Journal of Ecclesiastical History, *Vol. 51*, *No. 3*, *July 2000*. Printed in the United Kingdom
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Revivalism as a Medieval Religious Genre

by GARY DICKSON

Perhaps because the classification of religious behaviour in the Middle Ages has not received much attention, there seems to be no scholarly consensus concerning the number or nature of its genres. This means that at present we tend to have either inadequately differentiated, broad categories of medieval religious acts, or somewhat incoherent lists of highly specific religious practices. That a good number of these religious forms pre-existed and continued long after the Christian Middle Ages is not in doubt; nor is the fact that such religious behaviours are not necessarily confined to the Christian tradition. The present discussion, however, will focus exclusively upon the Latin Christian tradition, *c.* 1000–*c.* 1500.

Surveying the expressive modes of medieval religion presents less difficulty than grouping such behaviours within larger intelligible categories. Current scholarly literature makes it clear that certain varieties of medieval religious practice are almost universally acknowledged: veneration of the saints; attendance at sermons; private prayer; participation in public, collective liturgies (for example, processions on diverse occasions); acting under the influence of prophecy; setting off on pilgrimage, whether penitential or devotional; taking the Cross; performing formal or informal acts of devotion or piety ('devotion' is one aspect of the medieval religious life urgently in need of sharp

MGH SS = Monumenta Germaniae Historica; RHGF = Receuil des historiens des Gaules et de France; RIS = Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, new edn

This article is intended as a thank-offering to Giles Constable of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, for the friendship and good counsel that he gave me during my pleasant and productive stay there in 1997–8, in the course of which the present essay, amongst others of my studies in medieval revivalism, was composed. Although my text is the better for his strictures, need it be said that none of its interpretations or scholarly shortcomings ought to be laid at his door?

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046999002870 Published online by Cambridge University Press

definition); and attempting, often through ascetic exercises, to experience God (mysticism). By no means is this an exhaustive list. The titular subject of this essay, as the reader will have noticed, does not appear in it.

Of the behavioural forms of medieval religion the least studied is revivalism.[1] That does not mean that the religious phenomena associated with revivalism have been ignored. Outstanding scholars such as Herbert Grundmann, Paul Alphandéry, Norman Cohn, Étienne Delaruelle, Raoul Manselli and Marjorie Reeves have contributed to the study of significant aspects of medieval collective religious enthusiasm.[2] Rarely, it is true, do these scholars have recourse to the English words 'revival' or 'revivalism' or their equivalents, such as the French *réveil*. But there are exceptions. While discussing St Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade, Étienne Delaruelle permits himself a general observation: 'L'histoire de la Croisade est celle d'un *revival* [his italics] religieux qui s'organise peu à peu en institution canonique…'[3] Delaruelle, who helped to transform the study of medieval popular religious practice, was well aware of the structural implications of medieval revivalism – its potential path from popular enthusiasm to institutionalisation.

Delaruelle's legacy was inherited by André Vauchez. Writing in 1976,[4] Vauchez imagines medieval popular religion as a triptych, consisting, first, of a folkloric, virtually immemorial, rural wing; and third – the wing to which Vauchez devotes most of his attention – the diverse forms of

[1] It is, for example, consciously excluded, if not by name, from Peter Biller's recent, useful survey, 'Popular religion in the central and later Middle Ages', in Michael Bentley (ed.), *Companion to historiography*, London 1997, 221–46 at p. 222.

[2] For present purposes, a representative title chosen from among the most relevant of their publications would be: Herbert Grundmann: *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1935, 2nd edn, Darmstadt 1961 (Italian trans., *Movimenti religiosi nel medioevo*, trans. Maria Ausserhofer and Lea Santini, Bologna 1974; English trans., *Religious movements of the Middle Ages*, trans. Steven Rowan, Notre Dame 1995); Paul Alphandéry: (with Alphonse Dupront), *La Chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, Paris 1954–9, the best known of Alphandéry's works, but perhaps less innovative than his early essay 'De quelques faits de prophétisme dans des sectes latines antèrieures au Joachimisme', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* lii (1905), 177–218; Norman Cohn: *The pursuit of the millennium*, London 1957, rev. edn, London 1970 (latter edn referred to hereinafter); Étienne Delaruelle: *La Piéte populaire au moyen âge*, Turin 1975; Raoul Manselli: *La Religion populaire au moyen âge*, Montreal–Paris 1975; Marjorie Reeves: *The influence of prophecy in the later Middle Ages*, Oxford 1969. The productive scholarship of Marjorie Reeves is surveyed in her personal and rewarding 'A sixty-year pilgrimage with the Abbot Joachim', *Florensia* vi (1992), 7–32. By no means should this be taken as a comprehensive list of scholars who have made a contribution to the study of medieval revivalism.

[3] In his 'L'Idée de croisade chez Saint Bernard', repr. in his *L'Idée de croisade au moyen âge*, Turin 1980, 162.

[4] See his 'Conclusion' to the conference on *La Religion populaire en Languedoc du XIIIe siècle à la moitié du XIVe*, Toulouse 1976, 429–44 at pp. 431–2.

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popular Catholic practice that Delaruelle termed popular piety. But it is Vauchez's second panel, his neglected centrepiece as it were, which concerns us. On numerous occasions since the eleventh century, Vauchez explains, there were outbursts – 'popular religious movements', sometimes initiated by the church hierarchy; sometimes not; sometimes non-clerical; sometimes anticlerical; sometimes involving clerical participation or leadership[5] – all representing a form of Christianity which differed, perhaps, from that of the official Church, but which was authentic nevertheless. Prophetic or crusading or penitential themes animated these movements. Popular spiritualities emerged from them. Now what Vauchez is talking about, when he pauses to consider these twelfth and thirteenth-century popular religious 'explosions' (as he calls them), is revivalism, here clearly perceived and discussed as a distinct variety of medieval religious behaviour.[6] The chronological limits imposed upon Vauchez's paper need not restrict the present discussion. If we put aside the thorny question of its origins in Christian antiquity, or that of its presence during the early medieval period, then we can say that the tradition of high and later medieval Latin revivalism commences with the late tenth-century beginnings of the Peace and Truce of God movement. From that point onwards there is an episodic continuity to the medieval revivalist tradition which may be traced down the centuries to a convenient if rather arbitrary point of termination, the English Pilgrimage of Grace (1536–7).

Like Vauchez, a number of other scholars have discussed revivalism in all but name. They have done so when making reference to a bewildering assortment of undefined medieval *mouvements* (as with Alphandéry, whose understanding of crusade revivalism was unrivalled) or *mouvements populaires* (as with Manselli, whose strength lay in explicating heresy along with Franciscan enthusiasm in Provence and Italy). Even though the evidence may not warrant such a positioning, the use of the adjective 'popular' tends to place a particular 'movement' implicitly or explicitly in tension with, or in opposition to, 'official' Christianity. Yet the fact that some 'movements' lacked formal approval may reflect an ambiguity of status that had nothing to do with condemnation. Some medieval revivals ceased before the Church could rule on their legitimacy; others were denounced by clerical chroniclers, whose opinions should not be equated with ecclesiastical pronouncements; still other revivals were more or less

[5] For a discussion of the attitudes and role of the regular clergy with regard to such 'popular movements' see Gary Dickson, 'Encounters in medieval revivalism: monks, friars and popular enthusiasts', *Church History* lxviii (1999), 265–93.

[6] Ten years earlier Vauchez had written about an important medieval revival, the Lombard Hallelujah: 'Une Campagne de pacification en Lombardie autour de 1233', *École française de Rome, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* lxxviii (1966), 503–49.

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legitimated retrospectively at the time when their institutional progeny were granted official approbation or their leaders sanctified. More ambiguously, there were revivals, like the crusades, which were fully endorsed by the Church, but which, in turn, gave rise to movements of collective enthusiasm – the so-called 'popular crusades' – which were not always completely or even partially under ecclesiastical control. Crusading revivalism, consequently, could be simultaneously, or consecutively, or independently, 'official' as well as 'popular'.[7]

An older prejudicial nomenclature will have to be relearned, if we are to use the phrase 'religious movements' for purposes of neutral description. A good many of the 'movements' examined in Gioacchino Volpe's *Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievale italiana* (*secoli xi–xiv*) of 1922 were already in the process of becoming 'heretical sects'.[8] Herbert Grundmann's highly influential *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, on the other hand, avoids negativity at the cost of all-inclusiveness. The question of what precisely these *religiöse Bewegungen* ('religious movements') were, as opposed to what they were about, is left unanswered, although we learn that several twelfth- and thirteenth-century 'religious movements' grew out of a single, unified, twelfth-century 'religious movement'.[9] All in all, *religiöse Bewegungen* appears to be a way of speaking about religious dynamism. This is perfectly valid. Yet, even if Grundmann's notion of 'religious movements' does not provide the conceptual basis for the generic classification of the variegated materials which he so ably scrutinises, his work remains fundamental to the serious study of medieval Christianity.

By the late 1960s Norman Cohn's study of medieval apocalypticism, *The pursuit of the millennium* (1957) had virtually became a canonical text for American and European historians of marginalised groups, cults and sects. Thanks largely to Cohn, the expression 'millenarian movements' – collective enthusiasms of the poor and disoriented, rooted in crisis, messianism and apocalyptic prophecy – entered the vocabulary of religious studies.[10] Cohn, however, concentrates almost exclusively upon medieval religious revivals which turned unruly, violent, anti-Judaic, antisemitic or anticlerical. These outcomes appeared to support his thesis that 'millenarian movements' had as their ultimate aim the revolutionary transformation of the social order. Whether one finds Cohn's interpretation persuasive or not, *The pursuit of the millennium* cannot be deemed an adequate account of medieval religious enthusiasm. Revivalist 'move-

[7] Later I intend to explore the 'popular crusades' and crusading revivalism, 1095–1514.
[8] Published in Florence.
[9] See Robert E. Lerner's helpful introduction (pp. xviii–xxv) to the English translation.
[10] See Sylvia L. Thrupp (ed.), *Millennial dreams in action: essays in comparative study*, The Hague 1962.

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ments' whose goals, including social peace and church-building,[11] would seem hard to reconcile with his overarching thesis, are disregarded or distorted. To consider religious enthusiasms as 'movements of social protest' may be altogether misleading.[12] Far more prudent than Cohn in linking prophecy to specific episodes of revivalism is that innovative scholar who brought Joachim of Fiore to the attention of medievalists in the English-speaking world, Marjorie Reeves; Reeves, nevertheless, is prepared to ponder the connection between Joachism and 'the great mass movements of medieval Europe'.[13]

It must be conceded that with all its limitations the idea of medieval religious 'movements' remains too firmly implanted in the literature to be uprooted. Moreover, the term conveys a sense of dynamism and collective action, which is useful. But for it to signify something less vague than heretofore, I shall be using 'movements', broadly, for revivals or revivalistic episodes of collective enthusiasm. More narrowly, as I shall explain, 'movement' will pertain either to a defined revival or revivalistic episode, or to the intermediate phase of a given revival, that is, its *motio* phase, which is characterised by the itinerant behaviour of the enthusiasts and the diffusion of collective religious excitement beyond its birthplace. When I try to develop a definition of revivalism, I shall be returning to these points.

For the moment, let me describe medieval revivalism in broad terms as a pattern of behaviours embracing episodes of public, collective religious enthusiasm in the Middle Ages. These revivalist episodes may have involved conversionary experiences or exposure to prophetic ideas. A sense of the extraordinary, an atmosphere of the miraculous, an overturning of the quotidian, not infrequently signalled the presence of revivalism. Thus particular revivals were able to generate intense religious excitement during a relatively short active phase. It was the shortlived intensity of medieval revivals – sometimes associated with bizarre manifestations of fervour – which attracted the comments, hostile as well as sympathetic, of the chroniclers, who helped to perpetuate the memory of what they regarded, whether sympathetically or not, as memorable. The medieval revivalist trajectory was therefore brief, intense, public. At times, revivals were endorsed or promoted by religious authority; at times, they were suffered in silence; at other times, denounced and put down. Medieval revivals were inherently responsive to the world of events, and especially to social crises associated with disease, wars,

[11] A good bibliography on church-building revivalism is appended to Carl F. Barnes, 'Cult of carts', in Jane Turner (ed.), *Dictionary of art*, viii, London 1996, 257–9.

[12] Care is taken by J. J. van Moolenbroek, 'Mouvements populaires, mouvements religieux au moyen âge', *Moyen Age* xciii (1987), 249–53, to stress the distinction between 'mouvements populaires d'inspiration sociale ou d'inspiration partiellement ou principalement religieuse' (p. 250).

[13] *The influence of prophecy*, 53.

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famines, and the like. Thus revivalist liturgies of arousal often can be thought of as a direct response to social crisis.[14] That is why medieval revivals have to be situated in the general history of a period, and not just in its religious life. Revivals were 'popular'[15] in the sense that they attracted adherents across the medieval social spectrum, typified by that sometimes suspect phenomenon, the mixed crowd. Revivals might also include both the clergy and the laity. 'Popular', accordingly, does not necessarily signify unauthorised, much less unorthodox. Amongst the many kinds of medieval popular revivals one can cite ecclesiastically organised, preached and promoted fundraising tours; crusades; Jubilees; moral evangelism directed by revivalist preachers against usury, violation of the Lord's Day, and so on. Professionally mounted campaigns to raise funds for church-building or to recruit crusaders naturally indicate familiarity with the techniques of arousing collective enthusiasm.

This is no more than a preliminary overview of the general features of medieval revivalism. But the genre needs to be given form and shape by some illustrative examples of the various subcategories or families of medieval revivalist movements. Exploring the varieties of medieval revivalism is an essential part of defining revivalism as a medieval religious genre.

The task of classifying medieval revivals into definable subcategories follows directly from the idea of revivalism as a medieval religious genre. A complete inventory of the varieties of medieval revivalism, if we had it, would allow us to date and place the emergence of diverse forms of revivalist behaviour, and thus to contextualise the spiritual motifs associated with each type of revival. Attention could then be paid to the particularities of leadership and social composition of the distinctive sorts of revivalist movements. Understanding the normative features and reasonably consistent patterns of behaviour within each revivalist species would highlight anomalies and ambiguities in need of explanation. Previously overlooked revivalist movements could also be brought within a European framework, yielding more accurate conclusions about medieval revivalism as a whole. Overlapping categories would enhance the comparative study of medieval revivalist movements, for any single medieval movement might well belong to more than one revivalist family.

Indeed, what at first sight appears to be a coherent revivalist grouping – 'medieval peace movements', for instance – may turn out, upon closer

[14] See, for example, Richard C. Trexler, *Public life in Renaissance Florence*, New York 1980, ch. x. Note also the recent, valuable essay by Christoph T. Maier, 'Crisis, liturgy and the crusade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', this JOURNAL xlviii (1997), 628–57.

[15] For a study of the medieval usage of the word *popularis* before 1200 note A.-M. Bautier, '"Popularis" et la notion de "populaire"', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* xxiii (1975), 285–303.

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inspection, to contain a number of variants. Medieval peace movements might be differentiated by their adherence to: (1) a pacific ideology; (2) active, even aggressive peacemaking or peace-enforcing; (3) an insistence upon amnesty for political exiles or prisoners; (4) the reconciliation of feuding clans; (5) customary fraternal peace (as amongst fellow-pilgrims); (6) the desire for peace as the reward for violence (crusades against heretics, Muslims, political enemies of the papacy, etc.). Disputed or blurred boundaries between revivalist subcategories will remain; and so will complications resulting from hybridised or transmuted religious forms (for example between pilgrimage, crusade and the papal Jubilee), but the discovery and clarification of such problems can be considered an intellectual benefit arising out of the exercise of classification.

Because an inclusive register of European revivals does not exist, the following survey of a few varieties of medieval revivalism should be regarded as no more than illustrative and provisional. Three types of medieval revival will be briefly surveyed: first, local urban revivals; second, flagellant movements; and third, shrine-directed movements. The focus will be upon the setting and scale of particular revivals, as well as upon their distinctive kinds of religious behaviour. For the varieties of medieval revivalism were more various than is usually supposed.

Medieval cities often served as points of initiation or venues of recruitment for religious revivals of varying extent. Exceptionally, there were revivals on a European scale; then, there were movements of a middling sort, confined to a region, or perhaps several cities. Of less far-reaching significance were the localised episodes of revivalist enthusiasm which roused the population of a particular town or city, quite possibly also drawing in the people of the surrounding countryside.

A popular movement originating in the countryside around later medieval Paris belongs to this class of localised revivalist incidents that occurred in medieval cities, but which are easily overlooked by scholars working on religious movements covering a more extensive territory. Here we have an account written by a sympathetic contemporary observer:

> This year the Seine rose very high indeed.... This was not surprising, for it never left off raining from the middle of April until the Monday after Pentecost, which was the 9th of June 1427, and it was very, very cold all this time.... There were some very touching ('moult piteuses') processions... both in Paris and in the villages, for on the Wednesday of the holidays of the holy feast of Pentecost ten big villages from the Porte St Jacques direction... went to the benediction; there were ten parishes, at least five or six hundred people or more, women, children, old and young, most of them barefoot [with crosses and banners],[16] singing hymns

[16] I have here emended the translation (cited below), on the basis of the printed French text in *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, 1405–1449*, ed. Alexandre Tuetey, Paris 1881, 215–16 at p. 216: 'nudz piez, à croix et bannieres'.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046999002870 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and praises to our lord God on account of the distress caused by the floods and by the cold weather – not a single vine had yet come into flower. They came like this to Paris and from there to the benediction at the Lendit; and … St Denis-en-France, where they prayed ('firent leurs devocions'), and then came fasting back into Paris, and some of them all the way back to their homes, almost ten leagues. No one could have been so hard-hearted as not to be moved to tears when they came back through Paris. You would have seen very many old people, all of them barefoot, and many young children, twelve or fourteen years old, all quite tired out.[17]

With Paris as its backdrop, this later medieval episode of collective religious enthusiasm assumed the form of a local penitential pilgrimage undertaken by countryfolk from the nearby villages.

Marching in procession, the villagers, undoubtedly accompanied by their own parish priests, and carrying their parish crosses and banners, were making their traditional diocesan pilgrimage to Paris and the Lendit fair at St Denis during the octave of Pentecost.[18] But this was no ordinary Pentecostal pilgrimage; grimly untypical circumstances had profoundly altered the character of liturgical rhythms and regularities, so that seasonal rites were now transformed into a liturgy of crisis, as the fasting and barefootedness of the pilgrims, together with the tears of the spectators, confirm. Affected by the floods and the cold weather which had prevented their vines from flowering, the villagers responded to their threatened loss of livelihood with penitential behaviour. Their pilgrimages to Paris in 1427, accordingly, constituted a popular revivalist movement, a localised religious revival situated within the institutional structure of the parish.

About two years later Paris experienced another episode of local religious enthusiasm, involving this time neither pilgrimage nor processions. To the fore in this case was another classic manifestation of medieval urban revivalism, charismatic preaching:

[A Franciscan] called Brother Richard arrived … [and] all the time he was in Paris he preached every single day except one. … He would begin to preach at about five o'clock in the morning and go on till between ten and eleven o'clock and there were always five or six thousand people listening to him. He preached from a high platform. … [He] preached on St Mark's day [25 April 1429] at Boulogne-la-Petite [five miles from Notre-Dame] and there were great crowds there. … Indeed, when they came away from the sermon that day, the people of

[17] This text is cited in Guy Fourquin, *Les Campagnes de la région parisienne à la fin du moyen âge*, Paris 1964, 360; English trans., *A Parisian journal, 1405–1449*, trans. Janet Shirley, Oxford 1968, 214–15. The translator's MS reading may have differed from Tuetey's: *Parisian journal*, introduction, 42, 44.

[18] Ursmer Berlière, 'Les Processions des croix banales', *Bulletins de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques* (Académie Royale de Belgique Brussels) 5th ser. viii (1922), 419–46.

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Paris were … so stirred up to devotion ('devocion') that in less than three or four hours' time you would have seen over a hundred fires alight in which men were burning chess and backgammon boards, dice, cards, balls and sticks … and every kind of covetous game that can give rise to anger and swearing. The women, too, this day and the next, burned in public all their fine headgear.[19]

The Franciscan friar's revivalist moral preaching culminated in a collective act of puritanical piety, a 'burning of the vanities', then typical of Franciscan Observant practice in Italy. In connection with Brother Richard, the anonymous writer of the Parisian journal later makes reference to two other revivalists, both of European fame, the late Dominican Vincent Ferrer, with his penchant for apocalyptical prophecies (which Richard shared), and the contemporary Franciscan Observant preacher, also a puritanical burner-of-the-vanities, Bernardino of Siena.[20]

Both of these later medieval Parisian instances of revivalist behaviour show mixed crowds or mobilised communities publicly expressing their religious enthusiasm in a fashion which was at the same time unmistakably 'popular' and orthodox. Both the processions and the preaching took place under the gaze of clerics, perhaps under ecclesiastical auspices, although it would not be strictly correct to think of them as ecclesiastical events. To be sure, an ecclesiastical framework is evident in these urban rituals, whether we consider them liturgical or para-liturgical (processions, preaching) or quasi-liturgical (burning the vanities). Nevertheless, the character and extra-ecclesiastical setting of the processions and the response of the urban crowds to Friar Richard's moral-crusade preaching took matters outside the purely ecclesiastical sphere. In both of these dramas the laity had become leading actors. Here the strength of lay enthusiasm was manifested in civic, unenclosed public space. Friar Richard, we recall, was not part of the Parisian clerical establishment. He was a visiting itinerant revivalist.

The author of these reports – a sympathetic spectator, no doubt, but probably not a participant – refers neither to the miraculous, nor to conversion. Yet if we consider 'conversion' in behavioural terms as a decisive religious act, one which has the power to uproot (pilgrimage); or to effect a profound change of status (becoming a monk, or a crusader); or to cause one, publicly and symbolically, to renounce one's former mode of life (burning the vanities), then these Parisian revivals must have provided occasions for conversionary experience. And if we think of the miraculous within such a context as a reflection of the intensity of

[19] *Journal d'un bourgeois*, 233–5; *Parisian journal*, 230–1.

[20] *Journal d'un bourgeois*, 235–6; *Parisian journal*, 231–2. On Richard's politics and connection with Joan of Arc see Jules de la Martinière, 'Frère Richard et Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans', *Moyen Age* xliv (1934), 189–93; Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc*, New York 1981, 79–83, 111.

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excitement generated by collective religious behaviour, then in these Parisian revivals some of the enthusiasts might well have experienced a sense of the miraculous. The fact that the writer does not note this is neither here nor there. However sympathetic he may have been to the scenes he witnessed, the chronicler himself does not seem to have been caught up in the behaviour he observed.

In contrast to these Parisian incidents, the urban movement of the Italian *disciplinati* of 1260–1, which began as a localised, civic enthusiasm, eventually developed into a revival of European scope and importance, becoming the progenitor of a medieval family of flagellant revivals.[21] These *disciplinati* – pilgrim-evangelists of penance, peace and prophecy – crossed the Alps in midwinter, traversing German, Magyar and Slavic lands, ultimately performing their theatrical, blood-soaked *imitatio passionis* in north-western Poland. To the anonymous, probably monastic, chronicler of Padua (or possibly Verona), the coming of the flagellants was providential, the result of 'a sudden penitential spirit [compunctio], unheard of in the world, [which] invaded, first the Perugians, then the Romans, and thereafter virtually all the Italian peoples'.[22] Unaware of the actual circumstances of the movement's origins in Perugia, the chronicler situates what he believes to have been the popular genesis of this unauthorised revival in the familiar scriptural (and Franciscan) mould which traced Christian beginnings to the humble:

> From where did such intense fervour come, especially since this unheard of mode of penance was not instituted by the pope, who was then residing at Anagni? Nor was it prompted by the effort or eloquence of some preacher or authorised person, but it took its beginning from simple folk, whose footsteps were quickly followed by both the learned and the unlearned alike.

The same anonymous chronicler recognises the programmatic nature of the revival – i.e. that besides the intertwined spiritual and prophetic currents in the movement, the *disciplinati* had a socio-religious programme, centred upon peacemaking and political amnesty:

> Then almost all those in disagreement were returned to concord; usurers and thieves hastened to restore what they had taken away, and others involved in various crimes, humbly confessing their sins, amended their lives. Prisons were

[21] See Gary Dickson, 'The flagellants of 1260 and the crusades', *Journal of Medieval History* xv (1989), 227–67.

[22] *Annales S. Iustinae Patavini* [*ad 1270*], ed. P. Jaffé, MGH SS xix, Hanover 1866, 179, adapted, corrected and amplified from the partial translation of William Heywood, *Palio and Ponte*, London 1904, 18. Translation emended and revised by Alan Hood, to whom I am indebted. The MGH edition is to be preferred to that in RIS viii/3, Città di Castello 1914–16, *Chronicon Marchiae Tarvisinae et Lombardiae* (*ad* 1270), ed. L. A. Botteghi, 44–5, although Botteghi's preface develops an interesting argument on the identity of the chronicler. On this chronicle see also Girolamo Arnaldi, *Studi sui cronisti della marca trevigiana nell'età di Ezzelino da Romano*, Rome 1963, 205.

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opened, captives were released and exiles were given permission to return to their homes.

Thus the thirteenth-century revival of the flagellants unquestionably should be counted amongst medieval peace movements.

The same longing for peace characterised the next two Italian flagellant movements, both of which took their penitential rite across extensive territories in Italy, attracting multitudes of recruits along their path. Compared to the *disciplinati* of 1260–1, however, these movements were regional, rather than European, in scale. The flagellants of 1310–11 were primarily active in Tuscany, while the Lombard pilgrims led by Venturino da Bergamo in 1335 journeyed to Rome, crying aloud for peace, and practising ritual flagellation within the churches which dotted their route.[23]

However, in the next major medieval flagellant movement, that of the intensely penitential northern European *Geissler* of 1348–9, there seems to be no trace whatsoever of a socio-religious peace programme. 'Singing beautiful hymns in honour of the Passion in their mother tongue and beating themselves so hard with knotted whips that drops of blood spattered the roadway'; half-naked; processing two by two 'cum devocione' from church to church along their line of march;[24] these northern flagellants, despairing of the world and perhaps immersed in prophetic dreams, were entirely absorbed in their rites of mortification. Never do they appear as peace-seekers, let alone peacemakers. Condemned by Pope Clement VI in 1349, associated with the plague and with pogroms against the Jews, the sizeable troops of fourteenth-century flagellants were comparable in their significance to those of 1260–1. Originating possibly in Hungary or Austria, bands of penitents swept across the German imperial lands, Poland and the Low Countries, made incursions into parts of northern France, joined papal processions at Avignon and even performed their doleful liturgy in London. As in thirteenth-century Italy, we hear of men, women and children, all participating in ritual self-laceration, the women flogging themselves in churches, hidden from the public gaze.[25] Further flagellant revivals of regional, rather than of European importance continued to occur. We hear of incidents in 1369 (from Hungary to Saxony; and in Thuringia);

[23] See Giovanni Villani, *Istorie Fiorentine*, iv, Milan 1802, 216 (1310); vii, Milan 1803, 64–6 (1335). Also note Clara Gennaro, 'Venturino da Bergamo e la peregrinatio Romana del 1335', in *Studi sul medioevo cristiano offerti a Raffaello Morghen*, i, Rome 1974, 375–406.

[24] *Continuatio Novimontensis* (*ad* 1355), ed. W. Wattenbach, MGH SS ix, Hanover 1851, 675 (two versions of the text). Rosemary Horrox (ed.), *The Black Death*, Manchester 1994, translates the passage from this chronicle at p. 60.

[25] N. Bulst, 'Flagellanten', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, iv, Munich 1989, 509–12. See Cohn, *Pursuit of the millennium*, 131–41; František Graus, *Pest-Geissler-Judenmorde: das 14. Jahrhundert als Krisenzeit*, Göttingen 1987, 38–59.

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1370–3 (in Germany); 1399–1419 (in Spain; France); and 1400 (in Flanders).[26]

Additionally, we have reports of localised episodes of flagellant activity, such as in 1296 (Strasbourg); 1340 (Cremona); 1351 (Tournai); 1353 (Utrecht); 1357 (Cologne); 1361 (Naples); 1370–2 (Würzburg); 1391–2 (Heidelberg); 1414–16 (Sangerhausen); 1445 (San Gimignano).[27] Then, in 1457, Bologna's afflictions were transmuted into self-affliction. While the plague was causing many deaths in the city, another grave threat loomed. A chronicler informs us that processions were held there for many days in order to beg God's protection against earthquakes. *Battuti* (flagellants) made a circuit of the city, crying 'Misericordia, misericordia!' For eight days people abstained from meat, which the butchers refused to sell. Nor did the prostitutes of Bologna engage in sexual commerce. Those who did so out of greed, notes the chronicler, were beaten by their workmates.[28] Such local incidents deserve to be studied contextually and in sufficient circumstantial detail. The compilation of an inventory of local flagellant episodes would allow us to chart the development of this widely diffused form of medieval revivalism. One aspect of these local incidents of collective flagellation that needs to be clarified is whether they were public performances staged by established flagellant confraternities or whether they represent new outbursts of communitarian revivalist zeal, perhaps leading to the formation of new confraternities of *disciplinati*, *battuti*, *Geissler*.

But more than a comprehensive inventory of local episodes is required before medieval flagellant revivals can be categorised. The status of a major religious movement, the *Bianchi* of 1399, has to be determined. Should this *fin-de-siècle* Italian enthusiasm be included amongst the flagellant movements? The recent literature on the *Bianchi* reveals a degree of uncertainty on this question. Alberigo concludes his valuable conspectus of medieval flagellant movements with pertinent comments on the *Bianchi*, underscoring their preoccupation with peace and penitence – themes which, as we have seen, are both associated with the Italian flagellants. But Alberigo ignores the question of whether or not the *Bianchi*

[26] Henry C. Lea, *A history of the inquisition of the Middle Ages*, ii, New York 1887, 393ff.; Stuart Jenks, 'The Black Death and Würzburg: Michael de Leone's reaction in context', unpubl. PhD diss. Yale 1976, 105–6 (the reference to this thesis, which I have not inspected, was supplied thanks to Mr Christoph Cluse, University of Trier); Matthieu-Maxime Gorce, *Saint Vincent Ferrier*, Paris 1924, 69ff., 182–5, 237ff., 299–300; Paul Fredericq, *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, ii, Gent-'sGravenhage 1896, 188–90; iii, Gent-'sGravenhage 1908, 49.

[27] Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the later Middle Ages*, ii, Manchester 1967, 485; Cohn, *Pursuit of the millennium*, 141, 144, 146; Bulst, 'Flagellanten', 512; Daniel E. Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399: popular devotion in late medieval Italy*, Ithaca 1993, 8–10.

[28] Fr Hyeromini de Bursellis, *Chronica gestorum ac factorum memorabilium civitatis Bononie* (*ad* 1497), ed. L. A. Muratori, RIS xxiii/2, Città de Castello 1912, 3–125 at p. 93.

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enthusiasts actually engaged in self-flagellation.[29] Morton observes that in the movement's sources the practice of flagellation is mentioned only a couple of times; and these instances might refer to moderate breast-beating – in other words, a purely symbolic sort of self-punishment – or to the presence of established confraternities of flagellants amongst the *Bianchi*. In the latter case, organised groups of flagellants would have marched in *Bianchi* processions, but would have retained their own identity as *battuti* or *disciplinati*.[30] In his monograph, Bornstein observes that if flagellation was stressed in the legendary account of *Bianchi* origins, it 'is virtually absent' from reports of their ritual practices.[31]

What can we conclude from this? The *Bianchi* of 1399 apparently considered themselves to be the heirs to what by their time had become the authentic tradition of medieval Italian revivalism, namely, penitential flagellation, a tradition which dated from 1260. In reality, however, these Romanocentric, peacemaking pilgrims had remodelled a pre-existing type of enthusiasm to serve their changed needs and circumstances, and so created a new style of revivalist movement. The spirituality of the *Bianchi* was as distinctive as the white robes which they wore; their nine-day processions; the religious lyrics which they created; and their anticipatory prophetic orientation. If there is no difficulty in adding the enthusiasm of the *Bianchi* to the roster of medieval peace and pilgrimage revivals, to classify it amongst the flagellant movements is more doubtful. Even if the *Bianchi* did see themselves as penitents, how they actually carried out their penitential beliefs, their religious behaviour itself, must be deemed the crucial criterion. Whether or not the *Bianchi* can be rightly thought of as flagellants, such problems of categorisation call attention to one of the most intriguing phenomena in medieval revivalism – the transmutation of religious forms, that is to say, medieval religious creativity. Transformed flagellants, the *Bianchi* themselves became the progenitors of a new revivalist family. Localised *Bianchi* movements are subsequently recorded in 1402 (Pistoia), 1464 (Cuneo) and 1476 (Perugia).[32]

Like the two which preceded it, our third and last exemplary subcategory of medieval revivalism is intended to illustrate the richness of the genre, as well as to hint at the rewards which might result from a full-scale typological investigation of it. This species of revivalism concerns shrine-directed revivals. From the outset, these revivals, which centred

[29] G. Alberigo, 'Flagellants', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, xvii, Paris 1971, 327–37 at pp. 332–3 for the *Bianchi*.

[30] F. W. Morton, 'The Bianchi movement of 1399: its individual characteristics and chronology', unpubl. PhD diss. Wisconsin 1973, 17–20.

[31] Bornstein, *The Bianchi*, 44–6.

[32] Giampaolo Tognetti, 'Sul moto dei Bianchi nel 1399', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* lxxviii (1967), 205–343 at pp. 339–40.

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upon a particular religous shrine, should be distinguished from routinised pilgrimages. Pilgrimage *per se* was a customary and highly significant mode of medieval religious behaviour. A traditional manifestation of individual or group piety, it was a medieval religious form with its own generic characteristics. A vast scholarly literature grapples with its many-sided aspects – devotional, penitential or curative; voluntary or involuntary; miracle-seeking; organisational; cultural; economic; and quasi-touristic.[33] Unlike conventional pilgrimages, however, shrine-directed revivals were extraordinary, and that is how the chroniclers depicted them. Contemporaries were well aware of the difference.

Accordingly, shrine-directed revivals may be thought of as non-routinised, collective movements of religious enthusiasm that were focused upon a particular shrine at a given moment under peculiar circumstances, the nature of which usually remains as obscure to us as it did to most contemporary chroniclers. In the absence of solid information the chroniclers fell back upon mythistorical anecdotes. How else to explain the sudden appearance of large numbers of enthusiasts eager to set out upon what many people (usually including the selfsame chroniclers) regarded as a bizarre undertaking? And it is precisely the rhetoric of astonishment voiced by contemporary chroniclers in the presence of these revivalist movements which, at least initially, is the most practical criterion to use in differentiating shrine-directed revivalism from normative, institutionalised pilgrimage. A further distinction may be helpful. Two sorts of holy places appear to have been the object of medieval shrine-directed enthusiasms. Perhaps somewhat less common and usually less prolonged were movements centred upon a relatively new (or formerly obscure) holy place where there was previously no fixed pattern of mass pilgrimage; then, there develops what we may call a 'revival of inauguration'. In contrast, a long-established medieval pilgrimage site, suddenly, without any apparent reason, becomes the ardently sought goal of a fully-fledged revivalist movement. This sort of pilgrimage enthusiasm we can designate a 'revival of intensification'.

At the very beginning of our period, from the 1030s onwards, pre-crusade Jerusalem was the favoured destination for shrine-directed revivals of intensification.[34] Also dating from the pre-crusade era were revivals associated with church-building, which continued to intersect

[33] To pretend even to sample this literature would be absurd, nevertheless Jonathan Sumption's *Pilgrimage: an image of mediaeval religion*, London 1975, provides a good starting point. The organisation of pilgrimage is stressed in a comprehensive survey with a rich bibliography: Ludwig Schmugge, 'Die Anfänge des organisierten Pilgerverkehrs im Mittelalter', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven* lxiv (1984), 1–83.

[34] Notable examples can be studied in Rodulfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. and trans. John France, Oxford 1989, 198–205 (*c.* 1000 and afterwards), and E. Joranson, 'The great German pilgrimage of 1064–1065', in L. J. Paetow (ed.), *The crusades and other historical essays presented to D. C. Munro*, New York 1928, 3–43.

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with shrine-directed revivalism, especially when the former were aimed at the reconstruction of a celebrated place of pilgrimage, such as Chartres during 'the cult of carts' movement of 1145.[35] Then, beginning with the Holy Year of 1300 and recurring at pre-determined intervals throughout the later Middle Ages, the papally-proclaimed Jubilees attracted great numbers of pilgrims to the basilicas of Rome.[36] The reward of a plenary indulgence distinguished the papal *anno santo*. Yet Jubilees did share some of the features of shrine-directed revivals. For one thing, both kinds of enthusiasm depended upon a sense of exceptional locative piety (*ad loca sancta*). Still, as papally-authorised and regularised pilgrimage revivals, which escaped routinisation by occurring at relatively lengthy and not always regular intervals, the Roman Jubilees were *sui generis*.

Far away from St Peter's and St Paul's, the chief Roman basilicas of the Jubilee indulgence, the venerable abbey of Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy had long been a revered place of pilgrimage. If not, perhaps, of quite the same status as the four major western shrines,[37] Mont Saint-Michel nevertheless enjoyed a great reputation. Then, suddenly and unexpectedly, several successive later medieval pilgrimage movements, some commencing from the area round about, some originating a considerable distance away, turned Mont Saint-Michel into a focus of popular enthusiasm. To contemporaries these extraordinary revivals of intensification were both perplexing and fascinating.[38]

The first revivalist wave to wash against Mont Saint-Michel came in 1333. The chronicler of Avranches describes this peaceful pilgrimage in a way which, intentionally or not, curiously evokes the violent shepherds' crusade of 1320; he calls it a 'peregrinatio pastorum', a pilgrimage (or crusade) of the shepherds.[39] It is certainly true enough that both the *pastoureaux* of 1320 and the bands of pilgrims heading towards Mont Saint-Michel in 1333 included shepherd youths. The Caen chronicler also refers to many of these pilgrims as *pastorelli*, remarking that there were sizeable troops of them. They travelled, he reports, from the surrounding regions

[35] Still valuable is Léopold Delisle, 'Lettre de l'Abbé Haimon sur la construction de l'Église de Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* xxi (1860), 113–39. See also Barnes, 'Cult of Carts', 257–9.

[36] See Gary Dickson, 'The crowd at the feet of Pope Boniface VIII: pilgrimage, crusade and the first Roman Jubilee (1300)', *Journal of Medieval History* xxv (1999), 279–307.

[37] According to the Inquisition, the four *majores* in western Christendom were Rome, Compostela, Cologne and Canterbury: G. Mollat (ed.), *Bernard Gui, manuel de l'inquisiteur*, i, Paris 1926, at p. lvi.

[38] Cf. Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 282–8. See also Étienne Delaruelle and others, *L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme*, in Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin (eds), *Histoire de L'Église*, xiv/2, Paris 1962, 800–7; Jean Delalande, *Les extraordinaires Croisades d'enfants et de pastoureaux au moyen âge*, Paris 1962, 62–7, 76–7, 82–3 passim.

[39] *Chronicon Abrincense* (*ad* 1359) excerpted in *RHGF* xxiii, ed. N. De Wailly and others, Paris 1894, 569–70 at p. 569.

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of Normandy, Brittany and Maine; they arrived at Mont Saint-Michel between July and December. The same chronicler mentions their impetuous departure; according to him they departed without the permission of their masters or parents. Now from the days of the Children's Crusade (1212) onwards this was a familiar motif of medieval youth novements. Despite being short of provisions, the *pastorelli* still sang, praised God and danced, both *en route* to the abbey and while returning to their homes. Famine and disease lurk in the background of his report.[40] There may even have been a crusade dimension. Philip VI took the Cross that same year, while the archbishop of Rouen assumed responsibility for crusade preaching.[41] The *pastorelli* of 1333, however, like the 'children' or *pueri* of 1212, were unwarlike. These *pastorelli*, then, were very different from the *pastoureaux* of 1320, whose crusading mentality found expression in social violence. The monastic chroniclers recounted the journey of the youthful *pastorelli* to Mont Saint-Michel in a series of anecdotal miracle tales. Instructive of how the *pastorelli* were apprehended at the time, these miracle tales contain revivalist motifs (for example, stories of precipitous departure), as well as *topoi* characteristic of the adventures of divinely protected pilgrims (when the money to pay the inn-keeper was lacking, it mysteriously appeared). In addition to the theme of parental opposition which recalls the Children's Crusade, another motif foreshadows the young Joan of Arc – the *pastorelli* headed for Mont Saint-Michel because spiritual voices told them to do so.[42]

Sixty years later, in 1393, there was a recurrence of shrine revivalism centred upon the Norman abbey. 'In the said year', states a Montpellier chronicler, 'children of the age of eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen years' gathered from Montpellier, parts of France and other countries, to go to Mont Saint-Michel.[43] Also from the south of France, we hear of a similar collective enthusiasm in 1441–2. During the summer of 1441, against a background of epidemic disease, young people belonging to some of the best families in Milhau set out for Normandy on

[40] *Quartum chronicorum librum … vulgo Anonymus Cadomensis* (*ad* 1343), ed. E. Chantel, *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* xxxiii (1892), 170.

[41] Norman Housley, *The later crusades*, Oxford 1992, 34–5, and Edouard Perroy, *The hundred years war*, London 1951, 88. See also E. R. Labande, 'Les Pèlerinages au Mont Saint-Michel pendant le moyen âge', *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, iii, Paris 1971, 237–50 at p. 244.

[42] See *Millénaire du Mont Saint-Michel, 966–1966: exposition*, Paris 1966, 123–4, item 232; Léopold Delisle, 'Pèlerinages d'enfants au Mont Saint-Michel', *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* xvii (1847), 388–94 at pp. 389–91; Jean-Jacques Desroches, *Histoire du Mont Saint-Michel*, ii, Caen, 1838, 33–42, with Latin notes from the relevant manuscripts. Regrettably, I have not personally examined these manuscripts.

[43] Vidal Chomel, 'Pèlerins languedociens au Mont Saint-Michel à la fin du moyen âge', in *Annales du Midi* lxx (1958), 230–9 at p. 234. See also the *Chronique romane* (*ad* 1446), ed. F. Pegat and others, in *Thalamus parvus: le petit Thalamus de Montpellier*, Montpellier 1836, 313–475 at p. 424.

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foot, carrying a banner of St Michael. By the next year the idea of making a pilgrimage to Mont Saint-Michel had captivated the youth of the area. As a result, a remarkable pastoral letter was issued by the bishop of Saint-Papoul, a diocese in which the enthusiasm had made many converts. Pierre Soybert's episcopal letter, dated 12 April 1442, was intended to give spiritual counsel to the families of his flock, for whom the decision whether or not to allow their young people to depart on the risky pilgrimage north was bitterly contentious. Contemporary theologians debated the issue. The author of the *Epistola de cursu puerorum ad sanctum Michaelem*, for example, sought to discredit the pilgrimage.

Pierre Soybert, on the contrary, attempted to take a balanced view. He refuses to minimise the dangers of taking the long journey to Normandy during wartime. Nor is he unaware of the potential loss to a house of its heirs. Most assuredly, he does not approve of the irresponsible or the feckless escaping from their duties in this fashion by running off to Mont Saint-Michel. Nor does he ignore the bad example of the *pastoureaux* of 1320. Under the pretence of defending the Holy Land, the bishop says, these shepherds perpetrated many atrocious deeds. His conclusion, however, is that, all things considered, the acts of the Holy Spirit cannot be opposed. Provided this pilgrimage movement, which he terms a 'motus puerorum' or 'motus innocentium', is exemplary in its conduct, it ought not to be restrained.[44] As the bishop of Saint-Papoul makes perfectly clear, this pilgrimage enthusiasm was prevalent amongst the local 'youth', broadly considered. To him, the same age group also included husbands and wives. None the less, in characterising the virtues which he demands of these pilgrim-enthusiasts, he employs the spiritual vocabulary appropriate to childhood innocence, already heard during the thirteenth-century Children's Crusade.

What had gone before was to be eclipsed by what followed. For the abbey of Mont Saint-Michel now entered its most intense and extraordinary period of medieval shrine-directed revivalism.[45] During 1457–9,[46] numerous troops, predominantly of young people, from the Low Countries, the Rhineland, Alsace and other parts of Germany, and from western Switzerland as well, made their way to the Norman abbey.

[44] Chomel, 'Pèlerins languedociens', 232, 234–7 (Latin text of Soybert's letter at pp. 237–9); Labande, 'Pèlerinages au Mont Saint-Michel', 248; Delisle, 'Pèlerinages d'enfants', 392.

[45] Ulrich Gäbler, 'Die Kinderwallfahrten aus Deutschland und der Schweiz zum Mont-Saint-Michel, 1456–9', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* lxiii (1969), 221–331, with an extensive bibliography of sources; Delisle, 'Pèlerinages d'enfants', 391–4. Labande, 'Pèlerinages au Mont Saint-Michel', cites a supposed account of a pilgrimage in 1455 at p. 247, which comes from a chronicle composed in 1598. See also Gäbler, 'Die Kinderwallfahrten', 230 n. 1.

[46] The evidence which Gäbler adduces for a 1456 beginning to the revivalist pilgrimages is weak, as he himself acknowledges: ibid. 230 n. 3, 249.

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Begging for their provisions *en route*, they carried banners depicting the Archangel, and sang songs along their line of march.[47] The narrative sources identify no instigators of the enthusiasm, nor overall leaders of it. Youths, aged seven to eighteen, seem to have been in the majority, but there were others, the elderly included, who accompanied them. Against these Mont Saint-Michel pilgrimage-revivalists, the Heidelberg theologian Nikolaus von Wackenheim composed his treatise the *Tractatus seu opusculum contra errores quorundam iuvenum masculorum* of 1458. Unsurprisingly, the chroniclers were at a loss to explain how the enthusiasm began, and why it continued. Despite the paucity of direct evidence, Gäbler presents a reasonable case for the importance of the veneration of the Archangel St Michael at that time, especially in the context of contemporary crusade-preaching against the Turks. After 1459, these large-scale expeditions of youth from the Germanic lands to Mont Saint-Michel ceased.

Late medieval shrine-revivals, especially these recurring expeditions to Mont Saint-Michel, certainly warrant further investigation. They developed amongst the laity, especially amongst male youths,[48] without any ecclesiastical encouragement; indeed, often it seems, despite ecclesiastical hostility. Mont Saint-Michel for these youths served as a kind of Jerusalem of the north, a substitute, perhaps, for an inaccessible Holy Land, which once had been sought by the *pueri* of 1212. Yet why did the famous abbey repeatedly become the goal of revivalistic pilgrimages? We are left with a number of hypotheses: the abbey's unusual physical position in the midst of the sea; its reputed relics of St Michael; the rumour of great indulgences available to pilgrims; the popular cult of St Michael. Then, too, people may have believed that the fate of the French monarchy in wartime, or the fortunes of Christendom's crusades against the Turks, rested upon the military patronage of the mighty Archangel.

Two other significant shrine-directed movements arose within later fifteenth-century Germany. Mixed crowds of pilgrim-enthusiasts in which youths were present, although no longer predominant, sought the Holy Blood of Wilsnack (1475), immediately followed by the better known popular outpouring at Nicklashausen (1476). This latter shrine-directed revival was led by a young shepherd, the so-called Drummer (or Piper) of Nicklashausen, Hans Böhm.[49] The second of these German movements should be counted amongst medieval revivals of inauguration.

[47] Meriting careful study are Gäbler's sections on the enthusiasts' banners (ibid. 270–3), and especially their vernacular songs (ibid. 273–80).

[48] The presence of young women in these shrine-revivals can be confirmed in the sources (cf. ibid. 255–6). 'Woman and medieval revivalism' would be a topic well worth exploring.

[49] On the 1475 revival to the Holy Blood of Wilsnack see Charles Zika, 'Hosts, processions, and pilgrimages: controlling the sacred in fifteenth-century Germany', *Past and Present* cxviii (1988), 25–64 at pp. 49–58, and bibliography, 49 n. 76, 58 n. 110. On

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We have briefly and inadequately surveyed three families of medieval collective religious enthusiasm: local, urban revivals; flagellant movements; and shrine-directed revivals. Each species embraces potential subspecies; each also qualifies for membership in further subcategories of medieval revivalism, depending upon which traits or behaviours are regarded as crucial in determining the respective groupings. For example, as we have seen, some medieval shrine-directed revivals intersected and overlapped with a subcategory of another sort – one which would certainly repay systematic study – namely, medieval youth movements. To construct a proper inventory of the varieties of medieval revivalism would be difficult and time-consuming, but the entire field of medieval religion would reap the benefits.

The time has come to try to define the genre.

The essential features of medieval revivalism, I believe, are reducible to six major characteristics:[50] (1) initial orthodoxy: sociologists of religion correctly describe revivalism's aim as revitalisation of, not deviation from, an existing religious culture;[51] (2) a sense of urgency or crisis, the revivalistic *nunc*, which St Bernard employed so effectively in preaching the second crusade:[52] intimations of impending discontinuities in sacral history feed upon, just as they excite, the spirit of prophecy;[53] (3) a break with the quotidian, or conversion: in the background of the monastic shift away from the oblate system, towards adolescent or young-adult recruitment, was a new age of mass conversion, of born-again Christianity, which occurred during the crusading epoch and extended right through

Nicklashausen and Hans Böhm see Cohn, *Pursuit of the millennium*, 223–34 (p. 230 contains a misprint: '1474' for '1476'), and Klaus Arnold, *Nicklashausen 1476*, Baden-Baden 1980, which includes an excellent collection of sources.

[50] It should be stressed that the defining features of medieval revivalism can only be set out authoritatively after we have a precise, documented inventory–dossier of the movements of medieval enthusiasm.

[51] Cf. Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *The future of religion: secularisation, revival, and cult formation*, Berkeley 1985, 177 (revitalisation in response to social crisis), 435 (reaction against secularisation). Not all features of their analysis, it hardly need be said, would be applicable to medieval revivalism.

[52] This emphasis is apparent in his crusading epistles, conveniently at hand in *The letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. and trans. Bruno Scott James, London 1953, 460–9, nos 391–6. In his 'Crusade eschatology as seen by St Bernard in the years 1146 to 1148', in Michael Gervers (ed.) *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, New York 1992, 35–47, here at pp. 36–7, Hans-Dietrich Kahl has highlighted Bernard's *hoc ei nunc tempus imminere videtur*. Cf. Ernest Oscar Blake, 'The formation of the "crusade idea"', this JOURNAL xxi (1970), 11–31, esp. pp. 28–9.

[53] This theme recurs in Robert E. Lerner, *The powers of prophecy: the cedars of Lebanon vision from the Mongol onslaught to the dawn of the Enlightennent*, Berkeley 1983; Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the end: apocalyptic traditions in the Middle Ages*, New York 1979; Reeves, *Influence of prophecy*.

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the later Middle Ages;[54] (4) revivalistic preaching,[55] accompanied, perhaps, by liturgical or quasi-liturgical behaviour (for example, acclamations, processions),[56] encouraging an atmosphere sympathetic to the miraculous,[57] and opening up a classic route to charismatic leadership;[58] performance of a collective, public ritual could also lead to collective charismatic empowerment; (5) an archetypical tripartite structure (not always found historically) including the formation of a religious crowd;[59] an ambulatory (processional) or itinerant movement phase (*motio*, *commotio*, *iter*, *expeditio*, *peregrinatio*, *crucesignatio*), or analogously, a process of evangelical diffusion – all leading to the genesis or renewal of religious institutions (sect, order, confraternity).[60] Institutionalisation was, however, just one of a range of possible outcomes for revivalist movements, whose endings were remarkably diverse, varying from successful fundraising or church-building campaigns to anti-Judaic or anticlerical massacres.[61] To accommodate the crusades and the Jubilees within this archetypical tripartite structure requires an alteration to the sequence set out above (with the exception of the first Jubilee), because the precondition of these authorised revivals was papal initiation. In these instances, institutionalisation would thus ordinarily precede both the crowd formative and *motio* phases. As a functional near-equivalent to institutionalisation, we must include memory. Social memory fastened upon some medieval revivals and rewarded them with centuries of

[54] On the Cistercian abandonment of the oblate system see David Knowles, *The monastic order in England*, Cambridge 1949, 421. There is a general discussion and bibliography on the decline of the system in John Boswell, *The kindness of strangers: the abandonment of children in western Europe from late antiquity to the Renaissance*, New York 1988, 317–21, 401.

[55] For the career of a secular priest as a revivalist preacher see Milton R. Gutsch, 'A twelfth-century preacher: Fulk of Neuilly', in Paetow, *The crusades*, 183–206. See also John O'Brien, 'Fulk of Neuilly', in *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, *Literary and Historical Section* xiii (1968–70), 105–48.

[56] Regarding the well-known acclamation of the First Crusade see Benoît Lacroix, 'Deus le volt!: la théologie d'un cri', in *Études de civilisation médiévale ixe–xiie siècles: mélanges Edmond-René Labande*, Poitiers 1974, 461–70. A study of processions occurring within the annual liturgical cycle is Terence Bailey, *The processions of Sarum and the western Church*, Toronto 1971.

[57] The discussion of 'miracles and events' in Benedicta Ward's *Miracles and the medieval mind*, London 1982, 201–13, represents only a half-step towards the study that is needed.

[58] Discussed in Gary Dickson, 'Carisma e revivalismo nel xiii secolo', in *Poteri carismatici e informali: chiesa e società medioevali*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and André Vauchez, Palermo 1992, 96–113.

[59] Religious crowds must sometimes be considered notional; their presence in particular revivals for which we have evidence only of the *motio* phase has to be inferred. See Gary Dickson, 'Medieval Christian crowds and the origins of crowd psychology', *Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique* xcv (2000), 54–75.

[60] Consequently, evidence showing that a sect, confraternity, or monastic or mendicant order experienced a rapid expansion in recruitment or in charitable donations over a relatively short period may indicate that it was the beneficiary of revivalist enthusiasm.

[61] There were, to be sure, revivals which terminated rather than concluded.

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posthumous life. (6) a socio-political articulation of Christian values in what its advocates viewed as a morally purified community (e.g. a reformed monastic house or order), or city restored to virtue, through puritanical legislative reform, including government under a regime of theocratic populism, as in Savonarola's Florence.[62]

In short, medieval revivals were collective enthusiasms; orthodox in origin; responsive to crisis; welcoming to prophecy; conversionary in nature; perceived as 'extraordinary' – marked, that is, by the miraculous, the charismatic and the astonishment of observers – behaviourally varied; structurally recognisable; and inherently unpredictable in outcome. The routinising of revivalism in the Middle Ages was not at all unusual; it considerably antedated crusade preaching. In fact, it was during the pre-crusading era that peacemaking movements and ecclesiastical fundraising campaigns demonstrated the effectiveness of revivalist techniques. Whether, or when, a given medieval revival should be interpreted as routinised has to be determined empirically in each instance. Other medieval religious genres also borrowed and absorbed revivalist elements.

A final matter. Was there a medieval generic concept of revivalism? The chroniclers nearly always confined their comments to the particular revivals they were discussing. If some chroniclers began to develop a comparative perspective on revivalist movements, they did so slowly, mainly because revivalist episodes themselves occurred at infrequent intervals. Then, too, when the chroniclers began to perceive revivalism as a recurring phenomenon, they saw it within the framework of a specific revivalist family, such as crusading revivalism in the thirteenth century, or the shrine-directed revivals of young fifteenth-century Germans to Mont Saint-Michel. It is true, however, that more frequent use was made of a term which did come to signify something approaching our sense of 'revival'. This word was 'devotio'. While both medieval spiritual writers and theologians added to and enriched its range of meanings, its spiritual career was rooted in classical and Christian antiquity. To explore its rich history in detail would not serve our purposes here, except to note that from its Christian past *devotio* retained its sense of a religious act, performed, perhaps, in a ritual or liturgical setting, thus implying an interior predisposition towards that act.[63]

At the Council of Clermont in 1095. Urban II issued *Quicumque pro sola devotione*, and so called into being a crusading army composed of people

[62] Here, of course, I am extrapolating from the legislative and moral puritanism inspired or instigated by mendicant friars in Italian communal life from, say, the 1233 Hallelujah to the Franciscan and Dominican Observants of the late *quattrocento*.

[63] The fullest account is by Jean Châtillon, 'Devotio', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, iii, Paris 1957, 702–15. For the high and later medieval period see also Lucien Joseph Richard, *The spirituality of John Calvin*, Atlanta 1974, 78–86, 94–5. I owe the latter reference to Steve Cartwright. For Italy see the numerous meanings attached to 'devozione' in the *Grande dizionario della lingua Italiana*, iv, Turin 1966, 302–3.

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whose sole prescribed qualification was pious intent, 'sola devotione'.[64] 'Quicumque' ('whosoever'), pointed to its all-inclusiveness – the religious benefits on offer for anyone assuming the burden of the Cross were to be made available to every believer. Crusade revivalism was thus populist from its inception, despite contemporary and subsequent efforts to limit participation in the crusading host. The crusade movement extended the use of *devotio* to include the motif of penance and, especially interesting from the revivalist perspective, conversion.[65] But the philological studies which have been made of *devotio* suggest that it was Cistercian spirituality, Bernardine especially, which influenced its development, associating it with religious fervour, spiritual affect (joy, sorrow, tears) linked most often to the humanity of Christ.[66] The significant theorists of *devotio* in the thirteenth century, like David of Augsburg, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure,[67] in spite of their theological differences, indicate that their religious psychologies of *devotio* were sympathetic, perhaps responsive, to the popular enthusiasms of the period. Again and again these theologians return to the familiar themes of the religious emotions, such as Christocentric fervour and contrition, and so to spiritually intense acts of religion or religious arousal, manifested both internally and externally.

In the course of the thirteenth century, the term *devotio* moved beyond theological circles and, particularly in Italy, came into more general use. The monastic and mendicant chroniclers of popular revivalism took up the term. Probably in touch with currents of Bernardine spirituality, the anonymous Premonstratensian chronicler of Laon referred to the Children's Crusade of 1212 as 'puerilis illa devocio'.[68] The Franciscan Salimbene repeatedly marked 1233 as the 'tempore illius devotionis famosi', that is, of the Lombard Great Hallelujah.[69] And more than any

[64] Robert Somerville, *The councils of Urban II*, I: *Decreta Claromontensia*, in *Annuarium Historia Conciliorum*, *Supplementum*, i, Amsterdam 1972, 74.

[65] Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, '"Devotio" in der kreuzzugspredigt des mittelalters', in *Ritterliches Tugendsystem*, ed. Günter Eifler, Darmstadt 1970, 422–30 at p. 426.

[66] For the Bernardine context see Lucy Tinsley, *The French expressions for spirituality and devotion: a semantic study*, Washington, DC 1953, 28ff., although her discussion is also valuable for the thirteenth century.

[67] Especially for Thomas and Bonaventure, there is an intimidating bibliography; amongst the titles I have found to be particularly helpful are Fr David ab Augusta, *De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione*, Quaracchi 1899, ch. lxv, 'septem sunt genera devotionum', 331–55; J. W. Curran, 'The Thomistic concept of devotion', *The Thomist* ii (1940), 410–43, 546–80; Z. Zafarana, 'Pietà e devozione in san Bonaventura', in *S. Bonaventura Francescano*, Todi 1974, 127–57.

[68] *Chronicon universale anonymi Laudunensis 1154–1219*, ed. Alexander Cartellieri and Wolf Stechele, Leipzig 1909, 70–1.

[69] Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia, Bari 1966, i. 101, and also 99, 102, 104–6, 108. The *Annales Parmenses maiores* (*ad* 1335), ed. P. Jaffé, MGH SS xviii, Hanover 1863, 668, *s.a.* 1233, says that after frater Cornetus 'et tunc fuit devocio fratrum Predicatorum'.

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previous revival, the flagellant movement of 1260 came to be regarded as exemplifying the idea of devotio: 'ista tanta devocio; generalis devotionis Perusii; [M]CCLX … quo anno verberatorum devotio per Ytaliam facta est'.[70]

A close synonym of *devotio*, *compunctio*, was also used to designate the movement of the *disciplinati*.[71] Forty years after the flagellants, Cardinal Lemoine, commenting upon the papal Jubilee of 1300, speaks of the Christian people coming to the Roman basilicas for the first *anno santo*: 'cum intenso fervore … et urgente devotione'. Indeed, 'non fuit a diebus antiquis tanta devotio.'[72] André Vauchez has noted the use of the term by Italian chroniclers, not only with reference to revivals like the Lombard Hallelujah, but also in connection with the popular *cultus* of a recently deceased saint.[73] At such times of revivalist behaviour, the medieval religious genres of veneration and revivalism intersected.

Revivalism remains the least explored of medieval religious genres. Very few of even the most significant medieval revivals have found biographers.[74] More than once I have insisted here that revivalism's medieval dossier remains lamentably incomplete. At present the episodes of medieval collective enthusiasm that have been closely examined are exceptional – revivalist movements which swept over extensive territories and left institutional traces behind them. As has been repeatedly argued, a number of preliminary investigations need to be undertaken before a proper historical synthesis of medieval religious enthusiasm can be attempted. For one thing, a good many local and regional episodes of medieval enthusiasm will continue to remain buried in the archives unless historians who are specialists in the religious history of particular areas are prepared to make local incidents of medieval enthusiasm more generally known. What is needed is a series of regional surveys, inventories or dossiers, which would, taken together, enable us to determine the precise chronology and geography of European revivalism from *c.* 1000 to *c.* 1500.

[70] Giovanni Monleone (ed.), *Iacopo da Varagine e la sua cronaca di Genova dalle origine al mccxcvii*, ii, Rome 1941, 389; E. Ardu, 'La data d'inizio del movimento dei disciplinati', in *Il movimento dei disciplinati nel vii centenario dal suo inizio*, Perugia 1962, 368; Salimbene, *Cronica* i. 426; also 527, 567; ii. 675, 676, 677.

[71] *Annales S. Iustinae Patavini*, 179: 'quedam subitanea compunctio'.

[72] Cited from Jean Lemoine, *Extravagantes communes*, Lyons 1559, 152. See also Michele Maccarrone, 'L'indulgenza del giubileo del 1300 e la basilica di San Pietro', in A. M. Romanini (ed.), *Roma anno 1300*, Rome 1983, 731–52 at p. 751; A. Stickler, *Il giubileo di Bonifacio VIII: aspetti giuridico-pastorali*, Rome 1977, 25–6.

[73] *La Sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge*, rev. edn, Rome 1988, 275 ('une véritable psychose collective'), 287 ('les manifestations d'enthousiasme collectif de la *devotio*').

[74] Two which have are the Lombard Great Hallelujah of 1233 and the Bianchi of 1399: Augustine Thompson, *Revival preachers and politics in thirteenth-century Italy: the Great Devotion of 1233*, Oxford 1992; Bornstein, *The Bianchi*.

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The empirical results thus obtained would permit a thorough sub-categorisation of medieval revivals and so provide the basis for a full-scale comparative history of medieval revivalism. As well as being signs of religious vitality and creativity, medieval revivals were conduits for spiritual currents and enthusiasms as various as peace, penance, reform, pilgrimage, crusade, apocalypticism and the desire for community. The social, cultural, economic and institutional consequences of medieval revivals have too often been underestimated. Failure to take account of revivalism as a religious genre seriously impoverishes the history of medieval Christianity.

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