse, qui nouerit; nisi forsitan Dominus alicui speciali gratia reuelauerit." Speculum quadruplex sive speculum maius (reprint of Douai, 1624 edition, 4 vols., Graz, 1964-65), vol. 4, p. 1324.

⁴⁶Hildegard also sees something of a renewed evangelism during her own time (the seventh age), see below p. 19. Scholars often use the prediction of a period of spiritual renewal after Antichrist as a measuring stick for the originality or radicalism of an apocalyptic writer (see for example Reeves, "Originality," passim), although Robert

Lerner has shown that the forecasting of a period of renewal after Antichrist is not as unorthodox as scholars like Reeves have suggested (see Lerner's "Refreshment"). A widespread or prolonged renewal predicted after the coming of Antichrist is definitely a signal of the influence of the new apocalyptic thought on a writer, since there is no traditional precedent for this in standard exegesis. As Lerner has shown, Jerome opened the door for exegetes to predict a limited period of spiritual renewal after Antichrist and the seeds of this radical motif can therefore be found in a number of very orthodox writers. Hildegard is among those who predicted a renewal after Antichrist (see note 5 of the Introduction to this thesis and see Lerner, "Refreshment," pp. 112-13).

⁴⁷In the years between the completion of Scivias (1151) and the completion of the LDO (1174) Hildegard saw renewed conflict between Papacy and Empire, the Papal Schism created by Emperor Frederick in 1159, and she condemned the corruption of Pope Anastasius IV (1153-54), as well as that of her local archbishop and papal legates. Her many preaching tours and visits to other monasteries also brought her into contact with a wide range of people and, one imagines, standards of observance. Her vast correspondence is witness to her ceaseless attempts to urge reform and castigate corruption. See Czarski, p. 123ff. and Schrader, c. 508.

⁴⁸"Vt enim praedictum est, in sex diebus perfecit Deus opera sua. Quinque dies quinque numeri saeculi sunt; in sexto noua miracula in terris propalata sunt, uelut in sexta die primus homo formatus est. Sed nunc sextus numerus finitus est usque ad septimum numerum, in quo nunc cursus mundi uelut in septima die requiei positus est" (Sci. III, 11, 23, 445-55). See below p. 77. Czarski does not seem to have noticed this passage and refers throughout his thesis to Hildegard's own time as the sixth age. Töpfer, however (p. 38), mentions this odd departure in Hildegard's thought from the traditional Augustinian theory, but does not speculate on the reason for it. I am grateful to Dyan Elliott for sharing with me her unpublished paper "Prophecy and Permissible Knowledge in Hildegard of Bingen's Scivias," which first directed my attention to this passage and to the one in the following note.

⁴⁹Sci. III, 11, 18, 385-90. See below p. 77. On Hildegard's concept of achieving a deeper and more direct understanding of divine truth see Töpfer, p. 37.

⁵⁰"Parfitness" is a commonly recurring word in his vocabulary. See for example the autobiographical passage in V. 90 and the second disendowment prophecy (XVII. 299), just two examples of many uses throughout the poem.

⁵¹See especially Ch. II and Ch. V of Bloomfield's Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse, but the concept is a key one throughout the whole book.

⁵²Of visionaries see for example Elizabeth of Schönau's treatise "Liber Viarum Dei" and see Holdsworth, p. 152; among apocalyptic writers the concept was especially a concern of Franciscan Joachites. The concept was, of course, of interest to many other non-apocalyptic writers.

⁵³"Tu enim es uelut incipiens et non quasi perficiens, quia bonum tangis in inceptione, sed illo te non pascis in perfectione, ut uentus qui os hominis percutit et non sicut esca quae in uentrem eius uadit."

⁵⁴"Et quoniam isti recto foederi patrum suorum non adhaerent, idcirco semper noui et rudes in magna instabilitate hac et illac secundum uoluntatem suam uagantur" (II, 5, 28, 954-57). See also Leclercq, pp. 223-24 on Hildegard's animus against vagatio.

⁵⁵See for example Dronke, Women Writers, on Hildegard's letter to Tengiswindis, p. 165ff.

⁵⁶"Vnde ne exspiratio Spiritus sancti quae in antiquis patribus operabantur per superbam inflationem euacuetur, uolo ut fidei homini cum humilitate sufficiat quod sibi a praedecessoribus suis institutum est, ne si plus inaniter uoluerit quam humiliter quaerere debuerat, postea tepefactus inde recedens ex hoc ruborem confusionis accipiat, ut in euangelio scriptum est" (II, 5, 30, 978-83).

⁵⁷On possible sources for the five symbols see Rauh, p. 509; Liebeschütz, pp. 123 and 154.

⁵⁸On Hildegard's theory of the North, seat of Satan, see Rauh, p. 508 and Ep. LI, c. 261-62.

⁵⁹The vision is translated by McGinn, with some notes and commentary, pp. 100-2. McGinn used the PL edition of Scivias, but there are no significant variants with the new edition in the passage quoted below.

⁶⁰In this description Hildegard says that many kingdoms will be divided and fall (Sci. III, 11, 6), which may be the root of her later predictions that the Empire and Papacy will be dissolved in the final stages of history. See below, p. 144ff.

⁶¹For a summary of her exegesis of this passage see McGinn's notes to pp. 100-1. An example of her similarly arbitrary biblical exegesis may be found in LDO, c. 909.

⁶²On the blurring of images in visionary writing, see Heatt, passim and see below, p. 192.

⁶³See Czarski, ch. II (on Scivias) and see also Töpfer, p. 37, who suggests that the later LDO alters the emphasis in Scivias on

inner change towards an outer revolution in Church reform.

⁶⁴See Rauh, pp. 512-13.

⁶⁵This point--and thus the whole point of Langland's use of apocalyptic elements--is missed by D. Aers in his very hasty essay "Langland, Apocalypse and Saeculum" (see Aers, pp. 67ff.).

⁶⁶See below, p. 105.

⁶⁷Hildegard's time of feminine (or effeminate) debility is a metaphor for prevalent spiritual weakness, grounded upon her not wholly complimentary view of the female character. See Scholz, pp. 367-69. This was one of the most well known Hildegardean concepts, often cited in later medieval works (see for example Vincent of Beauvais [n. 45 above], p. 1325).

⁶⁸Ed. Macaulay (Oxford, 1904),, vol. II, lines 3056-62.

⁶⁹See translation of this passage on p. 199 below and see Töpfer, p. 34.

⁷⁰I have emended "sanat" to "sonat" (c. 1013B) in order to make sense of this line.

⁷¹Langland uses similar imagery in IX. 260-61.

⁷²Töpfer, p. 35. Compare for example the prediction of Gerhoh of Reichersberg (who as a canon was a member of one of the new orders) that the reform would come through a change of heart (Czarski, p. 199, n. 179).

⁷³A similar situation surrounds Langland's disendowment prophecies. On the resentment of both the English nobility and the friars against the wealth of the possessioners in the period shortly before 1370 and subsequent calls for disendowment, see David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (Cambridge, 1955), II, pp. 67-68. (For a more detailed discussion of this problem see Ch. III of this thesis.) It should be noted, however, that Langland chose to cast his own treatment of the topic into an apocalyptic and prophetic form. This would be, of course, because the traditional discussions of the subject had often been characterized by apocalyptic influence.

⁷⁴Hildegard's sympathy with those excluded from the power bases of the medieval church may well derive from that fact that she, as a woman, was herself limited from certain kinds of involvement. While it would be wrong to attribute modern feminist ideals to Hildegard, there can be little doubt that she managed to do some things which were very unconventional for a woman of her day (for example her preaching tours and her move from Disibodenberg to Rupertsberg, on which see Dronke, pp. 150-53).

⁷⁵A typical example of Hildegard's vague use of pronouns. The "those" referred to are presumably the nobility (or people), although they are never actually named by Hildegard anywhere in the entire passage except as the "enemies" of the perverters of righteousness, the clergy (1017D). We know from other disendowment prophecies, and from a sense of the historical tensions (Töpfer, p. 35) that the "enemies" are the nobility or secular powers of the people.

⁷⁶See Dronke, Women Writers, p. 165 and also Hildegard's letter to the Cistercians (Pitra, pp. 335-36) for examples of this comic or "low-life" style applied to figures of evil.

⁷⁷This comment that servants will be able to return to their servitude is illuminated by a comment in another prophecy quoted below (p. 34), ". . . But because you do not do this you will be reckoned as the servants of servants and they will be your judges. . . ." Obviously for Hildegard part of the punishment for the clergy would be the humiliation of being ruled by social subordinates.

⁷⁸The section from the opening of the extract to "alia et pejora venient" (PL, 249C) is part of the first interpolation. For further details see Die Echtheit, pp. 94-95 and pp. 169-70. The letter in its uninterpolated state is found in MS W only. Schrader and Führkötter argue that the interpolations, although they cannot be proven genuine, "do bear the stamp of Hildegard's style" (p. 170). The letter can be dated about 1169. See Czarski, pp. 194-95, n. 125.

⁷⁹The other letter is printed in Pitra, pp. 347-51. See below, pp. 195ff.

⁸⁰See P. Szittyá's article "Antifraternal Tradition," passim and especially p. 313, on the friars as eschatological symbols in Piers Plowman. Szittyá's argument is that they function in the poem in the same way as they do in Langland's source, William of St. Amour, that is, as apocalyptic symbols. By a further coincidence of history, the friars played exactly the same role in fourteenth-century England (in encouraging the nobility to move towards a disendowment of the possessioners) as Hildegard predicted that the pseudo-prophets would play.

⁸¹Hildegard's contribution to later antimendicantism will be discussed in Ch. III of this thesis.

⁸²The connection came through the typology of Simon Magus. See K. Emmerson, Antichrist in the Middle Ages (Manchester, 1981), p. 30.

⁸³See for example Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages (Manchester, 1967), I, p. 13ff. and J. Russell, Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), Ch. 2.

⁸⁴Trans. Eckenstein, p. 281. She comments on the exchange: "Considering that nothing is known of these early dissenters except what their opponents have preserved, these remarks are interesting as showing that though Hildegard treated the Cathari with unhesitating contempt Elizabeth was perplexed about them." The full text of the discussion can be read in Elizabeth's Liber Viarum, ed. Roth, p. 104.

⁸⁵Note that Hildegard is more derogatory in her description of the purging forces here, where the heretics play a major role, than in the LDO disendowment passage, where the secular powers are treated as having nobler motivations.

⁸⁶The idolatry of the priests of Baal is a standard allegorical image for simony in reform literature. See Rauh, p. 490.

⁸⁷See Hauréau, p. 619; and Rauh, p. 510, who points out that Hildegard's works are also reassuring because they set no dates.

⁸⁸In most cases we know very little about Hildegard's correspondents--often we do not even know if the surviving letter to Hildegard is genuinely from the correspondent named or whether it is spurious. Most of the letters to Hildegard that survive are from "R" and therefore are always under the shadow of suspicion. In some cases it is possible to see a direct relationship between the tone of the correspondent's letter and Hildegard's response. See for example PL, Ep. VI, c. 157-58, where scepticism in the correspondent draws hostility from Hildegard, and Ep. XLIX, 253-58, where humility breeds a reciprocal humility, but much more work would have to be done on both the textual problems of the letters (what has been done has often ignored the correspondents' letters in favour of concentrating on establishing the genuineness of Hildegard's responses) and habits of medieval letter writing.

⁸⁹Czarski feels that Conrad's letter to Hildegard is probably spurious, but that Hildegard's reply is likely genuine, although not written to Conrad. Führkötter, however, prints both in Briefwechsel and assumes them to be genuine. See Czarski, p. 69 and p. 103, n. 13.

⁹⁰Conrad died and was succeeded by Frederick in 1152. See Briefwechsel, p. 81.

⁹¹I have translated "primi," meaning "the first" or "the most distinguished" as "foremost." In the German translation Führkötter just renders it as "many" (Briefwechsel, p. 81).

⁹²"pigmentarii" can mean ointment- or spice-handlers, or herbalists. Führkötter suggests that Hildegard is here referring to bishops (Briefwechsel, p. 81), while Dronke translates the word as "perfumers" when it occurs in one of her lyrics (Med. Lyric, p. 76).

Elsewhere, she uses it in a context which requires the translation "herbalist" (see below p. 130). In all cases, the sense of the priesthood as being handlers of a special kind of merchandise comes across.

⁹³If the letter is indeed to Conrad, as it may not be.

⁹⁴Ep. LII, c. 268-69. The letter is found only in R and can therefore not be proven genuine, but the style is unmistakably Hildegard's (see Czarski, p. 193, n. 109). Schrader and Führkötter accept it as reliable and use it for establishing dates of some of Hildegard's later works (see Echtheit, pp. 142, 151-52). On the letter itself see Czarski, pp. 141, 143-44.

⁹⁵See c. 270B-C. Note the emphasis once again here on clerical "perfection."

⁹⁶"In lecto aegritudinis diu jacens, anno Dominicae Incarnationis millesimo centesimo septuagesimo, vidi vigilans corpore et animo, pulcherrimam imaginem, muliebrem formam habentem . . ." (c. 269B).

⁹⁷Hildegard's concept of the role of the prophet is largely exegetical. For her, a prophet is someone who is gifted with a special insight into the meaning of Scripture and possible implications it might have for the future. See Ep. XLIX, c. 255C and 257A. This concept of a prophet is very close to Joachim of Fiore's. See Reeves, Prophetic Future, pp. 5-6.

⁹⁸See below pp. 132ff.

⁹⁹The letter cannot be proven to be genuine and is not discussed or listed in Echtheit.

¹⁰⁰Langland goes so far as to propose solutions in certain passages, including the two disendowment prophecies. Perhaps most specific is his suggestion that the friars be given a "fyndyng" through the use of the endowments "that Gregories godchildren [vngodly] despended" (B. X. 330), along with the suggestion in the second prophecy that the clergy should live by "first fruits" and tithes (XVII. 219 and 219a).

¹⁰¹See Bloomfield, p. 95 (quoted below in Introduction, p. 51).

¹⁰²On Joachim's vision of the clerical life of the third age, see Reeves, Prophetic Future, ch. 2; McGinn, Apocalyptic Spirituality, pp. 142ff. and the discussion of Joachim in Ch. III of this thesis.

¹⁰³See below, p. 202.

¹⁰⁴See J. Leclercq, "S. Antoine dans la Tradition Monastique Medievale," Studia Anselmiana (1956), p. 230ff.

¹⁰⁵Apologists for the newer orders often found themselves pitted against tradition. See for example Chenu, p. 217 on Anselm of Havelberg.

¹⁰⁶Czarski, p. 157.

¹⁰⁷The view that the clergy will remain in small numbers seems to be a common one among reform writers. See Piers Plowman XXII. 253-72 for a similar notion.

¹⁰⁸Bloomfield, p. 70.

¹⁰⁹Töpfer writes that Hildegard was a moderate on the question of evangelical poverty (p. 36). See also his comments on her conservatism on the question of the orders of the Church (p. 40).

¹¹⁰This subject will be discussed in greater detail in chapter III of this thesis.

¹¹¹This letter cannot be verified as genuine.

¹¹²The non-Pentachron section of the letter is too detailed to look at here, but a few points deserve mention: for example, for Hildegard, monks are not clothed by the world but by God (c. 262). This notion of God's special care for monks is prevalent in monastic philosophy and through writers like Joachim of Fiore become part of apocalyptic thought. See Bloomfield, p. 75. Another point worthy of note here is Hildegard's view of hermits. These men have the ability to "deny themselves as if they were not men" (which gives some notion of Hildegard's vision of the extent of post-reform austerity!). They are covered with the secrets of God "like a vestment" and they burn with zeal as do the angels (c. 261). Even these few points give some idea of the idealism of this letter. One senses that Hildegard was so virulent in her denunciation of ecclesiastical abuse partly because of this idealism.

¹¹³Hildegard here plays on the monastic term "conversus." See below, n. 115.

¹¹⁴Both of the letters in the Pentachron written to the Cistercians are somewhat milder in their condemnations than those written to other orders or to secular clergy. The types of sins denounced by Hildegard to the Cistercians are usually the more subtle kind: pride, willfulness, overweening intellectualism, spiritual torpor (see Ep. CXLIV, c. 380 and its continuation in Pitra, p. 334). This may

be a tribute to the reputation of the Cistercian order and it may also suggest that Hildegard's experience of them was more positive than her experience of other orders.

¹¹⁵Hildegard often has a key word or concept which gives a kind of unity to a particular letter. In this letter she plays on convertere. In letter XLIX she uses a theme of expulsion as the unifying idea and plays on expellere and its various synonyms.

¹¹⁶Cf. XVII, 225ff. with LDO, 1018D-1019A.

¹¹⁷Although there may be some irony intended in the line that follows the reformer-king prophecy in the B-Text: "'Thanne is dowe1 and dobet,' quod I, 'dominus and kny3thode?'" (B. X. 336).

¹¹⁸See Piers Plowman XVII, 228.

¹¹⁹Piers Plowman V, 172; B. X. 327-28.

¹²⁰The PVSD cannot be verified as genuine, but as Czarski notes it is harmonious with Hildegard's thought (p. 190, n. 82). See Echtheit, pp. 142, 150-51.

¹²¹The tyrant which Hildegard blames for the time of feminine debility is thought by most scholars to be Henry IV, who stood in the way of Pope Gregory VII's attempts to reform the Church. See below p. 138ff.

¹²²See for example Piers Plowman XVII, 194-203, the passage which introduces Langland's second disendowment prophecy.

¹²³Hildegard's letter to Anastasius can be verified as genuine; see Echtheit, pp. 120, 123. The accompanying letter in R (printed in PL, c. 150-51) from the pope to Hildegard is falsely attributed to Anastasius (p. 122).

¹²⁴See Liebeschütz, p. 124ff.

¹²⁵See c. 254C and also Eckenstein, p. 274.

¹²⁶As Rauh points out, however, apocalyptic determinism has nothing in common with the pagan concept of fate (see p. 511).

¹²⁷See Töpfer, p. 34. There is some possibility that Langland's reference to female domination in the forboding prophecy at the end of B. VI (l. 328) is related to Hildegard's age of feminine debility. The latter was a widely known concept from her works, e.g. its inclusion in Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Historiale (Book 32, ch. 107).

¹²⁸McGinn, p. 94ff.

¹²⁹Czarski, p. 148ff.

¹³⁰See Töpfer, p. 34; Liebeschütz, pp. 149-50. Hildegard incorporated many of the motifs of earlier apocalyptic thought into her works, drawing on Sibylline literature and Pseudo-Methodius extensively in some instances (see Czarski, passim, and Liebeschütz, passim and especially p. 147ff.) but consistently rejecting any messianic leader. A comparison with her sources makes this absence much more pointed.

¹³¹She uses the same image in the letter to Conrad, although there it is really just an image: "just like a warrior (vir praeliator) raising a banner against the time of error" (c. 186A).

¹³²In fact, if Hildegard has any expectation of coming leadership, it would be perhaps fairer to say as Töpfer suggests (P. 40), that it is prophets she expects to fulfil this role: "And then stong men will arise and prophesy . . ." (c. 257A).

¹³³c. 1023C.

¹³⁴This notion was popularized for the later Middle Ages by Adso of Montier-en-Der's Libellus de Antichristo. See J. Wright's translation in The Play of Antichrist (Toronto, 1967), p. 106.

¹³⁵See Töpfer, p. 41 and Rauh, p. 512. Czarski has pointed out that during the twelfth century many monasteries came to be controlled by the papacy rather than by the local bishops and that this process promoted lack of discipline. Hildegard's concern for the deterioration of monastic discipline probably led her to frown on such centralized papal control. He also points to other reasons for her disgust with the papacy by the time of the writing of the LDO (Czarski, p. 167).

¹³⁶See Rauh, p. 491.

¹³⁷LDO, c. 1036B.

¹³⁸See Introduction, note 5.

¹³⁹Technically the renewal after Antichrist is in some ways just an optimistic extrapolation of the exegetical "refreshment of the saints" tradition which Lerner has pointed out in his seminal article (Lerner, "Refreshment"). Hildegard is in fact more interested in (i.e. she lavishes more attention and detail upon) the imminent cycle of clerical chastisement and renewal she foresaw for her own age.

¹⁴⁰See Chapter III below, note 116 and Latin quotation 'g.' (Ch. III).

¹⁴¹See below, p.195.

¹⁴²Lerner, "Medieval Prophecy and Religious Dissent," Past and Present 70 (1976), p. 9 and p. 12.

¹⁴³The building of "Unity" is similar to Hildegard's view of the history of the Church as the building of the New Jerusalem (the architectural motif is very common in Hildegard to describe this process; see Schrader, c. 510 and Rauh, p. 496).

¹⁴⁴See below, p.175ff.

¹⁴⁵Piers' role in this scene will be discussed further in Chapter III of this thesis, as will the "angelic pope" tradition in medieval prophecy.

¹⁴⁶See Frank, "Conclusion" and see also Aers, p. 77.

¹⁴⁷See Reeves, "Originality," pp. 280-81.

¹⁴⁸Typical Traditional Eschatological Programme (see Introduction, note 5):

1. Sons of Ishmael or Gog and Magog invade Christendom.
2. Christendom saved by a great king and conqueror, "Last Roman Emperor."
3. Period of prosperity under Roman Emperor.
4. Arrival of Antichrist, Last Emperor lays down crown on Mount Olivet and is taken up into heaven.
5. The reign of Antichrist, deception of many Christians and persecution of faithful remnant.
6. Enoch and Elijah preach against Antichrist, conversion of the Jews.
7. Death and resurrection of Enoch and Elijah.
8. Death of Antichrist (killed by Michael/God/Christ).
9. Fifteen signs before Doomsday.
10. Resurrection of the Dead and the Last Judgement.

¹⁴⁹See above, p. 85 and below, p. 178.

¹⁵⁰On Hildegard's self-assurance see Schrader, c. 517 and c. 511, where Schrader discusses the LDO, in which Hildegard asserts that the Holy Spirit inspires her like St. John before her. This may be the source of Gebeno's comparison of Hildegard with St. John.

¹⁵¹See S. S. Hussey, "Langland's Reading of Alliterative Poetry," Modern Language Review LX (1965), p. 167ff.

¹⁵²Frequently, however, he does switch into the second person and address the reader in the voice of admonition and warning associated with the preacher's or prophet's stance. Through this voice,

which is so different from the voice of the dreamer, Langland arrogates a certain authority to himself not unlike Hildegard's.

¹⁵³As, for example, in the visions of Elizabeth of Schönau or Bridget of Sweden (see Ch. II). See also Holdsworth, passim.

¹⁵⁴For an understanding of some of Hildegard's attitudes toward knowledge in Scivias I am grateful, once again, to Dyan Elliott for allowing me to read her unpublished paper, "Prophecy and Permissible Knowledge in Hildegard of Bingen's Scivias." On Hildegard's anti-intellectualism see also Leclercq, p. 222.

¹⁵⁵As Donaldson has shown, "Rechelesnesse" cannot be written off as a totally misguided character; some of his "teachings" on poverty, for example, are echoed by more sober authorities elsewhere in the poem (see Donaldson, pp. 171ff.).

¹⁵⁶The context of this statement must be remembered before it is taken too literally: the audience includes Clergy and the overweening friar, and the comment is therefore aimed at the very learned. Langland is presumably not recommending illiteracy nor condemning a moderate pursuit of learning. Hildegard writes very similar advice to the Cistercian order, upon their inquiry to her as to whether anything displeases God in their order. Among other complaints, she writes (in the voice of God):

"Et cur ascenditis inquietos mores frequentis interrogationis, et investigationem multarum vanitatum, non discernentes unicuique homini datum suum, secundum mensuram suam? Ambulate convenientia et aperta itinera, sine volante vento sparsionis. Sed vos ubicumque vanum montem invenitis, illum apprehenditis, et eum confirmatis sine mora, et in eo fabricatis, ab eo non cessantes; sed in vanum in ipso laboratis, sicut et inutilis faber, qui inutile vas componit, quod stare non potest, quia instabile est. Nunc ergo, o filioli mei, apprehendite pulchram matrem vestram, scilicet amicum meam charitatem, et amplectimini eam" (Pitra, p. 334).

¹⁵⁷On Hildegard's (and later Joachim's) opposition to scholasticism see Töpfer, pp. 39 and 42. Both preferred the traditional allegorical-typological approach to the Bible, which Töpfer (p. 44) calls the school of German symbolism. Chenu, summarizing Rupert of Deutz on the new approach of scholasticism, writes:

"Rupert continued by saying that he had not followed the schools of dialectic but that even if he had mastered all their knowledge he would not use it, for it would only lead to the worst incongruities while adding nothing to the holiness and simplicity of the divine truth. The simple words of the shepherds and fishermen who were Christ's companions were worth far more than all the discussions of philosophers. . . . Such was Rupert's scriptural absolutism, the result of a faith that

would allow only its own understanding of its object. Theology is nourished by faith, he felt, and not by 'reasoning' in the manner of the schoolmasters, the scholares" (Chenu, p. 272).

¹⁵⁸Töpfer, p. 40; Chenu, ch. 7 and 8.

¹⁵⁹Scholarship has shown that she was indebted to more than the Bible and her visions for some of her ideas, however; see Dronke, "Problemata" and Liebeschütz, p. 156ff. on some of her sources.

¹⁶⁰See further the quotation from her Vita in Echtheit, p. 182, where she claims not to know "cases, tenses and genders" of Latin. On Hildegard's ideal of knowledge without teaching, see Töpfer, p. 38.

¹⁶¹For evidence of Langland's "imperfect" theological training see Pearsall, p. 17, n. 15.

¹⁶²On Hildegard's evangelical ideal of the unlearned but inspired preacher see Töpfer, pp. 39-40.

¹⁶³The seemingly anonymous authorial voice which takes over from Will so many times during the poem seems to have been deliberately created by Langland, who wished for many purposes to be associated with Will, but who also wished to voice judgements which it would be impossible for the rather comic, thick-headed, obstreperous Will to make.

¹⁶⁴For a translation of the passage see Eckenstein, p. 264.

¹⁶⁵All references and quotations are taken from the translation of J. F. Benton, Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (New York, 1970).

¹⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 90-92.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 89.

¹⁶⁸Cited in Scholz, p. 381 from PL 197, c. 1078C: "ab infantia sua usque in XL aetatis suae annum imbecillis." Obviously, it was easier for a woman to plead naiveté than for a man--a fact which, paradoxically, would give women more literary freedom. Hildegard's insistence on her childlikeness is reminiscent of the Prioress's comparison of herself to a "child of twelf month oold, or lesse,/That kan unnethes any word expresse" in the Prologue to "The Prioress's Tale" (lines 484-85).

¹⁶⁹On Hildegard's toughness and energy as an administrator and in other areas, see Schrader, c. 507. See also Dronke, Women

Writers, pp. 200-1.

¹⁷⁰See Dronke, Women Writers, p. 180ff.

¹⁷¹Liebeschütz, p. 159ff.

¹⁷²See for example XX. 1-5; XVIII. 179-81; XI. 103-4; or B. XV. 1-11. The last of these is perhaps clearest of all.

¹⁷³See also the autobiographical passages translated in Dronke, Women Writers, especially p. 145 and 169.

¹⁷⁴Echtheit, p. 112.

¹⁷⁵Liebeschütz, p. 164.

¹⁷⁶Franche, p. 113ff.

¹⁷⁷The Gothic Visionary Perspective (Princeton, 1977), pp. 139-40. Although it is not possible to agree with everything Nolan says, her book does provide some valuable insights. Nolan has shown in her study of both literary and artistic productions of the later Middle Ages that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there developed an increased interest in the visionary as an individual and in his experience. See for example p. 55.

¹⁷⁸See his defense of his lifestyle in V. 44-52, which corresponds exactly with the lifestyle of Christ's apostles in the "lunatic lollars" passage, IX. 105ff.

¹⁷⁹See B. Stock, The Implications of Literacy (Princeton, 1983), p. 477 on wandering as a symbol of psychological indecision. It is also very obvious from Langland's treatment of false hermits that we are to cast some doubt on Will's own wandering.

¹⁸⁰See Holdsworth, pp. 142-43.

¹⁸¹Dronke, Women Writers, p. 146.

¹⁸²Women Writers. See also K. Kraft, "Three Songs of Hildegard of Bingen," Vox Benedictina 1 (1984), p. 157.

¹⁸³See Töpfer, p. 39; Rauh, pp. 478-79.

¹⁸⁴See Dronke, Women Writers, p. 145ff. Medieval views of the visionary experience will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter II of this thesis.

¹⁸⁵Fearful Symmetry (Princeton, 1947), p. 8.

¹⁸⁶The Prophets (New York, 1962), II, p. 147.

¹⁸⁷Russell, p. 118ff.

¹⁸⁸See Constance B. Heatt, The Realism of Dream Visions: The Poetic Exploration of the Dream-Experience in Chaucer and His Contemporaries (The Hague, 1967), passim. Some of the characteristics of dream experience exploited by medieval literary writers and discussed below are outlined in Heatt's study.

¹⁸⁹It should be pointed out here that Dronke makes no attempt to distinguish mystics from visionaries (see p. 233, for example) or apocalyptic from non-apocalyptic writers (even though he is dealing with a good deal of apocalyptic literature in the article).

¹⁹⁰The success of the Joachim comparison is all the more interesting because other attempts at comparisons between Joachim and Langland have not borne as much fruit as might be expected, as we have seen. (See Chapter III of this thesis for further discussion of this problem).

¹⁹¹That said, it is only fair to add that the attempts made in the present study to discuss Hildegard's visionary style are also somewhat limited (see n. 198 below).

¹⁹²As summarized by Czarski, p. 74. See Liebeschütz, pp. 156-58 and 132. Hildegard's use of typology, "hidden behind an allegorical stylization" (Liebeschütz, p. 132), has been compared to that of Hugh of St. Victor (*ibid.*) as well as Rupert of Deutz and Gerhoh of Reichersberg (Schrader, c. 518).

¹⁹³See Liebeschütz, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹⁴These characteristics have been cobbled together from various sources: Dronke (as explained above), Heatt (note 188), Moulton, Russell, and Piehler, as well as from observations of apocalyptic texts.

¹⁹⁵An attempt to develop a literary theory of medieval apocalyptic writing (something we are still a long way from being able to do) would probably conclude that this use of typology is the medieval descendant of the dependence on myth found in biblical apocalyptic literature (see Russell, p. 122ff.). See the Conclusion to this thesis on this point as well.

¹⁹⁶Schrader has summarized these last features very well in her description of Hildegard's use of symbolism:

"C'est au symbole que la vision d'Hildegarde emprunte son cachet particulier. Il est un élément essentiel de ses visions. En cela, elle adopte la forme d'expression écrite propre à son siècle. Dans la façon intuitive, prénotionnelle, de voir ce qui

existe, subsiste encore ce monde imaginaire qui s'efforce de s'exprimer dans un symbolisme plus marqué. Le transcendant dépasse la réceptivité de la pensée humaine. Et pourtant, il existe entre le visible et l'invisible des rapports métaphysiques. Le terrestre, le visible n'est que le signe, le symbole de l'au-delà invisible. Celui-ci est atteint par l'esprit humain à travers la transparence du visible. C'est le symbolisme qui ouvre la voie à la connaissance de la structure de ce qui existe. L'élément significatif, symbolique, est pris au vol par la voyante dans ses visions pour y faire paraître la lumière des réalités divines. Chez elle, la science des images est pleine d'un dynamisme intérieur, de richesse mouvante, pleine de mystère. Aussi faut-il qu'une voix céleste donne la clef des images, explique tous les détails, déchiffre les mystères cachés (c. 517).

¹⁹⁷See for example the collection of visions in Lambeth Palace MS 51 (described by M. R. James and C. Jenkins, A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Lambeth Palace Library (Cambridge, 1930-1932), p. 71ff.). Interestingly, the collection includes Elizabeth of Schönau (see p. 81) but not Hildegard. Elizabeth's visions fit the edificatory mold much better than do Hildegard's, although the existence of a MS of Hildegard's correspondence like B (see above, Introduction, n. 21) suggests that there were attempts to make her works fill this kind of role.

¹⁹⁸It is not within the scope of this thesis to compare the larger literary structure of Hildegard's longer works with Piers Plowman, although this could well be fruitful. Hildegard uses many of the same motifs as Langland does, for example in Scivias, where she uses the images of the tower, the fortification of the Church by the Holy Spirit, an Ecclesia figure similar to Langland's Holy Church and so on (Scivias, II, 4-5). Hildegard also deals with the marriage/continence/virginity triad and, like Langland, she is much concerned with defining the acceptable ways to salvation (Scivias, II, 5).

¹⁹⁹See above, pp. 117-18.

²⁰⁰See above, p. 96.

²⁰¹See above, n. 115.

²⁰²See Moulton, p. 332. He refers to this characteristic in biblical prophecy as "the pendulum effect."

²⁰³This formula usually signals an attempt at interpretation or clarification, or, more simply, the heart of the message itself. In this prophecy it does in fact act as a summary.

²⁰⁴See Moulton, p. 334.

²⁰⁵Other examples are B. X. 334-35 and C. V. 178-79. Note also the prophecy at the end of C. VIII. This is assuming, of course, that Langland composed or adapted the prophecies himself rather than simply copying them from elsewhere, something we cannot know for certain.

²⁰⁶Czarski, p. 225, n. 39. The letter is referred to by Führkötter in Briefwechsel, p. 198 as one of two letters written by Hildegard on the subject of the Cathars. Roth has argued that the letter was probably first written to Elizabeth of Schönau (p. xxviii).

²⁰⁷On Hildegard's interpretations of the four corners of the world see Rauh, p. 510. I have made no attempt to deal with the dates referred to in the prophecy, since the historical context of Hildegard's writings is not of primary importance in this thesis. Some scholars suggest that the sixty-two years referred to at the end of the prophecy is a reference back to the time of Henry IV (see Rauh, pp. 489-90).

²⁰⁸Confusion about these details was very common. See Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," pp. 298-99.

²⁰⁹Langland makes a similar use of typology in the prophecy in III. 436-41. It is tempting to see this as another trick of apocalyptic style which he had learned.

²¹⁰Roth's suggestion that the letter may have originally been written to Elizabeth of Schönau is noteworthy in this context.

²¹¹We might note that when Langland uses this imagery in IX. 255-81 he makes the clerics the negligent shepherds rather than accusing them of being the wolves, which makes Hildegard's passage seem all the more virulent.

²¹¹Pearsall, p. 16.

²¹³Piebler, p. 19.

²¹⁴See Rauh, p. 481.

²¹⁵Dronke, Women Writers, p. 168.

²¹⁶Scholars of apocalyptic history have not generally recognized some of the striking parallels between Hildegard's and Joachim's thought, for example Hildegard's marking out of hermits for a special place in the age of renewal and Joachim's ordo eremitarum; between Hildegard's age of prophetic outpouring and Joachim's status the Holy Spirit; or between Hildegard's prophet-leaders and Joachim's viri

spirituales (but see Töpfer, p. 40). On Hildegard's side these motifs are not highly developed, but they are consistent and can be attested to in more than one of her prophecies. M. Reeves paragraph-long treatment of Hildegard in "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore" is inadequate in that she seems to be concerned only with finding a Trinitarian historical structure or a predicted renewal after Antichrist (Reeves, "Originality," p. 286) as a basis for comparison between Joachim and Hildegard. A full study of the two writers would, I think, reveal some striking resemblances.

Chapter II Footnotes

¹Lefèvre published the Visio Wettini under the wrong name, calling it Libellus de visione Ugentini monachi. See Rice, p. 113. The Visio Wettini was a fairly well known medieval "otherworld" vision; see Fritzsche, pp. 337ff. So many medieval religious visions are of this journey-to-another-world type (usually to Hell, Purgatory and/or Heaven) and thus bear little resemblance to Piers Plowman, except in the use of a supernatural guide. See Rüegg, *passim*.

²Emphasis mine. I have borrowed the phrase "visionary denunciation of ecclesiastical abuses" from Leff because it so succinctly describes the motivation of writers like Hildegard, Robert of Uzès and Bridget of Sweden--and, in many places, Langland. Much has been written about the group of visionaries Leff mentions from the standpoint of their mysticism and/or associations with Franciscan Spirituality. Beside Leff, see also Pou y Marti, J. M., Visionarios, Beguinos, y Fraticellos catalanes (siglos XIII-XV) (Vichy, 1930) and John V. Fleming, An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages (Chicago, 1977).

³See Lerner, "Dissent," p. 9, n. 19, on the need for a study of Hildegard's influence.

⁴See for example passages like the following on the rejuvenation of the Franciscan order: "sed precibus B. Francisci & sanctorum fratrum, post tribulationem reparabitur ordo & dilatabitur per universum mundum, sicut stellae coeli quae prae multitudine numerari non possunt" (Vade Mecum, p. 503) or (p. 502) when he speaks of the corrupt clergy being beaten with "the thin rope of the poor" (de finiculis pauperulis).

⁵See Knowles, pp. 9ff. and see n. 7 below.

⁶On Mechthild, Jacopone and Ramon Lull in relation to Langland see Dronke, "Arbor." Ubertino's Arbor Vitae Crucifixie Jesu shows the visionary tendency toward "stream of consciousness" style. See Philip Martin Caliendo, "Ubertino da Casale: A Re-evaluation of the Eschatology in the Fifth Book of His Arbor Vitae Crucifixie Jesu," Ph.D. thesis, Rutgers University, 1979.

⁷See Allen, Margery Kemp, pp. 276-77, n. 39/24 and Tuma, p. 89, pp. 170-73. If there is any tradition of religious visions native to Britain it is to be found in the (usually brief) visions recorded by recluses and monks. See Holdsworth; and also Holdsworth, "Christina."

⁸This prophecy, in all its variations and versions, is the subject of Lerner's recently published The Powers of Prophecy, the first

thorough modern study of any of the shorter religious prophecies.

⁹See Holdsworth.

¹⁰Joachim of Fiore, who was not a visionary prophet, records instances of a type of mystical vision in which an image appears to him which helps him solve or understand an exegetical problem. See Reeves, "Arbores," p. 128. On medieval meditation and the "associative stream of thought" which accompanied it see Jill Mann, "Eating and Drinking in Piers Plowman," Essays and Studies, 32(1979), p. 36, n. 2 for references. On the role of images in the creative problem-solving process see Heschel, II, pp. 161ff., "Accounts of Inspiration."

¹¹See, for example, Rice, p. 91. There has been virtually no work done on Robert by modern scholars. See Bignami-Odier, p. 260, n. 7 for a bibliography.

¹²Bignami-Odier, p. 264; and Reeves, Influence, pp. 167-68.

¹³Bignami-Odier, p. 259 and (by the same author) Jean de Roquetaillade, p. 193.

¹⁴Many of the visions involve Robert's concern over the choice of the right order. Interestingly, this is a common motif in clerical visions and no doubt reflects the great controversies of the later Middle Ages about the various routes to salvation or paths of monastic perfection on offer. See Holdsworth, "Visions," p. 152.

¹⁵It is recorded that when Robert made his profession each priest of the order was commanded to celebrate a mass of the Holy Spirit, and each convent a mass of the Virgin on Robert's behalf. See Bignami-Odier, p. 262.

¹⁶Bignami-Odier, p. 263.

¹⁷Henry seems to have had the wrong information about the date of Robert's death. See Bignami-Odier, p. 263.

¹⁸Bignami-Odier, pp. 263-64.

¹⁹See Bignami-Odier, pp. 269-70 and G. Mollat, "Jean de Cardaillac: Un prélat réformateur du clergé au XIV^e siècle," Rev. d'hist. ecclés., 48(1953), pp. 74-121.

²⁰Bignami-Odier, p. 270.

²¹See Reeves, Influence, pp. 235, 255, 442 and 495.

²²See Bignami-Odier, p. 271 and James, p. 53. John Bale also owned a copy of Robert's works, see Reeves, "Protestant Thought," p. 106.

²³On this problem see Lerner, Powers, pp. 6-7. John Tortsch, the fifteenth-century compiler of Bridget's prophecies makes a plea to future scribes to copy the compilation as a single work and not to embed it in a larger MS. Obviously medieval writers were quite aware of the problem. See Montag, p. 252.

²⁴Of his two works, the Liber Visionum and the Liber Sermonum Dei, only extracts from the former will be considered here because our concern is to place him within the visionary tradition.

²⁵McGinn, p. 188.

²⁶Vision 13, Bignami-Odier, p. 279; transl. McGinn, p. 193.

²⁷A vision setting which includes family members is thought by Dinzelbacher to be one of the markers of "real" visions; see below p. 336ff.

²⁸Bridget uses a similar image to describe the spiritual stagnation of the Benedictine order; see below p. 263.

²⁹One of them, Jacobus de Columpna, is named. See Bignami-Odier, p. 281, n. 32 and 33, and Haurëau, v. 30, p. 394.

³⁰Bignami-Odier writes: "Cette vision nous paraît purement imaginaire influencée, seulement, par les troubles des temps. Elle a le caractère chaotique et désordonné des rêves, qui accumulent sans logique apparente des détails disparates. . . . A notre avis, différents souvenirs se sont conjugués et mêlés dans ce rêve: la majesté des couronnements des papes, l'émotion du pontife . . . la chambre de bois (Et ingressus sum cameram de lignis) rappelle au contraire la cellule que Célestin V s'était fait construire au Castro Novo de Naples. Haurëau pense à Célestin V et à Boniface VIII (pp. 286-87, n. 54). The motif of the low seat made of torn animal skins recurs in many of Robert's visions, but there is no indication anywhere of what it might mean. Antichrist is described by Robert as wearing torn clothing (Vision 1, p. 273). Some of his recurring symbols are definite historical allusions. See Bignami-Odier, p. 287, n. 55 for example.

³¹Bignami-Odier; see n. 30 above.

³²Ibid.

³³Reeves, Influence, p. 168.

³⁴A comparative study of the imagery of Robert's visions could reveal a great deal about his work; for example, the reference to the fact that the pope "remained beardless" after being deprived of his vestments must somehow be related to the young beardless king from the east of Vision 7 (p. 276) who was interpreted by John of Rupescissa as

an enemy of the Church (Bignami-Odier, p. 270). The motif of beardlessness recurs in his visions, as do so many other seemingly arbitrary details, and one can only assume that Robert was working with his own grammar of imagery.

³⁵As Marjorie Reeves says, Robert is difficult to place in relation to Joachimism (p. 167), yet his vision of the two white birds representing the Mendicant Orders has many parallels in Joachite thought.

³⁶See Hildegard chapter, p. 96. Robert also imitates Hildegard's description of seeing her visions in a cloud; see Vision 7, p. 276 for example. Bridget also imitates this mode of seeing.

³⁷The Liber Sermonum Domini is a more outwardly directed prophetic work than the Liber Visionum. See below, p. 336ff. for Dinzelbacher's view that religious visions are generally of great autobiographical import and are perhaps more introspective in nature.

³⁸On the Saccantes, see Bignami-Odier, p. 282, n. 37 and see R. W. Emery, "The Friars of the Sack," Speculum, 18(1943), pp. 323-34. The order was suppressed in 1274.

³⁹Reeves, Influence, p. 168, n. 6.

⁴⁰Bignami-Odier, p. 273.

⁴¹"que proicit mare"--perhaps a corruption in the text.

⁴²Bignami-Odier, p. 278.

⁴³B. Brault, Eight Thirteenth-Century Rolls of Arms in French and Anglo-Norman Blazon (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973), p. 39, number 39. Similar descriptions may be found on p. 47, number 41 and p. 57, number 19.

⁴⁴An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Heraldry by J. Franklin and J. Tanner (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970), under "Toulouse cross," "pommetty--terminating in a knob or knobs."

⁴⁵Dictionary of Heraldry by Charles Norton Elvin, published 1889, reprinted by Heraldry Today (London, 1969), Plate 8, figure 39. See also figure 36. I have not actually been able to find a picture of the arms of the Count of Toulouse. Mme Bignami-Odier directs the reader to Anselme, Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, 3rd édition, vol. 2 (Paris, 1796), p. 678, which was not available to me. The reader who feels that the Toulouse cross makes a rather poor tree should compare it with the exegetical tree figures of Joachim of Fiore in Reeves, "Arbores," passim. The "trees" of both writers would suggest that to the medieval mind the schematic aspects of

an image were more important than the realistic--a point which is equally evident in medieval literary allegory.

⁴⁶Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, c. 750. The same image occurs in Ezekiel 47: 12 (in fact, this is the original source of St. John's image) and in his commentary on Ezekiel Jerome interprets the fruits as all believers and each of the twelve months as referring to the apostles (PL 24, c. 475B).

⁴⁷The image is used throughout, but see especially the Ninth Similitude.

⁴⁸See, for example, Ezekiel 47, the original source of St. John's Tree of Life image in the passage discussed above.

⁴⁹Mme Bignami-Odier sees in this image and in the columns themselves an allusion to the Colonnas Cardinals who supported Celestine V and were deposed by Boniface VIII (pp. 287, n. 55, 281, n. 33). If so, the suggestion that the golden fruit represents the good clergy is still correct, although more specifically defined.

⁵⁰The tower of the opening vision of Piers Plowman may belong to this tradition begun by the Pastor Hermas and carried through the allegories of the visionary reform writers like Hildegard and Robert, although the image is simple enough that it may not need scholarly explanation.

⁵¹Holy Church tells Will to look "vppon thy left half" (II, 5) when she shows him False and his crowd. The Holy Church vision is in many ways the most conventionalized of Langland's visions, as suggested below.

⁵²Anatomy, p. 141.

⁵³All references to Book I of the Revelations are from Sancta Birgitta Revelationes, I, ed. Carl-Gustav Undhagen (Stockholm, 1977). Books I, V, and VII have now appeared in modern editions; references to other books of the Revelations in this thesis are to Durantes' edition (Antwerp, 1611).

⁵⁴Alphonse's role was much like that of Guibert of Gembloux's role in Hildegard's life. A study should be done of the men behind these great women--to twist a modern cliché--because it is to these medieval Boswells that we owe gratitude for almost everything we know about these female Johnsons. Lagorio gives a preliminary list of medieval visionaries' secretaries, pp. 74-75.

⁵⁵For a concise summary of her messages to the popes see Colledge, pp. 37-38.

⁵⁶See Walter Ullmann, A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages (London, 1972), p. 291 for a brief assessment of the pressures on Urban to return to Rome. Ullmann mentions Catherine of Siena, but not Bridget.

⁵⁷Johnston, p. 3. Unfortunately Johnston's thesis was not available to me ("The Cult of Bridget of Sweden in Fifteenth-Century England," M.A. thesis, Manchester University, n.d.).

⁵⁸Johnston, p. 3. See Acta et Processus Canonizationes S. Birgittae, ed. I. Collijn (Uppsala, 1924), Vol. VI, p. 432.

⁵⁹See Knowles, Religious Orders, II, pp. 56-58, on Easton. Johnston mentions that Easton spent much of his time away from England, but Knowles shows that he travelled back and forth between England and Rome a great deal and was much involved in affairs at home.

⁶⁰See Colledge, pp. 42ff.; James A. Schmidtke, "'Saving' by Faint Praise: St. Birgitta of Sweden, Adam Easton and Medieval Antifeminism," American Benedictine Review, 32(1982), 149-61. Easton was living near Norwich when he composed the Defensorum. On Easton and knowledge of Bridget in the Norwich area, see Allen, Margery Kemp, pp. 280-81.

⁶¹See Introduction, p. 212 above.

⁶²Book VIII was added after Bridget's death, probably between 1380 and 1391. On this book and the various other editing projects of Bridget's disciple Alphonse, see Ellis, p. 164 and Colledge, passim. Jorgenson records that when the process of canonization began in 1377 the Revelations still consisted of only seven books. In January, 1378, Alphonse wrote from Rome to Archbishop Birger in Uppsala that Bridget's books were being read in Spain, in both Sicilies and in Italy and that new supplies were continually being issued. He does not seem to have been aware of their early dissemination in England.

⁶³See Ellis, p. 173, whose discussion includes a list of English MSS in which the passage is found; see also Colledge, p. 32. Colledge argues that the suggestion that peace be made through matrimony was not in the original revelation.

⁶⁴Lerner, Powers, p. 89.

⁶⁵Montag's edition has made this task a little easier by using quotation marks for direct quotes. Marjorie Reeves, using a medieval edition of Tortsch's compilation in her discussion of Bridget in Influence, falls into the trap of mistaking Tortsch for Bridget. See note 71 below.

⁶⁶Bridget's writings on the life of Christ and the Virgin

were, however, hugely popular as well.

⁶⁷Both these earlier prophets, he claims, predicted that the goods of the clergy would be taken away and that the clergy would be reduced to a life of poverty. In his discussion of this prophecy in the pseudo-Joachite *Super Ieremiam*, he fastens on the notion that the clergy will be expelled from region to region and will enter the heremetical life (heremum vitam). He asserts that Hildegard also predicted this (indeed, the actual wording of the Latin is Hildegard's; see above, ch. 1, p. 121), thereby showing how easily Hildegardean and Joachite ideas could be associated and reconciled. As we have seen, Hildegard's post-reform ideology was in no way as explicitly stated as one could hope and Tortsch's reading of her prophecies shows both careful study and the cumulative effect of being associated with Joachite prophecies in the intervening centuries. It is no doubt on the basis of the Hildegard and Joachite predictions that Tortsch claims (in his discussion of Bridget's *Revelation 4, 49*) that the clergy will lose their possessions at the hands of the laity. This last detail is nowhere to be found in *Revelation 4, 49* (where it is simply threatened that unregenerate clergy will lose their prebends) and provides a good example of Tortsch's sophisticated reworking of Bridget. See p. 250 below.

⁶⁸Bridget may have been influenced by Joachite and Franciscan sources, but much in her thinking is attributable to non-Joachite prophecies like those of Hildegard. On possible Joachite influences see Jorgenson, II, pp. 22ff.

⁶⁹See, for example, *Piers Plowman* XXII, 247ff.

⁷⁰Tortsch conflates all the reformer figures without comment: the plowman, p. 278; the hunter, p. 280; and a conqueror, pp. 274ff.

⁷¹Reeves falls into the trap of mistaking Tortsch for Bridget here; see "Joachimist Influences," p. 522.

⁷²See Matthew 22:16, Mark 12:14, Jude 16 and I Peter 1:17.

⁷³This is hardly surprising: the agricultural metaphor immediately brings to mind the parable of the sower interpreted in Matthew 13:37-43 (see especially vs. 39 and 40). Cf. Apoc. 14:14.

⁷⁴On Jerome's notion of the refreshment of the saints, see Lerner, "Refreshment."

⁷⁵Dobson, p. 381. The same image is also found in a common Latin proverb. See H. Walther, *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi* (Göttingen, 1963-9) #28109.

⁷⁶I.e. by process of associating Piers Plowman with the plowman of the Isaiah passage. Citing the scholarly work of Jean Leclercq and John Alford on this associative mode of thought in medieval meditation on the Bible, Jill Mann writes of Langland: "His poem itself makes clear that Langland had meditated on a large number of biblical texts--and also on their relationship to each other, so that one text called another to mind in a manner that habitual contemplation and study of the Bible made natural. Leclercq claims that the monks were so deeply imbued with the text of scripture that they had no need of artificial aids to underpin the development of their associative stream of thought" (Mann, p. 36).

⁷⁷Woolf, pp. 113ff.

⁷⁸On some of the biblical apocalyptic associations and images in the poem see S. A. Barney, "The Plowshare of the Tongue: The Progress of a Symbol from the Bible to Piers Plowman," Medieval Studies 35 (1973), pp. 261-93.

⁷⁹On Master Matthias see Jorgenson, I, p. 57.

⁸⁰This division of world history into three ages has vague Joachite overtones. See below, n. 82.

⁸¹See Reeves, "Influence," pp. 338ff. and pp. 442ff.

⁸²The notion of the three ages of the world in Revelation 6, 67 and the belief in a coming chastisement and reform could be pointed to as showing Joachite influence, but her sources would be the popularized versions. Bridget's heavy emphasis on various reforming leaders is more a mark of general reading of popular religious prophecy than of genuine Joachite texts.

⁸³See Montag, p. 274 and his notes on p. 332 for lists of places in the Revelations where these things are discussed. Much of Tortsch's commentary is taken up with warnings and exclamations about such things, which he probably felt would heighten the drama and effect repentance among his readers. Tortsch reminds the reader of a number of prophecies dating from before Bridget's time which predict the same types of portents (see Montag, pp. 320ff.). Among the usual plagues, famines and comets is a recurring reference to "innovations and varieties in behaviours and clothing," which he (and the prophets he cites) seem to consider as calamities equal in seriousness to the plagues and famines. (On p. 322 he actually gives details of some of these evil fashions.) This gives us some perspective on Langland's negative allusions to new fashions; for writers like Tortsch they were clearly portents. See Piers Plowman XXII, 143 and 219, for example, where the wearing of outrageous fashions is seen as part of the chaos which ensues after the arrival of Antichrist.

⁸⁴His reference is to Bridget's Revelationes Extravagantes, ch. 15. See Montag's notes on p. 332.

⁸⁵The best study of the history of this prophetic motif, as far as its use in prophecies of the later Middle Ages is concerned, is Martha Hitchcock Fleming's doctoral thesis, "Sybilla: De Imperatore," Boston University, 1974. Fleming cites all the relevant earlier scholarship. Bloomfield (p. 211) suggested that Langland's use of the "six sonnes" in III, 478 may stem from this popular sibylline motif. This possibility will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

⁸⁶This motif probably comes from one of the "Fifteen Signs before Doomsday" versions (Sign #7 in Heist's Old French prototype; see Heist, p. 28) and has its origin in an Antichrist legend in which it was predicted that he would pull up trees by the roots, putting leaves and fruit on the roots (Heist, pp. 93-94). The fact that in V, 118ff. Langland is referring to a real historical event would only heighten the symbolic value of the image, not diminish it for a medieval audience.

⁸⁷This literary aspect of visionary writing is discussed further in the last section of this chapter.

⁸⁸Tortsch lists her comments all together (Montag, pp. 298ff.).

⁸⁹R. M. Ellis, "An Edition, with Commentary, of Certain Sections of BM MS Claudius B I of the Fifteenth Century Brigittine Revelations" (Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1974), p. 320.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹See Lagorio, p. 74.

⁹²See Jorgenson, II, pp. 232ff. and I, p. 302 on the woodcuts in the Lübeck edition.

⁹³On Robert's mode of receiving visions see the third section of this chapter.

⁹⁴Notably, Jean Gerson, Henry of Langenstein and Adam Easton.

⁹⁵Translated by Jorgenson, II, p. 141, from Master Matthias' Preface to the first collection of Revelations.

⁹⁶Tuma, p. 170.

⁹⁷Rev. Extrav., ch. 47, p. 162.

⁹⁸Colledge, pp. 41-42.

⁹⁹For a discussion of these terms see the third section of this chapter.

¹⁰⁰See Colledge, p. 46, and Synave and Benoit, p. 63.

¹⁰¹See Colledge, p. 39, who gives the example of John of Jenzenstein, who both inveighed against the "modern multiplicity of prophets" and yet sent Pope Urban an account of a dream he had had which presaged victory for Urban in the outcome of the papal schism. Colledge points out that Urban actively collected prophecies favourable to his cause.

¹⁰²Langland removed both Piers' vow of apostolic poverty and his tearing of the pardon when he wrote the C-Text, although the theme of apostolic poverty recurs throughout the C-Text in a number of idealized forms, for example in the "lunatic lollars" passage. If Langland had been a Continental writer it would be clear that he had done this to escape being associated with radical religious groups like the Franciscan Spirituals, but as an English writer it is difficult to say how much he would have had to worry about the controversiality of Piers' position. In a European context the whole passage would doubtless have been read as a statement of an evangelical/prophetic position. One wonders how it was read in England and why Langland removed it.

¹⁰³Ellis, p. 169, speaking of how these features were highlighted in Alphonse's Viridarium, an anthology of Bridget's revelations concerning the Lives of Christ and Mary. See also Lagorio, p. 80.

¹⁰⁴p. 19.

¹⁰⁵On Robert Crowley's reading of the poem as a "Tudor Apocalypse," see J. King, "Robert Crowley's Editions of Piers Plowman," Modern Philology (1976), pp. 342-52. Although Bloomfield called his study of the poem Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse, he does not really discuss the apocalypse as a literary form in any detail or the question of which apocalypses might have been known in fourteenth-century England. He mentions just briefly the Pastor Hermas (pp. 9-10) and the Apocalypsis Goliae (p. 10). See the conclusion of this chapter for further discussion of this problem.

¹⁰⁶Dronke's work on the Shepherd is the exception to this odd state of affairs; see especially his "Arbor." Scholars of the Middle English vision tradition often mention, but never usually consider the Shepherd. Esdras, so far as I know, is never even mentioned in such studies.

¹⁰⁷Hayes, p. 365.

¹⁰⁸Charles, Enoch, p. x.

¹⁰⁹Enslin, p. 1108.

¹¹⁰Northrop Frye, Fables of Identity: Studies in Poetic Mythology (New York, 1963), p. 21. See also Frye's The Great Code (Toronto, 1982), pp. 42 and 52.

¹¹¹Chapters 1-2 were added in the second century and 15-16 in the third century, putting a Christian beginning and ending on what was originally a Jewish apocalypse. The final editing of the whole work would have been done around 120 A.D.

¹¹²I Esdras and II Esdras are the canonical Ezra and Nehemia of the Protestant Bible. III Esdras (which is I Esdras for Protestants) is an historical work. The Apocalypse of Esdras or Vulgate IV Esdras is the II Esdras of the Protestant apocrypha. To avoid confusion with the protagonist Esdras, I have underlined Esdras when using it as a short title for the work. On the Latin MSS of the apocalypse see Dentan, pp. 521-22 and Klijn, pp. 13-19.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Esdras is, of course, a pseudonym. The apocalypse has been fathered on this venerable figure of earlier Jewish history. See Dentan, p. 521.

¹¹⁵See, for example, Spearing's comment, p. 20, that the visionary in Alanus de Insulis' De Planctu Naturae is "the forerunner of many medieval dreamers who fall below the level of their dreams."

¹¹⁶"The Revelation of Golias," reprinted in The World of Piers Plowman, ed. J. Krochalis and E. Peters (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 39-55.

¹¹⁷Raby, p. 216.

¹¹⁸"If I must glory (it is not expedient indeed); but I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I know a man in Christ; above fourteen years ago (whether in the body, I know not, or out of the body, I know not; God knoweth), such a one caught up to the third heaven. And I know such a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I know not; God knoweth); That he was caught up into paradise and heard secret words which it is not granted to man to utter" (2 Corinthians 12:1-4).

¹¹⁹See Farrer, *passim*. and S. MacLean Gilmour, "The Revelation to John," The Interpreter's One Volume Commentary on the Bible, ed. C. Laymon (Nashville, 1971), pp. 945-70.

¹²⁰Taylor, I, pp. 10-11. See also MacMillan, pp. 66-67. All quotations from Hermas are taken from the translation by Taylor (see the Table of Abbreviations).

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²See MacMillan, passim.

¹²³On the MSS see Turner, p. 205 and Dronke, "Arbor," p. 221.

¹²⁴See Bloomfield, pp. 9-10.

¹²⁵In view of these characteristics, I cannot agree with Bloomfield's contention (p. 9) that the spiritual quest is foreign to the apocalypse form.

¹²⁶Difficulty, at least, came to be expected of prophetic writing during the Middle Ages, as we saw in Gebeno of Erbach's defense of Hildegard's difficult style as a testimony of her divine inspiration (Hildegard chapter, p. 83).

¹²⁷Adapting a phrase from modern computer jargon, "user-friendly," denoting a programme which is easy to use.

¹²⁸Although the Shepherd phrases this in a general way, the reference is unmistakably to Hermas, who had been "mixed up with business and wealth" earlier in his life. See above, p. 295.

¹²⁹These passages from Hermas give us a key for understanding an aspect of Piers Plowman which, I do not believe, has ever been adequately explained. Critics have struggled to understand the meaning of Will's foolishness without much success, calling it everything from a reflection of the "modesty topos" to ironic inversion. The treatment of the visionary narrators by their guides in the apocalypses may at first seem odd to the modern reader, but I believe it is an important clue to how these narrators should be read, that is, as "visually handicapped" humanity in the process of spiritual growth.

¹³⁰Hermas asks the Shepherd the same question, with regard to true and false prophets or teachers, in I, p. 151.

¹³¹See Rüegg, Fritzsche and Dinzelbacher.

¹³²"Arbor," p. 220.

¹³³The frequency with which the prophecies are noted in the margins of MSS of the poems provides some contemporary evidence of this work (I owe this piece of information to Derek Pearsall.) It is also worth noting in this context that Crowley read the poem as an

apocalypse. See John N. King, "Robert Crowley's Editions of Piers Plowman: A Tudor Apocalypse," Modern Philology (1976), pp. 342-52.

¹³⁴Bloomfield, Appendix III, p. 172.

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶See Hildegard chapter, p. 183.

¹³⁷Medieval religious visionaries were very aware of these categorizations. Robert of Uzès opens the Liber Visionum with the following description of his visions: "Placuit Domino Jhesu Christo michi omnium peccatorum vilissimo sua beneplacita revelare, nunc in sompnis per ymaginativas visiones, nunc in vigilia per easdem visiones, nunc in verbo exteriori aut interiore per metaphoras multas cum declaracionibus earundem" (Bignami-Odier, p. 272). Langland's use of Imaginatif would suggest that he would describe his own revelations, like Robert, as occurring in sompnis per ymaginativas visiones. Tortsch says that Bridget's prophecies were received "in revelatione et visione imaginaria et intellectuali," Montag, p. 320.

¹³⁸See Torrell, p. 155.

¹³⁹Synave and Benoit, p. 82.

¹⁴⁰Synave and Benoit, Explanatory Note 15 (to Q. 171, a. 5. c).

¹⁴¹In support of his suggestions about medieval attitudes toward prophetic style, Minnis refers the reader to his article "Discussions of 'Authorial role' and 'Literary Form' in Late-Medieval Scriptural Exegesis," Berträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 99(1977), pp. 37-65, but it would be nice to see greater evidence of this than what Minnis provides here.

¹⁴²Explanatory Note 10 (to Q. 171, a. 3. c).

¹⁴³See Woolf, p. 113.

¹⁴⁴See also Kane, Evidence, p. 57. John Burrow has recently questioned Kane's emphasis on the fictional aspect of autobiographical elements in medieval poetry, suggesting that critics have been too quick to dismiss the possibility of autobiographical realism in many instances. See his "Autobiographical Poetry in the Middle Ages: The Case of Thomas Hoccleve," Proceedings of the British Academy LXVIII (1982), pp. 389-412.

¹⁴⁵Although see Burrow, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶Bloomfield's work, I suppose, comes closest.

¹⁴⁷In what follows I am following Ginnsberg's analysis, pp. 86-88.

¹⁴⁸John Alford makes a similar point about autobiographical aspects of Rolle's writings in "Biblical 'Imitatio' in the Writings of Richard Rolle," English Literary History, 40 (1973), p. 10.

¹⁴⁹On other possible reasons for the conventionalization see Holdsworth, "Visions," pp. 149-50.

¹⁵⁰Summarized from Dinzelbacher, pp. 65-77.

¹⁵¹The one exception to this is the group of visions which relate to Robert's choice of a religious order to enter.

¹⁵²Leclercq, p. 224.

¹⁵³Dinzelbacher deals with prophetic vision on p. 84 and on p. 182.

¹⁵⁴See Russell, p. 118; Enslin, p. 1108.

¹⁵⁵For evidence of some interchange between the two types of vision during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, see Dinzelbacher, pp. 70-72.

¹⁵⁶Dinzelbacher, p. 69.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁵⁸Le Goff, p. 349.

¹⁵⁹The dreamer here "wakens" from a deeper dream (see Derek Pearsall's note to C. XIII, 213); however, I believe that Langland is nevertheless exploiting the all-important medieval distinction between sleeping and waking visions in this passage. Whether Will is waking from a deeper dream or simply waking up, the symbolism of awakening is operative. In fact the half-waking state was sometimes used in medieval religious literature to underline the movement to greater spiritual awareness in the waking state. See Thomas D. Hill, "'Half-waking, Half-sleeping': A Tropological Motif in a Middle English Lyric and Its European Context," Review of English Studies 29 (1978), pp. 50-56.

¹⁶⁰These groups will be given further attention in the next chapter of this thesis. See Hildegard chapter, p. 123ff.

¹⁶¹See Heatt, p. 25; Harvey, p. 49.

¹⁶²Donaldson, pp. 219ff.

¹⁶³See Dronke, "Abor."

¹⁶⁴Woolf also cites this passage as an example of Langland's "interwoven and compressed" style (p. 124).

¹⁶⁵The Allegory of Love (Oxford, 1936), p. 160. Lewis is speaking of Langland.

Chapter III Footnotes

¹On the literature of these controversies about apostolic perfection see Bloomfield, chapters II and III; Chenu, chapters 5 and 6; Pantin, "Origins"; K. J. Thompson, "The Development of the Theory of Evangelical Poverty in the Fourteenth Century," University of London M.Phil. thesis, 1976 (unpublished); McGinn, pp. 126ff.; and see n. 2 below. Holdsworth noticed that these concerns were frequently expressed in visions (see Holdsworth, p. 152).

²For a good overview of this tendency see Czarski, pp. 20ff. Anselm of Havelburg, of the Premonstratensians, and Gerhoh of Reichersberg, of the Augustinian Canons, both claimed special roles for their orders (see Czarski, pp. 21 and 25 respectively). See also Bischoff, "Early Premonstratensian Eschatology."

³For references to the many optimistic prophecies of the new fraternal orders see Reeves, Influence, passim (for the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian orders in particular). Not all of these by any means came from within the ranks of the fraternal orders themselves. The dream in which Innocent III saw St. Francis and St. Dominic propping up the tottering Lateran typifies this type of early hope (see Paton, p. 220). Joachim of Fiore's expectation of two coming orders of viri spirituales gave rise to much of this speculation, on which see below. See Reeves, Influence, p. 182 for an example of a prophecy of conflict between the orders (incipit: "Erunt duo viri . . .").

⁴The headless hordes are probably the Mongols; see Lerner, Powers, p. 16.

⁵See Adams, p. 298, n. 50. The intensity of fourteenth-century English interest in these conflicts is astonishing and many English MSS survive which contain a variety of documents and treatises of the Paris controversies (see Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," p. 288 and see below n. 32).

⁶For a list of English antimendicant literature see Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," p. 287 and pp. 291ff. on the apocalyptic elements of antifraternalism.

⁷Ibid., pp. 288ff.

⁸These contradictions are not usually discussed much by critics wishing to stress Langland's antimendicantism, but see Adams, pp. 289-90.

⁹I am using the term 'ecclesiology' in the sense of a philosophy or doctrine of ecclesiastical lifestyle and organization. See Gordon Leff, "The Apostolic Ideal in Later Medieval Ecclesiology,"

Journal of Theological Studies n.s., XVIII (1967), pp. 52-82.

¹⁰1260 was thought to be the transition point from the Second to the Third status in Joachite apocalyptic theory. On apocalyptic tensions (Joachite and otherwise) at this time see Reeves, Influence, pp. 53ff. One of the most obvious indicators of these tensions was the outbreak of the Flagellant movement. See Reeves, ibid., pp. 54ff.

¹¹See Reeves, Influence, pp. 59ff.

¹²What follows is a rather distorted interpretation of Joachim's expectation that the emphasis of spiritual life would shift from the active (Peter) to the contemplative (John) in the coming Age of the Holy Ghost. See Reeves, Influence, pp. 131-32.

¹³On the response of the French poets to this episode and their strident support of the secular clergy see McDonnell, pp. 465ff.; Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," pp. 296ff.; H. H. Lucas, Rutebeuf: Poemes concernant L'Université de Paris (Paris, n.d.); John Fleming, The Roman de la Rose (Princeton, 1969), pp. 164-71 and 25-26; N. Cohn, The World-View of a Thirteenth-Century Parisian Intellectual: Jean de Meun and the Roman de la Rose (Durham, 1961), pp. 19-21. The edition cited here is edited by Félix Lecoy (Paris, 1966).

¹⁴University of Cornell, 1971. Among his articles I have found "Antifraternal Tradition" most useful. See also "The Friar as False Apostle: Antifraternal Exegesis and the Summoner's Tale," Studies in Philology 71 (1974), pp. 19-46 and his "Sedens" (see Table of Abbreviations).

¹⁵Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," pp. 292-93. I think the one exception to this statement is William's direct naming of the Eternal Gospel (De Periculis, p. 27). This technique of exegetical cover was no doubt for reasons of self-defence. William knew that he was likely to incur papal censure since he was directly attacking the rights and privileges the friars had obtained by a series of papal decrees (see McDonnell, p. 458).

¹⁶The fullest treatment of this theme is in William's popular sermon De Pharisaeo et Publicano (delivered in 1256), but the De Periculis contains similar charges (see De Periculis, pp. 35ff., Signs (of pseudo-apostles) #25, #28 and #30, for example). The De Pharisaeo et Publicano is printed in Brown, II:43-47 and this set of charges is discussed extensively in Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," pp. 294ff. and "Caimes Kynde," pp. 28ff.

¹⁷See De Periculis, pp. 31ff. and Signs #9 and 13 among others. See also Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," pp. 304ff. and "Caimes Kynde," pp. 60ff.

¹⁸See De Periculis, pp. 19-23 especially and Signs #1, 2, 22, 23 and 38. See also Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," pp. 304ff. and "Caimes Kynde," pp. 73ff.

¹⁹See De Periculis, pp. 23-24 (beginning of chapter IV) and p. 34. Jannes and Mambres were thought to be Pharaoh's magicians (Exodus 7:11-13).

²⁰See De Periculis, ch. XI, p. 30.

²¹The Signs begin on p. 35 of the De Periculis.

²²See especially Williams, "Relations."

²³Piers Plowman and the Scriptural Tradition (Princeton, N.J., 1951), pp. 7ff.

²⁴Adams expresses a similar view; see p. 289, n. 28.

²⁵See especially Adams' and Szittyá's studies for the most up-to-date views. Szittyá, "Caimes Kynde," pp. 9ff. reviews earlier studies.

²⁶Donaldson has shown that Langland was probably a clerk in minor orders, at the level of either acolyte or tonsuratus, but unable to earn a livelihood from the Church because he was married. See Donaldson, pp. 205ff. I do not mean to imply that William's views were universally accepted, but that they could not help but give pause to an antimendicant sympathizer in the position Langland portrays himself in.

²⁷De Periculis, pp. 31-32. For the source of this idea see the quotation from Proverbs 30 below.

²⁸". . . illi qui de mendicitate vivere volunt, fiunt adultores & detrectores & mendaces & fures & a justicia declinantes" (p. 32).

²⁹"Sed dices: Nonne opus perfectionis est omnia relinquere pro Christo, et postea pro Christo mendicare? Respondetur: Omnia pro Christo relinquere, et ipsum sequi, imitando in bonis operibus, opus perfectionis est Lucae 18. Vende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus, et sequere me. Gloss. Bene operando, non dicit mendicando. Nam hoc prohibetur ab Apostolo, ut supra dictum est. Qualiter ergo vivendum est viro perfecto, postquam reliquerit omnia? Respondetur: Aut operando corporaliter manibus, aut intrando monasterium ubi habeat necessaria vitae" (p. 32).

³⁰See Szittyá, "Caimes Kynde," pp. 60ff.; Leff, pp. 88ff. and Leff, Paris, pp. 262ff.

³¹See Szittyá, "Caimes Kynde," pp. 58ff.

³²See for example the fourteenth-century Paris MS B. N. Lat. 3183, of English provenance, which contains polemics of William of St. Amour and Uhtred of Boldon as well as Aquinas, Bonaventure and Peckham. Phillips MS 3119 (of probable English provenance and dating in various parts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries) contains works by William, Gerard of Abbeville, and other antimendicant writers as well as defences by Pecham, Roger Conway, Bonaventure and others. It also contains a number of pseudo-Joachite prophecies including the antimendicant one discussed below ("Insurgent gentes"), which usually travels under Hildegard's name. See the description of Phillips 3119 in A. G. Little, Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus (Manchester, 1951), pp. xivff. Other interesting collections of pro- and antimendicant writings can be found in (Oxford) Bodley MS Digby 113; (Cambridge) Corpus Christi College 103; (Oxford) Balliol College MS 149.

³³See Leff (Heresy), pp. 51ff.

³⁴Langland's use of some of these ideas will be discussed further below with respect to certain passages of the poem.

³⁵Bourquin, p. 698. See below, n. 38.

³⁶Leff, Paris, 265.

³⁷Pamela Gradon has recently shown the connection between Langland's portrait of Nede and Exiit. See Gradon, "Dissent," p. 203 and below, n. 88.

³⁸Two recent discussions of this aspect of Franciscan spirituality which are very helpful in this context are E. R. Daniel, "Spirituality and Poverty: Angelo da clareno and Ubertino da Casale," Medievalia et Humanistica 4 (1973), 89-98; Leff, "The Franciscan Concept of Man" in Prophecy and Millenarianism: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves, ed. Ann Williams (Harlow, Essex, 1980). As Bourquin notes, Langland's Patience begs for "A meles mete for a pore man, or moneye, yf they hadde" XV. 36 and is represented as a "palmere," "Ilyk Peres the Ploghman" (l. 34). Patience's discourse throughout this section centres largely on the spiritual efficacy of poverty. See, for example, XVI. 47ff. Langland's sympathy with the ideology of poverty need not, of course, have come entirely from Franciscan sources, but his familiarity with the literature of the mendicant controversies makes this an obvious source among possible ones. Maguire has suggested that Langland's familiarity with Franciscan thought may well stem from his education, given the vast influence of the friars in monastic, grammar and cathedral schools, as well as at the universities (see Maguire, pp. 34ff).

³⁹See Dawson, p. 234, n. 22.

⁴⁰This periodization is based on traditional exegetical interpretation of the four horses of the Apocalypse. See, for example, Czarski's discussion (p. 17) of Bede's interpretation of the four horses.

⁴¹This was one of the most popular pseudo-Joachite texts. See Reeves, Influence, p. 62.

⁴²Gerard, like a number of later extremist and heretical disciples of Joachim, twisted the abbot's teachings to fit into a mold of his own making. On Joachim's genuine expectations for the Third Status see Reeves, Influence, pp. 18-19, pp. 129ff. and passim.

⁴³This was a standard interpretation. See Czarski, pp. 20ff. on the exegetical history of this verse. In the twelfth century Anselm of Havelburg, Honorius of Autun, Otto of Freising and Gerhoh of Reichersberg all believed that the regular clergy were the agency which held back Antichrist. Adso of Montier-en-Der assigned the role to the Roman Empire and its heirs in his influential treatise on Antichrist (see McGinn, p. 86 and Emerson, pp. 38-39). This view was also widely held throughout the Middle Ages.

⁴⁴William is, of course, hoping to convince the prelates to act now to deter the "forces of Antichrist," the friars.

⁴⁵See Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," p. 292; Leff, Paris, p. 261.

⁴⁶No work that I know of has been done on the apocalyptic strand in antimendicism. On the Liber de Antichristo see Adams, pp. 296ff. and esp. n. 45; on the Collectiones see Little, Pecham, pp. 17-18. "Insurgent gentes" is discussed below.

⁴⁷See Fleming, "Summoner's Tale," p. 691 on the wide circulation of this material in the fourteenth century.

⁴⁸Some instances of "Insurgent gentes" occurring in English MSS are noted below in n. 61 (see also n. 62). This is by no means a complete list.

⁴⁹Ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS #30 (London, 1867). See also the Wycliffite tract "De Blasphema Contra Fratres" in Arnold, III, p. 413.

⁵⁰I have traced this process more fully in a paper delivered at the Twentieth Annual Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 12-15, 1985, entitled "An Odd Thing to be Remembered for: Hildegard and Medieval Antimendicant Propaganda."

⁵¹"Timemus, ne isti sint illi, de quibus Spiritus sanctus per os beate Hildegardis prophetavit, per quos clerus affligetur et

civitas periclitabitur." (Alfons Hilka, Die Wundergeschichten Des Caesarus von Heisterbach, III [Bonn, 1933] 245-46.) See also McDonnell, p. 294.

⁵²Judging by the number of times the letter was excerpted in surviving MSS. See also Linde, pp. 95ff. and McDonnell, pp. 294-95 on allusions and citations in other chronicles.

⁵³On the use of Hildegard in the Collectiones (see above, n. 46) and Pecham's response to this (or another) citation, see Little, Pecham, p. 18. Unfortunately the Collectiones was not available to me for consultation (printed in Opera Omnia [Constance, 1632]). Pecham seems to have realized that Hildegard's prophecy need not necessarily refer to the friars; see his Tractatus Pauperis (in Little, p. 64). He uses various ruses to cast doubt on her writings, including some predictable antifeminism (ibid., p. 76). He ends by asserting "I do believe, moreover, until I come to know otherwise, the prophecy of Hildegard to have proceeded from the cunning of the devil." (Credo autem donec aliud mihi innotescat, prophetiam Hildegardis ex dyaboli astutia processisse) ibid., p. 76.

⁵⁴See Dufeil, p. 342, n. 181.

⁵⁵See Szittyá, "Sedens," p. 31.

⁵⁶William's De Periculis, as we have seen, does prophesy this. This is only one of a handful of motifs which could indicate that William was influenced by Hildegard. On the other hand such similarities could simply be accounted for by the use of the same biblical text, e.g. in this case, Matthew 24, on the predicted persecution of the disciples. Compare, for example, the fourth sign (p. 28) of the De Periculis with Hildegard's letter to the clergy of Cologne.

⁵⁷This translation is based on transcriptions of the text in A. G. Little and R. Easterling, The Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter (Exeter, 1927), pp. 60-61 and Johann Albert Fabricius, Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis (Florence, 1858), pp. 243-44. The section quoted below is based on Little and Easterling's text (see Appendix A, text "e").

⁵⁸Fabricius reads "princes of the church" here.

⁵⁹The next section, down to note 60, is based on Fabricius' text. (Little and Easterling's text seems to be corrupt here.)

⁶⁰I have returned to Little and Easterling at this point.

⁶¹See, for example (London) Lambeth Palace MS 357, Phillips MS 3119, (Oxford) Bodley MS 158, Exeter Chapter House MS 3625.

⁶²See, for example, (Oxford) Bodley MS Hatton 56; (Cambridge) Corpus Christi College MSS 288, 404 and 107; (Oxford) Bodley MS Arch. Selden B. 8. This rule is not, of course, hard and fast. See MS Trinity College Dublin 516, which contains "Insurgent gentes" within an anthology of other kinds of prophecies, or (Oxford) Bodley Digby 98, which contains the Pentachron and some antifraternal satire (but not "Insurgent gentes") amidst a diverse collection of mathematical and philosophical texts.

⁶³As, for example, in MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 404.

⁶⁴On Henry of Ghent and John of Pouilli (both thirteenth-century antimendicant writers) see Copeland, ch. IV.

⁶⁵See Copeland, pp. 148ff., on other antimendicant writers and preachers in fourteenth-century England.

⁶⁶Attempts to explain Wyclif's change in attitude against the friars have been made by Workman, II, pp. 102ff. and Palmer, II, pp. 309-11. Palmer summarizes the views of earlier scholars on this point. On Fitzralph's change of heart see below.

⁶⁷Fitzralph is a more helpful figure to study as background to Langland's antimendicant thought partly because he is slightly earlier than Langland and because he is entirely orthodox in his views, unlike Wyclif (on the problems of comparing Langland and Wyclif, see Gradon, "Dissent"). Fitzralph began his career with strong reformist ideals, but these seem to have become buried under his extremist antimendicantism in later years.

⁶⁸Walsh, Traditio 31, p. 245.

⁶⁹Walsh, Fitzralph, p. 366.

⁷⁰"Summoner's Tale."

⁷¹Walsh, Fitzralph, p. 370.

⁷²See especially Williams, "Relations" and Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition."

⁷³Walsh, Traditio 31, p. 227 and Fitzralph, Appendix, pp. 469ff.

⁷⁴Walsh, Traditio 31, p. 240.

⁷⁵Note the incident which Walsh records (*ibid.*, p. 240) in which a member of Oxford University came to the attention of the chancellor because he was advocating disendowment of the clergy and

abolition of offerings to the friars. See also the "Lollard Disendowment Bill" printed by Hudson, pp. 203ff. See Knowles, Religious Orders II, pp. 67ff. on the role of the mendicants in agitating for disendowment of the possessioners.

⁷⁶See Mildred E. Marcett, Uhtred de Boldon, Friar William Jordan and Piers Plowman (New York, 1938), pp. 63ff., where Marcett assumes that because Langland uses the phrase "Periculum est in falsis fratribus" (XV. 76a) and refers to the gluttonous friar as a "iurdan" (chamber pot) at l. 92 that he is alluding to Uhtred de Boldon's Contra querelas fratrum, which was written against the Dominican William Jordan. The "Periculum" phrase comes from 2 Corinthians 11:26 and occurs in most antimendicant literature in the tradition of William of St. Amour. "Iurdan" may or may not refer to Jordan (note that it is one of the alliterative rhyme words and may have been chosen for its colourfulness and convenience), but Langland would not have agreed with much in Uhtred's polemics, particularly his views on royal and papal power and on disendowment. See Marcett, pp. 19ff. and Knowles, Religious Orders II, p. 66 on Uhtred's views. Mother Catherine Maguire has also commented on ideological similarities between Langland and the Franciscans on issues such as disendowment (see Maguire, pp. 17-18).

⁷⁷See Walsh, Traditio 31, pp. 236-37 and Williams, "Relations," p. 25. Fitzralph's strictures against the friars' right to hear confession were based on a literalist reading of the 1215 Lateran Council's canon Omnis utriusque sexus, which required annual confession to one's parish priest. At the time of the Lateran Council the friars were not formally constituted and so it is obvious why the decree is silent on the question of confession to a friar. The antimendicant school tried to argue that Omnis therefore ruled out the validity of confession to a friar (Williams, p. 26). Fitzralph's position on burial in any place other than the parish church cemetery (e.g. in a fraternal cemetery) was ludicrously severe: he argued that burial outside of the parish church cemetery could lead to eternal damnation! See Walsh, Fitzralph, p. 364.

⁷⁸This may be a reflection of the fact that Langland was not himself a secular priest, although many members of the secular clergy were not opposed to fraternal work in the pastoral field: see Williams, "Relations," p. 93.

⁷⁹Reason begins his query by asking "Can thow seruen . . . or syngen in a churche"? (V. 12) Donaldson has suggested (p. 206) that this may be (slight) evidence that Langland was an acolyte rather than a tonsuratus.

⁸⁰See especially V. 89ff. Conscience seems very suspicious of what seems to be Will's own freelance attempt at living a life of evangelical poverty. He voices here the "establishment" view of such would-be religious or semi-religious practitioners. The Medieval Church

was extremely suspicious of groups or individuals who did not fit into a traditionally recognized role or order. Even the friars, with official recognition and papal sanction, encountered suspicion. See Leff (Heresy), pp. 15ff.; McDonnell, *passim*; and Leff (Heresy), pp. 21ff. on the troubles which Beguine groups encountered in this regard.

⁸¹Donaldson, pp. 208ff.

⁸²I.e. original in orthodoxy outside of rigorist Franciscanism. If we knew more about the ideals and practices of the eremitical life in fourteenth-century England, we could perhaps shed some light on this passage from another direction. Eremiticism is discussed further in this context in the next section of this chapter.

⁸³See Szittyá, "Antifraternal Tradition," p.312.

⁸⁴De Periculis, p. 34. He is alluding to II Timothy 3:7.

⁸⁵See V. 92ff.

⁸⁶These arguments are reviewed in Adams, *passim*, and especially pp. 275ff.

⁸⁷Gradon, p. 203. Gradon is actually extrapolating from Adams' view of Need; see Adams, p. 299.

⁸⁸Gordon Leff summarizes Exiit qui seminat as follows: "In particular it sought to justify absolute poverty by the example of Christ's life, which he had shown by word and deed to be the path of perfection. Here Exiit drew upon St. Bonaventure. Firstly, it employed his argument of Christ's condescension to the imperfect, to rebut the argument of Judas's bag. Secondly, it invoked the same distinction between necessity and legal right to distinguish between use and possession. Extreme necessity knew no law, and its fulfilment required no other justification than that. . . . For Exiit, like St. Bonaventure, simple use amounted to purely natural demands for sustaining life, and bore no relation to the possession or abdication of the other four rights. The only thing outside its purview was money, which the brothers were precluded from using. . . . If it was less a plea for the usus pauper than usus moderatus, it nevertheless sought to associate absolute poverty with a life of poverty. Superfluity, in any form, was condemned as derogating from poverty; and in no circumstances was provision to be made for the future (Heresy, pp. 98-100).

⁸⁹See especially the section of the poem in which Patience tutors Activa-Vita on patient poverty (XV. 233ff.). Will seems to merge with this character in many ways (see Pearsall's note to XV. 194).

⁹⁰Langland rehearses some of these tales in Passus XVII. 1ff.

⁹¹Adams, pp. 298ff.

⁹²Ibid., p. 299.

⁹³Hence the common critical comment that Need offers bad advice to Will but good advice to Conscience. See Adams, p. 279 ("If Need is such a charlatan, why does he offer Conscience such astute advice about the motives of the friars?").

⁹⁴Conscience voices the traditional view of the secular propagandists when he hesitates over Contrition's request to allow the friar-physician to come in, 'We haen no nede,' quod Consience; 'y woet no bettere leche/Then person o_per parsche prest, penytauncer or bischope'" (XXII. 318-19), but he relents and the friar is given permission to enter. There may be a play here on the word "nede": the friars are an incarnation of need for Langland and the spiritual advantage which the parish priest has over the friar is that the former is not plagued by need.

⁹⁵Burdach, p. 329.

⁹⁶See Lerner, "Refreshment" and Reeves, "Originality" for some recent attempts to delineate the extent of Joachim's influence.

⁹⁷On Joachimism in Northern Europe and Britain see Bloomfield and Reeves, "Penetration." On Britain in particular, see Reeves, Influence, pp. 6-7, 12-14, 37, 42-43 and 45-48. Bloomfield, Appendix I; Smalley, "Flaccianus" and "John Russell"; Reeves, "Protestant Thought"; Bigalli, ch. VII "Giochimismo ed escatologia in Inghilterra"; Medcalf, pp. 95ff.

⁹⁸Smalley, "Flaccianus," p. 552.

⁹⁹On the Continent Joachimism had become an ideological justification for the convictions of a number of radical and heretical groups and individuals, the most famous of which were probably the Franciscan Spirituals and the more extreme, heretical Fratricelli. On the Spirituals see Daniel, Franciscan Concept of Mission; Reeves, Influence, passim; D. West, "The Reformed Church and the Friars Minor: The Moderate Joachimite Position of Fra Salimbene," AFH LXIV (1971) 273-84; McGinn, passim and McGinn, Apocalyptic Spirituality, ch. IV; Leff, ch. II; Bloomfield, pp. 95ff. and p. 205. On the Fraticelli see Leff, ch. III; Berkhout and Russell, "Franciscans and Heretics," pp. 77-84; D. Douie, The Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli (Manchester, 1932) and "Some Treatises against the Fraticelli in the Vatican Library," Franciscan Studies 38 (1978) 10-80; McGinn, ch. 28. Joachim's views on the Trinity were condemned in 1215 and this affected his reputation very early on. See Reeves, Influence, pp. 28ff. and Bloomfield and Reeves, "Penetration," pp. 773ff.

¹⁰⁰To be fair, however, it should be added that a genuine Joachite expectation of a coming "Age" of the Holy Spirit is missing from the apocalypticism of many writers, Continental as well as British, who came in contact with Joachism. See Reeves, "Originality" and Reeves, Influence, passim. See note 119 below on the use of "age" as a translation of Joachim's "status."

¹⁰¹See Bloomfield, p. 95 and passim; Daniel, Franciscan Concept of Mission, ch. 5, passim. Bourquin (p. 725) argues that even though, as Bloomfield says, the English Franciscans were largely untouched by the Spiritualist movement, the literature it produced was widespread. John Fleming makes a similar point in Fleming, "Summoner's Tale."

¹⁰²See above, n. 99.

¹⁰³There seems to have been relatively little interest in Joachism among the Lollards. See Ruth Kestenberg-Gladstein, "The Third Reich," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute XVIII (1955) 245-95.

¹⁰⁴A number of Joachite prophecies concern Italian events, like the Guelph/Ghibelline wars (as, for example, Les Prophecies de Merlin, see Paton) or those concerning Spanish or Catalan affairs (see Pou Y Marti). On the other hand, prophecies involving some Northern European countries (especially France) were especially popular in Britain.

¹⁰⁵A notable and recent exception to the usual approach to apocalyptic studies is Lerner's Powers. His method of focussing on the various manuscript contexts of short prophetic works is especially relevant to the study of British apocalypticism.

¹⁰⁶The British were known in the Middle Ages to be avid collectors of obscure prophecy, usually of the political or social type (see Holder-Egger, p. 119). Some of the shorter pseudo-Joachite prophecies would certainly cater to this taste for "dark" prognostications and this no doubt accounts for their popularity.

¹⁰⁷On which see Bloomfield, Appendix I and Reeves, Influence, passim; Bignami-Odier, Roquetaillade, passim.

¹⁰⁸See Bloomfield, ch. III; Pantin, "Origins"; Reeves, Influence, Part II, passim.

¹⁰⁹Bloomfield, ch. III; Bloomfield, "Three Grades"; Reeves, Influence, pp. 37ff.; Reeves, Figurae, passim; Reeves, Sophia.

¹¹⁰Surviving copies of Super Jeremiam seem to be scarce in Britain: there is one in BM MS Add. 11439 and Wimbledon cited the work

in his famous sermon (along with Hildegard's Scivias) as witness to the imminent end of the world (see Reeves, Influence, p. 82). By contrast copies of Super Esaiam are more plentiful (see Bloomfield, App. I), and De Oneribus turns up in a handful of medieval English productions and citations (see Bloomfield, App. I; Reeves, Influence, p. 82; and see below on the Last Age of the Church). Numerous commentaries in both medieval and modern catalogues are simply referred to as "Super Jeremiah" or "Super Esaiam" and until more information about these collections is available we will not know for sure how many copies of these works were in circulation in Britain.

¹¹¹McGinn, p. 231.

¹¹²Sense of an Ending, p. 8.

¹¹³On Joachim's life see McGinn, Apocalyptic Spirituality, pp. 97ff. and Reeves, Influence, pp. 3ff.

¹¹⁴McGinn, Apocalyptic Spirituality, p. 98. Joachim met with Richard I when he was in Messina on the Third Crusade. Both Roger Hoveden and the so-called Benedict of Peterborough record the interview. In fact, English chroniclers of the twelfth century provide some of the most important information we have on Joachim's life. See Reeves, Influence, pp. 9-10 and on Ralph of Coggeshall's account of Joachim see p. 12.

¹¹⁵It is worth noting in passing that while Hildegard became known to the later Middle Ages as an anti-mendicant prophet, Joachim was known as the "pro-mendicant" prophet because the friars were foremost in claiming the role of his predicted viri spirituales for themselves, as we saw in the first section of this chapter.

¹¹⁶Bloomfield, p. 206, citing Henry's Epistola quedam consolatrice (c. 1384, printed in Historische Jahrbuch XXX (1909) 306). On the idea of "reductions to a state of primitive sanctity" see below, "The Church in Reform."

¹¹⁷Joachim believed that there would be more than one antichrist and that reform would follow (not precede) the worst onslaught of Antichrist. One of the fascinating things about Langland's apocalypticism is that this distinction--whether he picked it up from Joachim or not--was not lost on him and that he persists in espousing the non-traditional view.

¹¹⁸Marjorie Reeves has attempted to explain his sense of apocalyptic urgency as a response to his Calabrian background: "He lived at the meeting-place of historical traditions. The Greek culture of Magna Graecia was all around him and--as we shall see--the Greek Church and its relations with the Roman Church form significant elements in his pattern of history.

Furthermore, he lived in a region of many Jews and may himself have been of Jewish origin, though this has been disputed. . . . Finally, he lived at a point where western Europe thrusts out into a Mediterranean menaced by Saracens, where, in Messina, pilgrims, travellers and crusaders gathered and every rumour of the great conflict with the 'Beast from the Sea' was echoed. The drama of the times, the sense that events were moving to a great climax, must have impressed itself on his imagination. A dramatic view of history was perhaps a legacy from his environment" (Prophetic Future, pp. 2-3).

On Joachim's many systems of concords and historical patterns see Reeves, Prophetic Future, ch. 1; Reeves, Influence, pp. 16-27; Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, Figurae, passim; Reeves, "Seven Seals"; Daniel, "Double Procession"; McGinn, ch. 17; McGinn, Apocalyptic Spirituality, pp. 102ff. On his famous Trinitarian scheme see below, n. 119. Closely related to his pattern of the three status was his pattern of the two dispensations (see especially Reeves, Influence, pp. 19ff., but see also Daniel, "Double Procession"). In his Augustinian-based pattern of the seven ages (etates) of world history Joachim divided the sixth or present age (aetas) into seven sub-divisions (tempora) based on the seven seal-openings of the Apocalypse (see Reeves, Prophetic Future, pp. 8-10). The sixth age would end in the great tribulations of Antichrist, but this would be followed by the "sabbath" of the seventh seal, symbolized by the "silence in heaven about the space of half an hour" (Apoc. 8:1). Joachim thus diverged from the traditional Augustinian view in his conviction that the "sabbath" or seventh age would be a time of renewal on earth and not in heaven.

¹¹⁹On Joachim's Trinitarian scheme of history see Reeves, Prophetic Future, p. 13 (for a concise account) and Daniel, "Double Procession," as well as the sources cited in footnote 118 above. Joachim did not see this scheme as contradictory to the old Pauline scheme of referring to the three stages of world history as before the Law, during the Law and after Grace. See McGinn, p. 134. Joachim actually uses the term for "state" or "condition" (status) rather than aetas "age" in describing his Trinitarian view of history. Unlike later Joachites he does not talk of an age of the Holy Ghost, but rather of a "state" of spirituality arrived at in the ordo eremitatum or monachorum. See Reeves, Prophetic Future, p. 8. Because this study deals mainly with non-genuine Joachite writings I have used the term "age" throughout, although in double quotation marks with reference to Joachim himself.

¹²⁰Joachim seems to have understood eremiticism as a kind of exalted monasticism. See Reeves, "Joachimist Expectations," p. 113. In a chapter entitled "De anachoretis vel heremitis," a fourteenth-century English treatise on monastic origins explains the relationship between monastic and eremitical life by suggesting that "the anchorites are the flower of monastic life" and that some monks will pass on from the cenobitic to the anchoritic life (Pantin,

"Origins," p. 191; Bloomfield, p. 70). This kind of idealization of the eremitical life is evident in Hildegard as well. Both she and Joachim look to the eremitical life as a model for the post-reform clergy.

¹²¹Dronke, "Arbor," p. 217, n. 19. Dronke has suggested that the affinity between Joachim and Langland is closest in their treatments of liberum arbitrium.

¹²²Frank, pp. 17-18, n. 4. See also the discussion of previous scholarship in the Introduction of this thesis. Wells also compares Langland's triune system to Joachim's and suggests that "Dobest" stretches from the Ascension to a time beyond the poet's own, but with reservations:

"The Life of Dobest is the subsequent dispensation of the Holy Spirit after the Ascension and both before and after the poet's own lifetime. Here Langland approximates though by no means follows the historical teaching of Joachim of Flora, who, unlike Langland, pressed his mystical views of the three periods of history so far as to impugn the unity of the Trinity and so to become questionable in his orthodoxy" (Vasta, p. 129).

Unfortunately, Wells does not seem to realize that the condemnation of Joachim's academic views on the Trinity (written against those of Peter Lombard) has very little relevance here. In any case, Joachim's ideas would have reached most English readers in a less academic form. However, Wells is (probably unknowingly) very close to a Joachite reading when he says "The gist of this article is that Langland's three lives are not vocational callings but mental states." Lynne Hunt Levy, in an otherwise rather disappointing thesis on "Piers Plowman and the concept of Poverty" suggests (in rather more strident terms than I have below) that the poem can be looked at as an unfinished Joachite view of the world's history, with the last chapter, i.e. the renovatio of the third status, left unwritten. She writes, "Unquestionably these Joachite ideas influenced Langland. . . . My conception of Piers Plowman utilizes these ideas [i.e. those of Bloomfield and Frank] and depends upon Bloomfield's apocalyptic explanation, and goes beyond them all. Piers Plowman is a utopia manque; it is spiral in form, triune in structure and unfinished overall" (Levy, pp. 173-74).

¹²³On Joachim's notion of a transitus see Reeves, "Joachimist Expectations," pp. 111-12 and see "Two Poems," p. 19. The basis for this notion in Joachim's typology is in the Israelites' crossing of the Jordan into the Promised Land.

¹²⁴McGinn, Apocalyptic Spirituality, p. 101.

¹²⁵These last two motifs (of the false prophets and the multitude of the stars) were to become key features of later Joachite-influenced thought. On some of the most important themes in Joachism see Delno West, Joachim, p. vii.

¹²⁶At VIII. 92ff. Piers makes a will before passing on to "penances and pilgrimages" and, although it is never directly stated that he leaves his wife and family, both this passage and an earlier passage at the end of Passus VII imply that it is impossible to move on to an eremitical (or contemplative) life without rejecting the ordo conjugatorum. At VII. 299ff. "Actif," a married man, excuses himself from the pilgrimage because "a Kitte so cleueth on me" while "Contemplacioun" vows to follow Piers anywhere and suffer any tribulation.

¹²⁷Joachim saw a mixture of the clerical and eremitical or monastic lifestyles as the characteristic of spiritual leadership in the second status.

¹²⁸McGinn, p. 129.

¹²⁹The basic pattern of two dispensations, subdivided into seven, was as important in Joachim's thought as the famous pattern of threes. The transitus into the seventh time, of course, corresponds with the transitus into the third status, so the one reading does not preclude the other.

¹³⁰As in Frank and Wells. See above note 122.

¹³¹Apocalyptic Spirituality, p. 111.

¹³²Presented in one of Joachim's annotated figures, the seven oratories contain: (1) A kind of transformed, monasticized papacy ruled by a "Spiritual Father"; (2) Contemplatives; (3) Holy Doctors; (4) Manual Labourers; (5) Weak and Elderly Brothers; (6) Secular Clergy; (7) The Laity. See McGinn, Apocalyptic Spirituality, pp. 142ff.

¹³³On this prophecy and the question of "David's" relation to Piers see below.

¹³⁴McGinn, p. 129.

¹³⁵Translated in McGinn, p. 140.

¹³⁶The Cistercians seem to have regarded him as a deserter when he founded his new order. See Reeves, Influence, p. 3.

¹³⁷Joachim did, however, have a great deal of sympathy for this notion. Bloomfield quotes two passages from the Liber Concordia to this effect: "Necesse quippe est, ut succedat similitudo vera apostolice vite, in qua non acquirebatur possessio terrene hereditatis, sed vendebatur potius . . .," Concordia 4.39, fol. 59^v (cf. 4.25); "Reformari statum ecclesie in eum gradum et similitudinem, in quo fuit tempore apostolorum," Concordia 5.86 fol. 114^r (Traditio 23, p. 297, n. 215).

¹³⁸See Joachim's two letters translated in McGinn, Apocalyptic Spirituality, pp. 113ff.

¹³⁹In Joachim's typology this reforming pope would be a figure of Zorobabel, who arose at the end of the Old Dispensation to rebuild the Church. See Reeves, Prophetic Future, p. 14.

¹⁴⁰See Reeves, Figurae, p. 7.

¹⁴¹There may even be, in the B-Text, a tenuous association between Piers' tearing of the pardon and Moses breaking of the tablets in Exodus 32:19.

¹⁴²See, for example, the Joachite prophecy of a "third David" discussed by Reeves, Influence, p. 492. Reeves gives several examples of this phenomenon in Joachite disciples throughout Influence.

¹⁴³Compare the immediacy of the clerical crises at the end of the poem with the seeming remoteness of the chastisement of Mohammad and Mede in Passus III.

¹⁴⁴See McGinn, Citeaux 24, p. 126.

¹⁴⁵See Schmidt, B-Text, p. 313 for a summary of Bennett's notes on this prophecy, as well as of the notes of Skeat and Bradley.

¹⁴⁶In the Liber Concordia Joachim writes, "Igitur prout ego arbitror in anno vel in tempore quo venturi sunt, sicut tenet ecclesia, Enoch et Helias, eligendi sunt 12 viri similes patriarcharum et apostolorum et ad predicandum Iudeis: et erunt preclarissima monasteria similis 12 tribuum et 12 ecclesiarum" (Reeves, Figurae, p. 15). These twelve would, then, be elected to preach to the Jews. The very popular fourteenth-century prophet Telesphorus of Cosenza follows Joachim in expecting twelve spiritual men and the angelic pope to purify the Church and bring it in statum paupertatis (see Reeves, Influence, p. 423).

¹⁴⁷See Schmidt, B-Text, p. 313.

¹⁴⁸See XVII. 297.

¹⁴⁹As Bloomfield says (Traditio 13, p. 303), pseudo-Joachite works seem to have been especially popular in England in the 1350s and 1360s. See above, n. 110 and Reeves, Influence, p. 82.

¹⁵⁰All these works follow Joachim in seeing the German emperors as enemies of the Church. See McGinn, p. 127 and Reeves, Influence, p. 57.

¹⁵¹On this passage in the preface to Super Jeremiam see Reeves, Influence, p. 397. Unfortunately, a copy of Super Jeremiam was not available to me. Both this work and the Super Esaiam are available only in early sixteenth-century printed editions. See Reeves, Influence, pp. 518 and 521.

¹⁵²The recurrent motif of Peter casting off his clothing before plunging into the sea is an allusion to John 21:7, in which Peter, having recognized the newly resurrected Christ on the shore, jumps into the water from his boat and swims to greet him. In the same chapter Christ gives Peter charge of His Church.

¹⁵³On the Franciscan Spirituals see above n. 99. Other groups, some heretical, were attracted to these early Joachite works for similar reasons (see Reeves, Influence, passim). Scholars have disagreed about whether the Super Jeremiam and Super Esaiam originated in Franciscan Spiritualist circles or from early followers of Joachim in the Cistercian or Florensian orders. See Reeves, Sophia and Reeves, Influence, pp. 157ff. The only lengthy study of these works is still Friderich (of which I have used section C, "Kirche und Papstthum nach den beiden Commentaren und nach den ächten Schriften Joachim's," pp. 454-76).

¹⁵⁴Reeves, Influence, p. 157.

¹⁵⁵In this they reflect Joachim's ambivalent attitude toward the Cistercian Order, which he first admired but then outgrew in his reformist zeal, going on to form his own order of St. John of Fiore. In Super Esaiam, for example, the Cistercians are labelled as Pharisees (f. 1^{r-v}), but Bernard of Clairvaux is seen as the fifth Angel of the Apocalypse (f. 54^v) and they are constantly treated as an elect order in true Joachite fashion (see Reeves, Influence, p. 154). I have used a microfilm of the Venice, 1517 edition of Super Esaiam from the British Library.

¹⁵⁶Reeves, Influence, p. 307.

¹⁵⁷"But the hireling, and he that is not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep and flieth; and the wolf catcheth and scattereth the sheep. And the hireling flieth, because he is a hireling; and he hath no care for the sheep" (John 10:12-13). For the Gower citation see above, Chapter 1, p. 102.

¹⁵⁸"At their presence, the earth hath trembled, the heavens are moved: the sun and moon are darkened and the stars have withdrawn their shining" (Joel 2:10).

¹⁵⁹I have expanded the abbreviation "impery" as imperuius ("impassible").

¹⁶⁰See the translation of the "Donation of Constantine" in Tierney, p. 143 for the details of Constantine's supposed subjection.

¹⁶¹On the year 1260 in Joachite thought see West and Zimdars-Swartz, p. 102.

¹⁶²This prophecy, usually called by its incipit "Corruent nobiles," is discussed in greater detail below. It is found in a legion of British MSS (see Reeves, Influence, p. 51, n. 1). The dates were changed many times in later versions.

¹⁶³Olivi's works were known in England. Bloomfield lists some MSS of his works pp. 227-28, n. 13 (to which should be added CCC 321 and MS New College 49), although his non-apocalyptic works seem to have been more common.

¹⁶⁴As well as Leff, "Apostolic Ideal," see especially Olsen for a history of the idea of the ecclesia primitiva in medieval thought. The era of the primitive Church was usually regarded as the pre-Constantine period, although opinions on this differed (see Olsen, p. 81 and p. 84). Olsen traces the first distrust of the post-Constantine Church to St. Bernard (pp. 82ff.).

¹⁶⁵Among the less radical thinkers were John of Paris and Dante. Among the non-orthodox thinkers were the Fraticelli (see Reeves, Influence, pp. 411-15), the Waldensians and Wyclif.

¹⁶⁶The one exception to this (of prophetic works easily available in England) is the Hildegard material on disendowment. This would not, however, have provided a source on the Donation. Strong condemnation of the Donation of Constantine, as Bloomfield says (Traditio 13, p. 305), is characteristic of Joachite writings from the time of the Jeremiah Commentary onwards.

¹⁶⁷See Knowles, Religious Orders, II, pp. 65ff.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 66 and 68.

¹⁶⁹Religious Orders.

¹⁷⁰This work is discussed below.

¹⁷¹Religious Orders, II.

¹⁷²Cited in Daly, p. 181.

¹⁷³Gradon has collected together a number of contemporary references to these ideas beginning with Marsilius of Padua (see pp. 186-87). She mentions John of Rupescissa (whose ideas on disendowment are discussed below) and John Ball (p. 186 and n. 8).

174 See Galbraith for the text of these.

175 Translated by Gradon, p. 187. See also Knowles, Religious Orders, II, p. 68 on the use in the Parliamentary debate of the fable of the owl. Bignami-Odier believes that the source for the use of this fable in Wyclif and Froissart is probably John of Rupescissa (see Roquetaillade, p. 215).

176 See note 110 above. West and Zimdars-Swartz say that altogether there are some twenty surviving MSS (p. 100). John Erghome owned a copy (see Reeves, Influence, p. 255) and the Englishman Henry of Haraclay knew the work (ibid., p. 320). A fourteenth-century copy of it survives with some other Joachite texts in MS B. L. Royal and Kings 8. F. xvi and it was cited extensively by the author of The Last Age of the Church (on which see below). An English preacher, who may be Archbishop Stratford, quoted the De Oneribus in a sermon given during the 1340s and now preserved in Hereford Cathedral MS P. 5. XII (f. 104^{r-v}). The preacher cites the "Burden of Arabia" to show that the English will suffer at the hands of the French king because of Thomas à Becket's murder. See Owst, Literature, p. 130; Reeves, Influence, p. 82 and Holder-Egger, p. 148.

177 The "burden" of the Old Testament prophet is simply the message he has been asked by God to communicate.

178 See J. Leclercq's The Love of Learning and the Desire of God, trans. C. Misrahi (New York, 1974), pp. 89ff. Like many of these pseudo-Joachite prophecies, the De Oneribus is profoundly anti-Hohenstaufen, and is addressed to Emperor Henry VI (see Reeves, Influence, p. 157).

179 See Holder-Egger's textual notes, *passim*, for such marginal references.

180 In Joachite terms the tail of the dragon and the coming of Gog were the same and final persecution.

181 The image of the incurable (Is. 14:4-6) or curable (Apoc. 13:3) wound is a recurrent theme in Joachite works. See McGinn, Apocalyptic Spirituality, p. 137.

182 Babylon, for Joachite writers, represented the Roman or "carnal" Church (i.e. the Whore of Babylon) or the Roman Empire, or the city of Rome itself, or some mixture of all three as in this prophecy we have just examined (see Reeves, Influence, p. 9 and *passim*).

183 That is, he will be destroyed (the bittern and ericius are biblical symbols of waste or desert lands).

184 See above, ch. II, p. 217 (Robert's prophecies are

filled with cadavers) and p. 249ff.

¹⁸⁵This prophecy follows on from the condemnation of the Donation cited above.

¹⁸⁶See Reeves, Influence, p. 150, on the treatment of this theme.

¹⁸⁷See Holder-Egger, pp. 119-20 for references to the prophecy in a number of English chronicles. See also Reeves, Influence, p. 526 and references.

¹⁸⁸Both these references are cited in Holder-Egger, p. 119.

¹⁸⁹On "Corruent nobiles" see Reeves, Influence, pp. 50-51 (including a lengthy list of British MSS which contain this piece).

¹⁹⁰Lines 92-95, R. H. Robbins, Historical Poems of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (New York, 1959), p. 313.

¹⁹¹See Reinhard Haferkorn, "When Rome is Removed into England," Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie 19 (1932) p. 80. Haferkorn believes that lines 87-96 at least can be dated sometime during or after 1382, based on internal evidence.

¹⁹²J. R. Lumby, ed., Bernardus De Cura Rei Famularis with some early Scottish prophecies, etc., EETS, O.S. 42 (London, 1870), p. 26, lines 87-89.

¹⁹³Robbins, p. 119, lines 51-57. "Secularis" probably means laymen and not clergy (Robbins, p. 315, n. 53, but see also Haferkorn, p. 79 and p. 81).

¹⁹⁴". . . einen rigorosen Gegner der päpstlichen Kirche," Haferkorn, p. 81.

¹⁹⁵Robbins, p. 118, lines 1-2.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., lines 13-15.

¹⁹⁷Paton, II, p. 189.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., I, p. 266.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 267-68.

²⁰⁰Ibid., p. 268.

²⁰¹The obscurities of the prophecy may be interpreted as

follows, according to Paton (II, p. 189): the Friars Minor (1210) and the Friars Preachers (1216) came into being not long after Constantinople ("la grant cite que fist Constantin") was taken by the French ("ceu de Gaule") and the Venetians ("les Bons Mariniers").

²⁰²See Gradon's note in "Dissent," p. 186 for a reference to a traditional association of Abingdon with Constantine.

²⁰³Paton, p. 183.

²⁰⁴See Reeves, Influence, pp. 397ff.

²⁰⁵On Bacon's view of the angelic pope see Daniel, "De seminibus."

²⁰⁶As we saw in Robert of Uzès' idealized treatment of his pope's poverty and humility.

²⁰⁷On the lifestyles led by the new viri spirituales see Reeves, "Joachimist Expectations."

²⁰⁸On the "angelic pope" see McGinn, ch. 22; Reeves, Influence, Part Four; Reeves, "Some popular prophecies"; McGinn, Citeaux 24 (McGinn argues here that Joachim and Gerhoh of Reichersberg were the creators of the pastor angelicus, see p. 127); Mango; McGinn, "Angel Pope"; Grundman, "Papstprophetien" (to which all the later scholarship owes a debt); Daniel, "De Seminibus." On the Last World Emperor figure see Reeves, "Last World Emperor"; Alexander, "Byzantine Apocalypses"; O'Sullivan; Reeves, Influence, passim; McGinn, chapters 7 and 30 especially.

²⁰⁹In XXI. 426-27 he is not advocating a theory of papal dominion, although the lines (in isolation) could be read as such.

²¹⁰See Reeves, Influence, p. 304.

²¹¹The prophecies of John of Rupescissa provide a good example of this view.

²¹²See Mango, pp. 60-61.

²¹³Reeves, "Some Popular Prophecies," p. 113.

²¹⁴These captions vary widely from MS to MS. As with all popular prophecies the texts are far from stable and subject to infinite adaptation. See Mango, p. 59.

²¹⁵See Reeves, "Some popular prophecies," p. 110 and accompanying pictures.

²¹⁶Notably, the two monks heads and the "harvesting" angelic pope. For the relation to Piers of this figure from the Apocalypse, see Bourquin, p. 730. When more work has been done on the various surviving versions in England we may know more.

²¹⁷The popular prophecy of the nine suns is based on the Sibylline story of the two hundred senators who dream on the same night of nine suns. Each sun stands for a period of world history and the appearance of each (e.g. "bloody" or "shadowy") is symbolic of the character of that age. There is a possibility, as Bloomfield recognized, that Langland had this well-known prophecy in mind when he wrote his own prophecy of "sixe sonnes and a ship and half a shef of arwes" (III. 478). If so this would mean that Langland saw the world as only two thirds of the way through its history at the point of his prophecy. The sixth sun is described as "less shadowy" (than the fifth) and as "having stingers like scorpions"--an ominous description which suits the context in Piers Plowman. On the Sibyl in medieval prophecy see McGinn, Citeaux 24; Fleming; and Smalley, "Flaccianus."

²¹⁸On this type of prophecy see O'Sullivan, who gives an excellent assessment of English vernacular political prophecies with "Last Emperor" themes.

²¹⁹See Delno West, Joachim, p. vii.

²²⁰See Super Esaiam, f. 3^v.

²²¹See Burdach, ch. 5, passim.

²²²Thomson, "Evangelical Poverty," p. 49.

²²³The relationship between a lifestyle of wandering evangelical poverty and madness probably stems largely from the Pauline "fools for Christ" theme and what seems to be an almost superstitious medieval awe of imbecility or lunacy. For evidence from social history on the treatment of fools see the R.E.E.D. volume of Newcastle records (Toronto, 1982), pp. xxxix and xxxii. On the "fools for Christ" theme see Seward, passim, for an in-depth study of this notion in medieval culture. See also Doob, pp. 160ff. and King, "Christina."

²²⁴The friars regarded the hermit St. Anthony as one of their most important patron saints because of his absolute and voluntary poverty. See Sheehan, p. 111.

²²⁵L. K. Little (Religious Poverty) describes the eremitical philosophy of Peter Damian as follows:

"Each monk, he thought, should gauge his own capacities with great frankness and honesty, so as not to indulge needlessly in all the latitude permitted by the rule. At the very least, all monks should avoid costly and comfortable garments. In the

hermitage, extensive learning had no place; a knowledge of the Gospels and of the deeds and sayings of the Desert Fathers would suffice. The superfluities of the Benedictine life, with their prolonged chanting, their sounding of bells, their flashy ornaments, were misguided and misleading, where true spirituality was concerned" (p. 74).

He summarizes Bernard's view as follows:

"Cistercians occasionally praised the eremitic life. Bernard once encouraged a restless hermit to remain a hermit, but out of loyalty to the principle of stability and not out of any admiration for eremiticism. Indeed he said that people became hermits out of a lightness and instability of spirit. Similarly he opposed any itinerancy, including that of itinerant preachers. . . . Like so many of his contemporaries, Bernard invoked the Egyptian model, yet he made his ideal an anchoritic life lived within the cenobium. William of Saint-Thierry stressed the theme of the desert in his biography of Bernard, for example, when he reminisced about his first visit to the great man at Clairvaux:

'Although unworthy of so great a privilege, I remained with him for a few days, and as I looked about me I thought that I was gazing on a new heaven and a new earth, for it seemed as though there were tracks freshly made by men of our own day in the path that had first been trodden by our fathers, the Egyptian monks of long ago'" (p. 92).

Some of Langland's views on eremiticism and poverty may well be Bernardian. See Little, pp. 94-95 and Seward, ch. 5. On wandering hermits see Owst, Preaching, pp. 96ff.

²²⁶See John of Bridlington, pp. 148, 174 and 167; Reeves, Influence, p. 341 and Kantorowicz, p. 81.

²²⁷"tanta exultatio electorum erit in ecclesia quanta non fuit a diebus Constantini," Figurae, p. 191 quoting Liber Concordia, f. 203^r.

²²⁸On theories of the present age as an age of avarice see below.

²²⁹See Daniel, Franciscan Concept of Mission.

²³⁰See Reeves, Influence, p. 365 for a discussion of a sixteenth-century prophecy applied to Charles V in which he was to be "the Pastor, like David, to gather all sheep into one fold." Joachite prophecies of great secular leaders began to flourish in the "second generation" of Joachite works, particularly with the blending of the old French political motif of the return of Charlemagne with Joachite expectations. See Reeves, Influence, pp. 320ff.

²³¹See F. Pelster, "Die Quaestio Heinrichs von Harclay

über die zweite Ankunft Christi und die Erwartung des baldigen Weltendes zu Anfang des XIV. Jahrhunderts," Archivio italiano per la storia della pieta 1 (1951) 25-82. Morton Bloomfield discusses the English participants in this debate (Henry of Harclay, Hugh of Newcastle, John Eshenden and Wyclif) in Bloomfield, p. 231. See also Reeves, Influence, pp. 315-17. Arnold's medical works survive in great numbers in England (see, for example, the Index to MSS in the British Library, Vol. I, pp. 156-57) and, like the alchemical works of John of Rupescissa, they carry an apocalyptic as well as a scientific message (see Daniel, Franciscan Concept of Mission, p. 93). A copy of the De mysterio can be found in the fourteenth-century English MS Phillips 3119 and the medieval library at Merton College contained a number of his works, some of which were apocalyptic. See Powicke, Medieval Books in Merton, p. 140 and 257. John Bale owned a copy of the De mysterio as well, see Reeves, "Protestant Thought," p. 105. There is an allusion to Arnold's Rosarium Philosophorum in Chaucer's "Canon Yeoman's Tale" (lines 1428-32 in Robinson), although it seems that Chaucer was actually citing another of Arnold's treatises (see Robinson, p. 762, note to line 1428).

²³²The text of "Ve Mundo" which I am using is Pou Y Marti's, pp. 54-55. See Lerner, Powers, p. 40.

²³³"Nidus etiam Aristotilis contabescens euacuabitur."

²³⁴On Arnold's introduction to the De Semine see Lee.

²³⁵As Bloomfield says, the De Semine had a "strong English following" (Traditio 13, n. 236). Bacon cited it (see Daniel, "De Seminibus"); Galfridus Le Baker de Swynebroke explains in his Chronicon the theory of world ages according to the De Semine and explains how many years are left (see Reeves, Influence, p. 83); Wyclif cites it in the Triologus (Bloomfield, Traditio, p. 303, n. 236) and it is used extensively in The Last Age of the Church (see below). Henry of Harclay cited the De Semine in his Quaestio (see Reeves, Influence, p. 316); Hugh of Newcastle devoted an entire chapter to it in his Tractatus de victoria Christi contra Antichristi (see Reeves, Influence, p. 255); finally, John Capgrave had come across it (Reeves, Influence, p. 70 and see below). I have followed the accounts given in Daniel, "De Seminibus" and Töpfer, pp. 45ff; there is no printed edition of the text.

²³⁶This figural reading of the moneychangers also occurs in the Joachite Oraculum Cyrilli (see McGinn, p. 192). There are a handful of medieval English copies of this work still extant (in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 404; Phillips 3119 and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge MS 388/608).

²³⁷Lerner, "Black Death," p. 544.

²³⁸See Todd's note to l. 3, on p. xxiii.

²³⁹He is referring to Bernard's thirty-third sermon on the Canticles. See Todd, p. xxiv. Adams also cites this Bernardian interpretation in his discussion of the eschatological aspects of Need (see Adams, p. 297). See also McGinn, "Bernard and Eschatology."

²⁴⁰For Bonaventure's view see below, n. 270.

²⁴¹For the other instances see above, p. 396, Chapter I, p. 102.

²⁴²See the Manual of the Writings in Middle English II, #92, p. 376.

²⁴³See Chapter I above, p. 123ff.

²⁴⁴Religious Poverty.

²⁴⁵Leff, "Apostolic Poverty," pp. 82-82.

²⁴⁶See Bischoff, "Early Premonstratensian Eschatology," pp. 48-49.

²⁴⁷There are several examples of ad pristinum statum European prophecies. See Reeves, Influence, p. 423, for its use by Telesphorus of Cosenza; see Lerner, "Refreshment," p. 114 for Gerhoh of Reichersberg's use of it; for its use in a Franciscan Spiritualist commentary on "Ve Mundo" see Reeves, Influence, p. 418; for its use in an anonymous fourteenth-century diary, see Reeves, ibid.; for its use by Cola di Rienzo see Reeves, ibid., p. 421.

²⁴⁸The first prophecy is from a fifteenth-century manuscript (Bodley MS Digby 196, fol. 28), and is printed in The Writings of Robert Grossteste, Bishop Lincoln 1235-1253, ed. S. Harrison Thomson (Cambridge, 1940), p. 260.

²⁴⁹Ed. Frank S. Haydon, Rolls Series (London, 1858), I, pp. 417ff. I have quoted only the lines of the prophecy, omitting the prose glosses.

²⁵⁰The last lines of the "Grossteste" prophecy read:
 "En vagus et primo perdet sed finem resumet.
 Multa rapit medio volitans sub fine secundi,
 Orbem subvertit reliquo clerumque reducet.
 In statum pristini sevens renovet loca sancta,
 Hince terrena spuens sanctus super ethera scandet."
 The Eulogium version reads:

"Ter tria lustra tenent cum semi tempora sexti
 En vagus in primo perdet, sub fine resumet
 Multa capit medio volutans sub fine secundi
 Orbem subvertet, reliquo clerumque reducet

Ad statum primum semi renovat loca sancta
Hinc terrena spuens, sancti sub aethere sancta."

The prophecies occur in a number of MSS (see Bloomfield, p. 215, n. 65).

²⁵¹On the Charlemagne prophecies see Reeves, Influence, pp. 320ff.

²⁵²See the commentary in Eulogium, I, p. 417 on the line "Ter tria lustra tenent cum semi tempora sexti" for a (tedious) explanation of the arithmetic.

²⁵³The monastic commentator has clearly taken a rather pro-clerical view which would not have been what the original writer had in mind. The prophecy exists in a number of MSS. See Bloomfield, p. 215, n. 64.

²⁵⁴For Bridget see above, ch. II, p. 248; for Cola di Rienzo and Gerhoh see above n. 247; for Hildegard see the LDO, PL 197, c. 1005.

²⁵⁵"Early Premonstratensian Eschatology." As Derek Pearsall has pointed out in his note to V. 171, the concept was also used in discussions of penance.

²⁵⁶See especially ch. II of E. R. Daniel's Franciscan Concept of Mission, in which he discusses the "eschatology of renewal" in Franciscan reformist aspirations to return to an original, now lost, apostolic perfection.

²⁵⁷On John's popularity see Lerner, "Black Death," esp. p. 543, n. 20 and Bignami-Odier, Roquetaillade, pp. 209ff. and Appendix II, p. 235ff. for lists of MSS of John's works, a number of which are English. John was well known in England, where he was cited by chroniclers such as Henry of Herford (see Bignami-Odier, Roquetaillade, pp. 221ff.) and Froissart (*ibid.*, pp. 219ff.). There is a possibility that Wyclif knew Froissart's account (*ibid.*, p. 215). Bignami-Odier's Roquetaillade is still the only major study of John of Rupescissa. See also Lynn Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Science (Columbia, 1934), III, pp. 349-51; Reeves, Influence, pp. 225-28, 323-24, 416-17; E. F. Jacob, "John of Roquetaillade," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 39 (1956) 75-96. MSS of the Vade Mecum are plentiful in England (ten that I am aware of) and there is a fifteenth-century English translation extant.

²⁵⁸Mme Bignami-Odier has done a wonderful job of tracking down John's many different prophetic sources. See Roquetaillade, *passim*, but especially the bibliographical listings at the end of each chapter.

²⁵⁹"Auch das prophetische Reformprogramm des unglücklichen

Minoriten Johannes de Rupescissa muss man trotz seiner franzosenfreundlichen Tendenz als Vorläufer jener Gedanken Langlands heranziehen. Anhänger des Joachimismus, Kommentator des Pseudo-Cyrrillischen Oraculum angelicum, an das er glaubte wie Arnald von Villanova, Rienzo und die Fratizellen des Apennines, ergab sich dieser hervorragende Prediger und Moraltheologe, dieser Adept geheimer Wissenschaften und Verfasser alchemistischer Schriften rückhaltlos seinen eschatologischen Inspirationen. So wagte er bestimmte, zertlich festgelegte Verheissungen einer nahen Reformation der Kirche, ihrer Zurückführung in den einfachen Stand, den sie innehatte vor der verderblichen Schenkung Constantins, und einer allmählichen Wiedergeburt der ganzen Menschheit, die auf Erden die Herrschaft Christi und seines Stellvertreters aufrichten werde, nachdem vorher schreckliche Katastrophen, Sturm, Sündflut, Erdbeben, Hungersnot, Pest and Krieg die Bösen hinweggerafft hatten und der Antichrist erschienen war." K. Burdach, Der Dichter des Ackermann aus Böhmen und seine Zeit, in Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, vol. III, pt. 2 (Berlin, 1926-32), p. 329.

260 There is no modern edition of the Vade mecum in tribulatione; the most recent printing of it is in Edward Brown, Appendix ad fasciculum rerum expetendarum, etc. (1690), II, pp. 496-508, which I have used.

261 See Reeves, Influence, p. 225.

262 See McGinn, p. 231 on this passage.

263 Cf. Hildegard's comments in Chapter I, p. 109.

264 Translating from Vade Mecum, p. 502.

265 "He," i.e. the angelic pope.

266 Translating from Vade Mecum, p. 502.

267 This was no doubt inspired by Frederick II, King of Sicily's sympathy with the Franciscan Spirituals. See Reeves, Influence, pp. 245ff. and pp. 317ff.

268 See Burdach, p. 329.

269 For Piers' simplicity or anti-intellectualism see XV. 129ff; for Christ's see XX. 405-6. On anti-intellectualism and anti-scholasticism in Joachite prophecy see Friderich, p. 462ff.

270 Reeves, Prophetic Future, p. 37.

271 I suggest this because given the nature of Langland's apocalypticism and the evident circulation of this type of prophecy in England in the 1350s and 1360s, Franciscan Joachism seems the most

obvious source. There are a number of sources that Langland could have turned to for his typology of the holy fool (see Seward, ch. 4 on the eremitical tradition of "foolery," ch. 5 on the Cistercian tradition and ch. 6 on the Franciscan and thirteenth-century tradition). The fact that Langland's fools are explicitly said to prophecy, however, suggests to me a Joachite source. Donaldson's discussion of the lunatic lollars (as having been derived from the Franciscan joculatores domini) starts on p. 146.

²⁷²See Little, Religious Poverty, p. 73 and Bloomfield, p. 70.

²⁷³Bloomfield suggests that the "wonders" he seeks are prophetic revelations. Certainly a number of MSS which contain material on portents, miracles, monsters and travel lore also contain prophecies. See, for example, Bodley MS Douce 88 (S. C. 21662) or Trinity College Dublin MS 347.

²⁷⁴For a fuller discussion of these aspects of the dreamer's life see above, ch. II.

²⁷⁵See Robbins, "(13)76."

²⁷⁶See also VII. 307-8.

²⁷⁷"Piers Plowman spielt also die Rolle des mystischen Reformators der Zukunft, der eine die Endzeit einleitende Ära des Friedens, der Gerechtigkeit, der Bedürfnislosigkeit herausführen, das Weltregiment wie die Kirche von den Sünden der Falschheit und des Hochmuts, von der Sorge der Gewinnsucht erlösen und die Hauptschuldigen an der gegenwärtigen Verderbnis, die habgierigen und herrschsüchtigen Mönche, Priester, Prälaten, Rechtsgelehrte und Hofbeamte, strafen und beseitigen wird. Woher Langland im Einzelnen die Anregung zu diesem Teil seiner Konzeption empfangen hat, bleibt ebenso noch zu ermitteln, wie die Abhängigkeit Wiclefs von der reformatorischen Bewegung Italiens und Frankreichs, für die so vieles spricht, noch genauer nachgewiesen werden muss." Burdach, p. 326.

²⁷⁸"Jener Reformator der Menschheit Piers plowman trägt nun aber sehr besondere Züge. Er verkörpert eine doppelte ideals Forderung: einerseits die Besitzlosigkeit und Armut, andererseits die schaffende menschliche Arbeit in ihrer ursprünglichen, natürlichsten und notwendigsten Form, in der Form des Ackerbaues." Burdach, *ibid.*

²⁷⁹Bourquin, p. 698.

²⁸⁰Sheehan, p. 328. Sheehan (*passim*) discusses some startling evidence of English fraternal want.

²⁸¹A number of prophetic writers, as we have seen, were

strongly anti-scholastic. The Franciscan Joachite Peter John Olivi saw the pursuit of pagan philosophy as a major sign that Antichrist was active in the world (see Leff, p. 127).

²⁸²The use of the formula "Ac ar . . ." is a convention for the setting out of such programmes, which were always oriented around the idea of 'signs' of the approach of the end of time. For a discussion of the use of this formula in the Prophecies de Merlin, see Paton, II, p. 198.

²⁸³Frank, p. 314. See the Introduction to this thesis for further discussion of this problem.

²⁸⁴Lerner writes that post-antichrist chiliasm:
 "was more grounded in traditional biblical exegesis than the latter and, therefore, was more often expressed in formal treatises by identifiable writers. Building upon agreement in the standard early medieval biblical commentaries of St. Jerome on Daniel 12:11-12, the Venerable Bede on Revelation 8:1, and Haimo of Auxerre on the Pauline epistles (I Thessalonians 5:3 and II Thessalonians 2:8) that there would be a period of intermission on earth between the demise of Antichrist and the Last Judgment, numerous twelfth-century writers independently expressed varieties of post-Antichrist chiliasm" ("Black Death," pp. 539-40).

The notion, however, only reached its full flowering with Joachim of Fiore, as Lerner says (*ibid.*).

²⁸⁵Lerner has recently pointed out that there was a tradition of a period of "rest" after the last battle with Antichrist and before the Last Judgement, normally a period of forty or forty-five days in exegetical writings. This arose originally from some awkward exegetical calculations by St. Jerome based on the Book of Daniel and continued through the writings of Bede, Haimo of Auxerre, Adso, the Glossa Ordinaria and many standard compendia. The forty or forty-five day period was referred to variously as a period of rest, of penance for those who had been misled by Antichrist, of conversion of the infidels and, in the Glossa Ordinaria, of "refreshment of the saints" ("refrigerium sanctorum"). Sometimes the period was lengthened but usually it retained its forty-five-day limit. Therefore even though a reference to an age of reform or renewal after Antichrist in the later Middle Ages is usually a reflection of Joachite influence, it is necessary to qualify this by remembering that there was something of an independent, though less developed, tradition of "rest for the saints" after Antichrist. See Lerner, "Refreshment."

²⁸⁶"As opposed to post-Antichrist chiliasm, the pre-Antichrist variety had virtually no biblical underpinning and, therefore, was seldom espoused openly by theologians. Nonetheless, it appears to have been more "popular" than the post-Antichrist form, in

the sense both of having been expressed more frequently and of having had wider currency among nonliterate classes" ("Black Death," p. 544). This type of apocalyptic programme usually included a Last World Emperor and all the elements of the traditional eschatology.

Conclusion Footnotes

¹See, for example, McGinn, p. 95; Heschel, II, p. 147; Russell, passim and Frye, pp. 141ff.

²Frye here uses "apocalyptic" in opposition to "demonic," thus emphasizing the utopian or chiliastic side of apocalypticism.

³Frye, p. 141, as for the other quotations in this sentence.

⁴Kell has noted in this context the argument between the priest and Piers over the Pardon in B VII.119-43, in which the priest taunts Piers by suggesting that he could preach on the text "dixit insipiens" (Kell, pp. 162-63).

⁵p. V. Brady, "The Ambiguous 'Newer Prophet': A Sixteenth-Century Stock Figure," Modern Language Review 62 (1967), pp. 672-79.

⁶Ibid.

⁷R. K. Emmerson and R. B. Herzman, "Antichrist, Simon Magus, and Dante's 'Inferno' XIX," Traditio XXXVI (1980), pp. 373-98.

APPENDIX A

Latin Texts of Translations

Latin texts are given here for all passages which I have translated in this chapter; those for a few very short quotations are given in footnotes as they occur. I have not offered the Latin texts for translations published by other scholars, although these have been checked against the original wherever possible. I would like to thank Dr. J. Binns of the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, for his kindness and patience in checking these translations for me.

Texts for Translations in Chapter I

^aLibros S. Hildegardis plerique legere fastidiunt et abhorrent, pro eo quod obscure et inusitato stylo loquitur, non intelligentes quod hoc est argumentum verae prophetiae. . . . Quod autem inusitato stylo loquitur et hoc quoque argumentum est veri digiti Dei, id est Spiritus Sancti, teste apostolo Petro qui in II epist. sua dicit: Hoc primum intelligentes, quod omnis prophetia propria inspiratione non fit: non enim voluntate humana allata est aliquando prophetia, sed Spiritu Sancto inspirati locuti sunt Dei homines (Pitra, pp. 484-85).

^bSancta virgo Hildegardis, fundatrix et magistra monasterii sancti Ruperti, quod situm est apud Pinguam, quantae sanctitatis, quantique meriti fuerit apud Deum et apud homines, charitatem vestram latere non credo. Sed si forsitan ignoratis, legite libellum vitae ejus; legite diversas epistolas magnatum terrae ad eam transmissas, trium videlicet apostolicorum Eugenii, Anastasii et Adriani, Conradi quoque regis, Friderici imperatoris, patriarchae Hierosolymitani, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum, praepositorum: et tunc in veritate dicere poteritis: Magnificavit eam Dominus in conspectu regum (Pitra, p. 483).

^cQuid sibi vult, quod beatus Joannes in hoc quarto tempore vidit et audivit vocem unius aquilae volantis per medium coelum, dicentis voce magna: Vae, vae, vae habitantibus in terra, de caeteris vocibus trium angelorum qui erant tuba canituri? Numquid aliquis

sanctorum in hoc quarto tempore floruit in Ecclesia, quem aquilae merito possumus comparare . . . id est tres plagas trium futurorum temporum . . . praedixerit? Quamvis quartum istud tempus vile et miserum sit tempus, tamen aliquos sanctorum invenimus, qui in eo floruerunt, qui aquilae non inconvenienter comparantur: sicut verbi gratia, in Francia sanctus Bernardus Clarevallis abbas, magister Hugo et magister Richardus de S. Victore; in Anglia sanctus Thomas episcopus et martyr, et in eadem terra venerabilis abbas Rievallis; in Calabria abbas Joachim, Florensis coenobii fundator, qui etiam spiritum prophetiae habuisse dicitur et plures alii, quos enumerare longum est. Sed ubi aliquis eorum tria vae praedixerit, scire non possum. Oportet ergo et necesse est ut sanctam Hildegardem hic intelligamus. Ipsa enim in quarto isto tempore floruit, et ipsa tria vae adhuc future in libro qui vocatur Divinorum operum praedixit; et ipsa aquilae volanti convenientissime comparatur (Pitra, pp. 487-88).

^dNuper quum essem apud vos, et libellum illum in manibus haberemus, et de ipso colloqueremur, quem de quinque futuris temporibus ex libris sanctae matris vestrae compilavi, una ex vobis verba illa S. Hildegardis, quae loquitur in fine Divinorum operum, videlicet: "Nullus hominum . . . deleatur (col. 1038C) semel et iterum legere, vobis audientibus coepit, me ex obliquo, ut puto, reprehendens, tanquam transgressorem verborum illorum (Pitra, pp. 486-87).

^eDe Antichristo nostris temporibus diversi diversa proponentes, frivola quaedam non per Dei Spiritum, sed de suo corde prophetarunt: aliis affirmantibus eum de proximo nasciturum, aliis jam conceptum, nonnullis vero dicentibus eundem jam esse natum. Audivi, fateor, quam plures his curis occupatos. Infra triennium enim quidam abbas nomine Joannis, homo religiosus et in divina pagina satis eruditus, de Calabriae partibus veniens, in claustro nostro duabus hebdomadibus et eo amplius demoratus, mihi quasi familiari suo secretius retulit, Antichristum jam in proximo nasciturum. Cumque sollicite percunctarer hoc a quo percepisset: "Solitarius, inquit, magni nominis in partibus nostris Cardinali cuidam id aperuit, signoque manifesto comprobavit (Pitra, p. 484).

^fCum enim Deus hominem creavit, omnem creaturam in ipso signavit, quemadmodum in parvo loco membranae, tempus et numerus totius anni describitur; et ideo Deus hominem nominavit omnem creaturam (Ep. LII, c. 271B).

^gJustitia enim postquam ad supernum iudicem querelam suam ut supra dictum est direxerit ille voces querimoniae ejus suscipiens, justo iudicio suo vindictam suam super praevaricatores rectitudinis atque tyrannidem inimicorum eorum super eos grassari permittet, sic ad invicem dicentium: "Quandiu rapaces lupos istos patiemur et tolerabimus, qui medici esse deberent et non sunt?" Sed quoniam potestatem loquendi, ligandi et solvendi habent, idcirco ut ferocissimae bestiae nos capiunt. . . . Raptores etiam ecclesiarum sunt, et per avaritiam

quaecunque possunt deglutiunt, atque cum officiis suis nos pauperes et egenos faciunt, ac se ipsos et nos contaminant. Quapropter justo iudicio dijudicemus et dividamus eos quia seductores magis quam doctores existunt, et hoc etiam idcirco faciamus ne pereamus, quoniam si sic perseveraverint, totam regionem sibi subjiciendo disturbabunt. Nunc autem dicamus eis, quod secundum justam religionem habitum et officium suum compleant, quemadmodum antiqui Patres illa constituerunt, vel a nobis recedant, et ea quae habent relinquunt. Haec et his similia divino iudicio excitati illis acriter proponent, atque super eos irruentes dicent: "Nolumus hos regnare super nos, cum praediis, et agris, et reliquis saecularibus rebus, super quas principes constituti sumus." Et quomodo decet ut tonsi cum stolis et casulis suis plures milites et plura arma quam nos habeant? Sed et num conveniens est, ut clericus miles sit, et miles clericus? Unde abstrahamus eis quod non recte sed injuste habent (LDO, c. 1017D-1018C).

^hDiligenter autem consideremus quid cum magna discretione pro animabus defunctorum oblatum sit, et illud eis relinquamus, quoniam hoc rapina non est. Onnipotens enim Pater recte divisit omnia, . . . atque hoc modo justa divisio inter filios hominum sit, videlicet quod spirituales homines ea habent, quae ad ipsos respiciunt, saeculares autem illa quae eis conveniunt, ita ut neutra pars istorum aliam per rapinam opprimat. Deus quidem non praecepit ut tunica et pallium alteri filio daretur, et alter nudus remaneret, sed iussit ut isti pallium, illi tunica tribueretur. Pallium itaque saeculares propter amplitudinis saecularis curae, et propter filios suos qui semper crescunt et multiplicantur habeant; tunica vero spiritali populo concedatur, ne in victu aut in vestitu deficient, et ne plus quam necesse sit possideant. Quapropter iudicamus et eligimus ut omnia quae praedicta sunt recte dividantur; atque ubicunque pallium cum tunica in spiritalibus invenitur ibi pallium subtrahatur, et indigentibus detur, ne per inopiam consumantur. Et sic tandem per hanc iudicalem sententiam omnia ista secundum voluntates suas perficere conabuntur (LDO, c. 1018C-D).

ⁱSed cum tandem praesenserint quod nec potestate ligandi, nec solvendi, nec confirmatione oblationum suarum, nec strepitu armorum, nec blanditiis, nec minis, ipsis resistere potuerunt, divino iudicio territi inanem superbamque fiduciam quam prius in semetipsis semper habuerant deponentes et . . . coram illis humiliabuntur, atque ululando clamabunt, et dicent: "Quia omnipotentem Deum in ordine officii nostri abiecimus, idcirco super nos confusio haec inducta est, videlicet ut ab illis opprimamur et humiliemur, quos opprimere et humiliare debueramus" (LDO, c. 1018D-1019A).

^j. . . disponentur, ita scilicet, ut quisque ordo in rectitudine sua consistat, et etiam liberi ad honorem libertatis suae, et famuli ad debitam servitutem subjectionis suae redeant (LDO, c. 1019C-D).

^kde vivente luce iterum audivi vocem dicentem: O filia Sion,

corona honoris capitis filiorum tuorum inclinabitur, et pallium dilatationis divitiarum eorum imminuetur. . . . Vocem quoque habent, et non clamant, opera etiam eis data sunt, et non operantur. Gloriam absque merito habere volunt, et meritum absque opere. Qui gloriam cum Deo habere vult, proprietatem suam abscindat. . . . Sed quia hoc non facitis, ad servos servorum computabimini, et ipsi iudices vestri erunt, ac libertas vestra a vobis declinabit, sicut benedictio a Chanaan. Ista flagella praecurrent, alia autem et postea alia et pejora venient (Ep. XLVIII, c. 249A-C).

^lSed, o vos discipuli et subditi mei, multo plus eis coram populo disciplinati estis. Et quia sic estis, erigite vos super illos, et omnes divitias et omnem honorem eorum abstrahite ab eis, et omnino despoliantes suffocate eos. Haec diabolus in semetipso dicit, quae etiam in multis iudicio Dei complebit. Sed ego qui sum, audientibus me dico: In tempore illo cum istud fiet per quemdam errantem populum pejorem erranti populo, qui nunc est, super vos praevaricantes praevaricatores ruina cadet, qui ubique vos persequetur, et qui opera vestra non celabit. Sed ea denudabit, et de vobis dicet: Isti scorpiones sunt in moribus, et in operibus serpentinis. Sed et quasi in zelo Domini de vobis imprecabitur: Iter impiorum peribit (Psal. I). Nam vias vestras in iniquitate vestra ad internecionem deridebunt et subsannabunt (Ep. XLVIII, c. 249C-D).

^mSed populus iste qui hoc faciet, a diabolo seductus et missus, pallida facie veniet, et velut in omni sanctitate se componet, et majoribus saecularibus principibus se conjunget. Quibus et de vobis sic dicent: Quare hos vobiscum tenetis, et quare eos vobiscum esse patimini, qui totam terram in maculosis iniquitatibus suis polluunt? Isti enim ebrii et luxuriosi sunt, et nisi eos a vobis abjiciatis, tota Ecclesia destruetur. Populus autem qui hoc de vobis dicet, vilibus cappis quae alieni coloris sunt, induitur: et recto modo tonsus incedet, atque omnibus moribus suis placidum et quietum se hominibus ostendent. Avaritiam quoque non amat, pecuniam non habet, et in occultis suis tantam abstinentiam imitatur, ut vix ullus ex eis reprehendi possit. Diabolus enim cum hominibus istis est. . . . Populus jocando loquitur, scilicet quod velut rapida et immunda animalia et velut muscas ei me ostendam. Sed nunc in pennas ventorum fulgurante tonitru volare volo, et eos omnibus modis ita infundere, ut omnem voluntatem meam perficiant (Ep. XLVIII, c. 250A-B).

ⁿSeductores autem isti, in incoptione seductionis erroris sui mulieribus dicent: Non licet vos nobiscum esse. Sed quoniam rectos doctores non habetis, nobis obedite; et quaecumque vobis dicimus et praecipimus, facite, et salvae eritis. Et hoc modo feminas sibi constrahunt, et eas in errorem suum ducunt. Unde etiam ipsi in superbia tumentis animi dicent: Omnes superavimus. Qui tamen postea eisdem feminis secreta luxuria commiscebuntur, et ita iniquitas et secta eorum denudabitur. Sed qui sum, dico: Sic iniquitas, quae iniquitatem purgabit, super vos ducetur (Ep. XLVIII, c. 251A-B).

^ONam oportet ut per tribulationes et contritiones prava hominum opera purgentur. Sed tamen multae aerumnae et illis accumulatur, qui aliis in impietate sua miserias inferunt. Infideles autem homines isti, et a diabolo seducti, scopa vestra erunt ad castigandum vos, Isti autem deceptores illi non sunt, qui ante novissimum diem venturi sunt, cum diabolus in altum volaverit, . . . sed praecurrens germen illorum sunt, sed tamen postquam ipsi in perversitatibus Baal et in aliis pravis operibus sic inventi fuerint, principes et alii majores in eos irruent, et velut rabidos lupos eos occident, ubicunque eos invenerint. Tunc aurora justitiae et novissima vestra, meliora prioribus erunt, ac de omnibus praeteritis timorati eritis, et quasi purissimum aurum fulgebitis, et sic per longa tempora permanebitis. Nam prima aurora justitiae, in spiritali populo tunc surget, ut primitus cum parvo numero incoepit, nec ipsi multas facultates, nec multas divitias habere volunt, quae animas occidunt, Et sic postea in humilitate vivent, nec pravis operibus Deo rebellare cupient. Sed a multis erroribus purgati, deinceps in fortissima vi rectitudinis persistent (Ep. XLVIII, c. 251C-252A).

^PPrincipes enim et temerarius populus super vos, o sacerdotes (qui me hactenus neglexistis), irruent, et vos abjicient et fugabunt, et divitias vestras vobis auferent, pro eo quod tempus sacerdotalis officii vestri non attendistis. Et de vobis dicent: Adulteros istos et raptores et plenos omni malo, ab Ecclesia ejiciamus. Et in hoc facto obsequium Deo se exhibuisse volunt, quia Ecclesiam per vos pollutam esse dicunt. Unde Scriptura dicit: Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania? Astiterunt reges terrae, et principes convenerunt in unum (Psal. II). Nam permissione Dei, super vos in judiciis suis fremere incipient plurimae gentes, et multi populi de vobis meditabuntur inania, cum sacerdotale officium vestrum et consecrationem vestram pro nihilo computabunt. His assistent in eversione vestra reges terrae, et terrenis rebus inhiabunt, et principes qui vobis dominabuntur, convenient in hoc uno consilio, quatenus vos de terminis suis expellant, quoniam innocentem Agnum a vobis per pessima opera fugastis (Ep. LII, c. 270D-271A).

^QEt audivi vocem de caelo dicentem: Imago haec Ecclesiam demonstrat. Quapropter tu, o homo, qui ista vides et audis plangentia verba, haec sacerdotibus qui ad regendum et docendum populum Dei constituti et ordinati sunt profer, quibus cum apostolis dictum est: Ite in orbem universum, et praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae (Marc, XVI). . . . Et iterum ego paupercula feminea forma gladium evaginatum in aere pendentem vidi, cujus acies una ad coelum, altera ad terram versa erat. Et gladius iste super spiritalium populum extendebatur. . . . Et vidi quod gladius iste quaedam loca spiritalium hominum abscindebat, quemadmodum Jerusalem post passionem Domini abscissa est. Sed tamen vidi quod plurimos timoratos, puros et simplices sacerdotes in adversitate ista sibi Deus observabit, velut Eliae respondit, ubi dicebat, quod dereliquisset sibi in Israel septem

milia virorum, quorum genus non sunt incurvata ante Baal (III Reg. XIX). Nunc autem inexstinguibilis ignis Spiritus sancti, ut in meliorem partem convertamini, vobis infundat (Ep. LII, c. 271B-D).

^rO filia Sion, corona de capite tuo inclinabitur, et pallium dilatationis divitiarum tuarum tibi imminuetur, et in parvum numerum constringetur, et de regione in regionem expelleris. Per potentes enim homines plurimae civitates et claustra dissipanda sunt. Et principes dicent: Abstrahamus ab eis iniquitatem, quae totum mundum in ipsis subvertit (Ep. XLIX, c. 256C).

^sin quadam parte a Deo te avertis; et tempora, in quibus es, velut in muliebri persona, levia sunt, et etiam in contrariam injustitiam, quae justitiam in vinea Domini destruere tentat, se inclinant. Postea vero pejora tempora venient, in quibus verae Israelitae flagellabuntur, et in quibus catholicus thronus in errore movebitur: et ideo novissima eorum, velut cadaver in morte, blasphemiae erunt. Unde et hic dolor in vinea Domini fumigat. Et post haec fortiora prioribus tempora surgent, in quibus justitia Dei aliquantulum erigetur, et in quibus injustitia spiritalis populi ad ejicientiam notabitur. Sed tamen provocari et exacerbari ad contritionem acriter nondum audebitur. Sed deinde alia tempora instabunt, in quibus divitiae Ecclesiae dispergentur, ita quod etiam spiritalis populus velut a lupis lacerabitur, et a locis suis et de patria sua expelletur. Unde primi eorum ad solitudinem transibunt, pauperem vitam in multa contritione cordis deinceps habentes, et sic Deo humiliter servientes. Prima etenim haec tempora ad justitiam Dei sunt squalida, sequentia vero taediosa. Quae autem deinde supervenient, ad justitiam se ad modicum erigent; sed quae postea insurgent, quasi ursus cuncta dividunt, et divitias sibi per malum congerent; sed quae illa sequentur, signum virilis fortitudinis ostendent, ita ut omnes pigmentarii ad primam auroram justitiae cum timore, verecundia et sapientia currant; et principes concordiam unanimiter habeant, eam quasi vir praeliator sicut vexillum contra errantia tempora maximorum errorum elevantes, quos Deus destruet et exterminabit secundum quod ipse novit, et ut sibi placet. Et iterum ille, qui omnia novit, tibi, o rex, dicit. Haec tu homo audiens, teipsum a voluntate tua compesce, et te corrige, quatenus ad tempora illa purificatus venias, in quibus de factis tuis amplius non erubescas (Ep. XXVI, c. 185C-186B).

^tTunc justitiae et judicia Dei surgent, et disciplina ac timor Dei in populo erunt, et justi et boni homines in spiritali populo fient, qui tamen in parvo numero propter humilitatem manebunt, et in primam auroram sicut eremitae revertentur: et hoc etiam in timore praeteritorum temporum faciunt (Ep. XLIX, c. 256D).

^uNunc vos magistri supradictos homines, scilicet conversos, in ordine vestro corripite et corrigite, quia plurima pars eorum nec in die, nec in nocte operatur, quoniam ne Deo, nec saeculo ad perfectum serviunt, et eos ab ignorantia ista excitate, velut bonus pigmentarius

hortum suum ab inutilibus herbis purgat (Ep. LI, c. 264C).

^VVos ergo qui Deum timetis, audite Spiritum Domini ad vos dicentem: Haec supradicta mala a vobis auferte, et vosmetipsos ante dies tribulationum illarum purgate, cum inimici Dei et nostri vos fugabunt, et in rectum locum humilitatis et paupertatis vos convertent, ne amodo in tanta latitudine permaneat, quanta hactenus fuistis, quemadmodum etiam veterem legem Deus a consuetudine sua in spiritalem vitam mutavit, et ut unamquamque priorem institutionem ad utiliora purgavit (Ep. LI, c. 264A).

^Wcum aliis quibusdam praecurrentibus signis, quae Filius Dei ante diem iudicii discipulis suis perquirentibus ventura praedixerat in terra multoties fuerint, ut multi dicerent diem iudicii imminere (LDO, c. 1005D).

^Xtempus pressurae et destructionis, videlicet ponderis illius, quo uva in torculari premitur, nondum venit. Sed tamen nunc vilissimum tempus est; quapropter ad priora tempora aspice, et in quali honore fuissent, considerate, et ab inimicis vestris vos defendite, et Deus vos adjuvare non recusat (Pitra, pp. 356-57).

^YPraefati autem planetae, in significantionibus suis, cum magno honore et reverentia conversationis suae, usque ad tempus cujusdam tyranni cucurrerunt, qui consilium antiqui serpentis osculari coepit. Et tunc mulibre tempus fere primo casui simile venit, ita ut omnis justitia secundum infirmitatem mulieris debilitata est (Pitra, p. 355).

^ZTunc populus eos velut nobilissimos lapides . . . quoniam in meliorem partem se paraverunt; et quia de virtute in virtutem ascenderunt, et se in charitate dilataverunt; et quoniam per activam vitam in hospitalitate et in eleemosynis, ad omnes et ad montem Sion aspiciebant, unde et omnibus filiae Sion nominati sunt (Pitra, p. 355).

^{aa}Ubi autem voluntas crimina nescit, . . . ibi homo omnino in profundum iudicium non cadit. Sed culpa hujus ignorantiae per flagella tergitur (Ep. II, c. 153A).

^{bb}Sed et per creaturam, quam ad utilitatem hominis feci, multoties iudicantur, ita ut per ignem et per aquam suffocentur, et per ventum et aerem fructus terrae ipsis auferatur, et sol et luna ipsis inconvenienter ostendantur, quia cursus suos ut a Deo constituti sunt non peragunt, sed eos excedunt. Unde etiam terra aliquando movetur, velut currus qui aliquo impulsu dissolvitur (LDO, c. 1007B).

^{cc}. . . moechiae magis quam timoris Dei cultoris, ante cuius initium paulatim descrescere et ad deteriora inclinari coeperunt, sicut etiam a diluvio usque ad prophetas paulatim sursum ascenderant. A diebus autem ejusdem iudicis radix iniquitatis ac oblivio justitiae et honestatis ortae sunt, quae ita se dilatando et propagando quasi in

muliebri debilitate processerunt usque ad alium rectorem spiritalis nominis gestatorem, qui prudentiam et malitiam serpentis habuit, quem iudicium Dei occidit (LDO, c. 1017B-C).

^{dd}et quia pax ante diem iudicii ipsis data sit, sicut etiam pax primum adventum Filii Dei praecurrit, pro timore tamen superventuri iudicii pleniter gaudere non valentes, sed omnem justitiam in catholica fide ab omnipotente Deo quaerentes, Judaeis etiam gaudentibus, illum jam adesse dicentibus, quem venisse modo negant. Pax enim illa quae adventum Incarnationis Filii Dei praecesserat, illis diebus pleniter perficietur, quoniam fortes viri in magna prophetia tunc surgent, ita ut etiam omne germen justitiae in filiis et in filiabus hominum tunc floreat (LDO, c. 1020D).

^{ee}priores namque dies dolorum et calamitatum aliquam refocillationem et reparationem interdum habebant, isti autem omnium dolorum et iniquitatum pleni a malis non cessabunt, sed dolor dolori, iniquitas iniquitati in eis accumulabitur, omnique hora homicidium et iniustitiam pro nihilo computabuntur (LDO, c. 1023D-1024A).

^{ff}Quia enim nec principes nec reliqui homines tam spiritalis quam saecularis ordinis in apostolico nomine ullam religionem tunc invenient, dignitatem nominis illius tunc imminuent. Alios quoque magistros et archiepiscopos sub alio nomine in diversis regionibus sibi praeferent, ita ut etiam apostolicus eo tempore dilatatione honoris pristinae dignitatis attenuatus, Romam et pauca illi adjacentia loca vix etiam tunc sub infula sua obtineat. Haec autem ex parte per bellorum incursionem evenient, ex parte quoque per commune consilium et consensum et spiritalium et saecularium populorum perficientur (LDO, c. 1026D-1027A).

^{gg}. . . sed justitia in rectitudine sua interim stabit, ita ut homines illorum dierum ad antiquas consuetudines et disciplinas antiquorum hominum in honestate se convertant, et eas teneant, et observent, sicut antiqui illas tenere et conservare consueverant (LDO, 1027B).

^{hh}Et tunc fortes viri surgent et prophetabunt, et omnia vetera et nova Scripturarum, et omnes sermones per Spiritum sanctum effusos colligent, et intellectum eorum, sicut monile cum pretiosis lapidibus ornabunt. Per hos et per alios sapientes plurimi saeculares, boni fient, et sancte vivent. Hoc autem studium sanctitatis cito non arescet, sed diu durabit, quia haec omnia propter errans tempus fient, ubi multi martyres in fide erunt. Nam vir praeliator haec faciet, qui initium et finem operum suorum in his aspicit, quatenus erranti populo in hoc resistat. Ipse namque propheta primum constituit velut caput, sapientes velut oculos, doctores velut os, . . . id est intellectui ipsorum prophetiam aperiet. Tunc et principes citharas et tympana in aerumnas et in tristitiam vertent, quemadmodum filii Israel fecerunt cum capti fuerunt (Psal. CXXXVI). Post haec omnia spiritalia sine taedio et

defectu confortabuntur, . . . quia vir praeliator aerem sanitate replebit, et etiam viriditatem virtutum producet (Ep. XLIX, c. 257A-B).

ⁱⁱNam mystica verba a me non profero, sed secundum ea in viventi lumine video, ita quod saepe quae mens mea non desiderat, et quae etiam voluntas mea non quaerit, mihi ostenduntur, sed illa multoties coacta video (Ep. CXCVII, c. 157C-D).

^{jj}et cibus vitae diuinarum Scripturarum iam tepefactus est: unde nunc loquor per non loquentem hominem de Scripturis, nec edoctum de terreno magistro, sed ego qui sum dico per eum noua secreta et multa mystica quae hactenus in uoluminibus latuerunt (Sci. III, 11, 18, 385ff.).

^{kk}Hoc quod in lingua desuper tibi ostensa, non secundum formam humanae consuetudinis protuleris, quoniam consuetudo haec tibi data non est, ille qui limam habet, ad aptum sonum hominum expolire non negligat (Ep. II, c. 152D-153A).

^{ll}Sed ipse omnipotens Deus pauperulam femineam formam per quam hanc scripturam edidit, oleo misericordiae suae ungere dignetur, quoniam ipsa absque omni securitate vivit, nec etiam scientiam aedificationis Scripturarum, A die enim nativitatis suae in doloribus infirmitatum, quasi reti illaqueata est, ita ut in omnibus venis, medullis et carnibus suis, continuis doloribus vexetur, nec dum tamen eam dissolvi Domino placuit, quoniam per cavernam rationalis animae quaedam mystica Dei spiritaliter videt. Haec autem visio venas ejusdem hominis pertransiuit, ut ipsa propter eam multa fatigatione saepe commoveatur, aliquo tamen tempore leuius, aliquo depressius, in fatigatione infirmitatis laborans. Unde etiam mores a diversis moribus hominum alienos habet, quemadmodum infans, cuius venae nondum ita plenae sunt, quatenus mores hominum discernere possit. Ipsa enim cum inspiratione Spiritus sancti officialis existit, et complexionem de aere habet; ideoque de ipso aere, de pluvia, de vento, et de omni tempestate infirmitas ei ita infixata est, ut nequaquam securitatem carnis in se habere possit, alioquin inspiratio Spiritus sancti in ea habitare non valeret. Sed Spiritus Dei magna vi pietatis suae ea interdum ab hac infirmitate quasi rore cuiusdam refrigerii a morte suscitatur, quatenus officialis cum inspiratione Spiritus sancti in saeculo vivere possit. Omnipotens autem Deus, qui omnem fatigationem passionis ejusdem hominis veraciter cognovit, gratiam suam in ipsa ita perficere dignetur . . . et illius anima cum de hoc saeculo migraverit ad aeternam gloriam (LDO, c. 1037C-1038B).

^{mm}hanc scripturam per nullam doctrinam humanae scientiae, sed per simplicem et indoctam femineam formam ut sibi placuit mirabiliter edidit. Unde nullus hominum tam audax sit, ut verbis hujus scripturae aliquid augendo apponat, vel minuendo auferat, ne de libro vitae, et de omni beatitudine quae sub sole est deleatur (LDO, 1038B-C).

ⁿⁿsed ego mortalibus hominibus, quamdiu in grauedine mortalitatis suae grauati sunt, me ita in obumbratione ostendo, uelut pictor ea quae inuisibilia sunt per imagines picturae suae hominibus declarat (Sci. III, 11, 28, 595ff.).

^{oo}omnis terra turbatur per magnam vicissitudinem errorum, quia quod Deus destruxit, homo amat. Et tu, o Roma, uelut in extremis jacens, conturbaberis ita, quod fortitudo pedum tuorum super quos hactenus stetisti, languescet, quoniam filiam Regis, uidelicet iustitiam, non ardenti amore, sed quasi in torpore dormitionis amas, ita ut eam a te expellas: unde et ipsa a te fugere uult, si non revocaveris eam. Sed tamen magni montes maxillam adiutorii tibi adhuc praebebunt, te sursum erigentes, et magnis lignis magnarum arborum te fulciantes, ita quod non tota in honore tuo, uidelicet in decore desponsationis Christi omnino dissipaberis, quin aliquas alas ornamenti tui habens, usque dum veniat nix morum diversarum irrisionum, multam insaniam emittentium. Cave ergo ne ad ritum paganorum te commisceri uelis, ne cadas. Nunc audi illum qui uivit et non exterminabitur. Mundus modo est in lascivia, postea erit in trisitia, deinde in terrore, ita ut non curent homines se occidi. In omnibus his sunt interdum tempora petulantiae, et interdum tempora contritionis, et interdum tempora fulgurum et tonitruum diversarum iniquitatum (Ep. II, c. 152B-D).

^{pp}Nam viginti et tres anni ac quatuor menses sunt, quod a perversis operibus hominum, quae ab ore nigrae bestiae efflantur, quatuor venti per quatuor angulos angulorum in magnam ruinam moti sunt, cum eadem opera supra eos ascendebant: ita quod in Oriente vicissitudo squalidorum morum efflata est: et in Occidente blasphemia et oblitio Dei in sanctos eius, per famam vituli et per culturam idolorum sanctum sacrificium cruciando; et in Austro odiosorum vitiorum, atque in Septentrionem phylacteria vestimentorum secundum tortuosum serpentem dilatata, quae cum omnibus praedictis malis postea supervenientibus contaminata sunt.

Sed tamen sexaginta anni sunt atque viginti et quatuor menses, quod antiquus serpens cum phylacteriis vestimentorum populos deludere coepit (Pitra, p. 349).

^{qq}Sed perversi mercenarii propter avaritiam pecuniae parvulos meos in valles prosternunt, eosque ad colles et ad montes ascendere prohibent; ipsisque nobilitatem, haereditatem, praedia et divitias abstrahunt; et hoc ut lupi rapaces faciunt, qui vestigiis ovium insidiantes, oves quas rapiunt laniant, et quas laniare non possunt fugant; atque dolosa deceptione parvulos meos per majores iudices, et per iniquos tyrannos devorant (LDO, c. 1006D-1007A).

^{rr}tempus pressurae et destructionis, videlicet ponderis illius, quo uva in torculari premitur, nondum venit. Sed tamen nunc vilissimum tempus est; quapropter ad priora tempora aspiciate, et in quali honore fuissent, considerate, et ab inimicis vestris vos defendite, et Deus vos adjuvare non recusat.

Tempus enim bonae intentionis et conversationis quandoque veniet, et ad primam auroram aspicient, et saeculum pro amore tunc relinquent; ad Deum anhelabunt, et sic in bono perseverabunt.

Et tunc de ipsis clara voce populi in Spiritu Sancto dicetur: Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra. Quod est: Vox heremitarum et hujus mundi peregrinorum, tam fortiter in coelum aspicientium, quod arctam viam, quae ad coelum tendit, ire volunt. Et hi omnia transacta et praeterita, quae vel prospera vel adversa fuerunt, inspiciunt, quatenus praecaveant quomodo acerrimo accipitri se surripiant, quemadmodum columba ab isto fugit, cum ipsum in speculo aquae viderit (Pitra, p. 357).

^{SS}Sicut enim vir fortitudine sua femineam mollitiem vincit, et ut leo reliquas bestias superat, ita et crudelitas quorumdam hominum quietem aliorum in diebus illis per divinum iudicium consumet, quoniam Deus crudelitatem poenarum ad purgationem iniquitatum inimicis suis tunc concedet, sic etiam a principio mundi semper fecit (LDO, c. 1019D-1020A).

Latin Texts for Translations in Chapter II

^aVir fuit in etate florida plenus Spiritu Dei, cui multa Dominus revelavit et predixit futura; et evenerunt; diem et horam mortis sue in infirmitate qua obiit socio suo predixit, sicut ab eodem fratre audivi (Bignami-Odier, p. 263).

^bUnde inter alia dixit: Locutus est in me Spiritus Domini dicens: Vade ad illum, qui regit columbam meam, et vade ad cardines terre et dic eis. Nisi dimittant avariciam et symoniam, sequetur tanta mortalitas, quod rivi sanguinum fluent de sepulchris. Quod et factum est in Avinione tempore generalis pestilentie (Bignami-Odier, p. 263).

^cErat autem indutus griseo colore et sedebat sub quodam fornello in quadam sede fracta palearum iuxta lectum suum parvulum, vili superlectili coopertum (Bignami-Odier, p. 281).

^dTenensque manum meam ducebat me versus orientem. Ceperuntque autem socii mei dicere: "Expectabimus te". Et dicebat: "Non eget vobis, cum summo pontifice est". Et ingressus sum cameram de lignis subitoque exutus est vestimentis glorie illius remansitque imberbis factum in veste livida vili et antiqua birretoque tantum in capite, que sudore plena erant. Jussitque ut sederem ad sinistram eius in cophino quodam sive cista. Et nolui, sed sedi ante oculos eius in sedili basso, lacerato dentibus canum, de lino et animalium pilis facto (Bignami-Odier, p. 286).

^ein navigio quodam magno non bene composito absque remis et gubernaculo in vehementibus aquis. Et ecce due aves albe in aquis natabant dixique uni de familia ut acciperet eas. Qui cum non faceret, incepti eum increpare. Ipse autem dixit: Domine, non patiuntur. Hec dum inspicerem, ecce navigium per se venit ad insulam parvam terream, in qua pauci receptavimus nos (Bignami-Odier, p. 275).

^fvidi santum Petrum apostolum papalibus indumentis rubeis vestitum tyaramque in capite eius. Et ecce yrsutus incomptus et iratus aparuit, tenens claves magnas ferreas in manu sinistra. Cumque inspicerem ad dexteram eius, vidi brachium eius dextrum nigrum siccum et quasi aridum miratusque dixi: "Que sunt hec, Domine Deus?" Dixitque mihi Spiritus, qui michi hoc ostendebat, a dextris stans: "Pars dextra, ecclesia, nigra facta siccaque et quasi arida, non tamen amisit ecclesia clavium potestatem" (Bignami-Odier, p. 277).

^gAccidit una dierum per signum, comedente panem cum fratribus meis irruit in me spiritus Domini et vidi in spiritu virum unum in habitu virorum evangelizantium, habentem maculas magnas tam in capite quam in membris. Dixitque spiritus Domini: "Ordo hic maculatus est, tu autem serve meus dic ei ut mundetur" (Bignami-Odier, p. 287).

^hVigilans vidi quasi cumulum in terra mitrarum et baculorum pastoralium, sine episcopis et prelatiis, in multitudine fere innumerabili (Bignami-Odier, p. 283).

ⁱEt audivi auribus corporis quasi vocem tube unius ab oriente dicentis: "Iungantur sponsi et sponse, quia parum est de tempore" (Bignami-Odier, p. 283).

^jpost corporis Domini Ihesu Christi elevationem in oratione prostravi me et vidi Et dixi: "Quid est hoc, Domine Deus meus"? Dixitque spiritus Domini in me: "Finis mundi".

Factum est autem, cum cepissem verbum Domini ardentius predicare, semper inserens de preparatione ad tribulationes futuras, circuiens castra et villas, perveni ad Avinionensem civitatem, eadem praedicans ibi. Et facta est indiscreta commotio virorum ac mulierum ac periculosa valde, vocataque est congregatio eorum a vulgo Saccatorum secta. Et factum est tempore illo: mortuus est dominus Nicolaus papa quartus (Bignami-Odier, p. 281).

^kAccidit, dum in lecto dormirem: vidi me esse super murum paterne mansionis et ecce adducebatur equus indomitus per vicum rectum quo itur ad portam civitatis; qui dum staret ad portam cuiusdam vidue timentis Deum, effectus est homo maximus statura, fractis vestibibus, factaque est quasi vox in me dicens: "Hic est Antichristus". Quo audito pavidus ac tremens descendi velociter et ascendi in domum Domini que est in eadem mansione acceptoque ligno crucis dominice prohibui ei pre foribus stanti ne ingrederetur intus. Quod non fecit, nec putavi me tutum esse, donec inter manus habui lignum crucis (Bignami-Odier, p. 273).

^lpanem delicatum portans in humeris cum vino optimo dependebatque panis et vinum per latera eius, ipse vero tenebat manibus lapidem oblongum durissimum, dentibus rodens illum, ut famescens circa panem facere solet, nihil autem agebat et de lapide egrediebantur duo capita serpentum. Et instruebat me spiritus Domini dicens: "Lapis hic questiones sunt inutiles et curiose quibus famescentes elaborant, animarum substantialia relinquentes". Et dixi: "Quid ergo capita illa dicunt?" Dixit Spiritus Domini michi: "Nomen uni: vana gloria, alteri vero: dissipatio religionis dicitur" (Bignami-Odier, pp. 287-88).

^mvidi crucem quamdam de argento ad modum crucis comitis Tholosani, sed poma illa XII^a que sunt in brachiis crucis erant sicut quedam poma vilia multum, que proicit mare, et dixi: "Que sunt hec, Domini Ihesu"? Dixitque in me spiritus: "Cruce hec quam vides, ecclesia est, que futura est lucida per mundiciam vite, sonora per claram vocem predicationis vere veritatis". Sollicitusque dixi: "Quid ergo significant illa poma multum vilia"? Et dixit: "Humiliationem ecclesie que futura est" (Bignami-Odier, p. 278).

ⁿvidens in spiritu Dei et ecce facta est ecclesia ante me ex

albis constructa lapidibus, super quam erecte stabant columpne alte valde ad modum capitellorum, in quibus erant quasi poma coloris crocei. Fundata autem erat in monte lapideo ostium habens ab occidente altum et latum, caliginosum et nigrum, similiter et fenestras. Egressaque est caligo illa ab ecclesia per portam sicut fluvius usque ad aquilonem commixteque sunt aque non multum clare caligini et redundaverunt simul super ecclesiam, adeo ut eam fere penitus operirent, sed non potuerunt intantum ascendere, quin columnaris pars licet modica appareret (Bignami-Odier, p. 287).

^OGladius mee seueritatis in corpus tuum intrabit, qui a superiori parte capitis ingrediatur et sic profunde et valenter infigetur, ut numquam extrahatur. Sedes tua demergetur quasi lapis ponderosus, qui non subsistit, antequam venerit in nouissimum profundi (Undhagen, I, ch. 41, p. 366).

^PIdeo rex iste pro quo tu oras, debet congregare viros spirituales, sapientes sapientia mea, & eos qui spiritum meum habent interroget, & inquirat diligenter secundum consilium eorū quomodo murus ecclesiae meae reaedificetur in Christianis, & honor Deo exhibeatur, fides recta restoreat, charitas diuina ferueat, & passio mea in corde hominum imprimatur. Inquirat etiā quomodo vasa domus meae restituātur in pristinum statum, scilicet, vt clerici, & religiosi relicta superbia resumant humilitatem, innocentes diligant castitatem, cupidi, & mundiales abstineant a nimio mundi appetitu. . . . Vere ecclesia mea nimis longe recessit a me, in tantum quod nisi praeces matris meae interuenirent non esset spes misericordiae (Durantes, 6, 26, p. 366).

^QNam quasi omnes qui veniunt ad curiam tuam, mittis in gehennam ignis (Durantes, 4, 142, p. 359).

^Rconsurge viriliter, & induere fortitudinem confidenter, incipe renouare Ecclesiam meam, quam ego acquisiui meo proprio sanguine & renouetur & spiritualiter reducatur ad pristinū statum suum sanctum, quia iam nunc magis veneratur lupanar quam sancta mater Ecclesia (Durantes, 4, 142, p. 359).

^SMultae inquiens oues intrauerunt hortum tuum, quarum carnes venenatae sunt, & vellera sordibus conglobatae, quarum lac inutile est, & lasciuiā nimis insolescēs. Iube inquiens eos abscindi, ne pascua pro ouibus vtilibus deficient, & ne bonae oues ex insolentia malarum perturbentur. Cui responderet Dominus. Claude foramina, ne aliquae ingrediatur, nisi quas mihi bene conuenit. . . . Sic ego dico, quod prius clauderentur aliqua foramina, sed non omnia. Post veniet venator cum canibus, qui non parcat velleribus a sagittis, non corporibus a vulneribus ad hoc, vt vita finiatur. Deinde venient custodes, qui diligenter considerabunt, & attendēt, de quo genere fuerint oues, quae ad pastum Domini intromittuntur (Durantes, 3, 18, p. 175).

^tIdeo veniet arator a potentissimo, exacuatus a sapientissimo, qui non quaerit terras, & pulchritudinem corporū, non veretur fortitudinem fortium, nec timet minas principum, sed nec accipit personas hominum, . . . Ideo amici mei ad quos te mittam laborēt viriliter, & celeriter, quia non erit istud quod dico in nouissimis diebus, vt dixi prius, sed in diebus istis. Et multorum iam viuentium etiam hoc videbunt oculi, vt impleatur quod scriptum est. Fiant vxores eorum viduae, & filii sine patribus (Durantes, 4, 22, pp. 232-33).

^uquia iustum est, vt domus purgetur, in qua rex ingressurus est, . . . granum fortiter conteratur, vt ab arista separetur (Durantes, 4, 22, p. 233).

^vIdeo iustitia est, vt vadam cum aratro meo super mundum, super gentiles, & Christianos non parcam seni, & iuueni, non pauperi, & diuiti, sed vnusquisque iudicabitur secundum iustitiam suam, & vnusquisque morietur in peccato suo, & relinquuntur domus cum habitatoribus, nec tamen faciam adhuc consumationem (Durantes, 4, 37, p. 242).

^wPrima erat ab Adam vsque ad incarnationem meam, hac signatur prora, quae alta erat, & mirabilis & fortis. Alta in Patriarcharum pietate, mirabilis in Prophetarum scientia, fortis in legis obseruatione; sed hec pars tunc paulatim descendere cepit, quando populus Iudaicus contemptis mandatis meis, miscuit se sceleribus, & impietatibus, propterea abiectus est ab honore, possessione (Durantes, 6, 67, pp. 499-500).

^xquia sicut media pars nauis depressior & humilior est parte reliqua, sic in aduentu meo humilitas praedicari caepit, & omnis honestas, & multi longo tempore eos secuti sunt (Durantes, 6, 67, p. 500).

^yideo tertia pars incipit ascendere, quae durabit vsque ad iudicium, & in hac aetate per te misi verba oris mei mundo (Durantes, 6, 67, p. 500).

^zSed tempus istius Antichristi non erit sicut frater ille, cuius libros vidisti, descripsit; sed in tempore mihi cognito (Durantes, 6, 67, p. 500).

^{aa}Nunc autem multae faces proiectae de rogo sancti Benedicti iacent vbique dispersae, habentes pro calore frigiditatem, pro luce tenebras, quae si in igne iacerent conglobata, darent vbique ex se flammam, & calorem (Durantes, 3, 20, p. 180).

^{bb}Venite idiotae, & simplices, & dabo vobis os, & sapientiam, quibus linguose non poterūt repugnare. Sic feci iam diebus istis impleui simplices sapientia mea, & restistunt doctis. Evulsi magniloquos, & potentes, & subito decesserunt (Durantes, 4, 22, p. 233).

Latin Texts for Translations in Chapter III

^ahi, quod sub habitu religionis decipiant, dicitur Apocal. 6. super illud: Et cum aperuissent quartum sigillum, audivi vocem quarti animalis dicentis, Veni & vide: & ecce equus pallidus, &c. Gloss. Videns diabolus nec per apertas tribulationes, nec per apertas haereses posse, praemittit falsos fratres, qui sub habitu religionis obtinent naturam rufi & nigri equi, pervertendo fidem: id est, tantam facient persecutionem in Ecclesia, quantam fecerunt aperti tyranni, quos appellat rufum equum: & aperti haeretici, quos appellat equum nigrum. Unde persecutio istorum aequiparabitur illis duabus persecutionibus transactis: & ideo, quia sub specie pietatis decipient, plus poterunt nocere ecclesiae Dei, quam aliqui homines alii, hujus speciem non praetendentes: quia sicut dicit Greg. in pastor. Nemo plus nocet in ecclesia Dei, quam qui perverse agens, nomen habet sanctitatis & ordinis . . . (De Periculis, p. 23).

^bin ultima aetate seculi sumus: post enim istam sextam aetatem, quae est pugnantium: cum qua currit septima aetas, quae est quiescentium: non est ventura aetas alia nisi octava, quae est resurgentium. Ergo nos sumus in ultima aetate hujus mundi, & illa aetas non minus durabit quam aliae, quae currunt per millenaria annorum: quia istae jam duraberunt per 1264 annos. Verisimile ergo ist, quod nos sumus prope finem mundi, periculis novissimorum temporum propinquiores sumus, quae futura sunt ante adventum Antichristi. . . . Ecce iudex ante januam assistit. Gloss. Veniet cito ad retribuendum. Item Joachim super Jerem. Omne tempus a 1200 ultra aestimo periculosum. Item ad Hebr. 10. Adhuc aliquantulum modicum qui venturus est veniet, & non tardabit. . . . Item Matth. 20. Circa undecimam vero horam exiit, &c. Gloss. Undecima hora ab adventu Christi usque in finem mundi: & certum ist, quod hujus undecimae jam transacti sunt 1264 anni . . . ergo quod in novissimis temporibus sumus, . . . praeter has praedictas auctoritates, ostendemus per octo signa, quod jam praedicta pericula instant (De Periculis, p. 27).

^cquod aliqui laborabant ad mutandum Evangelium Christi in aliud Evangelium, quod dicunt forte perfectius & melius & dignius, quod appellant . . . Evangelium aeternum, quo adveniente evacuabitur Evangelium Christi (De Periculis, p. 27).

^dSecundum signum est, quod illa doctrina, quae praedicabitur tempore Antichristi, videlicet Evangelium aeternum, prima suis ubi viget sacrae scripturae studium positum fuit jam publice ad exemplandum, anno Domini 1255. Unde certum est, quod jam praedicaretur, nisi esset aliquid quod eam detineret: quid autem detineat, scitis: nempe imperium Petri & eorum qui loca Apostolorum tenent, scilicet Episcoporum. Nisi enim veniret primum defectio, non veniet filius iniquitatis, 2 Thess. 2. Unde caveant Episcopi . . . ablationem potestatis eorum, sicut significatur in Evangelio aeterno (De Periculis, p. 27).

^eInsurgent gentes que comedent pecuniam (?) populi, tenentes ordinem mendicantium, ambulantes sine rubore, inuenientes mala nova et a sapientibus et a Christi fidelibus ordo maledicetur. Fortes et sani cessabunt a laboribus et vacabunt ocio, assumentes potius exemplum mendicandi studebunt nimium qualiter doctoribus veritatis resistant et cum potentatoribus innocentes destruant et potentes seducant propter vite necessitatem et mundi dilectionem. Radificabit in eis diabolus iii vicia, viz. adulacionem inuidiam ypocrisim et detractionem. Adulacionem ut eis largius detur. Inuidiam quando dabitur alii et non eis. Ypocrisim ut placeant per simulaciones. Detractionem ut alios vituperent et commendent se ipsos. Propter laudes hominum et seductiones simplicium; sine deuocione et exemplo martirii predicabunt incessanter principibus secularibus, abstrahentes sacramenta a veris pastoribus, rapiantes elemosinas pauperum infirmorum miserorum et trahentes in multitudine populi, contrahentes familiaritates mulierum, instruantes eas qualiter maritos et amicos decipiant et res proprias eis furtive distribuunt, tollentes eciam res infinitas et male adquisitas, dicentes: Date nobis et nos orabimus pro vobis, ut aliorum tegant vicia et suorum obliviscantur. Heu eciam tollent res a miseris raptoribus, spoliatoribus, perdonibus, furibus, latronibus, sacrilegiis, usurariis, feueratoribus, adulteris, hereticis, scismaticis, apostatis, a mulieribus luxuriosis, periuris mercatoribus, falsis iudicibus, a militibus tyrannis, a principibus contra legem viuentibus, a multis perversis propter suasionem diaboli et dulcedinem peccati (?) et vitam delicatam infra breve transituram in saciatatem et dampnacionem eternam (Little and Easterling, p. 61).

^fPopulus vero de die in diem, durior erit et expertus erit seductiones eorum, et cessabunt dare, et cum cessaverint dare, ibunt circa domos famelici sicut canes rabidi, submissis oculis, contrahentes cervices, ut velut vultures pane satientur, quibus clamabit populus super eos, dicens. Vae vobis filii moeroris, vos mundus seduxit, diabolus infrenavit ora vestra, et corda vestra, sine sapore, mens vestra vaga fuit, oculi vestri delectabantur in vanitatibus, pedes vestri veloces ad currendum in malum . . . doctores instabiles, martires delicati, confessores lutei, humiles elati . . . dulces calumpniatores, pacifici persecutores, amatores inuidie, venditores indulgenciarum, ordinatores comodi, suspiratores crapulosi, desideratores honoris, mercatores matrimonii, seminatores discordiarum, edificantes in altum. Et cum altius ascendere non poteritis, tunc cadetis sicut Symon magus per orationes apostolorum. . . . Sic ordo vestra contritus erit propter sediciones et iniquitates vestras. Si qui hanc propheciam legerint audierint vel publicauerint, erunt participes omnium bonorum que fiunt inter Christicolos (Fabricius, pp. 243-43 and then Little and Easterling, p. 61).

^gEst verum quod Hildegardis et Abbas Joachim sonant quasi finem mundi et adventum antichrist precessure sint una vel plures reformationes ecclesie seu reducciones in statum primitive sanctitatis (Bloomfield, p. 206).

^hMetaphorice in sole accipiuntur principes seculi clariores: in luna ecclesia prelatorum crescens prosperis & eclypsi patientes in aduersis. Unde sequitur. Visitabo super urbes mala: & super inipios iniquitatem eorum: & quiescere faciam superbiam arrogantium & infidelium potentiam humiliabo. Et hoc est quod subditur. Stelle celi. i. religiosi ecclesie/non expandent lumen suum/tenebris cupiditatis & carnalitatis operti (Super Esaiam, f. 28^v).

ⁱAc per hoc quia Petri nauicula periclitabitur conteri: necesse erat vt nudus pastor abiectis rerum temporalium sarcinis occurrat furentibus imperuius fluctibus aduentum saluatoris (Super Esaiam, f. 58^v).

^jSuper montem caliginosum et cet. Mons iste tuus est filius a dignitatis culmine subruendus, et forte caliginosus idcirco prescribitur, quia per eum universalis ecclesia doloris lacrimis obtegetur. Obtextit, inquit Ieremias, caligine Dominus filiam Syon (Holder-Egger, p. 172).

^kDominus, inquit, precepit militie belli venientibus de terra procul, de lateribus silicet aquilonis, ad ponendam terram in solitudinem et inclitos eius quantotius conterendos. Sane stelle celi cardinales sunt et rectores, de quibus partem draconis cauda prosternet (Holder-Egger, p. 172).

^lCessabit eius exactio, tributa quiescent, et calcato pravorum baculo vel contrito sortem eius ericius et honocratulus possidebunt (Holder-Egger, pp. 172-73).

^mSicque ruet Ierusalem, et Iudus concidet, ut omnino velut ager aretur ecclesia, et altitudo sublimium incurvetur. Clerici preterea legem Domini contempnentes, dum per eos eius blasphematur eloquium, ponentur more cadaverum velud stercus in medio platearum (Holder-Egger, p. 185).

ⁿquia diebus illis undique super terram tanta mala crebuerint, ut defatigati viribus homines et opibus diminuti more quam vivere plus requirent. O si esset qui inter pecus et pecus discerneret et inter pastorem et mercenarium iudicaret, forsitan rei publice fluctus quiescerent et archam ecclesie pauperis in tanta redundantia diluvii non mergerent, set levarent (Holder-Egger, p. 179).

^oSet ecce curarum pondera sic eam undique pregravant, ut navitas quoque naufragos non iam ad tuta portus litora, set periculosa maris profunda depellant. Tutius inde erit summis remigibus pusillum navem ad terram reducere quam usque ad iactum onerum et cenam profundi sordidum pervenire. Cur itaque tam precipites ecclesie cardines pericula subeunt, qui maris instabilis experientiam non addiscunt? aut quod exauserant de temporalibus presules evomant, aut ab erepti difficultate regiminis in subditorum iniuriam resipiscant (Holder-Egger, p. 179).

^PConstantine, cades et equi de marmore facti
 Et lapis erectus et multa palacia Rome.
 Papa cito moritur, cesar regnabit ubique,
 Sub quo tunc vana cessabit gloria cleri (Holder-Egger, p. 126).

^QAnno Incarnacionis MCCL corruent nobiles et principes et
 multi Christiani et potentes in conspectu paganorum [et] morientur quasi
 pro nichillo et multi eorum captivabuntur. Item. LIIII recuperabunt
 Greci Constantinopolim et turpiter eicientur Latini. Item. LVII erunt
 duo pape, unus Lugduni et alter Rome. Lugdunensis erit iustus et equus.
 Alter vero iniustus et iniquus et mutuo sese excommunicabunt. Item LX
 anno erunt cotidie ecclesia et clerus in tanta vilitate et conculcacione
 in quanta non fuerunt a tempore Constantini qui dotavit ecclesiam
 residente Silvestro in romana ecclesia. Item. LXV rediet [redibit]
 tota Grecia ad obbedienciam Romane ecclesie. Tunc audientur nova de
 predicatoribus antichristi (Reeves, Influence, p. 50).

^rPost Celestinum regnabit papa superbus, post superbum
 Katolicus, post katollicum hereticus, post hereticum nullus (Lerner,
Powers, p. 90).

^SEritque solitudo in terra, quousque nouus Dauid arcem Syon
 ueniat reparare ("Ve Mundo," p. 54).

^tPost que filius perditionis exurget impetu repentino ad
 cribandum mortales, ut filios Jerusalem acerbissimo gladio separet a
 filiis Babilonis, ut draco sui furoris extremam seuiciam in eo
 concludens, illusus et uictus maneat in eternum ("Ve Mundo," p. 55).

^UEcclesiae sub quo libertas prima redibit.
 Huic Babylon veniet, crucis aras hic teret omnes
 Accon Jerusalem leopardi posse redemptae,
 Ad cultum fidei gaudebunt se redituros,
 Imperium mundi sub quo dabit hic eremita (Eulogium, p. 420).

^VNoscat . . . licet in curia Romana omni volenti audire
 denunciavi terribiles eventus futuros in proximo in universo mundo, me
 non esse prophetam missum a Domino per verbum Hac dicit Dominus Deus,
 cujusmodi fuerunt Esaias, Jeremias & Ezechiel ac XII. sanctissimi
 prophetae; . . . contulit mihi indignissimo intelligentiam spiritus
 prophetalium Scripturarum Dominus Jesus Christus (Vade Mecum, p. 496).

^WIntentio secunda est universum clerum . . . reducere ad modum
 vivendi sanctissimum Christi & Apostolorum sanctorum; quoniam impossible
 foret Ecclesiae aliter recuperare praefatum seculum perditum & execratum
 (Vade Mecum, p. 498).

^XConvertam manum meam ad te, & excoquam ad purum scoriam tuam,
& auferam omne stannum tuum; & restituum iudices tuos ut fuerunt prius,
& consiliarios tuos sicut antiquitus: post haec vocaberis civitas Juste,

urbs fidelis: cum enim vivent in proximo praelati summi sanctae Ecclesiae juxta regulas vitae Christi & Apostolorum Matt. cap. 10. tunc erunt idonei ad convertendum orbem. Et ad hunc modum vivendi reducentur cum flagellis durissimis, viz. infra A. D. M. CCC. LXX. praelibatum (Vade Mecum, p. 498).

^YIntentio septima est intelligere modum denudandi Ecclesiam universam ab omnibus temporalibus rebus: indignabitur siquidem mundus ante annum Domini M. CCC. LXV. contra fastum divitiarum, temporalem gloriam mundanae superbiae clericorum, & tyrannici ac laici populi subito & insperate consurgent & auferent ab eis dominia temporalia, regna, ducatus, comitatus, redditus, civitates & castra, & ipsos relinquent in puris & nudis Evangelicis declaratis (Vade Mecum, p. 500).

^Zquoniam Sathanas jam seduxit corda multorum hypocritarum incedentium in habitu humilitatis, in specie sanctitatis, in effigie poenitentiae, in fictione zeli ficti & falsi (Vade Mecum, p. 500).

^{aa}ad extremum cognita eorum nequitia ipsi delebuntur & destituentur ac trucidabuntur per populos seculares: postquam autem videbunt principes Ecclesiae nullo modo de paupertate se posse resurgere, dabit illis afflictio intellectum, ut culpas suas humiliter recognoscant & disponant redire ad modum vivendi Christi & Apostolorum sanctorum, & convertet Deus corda iratorum contra illos Principum & populorum ad pacem, & ordinabuntur duntaxat qui tribulantur eis, videlicet competenter necessaria vitae (Vade Mecum, p. 500).

^{bb}Et transgressores ordinis fratrum minorum sunt in causa quod omnes praefatae tribulationes infundentur in orbem, sicut expresse Deus dixit beato Francisco, sicut in Legenda veteri continetur expresse; quoniam Deus dixit beato Francisco, quod si fratres, filii sui, permanerent in observantia regulae, (sicut inceperant) ostensae a beato Francisco, instantes tribulationes non venirent: ideo de hac tribulatione benedicens in morte fratres, sicut 14. cap. vitae suae dicit per spiritum prophetiae, & quando futura tentatio a tribulatione appropinquat, fideles qui perseverabunt in his quae coeperunt liberabuntur (Vade Mecum, p. 503).

^{cc}Et nisi Deus Ordini fratrum minorum providisset de praefato reparatore, qui eorum ordinem funditus reformabit, sicut caeteri, remanent deserti: sed precibus B. Francisci & sanctorum fratrum, post tribulationem reparabitur Ordo & dilatabitur per universum mundum, sicut stellae coeli quae prae multitudine numerari non possunt: sed non in superbia habituum & aedificiorum, nec in avaritia & caeteris laxationibus hodiernis; sed in modo vivendi Christi & Apostolorum & B. Francisci & sociorum ejusdem (Vade Mecum, p. 503).

^{dd}si autem non eveniant flagella gravia inferius describenda, hoc erat hoc quod ego quaero, videlicet, ut sententia

durissima egressa, in forma fulguris & ignis, a facie Antiqui dierum & ab ira Agni sedentis super thronum, per poenitentiam revocetur, sicut Ninive, & ego confusus & iratus remaneam sicut Jonas (Vade Mecum, p. 497).

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