

THE SPREAD OF APOCALYPTICISM, 1100-1500. WHY CALVIN COULD NOT REJECT IT

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Apocalypticism affected a wide range of individuals by the end of the fifteenth century. Christopher Columbus believed that he had been chosen by God to open the way to the Indies in order that the gospel could be preached to all the nations of the world before the end of history. Columbus also believed that the wealth from his discoveries would finance a final crusade to recover Jerusalem.¹ The Dominican friar, Girolamo Savonarola, had preached apocalyptic pessimism before the coming of Charles VIII of France in 1494, but he saw the arrival of the French king as the signal that the advent of a millennial kingdom on earth had begun in Florence.² Martin Luther was convinced that reform was necessary in light of the imminent return of Christ to preside at the final judgment.³

Among clerics and among laypeople, north of the Alps and in Renaissance Italy, apocalypticism was a common phenomenon during the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Recent studies have recognized its importance as one of the factors shaping the mentality of many people during this era. John Calvin, however, appears to be a startling exception. At least at first glance, Calvin seems to be anti-apocalyptic. This paper will survey the development of apocalypticism from the twelfth to the sixteenth century and suggest that John Calvin distrusted but could not reject apocalypticism.

Apocalypticism is usually defined as the expectation of the imminent end of history and the coming of Christ to the final judgment. This definition is inadequate, because neither John of Patmos, the author of the Revelation to John, nor Joachim of Fiore was apocalyptic in these terms. If John of Patmos meant the twentieth chapter to be taken literally, then he expected a millennium of a thousand years to precede the end of history, and Joachim awaited the coming of the status of the Holy Spirit within history. Apocalypticism, therefore, is better understood as the expectation of an imminent, final crisis, which will bring to an end the present, corrupt era and inaugurate a new one, whether within history or outside it. For Christian apocalyptics that crisis and the subsequent actualization of the new age will be the work of God. Apocalypticism, I believe, developed out of prophecy and always remained associated with it. Apocalyptics were prophets who not only tried to predict the future, but who believed themselves to have been chosen by God to interpret the events of their own times in the light of God's plan. Apocalyptics called for people to decide for or against God. Messianism was another phenomenon which has been frequently associated with apocalypticism. People who believed that they were living in or on the brink of an apocalyptic crisis were prone to look for saviors.⁴

Two books have done the most to inspire research into medieval apocalypticism. Norman Cohn's *Pursuit of the Millennium*, first published in 1957, described a series of millennial movements from the People's Crusades of the 1090s to the Peasants' Revolt of 1525.⁵ Cohn argued that the people attracted to millennialism were the alienated, those who had found themselves outside the established structures of society. The other key book was Marjorie Reeves' *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism*, which appeared in 1969.⁶ Under the rubrics of "New Spiritual Men," "Antichrist and the Last World Emperor," and "Angelic Pope and *renovatio mundi*," Reeves sought to

trace the influence of Joachim from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries. In contrast to Cohn, Reeves found Joachimists among the shapers of thought, the humanists and Jesuits, for example. She also pointed to the importance of studying manuscripts that contained collections of prophecies, which appeared from the middle of the thirteenth century onward. These, she argued, were more indicative of the role of apocalypticism in people's thinking than were works of individual thinkers.

Marxism has also focused interest on apocalypticism in the Late Middle Ages. The Marxist notion of a world-wide revolution which would lead to the disappearance of the state and of class structures was in itself millennialist. Marxian dialectic saw the Late Medieval period as one of transition from the "feudal"—I use the term here in its Marxist meaning—to the capitalist stages of history. Friedrich Engels wrote a history of the Peasants' Revolt of 1525. Whether Marxist scholars viewed apocalypticism as an ideology arising from class conflict or as a factor shaping that conflict, they have studied apocalyptic sects carefully.⁷

Biblical studies have also been a factor. The progress of intertestamental research has demonstrated that apocalypticism was popular with the Jews both in Palestine and in the Diaspora from at least the Maccabean era until the first Jewish War. The Qumran community was clearly apocalyptic. The growing recognition of the centrality of apocalypticism in both Jesus and Paul themselves as well as in the early church has made scholars of later periods more willing to look at apocalypticism as a factor to be weighed rather than as a superstition to be ignored or explained away. Jesus and Paul were the models of later reformers. When these proponents of renewal went back to these models, they were confronted with apocalypticism. We may suggest, therefore, that most serious reform movements were going to be concerned with apocalypticism in some fashion.⁸

Cohn's book has inspired many efforts to confirm or revise his interpretations. In many instances the question remains open. Cohn saw the People's Crusades as millennial movements.⁹ Guibert of Nogent's account of Urban II's speech at Clermont gives the first crusade an apocalyptic mission, to reconquer Jerusalem before the imminent coming of Christ, but the other versions of that speech are non-apocalyptic.¹⁰ The *Chanson de Roland* is apocalyptic when it describes the final battle in which Charlemagne leads Christendom against the assembled hosts of paganism, but we cannot be sure how much this epic embodied the kind of thinking that was really in the minds of the French warriors who were the bulk of the early crusaders.¹¹ Count Emich of Leisingen may have seen himself as a Last World ruler, but such notions do not prove that his movement was truly millennial.¹² John Ball, the preacher who, according to Froissart, stirred the English peasants to revolt in 1381, was an apocalyptic who was preaching revolutionary millenarianism, and Postan argues that historians must recognize that religion played a significant factor in causing the revolt, but the evidence to prove that most of those peasants were dreaming of a communitarian, egalitarian new age is lacking.¹³ The Adamites or Picards among the Hussites were indisputably millenarian, but they were only a small group. The main body of the Hussites was certainly more moderate.¹⁴

Peter Blickle, in his *The Revolution of 1525*, argues that in southwest Germany there had been a series of revolts from 1476—the year in which Hans Boenheim of Niklashausen in the Tauber valley led a rebellion—until 1525. Apocalyptic and messianic notions figured in these revolts. What, however, began as a series of revolts demanding the correction of abuses became a revolution "of the common man," to use Blickle's phrase.¹⁵ The goal of the revolutionaries was to transform government, society, and the economy. While Blickle recognizes that the peasants, miners, and townsmen who supported the

revolution had economic grievances—Blickle, indeed, sees the revolts and revolution as due in part to the tensions in feudalism—he argues that the key factor which transformed the revolts into a revolution and shaped the goals and program of the revolutionary leaders and their followers was religious reform.¹⁶ Blickle argues that Ulrich Zwingli was the main source on which the peasants drew. Zwingli believed that both society and the church had to be conformed to reformed theology and to the "godly law." Zwingli did not look for the imminent end of history, but for reform of society into a more perfect state. Blickle argues convincingly that Christoph Schappeler, one of the leaders of the revolt in Upper Swabia, was a disciple of Zwingli. Zwingli was not himself a revolutionary, but the revolutionaries drew their program from him. From preaching reform of the church and of society, it was a logical step to revolution.¹⁷ Although Thomas Muentzer drew on apocalyptic and spiritual traditions rather than the humanism which inspired Zwingli, Blickle believes that Muentzer and Zwingli were not really very far from each other.¹⁸ Apocalyptic expectation of an imminent, final crisis that would issue in a better world was operating in the revolutionaries of the common man. If Zwingli himself drew back from such apocalypticism, others could be inspired by his notion of the godly law to embrace it.

Robert Lerner has devoted much of his scholarship to the issues which Cohn raised. In the conclusion of his *The Powers of Prophecy*, Lerner argued convincingly that "chiliasm" had become part of the accepted mental structures of educated Europeans by the fourteenth century and continued to hold this position into the sixteenth century. Apocalypticism, therefore, operated more among the established elites than among the alienated and oppressed. *The Powers of Prophecy* took up the suggestion of Marjorie Reeves by studying the history of an individual prophecy, called the "Cedars of Lebanon Vision," through its manuscript history. Under the name of the Magdeburg Prophecy, this was popular among Lutherans in the 1530s.¹⁹

Lerner defined "chiliasm" much as Marjorie Reeves defined Joachimism, the expectation of an apocalyptic crisis which would issue in a radically better world within history, even if that world would not long endure. Like Professor Reeves, Professor Lerner believes that such expectation was widespread in both clerical and lay circles from the fourteenth through the early seventeenth centuries. Lerner, however, does not believe that Joachim was its sole source. Indeed, Lerner's "Refreshment of the Saints" traced this notion back to St. Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel*, which left a period of forty-five days after the defeat of antichrist for the repentance of the saints. Later this became a period of uncertain length in which the saints would be rewarded and refreshed.²⁰

The notion that the apocalyptic crisis might be followed by at least a brief period of peace and rest existed before the twelfth century, but two important innovators radically influenced subsequent thinking—Abbess Hildegard of Bingen, and Abbot Joachim of Fiore. In her *Book of the Divine Works*, composed between 1163 and 1174, Hildegard foresaw a series of future periods of history in which dramatic improvement would be followed by decline and corruption. One of her most interesting prophecies was that both the empire and the papacy would give way to national monarchies. Gebeno, prior of Erbach, condensed Hildegard's prophecies in his popular text, *The Mirror of Future Times*. Professor Kathryn Kerby-Fulton of the University of Victoria in British Columbia is publishing a study of prophecy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in which she will trace the influence of Hildegard, a task hitherto virtually neglected.²¹

Joachim was not the only source of Joachimism, but he was certainly the most important. Hildegard was a visionary and her prophecies were commentaries on her visions. Joachim was an exegete. Beginning with an elaborate concordance of generations from

Adam to Christ and from Uzziah to the end of history, Joachim traced the evolution of the Jewish and Gentile peoples and of the three orders, the married, the clergy, and the monks, from creation to the Last Judgment. Joachim was convinced that the intra-trinitarian relationships by which two persons, the Son and the Holy Spirit, came from one, the Father, and by which one person, the Holy Spirit, proceeded from two, the Father and Son, were the underlying factors which structured God's plan for history. These relationships would be replicated in the history of the two peoples and the three orders. Joachim understood history as a succession of three *stati*, corresponding both to the persons of the Trinity and to the three orders. The second *status* belongs to both the Son and Holy Spirit because both came from the Father. The third will pertain to the Holy Spirit who proceeded from the Son. Similarly the monks of the third *status* will come from the laity and the clergy. Joachim also saw history as two *tempora*, corresponding to the two Testaments and the two peoples, the Jewish and the Gentile. From the Old and New Testaments comes the one *Spiritualis intelligentia* or spiritual understanding. From the two peoples come the "Spiritual Men" who will be the monks of the *status* of the Holy Spirit. Joachim, who was writing in the 1180s and 1190s, believed that the final stage in this development, the *status* of the Holy Spirit, would attain its fruition not long after 1200. History for Joachim had evolved through a series of progressive stages toward this goal, an age when Christians would dominate the world, and would live in peaceful contemplation and enjoy a level of spiritual understanding exceeding anything before that time.²²

Joachim was an ardent Gregorian. The third *status* may be described as a projection of the Gregorian program toward its completion in a final age of historical bliss. The association of reform and apocalypticism had already appeared in Gregory VII himself. Gregory called both Philip I and Henry IV "antichrists."²³ Although Gregory meant that both kings were members of Satan or of Satan's antichristian "body," his willingness to use such terms indicates the degree to which Gregory saw reform as a struggle between Christ and Satan or between good and evil. Gregory approached reform with an attitude which was certainly proto-apocalyptic.

The association of reform and apocalypticism was intensified by Francis of Assisi and his friars. Francis may have seen himself in apocalyptic terms; certainly he used some of the apocalyptic language found in the synoptic Gospels. Clearly his early biographers and associates saw him as one sent by Christ to renew the evangelical life in preparation for the imminent coming of Christ.²⁴ Bonaventure compared Francis to Elijah and the angel of the sixth seal. Bonaventure, in his *Lectures on the Hexaemeron*, adopted a Joachimist scheme in which the history of the church consisted of the opening of seven seals. The seventh would be an age of peace and rest when the "Seraphic Order" would be fully actualized. Francis, according to Bonaventure, was the forerunner and model of this order.²⁵

Peter Olivi (d. 1298) was a careful and thoroughgoing student of both Joachim and Bonaventure. Olivi believed that the carnal corruption of the church and the popularity of Averroes among the philosophers were proof that evil was approaching its climax. God had sent Francis, an *alter Christus* or another Christ, to renew the gospel and the evangelical life. Looming in the future was the final struggle between good and evil, which would lead to the seventh *status* of earthly contemplation and rest. Olivi had a considerable following which included friars, Beguins, and laypeople in southern France.²⁶

Joachimism, messianism, and millennialism mingled in the eclectic apocalypticism which prevailed from the fourteenth century onward. The *Summula seu breviliquium super concordia*, which Marjorie Reeves and Harold Lee have recently edited, is the work of an anonymous Catalan writing in the 1350s. The author's sympathies and thinking were similar

to those of the Beguins who had constituted Olivi's popular following. This Joachimist author drew upon the thinking of both Joachim and Peter Olivi, but he also was much influenced by Arnau de Villanova, the Catalan physician who was convinced that antichrist would come in the fourteenth century and who also helped to propagate the notion of coming angel popes. The *Breviloquium* was, of course, much concerned with the messianic and/or demonic role of the contemporary rulers of the Crown of Aragon. The *Breviloquium* probably reflects the thinking of groups of third order Franciscans, whose desire for reform and renewal had been frustrated by the Avignon popes, especially John XXII, who harshly repressed the adherents of poverty.²⁷ Like the Beguins and the Brethren of the Common Life, members of third orders belonged to those persons who were neither lay nor regular.

Dr. Kerby-Fulton and I have edited an anonymous text, which is known as "The Columbinus Prophecy," using the nine medieval manuscripts from Britain. The prophecy was originally composed by a Joachimist sometime after 1260, who redated the end of the sixth seal to 1320, and who expected the seventh seal of peace and rest to come immediately after this date. Someone else, inspired by the fall of the city of Acre in 1291, added a political section which condemned the French harshly for quarreling with each other instead of supporting a crusade. Either this same author or another person added a third section in which a descendant of the Emperor Frederick II would be elected emperor in 1312 and for three and a half years would reign evilly, acting as a forerunner of antichrist, who would appear in 1316. Although the prophecy originated on the continent, its popularity was greatest in England. The earliest surviving text dates from around 1300 and the others are spread across the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Most of the copyists appear to have been secular clerics who were attracted by the Joachimist, anti-French, anti-mendicant, and anti-papal sentiments.²⁸ Like Henry of Kirkestede, the only copyist whose name we know, the readers of Columbinus were mainstream churchmen. Apocalypticism, as Lerner has pointed out, was just as fascinating to the people in the established order as it was to those alienated from that order.²⁹

Another example is Luca di Antonio Bernardi. Luca came from San Gimignano. By 1442 he was working as a tutor in the house of a prosperous Florentine merchant, Iohannes Bandini de Baroncellis. In this year Luca began copying prophecies into a notebook, now Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Magl. VII #1081. Luca copied texts into his notebook again in 1480 and as late as 1496, when he records an oral prophecy of Savonarola. Most of the prophecies were political and most were in Italian, but some of them, like *Ve mundo in centum annis*, "Woe to the world in one hundred years," were well-known Latin, Joachimist texts. Among them was the "Columbinus Prophecy," here incorporated into a long letter which Luca attributes to one Rasis, supposedly a citizen of Antioch.³⁰

When Dr. Leith first asked me to give this paper, I was convinced that John Calvin rejected apocalypticism. Certainly a cursory glance at the passages where Calvin deals directly with it in the final Latin version of the *Institutes* gives this impression. In commenting on the statement of the creed "From whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead," and again in discussing the second petition of the Lord's Prayer ("that God's kingdom come"), Calvin carefully avoids any hint that he expected Christ to return in the imminent future. Calvin rejected any notion of a millennium explicitly.³¹ Both Heinrich Quistorp in his *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things* and Robin Barnes in his *Prophecy and Gnosis* contrast Calvin's stance with Luther's intense apocalyptic expectations.³²

Certainly Calvin (born in 1509) was a second-generation reformer, who had the revolts of 1525 and the emergence of the more radical sects to make him cautious. Calvin

was also very Augustinian. His treatment of the notion of antichrist was certainly in the tradition of Tyconius and Augustine. Calvin was also Augustinian in emphasizing individuals, rather than corporate entities.³³

Depicting Calvin as anti-apocalyptic, however, distorts the truth, I suspect. Calvin was a leader of the reform; he advocated a return to the teachings of Jesus and Paul; and he clearly pushed for the "godly law" and the sanctification not only of the individual, but of society.³⁴ Furthermore, later Calvinists were certainly apocalyptics.³⁵ We will come to the truth, I suggest, only if we recognize that apocalypticism was very much a factor in Calvin's thinking. Calvin, like the Nominalists, was insistent on the freedom of God and, therefore, on the element of contingency both in God and in this world, but Calvin was simultaneously insistent that both God and the world acted in an orderly manner, not an arbitrary one. Calvin's theology was always written *de potentia ordinata*, but the Nominalist *de potentia absoluta* always hovered over Calvin.³⁶ Similarly, Calvin was insistent on the necessity of individual and corporate sanctification according to the "Godly Law," but he resolutely opposed any notions of communal property and egalitarianism.³⁷ Calvin, therefore, was haunted by the theological anarchy implicit in the freedom of God and by the ecclesiastical and civil radicalism inherent in the notion of a truly holy society. Both of these threats were constantly perched on the sill over the door, like Edgar Allan Poe's *Raven*. Calvin saw and distrusted their radical potential, but he could not escape them. They shaped his thinking, and despite his distrust, their influence was positive as well as negative.

Notes

¹Delno West, "Medieval Ideas of Apocalyptic Mission and the Early Franciscans in Mexico," *The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History* 45 (1989): 302-306.

²Bernard McGinn, ed., *Apocalyptic Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 182-275 (hereafter McGinn, *Apoc. Spir.*)

³Robin Bruce Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 36-53 (hereafter Barnes, *Prophecy*).

⁴The definition is my own and is based on those given by Bernard McGinn in his *Apoc. Spir.*, 4-7, in his *Visions of The End, Records of civilization, sources and studies*, no. 96 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 2-6, and his *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1985), 52-54 (hereafter McGinn, *Calabrian*). For another definition see Barnes, *Prophecy*, 13-19. John J. Collins has written that "all the 'historical' apocalypses have eschatological predictions, which invariably fall into a pattern of crisis-judgment-salvation" (John J. Collins, *Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature, The Forms of the Old Testament Literature*, vol. 20 (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1984), 12 (hereafter Collins, *Daniel*). Collins, therefore, sees the same pattern underlying "historical apocalypses" that McGinn discerns in apocalypticism. I have modified McGinn's definition in order to accommodate Joachim and Hildegard especially. For a definition of millennialism see Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 15-16 (hereafter Cohn, *Pursuit*).

⁵Cohn, *Pursuit*. Cohn made considerable changes between the first and revised editions in order to take account of criticisms.

⁶(Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1969) (hereafter Reeves, *Influence*); Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1976) (hereafter Reeves, *Joachim*) is both a summary and a revision of the earlier volume.

⁷Engels in 1842 said that "The self-assurance of mankind, the New Grail about whose throne exultant nations gather . . . This is our vocation: to become the Templars of this Grail, to gird the sword about our loins on its behalf, and joyfully to risk our lives in this last holy war that will be followed by the millennium of freedom" (quoted from Ernest Bloch, *Man on his Own*, trans. by E. B. Ashton [New York: Herder and Herder, 1971], 141). On Marx and apocalypticism see *ibid.*, 31-72. The most important recent Marxist contribution to the study of medieval apocalypticism is Bernhard Toepfer, *Das Kommende Reich des Friedens: Zur Entwicklung chiliastischer Zukunftshoffnungen in Hochmittelalter* (Berlin: Akademik-Verlag GmbH, 1964). Engels' history has been translated as Frederick Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany* by Moissaye J. Olgin, new ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1966).

⁸Collins, *Daniel*, 2-23, provides an introduction to recent study of apocalypticism in the Old Testament and Inter-testamental periods. See also Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishna* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1987), 79-103, and James H. Charlesworth, *Jesus within Judaism*, The Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 30-45.

⁹Cohn, *Pursuit*, 61-88. Paul Alphandery, *La Chretiente et L'Idée de Croisade*, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1954, 1959) is the most thorough study of apocalypticism and the crusades.

¹⁰Guibert's version of Urban's speech and the other accounts are translated into English in Edward Peters, ed. and trans., *the First Crusade* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 1-15.

¹¹*The Song of Roland*, trans. by Dorothy L. Sayers (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1957), laisses 214-266, lines 2974-3674.

¹²Cohn, *Pursuit*, 73.

¹³Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. and ed. by Geoffrey Brereton (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968), 211-213; M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1975), 171-173.

¹⁴Howard Kaminsky, "Chiliasm and the Hussite Revolution," in Sylvia L. Thrupp, *Change in Medieval Society* (New York: Appleton, Century-Crofts, 1964), 249-278.

¹⁵Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*, trans. by Thomas A Brady, Jr. and H. C. Erik Midelfort (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 105-154.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 25-93.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 25, 106-110, 155-161.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 160; Barnes, *Prophecy*, 31.

¹⁹Robert E. Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1983), 189-197 (hereafter Lerner, *Powers*). E. R. Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore and Medieval Apocalypticism: Some Current Research," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 14 (1986): 183-184.

²⁰Robert E. Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97-144.

²¹Prof. Kerby-Fulton's book will be entitled *Piers Plowman and Reformist Apocalypticism* and will be published by the Cambridge University Press in 1990. She has recently published "Hildegard of Bingen and Anti-Mendicant Propaganda," *Traditio* 43 (1987): 386-399, in which she discusses Hildegard's influence on William of St. Amour and an anti-mendicant prophecy, "Insurgent gentes." The most thorough study of Hildegard's prophecies is by Charles M. Czarski, "The Prophecies of St. Hildegard of Bingen," unpublished dissertation, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky., 1983. He has shown that Hildegard substantially modified her thinking between the time when she wrote her *Scivias* in 1141-1151 and the later period when she composed the *Liber diuinorum operum*. Her earlier thinking was primarily within the Augustinian tradition that the final age had begun with Christ. In the *Liber* she developed the notion of periods in the future. The *Liber* has been translated as *Hildegard of Bingen's Book of Divine Works*, ed. by Matthew Fox (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Bear and Co., 1987). The declines of the papacy and the empire are foreseen in vision ten, section 25, 249-250. The *Scivias* has been edited by Adelgundis

Fuehrkoetter, *Corpus christianorum continuatio medievalis*, vols. 43-43a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978) but for the Liber one must still use the edition in Migne, PL 197: 741-1038. Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987) is excellent but does not deal with apocalypticism. The best overall introduction is in Peter Dronke's *Women Writers of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 144-201.

²²Reeves, *Influence*, 3-27; Joachim, 1-28; Marjorie Reeves and Beatrice Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1972); Delno C. West and Sandra Zimdars-Swartz, *Joachim of Fiore* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1983; McGinn, *Calabrian*, 1-47, 99-203. Joachim developed his patterns of history in the second, third, and fourth books of his *Liber de concordia noui ac ueteris testamenti*, ed. E. R. Daniel, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 73, pt. 8 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1983) (hereafter Joachim, *Liber de concordia*). The *Liber* was published at Venice in 1519 and this edition was reprinted at Frankfurt a.M. by Minerva G.M.B.H. in 1964. Book 2, chps. 2-12 are translated in McGinn, *Apoc. Spir.*, 120-134, which also contains reproductions and translations of two important figurae, the one of the seven-headed dragon and the one which is described as a plan pertaining to the third *status* (135-148). E. R. Daniel, "The Double Procession of the Holy Spirit in Joachim of Fiore's Understanding of History," *Speculum*, 55(1980), 469-483, studies the relationship between Joachim's understanding of the intra-trinitarian processions and the patterns of history. Stephen Wessley, "Female Imagery: A Clue to the Role of Joachim's Order of Fiore," in *Women of the Medieval World*, ed. Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 161-178, argues that Joachim originally intended Fiore as the germ of the coming order of monks.

²³*The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII*, trans. by Ephraim Emerton, *Columbia Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1969), 9, 11, 40, 103, 123, 162, 195. Joachim's Gregorian dreams are clear in his use of Ephesians 4:13, "*donec occurramus omnes in uirum perfectum inmensuram etatis plenitudinis Christi*" as a summary of the coming Christian society of the third *status* (See Joachim, *Liber de concordia*, Prol., 15; Bk. 2, Pt. 1, chp. 9, 74; *Liber figurarum*, figure 12, McGinn, *Apoc. Spir.*, 142. In the same figure Joachim says that a "spiritual father" will live in the central monastery (ibid., 144). Bernard McGinn, "Pastor Angelicus: Apocalyptic Myth and Political Hope in the Fourteenth Century," *Santi e Santita nel Secolo XIV Atti del XV Convegno Internazionale Assisi*, 15-17 Ottobre 1987, (n.p.: Edizione Scientifiche Italiane, n.d.), 221-251 at 226. Prof. McGinn kindly sent me an offprint of this article. Joachim reviews and interprets the Gregorian reform in his *Liber de concordia*, Bk. 4, Pt. 1, chaps. 30-39, 375-389. In chap. 39 (390-394) Joachim alludes to the evils from which the church must be purged. In chap. 45 (402-403) Joachim speaks of a coming pope as a new Zerubbabel and as the angel of the sixth seal (*Apoc.* 7:2).

²⁴E. R. Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1975), 26-36 (hereafter Daniel, *Franciscan Concept*).

²⁵E. R. Daniel, "St. Bonaventure's Debt to Joachim," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 11(1982), 61-75. *Bonaventure, Legenda maior, Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 10 (Grottaferreta, Rome: Ex typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1926-1941), prol., sect. 1, 557-558; *Bonaventure: The Soul's Journey into God, the Tree of Life, the Life of St. Francis*, trans. by Ewert Cousins (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), 179-181; *The Works of Bonaventure*: vol. 5

Collations on the Six Days, trans. by Jose de Vinck (Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1970), colls. 16, 22, 247-250, 351-352.

²⁶Reeves, *Influence*, 194-207; *Joachim*, 41-44; Daniel, *Franciscan Concept*, 82-87; David Burr, "Bonaventure, Olivi and Franciscan Eschatology," *Collectanea Franciscana*, 53 (1983), fasc. 1-2, 23-40; *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 172-183.

²⁷Harold Lee, Marjorie Reeves, and Guilio Silano, eds., *Western Mediterranean Prophecy: The School of Joachim of Fiore and the Fourteenth-Century Breviloquium* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989).

²⁸Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and E. R. Daniel, "English Joachimism, 1300-1500: The Columbinus Prophecy," paper read at the Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi Gioachimiti. To be published in the proceedings of the Congress by the Centro Internazionale di Studi Gioachimiti, San Giovanni in Fiore (CS).

²⁹Lerner, *Powers*, 93-101.

³⁰Luca's notebook is Florence, Biblioteca nazionale, Magl. VII, #1081. Magl. XXV #344 is apparently another copy made by Luca. It contains the same texts, but in a different order and has colophons which are not found in #1081. The "*Ve mundo in centum annis*" prophecy is found on foll. 34r-36v of #1081 and foll. 45r-47v of #344. The note on Savonarola is found on fol. 55v of #1081. The letter attributed to Rasis is found on foll. 21v-24r and again on foll. 31r-33v of #1081 and on foll. 37r-41r of #344. Inc. "*In Christi nomine amen. Omnibus christianis ad quos presentes litere peruenerint Rasis olim ciuis Antiochius . . . Attendite karissimi fratres secundum quod inuenimus . . . Deus in sua creatione mundi.*" The closing words are the beginning of the text of the Columbinus prophecy although the incipit of this prophecy varies. On Luca see Reeves, *Influence*, 434, who calls him a friar and Robert Rusconi, "'Ex Quodam Antiquissimo Libello' La Tradizione Manoscritta delle Profezie nell'Italia Tradomedioevale," *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. by W. Verbeke, D. Vrhelst, and A. Welkenhuysen, *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia*, Ser. 1, Studia 15 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), 444-454, who states correctly that Luca was not a religious.

³¹John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. by Ford. L. Battles, Library of Christian Classics, vols. 20-21 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), 2.16.17, (hereafter Calvin, *Institutes*).

³²Heinrich Quistorp, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things*, trans. by Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955), 109-122, 158-162 (hereafter Quistorp, *Doctrine*); Barnes, *Prophecy*, 31-34.

³³Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.2.12; Quistorp, *Doctrine*, 116-122; Barnes, *Prophecy*, 32-33.

³⁴John Leith, *John Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life* (Louisville, Ky.: The Westminster Press, 1989), 158, 160-165, 172-174.

³⁵Reeves, *Joachim*, 144-149, 152-164; Barnes, 33-36.

³⁶I understand the *de potentia absoluta* as God's freedom to do anything which does not involve a self-contradiction and the *de potentia ordinata* as containing those "ordinances"

by which God has chosen to act toward humanity normally and which, therefore, constitute a covenant between God and humankind revealed in the Scriptures. The purpose of this distinction was to preserve God's freedom from any notion that God must necessarily act in certain ways and to preserve contingency in the created universe and history, both of which were threatened by Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic philosophies with their notions of determinist processes of causation and emanation. Hence I would argue that Calvin's entire theology is written *de potentia ordinata*, that is, as an explanation of what God has willed to do on the basis of biblical revelation and the covenants with humanity. Such a concept clearly underlies Calvin's doctrine of providence (*Institutes*, 1.16). On Calvin and providence see William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 106-107, 162-172 (hereafter Bouwsma, *Calvin*); Leith, *Calvin's Doctrine*, 108-120. For a succinct summary of the concepts of *de potentia absoluta* and *de potentia ordinata* see Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 97-100, 133-148. *The work of Heiko Oberman, The Harvest of Medieval Theology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), 30-56, is important but controversial. Graham White, "Pelagianisms," *Viator* 20 (1989): 233-254, is a critique of Oberman's views. On the distinction among later Calvinists see E. R. Daniel, "Reconciliation, Covenant and Election: A Study in the Theology of John Donne," *Anglican Theological Review* 48 (1966): 18-24.

³⁷Barnes, *Prophecy*, 33; Leith, *Calvin's Doctrine*, 172-174; Bouwsma, *Calvin*, 186, 191-193; idem, "The Spirituality of John Calvin," *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt (New York: Crossroad, 1989), 321-322.