

**The Crowd in the Early Middle Ages, c. 500 – c. 1000**

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## **The Crowd in the Early Middle Ages, c. 500 – c. 1000**

### **Abstract**

Early medieval Europe is not well known for its crowds, unlike Antiquity or the later Middle Ages. After sixth-century demographic and urban decline, crowds were smaller, less spontaneous, and easier to control than in other periods of European history. This study, the first comprehensive analysis of collective behaviors and representations in Europe from c. 500 to c. 1000, argues that crowd-scarce early medieval societies nevertheless organized their institutions around the behavior of crowds. Assemblies, festivals, fairs, and the church's invisible multitude of saints ensured that collective behavior remained central to early medieval public life. Under the impact of Christian values and new physical realities, elites abandoned old prejudices against mobs and rabble while embracing the crowd's legitimacy, with enduring results for later medieval political and religious life.

In chapter 1, archaeological and demographic evidence reveal how early medieval gatherings co-opted seasonal agglomerations such as markets, harvests, and festivals. Early medieval gatherings depended on the temporary accumulation of populations, and so became less spontaneous than their Roman antecedents. Chapter 2 draws on the sociology of crowds and on written and archaeological sources to trace the decline of late antique crowd spaces (the old circuses, theaters, baths, and colonnades of Roman cities).

It shows why and where early medieval elites developed new, medieval gatherings, such as royal and church assemblies, hunts, armies and war-bands, and political ceremonies.

In chapter 3, the semantic history of collectivity in early medieval Latin and vernacular writings demonstrates how technical and connotative distinctions in ancient words for crowds became attenuated in the face of new concepts. The same word that had meant “a dangerous rabble” in the first century could be used to describe a sacred gathering of monks in the ninth century. Chapter 4 studies patterns to which crowds conformed in the imaginations revealed by written sources: clichés and type-scenes which repeated themselves in saints’ lives, histories, liturgy, and poems. Many of these literary devices reinforced links between crowds and legitimacy. Nevertheless, the chapter ends with counter-examples, in which elites expressed anxieties about crowds using new, gendered polemics.

Chapter 5 investigates rituals and their representations, like royal assemblies and liturgical rites, which arose at the intersection of early medieval material horizons for physical assembly and early medieval mentalities. It argues that the role of crowds in early medieval ritual gatherings, and their representation in visual media, endured in subsequent medieval political, religious, and legal institutions. It concludes by showing how eleventh-century demographic and urban expansion sparked a new crowd regime, which departed but also arose from the concepts and practices shaped in the first half-millennium of the Middle Ages.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. Jean Bolland et al., 67 vols., 3rd edn., Paris and Brussels, 1863-1940.
AASSOSB	<i>Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti</i> , ed. Luc d'Achéry and Jean Mabillon. 9 vols. Paris, 1668-1701.
AB	<i>Annales Bertiniani</i> , ed. Félix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard, and Suzanne Clémencet, with introduction and notes by Léon Levillain, <i>Annales de Saint-Bertin</i> , Paris, 1964.
AF	<i>Annales Fuldenses</i> , ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG 7, Hanover, 1891.
AH	<i>Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi</i> , ed. G. M. Dreves, C. Blume, H. M. Bannister, et al. 55 vols., Leipzig, 1886-1922.
ARF	<i>Annales Regni Francorum</i> , ed. F. Kurze, MGH SRG 6, Hanover, 1895.
Aug. <i>Civ. dei</i>	Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i> , ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, <i>Sancti Avrelii Avgvstini De civitate Dei</i> <i>Civitate Dei</i> , 2 vols., CCSL 47-48, Turnhout, 1955.
AX	<i>Annales Xantenses</i> , ed. B. von Simson, MGH SRG 12, Hanover, 1909.
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican City)
Bede, <i>HE</i>	Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</i> , ed. Michael Lapidge, <i>Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple anglais</i> , SC 489-491, 3 vols., Paris, 2005.
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> , 3rd edn., ed. F. Halkin, <i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 8a, Brussels, 1957; <i>Novum auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graeca</i> , ed. F. Halkin, <i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 65, Brussels, 1984.

BHL	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina</i> , Subsidia hagiographica 6 and Subsidia hagiographica 12, Brussels, 1898-1911; H. Fros, <i>Novum supplementum</i> , Subsidia hagiographica 70, Brussels, 1986.
BM	J. F. Böhmer, E. Mühlbacher, et al., <i>Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern</i> , Regesta Imperii 1, 3rd edn., Hildesheim, 1966.
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)
c.	<i>capitulum</i> ; <i>caput</i> ; <i>canon</i> ; chapter
<i>carm.</i>	<i>carmen</i> ; <i>carmina</i>
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> , Turnhout, 1966-.
CCM	<i>Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum</i> , Siegburg, 1963-.
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> , Turnhout, 1952-.
ChLA	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> , ed. Albert Bruckner. Olten and Lausanne, 1954-.
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> , Berlin, 1862-.
CLA	E. A. Lowe, <i>Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century</i> , 11 vols. with supplement, Oxford, 1935-1971.
Clm	Codices latini monacenses = Latin manuscripts at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich)
col.	column; columns
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Vienna, 1866-.
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq. Paris, 1907-1953.



Dekkers, CPL	E. Dekkers, <i>Clavis patrum latinorum</i> , 3rd edn., Steenbrugge, 1995.
<i>Deutsches Archiv</i>	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
Díaz y Díaz	Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, <i>Index scriptorum Latinorum medii aevi Hispanorum</i> , 2 vols., Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofía y Letras 13, Salamanca, 1958-1959.
<i>Dig.</i>	<i>Digesta Iustiniani</i> , ed. Theodor Mommsen, <i>Corpus iuris civilis</i> , vol. 1, Berlin, 1872.
<i>ep.</i>	<i>epistola; epistula</i>
fasc.	fascicle; fascicles
fol./fols.	folio/folios
Gregory of Tours, <i>Hist.</i>	Gregory of Tours, <i>Historiarum libri X</i> , ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 1.1, Hanover, 1951.
Isidore, <i>Et.</i>	Isidore of Seville, <i>Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX</i> , ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols., Oxford, 1911.
Jaffé-Ewald	Philipp Jaffé, <i>Regesta pontificum Romanorum (bis 1198)</i> , ed. W. Wattenbach, S. Löwenfeld, P. Kaltenbrunner, and P. Ewald, 2nd edn., Leipzig, 1885-1889.
Manitius	Max Manitius, <i>Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters</i> , 3 vols, Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 9.2, Munich, 1911-1931.
Mansi	G. D. Mansi, ed., <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , Venice, 1759-.
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i> , Hanover, Berlin, etc., 1828-.
AA	Auctores antiquissimi
Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum

Capit. episc.	Capitula episcoporum
Capit. N.S.	Capitularia regum Francorum, Nova series
Conc.	Concilia
DD	Diplomata
DD Kar. 1	Pippin, Karlmann und Karl der Große
DD Karl	Karl III
DD Lo I	Lothar I.
DD Mer.	Merowinger
Epp.	Epistolae
Epp. sel.	Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum separatim editae
Font. iur. Germ.	Fontes iuris Germanici Antiqui in usum scholarum
Formulae	Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi
Gesta Pontif. Rom.	Gesta pontificum Romanorum
LdL	Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum
Libri mem.	Libri memoriales
Libri mem. N.S.	Libri memoriales et Necrologia, Nova series
LL nat. Germ.	Leges nationum Germanicarum
Necr.	Necrologia Germaniae
Ordines	Ordines de celebrando concilio
Poetae	Poetae Latini medii aevi
SRG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
SRG N.S.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series
SRL	Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et

	Italicarum
SRM	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
SS	Scriptores
MLW	<i>Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch, bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert</i> , ed. O. Prinz, et al., Munich, 1959-.
MS/MSS	manuscript/manuscripts; manuscrit/manuscrits; manoscritto/manoscritti, etc.
NAL	Nouvelles acquisitions latines
New Pauly	Cancik, H. and H. Schneider, ed., <i>Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World</i> , ed. C. F. Salazar, Leiden, 2002-2010.
Niermeyer	J. F. Niermeyer, et al., <i>Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus</i> , Leiden, 2002.
no.	<i>numero</i> ; number
OCD	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , ed. Hornblower, Simon and Antony Spawforth, 4th edn., Oxford, 2012.
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> . 2nd edn. 20 vols. Oxford, 1989.
OLD	P.G.W. Glare et al., <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , 2nd edn., 2 vols., Oxford, 2012.
Pauly-Wissowa, <i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. A. F. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, K. Ziegler, and H Gärtner, rev. edn., Stuttgart, 1893-1980.
PL	<i>Patrologia latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris, 1844-1864.
praef.	<i>praefatio</i> ; preface
rev.	revised; revised by
<i>RGA</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde</i> , ed. H. Jahnkuhn et al., 2nd edn., Berlin, 1968-

	2008.
s.a.	sub anno
s.v.	sub voce
SC	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i> , Paris, 1941-.
Suppl.	<i>Supplementum/Supplement</i>
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae latinae</i> , Leipzig, 1900-.
Typologie des Sources	<i>Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental</i> , Turnhout, 1972-.
Virgil, <i>Aen.</i>	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i> , ed. M. Geymonat, <i>P. Vergili Maronis Opera</i> , 2nd edn., Temi e testi 4, Rome, 2008.
Virgil, <i>Georg.</i>	Virgil, <i>Georgics</i> , ed. M. Geymonat, <i>P. Vergili Maronis Opera</i> , 2nd edn., Temi e testi 4, Rome, 2008.
vol./vols.	volume/volumes
Wattenbach-Levison-Löwe	Wilhelm Wattenbach and Wilhelm Levison, <i>Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter. Vorzeit und Karolinger</i> , ed. Wilhelm Levison and Heinz Löwe, 6 fascicles, Weimar, 1952-1990.
Weber-Gryson	<i>Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem</i> , ed. R. Weber, B. Fischer, R. Gryson, et al., 5th edn., Stuttgart, 2007.

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## INTRODUCTION

**I. The Early Middle Ages: A Time Without Crowds?**

Before a crowd of grieving supplicants, a bishop resurrects a child believed to be dead.<sup>1</sup> In large assemblies, nobles gather each year to hear decisions promulgated and to give their consent to their king's decrees.<sup>2</sup> A town's multitudes clamor excitedly as magnates set out to the hunt.<sup>3</sup> A king bathes in hot springs surrounded by a crowd of subjects.<sup>4</sup> A new pope takes power, as crowds of clergy and laymen acclaim him.<sup>5</sup> From the sphere of heaven, tremendous throngs of angels and saints look down upon the inhabitants of this world.<sup>6</sup> At the end of time, "multitudes, multitudes" will gather in the valley of decision to be judged by the Lord.<sup>7</sup> In all these diverse phenomena, we catch a glimpse of the early medieval crowd and sense deeper patterns. But what unites these early medieval collective representations? From the sixth century to the eleventh century, what did it mean for men and women to observe, participate in, and imagine crowds?

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen of Auxerre (fl. late sixth century), *Vita S. Amatoris Ep. Autissiodorensis* (BHL 356), c. 22, AASS Mai. 1.1.57A.

<sup>2</sup> Hincmar of Reims, *De ordine palatii*, c. 6, ed. T. Gross and R. Schieffer, MGH Font. iur. Germ. 3, 2nd edn. (Hanover, 1980), pp. 82-90.

<sup>3</sup> *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa*, lines 159-164, ed. H. Beumann, F. Brunhölzl, and W. Winkelmann, *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa: ein paderborner Epos vom Jahre 799* (Paderborn, 1966), p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 25 (Munich, 1911), p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> AH 27, no. 184, p. 260.

<sup>6</sup> AH 7, no. 118, p. 132. Cf. *Vita Sadalbergae abbatissae Laudunensis* (BHL 7463), c. 14, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 58, for an "angelic crowd" (*angelica turba*).

<sup>7</sup> Joel 3:14, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1387: "populi populi in valle concisionis quia iuxta est dies Domini in valle concisionis." For a mid ninth-century exegesis of this biblical passage, see Haimo of Halberstadt, *In Joel prophetam*, c. 3, PL 117, col. 106.

This is not a question historians have asked, even though the “crowd,” in many guises, has long captured popular and scholarly interest.<sup>8</sup> Historians in particular have studied collective behaviors and ideas about collective behaviors, from concrete gatherings to abstract collectivities, across many settings.<sup>9</sup> Early modern and industrial

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<sup>8</sup> For an extensive overview see: Reinhard Koselleck et al., “Volk, Nation, Nationalismus, Masse,” *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, ed. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart, 1992), vol. 7, pp. 141-431.

<sup>9</sup> The literature is vast: Ervand Abrahamian, “The Crowd in Iranian Politics 1905-1953,” *Past & Present* 41 (1968): 184-210; Ervand Abrahamian, “The Crowd in the Persian Revolution,” *Iranian Studies* 2 (1969): 128-150; Thomas Africa, “Urban Violence in Imperial Rome,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 3-21; Shimon Applebaum, “The Zealots: the Case for Reevaluation,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 155-170; Herbert Atherton, “The ‘Mob’ in Eighteenth-Century English Caricature,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 12 (1978): 47-58; Margaret Aston, “Corpus Christi and Corpus Regni: Heresy and the Peasants’ Revolt,” *Past & Present* 143 (1994): 3-47; William Beik, “The Violence of the French Crowd from Charivari to Revolution,” *Past & Present* 197 (2007): 75-110; Alastair Bellany, “The Murder of John Lambe: Crowd Violence, Court Scandal and Popular Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England,” *Past & Present* 200 (2008): 37-76; David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in a Nineteenth-Century German Village* (New York, 1994); Nicholas Brooks, “The Organization and Achievements of the Peasants of Kent and Essex in 1381,” in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 247-270; Peter Brunt, “The Roman Mob,” *Past & Present* 35 (1966): 3-27; Juan Cole, “Of Crowds and Empires: Afro-Asian Riots and European Expansion, 1857-1882,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1989): 106-133; Juan Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1993); Edward Countryman, “The Problem of the Early American Crowd,” *Journal of American Studies* 7 (1973): 77-90; Robert C. Davis, *The War of the Fists: Popular Culture and Public Violence in Late Renaissance Venice* (Oxford, 1994); Amina Elbendary, *Crowds and Sultans: Urban Protest in Late Medieval Egypt and Syria* (Cairo, 2015); Manfred Gailus, “Food Riots in Germany in the Late 1840s,” *Past & Present* 145 (1994): 157-193; Myra Glenn, “It’s a Riot! Mob Violence in Antebellum America,” *Reviews in American History* 27 (1999): 210-217; Ruth Harris, “Possession on the Borders: The ‘Mal De Morzine’ in Nineteenth-Century France,” *The Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997): 451-478; Mark Harrison, “The Ordering of the Urban Environment: Time, Work and the Occurrence of Crowds 1790-1835,” *Past & Present* 110 (1986): 134-168; Benjamin Heller, “The ‘Mene People’ and the Polite Spectator: the Individual in the Crowd at Eighteenth-Century London Fairs,” *Past & Present* 208 (2010): 131-157; Steve Hindle, “Imagining Insurrection in Seventeenth-Century England: Representations of the Midland Rising of 1607,” *History Workshop Journal* 66 (2008): 21-61; Cemal Kafadar, “Janissaries and other Riffraff of Ottoman Istanbul: Rebels without a Cause?” in *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World: a Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz*, ed. Baki Tezcan and Karl K. Barbir (Madison, 2007), pp. 113-134; Christian D. Liddy, “Urban Enclosure Riots: Risings of the Commons in English Towns, 1480-1525,” *Past & Present* 226 (2015): 41-77; Colin Lucas, “The Crowd and Politics Between ‘Ancien Regime’ and Revolution in France,” *The Journal of Modern History* 60 (1988): 421-457; Pauline Maier, “Popular Uprisings and Civil Authority in Eighteenth-Century America,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 27 (1970): 3-35; Mischa Meier, “Die Inszenierung einer Katastrophe: Justinian und der Nika-Aufstand,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 117 (2003): 273-300; M. Meyers, “Feminizing Fascist Men: Crowd Psychology, Gender, and Sexuality in French Antifascism, 1929-1945,” *French Historical Studies* 29 (2006): 109-142; Philip D. Morgan, “Conspiracy Scares,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 59 (2002): 159-166; Rosemary Morris, “The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium: Law and Reality,” *Past & Present* 73 (1976): 3-27; J. B. Peires, “‘Soft’ Believers and ‘Hard’ Unbelievers in the Xhosa Cattle-Killing,” *The Journal of African History* 27 (1986): 443-461; Christine Poggi, “Folla/Follia’: Futurism and

Europe enjoy prominence in this historiography, but scholars of premodern Europe have also written broadly on crowds, variously defined. Greco-Roman Antiquity is famous for its crowds: audiences in theaters, circuses, and stadiums, spectators who observed mass oratory, urban riots and rural unrest, and late antique Christian councils which could devolve into crowd violence.<sup>10</sup> The high and later Middle Ages are also well known for very different collective forms: urban ceremonial, factional unrest, outdoor sermons,

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the Crowd,” *Critical Inquiry* 28 (2002): 709-748; Donald Richter, “The Role of Mob Riot in Victorian Elections, 1865-1885,” *Victorian Studies* 15 (1971): 19-28; George Rudé, “English Rural and Urban Disturbances on the Eve of the First Reform Bill, 1830-1831,” *Past & Present* 37 (1967): 87-102; William Sachse, “The Mob and the Revolution of 1688,” *The Journal of British Studies* 4 (1964): 23-40; Jan Marco Sawilla, “On Histories, Revolutions, and the Masses: Visions of Asymmetry and Symmetry in German Social Sciences,” in *Asymmetrical Concepts After Reinhart Koselleck: Historical Semantics and Beyond* (Bielefeld, 2011), pp. 165-196; Buchanan Sharp, “The Food Riots of 1347 and the Medieval Moral Economy,” in *Moral Economy and Popular Protest: Crowds, Conflicts and Authority*, ed. Adrian Randall and Andrew Charlesworth (New York, 2000), 33-54; Brent D. Shaw, “Bandits in the Roman Empire,” *Past & Present* 105 (1984): 3-52; Gregory Shaya, “The Flâneur, the Badaud, and the Making of a Mass Public in France, Circa 1860-1910,” *The American Historical Review* 109 (2004): 41-77; Robert Shoemaker, “The London ‘Mob’ in the Early Eighteenth Century,” *The Journal of British Studies* 26 (1987): 273-304; Geoffrey Sumi, “Power and Ritual: The Crowd at Clodius’ Funeral,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 46 (1997): 80-102; Caroline Sumpter, “The Cheap Press and the ‘Reading Crowd,’” *Media History* 12 (2006): 233-252; E. A. Thompson, “Peasant Revolts in Late Roman Gaul and Spain,” *Past & Present* 2 (1952): 11-23; Alexandra Walsham, “‘The Fatall Vesper’: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London,” *Past & Present* 144 (1994): 36-87; Dale Williams, “Morals, Markets and the English Crowd in 1766,” *Past & Present* 104 (1984): 56-73; Gordon Wood, “A Note on Mobs in the American Revolution,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 23 (1966): 635-642; Madeline Zilfi, “The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45 (1986): 251-269. See also the essays in *Crowds*, ed. J. Schnapp and M. Tiews (Stanford, 2006), and those collected in *Crowd Actions in Britain and France from the Middle Ages to the Modern World*, ed. Michael T. Davis (London, 2015).

<sup>10</sup> For a useful introduction to the large literature on Roman spectacle, K. M. Coleman, “‘The contagion of the throng’: absorbing violence in the Roman world,” *Hermathena* 164 (1998): 65-88; see also her “General Introduction” to Martial, *M. Valerii Martialis liber spectaculorum*, ed. K. M. Coleman (Oxford, 2006), esp. pp. lxxv-lxxx. The best overview on gladiators remains Georges Ville, *La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* (Rome, 1981). See also Paul Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque: sociologie historique d’un pluralisme politique* (Paris, 1976), more extensive than the abridged English translation: *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*, trans. Brian Pearce (London, 1992). For a computer-generated estimation of the crowd dynamics of the Flavian amphitheater, see Diego Gutierrez et al., “AI and virtual crowds: Populating the Colosseum,” *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 8 (2007): 176-185. For up-to-date synthetic entries on Roman spectacle, see K. M. Coleman, “Spectacle,” in *Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*, ed. A. Barchiesi and W. Scheidel (Oxford, 2010), 651-670; K. M. Coleman, “Public entertainments,” in *Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. M. Peachin (Oxford, 2011), 335-357. For the ancient Greek world, Josiah Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People* (Princeton, 1989), offers a celebrated analysis of the relationship between Athenian democracy, oratory, and theater.

crusades, and ultimately peasant revolts.<sup>11</sup> Yet the collective forms of the intervening half-millennium, from around 500 to around 1000, are less familiar to scholars and to the public. A few scholars have examined the literary figure of the crowd in early medieval texts, and some collective phenomena – like processions and assemblies – have attracted scholarly interest, but to my knowledge no historian has attempted a whole or partial investigation of the early medieval crowd.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> For the high Middle Ages, see, e.g., R. I. Moore, “Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 30 (1980): 49-69; Gary Dickson, “Encounters in Medieval Revivalism: Monks, Friars, and Popular Enthusiasts,” *Church History* 68 (1999): 265-293; Louis I. Hamilton, *A Sacred City* (Manchester, 2010), pp. 56-88; Michael Frassetto, “Reaction and Reform: Reception of Heresy in Arras and Aquitaine in the Early Eleventh Century,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997): 385-400. For the celebrated children’s crusades, see Paul Alphandéry, “Les croisades d’enfants,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 73 (1916): 259-282. For the later period, see Gary Dickson, “The crowd at the feet of Pope Boniface VIII: pilgrimage, crusade and the first Roman Jubilee (1300),” *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999): 279-307; Gary Dickson, “Medieval Christian Crowds and the Origins of Crowd Psychology,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 95 (2000): 54-75; E. A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado, “*Universitas et Communitas*: The Parade of the Parisians at the Pentecost Feast of 1313,” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Atlanta, 2001), pp. 117-154; Jennifer A. Heindl, “Moving the Masses: Cola Di Rienzo, the Anonimo Romano, and the Roman Crowds,” in *The Middle Ages in Texts and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Glenn (Toronto, 2011), pp. 299-307; Susan J. Dudash, “Christinian Politics, the Tavern, and Urban Revolt in Late Medieval France,” in *Healing the Body Politic: the Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green and Constant J. Mews (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 35-59; Paul Freedman, “The German and Catalan Peasant Revolts,” *The American Historical Review* 98 (1993): 39-54; Jelle Haemers, “A Victorious State and Defeated Rebels? Historians’ Views of Violence and Urban Revolts in Medieval Flanders,” in *Comparative Perspectives on History and Historians: Essays in Memory of Bryce Lyon (1920-2007)*, ed. David Nicholas, Bernard S. Bachrach, and James M. Murray (Kalamazoo, 2012), pp. 97-118; Nicole Chareyron, “Les nouveaux justes de 1349: Regards de chroniqueurs sur les flagellants,” in *Conformité et déviances au Moyen Âge: Actes du deuxième colloque international de Montpellier* (Montpellier, 1995), pp. 99-113; Catherine Vincent, “Discipline du corps et de l’esprit chez les Flagellants au Moyen Âge,” *Revue Historique* 302 (2000): 593-614; Nancy van Deusen, “Assembled in the Presence of God: Majestic Perseverance and the *Cantus Coronatus*,” in *Mobs: An Interdisciplinary Inquiry*, ed. Nancy van Deusen and Leonard Michael Koff (Leiden, 2012), pp. 79-93; Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Alizah Holstein, “Anger and Spectacle in Late Medieval Rome: Gauging Emotion in Urban Topography,” in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, ed. C. Goodson, A. Lester, C. Symes (Farnham, 2010), pp. 149-174; Robert Brentano, “Violence, Disorder, and Order in Thirteenth-Century Rome,” in *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200-1500*, ed. Lauro Martines (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 309-330; Robert E. Lerner, “Ecstatic Dissent,” *Speculum* 67 (1992): 33-57. The medieval crowd has also attracted some attention from historians of the crowd *per se*. See (with caution) J. S. McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob: from Plato to Canetti* (London, 1989), pp. 60-82.

<sup>12</sup> J. Martínez Pizarro, “Crowds and Power in the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*,” in *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Hill and M. Swann (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 265-283; H. Magennis, “Crowd Control? Depictions of the Many in Anglo-



What happened to crowds, mobs, armed bands, multitudes, gatherings, mass calamities, assemblies, and the words and ideas which represented them, between an age of circuses and an age of crusades? How did men and women's collective behavior respond to social, political, economic, and religious change between Antiquity and the Middle Ages? What bearing does the history of early medieval collective behaviors have on debates about where the early Middle Ages fits between the ancient and the medieval world?<sup>13</sup> What influence did the collective forms of the early Middle Ages have on later European history? This dissertation offers the first attempt to answer these questions. It examines how, in the wake of sweeping urban and demographic change in late Antiquity, the size, frequency, behavior, and make-up of physical gatherings transformed in western Europe.

Gatherings in this period became less spontaneous and more reliant on seasonal and regional patterns of agglomeration than they had been in a sedentary civilization of cities. The representation of collective behavior in early medieval language and writing also changed. A prevalent ancient discourse of mobs, rabbles, and riots gave way to a vision of the "crowd" as ordered, authoritative, and even divine. At the same time, new kinds of crowd dangers shaped commonplaces (*topoi*) of rusticity or femininity which served to delegitimize collective forms deemed threatening by early medieval elites. This study examines early medieval representations and rituals which exploited collective behavior for purposes of political or religious legitimacy, even if they did so with mixed

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Saxon Literature, with Particular Reference to the Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers," *English Studies* 93 (2012): 119-137; for processions and assemblies, see below in chapter 2.

<sup>13</sup> Robert Fossier, *Enfance de l'Europe: Aspects économiques et sociaux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 74-75.

success. It argues that early medieval collective behaviors and ideas about collective behaviors were distinctive, different from late Antiquity before and the high Middle Ages afterwards, and that these differences had enduring consequences for later medieval European political, religious, and legal institutions. Compared to the centuries before and after, western Europe between c. 500 and c. 1000 was crowd-scarce. Yet in altered material and cultural circumstances, early medieval communities still organized public life around the behavior of crowds.

In one sense, a demographic history frames this dissertation. The period of European history under question, it is generally believed, was one of gradual recovery between severe fifth- and sixth-century urban and demographic decline and tremendous eleventh- and twelfth-century urban and demographic growth. The Roman Empire encircled the Mediterranean with a population frequently estimated at seventy million at its apogee.<sup>14</sup> By the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, at the height of the medieval demographic glut, some landscapes were more densely populated than they are today.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Walter Scheidel, "Demography," in *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, ed. W. Scheidel, I. Morris, and R. Saller (Cambridge, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 38-86, at p. 47: "the total population of the Roman empire at its peak on the eve of the 'Antonine plague' of AD 165 probably numbered between 60 and 70 million." The foundational study on ancient demography remains Julius Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der Griechische-Römischen Welt* (Leipzig, 1886), which estimates the total population of the Roman Empire at the time of Augustus's death (14 AD) to be around 50-60 million people (his final estimate was 54 million), of which he supposed 28 million inhabited the Greek East, and 25 million the Latin West (p. 502); Ernest Stein, "Introduction à l'histoire et aux institutions byzantines," *Traditio* 7 (1949): 95-168, p. 154, gives 70 million for the same period. By contrast, Bruce W. Frier, "Demography," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 11: *The High Empire, A.D. 70-192*, ed. A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey and D. Rathbone (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 787-816, p. 811, proposes 45 million, because Beloch's estimates for Anatolia are in his opinion too high. For the basis for these and other demographic conjectures, see the overview by W. Scheidel, "Progress and Problems in Roman Demography," in *Debating Roman Demography*, ed. W. Scheidel (Brill, 2001), pp. 1-81, along with the other essays in the collection.

<sup>15</sup> For the effects of dense population and heavy urbanization in late medieval Italy, see Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, 1993), pp. 99-100. Cf. William C. Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 127-150. Jürgen Sydow, "Die Klein- und Mittelstadt in der südwestdeutschen Geschichte des

The scholarly consensus used to be that war, plague, climate change, and infrastructural collapse thinned out the population of western Europe in the centuries after the Fall of the Roman empire.<sup>16</sup> Scholars used to believe that a fundamental characteristic of the Early Middle Ages, as Marc Bloch asserted more than seventy years ago, was the small size and scattering of its populations.<sup>17</sup> This old consensus, as chapter 1 will discuss, has shifted in the last forty years.<sup>18</sup> Archaeologists' discovery and

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Mittelalters," in *Cum omni mensura et ratione: Ausgewählte Aufsätze: Festgabe zu seinem 70 Geburtstag*, ed. Helmut Maurer (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 236-268, at pp. 239-240, provides a useful size-based typology for assessing the urbanization of late medieval Europe.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 167: "War, plague, climatic change: these had been the major disasters that broke the economy of the Roman Empire." There were always exceptions, most notably Alfons Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der europäischen Kulturentwicklung: aus der Zeit von Caesar bis auf Karl den Grossen*, 2nd edn. (Vienna, 1923), vol. 1, esp. pp. 330-331. For new climatic evidence relating to the entire Roman empire, see U. Büntgen et al., "Cooling and societal change during the Late Antique Little Ice Age from 536 to around 660 AD," *Nature Geoscience* 9 (2016): 231-236; U. Büntgen et al., "2500 Years of European Climate Variability and Human Susceptibility," *Science* 331 (2011): 578-582. See further chapter 1 below. For the first-ever survey of archaeologically attested mass graves in Late Antiquity, see now Michael McCormick, "Tracking Mass Death During the Fall of Rome's Empire (I)," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28 (2015): 326-57.

<sup>17</sup> Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon (London, 1965), p. 60.

<sup>18</sup> For older overviews of medieval population trends, see David Herlihy, "Demography," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Strayer (New York, 1982) vol. 4, pp. 136-148, at p. 139, and F. Irsigler et al., "Bevölkerung," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1977-1999), vol. 2, col. 10-21, at col. 14. Two important early challenges to the depopulation argument include G. Gunderson, "Economic change and the demise of the Roman Empire," *Explorations in Economic History* 13 (1976): 43-68, esp. pp. 44-51, and John Moreland, "Wilderness, wasteland, depopulation and the end of the Roman empire?" *The Accordia Research Papers* 4 (1993): 89-110. Recently, Bernard Bachrach has questioned the notion of demographic decline in Gaul caused by plague: Bernard Bachrach, "Continuity in Late Antique Gaul: a Demographic and Economic Perspective," in *Comparative Perspectives on History and Historians: Essays in Memory of Bryce Lyon (1920-2007)*, ed. David Nicholas, Bernard Bachrach, and James M. Murray (Kalamazoo, 2012), pp. 27-50; Bernard Bachrach, "Plague, Population, and Economy in Merovingian Gaul," *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 3 (2007): 29-57; Bernard Bachrach, "Some Observations on the Plague in the *Regnum Francorum*," in *Auctoritas: Mélanges offerts à Olivier Guillot*, ed. G. Constable and M. Rouche (Paris, 2006), pp. 157-66. See also the cautious approach favored by Bryan Ward-Perkins, "Land, Labour and Settlement," in *The Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 14: Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425-600*, ed. A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, and M. Whitby (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 315-345, at pp. 320-327.

reinterpretations of fragile post-Roman organic building materials have cut away at traditional ideas about widespread settlement abandonment and population decline.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, as chapter 1 argues, there is still reason to believe that much of western Europe experienced a major demographic structural shift, and that the traditional apocalyptic horsemen – war, plague, famine, and death – played their part in these changes. Our sources speak of empty countrysides and silent ruins.<sup>20</sup> Pope Gregory wrote in 593 or 594:

Cities in ruin, strongholds overthrown, fields despoiled; the land has gone back to nature. There is no farmer in the fields, almost no inhabitant remains in the cities...See what has befallen Rome, long mistress of the world. She is exhausted by great sorrows, by the desolation of her citizens, by the onslaught of her foes, by a multitude of catastrophes.<sup>21</sup>

This is in part a topos of desolation.<sup>22</sup> But it is borne out by archaeological and historical research. Around the year 300 Rome had roughly 600-800,000 inhabitants. Three centuries later, it housed mere tens of thousands.<sup>23</sup> By the end of the sixth century,

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<sup>19</sup> For an overview, see Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300-900* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 115-119.

<sup>20</sup> G. P. Brogiolo, “Ideas of the Town in Italy During the Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages,” in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G. P. Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins (Leiden, 1999), pp. 99-126, at pp. 101-105. On the sixth-century ravages of war and plague in Italy, Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (Ann Arbor, 1989), pp. 26-27.

<sup>21</sup> Gregory the Great, *Homily on Ezechiel*, 2.6.22, ed. C. Morel, *Homélies sur Ezéchiél: texte latin, introduction, traduction et notes*, SC 360 (Paris, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 312-315: “Destructae urbes, euersa sunt castra, depopulati agri, in solitudinem terra redacta est. Nullus in agris incola, pene nullus in urbibus habitator remansit...Ipsa autem quae aliquando mundi domina esse videbatur qualis remanserit Roma conspicimus. Immensis doloribus multipliciter attrita, desolatione civium, impressione hostium, frequentia ruinarum.” This exegesis of Ezekiel 24 is conventional, but the fact that Gregory wrote with *topoi* does not mean that they did not reflect reality. For a vivid account of the world about which Gregory wrote, see R. Markus, “Gregory the Great’s Europe,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 31 (1981): 21-36.

<sup>22</sup> Luigi Gallo, “Popolosità e scarsità di popolazione: contributo allo studio di un *Topos*,” *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa: Classe di lettere e filosofia* 10 (1980): 1233-1270. See also chapter 4.

<sup>23</sup> Jean Durliat, *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine: le problème des subsistances* (Rome, 1990), pp. 110-123, esp. pp. 116-117. Cf. Elio Lo Cascio, “Le procedure di recensus dalla tarda repubblica al tardo

Rome's multitudes had been replaced, as the first medieval pope grimly jokes, by a "multitude" (*frequentia*) of disasters. The Roman civilization whose culture, religion, social structures, law, politics, and infrastructure were emblazoned with the figure of the urban crowd now gave way to a rural civilization in which the crowd was a scarce resource.

Or it should have. In fact, our sources are full of crowds. The old words in Latin which used to designate crowds of people under the empire – *turba*, *caterva*, *contio*, *multitudo*, *populus*, *frequentia*, *vulgus* – still populated early medieval chronicles, saints' lives, law books, poems, and liturgical texts. Yet these old words acquired new meanings and connotations. Take the word *turba*. For Seneca in the first century, *turba* ("crowd," but also "riot" or "rabble") was a one-word answer to the question, "what you should avoid above all else?"<sup>24</sup> As late as the fourth century, the historian Ammianus Marcellinus could use the word *turba* twenty-seven times, never once positively.<sup>25</sup>

In the early Middle Ages, however, *turba* came to denote prestigious assemblies of magnates, bishops, monks, and saints. *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*, runs one popular early medieval hymn: "Let the 'throng' of brothers sing a hymn."<sup>26</sup> "Through here let the pious 'assembly' (*turba*) debate healthful counsel," reads a metrical caption in a ninth-

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antico: Il calcolo della popolazione di Roma," in *La Rome impériale: démographie et logistique: actes de la Table ronde (Rome, 25 mars 1994)* (Rome, 1997), pp. 3-76, at pp. 64-76. Roberto Meneghini and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'Altomedioevo: topografia e urbanistica della città dal V al X secolo* (Rome, 2004), pp. 21-28; cf. Ludovico Gatto, "Riflettendo della consistenza demografica della Roma altomedievale," *Roma Medievale: Aggiornamenti*, ed. Paolo Delogu (Florence, 1998), pp. 143-157.

<sup>24</sup> Seneca, *Ep.* 7.1, ed. L. D. Reynolds, *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* (Oxford, 1965), vol. 1, p. 11. For discussion of the "facticity" of these moral letters, see Karlhans Abel, "Das Problem der Faktizität der Senecanischen Korrespondenz," *Hermes* 109 (1981): 472-499, at pp. 491-493.

<sup>25</sup> See further below, ch. 3.

<sup>26</sup> *AH* no. 51, p. 214.

century plan of an ideal monastery.<sup>27</sup> Literary topoi, like the biblically-inspired witness crowds in saints' lives, reinforced links between legitimacy and collective consensus.<sup>28</sup> Charlemagne's biographer Einhard called a crowd that gathered in Aachen in 828 to venerate the relics of two martyrs "a kind of miracle."<sup>29</sup>

Negative depictions of mobs and rabbles, so typical of elite discourse in other periods, are less common in our sources, but, to be sure, they are not entirely absent.<sup>30</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that R. I. Moore could declare, "One of the most obvious novelties of the eleventh century is the appearance of the crowd on the stage of public events."<sup>31</sup> This study will argue that the crowd was very much already on the "stage of public events" in the preceding centuries. To hold an assembly meant to gather a great crowd, perhaps as many as 5,000 people.<sup>32</sup> Great magnates, secular or ecclesiastical,

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<sup>27</sup> W. Horn and E. Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1979), vol. 3, p. 81: "Hinc pia consilium pertractet turba salubre." The porch which gives access to the monastery's servants is marked with the inscription which describes the community of monastic servants as a *turba* (vol. 3, p. 34): "Tota monasterio famulantium hic turba subintret" ("Here let the whole crowd of servants enter into the monastery"). See also the excellent facsimile of the Plan of Saint Gall at <http://www.stgallplan.org/en/>.

<sup>28</sup> See chapter 4.

<sup>29</sup> Einhard, *Translatio Petri et Marcellini* (BHL 5233), 2.4, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 247.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Sisebut, *Vita et Passio Sancti Desiderii* (BHL 2148), c. 18, ed. Juan Gil, *Miscellanea Wisigothica* (Seville, 1972), p. 65. See discussion below in chapter 4.

<sup>31</sup> Moore, "Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform," p. 49; but see also his *The Origins of European Dissent* (New York, 1985). Cf. Dickson, "Medieval Christian Crowds and the Origins of Crowd Psychology," pp. 58-59, for a turning point around the year 1000; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 301.

<sup>32</sup> Timothy Reuter, "Assembly Politics in Western Europe From the Eighth Century to the Twelfth," in T. Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 193-216; T. N. Bisson, "Celebration and Persuasion: Reflections on the Cultural Evolution of Medieval Consultation," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 7 (1982): 181-204. For a recent article giving some indication of the bibliography for this large topic, see Leidulf Melve, "Assembly Politics and the 'Rules-of-the-Game' (ca. 650-1150)," *Viator* 41 (2010): 69-90. For the estimation of 5,000 people, see McCormick, *Origins*, 665-666, exploring the possibility that these large accumulations of magnates may have provided a desirable venue for merchants.

refused to be seen without a copious entourage.<sup>33</sup> The court hummed with crowds pressing around the king.<sup>34</sup> Hunting, the quintessential aristocratic pastime, was in the Middle Ages an elite crowd sport.<sup>35</sup> Legal punishments, such as the *harmiscara* which shamed a wrongdoer by saddling him like a horse, had to be held before gatherings.<sup>36</sup> Dispute settlements were only resolved, as a typical ninth-century charter puts it, “in the presence of many.”<sup>37</sup> Witnesses, en masse, legitimated gift exchanges, land transfers,

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<sup>33</sup> See the essays in *À l'ombre du pouvoir: les entourages princiers au Moyen Âge*, ed. Alain Marchandisse and Jean-Louis Kupper (Geneva, 2003), albeit largely with a focus on the later Middle Ages; Jamie Kreiner, “About the Bishop: the Episcopal Entourage and the Economy of Government in Post-Roman Gaul,” *Speculum* 86 (2011): 321-360. See also W. Störmer, *Früher Adel: Studien zur politischen Führungsschicht im fränkisch-deutschen Reich vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1973). For the later period, see Benjamin Arnold, “German Bishops and their Military Retinues in the Medieval Empire,” *German History* 7 (1989): 161-183.

<sup>34</sup> One striking Carolingian example is described by Einhard in his *Life of Charlemagne*, when a courtly crowd surrounds the emperor in his bath at Aachen. Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 22, ed. O Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 25 (Munich, 1911), p. 27: “he invited not only his sons to the bath, but nobles and friends, and sometimes even a crowd (*turba*) of subordinates and bodyguards, so that often a hundred men or more would be bathing together.” See Janet L. Nelson, “Was Charlemagne’s Court a Courtly Society?” in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 39-57, esp. pp. 40-41, 56.

<sup>35</sup> For instance, the manifold crowds (human and nonhuman) in a description of the hunt (borrowing heavily from Virgil, *Aen.* 1, 4, and *Georg.* 3) in the panegyric eighth-century poem about Charlemagne, *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa*, lines 137-176, ed. Beumann, Brunhölzl, and Winkelmann, pp. 68-72. Even the quarry is described as an “antlered crowd” (*cornigera turba*, line 152). For the public and legitimating functions of the hunt, see J. Jarnut, “Die Frühmittelalterliche Jagd,” in *L’Uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell’alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 765-798, at pp. 773-775. Eric Goldberg, *Hunting and the Birth of Europe* (forthcoming), also explores the relationship between public (royal) legitimacy and this crowd sport.

<sup>36</sup> J.-M. Moeglin, “Harmiscara – harmschar – hachée: Le dossier des rituels d’humiliation et de soumission au Moyen Âge,” *Bulletin Du Cange* 54 (1996): 11-65; Mayke De Jong, “Power and humility in Carolingian society,” *Early Medieval Europe* 1 (1992): 29-52; Josep M. Salrach, “Tradicions jurídiques en l’administració de justícia a l’edat mitjana: el cas de l’aliscara-harmiscara i la humiliació penitencial,” in *El feudalisme comptat i debatut*, ed. M. Barceló et al. (Valencia, 2003), pp. 71-102, for the subsequent history of the practice in Catalonia. For the origins of the term, see Axel Lindqvist, “Zur Etymologie des Ahd. As. *Harmscara*,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 35 (1910): 383-386.

<sup>37</sup> *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, ed. Theodor Bitterauf, 2 vols. (Munich, 1905), vol. 1, no. 275, p. 242 (30 May 808): *multis adstantibus*. For elucidation of this dispute, see Warren Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society* (Ithaca, 2001), pp. 135-138. Cf. Theodulf of Orléans’s (c. 760-821) satirical account of the crowds that assembled to bribe royal justices at local courts: *Contra iudices*, line 153, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae 1 (Berlin, 1881), p. 498: “Magna catervatim nos contio saepe frequentat,” a clever line whose evocative quality is hard to capture in English (“A massive multitude in waves repeatedly throngs us”).

legal proceedings, and political rituals.<sup>38</sup> A bishop too needed numbers: to validate relics, building projects, royal consecrations, excommunications, or conciliar decisions.<sup>39</sup> It was still important to assemble large numbers to cement political and social facts.<sup>40</sup> Even if the sources seem to lack the kind of “crowds” which interested Moore – urban social unrest or religious movements like the Peace of God – other kinds of collective behavior appear commonly in many sources from this half-millennium, as important phenomena in political and religious life.

This is because the infrastructural decay of cities and the apparent ravages of disease also coincided with powerful cultural imperatives to “stay Roman.”<sup>41</sup> Culturally, politically, materially, and linguistically, early medieval kingdoms remained bound up their Roman, and particularly late Roman, Christian, pasts. Early medieval elites still called themselves senators and consuls.<sup>42</sup> As late as the tenth century, an expert on the Antichrist reassured a Frankish queen that the end of the world was not yet at hand, since the Roman empire, safe in the hands of this queen’s male relatives, was not yet at an

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<sup>38</sup> E.g. the description of a count in the eighth-century *Vita Amandi episcopi* I (BHL 332), c. 14, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 438: “Agebat namque, quod comes quidam ex genere Francorum cognomine Dotto, congregata non minima multitudine Francorum, ut erat illi iniunctum, ad dirimendas resederat actiones” (“It so happened that a certain count of the Frankish people called Dotto was sitting to resolve legal cases, with a not trifling multitude of Franks gathered, as was enjoined to him”).

<sup>39</sup> See especially H. Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen im 9. Jahrhundert: über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 359-370, which illuminates the early medieval association of crowds with a legitimizing publicity (in the case of relic translations).

<sup>40</sup> Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen*, pp. 359-365; see also ch. 1 and ch. 5.

<sup>41</sup> See, e.g., Jonathan Conant, *Staying Roman: Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439-700* (Cambridge, 2012), esp. pp. 371-378.

<sup>42</sup> Karl Friedrich Stroheker, “Die Senatoren bei Gregor von Tours,” *Klio* 34 (1942): 293-305; Michael McCormick, “Clovis at Tours, Byzantine Public Ritual and the Origins of Medieval Ruler Symbolism,” in *Das Reich und die Barbaren*, ed. Evangelos Chrysos and Andreas Schwarcz (Vienna, 1989), pp. 155-80.



end.<sup>43</sup> And *Romanitas*, from literary subject to aristocratic identity to imperial ceremonial to religious ritual, was still a question of crowds. So demographic decline is only one part of the distinctly early medieval appearance of the crowd. Equally important is the deep engagement of early medieval communities with the ancient past. Rome's western heirs were prepared to overcome material obstacles to preserve and recreate Roman forms of life.<sup>44</sup> This was especially the case in the new conditions which prevailed in early medieval Europe.

Furthermore, as the early Middle Ages progressed, obstacles to gathering lessened. As early as the mid seventh century in some places, certainly by the eighth or ninth centuries in others, populations in western Europe were on the way to recovery.<sup>45</sup> Between the mid eighth and the late ninth centuries, the great Carolingian experiment united Europe culturally and politically from northern Spain to the Elbe, improving connections across the West.<sup>46</sup> Trading towns sprang up along roads, rivers, and

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<sup>43</sup> Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Epistola ad Gerbergam reginam de ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976), p. 46: "Inde ergo dicit Paulus apostolus, Antichristum non antea in mundum esse uenturum, nisi uenerit discessio primum, id est, nisi prius discesserint omnia regna a Romano imperio, que pridem subdita erant. Hoc autem tempus nondum uenit, quia, licet uideamus Romanum imperium ex maxima parte destructum, tamen, quandiu reges Francorum durauerint, qui Romanum imperium tenere debent, Romani regni dignitas ex toto non peribit, quia in regibus suis stabit" (writing c. 940-954).

<sup>44</sup> A major theme of a recent book on post-Roman urban history: Hendrick Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2015).

<sup>45</sup> See Peter Donat and Herbert Ullrich, "Einwohnerzahlen und Siedlungsgröße der Merowingerzeit," *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 5 (1971): 234-265, for a growing population and increased settlement density between the Rhine and the Elbe from the sixth century to the seventh century from cemetery evidence; Adriaan Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 23-28, stressing population growth in the eighth century, but cautioning against universalizing assumptions. The older view that the whole Early Middle Ages suffered from unabated demographic stagnation has largely been abandoned, but compared to the Roman imperial period, the population, growing or not, remained small and scattered. See also McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 10-11; Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 547-550, 672-673, 830-831.

<sup>46</sup> The latest survey is Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes, and Simon MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011). For the fate of European communications under the Carolingian Empire, see

coastlines.<sup>47</sup> Fairs, markets, pilgrimage sites, and assemblies attracted larger and larger crowds. Armies – that quintessential locus of crowding – achieved impressive sizes.<sup>48</sup> Favorable climatic conditions (the “Medieval Warm Period”) may have encouraged demographic growth long before the year 1000.<sup>49</sup>

The public face of the crowd in the crowd-poor early Middle Ages is unusual in the global history of crowds, both in terms of the adverse demographic conditions and the atypically positive perception of crowds by elites in this period, two facts which appear to be linked.<sup>50</sup> Yet neither crowd theorists nor medievalists have remarked upon the crowd’s strange prominence in early medieval Europe. This dissertation will be the first to document and attempt to explain this unusual period of crowd history. My focus is on the forms which emerge between what could be called the figural or symbolic crowd –

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McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 6-12, 759-777 (for the main northern export, slaves), and pp. 776, 796 (for the negative impact of Frankish civil wars and exogenous attacks).

<sup>47</sup> For the fate of cities and towns in western Europe, see Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 591-692, with the caveat at pp. 674-675: “There have been many figures offered for the population of early medieval towns; they have all been fabricated.” See also Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mahomet, Charlemagne et les origines de l’Europe*, trans. Cécile Morrisson with Jacques Lefort and Jean-Pierre Sodini (Paris, 1996), pp. 83-103, which offers a more optimistic view of early medieval town growth than the first edition in the light of a decade of archaeological findings. See also the articles in J. Henning, ed., *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 2007).

<sup>48</sup> For maximalist accounts, see Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Heeresorganisation und Kriegführung im deutschen Königreich des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts,” in K. F. Werner, *Structures politiques du monde franc (VIe-XIIe siècles): études sur les origines de la France et de l’Allemagne* (London, 1979), Essay III, pp. 791-843, and Bernard Bachrach, “Early Medieval Military Demography: Some Observations on the Methods of Hans Delbrück,” in *The Circle of War in the Middle Ages: Essays on Medieval Military and Naval History*, ed. Donald J. Kagay and L. J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 3-20. For a minimalist approach, see Guy Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900* (London, 2003), pp. 119-133. See further in ch 1.

<sup>49</sup> For this medieval climate anomaly, see Rudolf Brázdil et al., “Historical Climatology in Europe – the State of the Art,” *Climatic Change* 3 (2005): 363-430, at pp. 388-396. See also the issue of *Pages News* dedicated to the “Medieval Climate Anomaly”: Elena Xoplaki, Dominik Fleitmann, Henry Diaz, Lucien von Gunten, and Thorsten Kiefer, ed., *PAGES News* 19:1 (2011). For the many forms of evidence for eleventh century demographic growth, see L. Genicot, “Sur les témoignages d’accroissement de la population en occident du XIe au XIIIe siècle,” *Cahiers d’histoire mondiale* 1 (1953): 446-462.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob*, p. 63.

crowds glorified or demonized in the visual arts, manuscripts, and normative texts – and real physical crowds which, despite and perhaps because of their scarcity, became central components in early medieval institutions. Histories, saints’ lives, legal documents, exegeses, liturgical texts, poetry, and administrative writings constitute my evidentiary base for the crowd as a subject of discourse. My main evidence for physical crowds is the built-environments created to form and control them: churches, palaces, markets, public spaces. Between the real and the ideal of collective behavior emerges, I will argue, a history which sheds light on what makes the early Middle Ages distinctively important in European history.

## II. The Crowd In History: Historiography of the Crowd

First, however, what sort of historical subject is the crowd? The etymologies of the words “crowd,” “throng,” “press,” “squeeze,” “crush,” “foule,” and “folla” all refer to the experience of pressure – a reminder of the subjective, experiential nature of this concept.<sup>51</sup> Yet words that refer to the number, size, and weight of crowds (“multitude,”

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<sup>51</sup> The English word “crowd” derives from the Old English *crúdan*, to press, crush, or push. “Throng” has a similar etymology, from Old English *geþrang*. Compare to German *Drang*, also a pressure metaphor fossilized into a word. The Germanic word *drungus* was the name of a unit of closed-rank infantry in the late Roman army, when Germanic soldiers predominated. See J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1926), vol. 1, p. 38. See also D. H. Green, *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 185; cf. Philip Rance, “Drungus, Δρουγγος, and Δρουγγιστί: A Gallicism and Continuity in Late Roman Cavalry Tactics,” *Phoenix* 58 (2004): 96-130, for a different interpretation. “Press,” still the commonest English word for crowd in Shakespeare’s time (before its typographical meaning prevailed), derives from the Old French noun *pres*, *presce*, or *presse*, from the verb *presser* which in turn derives from Latin *presso*, *pressare* (an intensified form of *premo*, *premere*). French *foule*, *fouler* and Italian *folla*, *fullare* share an amazing etymology. Both come from Vulgar Latin *fullare*, “to full (cloth)” a verb that derives from Latin *fullo*, “the fuller,” who cleans and thickens cloth by pounding it with his feet: a very vivid evocation of what it means to be in a crowd. Interestingly, many of these “pressure” forms date, insofar as it is possible to date etymologies at all, to the Early Middle Ages, when there may be good reason for subjective terms to prevail. The “mob” (of early modern origins) has an extraordinary

“mass,” “Menge,” “Masse”) serve as a reminder that crowds are often seen as the product of a certain number or density of participants. Sociologists and psychologists have delineated active and passive, led and leaderless, physical and virtual crowd.<sup>52</sup> Arguably, however, a “crowd” can refer to almost any sort of collective behavior. The word “crowd” casts a large semantic net.<sup>53</sup> Crowd-words are susceptible to idiom, as recent coinages like “smart crowd,” “virtual crowd,” “crowd-sourcing,” and “crowd-funding” indicate. Such idioms need not refer directly to physical assemblies, but they can betray assumptions about the nature of such assemblies. Thus the Roman idiom *vulgo conceptus*, “crowdborn,” i.e. “illegitimate,” carries the negative perceptions of the crowd still evident in our own word “vulgar.”<sup>54</sup> Yet even with a narrow definition of a “crowd,” such as the *OED*’s “large number of persons gathered so closely together as to press upon

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etymology, in that it derives (by way of the sixteenth-century *mobele* or *mobile*) from a poetic phrase, the *mobile volgus* (shifting crowd). *OED*, s.v. “mob.”

<sup>52</sup> For a useful overview, see David S. Schweingruber and Clark McPhail, “A Method for Systematically Observing and Recording Collective Action,” *Sociological Methods and Research* 27 (1999): 451-498.

<sup>53</sup> The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists the following meanings: (1) “1a. A large number of persons gathered so closely together as to press upon or impede each other; a throng, a dense multitude”; “1b. spec. A mass of spectators; an audience”; “1c. A collection of actors playing the part of a crowd; freq. attrib.”; (2, *trans.*) “2a. A large number (of persons) contemplated in the mass”; “2b. The people who throng the streets and populous centres; the masses; the multitude”; “2c. orig. U.S. A company; ‘set’, ‘lot’. colloq.”; “2d. colloq. A military unit”; “2 e. Colloq. phr. to pass (muster) in a crowd, not to fall so short of the standard as to be noticed; not to be conspicuously below the average (freq. with the implication of mediocrity)”; (3, *trans.* and *fig.*) “3a. A great number of things crowded together, either in fact or in contemplation; a large collection, multitude”; “3b. Naut. crowd of sail: an unusual number of sails hoisted for the sake of speed; a press of sail”; along with compounds (some now more or less out of use) such as the nouns: “crowd-control”; “crowd-mind”; “crowd-morality”; “crowd-panic”; “crowd-pleaser”; “crowd-poison” and “crowd-poisoning”; “crowd-psychology”; “crowd-suggestion”; the adjectives: “crowd-drawing”; “crowd-pleasing”; “crowd-pulling”; and expressions with the definite article *the* (“the crowd”): “a. The direction or option favoured by common opinion; the prevailing view in a group, or in society in general; the majority. Freq. in to follow the crowd, to go with (also against) the crowd, and similar phrases”; “b. In phrases expressing distinction or difference from the general run of people or things, esp. in a particular category, as to stand out from the crowd, to set (a person) apart from the crowd, etc. Usually with positive connotations.” “crowd, n.3.” *OED Online*. December 2011. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/view/Entry/45034?rskey=63g9U7&result=3&isAdvanced=false>.

<sup>54</sup> Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic dictionary of Roman law* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 771. For a non-legal usage, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. E. Hohl (Leipzig, 1965), vol. 1, p. 224.

or impede each other; a throng, a dense multitude,” the crowd has played a varied role in history.<sup>55</sup> Protesters, rebels, revelers, shoppers, victims, perpetrators, pedestrians, and audiences all potentially meet this description, but they seem to represent very different historical phenomena.

It was to counteract the dangers posed by of semantic breadth that George Rudé, the historian whose books and articles in many ways inaugurated the Anglophone social historiography of crowds, stressed the necessity of a working definition at the beginning of his 1961 book, *The Crowd in History*:

Of course, I have no intention of attempting to deal with the crowd as a whole, and I shall begin by explaining my subject and defining its limits. In the first place, I am assuming the crowd to be what sociologists term a “face-to-face” or “direct contact” group and not any type of collective phenomenon, such as a nation, a clan, caste, political party, village community, social class, the general “public” or any other “collectivity too large to aggregate.” This would seem evident enough, had not some writers in the field (and there are eminent names among them) chosen to extend the crowd’s boundaries to encompass far wider horizons.<sup>56</sup>

When condemning these “wider horizons,” Rudé was thinking especially of Gustave Le Bon (1841-1931), the father of modern crowd theory.<sup>57</sup> Le Bon, a popular writer and

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<sup>55</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “crowd, n.3” (definition 1a). Cf. George Rudé, *The Crowd in History* (London, 1964, rev. edn. 1981), p. 3: “Few would deny that the crowd has, in a rich variety of guises, played a significant part in history.”

<sup>56</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd in History*, p. 3. On George Rudé, see Nicholas Rogers, “George Rudé (1910-1993),” *Labour* 33 (1994): 9-11.

<sup>57</sup> Gustave Le Bon, *La psychologie des foules* (Paris, 1894). There is a very large literature on Le Bon and his place in nineteenth-century crowd theory. A helpful introduction is Robert A. Nye, “Savage Crowds, Modernism, and Modern Politics,” in *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*, ed. E. Barkan and R. Bush (Stanford, 1995), pp. 42-55. See also Benoit Marpeau, *Gustave Le Bon: Parcours d’un intellectuel 1841-1931* (Paris, 2000); Robert A. Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology: Gustave Le Bon and the Crisis of Mass Democracy in the Third Republic* (London, 1975); Jaap van Ginneken, *Crowds, Psychology, and Politics, 1871-1899* (Cambridge, 1992). For a substantial survey of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century crowd discourse and literary representation, Michael Gamper, *Masse lesen, Masse schreiben: eine Diskurs- und Imaginationsgeschichte der Menschenmenge, 1765-1930* (Munich, 2007). Le Bon’s influences included Sigmund Freud, whose *Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse* (Vienna, 1921) was heavily indebted to his account of the crowd. Jaap van Ginneken, “The Killing of the Father: The Background of Freud’s Group Psychology,” *Political Psychology* 5 (1984): 391-414. Freud’s

sometime physician, had published his influential *Psychologie des foules* in 1894. His work was neither original nor unique, but it presented a powerful vision of the crowd (*la foule*) as an emergent, irrational, emotional – and above all transhistorical – human phenomenon.<sup>58</sup>

Scholars today are more inclined to fault, or study, Le Bon for the antidemocratic politics he smuggled into his theory than to engage with his theory itself, but even in the 1960s he cast a long shadow over crowd theory.<sup>59</sup> Georges Lefebvre (1874-1959), pioneer of bottom-up social history, had already attacked Le Bon's crowd history in 1934, much along the lines Rudé would follow in 1961.<sup>60</sup> Both historians worried that Le

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foray into crowd psychology is not his best work, but it did provoke a fascinating essay out of Adorno in 1951, Theodor W. Adorno, "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda," in T. W. Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 8: *Soziologische Schriften* 1, ed. R. Tiedemann (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1972), pp. 408-433. See also Daniel Pick, "Freud's "Group Psychology" and the History of the Crowd," *History Workshop Journal* 40 (1995): 39-61. Le Bon is also the main inspiration in Serge Moscovici, *L'âge des foules: un traité historique de psychologie des masses* (Paris, 1981); Cf. Serge Galam and Serge Moscovici, "Towards a Theory of Collective Phenomena: Consensus and Attitude Changes in Groups," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 21 (1991): 49-74. For a recent re-assessment of Le Bon's work, see Jean-François Phelizon, *Relire la Psychologie des Foules de Gustave Le Bon* (Paris, 2011).

<sup>58</sup> Le Bon's main (unacknowledged) influence was Scipio Sighele, *La folla delinquente* (Torino, 1891). The second French edition of Sighele's study (the first had come out in 1892) opens with a preface that drily accuses Le Bon of using but not citing the first edition: Scipio Sighele, *La foule criminelle, essai de psychologie collective* (Paris, 1901), p. i: "Mon premier devoir – en présentant au public français la deuxième édition de cet ouvrage – est de le remercier vivement de l'accueil qu'il a bien voulu faire à la première édition. Ma reconnaissance est très grande, non seulement envers tous ceux qui, comme Gabriel Tarde...ont longuement et loyalement discuté ma théorie, mais aussi envers ceux qui, comme M. Gustave Le Bon, ont utilisé mes observations sur la psychologie des foules sans me citer. Et il n'y a pas d'ironie dans ce que j'écris; je pense que lorsque'on adopte nos idées sans nous citer, c'est le genre d'éloge le moins suspect qui puisse nous être adressé." The publisher F. Alcan published several theoretical works on the crowd, including Le Bon, Sighele, and Gabriel Tarde's own exceptional *L'Opinion et la foule* (Paris, 1901).

<sup>59</sup> Yvon Thiec, "Gustave Le Bon, prophète de l'irrationalisme de masse," *Revue française de sociologie* 22 (1981): 409-428, esp. pp. 421-437, for the place of the work within contemporary sociology and for Le Bon's fundamental lack of originality, despite the influential afterlife of his *Psychologie des foules*. Long before Le Bon, Charles MacKay, *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions, and the Madness of Crowds*, 3 vols. (London, 1841), had been a best-seller. For its popularity, see Peter Logan, "The Popularity of 'Popular Delusions': Charles Mackay and Victorian Popular Culture," *Cultural Critique* 54 (2003): 213-241.

<sup>60</sup> Georges Lefebvre, "Foules révolutionnaires," in G. Lefebvre, *Études sur la Révolution française* (Paris, 1963; originally 1934), pp. 371-392.

Bon was, as Rudé put it, “preoccupied with mental states rather than physical phenomena.” Le Bon had expanded the definition of “the crowd” to include “not only castes, clans, and classes but electoral ‘crowds,’ criminal juries, and parliamentary assemblies.” The problem with expansive definitions of “the crowd,” Rudé argued, was that they led to imprecision. Without a circumscribed definition, “the crowd” too readily becomes either everything that is good or everything that is bad about all sorts of collectivities and collective behaviors: “the people” versus “the rabble.” Notwithstanding his professed sympathies for the former, Rudé argued that “both are stereotypes and both present the crowd as a disembodied abstraction and not as an aggregate of men and women of flesh and blood.”<sup>61</sup>

Rudé thus proposed to discuss only physical, “face-to-face” crowds, localized to a set of participants, a time, and a place, excluding abstractions such as “the masses” or “popular opinion” from his analysis.<sup>62</sup> He excluded other sorts of “crowds” irrelevant to social history: casual onlookers, crowds assembled “on purely ceremonial occasions,” audiences, whether passive or participatory, and “outbursts of mass hysteria.” Such gatherings, he argued, are “fascinating material for the student of crowd psychology, but they may be of only casual interest to the historian,” that is, the social historian.<sup>63</sup> Rudé at

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<sup>61</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd in History*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>62</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd in History*, p. 3. For Rudé’s method put to work, see George Rudé, “English Rural and Urban Disturbances on the Eve of the First Reform Bill, 1830-1831,” *Past & Present* 37 (1967): 87-102; George Rudé, “Protest and Punishment in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 5 (1973): 1-23.

<sup>63</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd in History*, p. 4.

last singled out his subject: “political demonstrations...such activities as strikes, riots, rebellions, insurrections, and revolutions” in England and France, c. 1730-1840.<sup>64</sup>

If this multi-layered circumscription seems excessive, it is important to compare it to the wild polysemy of “the crowd” in Le Bon and other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century crowd theorists. The easy slippage from crowds in the street to the crowd as a metaphor, for all the lower orders, for all group activity, or (as often in Le Bon) for all stupid or hysterical behavior, quickly reduces nineteenth-century crowd theory, and early crowd history, to rhetoric. This was a problem sociologists were eager to overcome even in Le Bon’s time, when Gabriel Tarde criticized his contemporary for failing to distinguish between face-to-face crowds and virtual crowds or “publics.”<sup>65</sup> Avoiding imprecision about crowds became a major preoccupation of sociology and psychology during the first half of the twentieth century. Rudé had been particularly impressed by the American sociology of the Chicago School, which produced cathedrals of taxonomy in a careful reaction against crowd-theory’s origins.<sup>66</sup> Rudé’s merciless pruning was thus the culmination of a long-term rescue effort: retrieving an important

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<sup>64</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd in History*, p. 4.

<sup>65</sup> Tarde, *L’Opinion et la foule*, p. 11.

<sup>66</sup> R. E. Park and Herbert Blumer were the founding fathers of the American approach to crowd sociology. See the useful overview by Herbert Blumer, “Collective Behavior,” *Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade*, ed. J. B. Gittler (New York, 1957): 127-158. For other representative essays, see Herbert G. Blumer, “Social Psychology,” in *Man and Society: A Substantive Introduction to the Social Sciences*, ed. Emerson P. Schmidt (New York, 1937), pp. 144-198; Herbert Blumer, “Social Problems as Collective Behavior,” *Social Problems* 18 (1971): 298-306. Part of Blumer’s contribution was to place analysis of the crowd within the context of other social questions: e.g. Herbert Blumer, “Fashion: From Class Differentiation to Collective Selection,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 10 (1969): 275-291; Herbert Blumer, “Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling,” *American Sociological Review* 13 (1948): 542-549. For a positive retrospective of Blumer’s contribution, see Clark McPhail, “Blumer’s Theory of Collective Behavior: the Development of a Non-Symbolic Interaction Explanation,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 30 (1989): 401-423. Rudé makes most use of the American sociologist Neil J. Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (New York, 1962). David Schweingruber and Ronald Wohlstein, “The Madding Crowd Goes to School: Myths About Crowds in Introductory Sociology Textbooks,” *Teaching Sociology* 33 (2005): 136-153, laments the continued survival of “myths about crowds” despite decades of work.



sociological and historical phenomenon from metaphorical contamination, to prevent confusion and conflation.

Combining close analysis of the historical behavior of crowds with social prosopography, Rudé produced a series of detailed studies on the motives, reasons, and social logic of early industrial political crowds.<sup>67</sup> His work, along with that of Eric Hobsbawm, with whom he collaborated, proved influential among labor historians especially.<sup>68</sup> Two other historians must be mentioned in the same context. E. P. Thompson examined how early modern laborers responded to a new political economy through crowd action, while Natalie Davis showed how crowds defined and expressed social and cultural norms in early modern France.<sup>69</sup>

Many historians have followed in the tradition of Rudé, Hobsbawm, Thompson, and Davis in adopting a methodology that seeks to do away with the mystique of the crowd and replace it with analysis informed by sociological and anthropological

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<sup>67</sup> In addition to *The Crowd in History*, see also his earlier book, George Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1959).

<sup>68</sup> E. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the history of labour* (New York, 1965); E. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels* (Manchester, 1959); E. Hobsbawm and G. Rudé, *Captain Swing* (London, 1969).

<sup>69</sup> E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present* 50 (1971): 76-136; see also E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1964), pp. 62-78 (on the "mob"); Natalie Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past & Present* 59 (1973): 51-91. For a subsequent critique of Thompson's "moral economy" as "a less than satisfactory historical explanation," see Dale Williams, "Morals, Markets and the English Crowd in 1766," *Past & Present* 104 (1984): 56-73, at p. 73. See also the critical comment of Janine Estebe, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France. A Comment," *Past & Present* 67 (1975): 127-130, which provoked a response by Natalie Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France: A Rejoinder," *Past & Present* 67 (1975): 131-135. For critical examination of both essays, see Suzanne Desan, "Crowds, Community, and Ritual in the Work of E. P. Thompson and Natalie Davis," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley, 1975), pp. 47-71. Another helpful reassessment, by John Bohstedt, "The Moral Economy and the Discipline of Historical Context," *Journal of Social History* 26 (1992): 265-284, notes the risks in Thompson's approach of over-generalizing about the dynamics of food riots despite considerable variation from context to context: "I am suggesting that an alternative heuristic might now try to make progress from *explaining* the variations rather than the unifying themes of conflict. Instead of focussing on common moral *motivations* of food rioters, we might now analyze their *actions* as adaptive responses to the changing political and economic contexts that affected their livelihoods" (p. 284).

models.<sup>70</sup> R. I. Moore's work on the eleventh-century crowd is one of a few examples of this approach in later medieval history.<sup>71</sup>

A recent commentator has nicely captured the eliminativist thrust of twentieth-century crowd history after Rudé: "historians have sunk deep into thick descriptions of how men, women, clubs, and societies reacted to historical events and political issues, and since these reactions, like human affairs in general, are determined by multiple pressures and concerns, the result is that the thing itself – the mass – dissolves and stands revealed as the great simplification it always was."<sup>72</sup> Meanwhile, sociologists have gone even further than the historians.<sup>73</sup> One prominent American sociologist has argued that

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<sup>70</sup> *Past & Present* has traditionally been a leading journal for publications on the history of crowds: Abrahamian, "The Crowd in Iranian Politics 1905-1953"; Aston, "Corpus Christi and Corpus Regni"; Beik, "The Violence of the French Crowd from Charivari to Revolution"; Bellany, "The Murder of John Lambe"; Brunt, "The Roman Mob"; Gailus, "Food Riots in Germany in the Late 1840s"; Heller, "The 'Mene Peuple' and the Polite Spectator"; Morris, "The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium"; Rudé, "English Rural and Urban Disturbances on the Eve of the First Reform Bill, 1830-1831"; Shaw, "Bandits in the Roman Empire"; Thompson, "Peasant Revolts in Late Roman Gaul and Spain"; Walsham, "The Fatall Vesper"; Williams, "Morals, Markets and the English Crowd in 1766."

<sup>71</sup> Moore, "Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform," esp. pp. 50-51; but see also his *The Origins of European Dissent* (New York, 1985). The kind of sources amenable to "bottom-up" social history (especially wage figures) do not emerge in adequate numbers until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for which there is a large literature on peasant and laboring crowds: See esp. *Rodney Hilton's Middle Ages: An Exploration of Historical Themes*, ed. Christopher Dyer, Peter Coss, and Chris Wickham (Oxford, 2007); see also, among many others, Peter Arnade, "Crowds, banners, and the marketplace: symbols of defiance and defeat during the Ghent War of 1452-1453," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24 (1994): 471-497; Manuel Sánchez Martínez, "Les revoltes pageses a l'Europa baixmedieval," *L'Avenç* 93 (1986): 22-30; Christine Jehanno, "L' 'émeute' du 11 juillet 1497 à l'hôtel-Dieu de Paris: un récit de violences," in *Violences souveraines au Moyen Âge: Travaux d'une école historique*, ed. F. Foronda, C. Barralis, and B. Sère (Paris, 2010), pp. 67-77; and Aston, "Corpus Christi and Corpus Regni" (as above).

<sup>72</sup> Stefan Jonsson, "The Invention of the Masses," in *Crowds*, ed. Jeffrey T. Schnapp and Matthew Tiewes (Stanford, 2006), pp. 47-75, at p. 53. Cf. Robert L. Woods, "Individuals in the Rioting Crowd: A New Approach," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 14 (1983): 1-24.

<sup>73</sup> For an influential early critique of the *idées fixes* of crowd theory, see Carl Couch, "Collective Behavior: An Examination of Some Stereotypes," *Social Problems* 15 (1968): 310-322.

we should abolish the notion of “the crowd” altogether in order properly to understand the sociology of collective behavior.<sup>74</sup>

Yet despite the scholarly fruits of such pruning, the powerful figure of “the crowd” does not disappear from common language or from historical sources. The very biases in ideology and discourses that can distract the historian are also a part of the past.<sup>75</sup> And what seemed like impediments to social historians engaged in bottom-up history have also been seen as subjects worthy of consideration in their own right. Recent years have seen the vast production of discourse histories about “the crowd,” “the masses,” “the multitude,” and related abstractions.<sup>76</sup> Most of this recent literature on the

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<sup>74</sup> Clark McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd* (New York, 1991). McPhail’s proposal is to replace the chimera of “the crowd” with an analysis of collective behavior and in particular the “assembling process” by means of Herbert Blumer’s concept of “symbolic interaction,” bolstered by hard empirical research. See Clark McPhail, “The Crowd and Collective Behavior: Bringing Symbolic Interaction Back In,” *Symbolic Interaction* 29 (2006): 433-464, esp. p. 455. Compare to Clark McPhail and David Miller, “The Assembling Process: A Theoretical and Empirical Examination,” *American Sociological Review* 38 (1973): 721-735. For a critical assessment of this recent thrust in both the sociological and historical literature, see Christian Borch, “The Exclusion of the Crowd: The Destiny of a Sociological Figure of the Irrational,” *European Journal of Social Theory* 9 (2006): 83-102, at pp. 96-97, making a case for the salvageable aspects of nineteenth-century crowd theory, though not going as far as Stephen Reicher, “The Psychology of Crowd Dynamics,” in *Self and Social Identity*, ed. Marilyn B. Brewer and Miles Hewstone (Oxford, 2004), pp. 232-258, at 252. See also Christian Borch, “Body to Body: On the Political Anatomy of Crowds,” *Sociological Theory* 27 (2009): 271-290; Christian Borch, “Crowds and Pathos: Theodor Geiger on Revolutionary Action,” *Acta Sociologica* 49 (2006): 5-18.

<sup>75</sup> See, for instance, John Allett, “Crowd Psychology and the Theory of Democratic Elitism: the Contribution of William McDougall,” *Political Psychology* 17 (1996): 213-227, on one influential early twentieth-century psychologist of crowds. William McDougall’s major contribution to crowd theory was his book: *The Group Mind: A Sketch of the Principles of Collective Psychology with Some Attempt to Apply Them to the Interpretation of National Life and Character* (New York, 1920).

<sup>76</sup> There has been a recent wave of popular literature on crowds, in some ways the reverse image of the literature a century ago. Two very different books that came out in 2004 are indicative: James Surowiecki, *The Wisdom of Crowds* (New York, 2004) and Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York, 2004). For a thought-provoking study of this recent rash of oichophilia, see William Mazzarella, “The Myth of the Multitude, or, Who’s Afraid of the Crowd?” *Critical Inquiry* 36 (2010): 697-727, and compare his more recent study: William Mazzarella, “Totalitarian Tears: Does the Crowd Really Mean It?” *Cultural Anthropology* 30 (2015): 91-112. See also recently Judith Butler, *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (Cambridge, MA, 2015).

“discourse history” of the crowd treats the four or so decades on either side of 1900.<sup>77</sup>

Contemporaries themselves associated this period with “the accession of the masses to complete social power” in the words of José Ortega y Gasset, whose irascible *Revolt of the Masses* of 1930 predicted the end of western society at the hands of the crowds.<sup>78</sup>

This literature validates Rudé’s fear that loose definitions of the crowd are susceptible to ideological bias. The discourse history of crowds has stressed that crowd theory in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was often anti-democratic elitism or socialist utopianism.<sup>79</sup> To cultural, literary, or intellectual historians, these ideologies are important subjects of study in their own right. Literary scholars have long discussed ancient and medieval representations of the crowd in poetry and prose, foremost among them Erich Auerbach.<sup>80</sup> This influential historicist literary scholar envisioned literary representations as the reflection of an era’s essential nature. Studying historical representation was “to grasp the special nature of an epoch.”<sup>81</sup> Auerbach

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<sup>77</sup> I borrow “discourse history” from Gamper’s subtitle to *Masse lesen, Masse schreiben* (cited above). Although “discourse” is indeed “one of the most loosely used terms of our time,” it is a useful shorthand for certain phenomena of mentality history, as Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 15-16, has helpfully defined it: “Despite...contrary and shifting usages, discourse remains the best term to denote the level on which the object of this inquiry is located, that being a corpus of more or less loosely interwoven arguments, metaphors, assertions, and prejudices that cohere more associatively than logically in any strict sense.”

<sup>78</sup> José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (London, 1932), p. 11. The Spanish original was *La rebelión de las masas* (Madrid, 1930). The translator remains anonymous. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century crowd theory books were translated often and rapidly after they were published.

<sup>79</sup> See the many examples in the papers in *Crowds*, ed. Schnapp and Tiews.

<sup>80</sup> E. Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton, 1953); E. Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. R. Manheim (New York, 1965).

<sup>81</sup> Auerbach, *Literary Language*, p. 12. For Erich Auerbach’s own account of his historicism, see his “Vico and Aesthetic Historism,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 8 (1949): 110-118.

showed how Tacitus's motiveless crowd reflected his aristocratic worldview, how Ammianus's grotesque crowd reflected the mannerism of late antiquity.<sup>82</sup>

Auerbach's work has engendered a good deal of scholarship on the literary figure of the crowd, particularly the unruly crowd.<sup>83</sup> This includes a small but important literature on the discourse history of the medieval crowd – though, again, its focus is more on the later Middle Ages (and vernacular texts) than the Early Middle Ages. Thus, Gary Dickson has probed the role of crowds in late medieval popular spirituality, and the fears they awakened in thinkers like Roger Bacon, who worried that heresiarchs possessed the (non-magical) power of *fascinatio*, or “bewitchment,” over crowds, just as Gustave Le Bon concluded that *meneurs* enthralled crowds by a sort of hypnotism.<sup>84</sup> R. I. Moore's work on the eleventh-century reform crowd owes more to Rudé, Thompson, and Davis than to Auerbach, but Louis Hamilton's recent book on the crowds in the same period is as much about representation as real multitudes.<sup>85</sup> There are a number of studies about the figure of the crowd in later medieval sermons, exempla, and literature.<sup>86</sup> One of

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<sup>82</sup> Auerbach, *Mimesis*, pp. 57-60, esp. p. 60: “It is clear that Ammianus' manner of presentation signifies the complete coming of age of something in the making since Seneca and Tacitus – that is, a highly rhetorical style in which the gruesomely sensory has gained a large place; a somber and highly rhetorical realism which is totally alien to classical antiquity.” See further in chapter 4.

<sup>83</sup> E.g. Rhiannon Ash, *Ordering Anarchy: Armies and Leaders in Tacitus' Histories* (Ann Arbor, 1999); William D. Barry, “Aristocrats, Orators, and the ‘Mob’: Dio Chrysostom and the World of the Alexandrians,” *Historia* 42 (1993): 82-103; Anthony John Woodman, “Mutiny and Madness: Tacitus *Annals* 1.16-49,” *Arethusa* 39 (2006): 303-329.

<sup>84</sup> Dickson, “Medieval Christian Crowds,” pp. 70-74; see also pp. 68-70, for earlier images of bad preachers mesmerizing the crowd. See also Carla Casagrande, “*Sermo Affectuosus*: Passions et éloquence chrétienne,” in *Zwischen Babel und Pfingsten: Sprachdifferenzen und Gesprächsverständigung in der Vormoderne (8.-16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Peter Van Moos (Berlin, 2008), pp. 519-532, at pp. 530-531, for Bacon's critique of preachers who manipulated the crowd.

<sup>85</sup> Moore, “Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform”; Hamilton, *A Sacred City*, esp. pp. 56-88.

<sup>86</sup> For the logistics of the preachers' crowd, see recently the essays in *Zwischen Babel und Pfingsten: Sprachdifferenzen und Gesprächsverständigung in der Vormoderne (8.-16. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Peter Van

the few studies of early medieval crowds, by Joaquín Martínez Pizarro, treats the figure of the crowd in a ninth-century text in the Auerbachian mode.<sup>87</sup>

### III. Methodology and Structure

Two paths lie open to a history of early medieval crowds. One deals with “the real crowd,” and takes the social or anthropological history of a Thompson or a Davis as a model. Moore’s work is perhaps the closest example to what could be done with early medieval evidence. Another treats “the crowd” as a figure of discourse or the subject of semantic or literary history. Here Martínez Pizarro’s work may point the way forward. Both approaches have their strengths and their drawbacks. The first offers methodological precision thanks to a fixed definition of the subject. Furthermore, comparison with social science can help us reconstruct plausible accounts of crowd dynamics from surviving written and topographical evidence. Philosophy, political science, economics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and biology have all shed light on “the crowd.” Biology and neurobiology in particular offer exciting vistas over the early medieval crowd. For instance, it may be possible to take seriously the claim of

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Moos (Berlin, 2008); for one of the most important thirteenth-century preachers, see Antonio Rigon, *Dal libro alla folla: Antonio di Padova e il francescanesimo medioevale* (Rome, 2002); on Dante, see Jonathan Usher, “‘Più di mille’: Crowd Control in the *Commedia*,” in *Word and Drama in Dante: Essays on the Divina Commedia*, ed. John C. Barnes and Jennifer Petrie (Dublin, 1993), pp. 55-71; for a famous late medieval visionary, see Arnold Sanders, “Illiterate Memory and Spiritual Experience: Margery Kempe, the Liturgy, and the ‘Woman in the Crowd,’” in *Mindful Spirit in Late Medieval Literature: essays in honor of Elizabeth D. Kirk*, ed. B. Wheeler (New York, 2006), pp. 237-248; see too Neil Cartlidge, “The Battle of Shrovetide: Carnival Against Lent as a Leitmotif in Late Medieval Culture,” *Viator* 35 (2004): 517-542.

<sup>87</sup> Martínez Pizarro, “Crowds and Power in the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*,” esp. p. 271.

nineteenth-century poets that crowds act on their human participants like a drug.<sup>88</sup> Can we classify crowd behavior as one of the “psychotropics” that shaped medieval history? Collective behavior may have exercised particular power in an era devoid of the coffee, distilled alcohols, spices, and drugs that would come to mark the early modern period.<sup>89</sup> Can it be that crowds truly are “emergent” phenomena, like the swarms of starlings studied by Sandra Mitchell?<sup>90</sup> Scientific comparisons may assist in defining the crowd as a subject of inquiry, either by fixing the nature of its subjective definition or of its physical definition.<sup>91</sup>

The second approach, a discourse history of early medieval crowds, is easier to accomplish with the surviving evidence. Early medieval narrative and literary sources are almost comprehensively word-searchable after a few generations of diligent work, and deluxe images of crowds in manuscripts and the visual arts are easy to track down.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> See, e.g., Ramsey Raafat, Nick Chater, and Chris Frith, “Herding in Humans,” *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 13 (2009): 420-428. For a helpful overview of the relevant pathway, see Antonio Alcaro, Robert Huber, and Jaak Panksepp, “Behavioral Functions of the Mesolimbic Dopaminergic System: An Affective Neuroethological Perspective,” *Brain Research Reviews* 56 (2007): 283-321. I am grateful to Robert Huber for this reference.

<sup>89</sup> Daniel Lord Smail, *On Deep History and the Brain* (Berkeley, 2008), pp. 157-189. For one of the two main ingested psychotropics of the Middle Ages (the other being wine), see Richard W. Unger, *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 2004). See below ch. 2.

<sup>90</sup> Sandra D. Mitchell, *Unsimple Truths: Science, Complexity, and Policy* (Chicago, 2009). Cf. the short discussion in Timothy Beardsley, “Disentangling Complexity in Biology,” *BioScience* 60 (2010): 327.

<sup>91</sup> Yet at the same time, any discipline that treats transhistorical phenomena threatens to be “vocationally at odds” with history. Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, 1980), p. 224, discussing the controversial psychohistory of Martin Luther by Erik Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York, 1958). See also the article by Mitchell G. Ash, “The Uses and Usefulness of Psychology,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 600 (2005): 99-114.

<sup>92</sup> For one new methodology for the history of ideas using data-mining of digitized medieval texts, see Bernhard Jussen, “Ordo zwischen Ideengeschichte und Lexikometrie: Vorarbeiten an einem Hilfsmittel mediävistischer Begriffsgeschichte,” in *Ordnungskonfigurationen im hohen Mittelalter*, ed. Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Ostfildern, 2006), pp. 227-256.

Nevertheless, there are risks. It is possible that our sources represent only the perceptions of the elites, and in particular religious elites, who nearly monopolized the written word in this period. On a more philosophical level, even if we identified “typical” early medieval perceptions of the crowd, using them to extrapolate Auerbach’s “special nature of an epoch” threatens to reduce the agency of individuals to the supposed horizons of their contexts, a form of historicist determinism that, as Habermas noted, is implicitly judgmental without justifying its grounds for judgment.<sup>93</sup> On a less lofty plane, it is simply difficult to say how typical one representation of the “crowd” really is in any given period, particularly in the Early Middle Ages where written sources are thin and most often the products of social and especially religious elites.

In the following study of the early medieval crowd, I do not plan to cleave to either approach exclusively. Indeed, it is important to unite the study of real and figural crowds for this period. The relationship between the two aspects of this subject accounts for the distinctive role collective behaviors played in early Middle Ages. My hope is thus that this dissertation will illuminate the relationship between the changing material and demographic conditions behind the formation of physical crowds in the Early Middle Ages and the changing significance attached to the crowd in early medieval law, politics, and religion. Consequently, it will examine real collective behaviors, the discourse of collective behavior, and finally the relationship between the two, focusing especially on the question of political and religious legitimation.

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<sup>93</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, trans. Frederick G. Lawrence (Cambridge, MA, 1990), pp. 275-277. Cf. Peter Gordon, “Continental Divide: Ernst Cassirer and Martin Heidegger at Davos, 1929 - An Allegory of Intellectual History,” *Modern Intellectual History* 1 (2004): 219-248, at pp. 223-224.



“The Crowd in the Early Middle Ages” is consequently divided into three parts. The first part examines “the crowd as physical phenomenon”; the second part turns to “the crowd as concept”; and the third part examines the crowd “between real and ideal.” In part one, “Numbers” (Chapter 1) uses archaeological research and demography to reconstruct the possible size and density of crowds in the early medieval West. This chapter treats local feeding and carrying capacities of crowds, and shows how population size and density changed in time and space. “Venues” (Chapter 2) studies the logistics and sites of early medieval crowd formation. A first section examines the fate of late antique crowd spaces (the old circuses, theaters, baths, colonnades). A second section studies peculiarly early medieval forms of human gathering (royal assemblies, hunts, liturgical ceremonies). This chapter reconstructs the horizon of possibility for assembly in these centuries, particularly for elites and their followers.

In part two, “Words” (Chapter 3) traces the semantic history of crowd words and expressions in early medieval Latin, looking also to Gothic, Romance, Old High German, Old English, and Greek for deeper illumination. “Topoi” (Chapter 4) uncovers the verbal and mental patterns with which early medieval writers described collective behaviors: clichés and type-scenes which repeat themselves in hagiography, history, liturgy, poetry, and other genres. “Representations and Institutions” (Chapter 5) first treats the ritualized or represented crowd: depictions of crowds in visual media, imaginary crowds, and liturgical rituals which stand in for crowds. It then turns to political, religious, and legal phenomena which came to be organized around the behaviors associated with crowds. Finally it turns to the transformation, first visible as early as the ninth century, which heralded a new age of crowds in the West: an age of mass pilgrimages, great assemblies,

open-air sermons, and, ultimately, crusades. These new medieval gatherings remained, I will argue, stamped by the earlier history of collective behaviors in Europe.

The historiography on the topic of crowds in the early Middle Ages *per se* has until now been small – limited to two literary studies and a few essays on violence in late antique and early medieval Italian cities. Yet this subject has broad ramifications for early medieval historians.<sup>94</sup> Human numbers were a scarce resource which elites struggled to control, making this question a revealing and potentially fertile addition to ongoing scholarship on early medieval social and political elites.<sup>95</sup> This study introduces crowd theory's focus on the ritual function of crowds into the scholarship on early medieval ritual. A vibrant historiography has debated whether early medieval political assemblies lie at the origins of modern parliaments.<sup>96</sup> Chapters 2 and 5 discuss the ways in which later political forms arose from earlier attitudes toward gathering.<sup>97</sup> Likewise, this

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<sup>94</sup> Literary crowds: Martínez Pizarro, "Crowds and Power in the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*"; Magennis, "Crowd Control?"; urban violence: Thomas S. Brown, "Urban Violence in Early Medieval Italy: The Cases of Rome and Ravenna," in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Guy Halsall (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 76-89; Judith Herrin, "Urban Riot or Civic Ritual? the Crowd in Early Medieval Ravenna," in *Raum und Performanz: Rituale in Residenzen von der Antike bis 1815*, ed. D. Boschung, K.-J. Hölkeskamp, and C. Sode, (Stuttgart, 2015), pp. 219-240.

<sup>95</sup> See the volumes in the Collection Haut Moyen Âge: *Les élites et la richesse durant le haut Moyen Âge*, ed. J.-P. Devroey et al. (Turnhout, 2010); *Les élites et leurs espaces*, ed. P. Depreux et al. (Turnhout, 2007); *La Culture du haut Moyen Âge: Une question d'élites?*, ed. F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, R. McKitterick (Turnhout, 2009); *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (début IXe siècle aux environs de 920)*, ed. Régine Le Jan (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998).

<sup>96</sup> J. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986); Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1997). On assembly culture see Reuter, "Assembly politics"; Bisson, "Celebration and persuasion"; and most recently, John R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327* (Oxford, 2010), which traces the medieval English parliament to the large assemblies of the tenth-century West Saxon king Æthelstan. This barely scratches the surface of the massive literature on this topic. See also *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, 2003).

<sup>97</sup> The point may be extended beyond representative assemblies. See, e.g., Walter Ullmann, "Public Welfare and Social Legislation in the Early Medieval Councils," in W. Ullmann, *The Church and the Law in the Earlier Middle Ages* (London, 1975), Essay V, pp. 1-39 at p. 1, contending that "some of the great merits of modern welfare institutions and modern social legislative measures have their definite and

dissertation speaks to scholarship on the efficacy of early medieval law. Could crowds of witnesses called for in legal texts be summoned in reality, or did they prove more effective in the breach, that is, in protecting elites from prosecution? Were large numbers a legal imperative preserved from Roman practice, now all the more desirable and potent for the diminished human numbers available to supply them? Or were they a new early medieval social imperative hardened into law?<sup>98</sup>

Early medieval religiosity centered on the crowd. It is above all in the peculiar mixture of the religious with the political in the early Middle Ages that the early medieval crowd manifested itself and lived on into the later Middle Ages.<sup>99</sup> Finally, one of the major historiographical debates with which this study engages is the question of why the crowd worked so rarely as a weapon of the weak in this “long morning” of medieval Europe.<sup>100</sup> Scholars have long discussed the absence of peasant revolts and

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demonstrable roots, not in antiquity, not in the high Middle Ages, not in the nineteenth century, but roughly speaking in the Frankish Age.”

<sup>98</sup> On legal effectiveness, see Hermann Nehlsen, “Aktualität und Effektivität der ältesten germanischen Rechtsaufzeichnungen,” in *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter*, ed. P. Classen (Sigmaringen, 1977), pp. 449–502; for a characteristic new approach focusing not on normative laws but on the records of dispute settlement see the essays in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 1992). François Louis Ganshof, “La preuve dans le droit franc,” in *La Preuve*, vol. 2, *Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes* (Paris, 1965), pp. 71–98, remains useful.

<sup>99</sup> Susanna Elm, “Captive Crowds: Pilgrims and Martyrs,” in *Crowds*, ed. J. T. Schnapp and M. Tiewes (Stanford, 2006), pp. 133–148, largely bypasses the early Middle Ages. For pilgrim crowds see Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700-c.1500* (New York, 2002); Adrian R. Bell and Richard S. Dale, “The Medieval Pilgrimage Business,” *Enterprise and Society* 12 (2011): 601–627.

<sup>100</sup> The phrase “weapon of the weak” was popularized by James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1987). The designation of the period in question as a “long morning” of the Middle Ages is the “felicitous phrase” of Paul Dutton, repurposed as a title in Jennifer Davis and Michael McCormick, “The early Middle Ages: Europe’s Long Morning,” in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. J. Davis and M. McCormick (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 1–10, at p. 1.

urban riots during the early Middle Ages.<sup>101</sup> Crowds may not have committed many acts of open resistance in this period, but they could and sometimes did threaten the early medieval elite *status quo* in ways that make it into our sources. Early medieval authors who chided gatherings of lay people for their religious behavior, I will suggest, reveal social tensions about crowds. In chapter four, I will argue that one archbishop's stern response to exuberant religious crowds in Dijon, "especially of women," owed less to doctrinal concerns than to his fear of misdirected alms and tithes. And this, as I hope to show, sheds light on other early medieval cases in which tensions about crowds manifested themselves as social or gendered anxieties.

This dissertation argues that even in the face of logistical hurdles to assembly in the early Middle Ages, elites – bishops, abbots, counts, and kings – found ways to mobilize gatherings to legitimize religious or political behavior, to assert power over or extract resources from subjects, to authenticate relics, to conduct so much political and religious business. Non-elites, I will argue, also developed their own uses for crowds, uses which could prove "slantwise" to the intentions of the elites who generally control our sources.<sup>102</sup> I will contend that the prominence of the crowd in this period, its value as

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<sup>101</sup> Eric Goldberg, "Popular Revolt, Dynastic Politics, and Aristocratic Factionalism in the Early Middle Ages: the Saxon *Stellinga* Reconsidered," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 467-501, at p. 468; Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 347-351, 578-588. See also in chapter 4 below.

<sup>102</sup> For the concept of "slantwise" action in power relations, see Howard Campbell and Josiah Heyman, "Slantwise: Beyond Domination and Resistance on the Border," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 36 (2007): 3-30, esp. pp. 3-5, intended as a riposte to anthropological or sociological models focused on dominance/resistance. Campbell and Heyman examine behaviors which pertain to dominance and resistance, but which may be understood by participants in those terms, as a counter to anthropologists who "[force] accidental defiance, avoidance, and similar phenomena into resistance, a category best reserved for actions and meanings that actors themselves understand to be defiant" (p. 4). Thanks to Cam Grey for this reference. An early medieval example may be peasants who sought out the aid of "weather wizards." Their behavior was understood by elites as illicit resistance, but it is likely that their actions were not motivated by a desire to defy entrenched power but rather to address local concerns. See, for different interpretations, Paul Dutton, "Thunder and Hail Over the Carolingian Countryside," in Paul Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York, 2004), pp. 169-188; and Rob Meens,

a way of organizing resources and legitimacy, was a defining characteristic of the parameters of assembly in this period. This argument helps us grasp the essential qualities of the early Middle Ages. Scholars have debated whether to understand the period 500 to 1000 as an extension of antiquity or as a prelude to the later Middle Ages.<sup>103</sup> Because “the crowd” is both a physical phenomenon and an object of discourse, it is a subject of historical inquiry which combines elements of both continuity and collapse.

At same time, the collective forms of this period lived on into the later Middle Ages. It is true that the eleventh century ushered in a new age of urban crowds and popular heresies, and that twelfth-century university men nourished a snobbish new discourse of mobs and rabbles.<sup>104</sup> Even then, however, the early medieval crowd, particularly the early medieval ceremonial assembly, had set the stage for high medieval parliaments.<sup>105</sup> Early medieval visions of throngs of angels lived on in later literature, in ways that built upon and developed earlier models.<sup>106</sup> Finally, the history of how a

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“Thunder Over Lyon: Agobard, the *Tempestarii* and Christianity,” in *Paganism in the Middle Ages: Threat and Fascination*, ed. Carlos Steel, John Marenbon, and Werner Verbeke (Leuven, 2012), pp. 157-166.

<sup>103</sup> E.g. Bryan Ward-Perkins, “Continuists, Catastrophists, and the Towns of Post-Roman Northern Italy,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 65 (1997): 157-176. See also chapter 1, notes 1 and 2 below.

<sup>104</sup> Moore, “Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform,” p. 49; Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 234-257.

<sup>105</sup> Maddicott, *Origins of the English Parliament*, esp. pp. 32-41, focusing on the synthesis of a ninth- and tenth-century Anglo-Saxon political interest in “political harmony” and an emergent, eleventh-century “move towards constitutional reform” (p. 41).

<sup>106</sup> Dante describes the crowds of souls and angels in heaven as multiple points of light: Dante, *Paradiso*, canto 22, lines 23-24, ed. G. Petrocchi, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, 4 vols. (Milan, 1967), vol. 4, p. 359: “e vidi cento sperule che 'nsieme / più s'abbellivan con mutüi rai.” Often these points of light are shown spiraling into the heavens: Dante, *Paradise*, canto 11, lines 79-81, ed. Petrocchi, vol. 4, p. 350; canto 22, line 98-99, ed. Petrocchi, vol. 4, p. 368: “e 'l collegio si strinse; / poi, come turbo, in sù tutto s'avvolse.” For the depiction of crowds in Dante's *Inferno* especially, see Usher, ““Più di mille”: Crowd Control in the *Commedia*,” which takes its title from Dante, *Inferno*, canto 8, lines 82-83, ed. G. Petrocchi, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, 4 vols. (Milan, 1966), vol. 2, p. 137: “Io vidi più di mille in su le porte / da ciel piovuti.”

Roman way of crowds gave way to a hitherto unrecognized and distinctively early medieval regime of collective behavior, which in turn shaped the course of later European history, illuminates the origins of our own categories of collective behavior. This, I hope, may help us recognize the historical frailty and contingency of “the crowd” as we know it today.

## PART ONE

# THE CROWD AS PHYSICAL PHENOMENON

## CHAPTER ONE

## NUMBERS

**I. Introduction**

Between the fifth and the eighth centuries, the Roman world became the medieval world. Roman administration collapsed in the western provinces and new kingdoms arose in its place; the economy contracted, recovering only haltingly; plague struck and returned at ten-year intervals; barbarians took a central place on the political and cultural stage; Christianity triumphed over its competitors; the Roman slave system ended as new forms of unfreedom arose; East and West parted ways politically and culturally, if not completely; the organization of settlements and cities transformed; and, it has long been thought, the size of western populations decreased.<sup>1</sup> Alongside these ruptures, strong

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<sup>1</sup> On the collapse of Roman administration in the west, see in particular John Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364-425* (Oxford, 1975), esp. pp. 319-325; Chris Wickham, "The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism," *Past & Present* 103 (1984): 3-36; Peter Heather, "The western empire, 425-476," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14, ed. Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 18-30; Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 33-62; Alexander Demandt, *Die Spätantike: römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian, 284-565 n. Chr.*, rev. edn. (Munich, 2007), pp. 204-216. Older but still essential are Ernst Stein, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches, I: Vom römischen zum byzantinischen Staate (284-476 n. Chr.)* (Vienna, 1928); A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, vol. 1 (London, 1964; repr. Baltimore, 1986), pp. 182-192, 199-202, 240-248. For the rise of new regional kingdoms in the west, see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, vol. 1, pp. 245-265; Roger Collins, "The Western Kingdoms," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14, pp. 112-134; Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 80-124. On the collapse of the Late Antique economy, see in particular Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 25-119 *passim*, with summary on pp. 115-119; Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 708-720; Jairus Banaji, "Aristocracies, Peasantries and the Framing of the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9 (2009): 59-91; Jairus Banaji, "Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages: What Kind of Transition?" *Historical Materialism* 19 (2011): 109-144. On plague in Late Antiquity and its effects, Jean-Nöel Biraben and Jacques Le Goff's pioneering article "La peste dans de Haut Moyen Âge," *Annales* 24 (1969): 1484-1510, has now been superseded by Dionysios Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire* (Birmingham, 2004); Michael McCormick, "Toward a Molecular History of the Justinianic Pandemic," in *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541-750*, ed. Lester K. Little (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 290-312, and other essays in that collection; and most recently Michael McCormick, "Tracking Mass Death During the Fall of



continuities linked the early medieval world to its ancient heritage: notions of political and religious legitimacy resisted change; narratives of identity and history remained fixed on the ancient past; much of the material and administrative bedrock of the empire survived; while cultural, social, and political forms remained visibly Roman.<sup>2</sup> At the end

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Rome's Empire (I)," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28 (2015): 325-357. For the new environmental approach to the end of the Roman empire, see Kyle Harper, "The Environmental Fall of the Roman Empire," *Daedalus* 145 (2016): 6-15. On the role of new barbarian rulers and populations in the Roman and post-Roman west, see Walter Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton, 1980) esp. pp. 3-39; Walter Pohl, "Konfliktverlauf und Konfliktbewältigung: Römer und Barbaren im frühen Mittelalter," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 26 (1992): 165-207; C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (Baltimore, 1994), pp. 243-278; Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*, pp. 63-83; Demandt, *Die Spätantike*, 366-386. On the end of paganism and the triumph of Christianity, see Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, pp. 873-937; Pierre Chuvin, *Chronique des derniers païens: La disparition du paganisme dans l'empire romain, du règne de Constantin à celui de Justinien*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1991), pp. 21-152 *passim*; Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, (Malden, MA, 1996, rev. 2013), pp. 54-92; Christopher P. Jones, *Between Pagan and Christian* (Cambridge, MA, 2014), esp. pp. 107-125. On the end of Roman slave society and the rise of new forms of medieval unfreedom, see Kyle Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 497-509; Michael McCormick, "New Light on the 'Dark Ages': How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy," *Past & Present* 177 (2002): 17-54; Alice Rio, "Self-Sale and Voluntary Entry into Unfreedom, 300-1100," *Journal of Social History* 45 (2012): 661-685. For the growing divide between the eastern and western halves of the (post-)Roman world, see Jones, *Late Roman Empire*, pp. 1027-1031; Peter Brown, "Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of Ways," in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. Derek Baker (London, 1976), pp. 1-24; Wickham, "The Other Transition," pp. 33-36; Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*, pp. 57-62. On changes in rural and urban settlement patterns, see Heiko Steuer, "Frühgeschichtliche Sozialstrukturen in Mitteleuropa. Zur Analyse der Auswertungsmethoden des archäologischen Quellenmaterials," in *Geschichtswissenschaft und Archäologie*, ed. Herbert Jankuhn and Reinhard Wenskus (Sigmaringen, 1979), pp. 595-633; Bryan Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 201-229; Neil Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne An Archaeology of Italy AD 300-800* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 206-245, 263-267, 406-412, 473-484; Ricardo Francovich, "The Beginnings of Hilltop Villages in Early Medieval Tuscany," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 55-82; Christopher Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 33-56, 178-212. On population decline in the west at the end of Late Antiquity, see: Christie, *Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 249-262; Jo Hayes, "Historians and Epidemics: Simple Questions and Complex Answers," in *Plague and the End of Antiquity*, ed. Lester K. Little (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 36-42; McCormick, "Tracking Mass Death," pp. 325-357.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Brown's classic *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150-750* (New York, 1989; originally 1971) is a general reference point for scholars who emphasize aspects of continuity between the ancient and medieval worlds; see also his recent *Through The Eye of A Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton, 2012). For continuity of political ceremony and religious legitimacy, see Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 260-387 *passim*; Michel Kazanski, and Patrick Périn, "Le tombeau de Childéric: un tumulus oriental?" *Travaux et mémoires* 15 (2005): 287-298; Edward James, "Royal Burials among the Franks," in *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*, ed. Martin Carver (Rochester, N.Y., 1992), pp. 243-254; Guy Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 488-494; Francis Oakley, *Empty Bottles of Gentilism: Kingship and the Divine in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (New Haven, 2010), pp. 67-78, 143-157. On

of the tenth century, Adso of Montier-en-Der believed that the end of the world would not take place while the Roman empire endured in the kings of the Franks.<sup>3</sup> Within the strange mixture of change and continuity that characterized the early medieval centuries, what was the fate of crowds? This chapter examines that question on its most basic physical level. How large were post-Roman gatherings compared to their Roman predecessors? How easily and frequently did they form? How was the material underpinning of crowd formation different from or similar to what it had been in the world of Late Antiquity or would become during the High Middle Ages? In an age without significant statistical or numerical records, is it even possible to compare post-Roman and Roman crowds? What kind of investigative strategies can we devise?

This chapter will argue that crowds in a material sense underwent reduction and restriction during the shift from Late Antiquity to Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup> Gatherings were smaller and less likely to form spontaneously in the West between about 600 and 1000 than during the centuries before and after. Demographic and urban decline played the decisive role in this basic trend, though, as we will see in chapter 2, it also owes to new early

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Roman antiquity as a locus for early medieval identity, see now Helmut Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550-850* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 1-24; Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 84-119; for Roman continuities in government and fiscal organization, see Jean Durliat, *Les finances publiques de Diocletien aux Carolingiens (284-889)* (Sigmaringen, 1990); and in political ritual, Michael McCormick, "Clovis at Tours, Byzantine Public Ritual and the Origins of Medieval Ruler Symbolism," *Das Reich und die Barbaren*, ed. Evangelos Chrysos and Andreas Schwarcz (Vienna, 1989), pp. 155-180. For a discussion of the continuationist literature, see Andrea Giardina, "Esplosione di tardoantico," *Studi Storici* 40 (1999): 157-180.

<sup>3</sup> Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Epistola ad Gerbergam reginam de ortu et tempore Antichristi*, praef., ed. D. Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976), p. 26. See now on this letter James Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 194-198.

<sup>4</sup> For my working definition of crowds, see above in the Introduction. My approach is influenced by the value-neutral "gathering" of Clark McPhail, "Crowd Behavior," in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. George Ritzer (Malden, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 880-884, at p. 880: "a...neutral and useful concept for referring to a temporary collection of at least two persons in a common location in space and time without regard to their actions or motives." Chapters 3 and 4 turn to actors' categories.

medieval forms of government and social organization. As western European populations grew thinner, the basic ingredient for crowds – dense, numerous human bodies – grew scarce. Yet before we turn to the evidence for this development, we must start with a series of caveats. In a passage from his *De differentiis verborum*, the seventh-century bishop Isidore of Seville reminds us that crowds are not made by number alone. “A multitude is made by numbers; a crowd is established by space. After all, in narrow confines, a few people can constitute a crowd.”<sup>5</sup> This was something Isidore knew well, as a bishop in that most Roman of barbarian successor states, the Visigothic kingdom, whose elites were devoted to the re-creation of imperial forms on a smaller scale.<sup>6</sup>

Many modern crowd theorists, as we saw in the Introduction, agree with Isidore’s fundamental point. They deny that numbers play a decisive role in constituting crowds. Factors such as uniformity of mindset or action, physical density, the crossing of certain psychological or physical borders, the upending of cultural norms are more significant than pure quantity in shaping how crowds behave.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, if the crowd is not just a

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<sup>5</sup> Isidore of Seville, *De differentiis verborum*, c. 369, PL 83, col. 48: “Multitudo numero fit, turba loco posita. Possunt enim pauci in angusto turbam facere.” For the medieval transmission of this text, see C. Codoñer, José Carlos Martín, and M. Adelaida Andrés, “Isidorus Hispalensis ep.,” in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo*, ed. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence, 2005), vol. 2, pp. 274-417, at pp. 307-22.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., in royal ceremonial, McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 297-327. The Visigoths also bequeathed to the later Middle Ages a pattern for of collective behavior in thirty-seven influential councils which not only shaped centuries of later medieval canon law, but colored centuries of expectations about how councils ought to run and what made them different from other kinds of gathering. The Visigothic councils are published in José Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, España Cristiana 1 (Barcelona, 1963); for the politics of the councils, see Rachel Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589-633* (Ann Arbor, 2000). These councils were transmitted in a large number of canonical collections, most notably by the so-called *Hispana* collection: G. Martínez Díez and F. Rodríguez, *La Colección canonica Hispana* (Madrid 1992), vols. 4-6, but also by the *Dacheriana* and the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, the two most widely circulated early medieval canonical collections.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Gustave Le Bon, *Psychologie des foules* (Paris, 1905), p. 18: “Mille individus accidentellement réunis sur une place publique sans aucun but déterminé, ne constituent nullement une foule au point de vue psychologique”; Elias Canetti, *Masse und Macht* (Düsseldorf, 1978), pp. 14: “Der wichtigste Vorgang, der sich innerhalb der Masse abspielt, ist die *Entladung*. Vorher besteht die Masse eigentlich nicht, die

psychological phenomenon but also “a discursive complex with pronounced imaginary components,” numbers may be less important in constituting crowds than culture.<sup>8</sup> After all, as we will see later chapters, the most socially prominent “crowds” in the early Middle Ages were often invisible multitudes of saints and angels. Yet even if quantity is secondary to other factors, modern theorists at least concede that greater numbers can trigger or amplify those factors. It is easy for modern theorists, working in the densely populated, urbanized modern world, to downplay the importance of numbers. Yet field studies offer empirical support to the commonsense notion that large crowds attract more participants and have a stronger persuasive influence than smaller crowds.<sup>9</sup> Even crowd skeptics like McPhail admit that group size matters.<sup>10</sup>

Ancient commentators made this point more readily. For Seneca, the bigger the crowd, the stronger the effects.<sup>11</sup> A ninth-century archbishop responded to the dominical promise, “For where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them” (Matthew 18:20), by asking rhetorically, “how much more is this so,

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Entladung macht sie erst wirklich aus. Sie ist der Augenblick, in dem alle, die zu ihr gehören, ihre Verschiedenheiten loswerden und sich als *gleiche* fühlen.” A similar position is implicitly accepted by modern psychological studies of collective behavior which allow small groups to represent crowds, for instance: Scott Wiltermuth and Chip Heath, “Synchrony and Cooperation,” *Psychological Science* 20 (2009): 1-5.

<sup>8</sup> Gamper, *Masse lesen, Masse schreiben*, p. 29.

<sup>9</sup> S. Milgram, L. Bickman, and L. Berkowitz, “Note on the Drawing Power of crowds of Different Size,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 13 (1969): 79-82; L. Mann, “The Effect of Stimulus Queues on Queue-Koining Behavior,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 35 (1977): 437-442; E.S. Knowles and R. L. Bassett, “Groups and Crowds as Social Entities: Effects of Activity, Size, and Member Similarity on Nonmembers,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 34 (1976): 837-845; J. W. Newton and L. Mann, “Crowd Size as a Factor in the Persuasion Process: a Study of Religious Crusade Meetings,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 39 (1980): 874-883.

<sup>10</sup> Clark McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd* (New York, 1991), p. 189, n. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Seneca, *Ep.* 7.2, ed. L. D. Reynolds, *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* (Oxford, 1965), vol. 1, p. 12: “Inimica est multorum conversatio; nemo non aliquod nobis vitium aut commendat aut inprimit aut nescientibus adlinit. Utique quo maior est populus, cui miscemur, hoc periculi plus est.”

when twenty, or thirty, and yet even more are gathered together?”<sup>12</sup> Yet Isidore’s reminder about space is also important. As we shall see, new spatial configurations, quite as much as changed population size *per se*, shaped the early medieval history of the crowd.

A second caveat to any attempt to use numbers to explain crowds has to do with the reliability of demographic evidence and the significance of the historical impact of demographic change. Even Fernand Braudel, in a defense of the historical use of demography, warned against demographic determinism.<sup>13</sup> Medieval historians have also expressed concern about occasional over-reliance on demographic explanations.<sup>14</sup> “A contemporary medievalist has observed that when historians fall back on rising population as the explanation of historical developments, you can be quite sure that they have no idea what the real explanation is.”<sup>15</sup> Patrick Wormald was writing about the waxing European populations after c. 1000, but we can extend his point to the population history of the early Middle Ages. Enthusiasm for the explanatory power of demography,

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<sup>12</sup> Agobard of Lyon, *Aduersus legem Gundobadi*, c. 12, ed. L. van Acker, *Agobardi Lugdunensis opera omnia*, CCCM 52 (Turnhout, 1981), p. 26: “Et reuera, si secundum dictum dominicum, ubi duo uel tres congregati fuerint in nomine eius, ibi est et Dominus in medio eorum, quanto magis, ubi uiginti, aut XXX, et multo amplius congregati fuerint, non solum in nomine Domini, sed insuper etiam fide praediti, sapientia inlustres, uita clari, sanctitate reuerendi, signis et prodigiis formidandi.”

<sup>13</sup> Fernand Braudel, “La démographie et les dimensions des sciences de l’homme,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 15 (1960): 493-523, at p. 493: “un certain *démographisme*, explication impérialiste, unilatérale, souvent hâtive de la réalité sociale.”

<sup>14</sup> An interesting case is the so-called “Brenner Debate,” sparked by the essay by Robert Brenner, “Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,” *Past & Present* 70 (1976): 30-75. See esp. Guy Bois, “Against the Neo-Malthusian Orthodoxy,” *Past & Present* 79 (1978): 60-69, esp. pp. 68-69, assessing demographic objections to Brenner’s argument for agrarian class struggle. Brenner’s essay and reactions to it were published together in *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin (Cambridge, 1985).

<sup>15</sup> Patrick Wormald, “The West Dishes It Out,” review of *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation and Cultural Change 950-1350*, by Robert Bartlett, *London Review of Books* 16:4 (1994): 23-24.

at its peak in the social history of the 1960s and 1970s, has diminished, though there are signs of its revitalization.<sup>16</sup>

Few reliable data survive for the quantitative demographic history of post-Roman Europe.<sup>17</sup> This is true not only for the gross population, but for localities down to individual towns.<sup>18</sup> Reported figures in early medieval narrative sources are often unreliable.<sup>19</sup> Polyptychs, which list properties and individuals owed or owed dues by major landlords generally for the eighth and ninth centuries, provide our best demographic data.<sup>20</sup> Administrative sources, like these polyptychs or their mighty eleventh-century successor Domesday Book, offer richer data than the narrative

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. William Sewell, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago, 2005), pp. 25-29. Richard Vann, "History and Demography," *History and Theory* 9 (1969): 64-78, at p. 64, captures some of the anxiety the new quantitative history sometimes inspired. For a recent call to revitalize demography in medieval history, see Maryanne Kowaleski, "Medieval People in Town and Country: New Perspectives From Demography and Bioarchaeology," *Speculum* 89 (2014): 573-600, at pp. 599-600. See also Maryanne Kowaleski, "Gendering Demographic Change in the Middle Ages," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford, 2013), pp. 181-196.

<sup>17</sup> Although the late Middle Ages furnishes considerably more evidence for demographic history than the early Middle Ages, the expansion of parish records by the mid sixteenth century enable the earliest comprehensive demographic history: See E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, MA, 1981); E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen, and R. S. Schofield, *English Population History From Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837* (Cambridge, 1997).

<sup>18</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 674-675: "There have been many figures offered for the population of early medieval towns; they have all been fabricated."

<sup>19</sup> Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon (London, 1965), pp. 74-75.

<sup>20</sup> *Polyptyque de l'Abbé Irminon ou dénombrement des manses, des serfs et des revenus de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, ed. Benjamin Guérard, 2 vols. (Paris, 1844); *Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, ed. Auguste Longnon, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886-1895); *Das Polyptychon und die Notitia de Areis von Saint-Maur-des-Fossés: Analyse und Edition*, ed. Dieter Hägermann and Andreas Hedwig. Beihefte der Francia 23 (Sigmaringen, 1990); *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain-des-Prés: Studienausgabe*, ed. Dieter Hägermann, Konrad Elmshäuser, and Andreas Hedwig (Cologne, 1993); *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens de l'abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims (IXe-XIe siècles)*, ed. Jean-Pierre Devroey (Reims, 1984).

historians, but they are also generally incomplete and open to interpretation.<sup>21</sup> As Pierre Toubert has emphasized, polyptychs provide only indirect and partial evidence for demographic history, whether it is quantitative or qualitative.<sup>22</sup> Archaeology has transformed our understanding of settlement patterns and all kinds of qualitative demography (sex ratios, morbidity, age of death, nourishment, etc.), but it has less to tell us about population size.<sup>23</sup> As a result, historians can hold sometimes wildly divergent

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<sup>21</sup> David Herlihy, "Demography," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Strayer (New York, 1982), vol. 4, pp. 136-48, at pp. 137-9; Robert Fossier, *Polyptyques et censiers*, Typologie des Sources 28 (Turnhout, 1978), pp. 64-5. Many scholars have used the polyptychs as demographic evidence: Charles-Edmond Perrin, "Observations sur le manse: Dans la région parisienne au début du IXe siècle," in *Annales d'histoire sociale: Hommages à Marc Bloch II* (Paris, 1945), pp. 39-52; Yoshiki Morimoto, "État et perspectives des recherches sur les polyptyques carolingiens," *Annales de l'Est* 5 (1998): 99-149; Britta Lützw, "Studien zum Reimser *Polyptychum Sancti Remigii*," *Francia* 7 (1979): 19-99; Jean-Pierre Devroey, "Les méthodes d'analyse démographique des polyptyques du Haut Moyen Âge," *Acta Historica Bruxellensia* 4 (1981): 71-88; Jean-Pierre Devroey, "Problèmes de critique autour du polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," in *La Neustrie: Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, ed. H. Atsma (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 441-463; Jean-Pierre Devroey, "À propos d'un article récent: l'utilisation du polyptyque d'Irminon en démographie," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 55 (1977): 509-14. For a critique of attempts to extrapolate population size and make-up from polyptychs, see L. R. Ménager, "Considérations sociologiques sur la démographie des grands domaines ecclésiastiques carolingiens," in *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras* (Paris, 1965), vol. 2, pp. 1317-35. For further demographic studies of Carolingian polyptychs, see Monique Zerner-Chardavoine, "Enfants et jeunes au IXe siècle: La démographie du polyptyque de Marseille 813-814," *Provence Historique* 31 (1988): 355-377; Monique Zerner, "La population de Villeneuve-Saint-Georges et de Nogent-sur-Marne au IXe siècle d'après le polyptyque de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," in *L'Histoire dans ses variantes* (Nice, 1979), pp. 17-24; J. Bessmery, "Les structures de la famille paysanne dans les villages de la Francia au IXe siècle: Analyse anthroponymique du polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," *Le Moyen Âge* 90 (1984): 165-193.

<sup>22</sup> Pierre Toubert, "Le moment carolingien (VIIe-Xe siècle)," in *Histoire de la Famille*, ed. André Burguière et al. (Paris, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 333-359, at p. 336: "Ils ne constituent une source directe ni pour l'étude des formes de l'occupation du sol, ni pour la démographie, ni pour l'histoire des structures familiales. Pour tous ces aspects, leur utilisation doit donc être fondée sur une méthodologie qui prenne en compte à la fois les normes particulières qui ont présidé à l'établissement de chaque inventaire et les caractéristiques propres au domaine inventorié, à son environnement géographique et économique, etc."

<sup>23</sup> For a useful overview of recent directions in paleodemography, see the essays in *La paléodémographie: Mémoire d'os, mémoire d'hommes*, ed. Luc Buchet, Claudine Dauphin, and Isabelle Séguy (Antibes, 2006), pp. 209-24; as well as the essays in *La paléodémographie: 99,99 % de l'histoire démographique des hommes*, ed. Jean-Pierre Bocquet-Appel (Paris, 2008). For a cemetery-based method of quantitative demography, see Didier Paillard, Luc Buchet, and Armelle Alduc-Le Bagousse, "Nombre d'inhumés, nombre d'habitants: Estimations archéologiques et anthropologiques," in *La paléodémographie*, ed. Buchet, Dauphin, and Séguy, pp. 209-24. The classic study arguing for early medieval population recovery on the basis of cemetery findings is P. Donat and H. Ullrich, "Einwohnerzahl und Siedlungsgrösse der Merowingerzeit. Ein methodischer Beitrag zur demographischen Rekonstruktion frühgeschichtlicher Bevölkerungen," *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 5 (1971) 234-265. Cf. László Barkóczi, "Das Gräberfeld von

positions about the size of early medieval populations, cities, villages, and armies. A few scholars even doubt that any significant lasting depopulation occurred.<sup>24</sup> This chapter will thus begin with a new state of the question for the population history of the early Middle Ages.

Even if we can establish the basic trends of post-Roman European populations, however, demographers do not agree upon the effects (or causes) of demographic change. “Anti-Malthusians” following Ester Boserup question the formerly long-standing assumption that demographic change spurs agricultural, technological, or social change, and not the other way around.<sup>25</sup> Nor is it self-evident that a decline in population should have one effect only on crowding. A study from 1972 observed that larger and denser populations occasioned smaller, more homogeneous social groups.<sup>26</sup> The better attested demographic decline of fourteenth-century Europe did not result in the same changes to

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Keszthely-Fenékpuszta aus dem 6. Jahrhundert und die frühmittelalterlichen Bevölkerungsverhältnisse am Plattensee,” *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 18 (1971): 179-199. For a recent effort to combine ceramic, cemetery, and demographic evidence for Anglo-Saxon England, see Kirsty E. Squires, “Populating the Pots: The Demography of the Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Elsham and Cleatham, North Lincolnshire,” *Archaeological Journal* 169 (2014): 312-342.

<sup>24</sup> Bernard Bachrach, “Continuity in Late Antique Gaul: a Demographic and Economic Perspective,” in *Comparative Perspectives on History and Historians: Essays in Memory of Bryce Lyon (1920-2007)*, ed. David Nicholas, Bernard Bachrach, and James M. Murray (Kalamazoo, 2012), pp. 27-50; Bernard Bachrach, “Plague, Population, and Economy in Merovingian Gaul,” *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 3 (2007): 29-57; Bernard Bachrach, “Some Observations on the Plague in the *Regnum Francorum*,” in *Auctoritas: Mélanges offerts à Olivier Guillot*, ed. G. Constable and M. Rouche (Paris, 2006), pp. 157-66; cf. Dick Harrison, “Plague, Settlement and Structural Change at the Dawn of the Middle Ages,” *Scandia* 59 (1993): 15-48. See also Ole Jørgen Benedictow, “Morbidity in Historical Plague Epidemics,” *Population Studies* 41 (1987): 401-431.

<sup>25</sup> Ester Boserup, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure* (London, 1965), esp. pp. 15-22.

<sup>26</sup> James Tucker and S. Thomas Friedman, “Population Density and Group Size,” *American Journal of Sociology* 77 (1972): 742-9.



the political and cultural fabric of the crowd as did the late antique fall in population.<sup>27</sup>

Other factors – especially the spatial and seasonal components of early medieval political, religious, and social organization – played the decisive role in shaping the early medieval crowd, as we will see in chapter 2.

This chapter argues that population decline is the frame, not the explanation, for the changes in the social place of the crowd in the early Middle Ages. Numbers mattered, but in conjunction with many other factors. This chapter examines numbers on three concentric levels. First, what happened to the overall population of western Europe from the end of the Roman empire to the beginning of the Middle Ages? We are in a unique position to conduct a synthesis that incorporates an older generation of text-based demographics with cemetery archaeology, palynology, and GIS settlement mapping.<sup>28</sup> We will see that the skeptics have been right to challenge old commonplaces, but also that the notion of population decline cannot be thrown out entirely.

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<sup>27</sup> For the vibrant urban forms of assembly during the late Middle Ages, see E. A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado, “*Universitas et Communitas: The Parade of the Parisians at the Pentecost Feast of 1313*,” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskén (Atlanta, 2001), pp. 117-54; Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, “Civic Liturgies and Urban Records in Northern France, 1100-1400,” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn Reyerson (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 34-55; Ingeborg Bähr, “Aussagen zur Funktion und zum Stellenwert von Kunstwerken in einem pariser Reliquienprozess des Jahres 1410,” *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 45 (1984): 41-57. A large literature exists on the cultural impact of the plague. One of the many studies to show how the plague catalyzed rather than initiated many social and religious changes, see Jacques Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l’au-dela: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d’Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1320–vers 1480)* (Rome, 1980).

<sup>28</sup> E.g.: Cemeteries: Karl-Heinz Willroth, “Zur Besiedlungsgeschichte des östliche Schleswig im ersten nachchristliche Jahrtausend,” in *Beretning fra niende tvaerfaglige vikingesymposium* ed. D. Meier (Kiel, 1990) pp. 7-5; see also Karl-Heinz Willroth, *Untersuchungen zur Besiedlungsgeschichte der Landschaften Angeln und Schwansen von der älteren Bronzezeit bis zum frühen Mittelalter: Eine Studie zur Chronologie, Chorologie und Siedlungskunde* (Neumünster, 1992). Pollen analysis: Michael Müller-Wille, “Archäologische Untersuchungen ländlicher Siedlungen der Wikingerzeit im Umland des frühstädtischen Handelsplatzes Hedeby/Haithabu,” *Acta praehistorica et archaeologica* 26/27 (1994/1995): 39-56; GIS: Heiko Steuer, “Verbreitungskarte,” *RGA*<sup>2</sup> 32 (2006), pp. 142-166, at pp. 161-6.

How large were feeder populations, that is, local populations that allowed crowds to form? Here we are blessed with better evidence; even though it remains nearly impossible to provide reliable guesses for settlement sizes, we may be able to provide plausible minimum and maximum figures. We will examine population estimates for local regions, for cities, towns, and villages, and finally we will address the crucial question of temporary or seasonal agglomerations of populations: councils, fairs, markets, military levies, and the like. The quick conclusion is that diversity reigned.<sup>29</sup> In some regions, populations were just as dense as they had been in Roman times; in a few, they were even denser; in most regions, however, the human weight of Europe had diminished.<sup>30</sup> Even where our knowledge of local populations is uncertain, we can arrive at provisional conclusions about broad demographic trends. One of the most important of these is about inter-regional differences.<sup>31</sup> The lands along the northern Mediterranean shore and Europe's major river valleys were more densely populated than the rural North; a few cities in Italy (Rome, Milan, Naples) were larger than any other western settlements outside of Muslim Spain.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, p. 495.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 31-3.

<sup>31</sup> Populations in the eastern Mediterranean were in some cases expanding at the same time as those in the West were declining. See, for late Antique Palestine, Doron Bar, "Geographical Implications of Population and Settlement Growth in Late Antique Palestine," *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004): 1-10; and Doron Bar, "Population, Settlement and Economy in Late Roman and Byzantine Palestine (70-641 AD)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 67 (2004): 307-320.

<sup>32</sup> Michael McCormick, "Where Do Trading Towns Come From? Early Medieval Venice and the Northern 'Emporia,'" in *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, ed. J. Henning (Berlin, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 41-68, at pp. 49-51. For the relatively densely populated Scheldt estuary, see Dries Tys, "The Scheldt Estuary as a Framework for Early Medieval Settlement Development," in *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times*, ed. Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 169-175. For a thought-provoking analysis of the relationship between (riverine) geography and settlement patterns, focusing on the Loire river valley, see Joëlle Burnouf and Nathalie Carcaud, "L'homme et les vallées: les vals de Loire de Tours à Angers," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 107 (2000): 7-22.

Third, how big were crowds themselves? This is one of the most difficult questions to answer, given the unreliability of reported numbers not only in early medieval sources but, as modern crowd sociologists have found, even for modern-day crowds.<sup>33</sup> On a neurobiological level, the “crowd” may help individuals to make social sense of populations larger than the small bands our brains first evolved to comprehend socially.<sup>34</sup> We will approach the question of group size from various angles: reported figures, carrying capacities in possible gathering sites, extrapolations, and comparisons to more trustworthy numbers from other settings. We shall find that early medieval polities were capable of assembling large numbers, but that this capacity was structurally very different from that of the Roman urban landscape.

In conducting these assessments, this chapter departs from a focus on numbers alone, and deals with numbers within time and space. The size and spatio-temporal behavior of early medieval gatherings is a subject only a few scholars (mostly military historians and scholars of councils) have treated directly, but the evidence survives to offer some provisional inferences.<sup>35</sup> One of the arguments this chapter will make is that the history of crowds can inform the history of demography as well as the other way around. After all, as Patrick Wormald suggested, it can be difficult to trace the historical link between abstract demographic phenomena and experienced human history. Crowds

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<sup>33</sup> Ray Watson and Paul Yip, “How Many Were There When It Mattered? Estimating the Sizes of Crowds,” *Significance* 8 (2011): 104-7, at p. 105. Cf. David Landy, Noah Silbert, and Aleah Goldin, “Estimating Large Numbers,” *Cognitive Science* 37 (2013): 775-799.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Robin Dunbar, *Grooming, Gossip, and the Evolution of Language* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), pp. 55-79, for the theory that human neocortices are designed to map relationships within small social groups. When dealing with communities larger than this, Dunbar suggests, we revert to political economy, crowding, and other ways of managing relationships that go beyond face-to-face knowledge.

<sup>35</sup> The main area that has been researched in early medieval assemblies. See, e.g., Timothy Reuter, “Assembly Politics in Western Europe,” in T. Reuter, *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 193-216.

prove a useful way of thinking about quantitative demographic problems on the level at which women and men physically experienced the size and density of the worlds they inhabited.

## II. Gross Population Trends

Early medieval quantitative demography has not enjoyed the same attention as have ancient and later medieval demography.<sup>36</sup> Ancient demography is a venerable discipline, the subject of scholarly interest since at least the sixteenth century.<sup>37</sup> David Hume wrote a famous essay on this “most curious and important of all questions of erudition,” in which he criticized the inflated numbers learned contemporaries ascribed to ancient populations.<sup>38</sup> A major turning point occurred a century later, in the prodigious efforts of Julius Beloch to understand ancient Greek and Roman populations; these remain the basis for many numerical estimates of ancient populations.<sup>39</sup> Beloch was an

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<sup>36</sup> Neithard Bulst, “Bevölkerung - Entvölkerung: Demographische Gegebenheiten, ihre Wahrnehmung, ihre Bewertung und ihre Steuerung im Mittelalter,” in *Sozialer Wandel im Mittelalter: Wahrnehmungsformen, Erklärungsmuster, Regelungsmechanismen*, ed. Jürgen Miethke (Sigmaringen, 1994), pp. 427-45.

<sup>37</sup> James Bonar, *Theories of Population from Raleigh to Arthur Young* (London, 1931).

<sup>38</sup> David Hume, “Of the populousness of ancient nations” (1742), in *Essays, moral, political and literary*, ed. T. H. Green and T. H. Grose (London, 1875), vol. 1, essay XI, pp. 381-443. See, most recently, M. A. Box and Michael Silverthorne, “The ‘most curious & important of all questions of erudition’: Hume’s Assessment of the Populousness of Ancient Nations,” in *David Hume: Historical Thinker, Historical Writer*, ed. Mark G. Spencer. (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 225-254. Julius Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der Griechische-Römischen Welt* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 34-36, acknowledged Hume’s importance in casting away unfounded certainties.

<sup>39</sup> Beloch, *Bevölkerung*, esp. p. 507 (for summary of the size of the provinces under Augustus); For a helpful overview of the history and problems, see W. Scheidel, “Progress and Problems in Roman Demography,” in *Debating Roman Demography*, ed. W. Scheidel (Brill, 2001), pp. 1-81; as well as the more recent essays in *Settlement, Urbanization, and Population*, ed. Alan K. Bowman and Andrew Wilson (Oxford, 2011); and Jean-Noël Corvisier, “L’état présent de la démographie historique antique: tentative de bilan,” *Annales de démographie historique* 102 (2001): 101-140.

outsider who was and remains a controversial figure in the field.<sup>40</sup> Yet he established influential figures for the size of the Roman Empire and its provinces, arriving at a gross figure of 50-60 million for the whole empire at the time of Augustus' death in AD 14, of which he supposed about 25 million inhabited the West.<sup>41</sup> Even with advent of new archaeological, numismatic, ceramic, and epigraphic evidence, many specialists still hold to an estimation on this order of magnitude for the empire at its peak.<sup>42</sup>

Later medieval demography has been the subject of a rich historiography.<sup>43</sup> Even before the explosion of interest in demographic phenomena spurred by the Annales

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<sup>40</sup> Karl Christ, "Zu Belochs Rezeption in Deutschland," in *Aspetti della Storiografia di Giulio Beloch*, ed. L. Polverini (Naples, 1990), pp. 177-195; A. Momigliano, "Giulio Beloch," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1966), vol. 8, pp. 32-25.

<sup>41</sup> Beloch, *Bevölkerung*, p. 502; his final best estimate was 54 million, of which he supposed 28 million inhabited the Greek East, and 25 million the Latin West. By contrast, Bruce W. Frier, "Demography," in *Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 11: The High Empire, A.D. 70-192*, ed. A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey and D. Rathbone (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 787-816, p. 811, proposes 45 million, because Beloch's estimates for Anatolia are in his opinion too high, but many of Beloch's other regional extrapolations have been questioned. For instance, F. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), pp. 168-70, suggests there were higher numbers in Gaul than Beloch assumed even in his revised estimations. Cf. Ernest Stein, "Introduction à l'histoire et aux institutions byzantines," *Traditio* 7 (1949): 95-168, p. 154, who gave 70 million for the first century AD. Cf. Andreas Andréadès, "La population de l'Empire byzantin," in *Actes du IVe congrès international des études byzantines (Sofia, Septembre 1934)*, ed. Bogdan D. Filov (Sofia, 1935), pp. 117-126. Our best information comes from Egypt, from which we possess administrative records in papyrus. See Elio Lo Cascio, "La popolazione dell'Egitto romano," *Studi Storici* 41 (1999): 425-447; Richard Alston, "Urban Population in Late Roman Egypt and the End of the Ancient World," in *Debating Roman Demography*, ed. Walter Scheidel (Leiden, 2001), pp. 161-204.

<sup>42</sup> Walter Scheidel, "Demography," in *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, ed. W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R. Saller (Cambridge, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 38-86, at p. 47: "the total population of the Roman empire at its peak on the eve of the 'Antonine plague' of AD 165 probably numbered between 60 and 70 million." For local population estimates earlier in Roman history, see Lorne Ward, "Roman Population, Territory, Tribe, City, and Army Size From the Republic's Founding to the Veientane War, 509 B.C.-400 B.C.," *The American Journal of Philology* 111 (1990): 5-39. For a stimulating critique of earlier methods for estimating local populations, see Ivo Vossen, "The Possibilities and Limitations of Demographic Calculations in the Batavian Area," in *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität: Germania inferior am Beginn und am Ende der römischen Herrschaft*, ed. T. Grünwald and S. Seibel (Berlin, 2003), pp. 414-435.

<sup>43</sup> Among the foundational works: Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen über die Entwicklung der materiellen Kultur des platten Landes auf Grund der Quellen zunächst des Mosellandes*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1885-6); Benjamin Guérard, *Polyptyque de l'Abbé Irminon ou dénombrement des manses, des serfs et des revenus de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1844); E. Levasseur, *La population française* (Paris, 1889); Henri Pirenne, "Les dénombrements de la

school, historical demography was a part of late nineteenth-century high medieval history.<sup>44</sup> Karl Hegel, the philosopher's son, offered some of the earliest detailed analysis of late medieval demographic history in his study of the urban records of Nuremberg.<sup>45</sup> The evidence is much richer in the high Middle Ages than for the early Middle Ages and certainly for Antiquity, thanks to cadastral surveys like the extraordinary *catasto* of fifteenth-century Florence, and, later, to parish records.<sup>46</sup> There is a great deal of proxy evidence that has been used to reconstruct population movements after the year 1000: the formation of new settlements, expanding physical sizes of churches, and rising proportions of agrarian as opposed to sylvan pollen deposits.<sup>47</sup>

Scholars have thus come to some broad conclusions about the basic pattern of demographic history during the high and later Middle Ages. The overall consensus

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population d'Ypres au XVe siècle (1412-1506): Contribution à la statistique sociale du moyen âge," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1903): 1-32; J. Cuvelier, *Les dénombremments de foyers en Brabant (XIVe-XVe siècle)* (Brussels, 1912); Ferdinand Lot, "Conjectures démographiques sur la France au IXe siècle," in *Recueil des travaux historiques de Ferdinand Lot* (Geneva, 1973) vol. 3, pp. 465-521 [originally published as Ferdinand Lot, "Conjectures démographiques sur la France au IXe siècle, I," *Le Moyen Âge* 32 (1921): 1-27, and Ferdinand Lot, "Conjectures démographiques sur la France au IXe siècle, II," *Le Moyen Âge* 32 (1921): 109-137]. Peter Biller, *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought* (Oxford, 2000), explores medieval concepts of demography.

<sup>44</sup> See Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: the Annales School, 1929-89* (Stanford, 1990), esp. pp. 56-7.

<sup>45</sup> Karl Hegel, *Chroniken der deutschen Städte, 2: Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte: Nürnberg* (Leipzig, 1864), vol. 2, pp. 500-13, for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Nuremberg.

<sup>46</sup> For an analysis of the *Catasto*, see esp. David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven, 1985). This brings up to date but also abridges the original French edition: *Les Toscans et leurs familles: une étude du Catasto florentin de 1427* (Paris, 1978).

<sup>47</sup> Léopold Genicot, "Sur les témoignages d'accroissement de la population en Occident du XIe au XIIIe siècle," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 1 (1953): 446-62, at p. 446. See also Léopold Génicot, "On the Evidence of Growth of Population in the West From the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century," in *Change in Medieval Society: Europe North of the Alps, 1050-1500*, ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp (New York, 1964), pp. 14-29. Cf. Robert Fossier, *Enfance de l'Europe: Aspects économiques et sociaux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 85-97; Robert Fossier, "Aperçus sur la démographie médiévale," in *Population et démographie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris, 1995), pp. 9-23.

remains that the European Middle Ages saw a massive expansion of the population from at least the tenth century (now most historians think much earlier) to its apogee in the late thirteenth century, when European populations were probably larger than they had ever been in the history of the world, before famine, war, and finally plague led to a precipitous demographic collapse which reached its nadir at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth.<sup>48</sup>

A corollary to this demographic story, which involves a great deal of rural population growth, is the expansion of cities and towns.<sup>49</sup> On the eve of the plague in the fourteenth century, Europe had achieved a very high level of urbanization, particularly in the Low Countries and Italy.<sup>50</sup> Historians may debate the causes, timing, and regional variation of these patterns, but most would agree that the size and density of European populations in the high Middle Ages vastly outmatched those of the early Middle Ages (and, with the exception of ancient mega-cities like Rome itself, most ancient populations). The largest city in the early fourteenth century was probably Paris,

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<sup>48</sup> Massimo Livi-Bacci, *The Population of Europe: A History*, trans. Cynthia De Nardi Ipsen and Carl Ipsen (Oxford, 2000), esp. pp. 5-17; Neithard Bulst, "Zum Stand der spätmittelalterlichen demographischen Forschung in Frankreich," in *Die Familie als sozialer und historischer Verband: Untersuchungen zum Spätmittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter-Johannes Schuler (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 3-22; Franz-Josef Jakobi, "Bevölkerungsentwicklung und Bevölkerungsstruktur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Geschichte der Stadt Münster*, ed. Franz-Josef Jakobi (Münster, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 485-534; Alain Derville, "La population du Nord au Moyen Âge. II: de 1384 à 1549," *Revue du Nord* 81 (1999): 65-82. For stimulation discussion of demographic methodology, see Massimo Livi-Bacci, "Macro Versus Micro," in *Convergent Issues in Genetics and Demography*, ed. J. Adams, D. A. Lam, A. I. Hermalin, P. E. Smouse (Oxford, 1990), pp. 15-25.

<sup>49</sup> See esp. the exemplary survey of the evidence for urban demography at the beginning of the fourteenth century in William Chester Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 127-50.

<sup>50</sup> R. Cazelles, "La population de Paris devant la Peste Noire," *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* (1966): 539-554; Cf. John Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), p. 345. For a lower estimate, see P. Dollinger, "Le chiffre de population de Paris au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: 210,000 ou 80,000 habitants," *Revue historique* 216 (1956): 35-44.

numbering perhaps over 200,000 souls.<sup>51</sup> Milan and Venice were probably next, at some 180,000 each.<sup>52</sup> Pre-plague Florence may have had as many as 120,000 inhabitants. A swathe of cities in the Low Countries and Italy numbered between 30,000 to 50,000.<sup>53</sup> Even after several centuries of recovery, no ninth-century western city could compare with any of these numbers, except perhaps Muslim Cordoba (sometimes estimated around 100,000).<sup>54</sup> The largest western cities outside of Umayyad Spain during the age of Charlemagne were probably Rome, Milan, and Naples, but none of these would have much exceeded (at the most) 30,000.<sup>55</sup> Contemporary Constantinople dwarfed them all.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> David M. Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City. From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century* (London, 1997), 178-9; cf. Herlihy, "Demography," p. 141.

<sup>52</sup> Herlihy, "Demography," p. 141; Cf. Giuliano Pinto's estimate for late medieval Milan at 150,000: Giuliano Pinto, "Dalla tarda antichità alla metà del XVI secolo, in *La popolazione italiana dal medioevo a oggi*, ed. Lorenzo del Pantà, Massimo Livi Bacci, Giuliano Pinto, and Eugenio Sonnino (Rome, 1996), pp. 17-71, at p. 36. For discussion, see Pierre Racine, "Milan, ville exceptionnelle au XIIIe siècle?" *Le Moyen Âge* 109 (2003): 575-582; Pierre Racine, "Milan à la fin du XIIIe siècle: 60,000 ou 200,000 habitants?" *Aevum* 58 (1984): 246-263, which offers a good sense of how provisional these figures are.

<sup>53</sup> Figures from Herlihy, "Demography," p. 141 and Nichols, *Growth of the Medieval City*, pp. 178-9. Cf. the figures in Josiah Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population* (Philadelphia, 1958), *passim*.

<sup>54</sup> Peter Johanek, "Merchants, Markets and Towns," in *New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 3: c. 900-c. 1024*, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 64-94, at pp. 68-69.

<sup>55</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, 591-692, for a useful survey of the evidence for cities; Pinto, "Dalla tarda antichità alla metà del XVI secolo," p. 23, proposes a Milanese population of 20,000 by the tenth century. For the other cities of the Po river valley, see Cristina La Rocca, "Trasformazioni della città altomedievale in 'Langobardia,'" *Studi Storici* 30 (1989): 993-1011.

<sup>56</sup> David Jacoby, "La population de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine: un problème de démographie urbaine," in David Jacoby, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975), Essay I, pp. 81-109 (originally published in *Byzantion* 31 (1961): 81-109). Cf. Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 120-122, 169-170, with a more optimistic estimate. See also Evelyne Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4e-7e siècles* (Paris, 1977), pp. 73-112; Paul Magdalino, "The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 209-226. For demographic displacement in the seventh century in Byzantium, see Peter Charanis, "Ethnic Changes in the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959): 23-44, at p. 39. See also Myrto Veikou, "Urban or Rural? Theoretical Remarks on the Settlement Patterns in Byzantine Epirus (7th-11th Centuries)," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 103 (2010): 171-193.



The greatest single effort to analyze the population history of the early Middle Ages remains the work of Josiah Russell.<sup>57</sup> Russell is still one of the pivotal figures of medieval demographic history. During the mid twentieth century, he deployed a remarkably precocious array of direct and indirect evidence to reconstruct the population history of the long Middle Ages.<sup>58</sup> Russell saw the Justinianic Plague as the great motor of late antique demographic decline.<sup>59</sup> He concluded that the early Middle Ages, defined as the period, c. 543-950, constituted the demographic “nadir” of Western Europe, reaching its low mark around the year 600, after which populations began gradually to regrow, only to explode in the mid tenth century.<sup>60</sup>

The basic pattern Russell sketched – steep decline in the sixth century, gradual recovery thereafter until really visible growth by the tenth or eleventh century – was compelling.<sup>61</sup> For most twentieth-century medievalists, population decline and urban decay have been the key characteristics of post Roman demographic history. For Marc Bloch, the first feudal age’s “fundamental characteristic” was “the great and universal

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<sup>57</sup> Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*; Josiah Russell, “Recent Advances in Mediaeval Demography,” *Speculum* 40 (1965): 84-101; Josiah Russell, “That Earlier Plague,” *Demography* 5 (1968): 174-84; Josiah Russell, “The Population of Medieval Egypt,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 5 (1966): 69-82; Josiah Russell, “Demographic Pattern in History,” *Population Studies* 1 (1948): 388-404; Josiah Russell, “Medieval Population,” *Social Forces* 15 (1937): 503-11; Josiah Russell, “The Tribal Hidage,” *Traditio* 5 (1947): 192-209.

<sup>58</sup> See L. R. Poos, J. E. Oeppen, and R. M. Smith, “Re-Assessing Josiah Russell’s Measurements of Late Medieval Mortality Using the Inquisitions ‘Post Mortem,’” in *The Fifteenth-Century Inquisitions Post Mortem: a Companion*, ed. Michael Hicks (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 155-68, at p. 155, for a favorable assessment of Russell’s work, despite the need for revision.

<sup>59</sup> Russell, “That Earlier Plague,” esp. pp. 180-1. See also Lawrence I. Conrad, “The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East,” PhD Thesis (Princeton University, 1981), pp. 415-447.

<sup>60</sup> Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, pp. 88-99.

<sup>61</sup> See, e.g., Robert Fossier, “The Rural Economy and Demographic Growth,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, part 1: c. 1024–c. 1198, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 11-46, for a representative survey.

decline in population.”<sup>62</sup> For Henri Pirenne, “the most important fact” of early medieval social history was “the rapid reduction, and, in the end, the all but complete disappearance, of the urban population.”<sup>63</sup> Formerly, many historians also held that the early Middle Ages saw demographic stagnation. As recently as 1982, David Herlihy described the “major trend” of early medieval demography as “stability at very low levels from about 400 to 1000.”<sup>64</sup>

This notion of several centuries of stagnation, however, is less convincing in the wake of new evidence for growth during the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>65</sup> But this growth appears to have been preceded by late antique crisis. The collapse of populations and cities remains the starting point for most accounts of the early Middle Ages.<sup>66</sup> Scholars might disagree about the timing, extent, regional variation, and causes of these two demographic phenomena, but for decades only a few exceptions, the most noteworthy being the Austrian historian Alfons Dopsch, questioned the model of sharp post-Roman demographic contraction altogether.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Bloch, *Feudal Society*, pp. 60-1.

<sup>63</sup> Henri Pirenne, *A History of Europe: From the Invasions to the Sixteenth Century*, trans. B. Miall (New York, 1955), vol. 1, p. 75. Cf. Kathryn L. Reyerson, “Urbanism, Western European,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1989), vol. 12, pp. 311-320, at p. 311: “By the time of the barbarian invasions of Europe in the fifth century, the late Roman towns of the West had begun a long decline and were shrunken considerably in size and in population.”

<sup>64</sup> David Herlihy, “Demography,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Strayer (New York, 1982), vol. 4, pp. 136-48, at p. 139.

<sup>65</sup> Pierre Toubert, *L'Europe dans sa première croissance: de Charlemagne à l'an mil* (Paris, 2004), pp. 322-32; Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, pp. 23-30.

<sup>66</sup> See the essays collected in *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Neil Christie and S. T. Loseby (Aldershot, 1996); *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale: de la fin du IIIe siècle à l'avènement de Charlemagne*, ed. Claude Lepelley (Bari, 1996); *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. John Rich (London, 1992).

<sup>67</sup> Alfons Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der europäischen Kulturentwicklung: aus der Zeit von Caesar bis auf Karl den Grossen*, 2nd edn. (Vienna, 1923), vol. 1, esp. pp. 330-331.

Like many “fundamental” and “important” phenomena in history, however, old certitudes about demographic change have faced revisionists.<sup>68</sup> Archaeologists have rewritten the story of early medieval settlement, complicating overly homogeneous accounts of urban decay.<sup>69</sup> The question of urban continuity has proven to be more complicated than early researchers supposed; archaeologists have found signs of continuity, but in fragile organic materials that earlier excavators failed to detect.<sup>70</sup> Where scholars once saw abandonment, now they see use.<sup>71</sup> Scholars point to many forms of urban continuity, and efforts by early medieval rulers to revitalize the ancient urban fabric.<sup>72</sup> The same fate has attended dramatic visions of the early Middle Ages as a depopulated “landscape of fear.”<sup>73</sup> Using pollen-analysis and growth of settlement numbers, scholars have detected signs of population growth as early as the seventh

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<sup>68</sup> Cf. Isabelle Catteddu, *Archéologie médiévale en France: Le premier Moyen Âge (Ve-XIe siècle)* (Paris, 2009), p. 25: “La triste image d’une population affaiblie par les vagues successives des migrations du V<sup>e</sup> siècle puis par les raids scandinaves du IX<sup>e</sup>, vivant dans un habitat éphémère sur des sols épuisés, est aujourd’hui définitivement obsolète.” She is thinking of an older representation of the migrations, such as Marc Bloch, “Observations sur la conquête de la Gaule romaine par les rois francs,” *Revue Historique* 154 (1927): 161-178, at pp. 170-171.

<sup>69</sup> For a recent overview, see esp. Chris Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. AD 600-1150: A Comparative Archaeology* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 9-30; Catteddu, *Archéologie médiévale*, pp. ; see also the early medieval essays in *Trente ans d’archéologie médiévale en France: un bilan pour avenir*, ed. Jean Chapelot (Caen, 2010).

<sup>70</sup> See the useful review of archaeological developments in Helena Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: the Archaeology of Rural Communities in Northwest Europe, 400-900* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 4-8. Cf. Peter Clark, “Introduction,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, ed. Peter Clark (Oxford, 2013), pp. 1-24, esp. pp. 3-4.

<sup>71</sup> For the case of “dark earth,” see esp. Henri Galinié, “L’expression ‘terres noires,’ un concept d’attente,” in *Terres Noires – Dark Earth*, ed. L. Verslype and R. Brulet (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2004), pp. 1-11, at p. 8; cf. Loveluck, *Northwest Europe*, pp. 162-167.

<sup>72</sup> See the overview of recent approaches in Hendrick Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 1-20, with a helpful discussion of the inadequacy of the dichotomy “catastrophe”/“continuity” at pp. 250-251. Cf. Wickham, *Framing*, p. 591: “There has been a great deal of disagreement over the nature of urban continuity into the early middle ages; this has both fruitful and unfruitful aspects.”

<sup>73</sup> Vito Fumagalli, *Paesaggi della paura: vita e natura nel Medioevo* (Bologna, 1994), pp. 15-17.

century.<sup>74</sup> By the eighth and ninth centuries, European populations were sufficiently large that a major northern export to the south and east could be human beings themselves – slaves.<sup>75</sup> This is why the stagnation model, largely based on birthrate analysis of the incomplete data available in Carolingian polyptychs, has mostly been abandoned.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, and crucially, scholars have stressed the huge variation that characterized the post-Roman demographic trends.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Adriaan Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 1-23; Adriaan Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 23-28. See also Monique Bourin, “Europe carolingienne et Europe méridionale: le point de vue d’Adriaan Verhulst,” *Médiévales* 21 (1991): 55-61, at pp. 59-60.

<sup>75</sup> Michael McCormick, “New Light on the ‘Dark Ages,’” p. 52; McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 759-77.

<sup>76</sup> Ferdinand Lot argued for about 22-25 million for the early medieval population of Charlemagne’s France, by means of a population density extrapolated from the the polyptych of Saint-Germain-des-Prés: Lot, “Conjectures démographiques sur la France au IXe siècle” (as above); Ménager, “Considérations sociologiques sur la démographie des grands domaines ecclésiastiques carolingiens” (as above), provided a searching critique of earlier quantitative estimates based on polyptychs, noting the biased reporting of the sources (limited generally to *homines*, subjects in one way or another, of the monasteries which produced these documents) and the uncertain applicability of population density figures from heavily populated river valleys (Seine, Scheldt, Rhone) to other regions. Nevertheless, subsequent attempts were made to extrapolate local or wider populations on the basis of the polyptychs: Hans van Werveke, “De bevolkingsdichtheid in de IXe eeuw: Poging tot schatting,” *Miscellanea Mediaevalia: Verspreide opstellen over economische en sociale geschiedenis van de middeleeuwen* (Ghent, 1968), pp. 283-290; Emily R. Coleman, “L’infanticide dans le haut Moyen Âge,” trans. A. Chamoux, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 29 (1974): 315-35, which was contested by Michael Siegfried, “The Skewed Sex Ratio in a Medieval Population: a Reinterpretation,” *Social Science History* 10 (1986): 195-204, esp. p. 203, stressing gaps in reporting rather than Coleman’s interpretation (female infanticide) for the uneven sex ratio in the polyptychs; Monique Vleeschouwers-Van Melkebeek, “Demografische problemen in verband met de Polyptiek van Sint-Bertijns,” in *Demografische evoluties en gedragsspatronen van de 9de to de 20ste eeuw in de Nederlanden*, *Studia Historica Gandensia* 200 (Ghent, 1977), pp. 239-245; G. M. Schwarz, “Village Populations According to the Polyptyque of the Abbey of St Bertin,” *Journal of Medieval History* 11 (1985): 31-41; François-Louis Ganshof, “Le polyptique de l’abbaye de Saint-Bertin (844-859),” *Mémoires de l’Institut national de France* 45 (1975): 57-205. For a reasoned approach to the question, see both Devroey, “Les méthodes d’analyse démographie des polyptyques du Haut Moyen Âge”; Jean-Pierre Devroey, *Économie rurale et société dans l’Europe franque (VIe-IXe siècles), Tome 1: fondements, matériels, échanges, et lien social* (Paris, 2003), pp. 41-77.

<sup>77</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 829-30; McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 30-33.

The time has come for a new assessment of late Roman and early medieval demography, which will have to be collaborative and interdisciplinary.<sup>78</sup> This is beyond the scope or subject of this study, but for the time being we can perform at least a renewed survey of the state of the question. In what follows, I will proceed through the major regions of western Europe. We will see that some of the old notions, although they have been nuanced, hold up. It seems that during the fifth and sixth centuries western European populations declined; Roman-style urbanism and villas gave way to a kaleidoscopic array of settlement types, but none so centralized and orientated to mass assembly as the Roman city form. Furthermore, the new discoveries must be compared with later developments. If populations were growing in the eighth and ninth centuries, they grew even more quickly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>79</sup> If early medieval settlement patterns exhibited a diversity and vibrancy that early twentieth-century scholars never anticipated, urbanism from the sixth through tenth centuries nevertheless failed to achieve Roman levels of density and uniformity or the grandeur and social complexity of urban Europe from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries.

### *Italy*

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<sup>78</sup> Cf. the essays on Roman demography in *Settlement, Urbanization, and Population*, ed. Bowman and Wilson (as above). For a recent survey of northern Europe, see Alain Derville, "La population du Nord au Moyen Âge, 1. avant 1384," *Revue du Nord* 80 (1998): 501-530.

<sup>79</sup> Robert Fossier, "Les tendances de l'économie: stagnation ou croissance?" in *Nascita dell'Europa ed Europa carolingia* (Spoleto, 1981), pp. 261-274, esp. pp. 268-269. Chris Wickham, "Problems of Comparing Rural Societies in Early Medieval Western Europe," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 2 (1992): 221-246, pp. 224-225, identifies an "uneasiness" peculiar to French scholarship "about any economic development in the Carolingian period that will somehow undermine the great leap forward of the 'grands défrichements' of the eleventh and twelfth centuries."

Italy was one of the ancient west's most urbanized regions and the home of its greatest city, Rome, *caput mundi*.<sup>80</sup> Under the Roman empire, the capital may have numbered over a million inhabitants at its second-century height, while cities like Ostia, Puteoli, Milan, Pavia, Capua all held at least 25,000 inhabitants and probably many more; it has been estimated that over twenty five cities in ancient Roman Italy possessed a population of 5,000-25,000 people.<sup>81</sup> Fluctuation characterized the size and level of Italian urbanism throughout the imperial period. Second- and third-century plague led to demographic decline, followed by fourth-century recovery.<sup>82</sup> Reports of shrinking cities

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<sup>80</sup> For the best overview to early medieval Rome, see Roberto Meneghini and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'Altomedioevo: topografia e urbanistica della città dal V al X secolo* (Rome, 2004). See also Roberto Meneghini and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, "Episodi di trasformazione del paesaggio urbano nella Roma altomedievale attraverso l'analisi di due contesti: un isolato in Piazza dei Cinquecento e l'area dei Fori Imperiali," *Archeologia Medievale* 23 (1996): 53-99; Roberto Meneghini, "Roma - Ricerche nel foro di Traiano - Basilica Ulpia: un esempio di sopravvivenza di strutture antiche in età medievale," *Archeologia Medievale* 16 (1989): 541-559; Roberto Meneghini, "Roma - Strutture alto medievali e assetto urbano tra le regioni VII e VIII," *Archeologia Medievale* 27 (2000): 303-310. For the political and social history, see Paolo Brezzi, *Roma e l'impero medioevale, 774-1252* (Bologna, 1947); and now Chris Wickham, *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900-1150* (Oxford, 2015). For the archaeology of early medieval Rome, see Daniele Manacorda and Enrico Zanini, "The First Millennium A.D. in Rome: From the Porticus Minucia to the via Delle Botteghe Oscure," in *The Birth of Europe: Archaeology and Social Development in the First Millennium AD*, ed. K. Randsborg (Rome, 1989), pp. 25-32; Robert Coates-Stephens, "Dark Age Architecture in Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 65 (1997): 177-232; Robert Coates-Stephens, "Housing in Early Medieval Rome, 500-1000 AD," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 64 (1996): 239-259; Robert Coates-Stephens, "The Walls and Aqueducts of Rome in the Early Middle Ages, A.D. 500-1000," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 88 (1998): 166-178. For the profound influence the city of Rome continued to have on the medieval literary imagination, see Ludwig Traube, "O Roma Nobilis: Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter," *Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der Königlich-Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 19 (1891): 299-395; and more recently, Paolo Delogu, "Solum Imperii - Urbs Ecclesiae: Roma fra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo," in *Sedes Regiae (ann. 400-800)*, ed. Gisela Ripoll and Josep M. Gurt (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 83-108.

<sup>81</sup> Neville Morley, *Metropolis and Hinterland: The City of Rome and the Italian Economy, 200 BC - AD 200* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 182.

<sup>82</sup> John Moreland, "Wilderness, Wasteland, Depopulation and the End of the Roman Empire?" *The Accordia Research Papers* 4 (1993): 89-110. For the demographic impact of a hitherto little-known pandemic in the third century, see Kyle Harper, "Pandemics and Passages to Late Antiquity: Rethinking the Plague of c. 249-270 described by Cyprian," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28 (2015): 223-260.

begin as early as the third and fourth centuries.<sup>83</sup> Between plague and war, the sixth century struck Italy particularly hard.<sup>84</sup> The precipitous decline of the city of Rome in particular has attracted a great deal of attention.<sup>85</sup> Exact figures continue to be debated by scholars, but the Roman population seems to have dropped between the fifth and the sixth centuries from hundreds of thousands to only tens of thousands.<sup>86</sup> A fairly reliable figure for the early sixteenth century, after the Black Death and years of jolting recovery, puts the Roman population at 60,000.<sup>87</sup> This number gives a sense of the population of Rome after about a century of growth following the shocks of the Black Death. The early

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<sup>83</sup> G. P. Brogiolo, "Ideas of the Town in Italy During the Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages," in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G. P. Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins (Leiden, 1999), pp. 99-126, at pp. 101-105; Maria Bollini, "Semirutarum urbium cadavera (Ambros., Ep., XXXIX, 3)," *Rivista storica dell'antichità* 1 (1971): 163-76; Federico Marazzi, "Cadavera urbium, nuove capitali e Roma aeterna: l'identità urbana in Italia fra crisi, rinascita e propaganda (secoli III-V)," in *Die Stadt in der Spätantike - Niedergang oder Wandel?*, ed. Jens-Uwe Krause and Christian Witschel (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 33-66.

<sup>84</sup> Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (Ann Arbor, 1989), pp. 26-27. For surveys of recent demographic research on medieval Italy, see Giuliano Pinto and Eugenio Sonnino, "L'Italie," in *Histoire des populations de l'Europe*, ed. Jean-Pierre Bardet and Jacques Dupâquier (Paris, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 485-508, and Irene Barbiera and Gianpiero Dalla-Zuanna, "Le dinamiche della popolazione nell'Italia medievale. Nuovi riscontri su documenti e reperti archeologici," *Archeologia Medievale* 34 (2007): 19-42; and in its English version: Irene Barbiera and Gianpiero Dalla-Zuanna, "Population Dynamics in Italy in the Middle Ages: New Insights From Archaeological Findings," *Population and Development Review* 35 (2009): 367-89. For the longue durée in Italy after the early Middle Ages, see Giovanni Federico and Paolo Malanima, "Progress, Decline, Growth: Product and Productivity in Italian Agriculture, 1000-2000," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 57 (2004): 437-464, at p. 447.

<sup>85</sup> Jean Durliat, *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine: le problème des subsistances* (Rome, 1990), pp. 110-123, esp. pp. 116-117. Cf. Elio Lo Cascio, "Le procedure di censu dalla tarda repubblica al tardo antico: Il calcolo della popolazione di Roma," in *La Rome impériale: démographie et logistique: actes de la Table ronde (Rome, 25 mars 1994)* (Rome, 1997), pp. 3-76, at pp. 64-76, with detailed analysis of the written and epigraphic evidence; Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mahomet, Charlemagne et les origines de l'Europe*, trans. Cécile Morriison with Jacques Lefort and Jean-Pierre Sodini (Paris, 1996), pp. 51-53.

<sup>86</sup> For the best recent survey of the evidence, see Roberto Meneghini and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'Altomedioevo: topografia e urbanistica della città dal V al X secolo* (Rome, 2004), pp. 21-8; cf. Ludovico Gatto, "Riflettendo della consistenza demografica della Roma altomedievale," *Roma Medievale: Aggiornamenti*, ed. Paolo Delogu (Florence, 1998), pp. 143-57. Paul Arthur, "Early Medieval Amphorae, the Duchy of Naples and the Food Supply of Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 61 (1993): 231-244, sheds some important archaeological light on the food supply of early medieval Rome.

<sup>87</sup> Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, *L'Autre Rome: une histoire des romains à l'époque des communes (XIII-XIVe siècle)* (Paris, 2010), pp. 35-6.

medieval population of western Christendom's largest city is often assumed to have been on the order of 20,000-30,000, although these numbers undoubtedly swelled seasonally thanks to multitudes of pilgrims and the populations of the Roman suburbs.<sup>88</sup> Parts of the formerly inhabited city were given over to vineyards and gardens, so that people lived in clusters which have been given the memorable name of "leopard spots."<sup>89</sup> Even though Rome's population must have remained much larger than that of contemporary cities, the hugeness of empty space must have inspired a feeling of grandeur. Numerous individual structures in ancient Rome – the Coliseum, the Circus, various of the churches – would have been able to hold nearly the entire existing population at once. It has been assumed that Rome was growing in the ninth century, although as Paolo Delogu has pointed out, the evidence for this supposition is scarce; new building construction around the year 900 may offer some archaeological support to this old assumption.<sup>90</sup>

Rome should not be taken as a typical city. Rome had relied on supplies shipped in from afar, such that breakdowns in infrastructure struck it harder than other cities in Italy.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, signs of urban and demographic decline are abundant beyond the

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<sup>88</sup> This frequently cited number probably derives its authority from Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, 2000), p. 65; Maire Vigueur, *L'Autre Rome*, p. 36, rightly notes that this number is commonly advanced without explanation.

<sup>89</sup> Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'Altomedioevo*, pp. 213-5.

<sup>90</sup> Paolo Delogu, "Rome in the Ninth Century: the Economic System," in *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, ed. J. Henning (Berlin, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 105-22, at pp. 117-8. For the older literature, see, e.g., Pierre Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiéval: le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1973), pp. 321-2. For new archaeological findings, see Lidia Paroli, "Roma dal V al IX secolo: uno sguardo attraverso le stratigrafie archeologiche," in *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo*, vol. 2: *Contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali*, ed. Lidia Paroli and Laura Vendittelli (Milan, 2004), pp. 11-40, at pp. 33-4.

<sup>91</sup> Paolo Squatriti, *Landscape and Change in Early Medieval Italy: Chestnuts, Economy, and Culture* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 68-9. Cf. Michael McCormick, "Bateaux de vie, bateaux de mort: maladie, commerce, transports annonaires et le passage économique du Bas-Empire au Moyen Âge," in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa* (Spoleto, 1998), pp. 35-122, at pp. 41-42.



ancient capital across late antique and very early medieval Italy.<sup>92</sup> Archaeological surveys over the past forty years have detected a decline in settlement numbers from the sixth through seventh centuries, but the question is how to interpret this decline in sites. Is it a sign of economic and demographic contraction?<sup>93</sup> Some archaeologists have stressed alternative explanations. New patterns of settlement (above all, in Francovich's nucleation of settlements on hilltops) may explain diminishment of sites better than overall demographic decline.<sup>94</sup> Church building continued, far from the north, for instance in Apulia.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, various strains of evidence converge to suggest an overall diminishment of the weight and density of the Italian population.<sup>96</sup>

Some sites in Italy do seem to have been abandoned outright. The coastal Italian city of Cosa is famous for the story reported by Rutilius Namatianus in the early fifth century that the town was abandoned after a rat infestation.<sup>97</sup> Evidently the inhabitants

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<sup>92</sup> Elio Lo Cascio and Paolo Malanima, "Cycles and Stability: Italian Population Before the Demographic Transition (225 B.C. - A.D. 1900)," *Rivista di storia economica* 21 (2005): 5-40, at pp. 12-13. For a helpful recent review, see Paola Galetti, *Uomini e case nel Medioevo tra Occidente e Oriente* (Rome, 2001), pp. 109-114.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Hodges and Whitehouse, *Mahomet, Charlemagne et les origines de l'Europe*, p. 45.

<sup>94</sup> Riccardo Francovich, "The Beginnings of Hilltop Villages in Early Medieval Tuscany," in *Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. J. Davis and M. McCormick (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 55-82. Cf. Daniele Manacorda, Federico Marazzi, and Enrico Zanini, "Sul paesaggio urbano di Roma nell'Alto Medioevo," in *La Storia dell'Alto Medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, ed. Riccardo Francovich and Ghislaine Noyé (Florence, 1994), pp. 635-57.

<sup>95</sup> Bertelli, Gioia, Roberto Rotondo, Angelofabio Attolico, Giuseppe Donvito, Michela Rizzi, and Sara Airò, "La Puglia tra tardo antico e altomedioevo," in *Arte in Puglia dal Medioevo al Settecento*, ed. Francesco Abbate (Bari, 2010), pp. 31-45, at pp. 32-35.

<sup>96</sup> Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 183-280, 412-28.

<sup>97</sup> Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo*, 1.296-7, ed. E. Baehrens, *Poetae Latinae Minores* (Leipzig, 1883), vol. 5, p. 15:

Cernimus antiquas nullo custode ruinas

Et desolatae moenia foeda Cosae.

returned, for signs of habitation continue through the sixth century, but archaeologists who have excavated this site report its abandonment between the seventh and tenth centuries.<sup>98</sup> A large-scale study of settlements in Tuscany found a dramatic decline in settlement density leading into the early Middle Ages.<sup>99</sup> A survey of just under a quarter of the territory of Siena and Grosseto found a decline from 2521 “occupied sites” at a density of one site per 1.27 km<sup>2</sup> during the first-fourth centuries, to 506 sites at a density of one site per 4 km<sup>2</sup> during the fourth-sixth centuries, to a nadir of 201 sites at a density of one site per 10 km<sup>2</sup> during the sixth-seventh centuries.<sup>100</sup> For the excavators, the significance of these findings is a shift in settlement patterns: hill-top nucleation much earlier than had been believed. Whether or not this process involved a great decline in numbers, it undoubtedly led to a spatial thinning out of the Italian population. By the end of the sixth century, Italy probably had the most ground to recover demographically within Europe. This has to be put in wider context, however. If Italy was one of the

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Ridiculam cladis pudet inter seria causam

Promere, sed risum dissimulare piget.

Dicuntur ciues quondam migrare coacti

Muribus infestos deseruisse lares.

<sup>98</sup> Enrico Cirelli and Elizabeth Fentress, “After the Rats: Cosa in the Late Empire and Early Middle Ages,” in *Vrbes Extinctae: Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns*, ed. Neil Christie and Andrea Augenti (Farnham, 2012), pp. 97-113; this summarizes the fuller findings in *Cosa V: An Intermittent Town, Excavations 1991-1997*, ed. E. Fentress et al. (Ann Arbor, 2003). Fascinatingly the city seems to have “survived” as a documentary fiction (Cirelli and Fentress, “After the Rats,” pp. 112-3).

<sup>99</sup> Riccardo Francovich, “The Beginnings of Hilltop Villages in Early Medieval Tuscany,” in *Long Morning of Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Davis and M. McCormick (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 55-82; cf. Riccardo Francovich, “The Hinterlands of Early Medieval Towns: the Transformation of the Countryside in Tuscany,” in *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, ed. J. Henning (Berlin, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 135-152, at pp. 135-6.

<sup>100</sup> Francovich, “The Beginnings of Hilltop Villages,” p. 65. For another case, Bryan Ward-Perkins, “Luni - the Decline and Abandonment of a Roman Town,” *Papers in Italian Archaeology I: the Lancaster Seminar* (1978), pp. 313-21.

hardest hit regions of Europe in the sixth century especially, it also saw precocious growth in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. In the Venetian lagoon, the signs are clear for an expanding population linked with the salt trade.<sup>101</sup> And the city of Rome remained a hotbed of crowds and factions, the closest thing the Christian West had to the crowded world of contemporary Constantinople. Above all, Italy remained a bastion of urbanism in the west, even if this urbanism was on a much less impressive scale.<sup>102</sup>

### *Gaul*

North of the Alps, Gaul faced waves of deurbanization and barbarian invasion long before the end of Roman administration. What was the Roman population of Gaul before the sixth century? It makes sense to distinguish between the more developed and populous southern Gaul (Gallia Narbonensis) and what scholars often call the “three Gauls” (Aquitania, Belgica, and Lugdunensis).<sup>103</sup> Beloch initially put the population of the “Three Gauls” at the time of Caesar’s conquest in the first century BC at 3.39 million and that of all Gaul (including Gallia Narbonensis) at 4.89 million, but subsequently he raised that estimate to 7.5 million for the “Three Gauls” and 9.5 million for all Gaul.<sup>104</sup> Beloch assumed that the Gallic population grew thereafter, and put the population of all

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<sup>101</sup> Michael McCormick, “Where Do Trading Towns Come From,” pp. 49-51.

<sup>102</sup> Bryan Ward Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300-850* (Oxford, 1984), p. v, presents continued Italian urbanism, of course in heavily diminished form, as in sharp contrast with northern Europe. Cf. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 94-95.

<sup>103</sup> See J. Lestocquoy, “De l’unité à la pluralité: Le paysage urbain en Gaule du Ve au IXe siècle,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 8 (1953): 159-172, for the diversification of settlement patterns.

<sup>104</sup> Beloch *Bevölkerung*, p. 460, with extended justification at pp. 448-60. These figures are largely based on analysis of Julius Caesar’s reportage of population sizes. Julius Beloch, “Die Bevölkerung Galliens zur Zeit Caesars,” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 54 (1899): 414-45, at p. 443.

Gaul at perhaps 10-12 million by the time of Constantine (and what he assumed was its ancient apex), although he insisted that this figure was conjectural.<sup>105</sup> His figures derived mostly from written sources, especially the *Gallic Wars* of Julius Caesar, together with the personal conviction that the less-developed Three Gauls must have been less densely populated than their southern neighbor. Camille Jullian, using much the same evidence as Beloch (that is, in the main, figures reported by Caesar), insisted that ancient Gaul was among the most populous regions of the world, putting its second-century numbers at twenty to thirty million (the population of France in the early eighteenth-century).<sup>106</sup> Drinkwater in 1983 guessed a population of eight million in the time of Julius Caesar growing to twelve million by the third century.<sup>107</sup> It seems that the third-century crisis involved a diminution of northern Gallic populations, but scholars have debated fiercely to what extent migrating or invading incomers added to the population. One of the most important third-to-fourth-century developments was the shrinking of walls, and the apparent reduction of urban spaces.<sup>108</sup> The overall economic and military turnaround of the fourth century left Gaul in better condition, as can be sensed in the triumphant poetry of Ausonius.<sup>109</sup> To what extent these improved conditions – not only due to the political

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<sup>105</sup> Beloch, “Die Bevölkerung Galliens zur Zeit Caesars,” p. 445, noting (p. 445, n. 1), “Ich spreche diese Zahl natürlich mit aller Reserve aus und möchte hier keineswegs dafür eintreten.”

<sup>106</sup> Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1908-1926), vol. 2, pp. 3-8.

<sup>107</sup> J. F. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), pp. 168-70. For the extent of population decline even by the fourth century, see E. M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London, 1985), p. 243: “An inhabitant of second-century Belgica who had awakened from a magic sleep two centuries later would have found the rural scene much altered...The overall impression of a lower density of people would be unavoidable, though more obvious in some areas than others.”

<sup>108</sup> Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, p. 84; cf. Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City*, p. 250.

<sup>109</sup> Ausonius, *Mosella*, lines 455-456, ed. R.P.H. Green, *The Works of Ausonius* (Oxford, 1991), p. 129, for city walls transformed to granaries thanks to peace and prosperity restored.

triumph of the Constantinian and Theodosian dynasties but also, it seems, to favorable climate – led to population growth is uncertain.<sup>110</sup>

It does seem that the population contracted again in the fifth century, when Russell believed it to be near its pre-plague nadir in Gaul.<sup>111</sup> What impact Frankish migration in the fifth century had on the density of Gallic populations remains uncertain, but Russell estimated that between fresh blood and new births, early sixth-century Gaul might have had the same population as Constantinian Gaul.<sup>112</sup> More recent archaeological studies of populations between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages have tended to focus on cultural affiliation rather than size.<sup>113</sup> Russell believed that the Justinianic Plague struck Gaul fiercely in 543.<sup>114</sup> Gregory of Tours emphasizes the deadly impact of the plague, reporting large numbers of dead at Marseille, and describing mass inhumations where ten or more bodies would be thrown into the same grave.<sup>115</sup> Jean Biraben and Jacques Le Goff argued that the Justinianic plague caused demographic

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<sup>110</sup> Reductions in tax loads, for instance by Constantine for Autun, have been used as evidence of fourth-century population decline. Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, p. 85.

<sup>111</sup> Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, p. 85. Cf. Michel Rouche, “Le haut Moyen Âge,” *Histoire des Populations de l’Europe*, ed. Jean-Pierre Bardet and Jacques Dupâquier (Paris, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 133-167, at 147-149.

<sup>112</sup> Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, p. 85.

<sup>113</sup> For more recent analysis using cemetery data to reconstruct the early medieval population history of two settlements in fourth- to seventh-century Alemannia (which bear the marks of a shared material culture until around 600), see Anke Burzler, “Frühmittelalterliche Bestattungsplätze der südlichen Alamannia und ihre Aussagen zur sozialen Schichtung der darin beigesetzten Bevölkerung,” *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 59 (2002): 321-330, esp. p. 327.

<sup>114</sup> Josiah Russell, “That Earlier Plague,” *Demography* 5 (1968): 174-84. For the plague’s impact elsewhere, see Peter Sarris, “The Justinianic Plague: Origins and Effects,” *Continuity and Change* 17 (2002): 169-82; Peregrine Horden, “Mediterranean Plague in the Age of Justinian,” in P. Horden, *Hospitals and Healing From Antiquity to the Later Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2008), Essay XIV, 134-60.

<sup>115</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* 4.31, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 168. For a recent survey of late antique and early medieval mass graves, see Michael McCormick, “Tracking Mass Death.”

havoc with enormous social and political consequences.<sup>116</sup> More recently, Bernard Bachrach has pointed out some of the flaws in their reasoning, including taking Gregory of Tours's *topoi* of desolation at face value, though this does not in itself negate the possibility of demographic decline.<sup>117</sup> This issue will probably best be solved by clearer study of mass graves which can be dated to the 540s and thereafter.<sup>118</sup>

The late Merovingian and early Carolingian Franklands probably experienced gradual growth from the seventh or eighth century onward, but it is difficult to estimate precisely how large the Frankish population became.<sup>119</sup> By about 700, Gaul still possessed a few relatively more densely populated areas centered on important cities or river valleys. The Loire floodplain served as an “urban ribbon” which would later be the center of large high medieval cities.<sup>120</sup> The Seine, the Rhone, and the Rhine were also densely populated – at least by medieval standards (most estimates range from 15-30

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<sup>116</sup> Biraben and Le Goff, “La peste dans le haut Moyen Âge,” 1484-1510.

<sup>117</sup> Bachrach, “Continuity in Late Antique Gaul”; Bachrach, “Plague, Population, and Economy in Merovingian Gaul”; Bachrach, “Some Observations on the Plague in the *Regnum Francorum*.”

<sup>118</sup> Michal Salamon, Alfredo Coppa, Michael McCormick, Mauro Rubini, Rita Vargiu, and Noreen Tuross, “The Consilience of Historical and Isotopic Approaches in Reconstructing the Medieval Mediterranean Diet,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35 (2008): 1667-1672; Michael Kulikowski, “Plague in Spanish Late Antiquity,” in *Plague and the End of Antiquity: the Pandemic of 541-750*, ed. Lester Little (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 150-170, at pp. 152-3, for mass inhumations in Valencia and near Naples (maybe eighth-century) McCormick, “Toward a Molecular History,” pp. 290-312, at pp. 297-300; and *Il complesso archeologico di Carminiello ai Mannesi: Napoli (scavi, 1983-1984)*, ed. Paul Arthur (Galatina, 1994), 58, 74-5. For eighth-century Verona, see R. Macchiarelli and L. Salvadei, “Early Medieval Human Skeletons from the Thermae of Venosa, Italy: Skeletal Biology and Life Stresses in a Group Presumably Inhumed Following an Epidemic,” *Rivista di antropologia* 67 (1989): 105-128, as a possible early medieval plague inhumation in McCormick, “Toward a Molecular History,” p. 299.

<sup>119</sup> Reinhard Schneider, *Das Frankenreich*, 4th edn. (Munich, 2001), pp. 134-137, esp. p. 134, for the difficulties of estimating population size. See also Pierre Riché, “Problèmes de démographie historique du haut Moyen Age (Ve-VIIIe) siècles,” *Annales de démographie historique* (1966): 37-56.

<sup>120</sup> Joëlle Burnouf, “Towns and Rivers, River Towns: Environmental Archaeology and the Archaeological Evaluation of Urban Activities and Trade,” *Post-Roman towns, trade and settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, ed. J. Henning (Berlin, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 165-180, at pp. 116-7.

persons per km.). Schwarz reasoned that the Scheldt was about forty percent less thickly populated than the Seine.<sup>121</sup> That said, on the level of individual towns, the populations in such “densely populated” regions could be rather small, if one is thinking in terms of feeder populations. Palaiseau in the Seine valley was on the large side. It may have had as many as six hundred inhabitants.<sup>122</sup> A small town like Ennery near Paris might contain no more than eighty people.<sup>123</sup>

### *Northern Europe*

While these developments occurred in Gaul, populations were fluctuating on the Germanic borderlands.<sup>124</sup> Two developments characterized late Iron Age settlements in northern Europe beginning in the third or fourth centuries, usually interpreted as signs of demographic growth: the appearance of enclosed farmsteads with subdivided longhouses and the growth in the size of the divisions within longhouses.<sup>125</sup> Both have been seen as signs of thickening Germanic settlement.<sup>126</sup> Roman raids on the Germans may even have exacerbated the pressures of overpopulation across the border, precipitating invasions at

<sup>121</sup> G. M. Schwarz, “Village Populations According to the Polyptyque of the Abbey of St Bertin,” *Journal of Medieval History* 11 (1985): 31-41, offering lower estimates from the same data than van Werveke, “De bevolkingsdichtheid in de IXe eeuw.”

<sup>122</sup> Chris Wickham, “Rural Society in Carolingian Europe,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: c. 700–c. 900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 510-537, at p. 529.

<sup>123</sup> Guy Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organization: The Merovingian Region of Metz* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 198, based on extrapolations from cemetery numbers.

<sup>124</sup> Heiko Steuer, “Besiedlungsdichte, Bevölkerungsgrößen und Heeresstärken während der älteren römischen Kaiserzeit in der Germania Magna,” *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 279 (2007): 337-62, esp. pp. 340-1, for the undulating Germanic population on the Roman borders.

<sup>125</sup> Heiko Steuer, *Frühgeschichtliche Sozialstrukturen in Mitteleuropa: eine Analyse der Auswertungsmethoden des archäologischen Quellenmaterials* (Göttingen, 1982), pp. 167-181, 277-281.

<sup>126</sup> Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, pp. 88-9

the beginning of the fifth century.<sup>127</sup> By the fifth century, enclosed farmsteads were giving way to less structured farmsteads, part of a general thinning out of settlements which characterizes the archaeology of northern Europe from about 400 to about 600.<sup>128</sup> This thinning out – seen in both archaeological and palynological records – was especially marked in Schleswig-Holstein between the fourth century until the eighth century, suggesting that historical descriptions of migration of Angles from this region to Britain may have some truth to them.<sup>129</sup> The Frisian coast underwent a similar thinning out between the fifth and seventh centuries, albeit not as marked as in Schleswig-Holstein.<sup>130</sup> Yet these declines are followed quickly by signs of growth. The marshlands of the Ems and Weser observe a clear increase in settlement in the late seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>131</sup> Similar trends can be detected elsewhere in Germany, the Netherlands, and

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<sup>127</sup> Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, p. 209. For a tentative effort to identify Germanic military encampments archaeologically, see Heiko Steuer, “Germanische Heerlager des 4./5. Jahrhunderts in Südwestdeutschland (?),” in *Military Aspects of Scandinavian Society in a European Perspective, AD 1-130: Papers From an International Research Seminar at the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, 2 - 4 May 1996*, ed. Anne Nørgård Jørgensen (Copenhagen, 1997), pp. 113-122.

<sup>128</sup> P. Schmid, “Ländliche Siedlungen der vorrömischen Eisenzeit bis Völkerwanderungszeit im niedersächsischen Küstengebiet,” *Offa* 39 (1982): 73-96, at p. 92; Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, p. 89, 106-113.

<sup>129</sup> For a tentative argument for depopulation based on an apparent concentration of inhumations in a smaller number of sites during the late Roman period, see Michael Gebühr, “Angulus desertus?” in 46. *Internationales Sachsensymposium “Die Wanderung der Angeln nach England” im Archäologischen Landesmuseum der Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Schloß Gottorf, Schleswig*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Häbeler et al. (Oldenburg, 1998), pp. 43-85, at p. 55. Cf. Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, pp. 109-112.

<sup>130</sup> Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, pp. 112-3. Cf. Herbert Jankuhn, “Die frühmittelalterlichen Seehandelsplätze im Nord- und Ostseeraum,” in *Studien zu den Anfängen des europäischen Städtewesens* (Sigmaringen, 1976 [first published 1958]), pp. 451-498.

<sup>131</sup> Daniel Nösler and Steffen Wolters, “Kontinuität und Wandel: zur Frage der spätvölkerwanderungszeitlichen Siedlungslücke im Elbe-Weser-Dreieck,” in *Dunkle Jahrhunderte in Mitteleuropa? Tagungsbeiträge der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, ed. O. Heinrich-Tamaska, N. Krohn, and S. Ristow (Hamburg, 2009), pp. 367-88, at p. 371. For population growth in Saxony toward the end of our period, see Karlheinz Blaschke, “Menge und Gliederung in der Bevölkerungsentwicklung Sachsens: Eine Langzeitbeobachtung vom 10. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert,” in *Struktur und Dimension: Festschrift für Karl Heinrich Kaufhold zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Gebhard (Stuttgart, 1997), 223-241, at p. 230. A study of one longhouse site on the Saxon coast suggested



England, suggesting marked demographic growth in the later seventh through eighth centuries.<sup>132</sup> Further north, the first signs of urbanism in Scandinavia come with the eighth- and ninth-century emporia: Ribe, Hedeby, Birka, and Kaupang. Urban development in the Nordic lands takes off at the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh, including at some of these earlier sites.<sup>133</sup>

On the other hand, it is usually assumed that Scandinavian populations were growing continuously throughout the early Middle Ages, perhaps with some hiatuses during times of crisis like the sixth century.<sup>134</sup> Ole Benedictow estimates the size of Norway grew to as many as 185,000 by the end of the Viking Age (c. mid eleventh-century).<sup>135</sup> While the overall population size and density remained lower in Scandinavia than elsewhere in western Europe, the rate of growth in the far north appears to have been

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an enduring continuity of habitation from antiquity to the modern period: Erwin Strahl, "Archaeology on the North Sea Coast of Lower Saxony: Recent Research," in *The Rising Tide: Archaeology and Coastal Landscapes*, ed. Alan Aberg and Carena Lewis (Oxford, 2000), pp. 17-21.

<sup>132</sup> For settlements in the region of Drenthe (northeastern Netherlands), see J. A. J. Vervloet, "Early Medieval Settlements on the Sandy Soils of the Netherlands, with Special Attention to the Developments on the Drenthe Plateau," *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography* 70 (1988): 187-196.

<sup>133</sup> Notably: Birka (Stockholm) and Hedeby (Schleswig). Ole Benedictow, "Demographic Conditions," in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*, vol. 1: *Prehistory to 1520*, ed. Knut Helle (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 237-49, at p. 237, estimating their populations at "3,000-5,000 inhabitants). For Ribe, see Claus Feveile, "Ribe: Emporium and Town in the 8th and 9th Centuries," in *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times*, ed. Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, Turnhout, 2010), pp. 143-148. For another recently excavated site, Stavnsager, see Reno Fiedel, Karen H. Nielsen, and Christopher Loveluck, "From Hamlet, to Central Place, to Manor: Social Transformation of the Settlement at Stavnsager, Eastern Jutland, and Its Networks, AD 400-1100," in *Transformations in North-Western Europe (AD 300 - 1000)*, ed. Titus A. S. M. Panhuysen and Babette Ludowici (Stuttgart, 2011), pp. 161-176.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Morten Axboe, "The year 536 and the Scandinavian gold hoards," *Medieval archaeology* 43 (1999): 186-188; Bo Gräslund and Neil Price, "Twilight of the Gods? The 'Dust Veil Event' of AD 536 in Critical Perspective," *Antiquity* 86 (2012): 428-443.

<sup>135</sup> Benedictow, "Demographic Conditions," p. 248.

exceptionally high.<sup>136</sup> Overpopulation used to be a popular explanation for the Viking invasions of the eighth through eleventh centuries; dense populations may not have pushed the Vikings outward, but they peopled a diaspora of northerners who later manned the so-called “Great Armies” of the later ninth century.<sup>137</sup>

In the British Isles, Lundenwic, a grand early medieval emporium situated just upstream from the Roman settlement of London, was large and densely populated by the later seventh century. It has been estimated that its population could have been as large as several thousand by the later eighth century, but the site seems to have been largely abandoned by the middle of the next century.<sup>138</sup> Still, in c. 800 it would have been one of the largest emporia-type cities north of the Alps, albeit one with roots in the Roman settlement. On the other end of Europe, the expansion of occupied sites in the Slavlands has been seen as evidence of growing population there from the seventh century onwards.<sup>139</sup> Population was likely growing on central Dnieper the eighth century.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Benedictow, “Demographic Conditions,” p. 249. For the possibility that this may have owed to the so-called Medieval Warm Period, see T. Douglas Price, *Ancient Scandinavia: An Archaeological History from the First Humans to the Vikings* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 384-385.

<sup>137</sup> Anders Winroth, *The Age of the Vikings* (Princeton, 2014), pp. 51-52, offers a critique of the overpopulation thesis as a “cliché that has no basis in fact,” but see the archaeological evidence in the notes above. For the great armies, see now Shane McLeod, *The Beginning of Scandinavian Settlement in England: The Viking ‘Great Army’ and Early Settlers, c. 865-900* (Turnhout, 2014).

<sup>138</sup> Gordon Malcolm and David Bowsher with Robert Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House, 1989-99* (London, 2003), p. 192-3; Derek J. Keene, “London from the Post-Roman period to 1300,” in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 1: 600-1540, ed. D. M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 187-216, at p. 188 suggested a very high figure of 5,000 to 10,000 people, particularly at the settlement’s height by c. 800. Cf. Derek J. Keene, “London 600-1200,” in *Europäische Städte im Mittelalter*, ed. Ferdinand Opll and Christoph Sonnlechner (Innsbruck, 2010), pp. 95-118, at p. 97 offers “a population in excess of 5,000 persons.” This estimate is accepted cautiously by John Schofield and Heiko Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” in *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell with M. Valor (Aarhus, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 111-153, at pp. 114, 121 (“it has been suggested that Lundenwic may have contained more than 5,000 people”).

<sup>139</sup> Petr Meduna and Eva Černá, “Settlement structure of the early Middle Ages in northwest Bohemia,” *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 388-95, at p. 390; Petr Meduna and Eva Černá, “Die Entwicklung der frühmittelalterlichen Siedlungsstruktur im Peptipsy-Becken auf Grund der Ergebnisse der systematischen

*Iberia*

After Majorian's flight from Hispania in 460, the Spanish provinces were functionally out of Roman control.<sup>141</sup> After the Visigothic takeover in the sixth century, Iberia belonged almost entirely to these barbarian kings. Despite their Arian Christianity (until c. 589), however, the Visigothic kings remained one of the most Roman of the post-Roman successors. They had been *foederati* in southern France and between the battle of Vouillé in 507 and the arrival of the Arabs in 711, their kingdom maintained close links with the Roman past and the Byzantine present. The Visigoths' special interest in cities is reflected in their urban-centered rituals and rich episcopal tradition, although by the seventh century it seems that the number of active episcopal sees had shrunk considerably.<sup>142</sup>

Urban life, at Toledo, Barcelona, and elsewhere in Spain, continued to flourish.<sup>143</sup> Under the expansionary Visigoths, a few new cities were built from scratch. The case of

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Landesaufnahme," *Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Potsdam* 25 (1991): 135-140; Jan Klápště, "Studies of structural change in medieval settlement in Bohemia," *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 396-405, at p. 396; cf. McCormick, *Origins*, p. 11. For growth in Greater Moravia, see Jirí Macháček, "Disputes Over Great Moravia: Chiefdom or State? the Morava or the Tisza River?" *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009): 248-267, at pp. 254-6, for dramatic growth around Pohansko in the late ninth century. For Latvia, see Gunita Zariņa, "The Main Trends in the Palaeodemography of the 7th–18th Century Population of Latvia," *Anthropologischer Anzeiger* 64 (2006): 189-202.

<sup>140</sup> Johan Callmer, "Urbanisation in Northern and Eastern Europe," in *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, ed. J. Henning (Berlin, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 233-270, at pp. 254-5.

<sup>141</sup> Michael Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities* (Baltimore, 2004), 192.

<sup>142</sup> Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain*, pp. 287-288.

<sup>143</sup> Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, pp. 89-94. But see also Enrique Ariño Gil, "Modelos de poblamiento rural en la provincia de Salamanca (España) entre la Antigüedad y la Alta Edad Media," *Zephyrus* 59 (2006): 317-337, for trends in Salamanca.

Reccopolis is well known. The narrative sources on Reccopolis are laconic.<sup>144</sup> John of Biclar, a Gothic Catholic who had spent seventeen years in Constantinople before returning to his native Spain, offers the fullest account: “King Leovigild, having destroyed tyrants everywhere and having crushed Hispania’s invaders, was able to remain in the peace he had made for his people, and he founded a city in Celtiberia which was called Recopolis, from the name of his son, which he decorated with marvelous workmanship within the walls and in the suburbs, and he established privileges for the people of the new city.”<sup>145</sup> Leovigild also founded a second city, Victoriacum, whose location remains unknown.<sup>146</sup> Archaeology tells us a good deal about Reccopolis, located about 120 km to the northeast of Toledo.<sup>147</sup> A rectangular building with a second story probably represents a palace hall, which abuts a large open space. Did the new city

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<sup>144</sup> For the numismatic evidence for Reccopolis, see Manuel Castro Priego, “Reccopolis y los contextos numismáticos de época visigoda en el Centro de la Península Ibérica,” *Revue numismatique* 171 (2014): 463-495; Manuel Castro Priego, “Arqueología y numismática: los hallazgos de época visigoda de ‘La Vega’ (Madrid) y Recópolis (Guadalajara),” in *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid 2003 Actas - Proceedings - Actes*, ed. Carmen Alfaro, Carmen Marcos, and Paloma Otero (Madrid, 2005), vol. 2, pp. 1165-1171; Manuel Castro Priego, “Los hallazgos numismáticos de Recópolis: aspectos singulares de su integración en la secuencia histórica del yacimiento,” in *Recópolis y la ciudad en la época visigoda* (Alcalá de Henares, 2008), pp. 129-39. For the ceramic evidence, see Lauro Olmo Enciso and Manuel Castro Priego, “La cerámica de época visigoda de Recópolis: apuntes tipológicos desde un análisis estratigráfico,” in *Recópolis y la ciudad en la época visigoda* (Alcalá de Henares, 2008), pp. 89-96.

<sup>145</sup> John of Biclar, *Chronicon*, c. 50, ed. C. Cardelle de Hartmann, CCSL, 173A (Turnhout, 2001), p. 70: “Leouegildus rex, extinctis undique tyrannis et peruasoribus Ispanie superatis, sortitus requiem propriam cum plebe resedit et ciuitatem in Celtiberia ex nomine filii condidit, que Recopolim nuncupatur, quam miro opere in menibus et suburbanis adornans, priuilegia populo noue urbis instituit”; Cf. Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA 11 (Berlin, 1894), p. 288: “condidit etiam civitatem in Celtiberia, quam ex nomine filii sui Recopolim nominavit.” For John of Biclar’s life and work, see Julio Campos, *Juan de Biclario, Obispo de Gerona: su vida y su obra* (Madrid, 1960).

<sup>146</sup> John of Biclar, *Chronicon*, c. 60, ed. de Hartmann, p. 72: “Leouegildus rex partem Vasconie occupant et ciuitatem, que Victoriaco nuncupatur, condidit.” The location of this second new city of Leovigild remains unknown. Cf. Roger Collins, *The Basques*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1990), pp. 87-8.

<sup>147</sup> Now see especially *Recópolis y la ciudad en la época visigoda* (Alcalá de Henares, 2008). Klaus Raddatz, “Anmerkungen zu Reccopolis,” *Madriider Mitteilungen* 36 (1995): 311-19; Lauro Olmo Enciso, “Proyecto Recópolis: ciudad y territorio en época visigoda,” *Arqueología en Guadalajara*, ed. Rodrigo de Balbín, Jesús Valiente, and M. Teresa Mussat (Toledo, 1995), pp. 209-23.

possess, as John of Bilar writes, a “populace” large enough to enjoy its new amenities and privileges? Was this new site meant as an administrative center? A stronghold? A retreat?<sup>148</sup> Perhaps one of its best parallels is Justiniana Prima, founded in Illyria in 535 by Justinian, which was endowed with a large population and fine buildings, but which served mostly as an administrative center, only to be abandoned less than a century after its founding.<sup>149</sup> Toledo remained critical in the sixth and seventh centuries as a site for royal ceremony and high politics.<sup>150</sup> Above all, the Visigothic cities were the locus for massive councils which shaped the later medieval church.<sup>151</sup>

The Visigothic kingdom fell in 711.<sup>152</sup> Umayyad Spain falls outside the scope of this study, but like Byzantium it deserves attention as a populous neighbor to the Latin West. By the Carolingian period, Muslim Spain was one of western Europe’s most populous and urbanized regions. It has been estimated that by the tenth century, a third of all towns with populations over ten thousand were in Muslim Spain.<sup>153</sup> High estimates for

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<sup>148</sup> Isabel Velázquez and Gisela Ripoll, “Recopolis: *Vrbs Relicta*? An Historico-Archaeological Debate,” in *Vrbs Extinctae: Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns*, ed. Neil Christie and Andrea Augenti (Farnham, 2012), pp. 145-175, at pp. 153-58.

<sup>149</sup> Hans-Dieter Döpman, “Zur Problematik von Justiniana Prima,” in *Das Christentum in Bulgarien und auf der übrigen Balkanhalbinsel*, ed. Vasil T. Gjuzelev and Renate Pillinger (Vienna, 1987), pp. 221-239; Jacques Zeille, “Le site de Justiniana Prima,” *Revue des sciences religieuses* 10 (1930): 650-658. Cf. Philippe Pergola, “Comunicare la storia: dalla civitas romana alla città episcopale del medioevo alla luce dell’archeologie,” *Intermelion: cultura e territorio* 18 (2012): 195-202, at pp. 199-200.

<sup>150</sup> Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City*, pp. 140-160.

<sup>151</sup> José Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, España Cristiana 1 (Barcelona, 1963); Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589-633*.

<sup>152</sup> For debates about the impact of the Islamic invasion on Iberian populations, see María de los Ángeles Utrero Agudo, “Late-Antique and Early Medieval Hispanic Churches and the Archaeology of Architecture: Revisions and Reinterpretation of Constructions, Chronologies and Contexts,” *Medieval Archaeology* 54 (2010): 1-33, esp. pp. 4-5, for an older model stressing settlement disruption, and pp. 5-9, for a new model arguing against a depopulated “no-man’s land” between Christian and Muslim populations.

<sup>153</sup> Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” p. 122.

urban populations (such as the guess of half a million or higher for Cordoba) were rejected by Leopoldo Torres Balbás, who still proposed very high figures based on numbers of mosques, reported households, city wall proportions, and estimates of free or open space: 100,000 for Cordoba, over 30,000 for Toledo, high 20,000s for Almería and Granada; and low-to-mid 20,000s for Málaga, Jerez, and Badajoz; somewhere in the mid to high 10,000s for Zaragoza and Valencia.<sup>154</sup> This figure of 100,000 for Umayyad Cordoba is frequently repeated, although at least one reexamination of the evidence casts serious doubts on its reliability.<sup>155</sup> Whether these figures are trustworthy or not, it is clear that Muslim Iberia was both more populous and more urbanized than either northern, Christian Spain or the Frankish north. An embassy from the Ottonians to the palace of Madinat al-Zahra outside of Cordoba was astonished by the huge proportions of the Umayyad court.<sup>156</sup>

Across the board, we can draw two overarching conclusions about the basic fate of populations in the former western provinces. On the one hand, the old picture of demographic and urban contraction in the fifth and sixth centuries, followed by recovery thereafter, probably still holds generally. The difference is that demographic recovery

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<sup>154</sup> Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1985); Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Extensión y demografía de las ciudades hispanomusulmanas," *Studia Islamica* 3 (1955): 35-50, esp. pp. 41-46. Cf. the useful overview in Lawrence McCrank, "Cities," *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. E. M. Gerli (New York, 2003), pp. 234-7 at p. 235.

<sup>155</sup> E.g. Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus* (London, 1996), p. 107; Marc Boone, "Medieval Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, ed. Peter Clark (Oxford, 2013), pp. 221-239, at p. 222 (100,000 to 200,000); The study casting doubt on this figure is Torres Balbás, *Ciudades*, p. 104. Manuel Ación Almansa and Antonio Vallejo Triano, "Urbanismo y estado islámico: de Corduba a Qurtuba – Madinat al Zahrah," in *Genèse de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*, ed. P. Cressier and M. García Arenal (Madrid, 1998), pp. 107-36, casts doubt on this figure.

<sup>156</sup> John of Saint-Arnulf, *Vita Iohannis abbatis Gorziensis* (BHL 4396), c. 115-136, ed. M. Parisse, *Jean de Saint-Arnoul, La vie de Jean, abbé de Gorze* (Paris, 1999), pp. 142-160.

seems to have taken place much faster than scholars once believed. On the other hand, thanks to many decades of local research we know that enormous regional differences characterized the early medieval European demographic regime. Scandinavia's population grew faster than other parts of Europe, but in density and size it must have been dwarfed by Italian populations, which had diminished the most catastrophically during the twilight of the Roman empire. Within kingdoms, river valleys might be far more densely populated than hilly and forested regions. We might even come to see inequalities in population density as a noteworthy feature of early medieval population history: something which helps explain movements of people. The difference in scale between the West and the Islamic and Byzantine East was profound.<sup>157</sup> Yet even taken on its own, the demographic map of early medieval Europe can be seen as a series of sharp differentials in population density. This had consequences on the political economy of assembly which are clearer on an even more local level.

### III. Regional Population Capacities

The early Middle Ages saw a new and vibrant group of settlement patterns replace the Roman forms. John Schofield and Heiko Steuer have recently provided a useful overview of ten basic types of early medieval settlement, building on the work of

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<sup>157</sup> On the evolution of towns in the Islamic East, see Hugh Kennedy, "From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria," *Past & Present* 106 (1985): 3-27; now reinforced by the archaeological survey of Gideon Avni, *The Byzantine-Islamic Transition in Palestine: An Archaeological Approach* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 40-106. For an early attempt to estimate the population size of the Arab empire, see Charles Issawi, "The Area and Population of the Arab Empire: an Essay in Speculation," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900: Studies in Economic and Social History*, ed. A. L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), pp. 375-396.

Martin Biddle and the older categories of Edith Ennen.<sup>158</sup> There is considerable overlap among these sites, and some spaces relevant to our theme – such as seasonal agglomerations (like fairs and armies) – are omitted from their list, but Schofield and Steuer provide a useful shorthand with which to categorize early medieval population pools, the basic source for crowds.

First, there are the old Roman cities themselves.<sup>159</sup> Particularly in Italy (and Spain), but in parts of northern Europe as well, late Roman *civitates* survived in attenuated form into the early Middle Ages, often now as centers for episcopal authority.<sup>160</sup> A few such centers, like Tongeren, were abandoned for good in late Antiquity.<sup>161</sup> Many suffered decline in the course of the wars, invasion, and unrest of the

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<sup>158</sup> Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” pp. 136-144; cf. Martin Biddle, “Towns,” in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Wilson (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 99-150, at p. 100, listing twelve criteria with which to analyze urbanism: defenses, street planning, markets, mint, legal status, role as a central place, large and dense population, diverse economic base, houses, social differentiation, religious organization, and judicial centralization. Cf. Edith Ennen, *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalters*, 4th edn. (Göttingen, 1987); and David Nicholas, “The Urban Typologies of Henri Pirenne and Max Weber: Was There a ‘Medieval’ City?” in *Comparative Perspectives on History and Historians: Essays in Memory of Bryce Lyon (1920-2007)*, ed. David Nicholas, Bernard S. Bachrach, and James M. Murray (Kalamazoo, 2012), pp. 75-96. See also Galetti, *Uomini e case nel Medioevo tra Occidente e Oriente*, pp. 114-115. For the utility of this kind of “ideal type” analysis, see Wickham, *Framing*, p. 592, who builds on Biddle’s typology (with important updates and caveats at pp. 592-596). See also the new term (albeit for a later period) of a “quasi-city” by Giorgio Chittolini, “‘Quasi-città’: Borghi e terre in area lombarda nel tardo medioevo,” *Società e storia* 47 (1990): 3-26.

<sup>159</sup> Manfred Groten, “Die mittelalterliche Stadt als Erbin der antiken *civitas*,” in *Gründungsmythen Europas im Mittelalter*, ed. M. Bernsen, M. Becher, and E. Brügggen (Bonn, 2013), pp. 21-33, at pp. 23-24, for the changing meanings of *civitas* in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

<sup>160</sup> Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” p. 136; Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City*, pp. 127-140; Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, pp. 74-103.

<sup>161</sup> Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, pp. 2-3; Alain Vanderhoeven, “Changing Urban Topography in Late Roman and Early Medieval Tongeren,” in *Transformations in North-Western Europe, AD 300-1000*, ed. Titus A.S.M. Panhuysen and Babette Ludowici (Stuttgart, 2011), pp. 128-138; see also Alain Vanderhoeven, “Die römische Stadt Tongeren,” in *Römisches Aachen: Archäologisch-historische Aspekte zu Aachen und der Euregio*, ed. Raban von Haehling and Andreas Schaub (Regensburg, 2013), pp. 387-411; Alain Vanderhoeven, “Aspekte der frühesten Romanisierung Tongerens und des zentralen Teiles der *civitas Tungrorum*,” in *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität: Germania inferior am Beginn und am Ende der römischen Herrschaft*, ed. T. Grünwald and S. Seibel (Berlin, 2003), pp. 119-144.



fifth century, only to gain new life in the seventh century onward.<sup>162</sup> Examples which have been the object of some excavation include Cologne, Mainz, Trier, Strasbourg, Basle, Constance, Regensburg, Passau, and Vienna.<sup>163</sup> To this list we might add Worms and Speyer in the Rhineland, and Utrecht lower on the river's course. Such sites could remain populous even in the wake of considerable decay in Roman infrastructure. An eighth-century hagiographical writer describes Metz as "abounding with crowds" at the same time as he describes how the city's amphitheater was given over to wild snakes.<sup>164</sup> Despite urban decay, this settlement type was probably the most populous of all the different forms of settlement in western Europe.<sup>165</sup> Nevertheless, early medieval cities must have been much smaller than their Roman predecessors. Roman Toulouse, one of Gaul's largest cities, with some 90 hectares of walled space, would have numbered 27,000 assuming a very generous population density of 300 persons per hectare.<sup>166</sup> This

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<sup>162</sup> Volker Bierbrauer, "Die Kontinuität städtischen Lebens in Oberitalien aus archäologischer Sicht (5.-7./8. Jahrhundert)," in *Die Stadt in Oberitalien und in den nordwestlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches: deutsch-italienisches Kolloquium im Italienischen Kulturinstitut Köln*, ed. Werner Eck and Hartmut Galsterer (Mainz, 1991), pp. 263-286; Hartmut Wolff, "Die Kontinuität städtischen Lebens in den nördlichen Grenzprovinzen des römischen Reiches und das Ende der Antike," in *Ibid.*, pp. 287-318. For the particularly illuminating case of the city of Trier and environs, see Lukas Clemens, "Trier im Umbruch - die Stadt während des 5. bis 9. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.," in *Ein Traum von Rom: Stadtleben im römischen Deutschland* (Darmstadt, 2014), pp. 328-335.

<sup>163</sup> For Cologne, see Nico Aten, Pieter M. Grootes, and Ursula Tegtmeier, "Römische bis neuzeitliche Befunde der Ausgrabung auf dem Heumarkt in Köln," *Kölner Jahrbuch* 34 (2001): 623-700.

<sup>164</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. Damien Kempf, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 19 (Paris, 2013), p. 48.

<sup>165</sup> Frank G. Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge des Städtewesens in Mitteleuropa: Die Bischofssitze des Reiches bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*, 3 volumes (Stuttgart, 2011-2012); Cf. Ross Samson, "Illusory Emporia and Mad Economic Theories," in *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia*, ed. Mike Anderton (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 76-90, at p. 76-7. For a response, see Pieterjan Deckers, "An Illusory Emporium? Small Trading Places Around the Southern North Sea," in *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times*, ed. Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 159-167.

<sup>166</sup> Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, pp. 84-5, noting the difficulty of estimating population density.

figure is almost certainly too high even for Classical Antiquity, especially considering that French population densities in the nineteenth century were often around 100 persons per hectare.<sup>167</sup> Urban walls had been shrinking long before the collapse of Roman power in the West, and while this phenomenon is hotly debated it is hard to imagine that depopulation played no role.<sup>168</sup> Post-Roman cities would have been even more thinly populated after the sixth century, but reliable population densities still elude us. Furthermore, we know frustratingly little about the size of suburban populations which arose beyond the walls of Roman cities, too, often in conjunction with saints' shrines. These suburban bubbles of population may have made up for urban depopulation, acting as feeder populations for the city's largest ritual occasions.<sup>169</sup>

Most estimates for early medieval cities tend to place the large ones in the mid thousands. Probably only in Italy and Umayyad Spain did populations exceed ten thousand. More important than the size of the cities is the growing consensus that, whatever happened to their population density, cities themselves remained symbolically and in many cases administratively central.<sup>170</sup> Although Frankish royal ritual tended, particularly with the Carolingians, to eschew urban spaces, Frankish bishops, together

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<sup>167</sup> Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, p. 84, n. 319.

<sup>168</sup> Michel Robin, "Cités ou citadelles? Les enceintes romaines du bas-empire d'après l'exemple de Paris," *Revue des études anciennes* 53 (1951): 301-311. For a classic interpretation of the transition from ancient to medieval cities in northern Europe, see Fernand Vercauteren, "De la cité antique à la communauté médiévale," *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques Académie royale de Belgique* 5 (1962): 130-140. Cf. Fernand Vercauteren, "La vie urbaine entre Meuse et Loire du Ve et IXe siècle," in *La città nell'alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1959), pp. 453-484. See also recently Henri Galinié, "Émergence ou ré-émergence des villes dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe VIIe-Xe siècle: Rapport introductif," in *Archéologie des villes dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe (VIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, ed. P. Demolon, H. Galinié, and F. Verhaeghe (Douai, 1994), pp. 9-16.

<sup>169</sup> Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, p. 85.

<sup>170</sup> This is the main argument of Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City*, esp. pp. 244-251. Cf. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, pp. 1-25, conceding much functional if not material continuity.

with Gothic and Lombard kings, continued to value the city as the quintessential locus of political and religious drama. The largest church councils in the Frankish world met in cities like Orléans and Paris. The rich variety of sacred and public space in cities like Metz (with no fewer than forty churches in the Carolingian period) contributed to the grandeur and meaningfulness of ritual.<sup>171</sup>

Second, there are “proto-urban” sites often known as emporia (after a passage in Bede) or “wics” (due to the suffix many such sites held); these were economically vibrant but small-scale trading settlements, often on coasts or rivers.<sup>172</sup> Sometimes these emporia grew from previously inhabited Roman sites, or – as in the case of “Lundenwic” upriver of Roman *Londinium* – in the immediate vicinity of old Roman cities; often they sprung up on the rivers and coasts beyond the Roman reach.<sup>173</sup> Examples include Dorestad, Lundeberg, Hedeby, Karlburg-am-Main. Such centers attracted raiders and were known as busy and crowded sites.<sup>174</sup> Their seasonally varying populations could be quite large – particularly for a place like Lundenwic, perhaps the largest settlement of this kind – but

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<sup>171</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1975-1990), vol. 2, 41-62.

<sup>172</sup> Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” pp. 136-8. On the fate of these *wics* see R. A. Hall, “The Decline of the Wic?” in *Towns in Decline, AD 100-1600*, ed. T. R. Slater (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 120-136. For the passage describing London as an *emporium*, see Bede, *HE*, 2.3.1, ed. Lapidge, vol. 1, pp. 298-300.

<sup>173</sup> See also Georges Despy, “Villes et campagnes aux IXe et Xe siècles: l'exemple du pays mosan,” in *Anfänge des Städtewesens an Schelde, Maas und Rhein bis zum Jahre 1000*, ed. Adriaan Verhulst, (Cologne, 1996), pp. 299-322, for towns on the Meuse which originated in Roman times but gained importance as mints and centers of trade in the Merovingian and Carolingian period. Cf. Adriaan Verhulst, “The Origins and Early Development of Medieval Towns in Northern Europe,” *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 47 (1994): 362-373.

<sup>174</sup> *AB*, s.a. 863, ed. Grat et al., pp. 95-96: “Dani mense ianuario per Rhenum uersus Coloniam nauigio ascendunt, et depopulato emporio quod Dorestatus dicitur, sed et uillam non modicam ad quam Frisii confugerant, occisis multis Frisiorum negotiatoribus et capta non modica populi multitudine, usque ad quandam insulam secus castellum Novesium perueniunt.” Jan van Doesburg, “*Villa non modica?* Some Thoughts on the Interpretation of a Large Early Medieval Earthwork Near Dorestad,” in *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times*, ed. Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 51-58, esp. p. 56.

most probably numbered a few thousand inhabitants at most. One scholar imagines Dorestad's population shifting between summer and winter, "a bit like a holiday resort."<sup>175</sup> Perhaps the better comparison would be to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century New England, whose whaling population departed seasonally, leading to a predictable demographic cycle around which cultural, political, social life conformed.<sup>176</sup>

Aside from London, which ought to count as an exception to the normal emporia form because of the city's multiple significance as a religious, economic, and political site, most scholars think other English emporia had populations only in the lower thousands. These populations would have varied seasonally. Dorestad may have numbered about 2,000 at the busy time of the year.<sup>177</sup> Hedeby perhaps counted 1,500 at its height, possibly more; Birka was somewhat smaller.<sup>178</sup> A peculiarity of emporia sites is their physical sprawl. Scholars have debated how to calculate the possible population size across these large spaces.<sup>179</sup> Hamwic, despite a large physical size, probably did not have anywhere near the 18,000 inhabitants it could have accommodated physically; instead, the site's excavator estimates a population more around 2,000 or 3,000.<sup>180</sup> The

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<sup>175</sup> Willemsen, "Dorestad, a Medieval Metropolis," p. 70. For the estimate of "a few thousand people," see Annemarieke Willemsen, *Dorestad: een wereldstad in de middeleeuwen* (Zutphen, 2009), p. 7.

<sup>176</sup> Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women & the Whalefishery, 1720-1870* (Chapel Hill, 2000), p. 128. Cf. Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 210.

<sup>177</sup> David M. Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City. From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century* (London, 1997), p. 40-1; Annemarieke Willemsen, *Dorestad: een wereldstad in de middeleeuwen* (Zutphen, 2009), p. 7, estimates "a few thousand people."

<sup>178</sup> Helen Clarke and Björn Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age* (Leicester, 1991), p. 157.

<sup>179</sup> Schofield and Steuer, "Urban Settlement," pp. 136-8.

<sup>180</sup> Phil Andrews, ed., *Excavations at Hamwic*, vol. 2: *Excavations at Six Dials* (York, 1997), p. 253.

type of crowd that gathered at emporia would not have been large assemblies controlled by elites, but the hustle and bustle of trade.

Third, there were palaces, temporary or semi-permanent residences for kings, almost always incorporating other residential structures, churches, and storage or production buildings, in addition to the palace hall.<sup>181</sup> These settlements were most populous when kings or other elites were present.<sup>182</sup> Palaces, like the frequent gathering site of Quierzy, tended to be located away from major settlements and even off the Roman road system.<sup>183</sup> The Carolingians and Ottonians especially are known for their mighty palaces, many of which have been excavated: Aachen, Ingelheim, Duisburg, Frankfurt, Paderborn, Werla, Tilleda, Magdeburg, Regensburg, and Zurich. Aachen grew particularly large as Charlemagne spent more time there.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” pp. 138-9.

<sup>182</sup> Stuart Airlie, “The Palace of Memory: the Carolingian Court as Political Centre,” in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks, A. J. Minnis (Rochester, N.Y., 2000), pp. 1-20, discussing the palace of Compiègne at p. 14: “as a centre for gatherings of the Carolingian élite, Compiègne was a theatre that played to a large audience, and theatre is the appropriate term.” For Compiègne, see May Vieillard-Troïekouff, “La chapelle du palais de Charles le Chauve à Compiègne,” *Cahiers Archéologiques* 21 (1971): 89-108. See also Sebastian Ristow, “Aachen und Köln, Ingelheim und Mainz – Residenz und Stadt: Siedlungsentwicklung zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 20 (2014): 85-97.

<sup>183</sup> Josiane Barbier, “Quierzy (Aisne): Résidence pippinide et palais carolingien,” in *Palais médiévaux (France-Belgique): 25 ans d’archéologie*, ed. Annie Renoux (Le Mans, 1994), pp. 85-86. For the spatial and political implications of the Carolingian palace system, see Simon MacLean, “Palaces, Itineraries and Political Order in the Post-Carolingian Kingdoms,” in *Diverging Paths? The Shapes of Power and Institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam*, ed. John G. H. Hudson and Ana María Rodríguez López (Leiden, 2014), pp. 291-320.

<sup>184</sup> For Aachen’s development, see Donald Bullough, “*Aula Renovata*: the Carolingian Court Before the Aachen Palace,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 71 (1985): 267-301. For the most recent archaeological findings at Aachen, see *Die karolingische Pfalzkapelle in Aachen: Material, Bautechnik, Restaurierung*, ed. U. Heckner and E.-M. Beckmann (Worms, 2012); *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte*, ed. H. Müller, C. M. Bayer, and M. Kerner (Regensburg, 2014); *Aachen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Vol. 2 Karolinger–Ottonen–Salier 765–1137*, ed. T. R. Kraus (Aachen, 2013).

Palaces were capable of bringing together large numbers of people, judging by the written sources. Einhard's *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* envisions large crowds drawn by a sweet scene to two relics from their business (*negotia*) in the town.<sup>185</sup> Elites of sufficient means built residences around the royal dwelling complex.<sup>186</sup> Palace settlements must have cleared out when important officials were not present, but in their combination of ritual space and concentration of population they served as a powerful alternative to the traditional city as a site of ideologically charged assembly. Palace settlements are full of spaces designed to attract and manipulate crowds: halls, courtyards, chapels, balconies, and the ins-and-outs of the palaces themselves.

Fourth, there were new *civitates*, or bishops' sees, which were either new foundations (for instance Paderborn in Carolingian Saxony) or settled on less vibrant former Roman sites; many of these would later develop into larger settlements.<sup>187</sup> Fifth were the great monasteries, which often functioned as small townlets and were closely integrated into local economies.<sup>188</sup> Huge monasteries had been a staple of late Antiquity in the east, and they grew especially large in the Carolingian west. As Hendrik Dey has recently observed, great monasteries like Saint-Riquier functioned, ritually, much as

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<sup>185</sup> E.g. Einhard, *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233), 2.4, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 247.

<sup>186</sup> Einhard, *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233), 2.3, ed. Waitz, p. 246, describes his own residence in Aach adorned with what he calls "an oratory of unremarkable workmanship"; Lobbedey, "Carolingian Royal Palaces," pp. 130-131, for possible archaeological evidence of an episcopal residence at Aachen.

<sup>187</sup> Bernard Bachrach, "Fifth-Century Metz: Late Roman Christian *Urbs* or Ghost Town?" *Antiquité Tardive* 10 (2002): 363-81, in speaking of *civitates* sometimes does not distinguish between the *civitates* so-called because they are episcopal seats and those which also happen to be large settlements. See e.g. Boone, "Medieval Europe," pp. 221-2, for cities which were large but lacked bishops until the end of the Middle Ages.

<sup>188</sup> Schofield and Steuer, "Urban Settlement," pp. 139.

ancient cities had.<sup>189</sup> Thanks to the richness of monastic records, we often have good ideas of some of the number of monks in these houses.<sup>190</sup> With the rise of oblation across Carolingian monasteries, many of the great Carolingian houses expanded into little Cities of God.<sup>191</sup> Many of the larger monasteries numbered hundreds of monks, although the number of servants and dependents was far larger. We can see from Angilbert of Saint-Riquier's institutes that the eighth-century abbot regarded the local populace as an extension to his monastery: to be summoned to ceremonies in Centula's sprawling complex.<sup>192</sup> The provisions Adalhard drew up for the monastery of Corbie takes account of more people than just simply monks.<sup>193</sup> Our ninth-century figures are fairly secure: 114 monks for Jumièges in 828;<sup>194</sup> 150 monks at Saint-Denis in the early ninth century;<sup>195</sup> 603 monks at Fulda in 825.<sup>196</sup> Although monastic numbers even at very large monasteries like Fulda were outmatched by cities and large emporia, monastic

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<sup>189</sup> Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City*, pp. 221-33.

<sup>190</sup> Ursmer Berlière, "Le nombre des moines dans les anciens monastères," *Revue bénédictine* 41 (1929): 231-61; Ursmer Berlière, "Le nombre des moines dans les anciens monastères (suite et fin)," *Revue bénédictine* 42 (1930): 19-42; Ian Wood, "Entrusting Western Europe to the Church, 400-750," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (2013): 37-73, at pp. 67-69.

<sup>191</sup> Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the early medieval West* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 56-99. See also, with a very different perspective, John Boswell, "Expositio and Oblatio: The Abandonment of Children and the Ancient and Medieval Family," *The American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 10-33.

<sup>192</sup> Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, *Institutio de diversitate officiorum*, c. 9, ed. K. Hallinger, M. Wegener, and H. Frank, CCM 1 (Siegburg, 1963), p. 296. See Edmund Bishop, "Angilbert's Ritual Order for Saint-Riquier," in E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 314-332.

<sup>193</sup> Adalhard, *Statuta*, ed. J. Semmler, CCM 1 (Siegburg, 1963), pp. 365-418.

<sup>194</sup> Berlière, "Le nombre [1]," pp.

<sup>195</sup> Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706), p. 79, using an act of association with Saint-Rémi of Reims.

<sup>196</sup> Karl Schmid, "Mönchslisten und Klosterkonvent von Fulda zur Zeit der Karolinger," in *Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. K. Schmid 3 vols. (Munich, 1976-8), vol. 2, pp. 571-639.

populations trained in the liturgy must have constituted the early medieval west's largest, readiest bodies of crowd participants.

Sixth, we must consider rural populations. Among them are large farmsteads which belonged to great landowners, believed to consist of a core area with workshops and residences.<sup>197</sup> Various attempts to extrapolate population densities and sizes on the basis of the polyptychs have been put forward.<sup>198</sup> These must have experienced their own small-scale gatherings, but more importantly many inhabitants of the countryside were connected to wider networks by the chains of duty to lords (as we learn in extraordinary detail from the polyptychs).<sup>199</sup> The eighth-century *Lex Baiuvariorum* describes the duties of *coloni* or *servi* to the church, which include physical repairs to buildings such as haylofts, granaries, fences, and limekilns.<sup>200</sup> The law suggests that as many as a hundred people might be caused to come “both to the city (*civitas*) and to the vill (*villa*) as it may be necessary.”<sup>201</sup> This law book remained significant into the Carolingian period, and

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<sup>197</sup> Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” pp. 139. For a survey of rural settlement in transalpine Europe, see Loveluck, *Northwest Europe*, pp. 33-56; for Italy, see Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 401-496.

<sup>198</sup> Vleeschouwers-Van Melkebeek, “Demografische problemen in verband met de polyptiek van Sint-Bertijns,” pp. 239-245. See also Stephen Weinberger, “Peasant Households in Provence: ca. 800-1100,” *Speculum* 48 (1973): 247-257, for an effort to combine polyptych data with other kinds of evidence in a diachronic analysis.

<sup>199</sup> Jean-Pierre Devroey, “Un monastère dans l'économie d'échanges: les services de transport à l'abbaye Saint-Germain-des-Prés au IXe siècle,” *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 28 (1984): 570-589.

<sup>200</sup> *Lex Baiuvariorum*, 1.13, ed. E. von Schwind, MGH LL nat. Germ. 5.2 (Hanover, 1926), p. 288; and also ed. K. Bayerle, *Lex Baiuvariorum: Lichtdruckwiedergabe der Ingolstädter Handschrift des bayerischen Volksrechts mit Transkription, Textnoten, Übersetzung, Einführung, Literaturübersicht und Glossar* (Munich, 1926), p. 46; For this law, see Theodore John Rivers, “Seignorial Obligations and ‘Lex Baiuvariorum’ 1,13,” *Traditio* 31 (1975): 336-343; Theodore John Rivers, “The Manorial System in the Light of ‘Lex Baiuvarium,’ 1,13,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 25 (1991): 89-95. For an overview of the issues related to dating, see Harald Siems, “Lex Baiuvariorum,” *RGA*<sup>2</sup> 18 (Berlin, 2001), pp. 305-315.

<sup>201</sup> *Lex Baiuvariorum*, 1.13: “Casas dominicas stabilire, fenile, granicam vel tuninum recuperando pedituras rationabiles accipiant et quando necesse fuerit, omnino componant; calcefunum, ubi prope fuerit, ligna aut



much copied.<sup>202</sup> At the same time, a whole class of free peasants, absent from the analysis of the polyptychs, may have fallen outside of this web of obligations (which in practice involved assembly). One of the great excitements of recent archaeology is that we can reconstruct their material lives.<sup>203</sup>

Seventh, are the fortresses which began to characterize the western landscape in the ninth through eleventh centuries (excepting parts of the German Empire), culminating in the growth of castles in Europe.<sup>204</sup> These are important features of the Slavlands in the east, and sites like Kolberg, Wollin, and Stettin on the Baltic Coast, Ostrów Lednicki, Gniezno, and Poznan in Poland, and Milkulčice, Stará Kouřim, and Pohansko in Greater Moravia would have rivaled many western town and even cities in size.<sup>205</sup> Eighth, by the tenth century, new towns were beginning to rise where multiple central places coincided: Schofield and Steuer give the example of Hildesheim, where a new bishop's see met an important trading center.<sup>206</sup> Ninth, there are certain market sites (*mercata*) which were established or licensed by elites, especially kings, in order to act as legal or economic

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petras L homines faciant, ubi longe fuerit, centum homines debeant expetiri et ad civitatem vel ad villam, ubi necesse fuerit, ipsam calcem trahant.”

<sup>202</sup> Raymund Kottje, “Die Lex Baiuvariorum - das Recht der Baiern,” in *Überlieferung und Geltung normativer Texte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, ed. Hubert Mordek (Sigmaringen, 1986), pp. 9-23.

<sup>203</sup> Loveluck, *Northwest Europe*, pp. 13-14, 23-4.

<sup>204</sup> Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” pp. 139-40; cf. Hermann Vetters, “Von der spätantiken zur frühmittelalterlichen Festungsbaukunst,” in *Ordinamenti militari in Occidente nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane 15 (Spoleto, 1968), pp. 929-960. For an illuminating case of a fortress which developed into an early medieval episcopal residence, see Ralph Röber, “Von der spätrömischen Festung zum frühmittelalterlichen Bischofssitz: Konstanz am Bodensee,” in *Kontinuität und Diskontinuität im archäologischen Befund*, ed. Matthias Untermann (Paderborn, 2006), pp. 13-18.

<sup>205</sup> For Pohansko see Jiri Macháček, *The Rise of Medieval Towns and States in East Central Europe: Early Medieval Centres as Social and Economic Systems* (Leiden, 2010), esp. pp. 433-5; and Jiri Macháček, *Pohansko bei Breclav: Ein frühmittelalterliches Zentrum als sozialwirtschaftliches System* (Bonn, 2007).

<sup>206</sup> Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” p. 142. See further Erich Herzog, *Die ottonische Stadt: Die Anfänge der mittelalterlichen Stadtbaukunst in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1964).

centers.<sup>207</sup> Such markets, rather than the emporia, might be understood as “times” quite as much as “places” of assembly. The same is true of sites of justice: the *mallus* or court of the local count.<sup>208</sup> While some documentary evidence gives some sense of when and where these markets met, as temporary gatherings they have been traditionally very difficult to identify archaeologically.<sup>209</sup> This is changing, however, as metal-rich finds outside of known settlements are being interpreted as possible market sites.<sup>210</sup> Tenth, there were artisanal production or extraction sites, often nearby a larger settlement (like pottery-producing Siegburg near Cologne).<sup>211</sup> The clearest cases are salt-production sites, often with long prehistories (e.g. Bad Neuheim), or ore mining sites, most famously the Rammelsberg ore deposits in the Harz, which prompted the growth of Ottonian Goslar.<sup>212</sup> Such places were not necessarily themselves sites of population agglomeration, but they could contribute to assemblies in the ritually significant sites nearby.

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<sup>207</sup> Cf. the Edict of Pîtres (864), c. 19, ed. Boretius, MGH Capit. 2, no. 273, pp. 317-318; cf. Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” p. 142-44.

<sup>208</sup> For the *mallus*, see Francis N. Estey, “The Meaning of *Placitum* and *Mallum* in the Capitularies,” *Speculum* 22 (1947): 435-439. Stefan Brink, “Legal Assemblies and Judicial Structure in Early Scandinavia,” in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 61-72, has examined the Scandinavian evidence.

<sup>209</sup> For an attempt to reconstruct systems of markets in early medieval northern Italy using the written sources, see Aldo Settia, “‘Per Foros Italiae’: Le aree extraurbane fra Alpi e Appennini,” in *Mercati e mercanti nell’alto medioevo: l’area euroasiatica e l’area mediterranea* (Spoleto, 1993), pp. 187-233, esp. pp. 191-201 (seasonality), 201-12 (space).

<sup>210</sup> For new approaches, including analyses of coin finds, to identify market sites archaeologically, see the essays in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and Productive Sites, 650-850*, ed. Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Macclesfield, 2003).

<sup>211</sup> Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” p. 144.

<sup>212</sup> Friedrich-Albert Linke, “Archaeological survey of monuments of early mining and smelting in the Harz Mountains,” in *Aspects of Mining and Smelting in the Upper Harz Mountains (up to the 13th/14th century)*, ed. Christiane Segers-Glocke and Harald Witthöft (St. Katharinen, 2000), pp. 30-52; Herzog, *Die ottonische Stadt*, pp. 71-77. For the impact of the Rammelsberg mine on coin production, see Rory Naismith, “The Social Significance of Monetization in the Early Middle Ages,” *Past & Present* 223 (2014): 3-39, at p. 14.

We can draw a few conclusions about all these sites as reservoirs or feeder populations for crowds. The rise of new sites along riverways and mints along borders emphasizes the importance of new, naturally central places for gathering. But Roman sites remain surprisingly important as centers of population and (as we will see further in chapter 2) as sites of assembly. When gatherings had to take place in less populous regions, elites sometimes took additional steps to make the best of local demographic conditions. For instance, in the late eighth century Angilbert of Saint-Riquier seems to have done everything in his power to ensure large crowds for solemn litanies at his city-like new monastery.<sup>213</sup> Angilbert tapped into local villages for teams of processions, and possibly even founded a new village called “Angilbertvillia” to safeguard higher numbers.<sup>214</sup> This feat of logistics that must have required an impressive degree of leadership and coordination. Even by the early ninth century, as populations were again on the rise and the settlement structure of western Europe was reconfiguring, it still took considerably more effort and coordination to assemble large crowds than it had during Antiquity. This leads us to our final set of questions. In the new and old spaces where crowds could gather, how large were early medieval crowds themselves, and what impact did this have on the early medieval practice of gathering?

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<sup>213</sup> Friedrich Möbius, “Die ‘Ecclesia Maior’ von Centula (790-799): Wanderliturgie im höfischen Kontext,” *Kritische Berichte* 11 (1983): 42-58, esp. pp. 48-50, for the relationship between Angilbert’s new liturgy and the politics of the Carolingian court.

<sup>214</sup> Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, *Institutio de diversitate officiorum*, c. 9, ed. K. Hallinger, M. Wegener, and H. Frank, CCM 1 (Siegburg, 1963), pp. 296 (providing one procession with a cross), 299 (as a stop on a large regional procession). See esp. Carol Heitz, “Architecture et liturgie en France de l’époque carolingienne à l’an Mil,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 1 (1995): 57-73, at pp. 58-59. Cf. the discussion in Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City*, pp. 226-8; Honoré Bernard, “Saint-Riquier: l’abbaye carolingienne d’Angilbert,” in *Saint-Riquier: Une grande abbaye bénédictine*, ed. Aline Magnien (Paris, 2009), pp. 55-82.

#### IV. Sizes of Gatherings

First, how large were crowds in the early Middle Ages? Second, what were early medieval expectations or perceptions of the size of crowds? The first question is far more difficult to answer than the second. It is a truism of crowd sociology that it is impossible for untrained observers, let alone participants, to estimate crowd sizes.<sup>215</sup> The most sophisticated methods for crowd analysis today involve multiple observers following strict protocols, working with the help of aerial photography and video.<sup>216</sup> The best numerical estimates are thought to derive from three variables: carrying capacity, the proportion of the space used, and density of assembly.<sup>217</sup> Early medieval reports clearly did not think in these terms. Nevertheless, some data, direct and indirect, permit us to gain a sense of the plausible magnitude of early medieval gatherings. We cannot achieve the confidence of modern crowd-counters, or of historians with photographic evidence at their disposal, but there is more evidence than historians have suspected.

We begin with medieval estimates of crowd sizes. It is axiomatic that ancient and medieval reported figures cannot be taken at face value. Numerical figures often serve a rhetorical rather than a statistical function in medieval texts.<sup>218</sup> Certain stock numbers –

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<sup>215</sup> E.g. David Miller, *Introduction to Collective Behavior and Collective Action*, 3rd edn. (Long Grove, Ill., 2013), p. 72.

<sup>216</sup> David Schweingruber and Clark McPhail, “A Method for Systematically Observing and Recording Collective Action,” *Sociological Methods Research* 27 (1999): 451-98.

<sup>217</sup> Paul Yip, Ray Watson, et al., “Estimation of the number of people in a demonstration,” *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Statistics* 52 (2010): 17-26; Paul Yip and Ray Watson, “How many were there when it mattered? Estimating the sizes of crowds,” *Significance* 8 (2011): 104-107. The decisive turn in counting methods came from journalism rather than sociology: Herbert Jacobs, “To Count a Crowd,” *Columbia Journalism Review* 6 (1967): 36-40. See also Paul Hare, “Group Size,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 24 (1981): 695-708.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, pp. 74-5.

six hundred (*sescenti* or *sexcenti*) in Latin, ten thousand (μυριάς) in Greek – simply meant “countless” in ancient literary tradition.<sup>219</sup> Medieval authors attentive to the symbolic significance of numbers repeated in the Bible, ancient literature, and early church history, tended to repeat the same figures (or orders of magnitude) over and over.<sup>220</sup> Estimates in round numbers – tens, hundreds, thousands, and tens or hundreds of thousands – are common. Saint Eligius saved captives in groups, allegedly of twenty, thirty, or even forty at a time (*simul*).<sup>221</sup> Exceptions deserve particular attention. For instance, one strangely precise figure in the ninth-century *Annals of Saint Bertin* may deserve greater credence for its exactitude. A dune-flattening tsunami caused havoc on the Frisian coast in December 838, killing – the annalist reports – 2,437 people (or destroying 2,437 households, depending on how one reads the Latin). The ninth-century historian reporting this number, Prudentius of Troyes, explicitly notes that the figure was “most diligently acquired.”<sup>222</sup> Diligence of this kind is rare. In this case, the tsunami’s

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<sup>219</sup> For more, see Regine Sonntag, *Studien zur Bewertung von Zahlenangaben in der Geschichtsschreibung des früheren Mittelalters: die Decem Libri Historiarum Gregors von Tours und die Chronica Reginos von Prüm* (Kallmünz, 1987).

<sup>220</sup> See, e.g., Isidore of Seville, *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu Quaestiones in Uetus Testamentum*, c. 7.19, PL 83, col. 232: “A senario autem numero et sexaginta commemorantur, et sexcenta, et sex millia, et sexaginta millia, et sexcenta millia, et sexcenties, et quidquid deinceps in majoribus summis per eundem articulum numeri in infinita incrementa consurgit.”

<sup>221</sup> Audoenus, *Vita Eligii Noviomagensis* (BHL 2474-6), c. 10, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), p. 677: “interdum etiam usque ad viginti et triginta seu et quinquaginta numero simul a captivitate redimebat.” For this eighth-century saint’s life, see Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684-1090* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 78-79.

<sup>222</sup> *AB*, s.a. 839 (recte: 838), ed. Grat et al., p. 28: “Praeterea die septimo Kalendas Ianuarii, die videlicet passionis beati Stephani protomartyris, tanta inundatio contra morem maritimorum aestuum per totam paene Frisiam occupavit, ut aggeribus arenarum illic copiosis, quos dunos vocitant, fere coaequaretur, et omnia quaecumque involverat, tam homines quam animalia caetera et domos, absumpserit; quorum numerus diligentissime comprehensus duorum milium quadringentorum triginta septem relatus est.” Scholars who treat this text assume that *quorum* refers to numbers of men, but it may be that the antecedent of the relative clause is “households.” Janet Nelson, “The Annals of St. Bertin,” in J. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 173-94, at p. 177; Daniël A. Gerrets, *Op de grens van land en water: dynamiek van landschap en samenleving in Frisia gedurende de Romeinse tijd en de*

damage probably coincided with the proximity of royal officials, who brought the news back to court when Prudentius happened to be present.

Inflation of figures is common.<sup>223</sup> Numbers for the distant past or faraway settings tend to be especially large.<sup>224</sup> The ninth-century historian Agnellus, who did use ancient annalistic sources, reports that 30,000 were killed in an earthquake in Cilicia in the sixth century.<sup>225</sup> Frechulf's ninth-century history offers grand figures for Biblical, Greek, and Roman history.<sup>226</sup> For the Carolingians, even the nearby lands of the Danes were supposedly thickly populated; Frankish chroniclers believed that nearly twenty thousand were killed during the succession dispute among the Danes in the year 812.<sup>227</sup> Such overestimations of foreign populations, it should be added, are not limited to Christian westerners. Even as a late ninth-century Ottonian visitor marveled at the multitudes of the Umayyad court, an envoy from the Umayyad court was convinced that the Poland of

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*Volkshverhuizingstijd* (Groningen, 2010), p. 41. One small question of construal has not been considered: whether the *numerus* so “diligently acquired” must refer to *homines*. If *domus* is construed as masculine, not unusual in postclassical Latin, then *quorum* may refer to “households” rather than to “people” (for this phenomenon, see, e.g., Max Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890), p. 511). While it is not clear from other instances of *domus* in Prudentius's portion of the *Annales Bertiniani* whether Prudentius here considers *domus* to be masculine or feminine, a set of verses ascribed to Prudentius do construe the word as feminine: PL 115, c. 1419C: *alta domus*, and in his *De praedestinatione*, Prudentius cites biblical verses which take *domus* as feminine (PL 115, c. 1035D, 1082D).

<sup>223</sup> Schneider, *Frankenreich*, p. 134, writes of “unbrauchbare Zahlenangaben.”

<sup>224</sup> Cf. Hans Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte, 3. Teil: Das Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 3-57, for estimations of the size and components of Carolingian armies.

<sup>225</sup> Agnellus of Ravenna, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, c. 78, ed. Otto Holder-Egger, MGH SRL 1 (Hanover, 1878), p. 246.

<sup>226</sup> Frechulf of Lisieux, *Historiarum libri XII*, part 1: 3.2, 3.18, 4.6; part 2: 1.13, 1.15, ed. M. I. Allen, *Frechulfi Lexoviensis episcopi opera omnia*, CCCM 169 (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 160, 201, 207, 463, 466.

<sup>227</sup> *ARF*, s.a. 812: 10,940 men, with one manuscript reading XDCCCXL; *AF*, s.a. 812: 10840 men; cf. Sigurd Abel and Bernhard Simson, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches unter Karl dem Großen*, vol. 2: 789-814 (Leipzig, 1883), p. 479, n. 3.

Mieszko I (d. 992) was among the most populous regions of the world.<sup>228</sup> At the edges of everyday experience, numbers can be gigantic. The outlandish figure of ten thousand times one hundred thousand (that is, ten billion) occurs from time to time in early medieval texts. This figure derives from the apocalyptic vision in Daniel 7:10 (“A swift stream of fire issued forth from before him; thousands of thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times a hundred thousand stood before him; the judgment sat, and the books were opened”).<sup>229</sup> The fantastical *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister, a late seventh- or early eighth-century book of wonders perhaps penned by an author with connections to the British Isles, explains that a battle between Alexander the Great and Arboges, chief of the Albanians, left ten billion dead after three days.<sup>230</sup>

Less fantastical canonical figures for the major ecumenical councils were also widely known and repeated. These figures set more realistic standards in early medieval minds. They included the “benchmarks” for ecumenical councils: the 318 “holy fathers” at the council of Nicaea I (325), the 150 fathers at the council of Constantinople I (381), the 630 fathers at the council of Chalcedon (451).<sup>231</sup> These numbers gave early medieval

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<sup>228</sup> John of Saint-Arnulf, *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis abbatis* (BHL 4396), c. 118-119, ed. Parisse, pp. 144-146; The Report of Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb, ed. T. Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrahim Ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich* (Cracow, 1946).

<sup>229</sup> Daniel 7:10, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1359: “fluvius igneus rapidusque egrediebatur a facie eius milia milium ministrabant ei et decies milies centena milia adsistebant ei iudicium sedit et libri aperti sunt.”

<sup>230</sup> Aethicus Ister, *Cosmographia*, c. 64, ed. M. Herrin, *The Cosmography of Aethicus Ister: Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (Turnhout, 2011), p. 140. See also Herrin’s commentary on p. 237, n. 209.

<sup>231</sup> Norman Tanner, *The Councils of the Church: A Short History* (New York, 2001), pp. 14-5, for the role of the Chalcedonian Definition in developing the concept of an “ecumenical council.” Council of Chalcedon (451), ed. G. Alberigo et al., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta* (Turnhout, 2006), vol. 1, p. 134: “Symbolum trecentorum decem et octo patrum qui in Nicaea. Et idem centum quinquaginta sanctorum patrum qui Constantinopolim congregati sunt.” The number of 630 for Chalcedon derives from the report in the Council of Constantinople II (553), ed. Alberigo, p. 169: “quae a sexcentis triginta Chalcedone congregatis definita sunt.” In early medieval canon law collections, these numbers usually appear in the rubrics for the councils. See, e.g., Munich, Clm 14008 (late ninth century), fol. 32r, before the list of subscribers to Nicaea I (325) the heading: “Et subscripserunt trecenti decem et octo qui in

commentators a notion of the appropriate size of an ecumenical council.<sup>232</sup> The figure of 318 fathers at Nicaea was evidently first proposed by Athanasius in the fourth century, and owed something to the 318 servants of Abraham (Genesis 14:14).<sup>233</sup> Such figures were probably in Anastasius Bibliothecarius' mind when he (or one of his scribes) added a note to his Latin translation of the tenth session of another supposedly "ecumenical" council, Constantinople IV (869-70), which listed only a hundred names: "do not let the small number of subscribers scandalize you."<sup>234</sup>

Most crowds in early medieval sources go uncounted. Indeed, the point of words like *turba*, *caterva*, *multitudo*, and *frequentia* is that they are numerically vague.<sup>235</sup> The invocation of such terms is often meant to preclude a count; this is why "innumerable" is

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eodem concilio conuenerunt." See also Paris, BnF, lat. 4762 (saec. IX<sup>2</sup>, France), f. 45r, for the Chalcedonian figure.

<sup>232</sup> Concilium Sussionense (744), c. 1, MGH Conc. 2.1, p. 34: "In primitus constituimus fide catholica, quam constituerunt CCCXVIII episcopi in Nicaeno concilio, ut denuntiaretur per uniuersa regione nostra, et iudicias canonicas aliorum sanctorum quae constituerunt in synodis suis; quomodo lex Dei et ecclesiastica regula recuperetur, quae in diebus priorum principum dissipata corrui." See Walter Brandmüller, "'Traditio Scripturae Interpres': The Teaching of the Councils on the Right Interpretation of Scripture Up to the Council of Trent," *The Catholic Historical Review* 73 (1987): 523-540, at p. 535, for the Carolingian councils' "conscious integration into tradition."

<sup>233</sup> Michel Aubineau, "Les 318 serviteurs d'Abraham (Gen., XIV, 14) et le nombre des pères au Concile de Nicée (325)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 61 (1966): 5-43; Enzo Lucchesi, "318 ou 319 pères de Nicée?" *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984): 394-96. For one of many citations of the figure in the Carolingian period, see Frechulf of Lisieux, *Historiarum libri XII*, part 2: 5.27, ed. Allen, p. 723. For further on the early spread of Nicaea of the west, see Jörg Ulrich, "Nicaea and the West," *Vigiliae Christianae* 51 (1997): 10-24.

<sup>234</sup> BAV Vat. lat. 4965, fol. 140v; repeated in the copy, Vat. lat. 5749, fol. 118r; Claudio Leonardi, "Anastasio Bibliotecario e l'ottavo concilio ecumenico," *Studi Medievali*, Ser. 3, 8 (1967): 59-192, at p. 182: "Non te scandalizet subscriptentium paucitas, quia dum Photius diu tyranidem exercuisset et pene omnes a piis decessoribus suis sacratos deposuisset et in loca eorum fautores suos tantummodo provexisset, quorum nullus in hac synodo est receptus, isti soli ex priorum patriarcharum consecratione superstites sunt inventi. Verum quotquot sub Nicolaeo et Hadriano summis pontificibus episcopi fuerunt, huius synodi sensui consenserunt. Licet hec paucitas illi gregi pro sui iustitia comparetur cui Dominus dicit: 'Nolite timere pusillus grex' et cetera."

<sup>235</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. W.R. Trask (Princeton, 1953), pp. 50-76, esp. pp. 52-3. For an exception, cf. the legal definition of *turba*, as preserved in the Justinianic Digest: *Dig.* 48.7.4.3. See below in chapter 3 for further discussion of this passage.



such a common modifier for “crowd.”<sup>236</sup> Nevertheless, four settings more than others led early medieval authors to provide concrete figures: 1. church councils, 2. armies and military events, 3. mass casualties of various kinds, and 4. reports of crowds interacting with saints. All of these categories have biblical, classical, and early church precedents, which could either provide model numbers or shape expectations.

Just as non-round numbers deserve a second look, exceptions to these four categories deserve particular attention and possibly credence. For instance, Amolo of Lyon’s report that three to four hundred or even more individuals (*personae*) frantically worshipped unknown relics in the church of St Bénigne in Dijon during the 840s may be more reliable because it is atypical in providing numbers for such an event.<sup>237</sup> We cannot compare Amolo’s number of three to four hundred or more with a spatial analysis of the Carolingian church of St Bénigne, because we have only the slimmest archaeological knowledge of that church’s Carolingian form (though we know it was, in the next generation, renovated and enlarged by Isaac of Langres).<sup>238</sup> Still, we may regard Amolo’s unusual figure with some trust, since he regarded the crowd as a negative development in his suffragan’s see.<sup>239</sup> The figure itself, it is worth adding, is not inherently untrustworthy. By contrast, when a ninth-century annalist describes “more than six hundred” casualties as a part of a military expedition, it is much harder to say whether

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<sup>236</sup> See below in chapter 3.

<sup>237</sup> Amolo, ep. 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, 364: “trecente sive quadringente aut eo amplius personae.”

<sup>238</sup> C. Sapin, *La Bourgogne préromane: construction, décor et fonction des édifices religieux* (Paris, 1986), 75-9

<sup>239</sup> Charles West, “Unauthorised Miracles in Mid-Ninth-Century Dijon and the Carolingian Church Reforms,” *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 295-311.

this reflects an accurate assessment or a late case of the equivalency between *sexcenti* and the idea of “countless” numbers.<sup>240</sup>

In fact, to go from what numbers we possess to fuller estimations of crowd sizes, we must develop reasonable coefficients. For early medieval sources tended to mention only elites, but in fact actual gatherings must have included many more servants and hangers-on. This means that in order to use our best sources for assembly sizes – assembly and military reports – we must first have a sense of retinue sizes. Kings’ entourages are the first to consider. Many guesses have been made for kings’ followings in different early medieval settings, but the number would have varied from king to king and situation to situation.<sup>241</sup> The best evidence comes from records of how much food or fodder a king’s visit necessitated.<sup>242</sup> Scholars have concluded that kings must have traveled with hundreds of followers at a time.<sup>243</sup> But often we do not know the size of a royal retinue.<sup>244</sup> Precise figures, often on what seems to be the high side, tend to be

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<sup>240</sup> *AX*, s.a. 845, ed. von Simson, p. 14: “Alia pars eorum Galliam petierunt, ibique ceciderunt ex eis plus quam sexcenti viri.” See also Bede, *Vita beatorum abbatum Benedicti, Ceolfredi, Eosterwini, Sigfridi et Hwaetberti* (BHL 8968), c. 17, ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and I. N. Wood, *The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), p. 382: “Ascendunt et diacones aecclesiae cereas ardentes et crucem ferentes auream, transiit flumen, adorat crucem, ascendit equum, et abiit, relictis in monasteriis suis fratribus numero ferme sexcentorum.” Compare the very high numbers of enemy dead and imprisoned reported from Charlemagne’s campaign against the Byzantines: 4000 imperial dead and 1000 prisoners. Alcuin, *ep.* 7, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epp.* 4 (Berlin, 1895), p. 32: “Greci vero tertio anno cum classe venerunt in Italiam; et, a ducibus regis praefati victi, fugerunt ad naves. Quattuor milia ex illis occisi et mille captive feruntur.” Cf. Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750-870* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 93-94.

<sup>241</sup> John Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936-1075* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 58.

<sup>242</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis: Studien zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den fränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6 bis zur Mitte des 14 Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1968), pp. 168-71.

<sup>243</sup> Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Die Reichsstruktur im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Grossen* (Berlin, 1980), p. 108.

<sup>244</sup> McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 179.

mentioned because they were exceptional.<sup>245</sup> In Einhard's biography of Charlemagne, the emperor "invited not only his sons to the bath, but nobles and friends, and sometimes even a crowd (*turba*) of subordinates and bodyguards, so that often a hundred men or more would be bathing together."<sup>246</sup> Einhard described Charlemagne's crowded baths at Aachen to emphasize his openness and accessibility. Later in the ninth century, Notker preferred to emphasize the difficulty of accessing the emperor's person.<sup>247</sup> An axe to grind is a reason to provide an exact figure. A contentious set of proceedings at the council of Savonnières in 862 led the drafter of the acts – probably Hincmar of Reims – to note the "nearly two hundred advisers (*consilarii*) of three kings, both bishops and abbots and laymen" who were present at this assembly.<sup>248</sup>

The entourages of high status individuals are one potentially countable component of early medieval gatherings. Assemblies of all sorts involved swarms of followers,

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<sup>245</sup> Stuart Airlie, "Talking Heads: Assemblies in Early Medieval Germany," in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 29-46, at pp. 38-39.

<sup>246</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 22, ed. O Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 25 (Munich, 1911), p. 27: "Et non solum filios ad balneum, verum optimates et amicos, aliquando etiam satellitum et custodum corporis turbam invitavit, ita ut nonnumquam centum vel eo amplius homines una lavarentur." See Janet L. Nelson, "Was Charlemagne's Court a Courtly Society?" in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 39-57, at pp. 40-41, 56.

<sup>247</sup> Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, c. 6-9, ed. H. F. Haefele MGH SRG N.S. 12 (Berlin, 1959), pp. 53-65. Though notably the story of Greek and Muslim ambassadors traveling from room to room in Charlemagne's palace also concludes with a marvelously large crowd.

<sup>248</sup> Hludowici, Karoli et Hlotharii II. *Conventus apud Saponarias* (Nov. 3, 862), ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 2 (Hanover, 1897), no. 243, p. 165: "Quoniam istas, quae praecedunt, adnuntiationes Hludowicus et Hlotharius cum illorum sequacibus, postquam coram omnibus, qui adfuerunt, trium regum consiliariis fere ducentis, tam episcopis quam abbatibus et laicis, relectas penitus reiecerunt, ne populo legerentur, ut causa Hlotharii penitus taceretur, hanc, quae sequitur adnuntiationem, domnus Karolus istis ipsis verbis iam vesperi adnuntiavit apud Sablonarias, anno incarnationis dominicae DCCCLXII, indictione XI, III. Nonas Novembris, in ipsa casa, ubi relectae sunt praecedentes adnuntiationes, in quam pauci alii intraverunt, quam qui antea fuerunt, quoniam fere plena de ipsis erat."

hangers-on, servants, and slaves attached to elites.<sup>249</sup> A few reported figures allow us to extrapolate plausible ranges for the size of such entourages, and this may give us some notion of how many people may have attended gatherings where figures only survive for high-status individuals. A conciliar canon of the Seventh Council of Toledo (646) decreed that bishops visiting their dioceses should not “act as a burden on account of a multitude (*prae multitudine*),” and ordered them to set a reasonable limit at “the number fifty” for the bishop’s traveling retinue.<sup>250</sup> The phrasing of “the number fifty” (*quinguagenarius numerus*) taps into Biblical language and may indicate that spiritual reasons prompted the choice of this number.<sup>251</sup> Deploying language similar to Toledo VII, a charter of Charlemagne fixed the number of monks at one monastery at “no more than the number fifty.”<sup>252</sup> Nevertheless, in its formulation the original canon appears to be practical; it deals with the problem of overburdening one’s parishioners with too many mouths to feed, specifying that fifty followers may stay in one church for no more than one day.<sup>253</sup> Versions of this decree were widely circulated in the Dacheriana and other canonical collections. Hincmar of Reims cites it twice in his treatise *Collectio de ecclesiis*

<sup>249</sup> Walter Schlesinger, “Herrschaft und Gefolgschaft in der germanisch-deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte,” in *Herrschaft und Staat im Mittelalter*, ed. Hellmut Kämpf (Darmstadt, 1964), pp. 135-190 (revised and reprinted from *Historische Zeitschrift* 176 [1953]: 225-275); see also D. H. Green, *The Carolingian Lord: semantic studies on four Old High German words: balder, frô, truhtin, hërro* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 115-215, 270-401.

<sup>250</sup> Council of Toledo VII (646), c. 4, ed. José Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, España Cristiana 1 (Barcelona, 1963), p. 254-5: “Quum vero episcopus dioecesem visitat, nulli prae multitudine onerosus existat nec umquam quinquagenarium numerum evectiois excedat, aut amplius quam una die per unamquamque basilicam remorandi licentiam habeat.”

<sup>251</sup> Bible: Rulers of “fifties” (*quinguagenarii*) appear in several places in the Old Testament: Ex 18:21, 18:25; Deut. 1:15; 2Kgs 1:9-14.

<sup>252</sup> *Diplomata Karolinorum, Diplomata Caroli Magni*, MGH DD Kar. 1, D. 58, p. 86 “Interea etiam constituimus, ut numerus fratrum ultra quinquagenarium numerum ab aliquo eorum abbate ullo unquam tempore non augeatur.”

<sup>253</sup> Cf. Council of Braga II (572), c. 2, ed. Vives, pp. 81-2.

*et capellis* written for Charles the Bald in 857-8, with the implication that bishops in his time were traveling with even larger entourages, with negative effects for their flocks.<sup>254</sup>

One rare early medieval report of an influential abbot's retinue suggests even higher numbers. Bede reports that more than eighty "Englishmen" were with Ceolfrith, abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow, when he died at Langres on September 25, 716 – adding "many of the locals" were also present.<sup>255</sup> Ceolfrith had been *en route* to Rome on a major mission, bringing the famous *Codex Amiatinus*. After his death, his large retinue split into three groups; one returned to Britain to inform the monks of Wearmouth-Jarrow of Ceolfrith's death, the next to continue on to Rome, and the third to stay with the body.<sup>256</sup> This was an unusual case, but it suggests that fifty is not a high figure for occasions of high ceremony.

Nevertheless, the number fifty is rather higher than most scholars have assumed for early medieval episcopal retinues. Kreiner in a rich study of Merovingian episcopal entourages offers "at a guess" ten to twenty men for most gatherings, noting that numerous successful assassination attempts against traveling bishops imply insufficient

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<sup>254</sup> Hincmar of Reims, *Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis*, c. 2, 3, ed. M. Stratmann, *Hincmar von Reims: Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis*, MGH Font. iur. Germ. 14 (Hanover, 1990), pp. 111, 120-1. Ambros M. Gietl, "Hincmars Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis: Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Kirchenrechts," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 15 (1894): 556-573, at p. 565, noted that the ending of this phrase did not match the version in the Hispana collection. As Stratmann notes (*op cit.*, p. 111, n. 256), Hincmar quotes instead from the Dacheriana, Form B II, c. 73, ed. Luc d'Achery, *Spicilegium, sive, Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, rev. edn. (Farnham, 1967; originally Paris, 1723), vol 1, p. 540.

<sup>255</sup> Bede, *Vita beatorum abbatum Benedicti, Ceolfridi, Eosterwini, Sigfridi et Hwaetberti* (BHL 8968), c. 21, ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae opera historica* (Oxford, 1896), vol. 1, p. 385; now reedited in *The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and I. N. Wood (Oxford, 2013), p. 70: "Perueniens namque Lingonas circa horam diei tertiam decima ipsius diei hora migravit ad Dominum, et crastino in ecclesia beatorum Geminorum martyrum honorifice sepultus est, non solum Anglis genere qui plusquam octoginta numero in eius fuerant comitatu, sed et illius loci accolis pro retardato tam reuerendi senis desiderio, in lacrimas luctusque solutis."

<sup>256</sup> Bede, *Vita abbatum* (BHL 8968), c. 21, ed. Plummer, p. 385-6; cf. *Vita Ceolfridi* (BHL 1727), c. 37-8, ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae opera historica* (Oxford, 1896), vol. 1, pp. 402-3; and *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and I. N. Wood (Oxford, 2013), pp. 116-8.

guards.<sup>257</sup> West estimates that thirty to forty armed men had accompanied Hincmar of Laon to the Council of Douzy in 871, when the assembled bishops forced Hincmar to content himself with only “ten or a dozen” followers.<sup>258</sup> Hincmar of Laon’s original entourage may have been on the high side on that occasion, since the bishop must have suspected this would be the synod which deposed him, but Janet Nelson has doubted that Hincmar’s large, armed retinue was unusual, “except in the sense of being unusually well documented.”<sup>259</sup> Less than twenty years later Charles III “the Fat” issued a charter which allotted the abbot of Corvey thirty “noble men” whenever he traveled in his capacity as *missus*, but “even more” if he had to travel outside of his *patria*. This was “on account of the massive invasion of barbarians.”<sup>260</sup> It does seem that bishops often expanded their retinues to the maximum extent possible. Hincmar of Laon’s uncle and persecutor Hincmar of Reims complained in his *Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis* that, despite the

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<sup>257</sup> Jamie Kreiner, “About the Bishop: The Episcopal Entourage and the Economy of Government in post-Roman Gaul,” *Speculum* 86 (2011): 321-360, at p. 341, n. 85. Cf. the role of a *valida manus* in preventing such an assassination in the *Passio Leudegarii episcopi et martyris Augustodunensis* I (BHL 4849b), c. 17, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), pp. 298-299. In the tenth century, the assassins of Fulk of Reims struck when they knew he had too few guards: Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, 4.10, ed. M. Stratmann, MGH SS 36 (Hanover, 1998), pp. 402-403.

<sup>258</sup> Concilium Douzy (a. 871), ed. W. Hartmann, MGH Conc. 4, 507; Charles West, “Lordship in Ninth-Century Francia: the Case of Bishop Hincmar of Laon and His Followers,” *Past & Present* 226 (2015): 3-40, at p. 10.

<sup>259</sup> Janet L. Nelson, “The Church’s Military Service in the Ninth Century: a Contemporary Comparative View?” in J. L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 117-132, at pp. 125-6. For the political background to the council at Douzy, see Peter R. McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon and Carolingian Politics* (Urbana, 1978), pp. 132-155; Wilfried Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn, 1989), pp. 325-327.

<sup>260</sup> MGH DD Karl, no. 158, p. 257: “Nam propter immensam barbarorum infestationem necesse habemus cum universo populo nobis divinitus commissio ecclesiae Christi defensionem insistere et ob hoc non omnes submemorati loci dominio consistentes a protectionibus in hostem immunes relinquere possumus, sed quoniam eiusdem loci abbates missaticum regium peragere soliti erant, concedimus eis, ut triginta homines nobiles ab aliis protectionibus secum immunes habeant et, si extra patriam est legatio peragenda, plures nobiles ad hoc opus paratos teneant, reliqui vero cum suo populo in hostem proficiscantur, et hoc quandiu tanta bellorum pericula imminet.”

fifty-person figure prescribed by Toledo VII, “we, for our part, go about our parishes with a whole army, and now we seem not so much preachers of God’s word as exactors and impoverishers to our priests.”<sup>261</sup>

In some cases, *grandeos* must have traveled with smaller retinues. A saintly senatorial aristocrat in a late seventh-century saint’s life journeyed with only three *pueri*, though this small number is probably meant to reflect on the saint’s abstemiousness.<sup>262</sup> Witness lists provide a sense of the numbers for individuals below the level of bishops and counts.<sup>263</sup> One Joseph who appears in a charter of Freising in 902-903 brought with him nine of his “men” to act as witnesses, although this would not have exhausted his retinue.<sup>264</sup> Bigger occasions meant larger assemblies. In 929, the bishop of Worcester, Cenwald, toured the monasteries of “Germania” on behalf of King Æthelstan, disbursing gifts.<sup>265</sup> He reached St Gallen in just in time to celebrate the feast of the monastery’s patron, Saint Gall.<sup>266</sup> A list of English names was added to the St Gallen confraternity book to mark the occasion, including the king, the archbishop of Canterbury, seven bishops, and two abbots, but there are also twelve names which may have been men –

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<sup>261</sup> Hincmar of Reims, *Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis*, c. 3, ed. Stratmann, p. 121: “Nos autem cum hoste collecta parrochias circuiimus et non iam tantum praedicatores verbi dei, quantum exactores et exhauritores oblationum fidelium presbiteris commissarum videmur...”

<sup>262</sup> Bobolenus, *Vita S. Germani abbatis Grandivallensis* (BHL 3467), c. 4, ed. B. Krusch MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 34.

<sup>263</sup> Martin Schaller, “Zeugen und Zeugenlisten in hennegausichen Privaturkunden des 12. Jahrhunderts: Studien zum hochmittelalterlichen Gefolgschaftswesen,” PhD Thesis, University of Vienna, 2009.

<sup>264</sup> *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, ed. Theodor Bitterauf, 2 vols. (Munich, 1905), vol. 1, n. 1037, p. 782. Members of Joseph’s entourage of lower social status would not have been summoned as witnesses.

<sup>265</sup> Simon Keynes, “King Athelstan’s Books,” in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 143-201, at pp. 198-201

<sup>266</sup> St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 915, p. 5; ed. P. Piper, *Liber Confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis*, MGH Necr. Suppl. (Berlin, 1884).

and women – of Cenwald’s party.<sup>267</sup> There must have been more in his group, however; Cenwald was traveling with enough treasure to give to “monasteries throughout Germania.”<sup>268</sup> He was presumably expected to provide his own security. Cenwald also came prepared to reward St Gallen for their hospitality, and his felicitous timing may have been about convenience. At Fulda earlier in the ninth century, an abbot made special provisions for those times “when many people arrive at once, as for the mass of Saint Boniface.”<sup>269</sup> Visiting at predictable times, like major holidays or the local saint’s feast, may have been a favor dignitaries could have offered to monasteries. Conversely, Notker’s late ninth-century *Life of Charlemagne* describes how unexpected visits by kings and dignitaries could inspire terror in local communities forced to feed and house unanticipated crowds of guests.<sup>270</sup>

Early medieval elites were predisposed to take their entourages for granted, so the question of burdensome crowds provides us with some of our best evidence with which to extrapolate retinue sizes. Carolingian attempts to fix daily rations for royal officials – similar to the Toledo VII decree – attest to aspirational entourage sizes. A ninth-century Carolingian capitulary regulated the size of entourages of *missi* (traveling officials sent to

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<sup>267</sup> Keynes, “King Athelstan’s Books,” p. 200.

<sup>268</sup> *Liber Confraternitatum Sancti Galli*, ed. Piper, pp. 136-137.

<sup>269</sup> Ratger, *Supplex libellus monachorum Fuldensium Carolo imperatori porrectus*, c. 14, ed. J. Semmler, CCM 1 (Siegburg, 1963), p. 325: “Quod hospitalitas antiqua non obliviscatur, sed omnibus hospitibus congruus honor et omnis humanitas exhibeatur. Quando autem plures simul advenerint, ut in missa sancti Bonifatii, consolatione undique facta ab his qui cellas provident omnibus refection praebatur.” See Josef Semmler, “Studien zum *Supplex Libellus* und zur anianischen Reform in Fulda,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 69 (1958): 268-297, at pp. 282-3; Peter Willmes, *Der Herrscher-Adventus im Kloster des Frühmittelalters* (Munich, 1976), pp. 117-8.

<sup>270</sup> E.g. Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, c. 6-9, ed. Haefele, pp. 53-65.



conduct royal business) by fixing their daily rations on the basis of rank (*qualitas*).<sup>271</sup>

These rations were clearly intended to supply retinues:

Concerning the provisioning of our *missi*, what should be given and received by each one according to his rank: namely, to a bishop forty loaves of bread, three freshlings [suckling pigs], three measures of drink, one piglet, three chickens, fifteen eggs, four measures of fodder for the horses. To an abbot, a count, or to one of our vassals each should be given daily thirty loaves of bread, two freshlings, two measures of drink, one piglet, three chickens, fifteen eggs, and three measures of fodder for the horses. To one of our vassals (*ministerialis*), ten and seven loaves of bread, one freshling, one measure of drink, two chickens, ten eggs, and two measures of fodder for the horses.<sup>272</sup>

Michael McCormick has used this capitulary legislation to extrapolate rough figures for entourage sizes.<sup>273</sup> Building upon a ratio of one loaf per man which prevailed in contemporary Carolingian monasteries, he arrived at expected numerical limits for

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<sup>271</sup> For the institution of the royal *missi*, see esp. Karl Ferdinand Werner, “*Missus – Marchio – Comes: Entre l’administration centrale et l’administration locale de l’empire carolingien*,” in *Histoire comparée de l’administration (IVe–XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. Karl Ferdinand Werner and Werner Paravicini (Munich, 1980), pp. 191-239; still useful is Victor Krause, “Geschichte des Institutes der *missi dominici*,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 11 (1890): 193-300.

<sup>272</sup> *Capitulare missorum* (no. 141), c. 29, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (Hanover, 1883), p. 291: “De dispensa missorum nostrorum, qualiter unicuique iuxta suam qualitatem dandum vel accipiendum sit: videlicet episcopo panes quadraginta, friskingas tres, de potu modii tres, porcellus unus, pulli tres, ova quindecim, annona ad caballos modii quatuor. Abbati, comiti atque ministeriali nostro unicuique dentur cottidie panes triginta, friskingas duas, de potu modii duo, porcellum unum, pulli tres, ova quindecim, annona ad caballos modii tres. Vassallo nostro panes decem et septem, friskinga una, porcellus unus, de potu modius unus, pulli duo, ova decem, annona ad caballos modii duo.” This legislation made its way into the widely disseminated capitulary collection of Ansegis of Sens: *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. G. Schmitz, *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis*, MGH Capit. N. S. 1 (Hanover, 1996), p. 659. For *friskinga*, “suckling pig,” see Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, “Stammesrecht und Volkssprache in karolingischer Zeit,” in *Aspekte der Nationenbildung im Mittelalter: Ergebnisse der Marburger Rundgespräche 1972-1975*, ed. Helmut Beumann and Werner Schröder (Sigmaringen, 1978), pp. 171-203, at p. 180. This doubled supply of pork has an interesting archaeological basis, in the shift from cattle to pigs in archaeological finds Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, p. 134. See also Frédéric Chantinne et al., ed. *L’archéologie en Wallonie: le Premier Moyen Âge* (Namur, 2014), pp. 47-49, for the predominance (up to 80%) of pork consumption judging by finds at Carolingian royal sites in the Low Countries. Providing bread was a major part of being a lord, as the very word “lord” (“loaf-protector”) attests; cf. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland, 400-1200* (London, 1995), pp. 94-95, for the contemporary Irish ideal of bread-bestowing kings.

<sup>273</sup> Michael McCormick, “Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter with Byzantium Down to the Accession of Charles the Bald,” in *Eriugena: East and West: Papers of the Eighth International Colloquium of the Society for the Promotion of Eriugenian Studies, Chicago and Notre Dame, 18-20 October 1991*, ed. Bernard McGinn and Willemien Otten (Notre Dame, 1994), pp. 15-48, at p. 26-27; cf. Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 162, 665.

bishops, abbots or counts, and vassals.<sup>274</sup> “Louis the Pious’s court presumed that bishops’ retinues on government business numbered around forty persons, while those of abbots and counts counted around thirty, and royal vassals traveled with seventeen followers.”<sup>275</sup>

Indirect support for this interpretation linking rations to retinue sizes comes from the Council of Toulouse in 844, which in regulating the supplies a bishop could exact from local presbyters, made reference to Toledo VII.<sup>276</sup>

The restrictions in the Carolingian legislation may not provide limits to entourages so much as limits to the king’s willingness to support those entourages according to considerations of status (*dignitas*). Some reported figures, like the “more than” fifty which Hincmar complains about, suggest an even higher number than forty followers. What McCormick’s figures may provide is a minimum – higher than many historians have suspected – and one which, as he himself notes, was likely surpassed. They bear comparison to the size of envoys mentioned by Liutprand, who says his 968 expedition included twenty-five of his own followers (*asseclae*), not counting the many other retainers who went along.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Michel Rouche, “La faim à l’époque carolingienne: essai sur quelques types de rations alimentaires,” *Revue historique* 250 (1973): 295-320, at pp. 308-9; McCormick, “Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter,” p. 44, n. 55.

<sup>275</sup> McCormick, “Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter,” p. 27; McCormick, *Origins*, p. 162.

<sup>276</sup> Council of Toulouse (844), c. 2, ed. Wilfried Hartmann, MGH Conc. 3 (Hanover, 1984), p. 20: “Ut unum modium frumenti et unum modium hordei atque unum modium vini cum mensura, quae publica et probata ac generalis seu legitima per civitatem et pagum atque vicinitatem habetur, episcopi a presbyteris accipiant, et frisingam sex valentem denarios aut sex pro ea denarios et non amplius exigant; et si haec non accipiunt, accipiant, si volunt, pro his omnibus duos solidos in denariis, sicut in Toletano et Bracharense consensu episcopi considerasse dicuntur.” Cf. the Council of Pavia (845/50), c. 15, ed. Hartmann, p. 214. Both built upon the earlier Council of Braga II (572), c. 2, ed. Vives, pp. 81-2.

<sup>277</sup> Liutprand, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, c. 34, ed., P. Chiesa, CCCM 156 (Turnhout, 1998), p. 193; McCormick, “Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter with Byzantium,” pp. 25-7; cf. McCormick, *Origins*, p. 162; Andrew Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411-533* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 256 (envoys exposed to crowds), p. 260 (envoy attacked by crowds).

Can we use these entourage-figures alongside figures for assembly attendance? Our best chance is from church councils, which, following late Christian tradition, often list numbers of bishops in attendance.<sup>278</sup> We do not always have exact figures (Lyon in 516 and Valence in 528 were two large councils whose size we do not know). But a number of conciliar documents from the early Middle Ages permit a head-count of the more important participants.<sup>279</sup> Thirty-two bishops attended the Council of Orléans in 511; twenty-four bishops and one presbyter attended the council of Epaone in 517; eleven bishops attended the council of Lyon in 518/9; fourteen bishops and four presbyters attended the council of Arles in 524; sixteen bishops attended the council of Carpentras in 527; fourteen bishops and a few secular figures (one praetorian prefect, seven *virii clarissimi*) attended Orange in 529; twelve bishops were at Vaison in 529; fifteen bishops, an abbot, and some laymen were at Marseille in 533; twenty-six bishops and five presbyters were at the council of Orléans in 533; fifteen bishops at Clermont in 535; nineteen bishops and seven presbyters at Orléans in 538; forty-two bishops, one abbot, and ten presbyters at Orléans in 541; fifty bishops, six archdeacons, three deacons, ten presbyters, and two abbots assembled at the council of Orléans in 549, which had been convened by Childebert I; eight bishops and one presbyter attended Eauze in 551; twenty-seven bishops attended Paris in 551/2; eleven bishops, four presbyters, two

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<sup>278</sup> In two important articles, Evangelos Chrysos showed the basic distinction between early church councils which influenced the structure of later conciliar procedure: Evangelos K. Chrysos, "Konzilsakten und Konzilsprotokolle vom 4. bis 7. Jahrhundert," *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 15 (1983): 30-40; Evangelos K. Chrysos, "Konzilspräsident und Konzilsvorstand: zur Frage des Vorsitzes in den Konzilien der byzantinischen Reichskirche," *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 11 (1979): 1-17. For the Merovingian councils, see J. Champagne and Romuald Szramkiewicz, "Recherches sur les conciles des temps mérovingiens," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 49 (1971): 5-49.

<sup>279</sup> Figures drawn from Gregory Halfond, *Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils, AD 511-768* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 223-264; with reference to Karl Joseph von Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, 2nd edn, 8 vols. (Paris, 1907-1910).

archdeacons, and two deacons attended the council of Arles in 554; fifteen bishops were at the council of Paris 556/73; nine bishops attended Tours in 567; eight bishops, five presbyters, and one deacon attended Lyon 567/70; thirty-two bishops and one presbyter attended Paris 573; forty-five bishops attended Paris 577; twenty-one bishops were present at Mâcon in 581/3; eight bishops were present at Lyon in 583; seventeen bishops were present at Valence in 583/5; fifty-four bishops and twelve other members attended at synod at Mâcon in 585; one bishop, thirty-four presbyters, three deacons, seven abbots appeared at a council at Auxerre between 585 and 605; a council at an unknown site in 589 convened, according to Gregory of Tours, some ten bishops to deal with unrest at the convent of Poitiers;<sup>280</sup> a council at Poitiers in 589/90 saw at least four bishops, excommunicating the leaders of the Poitiers revolt; a large council at Paris in 614 saw seventy-six bishops and one abbot; one at Clichy in 627/7 saw forty bishops, a deacon, and an abbot; another at Clichy in 636 saw twenty-six bishops; one at Chalon-sur-Saone in 647/53 saw thirty-nine bishops, five abbots, and one archdeacon; one at Paris in 653 saw twenty-six bishops; Clichy 654 saw fifteen bishops, two deacons, eight *viri illustri*, the mayor of the palace, and others; sixteen bishops, two abbots, and one *dux* attended a council at Bordeaux (St Pierre de Granon) in 662/75; seven bishops took part in the council at “Germania” in 742 convoked by Carloman; Pippin’s council at Soissons in 744 saw twenty-three bishops and an unknown number of other ecclesiastics and *optimates*; twenty-one bishops, one abbot, one deacon, and sixteen men of unknown status attended a council at Compiègne in 757; twenty-seven bishops and seventeen abbots attended Attigny in 762. If we use a large extrapolation figure – assuming an entourage of fifty

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<sup>280</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 9.41, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 467.

persons for a bishop – at a council like that of Paris in 614 with seventy-six bishops, we might assume a high limit of 3,876 person.



**FIGURE 1. The Giving of the Law in the Utrecht Psalter.** An image of a hierarchically-ordered crowd in the ninth-century illustrated psalter produced near Reims: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 32, fol. 45r, illustrating Moses’ giving of the law at Psalm 77:1 (Vulgate): “Attend, O my people, to my law” (*Adtendite populus meus legem meam*).<sup>281</sup>

Surviving images, like the depiction of the giving of the law in the Utrecht Psalter (see Figure 1 above), do not suggest that attendants intermingled with their lords within the council, given the importance of precedence and correct standing within councils. It was important to have enough people that precedence, and showing precedence, counted, yet the formal assembly was also designed as a venue for the articulation of hierarchy.<sup>282</sup>

<sup>281</sup> Psalm 77:1 (Iuxta LXX), ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 864. For this image, see Celia Chazelle, “Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter,” *Speculum* 72 (1997): 1055-1077.

<sup>282</sup> François Bougard and Régine Le Jan, “Hiérarchie: le concept et son champ d’application dans les sociétés du haut Moyen Âge,” in *Hiérarchie et stratification sociale dans l’Occident médiéval (400-1100)*, ed. F. Bougard, D. Iogna-Prat, and R. Le Jan (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 5-19. See also Steffen Patzold, “Eine Hierarchie im Wandel: Die Ausbildung einer Metropolitanordnung im Frankenreich des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts,” in *Hiérarchie et stratification*, ed. Bougard et al., pp. 161-184, for the wider political

Grand as some of these early medieval councils were, they only rarely achieved the size of the late Roman ecumenical councils whose figures, especially the 318 fathers of Nicaea I and the 150 fathers of Constantinople I, were universally familiar thanks to the Chalcedonian Definition of 451, which was itself attached to the number 630 as we have seen.<sup>283</sup> Papal councils could probably assemble and more easily house large bodies of bishops, but no early medieval western council appears to have occurred on the huge scale of eleventh- and twelfth-century councils, like the grand Council of Piacenza convened by Urban II in 1095.<sup>284</sup> Even if we do not trust extravagant contemporary figures – one chronicler claims that in addition to some two hundred bishops “nearly three thousand clerics and more than thirty thousand laymen are said to have been present”<sup>285</sup> – this synod and others in the “reform period” were an order of magnitude larger than those of the early medieval period.<sup>286</sup>

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importance of church hierarchy. For councils specifically, see Wilfried Hartmann, “Eliten auf Synoden, besonders in der Karolingerzeit,” in *Théorie et pratiques des élites au Haut Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Bougard, H.-W. Goetz, and R. Le Jan (Turnhout, 2011), 351-72, at pp. 358-364. Cf. Roger E. Reynolds, “Rites and Signs of Conciliar Decisions in the Early Middle Ages,” reprinted in his *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot, 1999), Essay IX, pp. 207-49.

<sup>283</sup> In the Latin version of the Chalcedonian Definition of 451, ed. G. Alberigo et al., *Conciliarum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta* (Turnhout, 2006), vol. 1, p. 134: “Symbolum trecentorum decem et octo patrum qui in Nicaea. Et idem centum quinquaginta sanctorum patrum qui Constantinopolim congregati sunt.”

<sup>284</sup> For the attendance of this council, see Robert Somerville, *Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza, March 1-7, 1095* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 8-11; Georg Gresser, *Die Synoden und Konzilien in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums in Deutschland und Italien von Leo IX. bis Calixt II., 1049-1123* (Paderborn, 2006), 293-8.

<sup>285</sup> Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, s.a. 1095, ed. I. Robinson, *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz 1054-1100*, MGH SRG N.S. 14 (Hanover, 2003), p. 521.

<sup>286</sup> Georg Gresser, *Die Synoden und Konzilien in der Zeit des Reformpapsttums in Deutschland und Italien von Leo IX. bis Calixt II., 1049-1123* (Paderborn, 2006),

What about secular assemblies?<sup>287</sup> The size of royal assemblies is not nearly as clear as that of church councils.<sup>288</sup> A particularly large assembly met at Savonnières, just outside of Toul, in November 862.<sup>289</sup> A few factors contributed to its size and to the fact that we have Hincmar's figure of 200 *consilarii*. The first was that three Carolingian kings assembled there at once: Louis the German, Charles the Bald, and Lothar II. The second factor is Hincmar's desire to emphasize the legitimacy of the pro-Charles proceedings. Michael McCormick's extrapolation for entourage-size returns a total assembly size of 5,000.<sup>290</sup> If this is accurate, Savonnières must have been one of the larger royal assemblies in the ninth-century West.<sup>291</sup> Many other royal assemblies, even those involving multiple kings, brought together much smaller numbers. At the treaty of Meerssen (870), apparently on Louis the German's initiative, each king was only to bring 4 bishops, 10 "counsellors," and 30 "ministerial vassals."<sup>292</sup> Janet Nelson notes, "The numbers were similar to those responsible for the peace of Verdun in 843: in other words, a representative group of the elite in the kingdoms concerned."<sup>293</sup> We must probably

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<sup>287</sup> See, for a quick overview of the state of the field, P. S. Barnwell, "Political Assemblies: Introduction," in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 1-10.

<sup>288</sup> Reuter, "Assembly Politics in Western Europe," pp. 193-216.

<sup>289</sup> Hludowici, Karoli et Hlotharii II. Conventus apud Saponarias (Nov. 3, 862), ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 2 (Hanover, 1897), no. 243, p. 165. On this council, Robert Parisot, *Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens (843-923)* (Paris, 1898), pp. 203-210; Joseph Calmette, *La diplomatie carolingienne; du traité de Verdun à la mort de Charles le Chauve (843-877)* (Paris, 1901), pp. 81-6.

<sup>290</sup> McCormick, *Origins*, p. 665.

<sup>291</sup> Cf. Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis*, pp. 70-72.

<sup>292</sup> *AB*, s.a., 870, ed. Grat et al., p.171.

<sup>293</sup> Janet Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 224-225.

distinguish carefully between assemblies of a particularly deliberative nature and those of a particularly celebratory nature.<sup>294</sup>

Aside from assemblies, we know the most about military gatherings. Yet scholars disagree fiercely about the size of early medieval armies.<sup>295</sup> Generally speaking, medievalists seem to divide into maximalists and minimalists. Maximalists like Bernard Bachrach estimate downward from population estimates. Minimalists like Halsall and Drinkwater estimate upward, for instance, from cemetery findings. It was Hans Delbrück, at the turn of the nineteenth century, who first transformed the commonplace that ancient authors exaggerate into a demographic methodology.<sup>296</sup> Delbrück criticized credulous military historians who took ancient and medieval numerical reports at face value. He established two basic rules which owe, in part, to a sense of the psychology of generals and their supporters. Any general or partisan will want to exaggerate the number of the enemy's forces and, according to Delbrück, will also want to present their own forces as smaller. Because the "home" camp presumably has some idea about how big one's own army might have been, this leads to a generalized exaggeration of enemy figures. Without

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<sup>294</sup> Gerd Althoff, "Colloquium Familiare - Colloquium Secretum - Colloquium Publicum: Beratung im politischen Leben des früheren Mittelalters," in G. Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 157-84.

<sup>295</sup> Guy Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900* (London, 2003), pp. 119-133, for small warbands of, at most, hundreds of individuals; Bernard Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 51-83, estimating that Charlemagne had an army of 100,000 "effectives" which, in practical terms, mean physical forces tens of thousands strong. Cf. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 124-126, for discussion of the "two main schools" of thought in estimating early medieval army size ("big" and "small").

<sup>296</sup> Hans Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte...*



the sort of Muster Rolls that survive from later medieval Europe, many historians have followed Delbrück in assuming that most military figures are worthless.<sup>297</sup>

In an important essay on Carolingian and Ottonian military organization, Karl Ferdinand Werner pointed out that our uncertainty should not invariably lead us to underestimate the size of early medieval armies.<sup>298</sup> Werner complained that it had become “customary” to assume that medieval wars involved only small forces, which has led to an “extraordinary mistrust on the part of critics against any claim for a somewhat larger number of troops.”<sup>299</sup> Yet in fact lower estimates are no more scientific than higher ones. Werner ultimately proposed a “total” size of the ninth-century Frankish army (c. 800-840) at 30,000 “Reiter” and 100,000 men total.<sup>300</sup> This is the figure that Bachrach favors as well.<sup>301</sup>

Another – very rough – means of estimating possible crowd sizes is through extrapolations from space. By taking known areas of standing room in early medieval palace halls, churches, squares, and the like, and multiplying by a plausible number, we may be able to get a sense of some assembly figures that are not reported in writing. This

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<sup>297</sup> Bernard Bachrach, “Early Medieval Military Demography: Some Observations on the Methods of Hans Delbrück,” in *The Circle of War in the Middle Ages: Essays on Medieval Military and Naval History*, ed. Donald J. Kagay and L. J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 3-20, for a critical reading.

<sup>298</sup> Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Heeresorganisation und Kriegführung im deutschen Königreich des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts,” in K. F. Werner, *Structures politiques du monde franc (VIe-XIIe siècles): études sur les origines de la France et de l’Allemagne* (London, 1979), Essay III, pp. 791-843, at pp. 813-832.

<sup>299</sup> Werner, “Heeresorganisation,” p. 813.

<sup>300</sup> Werner, “Heeresorganisation,” p. 821, noting that “Selbstverständlich wurden solche Massen nie vereinigt – sie standen nicht nur über das ganze, riesige Reich verteilt...”

<sup>301</sup> Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare*, p. 58. See also his arguments for large combat forces in late antiquity and in the Ottonian period: Bernard Bachrach, “The Hun Army at the Battle of Chalons (451): An Essay in Military Demography,” in *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung: Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung*, ed. Karl Brunner and Brigitte Merta (Vienna, 1994), pp. 59-67; Bernard Bachrach, “Magyar-Ottonian Warfare: À Propos a New Minimalist Interpretation,” *Francia* 27 (2000): 211-230.

has been accomplished effectively for the audiences of later medieval preachers; we can compare the huge numbers reported to the available space in Italian *piazze*.<sup>302</sup> Ramsay MacMullen has also attempted to estimate maximum possible crowds for late Roman churches – by way of contending that they were hardly large enough to accommodate more than local elites.<sup>303</sup>

Kazhdan and McCormick used a similar technique to estimate a minimum possible crowd in Constantinople's Hagia Sophia.<sup>304</sup> Building on an estimate of 2,867 m<sup>2</sup> of “total usable space in the galleries” of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, Kazhdan and McCormick used a “generous square meter for each person” to posit a theoretical minimum of around 2900 persons.<sup>305</sup> In a subsequent essay, McCormick extended this approach to Carolingian throne rooms.<sup>306</sup> Using the same calculation of 1 m<sup>2</sup> per person, he could provide a few rough guesses for the capacity of palace throne rooms, suggesting that at most they could have accommodated hundreds: 748 m<sup>2</sup> at Aachen, 310 m<sup>2</sup> at Paderborn, 668 m<sup>2</sup> at Ingelheim, and 323 m<sup>2</sup> at Frankfurt.<sup>307</sup> McCormick wonders whether “it is coincidental that the throne rooms appear to be smaller as one moves farther away from what were likely the more densely populated territories of the

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<sup>302</sup> Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini: predicatori e piazze alla fine del Medioevo* (Bologna, 2005), p. 161.

<sup>303</sup> Ramsay MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity, A.D. 300-400* (Atlanta, 2009), pp. 117-141, attempting to take into account obstructions.

<sup>304</sup> Alexander P. Kazhdan and Michael McCormick, “The Social World of the Byzantine Court,” in *Byzantine Court Culture From 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 167-97, at pp. 175-6.

<sup>305</sup> Kazhdan and McCormick, “The Social World of the Byzantine Court,” p. 175.

<sup>306</sup> McCormick, “From One Center of Power to Another,” pp. 50-51.

<sup>307</sup> McCormick, “From One Center of Power to Another,” p. 51, n. 18: “only the roughest of approximations.”

empire.”<sup>308</sup> We might also wonder about purposefully smaller crowds and spaces designed for exclusivity (baths, small dining/throne rooms, hunting trips, etc.). For a grand palace like Ingelheim, with multiple wide entrance doors and a record of ritual use, it makes sense that there should be more space for larger numbers.<sup>309</sup> Yet clear contrasts between open space (courtyard) and closed space (hall) also seem to be an important part of the hierarchical function of space in shaping the early medieval crowd.<sup>310</sup>

## V. Conclusions

What were the new parameters of assembly in the early Middle Ages? After war, plague, and political chaos in the fifth and sixth centuries, western Europe was in demographic disarray. Structures designed in Roman Antiquity to accommodate urban crowds (theaters, baths, circuses) were reused for their materials or for their space.<sup>311</sup> Cities were diminished physically and numerically. Nevertheless, assembly was still possible even on a large scale throughout our period. Populations were on the recovery

<sup>308</sup> McCormick, “From One Center of Power to Another,” p. 51, n. 18.

<sup>309</sup> See H. Grewe, “Die Königspfalz zu Ingelheim am Rhein,” in *799: Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Große und Papst Leo III in Paderborn*, ed. C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (Mainz, 1999), pp. 142-151; Uwe Lobbedey, “Carolingian Royal Palaces: the State of Research From an Architectural Historian’s Viewpoint,” in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: the Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003), 129-54, at p. 141. For a comparative overview of Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon palaces in the tenth century, see Thomas Zotz, “Kingship and Palaces in the Ottonian Realm and in the Kingdom of England,” in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)*, ed. Conrad Leyser, David W. Rollason, and Hannah Williams (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 311-330.

<sup>310</sup> Cf. Airlie, “Talking Heads,” pp. 39-40.

<sup>311</sup> For the illuminating parallel case of the reuse of elite spaces on the Palatine Hill of Rome, see Andrea Augenti, *Il Palatino nel Medioevo: Archeologia e Topografia (Secoli VI-XIII)* (Rome, 1996), summarized helpfully in Andrea Augenti, “Continuity and Discontinuity of a Seat of Power: the Palatine Hill From the Fifth to the Tenth Century,” in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith (Leiden, 2000), pp. 1-17.

from the eighth century onward. Disequilibrium, more than pure decline, shaped the “crowd-regime” of the early Middle Ages. Crowds could and did form easily in some places and times (e.g. palaces in the right seasons), but with difficulty in others.

Not numbers alone, therefore, but numbers within new built-environments and seasonal patterns, shaped the limits of the possible in early medieval gatherings. Yet demography did not determine those limits entirely. The next chapter will explore how early medieval elites overcame logistical constraints on assembly by coordinating rituals with venues naturally conducive to crowding. Holy festivals coincided with harvest fairs. Relics were transferred from wooded churches to busy milling sites. Church spaces invited and gave meaning to gatherings. If decline and disequilibrium shaped the horizon of possibilities for assembly in the post-Roman centuries, early medieval men and women developed a surprising ability to shape the crowd to their own purposes.

## CHAPTER TWO

## VENUES

**I. Introduction**

We saw in the last chapter that the basic material conditions permitting human assembly, large numbers densely gathered, had diminished across western Europe by the mid sixth century and recovered only slowly from the seventh century onward. Demographic thinning and urban decay did not put an end to crowds, however. Early medieval markets, armies, and institutions still marshaled impressive numbers, and collective behavior still played a vital role in economic, political, and religious life. Yet the horizon of possibilities for gathering had shifted. This chapter examines the venues for gathering that arose during the early Middle Ages, how they supplanted ancient forms, and how they shaped a new logic of assembly.

My subject in this chapter is “the crowd” only in the most neutral sense of the term. Like the previous chapter, this chapter will consider any gathering of individuals in one place and time, whether active or passive, large or small, orderly or riotous.<sup>1</sup> Later chapters will explore actors’ categories: early medieval terms and representations for different crowds. For now, we will focus on any and all forms of what the sociologist

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<sup>1</sup> Clark McPhail, “Crowd Behavior,” in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. George Ritzer (Malden, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 880-884, at p. 880: “Over the past two decades sociologists working at different levels of analysis have adopted ‘the gathering’ as a more neutral and useful concept for referring to a temporary collection of at least two persons in a common location in space and time without regard to their actions or motives.” I have also been influenced by the “deliberately vague” (p. 5) use of the phrase “forme di aggregazione” as set out by Elio Lo Cascio, “Introduzione,” in *Forme di aggregazione nel mondo romano*, ed. Elio Lo Cascio and Giovanna D. Merola (Bari, 2007), pp. 5-10, esp. pp. 5-6.

Clark McPhail has termed “temporary gatherings.”<sup>2</sup> McPhail prefers this phrase to the loaded term “crowd” because “gathering” makes no presuppositions about motivation, uniformity of action or psychological state, or behavior. It simply refers to numbers in time and space: “Gatherings are opportunities for collective behavior; they do not guarantee it.”<sup>3</sup> By focusing on gatherings in this neutral sense, I intend to sketch out the basic material parameters of assembly in this period.

My deliberately free working definition departs from strict definitions of “the crowd” adopted by twentieth-century social historians, most notably George Rudé.<sup>4</sup> Rudé limited his analysis of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century crowds not only to “face-to-face” or “direct contact” groups, but even more specifically to the “aggressive mob” or the “hostile outburst.”<sup>5</sup> As the introduction explained, Rudé had good reasons to avoid treating “the crowd as a whole.”<sup>6</sup> He was conscious of the dangers of abstraction, stereotyping, and vagueness which had characterized popular crowd theory, like that of

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<sup>2</sup> Clark McPhail, *Myth of the Madding Crowd* (New York, 1991), p. 177. For a more complicated taxonomy of what the authors term “elementary forms of collective action” (EFCA), see David S. Schweingruber and Clark McPhail, “A Method for Systematically Observing and Recording Collective Action,” *Sociological Methods and Research* 27 (1999): 451-498, and Clark McPhail, “Gatherings as Patchworks,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 71 (2008): 1-5. Cf. Clark McPhail and Ronald T Wohlstein, “Individual and Collective Behaviors Within Gatherings, Demonstrations, and Riots,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983): 579-600.

<sup>3</sup> McPhail, *Myth of the Madding Crowd*, p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> George Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848*, rev. edn. (London, 1981, originally 1964), pp. 3-16.

<sup>5</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd in History*, p. 4. Rudé built on American sociology, notably Neil Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (New York, 1962), although here his terminology derives from articles in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (Rudé, *The Crowd in History*, p. 15, n. 1).

<sup>6</sup> Rudé, *The Crowd in History*, p. 3; cf. Stefan Jonsson, “The Invention of the Masses: The Crowd in French Culture from the Revolution to the Commune,” in *Crowds*, ed. Schnapp and Tiewis (Stanford, 2006), pp. 47-75, at p. 53.

Gustave Le Bon.<sup>7</sup> Most postwar crowd historians have, in one way or another, used similarly narrow working definitions. E. P. Thompson focused on discrete gatherings, albeit in order better to understand the “notion of legitimation” which inspired eighteenth-century men and women to form them.<sup>8</sup> Even cultural historians like Natalie Davis, who criticized early social historians, including Thompson, for excluding religious crowds, focused on concrete physical acts.<sup>9</sup> Davis explained early modern crowd violence in terms of “punitive or purificatory traditions current in sixteenth-century France,” but her subject remained “a violent crowd set on religious goals.”<sup>10</sup> Rudé, Thompson, and Davis were able to rely on rich quantitative scholarship on the basic parameters of assembly, communications, and demography in the early modern and early industrial periods. Although fine work has been done on communications and logistics

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<sup>7</sup> Gustave Le Bon, *Psychologie de la foule* (Paris, 1895). Le Bon’s book had already come under withering criticism from Georges Lefebvre, “Foules révolutionnaires,” in G. Lefebvre, *Études sur la Révolution française* (Paris, 1963; originally 1934), pp. 371-92, esp. pp. 371-2. Georges Lefebvre, *The Great Fear of 1789: Rural Panic in Revolutionary France*, trans. Joan White (Princeton, 1973), attempts an analysis of the crowd from the “bottom up” in contrast to the analysis provided by Le Bon.

<sup>8</sup> E. P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past & Present* 50 (1971): 76-136, at p. 78. Adrian Randall and Andrew Charlesworth, “The Moral Economy: Riot, Markets and Social Conflict,” in *Moral Economy and Popular Protest: Crowds, Conflicts and Authority*, ed. Adrian Randall and Andrew Charlesworth (New York, 2000), pp. 1-17, explore the use of Thompson’s notion of “moral economy” in a range of subsequent publications.

<sup>9</sup> Natalie Davis, “The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France,” *Past & Present* 59 (1973): 51-91 (ritual acts of religious violence); Natalie Davis, “The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France,” *Past & Present* 50 (1971): 41-75 (ritual acts of social violence). Both articles situate abnormal forms of collective action (religious riot, youth violence) within the normal practices of early modern French collective life.

<sup>10</sup> Davis, “Rites of Violence,” p. 90 (“traditions”), 52 (“a violent crowd”). Cf. Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982), p. 17, who positively contrasts Davis with “one writer” (left unmentioned) who claimed that popular religious acts belonged “not to the sphere of religious history, but of crowd psychology,” an oblique reference to Rudé, *The Crowd in History*, p. 4: “Other outbursts of mass hysteria...are fascinating material for the student of crowd psychology, but they may be of only casual interest to the historian.”

for the post-Roman west, we lack a sense of the basic material possibilities of gathering in this period.<sup>11</sup>

This chapter provides an overview of the venues for gathering in the West in the period, c. 600-900. It is not simply intended, however, as an inventory of the forms which disappeared, remained, emerged, or transformed. Instead, I will focus on frequency and prominence. By frequency, I mean to ask which forms of gathering were commonest. There were a few sixth-century Merovingian circus shows, at least according to Gregory of Tours, but there were many Merovingian hunting parties.<sup>12</sup> A late Roman senator hearing the word *turba* might think first of circus crowds; an early medieval count hearing the word *managī* might think of hunting bands in the king's forest.<sup>13</sup> My second area of focus, prominence, concerns social significance. What forms of gathering were important to early medieval civilization? A large festival that occurred only once a year, like the October 9 festival of Saint Denis, did not have to be a daily occurrence to enjoy a

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<sup>11</sup> Recently on the logistics of empire in the Carolingian period, see Martin Gravel, *Distances, rencontres, communications: réaliser l'empire sous Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux* (Turnhout, 2012), esp. pp. 46-94. For the logistics of lodging and feeding royal courts during the early Middle Ages, see Carlrichard Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis: Studien zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den fränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6 bis zur Mitte des 14 Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1968), pp. 1-115. For the logistics and seasonality of early medieval travel, see Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 393-500.

<sup>12</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 5.17, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 1.1 (1951), p. 216; cf. François Bougard, "Des jeux du cirque au tournoi: que reste-t-il de la compétition antique au haut Moyen Âge," *Agôn: la Compétition, Ve-XIIe siècle*, ed. F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, and T. Lienhard (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 5-42, at pp. 19-20. For mentions of hunts in the same sixth-century source, see, e.g., Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 4.21 (p. 154), 5.12 (p. 207), 5.14 (p. 211), 5.39 (p. 246), 6.46 (p. 319), 8.6 (p. 374), 8.10 (p. 377), 10.10 (p. 494). On the hunt in the early Middle Ages, see Jörg Jarnut, "Die frühmittelalterliche Jagd," in *L'uomo di fronte al mondo animale* (Spoleto, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 765-798, at pp. 773-775. Eric Goldberg is currently working on a large-scale study of hunting in early medieval Francia.

<sup>13</sup> For the Old High German terminology of the crowd, see below, chapter 3.



disproportionate social prominence.<sup>14</sup> Conversely, one terrible riot or one mass disaster could also dominate social attention.<sup>15</sup>

Between frequency and prominence, I hope to identify the dominant forms of gathering in the early Middle Ages. My central argument is that the dominant form of gathering in both senses was the solemn assembly: a form of gathering which served and celebrated legitimate power.<sup>16</sup> I will contend that the dominance of the assembly partly owed to the urban and demographic decline examined in chapter 1. At the same time, new political and social realities quite as much as demographic change made assemblies frequent and prominent, particularly in the Carolingian period (c. 750-900). By the ninth century, the whole family of practices related to gathering was understood through the prism of the assembly. Ordered assembly had been a characteristic of ancient crowds as well, as we will explore. But even in late Antiquity, the games remained the culturally dominant form of gathering. Therefore, we begin with the theater, the circus, and the stadium, and what role they played in late Roman civilization.

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<sup>14</sup> Giles Brown, "Politics and patronage at the abbey of Saint Denis (814-98): the rise of a royal patron saint," PhD. Thesis., University of Oxford, 1989. For seasonal patterns in early medieval politics, see Michael Sierck, *Festtag und Politik: Studien zur Tagewahl karolingischer Herrscher* (Cologne, 1995); Albrecht Finck von Finckenstein, "Fest- und Feiertage im Frankenreich der Karolinger," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Regnum Francorum: Referate beim Wissenschaftlichen Colloquium zum 75 Geburtstag von Eugen Ewig*, ed. Rudolf Schieffer (Sigmaringen, 1990), pp. 121-129. Festival days may be delineated in the sources by the crowds that assemble to attend them, as in a seventh-century hagiography which defines Saint Gertrude's feast day in terms of the promiscuous crowd that assembles to celebrate it: *Virtutes Geretrudis* (BHL 3399), c. 11, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), p. 470: "Cum autem adpropinquasset dies ille, tunc omnes, qui ad hanc solemnitatem illic convenerant, sive viri sive feminae, monachi ac virgines Christi, cum honore et reverentia celebrantes diem illam."

<sup>15</sup> E.g. *AB*, s.a. 839 (*recte*: 838), ed. Grat et al., p. 28: a dune-flattening tsunami in Frisia.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Thomas N. Bisson, "Celebration and Persuasion: Reflections on the Cultural Evolution of Medieval Consultation," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 7 (1982): 181-204, at p. 183. For the traditional association between assemblies and an early "Germanic" political logic, see Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966, originally 1897), vol. 1, pp. 211-212. For a more recent interpretation of the place of deliberative assemblies within Frankish society, see Janet L. Nelson, "Legislation and Consensus in the Reign of Charles the Bald," in Janet Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 91-116.

## II. The Fate of Roman Crowd Venues

The Roman empire maintained a place for crowds in its politics and religion, despite sharp prejudices against the “crowd” which characterized elite Roman cultural attitudes.<sup>17</sup> Crowds filled the empire’s theaters, circuses, and stadiums.<sup>18</sup> Crowds thickened the streets of the empire’s cities.<sup>19</sup> They shuffled after its patrons, celebrated its festivals, and marveled at its triumphs.<sup>20</sup> Crowds thronged around ancient orators and

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<sup>17</sup> Nicholas Horsfall, “The Cultural Horizons of the ‘Plebs Romana,’” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 41 (1996): 101-19; Pierre Cagniard, “The Philosopher and the Gladiator,” *The Classical World* 93 (2000): 607-618. See also “Volk, Nation, Nationalismus, Masse,” in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, ed. O. Brunner, W. Conze, and R. Koselleck (Stuttgart, 1992), vol. 7, pp. 141-431, esp. pp. 151-171 (Fritz Gschnitzer: “II. Altertum”).

<sup>18</sup> For a useful introduction to the massive literature on Roman spectacle, see K. M. Coleman, “‘The contagion of the throng’: absorbing violence in the Roman world,” *Hermathena* 164 (1998): 65-88; see also her “General Introduction” to Martial, *M. Valerii Martialis liber spectaculorum*, ed. K. M. Coleman (Oxford, 2006), esp. pp. lxxv-lxxx. The best overview on gladiators remains Georges Ville, *La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* (Rome, 1981). For a computer-generated estimation of the crowd dynamics of the Flavian amphitheater, see Diego Gutierrez et al., “AI and virtual crowds: Populating the Colosseum,” *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 8 (2007): 176-185. For up-to-date synthetic entries on Roman spectacle, see K. M. Coleman, “Spectacle,” in *Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*, ed. A. Barchiesi and W. Scheidel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 651-70; K. M. Coleman, “Public entertainments,” in *Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. M. Peachin (Oxford, 2011), pp. 335-57. The frequent appearance of gladiatorial decorations in private homes provides a striking reflection of how quotidian gladiatorial violence became in Roman Antiquity: Shelby Brown, “Death as Decoration: Scenes From the Arena on Roman Domestic Mosaics,” in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. Amy Richlin (Oxford, 1992), pp. 180-211, at p. 184, noting that the crowd (and the editor who paid for their entertainment) are rarely depicted in private mosaics, “so the viewer of the scene replaces the crowd at ringside.” For the theaters, see Mary T. Boatwright, “Theaters in the Roman Empire,” *The Biblical Archaeologist* 53 (1990): 184-192.

<sup>19</sup> Friederike Fless, “Römische Prozessionen,” in *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* 1 (Los Angeles, 2004), pp. 33-58.

<sup>20</sup> Paul Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque: sociologie historique d’un pluralisme politique* (Paris, 1976). For discussion of Veyne’s key arguments about evergetism, see Peter Garnsey, “The Generosity of Veyne,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991): 164-168. See also Arjan Zuiderhoek, “The Ambiguity of Munificence,” *Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 56 (2007): 196-213, for a useful discussion of how euergetic rituals in Antiquity were not exclusively about elite “legitimation and reinforcement of social bonds” or “vehicles for the expression of discontent” by the lower classes, but rather that these were “two sides of the same coin” (p. 213).

religious leaders. They grieved at funerals, or interrupted them.<sup>21</sup> They united their voices in praise of emperors, and rebelled against them. Crowds held a place in Rome's political ideologies, at least in theory, and wrenched power from the hands of its authorities in practice often enough.<sup>22</sup> They perished together in its disasters, when the bleachers of amphitheaters and circuses collapsed, in acts of mass punishment, in religious and political riots, in the course of wars, sacks, fires, famines and invasions, and during the throes of plague.<sup>23</sup> And after death, crowds – their tombs, at least – lined the roads that

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<sup>21</sup> Christopher Jones, "Interrupted Funerals," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 143 (1999): 588-600.

<sup>22</sup> For the debate about the significance of the Late Republican *contio*, see Fergus Millar, *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* (Ann Arbor, 1998); cf. Fergus Millar, "Political Power in Mid-Republican Rome: Curia or Comitium?" *The Journal of Roman Studies* 79 (1989): 138-150, and Fergus Millar, "Popular Politics at Rome in the Late Republic," *Mnemosyne* 139 (1995): 91-113. See also the collected essays in *Demokratie in Rom? Die Rolle des Volkes in der Politik der römischen Republik*, ed. M. Jehne (Stuttgart, 1995); Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, "The Roman Republic: Government of the People, by the People, for the People?" *Scripta Classica Israelica* 19 (2000): 203-23; Anton Powell, "Roman Democracy," *The Classical Review*, New Series, 50 (2000): 516-518 (a review article); R. Morstein-Marx, *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge, 2004); F. Pina Polo, "Procedures and Functions of Civil and Military *Contiones* in Rome," *Klio* 77 (1995): 203-16; F. Pina Polo, *Contra Arma Verbis: Der Redner vor dem Volk in der später römischen Republik*, trans. E. Liess (Stuttgart, 1996); and more recently James Tan, "Contiones in the Age of Cicero," *Classical Antiquity* 27 (2008): 163-201, with further bibliography. Both Gregory S. Aldrete, *Gestures and Acclamations in Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1999) and Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), discuss *passim* the role of the crowd in later imperial politics. For an argument for the continued importance of the people in Byzantine imperial politics see Anthony Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, MA, 2015), and see also Dimitris Krallis, "'Democratic' Action in Eleventh-Century Byzantium: Michael Attaleiates's 'Republicanism' in Context," *Viator* 40 (2009): 35-53.

<sup>23</sup> For circus collapse, see J. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: arenas for chariot racing* (London, 1986), p. 115; Tacitus, *Annales*, 4.62-64, ed. H. Heubner, *P. Cornelii Taciti libri qui supersunt*, vol. 1: *Ab excessu divi Augusti* (Stuttgart, 1983), pp. 168-169, gives an extraordinary account of the collapse of a wooden amphitheater at Fidenae in AD 27, linking it to other bad omens. For analysis see Guy Chamberland, "A Gladiatorial Show Produced in *sordidam mercedem* (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.62)," *Phoenix* 61 (2007): 136-149. This is a typical use of the *topos* of crowd disaster. Cf. Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 79.25-26, ed. U. P. Boissvain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum romanarum quae supersunt* (Berlin, 1901), vol. 3, pp. 431-432, where the Colosseum is seriously damaged by lighting in AD 217 during the Vulcania, portending terrible things. Mary Beard et al., *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge, 1998), vol. 1, p. 263. For Cassius Dio's depiction of the fickle mob, see Fergus Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford, 1964), p. 76. For Roman riot control, see Benjamin Kelly, "Riot Control and Imperial Ideology in the Roman Empire," *Phoenix* 61 (2007): 150-176; Cam Grey and Anneliese Parkin, "Controlling the Urban Mob: The *colonatus perpetuus* of C.Th. 14.18.1," *Phoenix* 57 (2003): 284-299; Wilfried Nippel, "Aufbruch und Polizei in der späten römischen Republik und in der frühen Kaiserzeit," *Humanistische Bildung* 6 (1983): 85-118; Wilfried Nippel, "Policing Rome," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 20-29.

led to Rome, or packed the city's *columbaria* like sardines (or, as the name suggests, like pigeons). The rise of a new religion in the empire transformed the life of crowds across the Mediterranean and beyond. The empire's Christians, from the fourth and fifth centuries onward, built places of worship, and assembled around the gathered bodies of their own dead.<sup>24</sup> In crowds they beseeched saintly multitudes for aid against invisible legions, trusting in a City of God populated by throngs of angels, even as Hell was crowded with devils.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> A large literature exists on the development of so-called "Reihengräber" (row graves) in Southern Germany; on their development, see Joachim Werner, "Zur Entstehung der Reihengräberzivilisation: Ein Beitrag zur Methode der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie," in *Siedlung, Sprache und Bevölkerungsstruktur im Frankenreich*, ed. Franz Petri (Darmstadt, 1973), pp. 285-325 (originally published in *Archaeologica Graphica* 1 (1950): 23-32), with up-to-date revisions by Hermann Ament, "Reihengräberfriedhöfe," *RGA*<sup>2</sup> 24 (Berlin, 2003), pp. 362-365. For their relationship with the Christianization of the north, see Josef Semmler, "Mission und Pfarrorganisation in den rheinischen, mosel- und maasländischen Bistümern (5.-10. Jahrhundert)," in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 813-888, at pp. 821-822.

<sup>25</sup> For an excellent overview on late Roman Christians, see John Van Engen, "Christening the Romans," *Traditio* 52 (1997): 1-45, esp. pp. 15-16. On the crowd in late antique Christianity, see Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 17-19 (cure of the possessed), pp. 112-115 (the holy man) and Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: towards a Christian empire* (Madison, 1992), esp. p. 148 (the late antique bishop as crowd controller). The Christian crowds of Late Antiquity have received several recent studies, particularly stressing violence (above all among the *circumcelliones* of North Africa): Clifford Ando, "Religion and Violence in Late Roman North Africa," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6 (2013): 197-202; Remo Cacitti, *Furiosa Turba: I fondamenti religiosi dell'eversione sociale, della dissidenza politica e della contestazione ecclesiale dei Circoncellioni d'Africa*. (Milan, 2006); Brent D. Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge, 2011); Leslie Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa* (Berkeley, 2010); Edward J. Watts, *Riot in Alexandria: Tradition and Group Dynamics in Late Antique Pagan and Christian Communities* (Berkeley, 2010); Michael Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (Berkeley, 2005); Júlio César Magalhães de Oliveira, "Le 'pouvoir du peuple': une émeute à Hippone au début du Ve siècle connue par le Sermon 302 de Saint Augustin pour la Fête de Saint Laurent," *Antiquité Tardive* 12 (2004): 309-324; Júlio César Magalhães de Oliveira, "'Vt maiores pagani non sint!': Pouvoir, iconoclasme et action populaire à Carthage au début du Ve siècle (Saint Augustin, Sermons 24, 279 et Morin 1)," *Antiquité Tardive* 14 (2006): 245-262; Michael Kulikowski, "Fronto, the bishops, and the crowd: Episcopal justice and communal violence in fifth-century Tarracoenensis," *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002): 295-320. For an earlier approach that focused on doctrinal differences, see Timothy E. Gregory, *Vox Populi: Popular Opinion and Violence in the Religious Controversies of the Fifth Century A.D.* (Columbus, 1979). Cf. Timothy Gregory, "Urban Violence in Late Antiquity," in *Aspects of Graeco-Roman Urbanism: Essays on the Classical City*, ed. Ronald T. Marchese (Oxford, 1983), pp. 137-161.

Christianity's rise did little to unseat Roman venues for controlled crowding. Writing of the late fourth-century Roman plebs, Ammianus Marcellinus wrote that "their temple, their dwelling, their assembly, the sum of their hopes is the Circus Maximus."<sup>26</sup> Ammianus' satirical slight is backed up by physical and written evidence for the games' long-enduring allure.<sup>27</sup> Despite sporadic efforts to curb their excesses, even the bloodshed of the arena continued into the Christian empire.<sup>28</sup> Augustine describes his friend Alypius shutting his eyes when dragged to the Colosseum, only to be unmade by the sound of the crowd, which "entered through his ears and unsealed his eyes...And now he was not the man who had come, but one of the crowd (*unus de turba*) to which he had come."<sup>29</sup> Even as new facilities for Christian multitudes arose – the Christian *basilica* modeled on the

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<sup>26</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 28.4.29: "eisque templum et habitaculum et contio et cupitorum spes omnis Circus est maximus." Cf. Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.4.3, ed. H. Heubner, *P. Cornelii Taciti libri qui supersunt*, vol. 2, fasc. 1: *Historiarum libri* (Stuttgart, 1978), p. 3: "plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta." For Einar Löfstedt, "On the Style of Tacitus," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 38 (1948): 1-8, at p. 5, for Tacitus' depiction of crowds as a piece of his narrative pessimism.

<sup>27</sup> Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 297-308. See also Barry Baldwin, "Dioscorus of Aphrodito and the Circus Factions," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 117 (1981): 285-286.

<sup>28</sup> For the legal use of the punishment *ad bestias* ("to the beasts") as late as Constantine, see Jill Harris, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 138-139.

<sup>29</sup> Augustine, *Confessiones*, 6.8.13, ed. M. Skutella and L. Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout, 1981): "ille clausis foribus oculorum interdixit animo ne in tanta mala procederet. atque utinam et aures obturavisset! nam quodam pugnae casu, cum clamor ingens totius populi vehementer eum pulsasset, curiositate victus et quasi paratus, quidquid illud esset, etiam visum contemnere et vincere, aperuit oculos. et percussus est graviore vulnere in anima quam ille in corpore quem cernere concupivit, ceciditque miserabilis quam ille quo cadente factus est clamor. qui per eius aures intravit et reseravit eius lumina, ut esset qua feriretur et deiceretur audax adhuc potius quam fortis animus, et eo infirmior quo de se praesumserat [cf. Judith 6.15], qui debuit de te. ut enim vidit illum sanguinem, immanitatem simul ebibat et non se avertit, sed fixit aspectum et hauriebat furias et nesciebat, et delectabatur scelere certaminis et cruenta voluptate inebriabatur. et non erat iam ille qui venerat sed unus de turba ad quam venerat, et verus eorum socius a quibus adductus erat." For this passage, see Franz-Frieder Lühr, "Zur Darstellung und Bewertung von Massenreaktionen in der lateinischen Literatur," *Hermes* 107 (1979): 92-114, at pp. 111-114; Gottfried Mader, "Blocked Eyes and Ears: the Eloquent Gestures at Augustine, *Conf.*, VI, 8, 13," *L'Antiquité classique* 69 (2000): 217-220. Cf. Daniel Slyke, "The Devil and His Poms in Fifth-Century Carthage: Renouncing Spectacula with Spectacular Imagery," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 59 (2005): 53-72, for a useful overview of early Christian approaches to the games, focusing on Augustine and Quodvultdeus.

justice hall, the *diaconiae* modeled on dole distribution centers – the old venues for crowding survived. Peppering Augustine’s sermons are the anxieties of a speaker acutely aware of his competition.<sup>30</sup> The intoxicating draw of the crowd insured that games, circuses, and other entertainments were long in dying.

The longevity of ancient forms of mass entertainment irked ancient Christian intellectuals. For Tertullian, to attend the games was to “walk in the counsel of the ungodly” (Psalm 1:1).<sup>31</sup> Augustine, as we have seen, regarded spectacles as pure temptation. They are the scene of innumerable saints’ passions.<sup>32</sup> The *arena*, the sandpit at the center of the amphitheater, became a byword for martyrdom.<sup>33</sup> Nor were these mass venues spurned by Christians alone. Stoic pride, much more than Christian belief, convinced Augustine’s friend Alypius that he could be “absent while present” at a

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<sup>30</sup> Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford, 2011), p. 791; Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton, 2012), pp. 353-358, for the “war of giving” (p. 355) between church and civic authorities. Cf. Peter Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul: Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity* (Cambridge, MA, 2015), pp. 83-91. Compare the construction of audience in the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, as analyzed by Karl Brunner, “Publikumskonstruktionen in den Predigten des Caesarius von Arles,” in *Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and Their Audiences in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen and Marianne Pollheimer (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 99-126.

<sup>31</sup> Tertullian, *De spectaculis* 3, ed. E. Dekkers, CCSL 1 (Turnhout, 1954), addressed those whose “fides aut simplicior aut scrupulosior” (“either more dull or more pedantic faith”) led them to insist that games were legitimate to Christians because they were not expressly forbidden in scripture. Tertullian’s answer hangs on an interpretation of Psalm 1:1 (“Blessed is the man who goes not in the counsel of the ungodly [*concilium impiorum*]”) which conflates the “concilium impiorum” (“counsel of the ungodly”) with the physical “conventus ethnici populi” (“gathering of the heathen populace”) which attended the games and the theater. Tertullian also plays on the language of Ps. 1 (in one of the *vetus Latina* versions) by recasting the *viae* and *cathedra* as the aisles and seating of the Roman amphitheater.

<sup>32</sup> David Potter, “Martyrdom as Spectacle,” in *Theater and Society in the Classical World*, ed. Ruth Scodel (Ann Arbor, 1993), pp. 53-88; Elizabeth Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York, 2004), pp. 104-133. See also Philippe Buc, “Martyre et ritualité dans l’Antiquité tardive: horizons de l’écriture médiévale des rituels,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 28 (1997): 63-92, for the subsequent commemoration and manipulation of martyr stories.

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Szöfferffy, *Concise History of Medieval Latin Hymnody* (Leiden, 1985), p. 16.

gladiatorial match.<sup>34</sup> Seneca in the first century dedicated an epistle to the dangers of moral contagion from the crowd, and underscored the particular threat posed by crowds at *spectacula*.<sup>35</sup> “And nothing is more destructive to good morals than taking seats at some spectacle. For there vices creep in more easily through the medium of pleasure.”<sup>36</sup>

The existence of permanent venues for crowd entertainment was always an ambivalent cultural fact for the ancient moralists. Ambivalent not least because Roman moralists loved to hate the games. A topos of good emperors was their boredom (Julian Caesar) or their calculated indulgence (Augustus, Marcus Aurelius) regarding spectacles. Bad emperors like Nero or Commodus exhibited unhealthy fascination with gladiators and chariot races (and one unnatural emperor, Tiberius, ignored them entirely).<sup>37</sup> When Augustine described Alypius falling under the games’ sway, he called upon his most powerful literary abilities to evoke their intoxicating effects, sweeping his readers up into the action with words meant to reflect the power of the crowd itself. The *clamor*, the “roar” of the crowd at the Colosseum, proved that the force of numbers (mirrored by the

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<sup>34</sup> Augustine, *Confessiones*, 6.8.13, ed. M. Skutella and L. Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout, 1981): “si corpus meum in locum illum trahitis et ibi constituitis, numquid et animum et oculos meos in illa spectacula potestis intendere? adero itaque absens ac sic et vos et illa superabo.”

<sup>35</sup> Seneca, *Ep.* 7, ed. L. D. Reynolds, *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* (Oxford, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 11-14.

<sup>36</sup> Seneca, *Ep.* 7.2-3, ed. Reynolds, vol. 1, p. 12: “Nihil vero tam damnosum bonis moribus quam in aliquo spectaculo desiderare. Tunc enim per voluptatem facilius vitia subrepunt.”

<sup>37</sup> Coleman, “The Contagion of the Throng,” p. 77. The games could reflect the moral qualities of a public figure in other ways. Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 72.29, ed. Boissevain, vol. 3, p. 269, underscores Marcus Aurelius’ mercy by emphasizing that he patronized gladiatorial bouts with blunted weapons. Michael Carter, “Gladiatorial Combat with ‘Sharp’ Weapons (Τοῖς Ὀξεῖσι Σιδήροις),” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 155 (2006): 161-175, esp. 170-172, argues from epigraphic evidence that such fights may have been common.

mimetic force of Augustine's rhetoric) might overcome an individual's resistance.<sup>38</sup> The clamor of the games would have dominated the soundscape of entire cities during large games or races.<sup>39</sup> The Colosseum crowd, then, was a useful evil, showing would-be stoics the limits of trust in oneself, not God.

Nor were games and circuses the only popular threats to Roman morality. Other mass entertainments also endangered virile mores. Tacitus wrote of old men who believed that Pompey's establishment of a permanent stone theater caused morals to decline in Rome, and the Constantinopolitan historian Zosimos blamed centuries of "discord" (στάσεις) and "disorders" (ταραχαί) on Augustus' institution of mime dancing at Rome over five centuries before.<sup>40</sup> Mime dancing especially seems to have attracted criticism; this was not always due to the sexual nature of these shows, but to their political undertones.<sup>41</sup> John Chrysostom worried more about his flock's addiction to the

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<sup>38</sup> For a modern account of the relationship between sound and crowd violence, see Bill Buford, *Among the Thugs* (London, 1991), pp. 198-205, describing crowd violence sparked by the sound of breaking glass. For the depiction of sound and the aural in Augustine's *Confessions*, see the thought-provoking essay by William L. North, "Hearing Voices in Late Antiquity: An Aural Approach to Augustine's *Confessions*," in *The Middle Ages in Texts and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Glenn (Toronto, 2011), pp. 7-20.

<sup>39</sup> Z. Nédá, E. Ravasz, Y. Brechet, T. Vicsek, and A. L. Barabási, "The Sound of Many Hands Clapping: Tumultuous Applause Can Transform Itself Into Waves of Synchronized Clapping," *Nature* 403 (2000): 849-850, show that it is possible for large gatherings to move from unsynchronized to synchronized noise.

<sup>40</sup> Tacitus, *Annales* 14.20.1-5, ed. H. Heubner (Stuttgart, 1983), p. 319; Zosimos, *New History*, 1.6.1, ed. F. Paschoud, *Histoire nouvelle* (Paris, 1971). For the latter, see the discussion by Alan Cameron, "The date of Zosimos' *New history*," *Philologus* 113 (1969): 106-110, who dates the first book of Zosimos' history to between 501 and 502, when such dances were prohibited. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, p. 227, notes that this concern about pantomimes was not unique to Constantinople. Cassiodorus, *Variarum* 1.20, 1.32, ed. Å. J. Fridh, CCSL 96 (Turnhout, 1958), pp. 28-29, 38-39, both complain about s pantomimes or spectacles being linked with squabbles and sedition at Rome.

<sup>41</sup> Cameron, *Circus Factions*, p. 227. For an attempt to uncover the early medieval history of these popular entertainers, see J. D. A. Ogilvy, "Mimi, Scurrae, Histriones: Entertainers of the Early Middle Ages," *Speculum* 38 (1963): 603-619.



theater than about his flock's physical or sexual abuse of their slaves.<sup>42</sup> Spectacles, races, shows, and other popular entertainments were lambasted by elite authors, but they continued to be held, at extraordinary cost, and with elite assistance.

By the sixth century, Cassiodorus channeled Seneca and Tacitus more than Augustine when, writing on behalf of King Theoderic to a Roman official, he chided that "Catos don't go to the circus."<sup>43</sup> Such moral utterances were pointedly rhetorical. In the same letter, Cassiodorus identified a critical function of the games in Roman society: as an outlet for violent or antisocial behavior, not unlike late medieval and early modern carnivals.<sup>44</sup> In this case, a group of high status individuals had complained to the Gothic king that their honor had been sullied by rowdy circus crowds. On Theoderic's behalf, Cassiodorus responded that senators should not be surprised to suffer *popularis loquacitas* at the circus.<sup>45</sup> The games had always been a safe space for chants, grumblings, and other behaviors which in other circumstances would count as "excess" (*excessus*):

Whatever is said there by a rejoicing crowd should not be considered a slight. That is a place which permits excess. Their freedom of speech, if it is patiently endured, is known to bring honor even to princes themselves.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Kyle Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275-425* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 209.

<sup>43</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, 1.27.4, ed. Fridh, p. 35: "Mores autem graues in spectaculis quis requirat? ad circum nesciunt conuenire Catones." Cf. Cassiodorus, *Variarum* 3.51.3, ed. Fridh, p. 133: "Spectaculum expellens grauissimos mores, inuitans leuissimas contentiones, euacuator honestatis, fons irriguus iurgiorum, quod uetustas quidem habuit sacrum, sed contentiosa posteritas fecit esse ludibrium."

<sup>44</sup> Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Le carnaval de Romans: de la Chandeleur au mercredi des Cendres, 1579-1580* (Paris, 1979).

<sup>45</sup> For the subsequent development of the word *popularis*, see A. M. Bautier, "'Popularis' et la notion de 'populaire,'" *Acta Antiqua* 23 (1975): 285-303.

<sup>46</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variarum* 1.27.5, ed. Fridh, p. 35: "Quicquid illic a gaudenti populo dicitur, iniuria non putatur. Locus est qui defendit excessum. Quorum garrulitas si patienter accipitur, ipsos quoque principes ornare monstratur."

Cassiodorus' remark offers insight into one of the ancient world's most famous venues for crowding. *Excessus* was the word for "leave-taking," whence its figurative meaning: a "departure" from mental self-mastery.<sup>47</sup> A law of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius in 398 used the term *excessus* to describe the actions of a "violent multitude" (*multitudo violenta*).<sup>48</sup> Roman law strictly punished illicit crowd violence. *Turba* in its legal sense referred not just to a physical crowd but to a state of general disorder – "riot" captures the sense – whose ringleaders, real or manufactured, would be subject to the harshest punishments.<sup>49</sup> Yet in this letter, Cassiodorus allows that the circus opened a space where such a collective state was licit. More than this, the indulgence of such behavior brought honor to great men.

Rich conservatives in the late Roman upper classes thirsted after public recognition in ritual forms.<sup>50</sup> As new forms of mass philanthropy supplanted older forms of euergetism, elites continued to embrace largess as central to their way of life.<sup>51</sup> Kathleen Coleman has spoken of spirals of "complicity," between sponsor and spectator, social pressure and reward, which caused the games to take an ever greater place in

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<sup>47</sup> TLL, vol. 2, pp. 1228-1230, s.v. "excessus" (Leumann).

<sup>48</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.2.31, ed. T. Mommsen and P. Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, 3rd edn. (Berlin, 1954), p. 845: "Quod si multitudo violenta civilis apparitionis executione et adminiculo ordinum possessorum ve non potuerit praesentari, quod se armis aut locorum difficultate tueatur, iudices Africani armatae apparitionis praesidium, datis ad virum spectabilem comitem Africae litteris, praelato legis istius tenore deposcant, ut rei talium criminum non evadant."

<sup>49</sup> Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 746.

<sup>50</sup> Cameron, *Last Pagans of Rome*, pp. 787-792, explaining why anti-pagan invective centered on the games: "First, Christians would not help seeing pagan festivals as an evil counterpart to the festivals of the church. Second, simply because they drew the crowds. No festival of the church could hope to generate the excitement of a major festival day in theatre, amphitheatre, or circus, excitement that the church could not control" (p. 791).

<sup>51</sup> Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, pp. 339-358.

imperial life.<sup>52</sup> Thus, the widespread metaphors of games in late Latin and Greek, even (perhaps especially) among Christians.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the complicity of imperial victory ceremonial and games, races, and other spectacles, especially from the fourth century onwards.<sup>54</sup> Palaces, from Rome to Trier to Constantinople, were affixed to circuses.<sup>55</sup>

This is why, despite complaints, Roman mass entertainment lived on as it did.<sup>56</sup> Urban decline and economic contraction, not stoic or Christian resistance, ended the games in the west.<sup>57</sup> The bottom had to fall out before this complex system perished. When it did, both demand and supply were affected. On the one hand, the urban decay and population decline we examined in the last chapter meant that the audience for such spectacles shrank. More importantly, the collapse of imperial infrastructure slowed the feats of mass-transport which brought lions from North Africa to the arenas of the northern Mediterranean.<sup>58</sup> A century or two after Cassiodorus wrote, most of the great

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<sup>52</sup> Coleman, “The Contagion of the Throng,” pp. 76-78.

<sup>53</sup> Geneviève Bührer-Thierry, “Qui sont les athlètes de dieu? La performance sportive par l’ascèse et la prédication,” in *Agôn: La compétition, Ve-XIIe siècle*, ed. F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, and T. Lienhard (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 293-310, esp. pp. 296-298, for “spiritual combat.”

<sup>54</sup> McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 389.

<sup>55</sup> Michael McCormick, “Emperor and Court,” in *The Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 14: Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425-600*, ed. A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, and M. Whitby (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 135-163, at p. 159. For the large reception halls of Roman palaces, see Axel Boëthius, “The Reception Halls of the Roman Emperors,” *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 46 (1951): 25-31, esp. pp. 28-29. For the *basilica* of Trier, see Hans-Peter Kuhnen, “Die Palastaula (so genannte Basilika) des spätantiken Kaiserpalastes,” *Das Römische Trier*, ed. Hans-Peter Kuhnen (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 135-142.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* (London, 1964), p. 1016.

<sup>57</sup> Coleman, “The Contagion of the Throng,” p. 79: “their disappearance seems to have been brought about by economic pressure rather than by a change of heart accompanying the Christianization of the Empire.”

<sup>58</sup> Bryan Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: urban public building in northern and central Italy, AD 300-850* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 92-118. For the trade in animals for the spectacles, see David Bomgardner, “The Trade in Wild Beasts for Roman Spectacles: A Green Perspective,” *Anthropozoologica* 16 (1992): 161-166.

public entertainment buildings, in the west at least, had been repurposed, turned into fortifications, mined for materials, turned into miniature settlements.<sup>59</sup>

The eastern half of the empire was a different story. The horse races continued to dominate Constantinopolitan life and politics. Byzantine ceremonial remained fixated on the racetrack until the arrival of western jousts in the twelfth century.<sup>60</sup> The hippodrome also remained the key political stage at Constantinople.<sup>61</sup> The attempted usurpation against Justinian I and its savage repression happened there.<sup>62</sup> So did the plot to kill Phocas (608). The hippodrome was also where Justinian II was mutilated (695), and where, upon retaking power, he avenged himself on his enemies (706).<sup>63</sup> As the eastern

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<sup>59</sup> See Carlrichard Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profanographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1975-1990), e.g., vol. 1, pp. 100-106 (Tours), pp. 240-1 (Arles). See also the illuminating studies of Tours by Hélène Noizet, *La fabrique de la ville: Espaces et sociétés à Tours (IXe-XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2007); Hélène Noizet, "La fabrique urbaine de Tours: Une analyse dialectique entre sociétés et espaces urbains (IXe-XIIIe siècle)," in *Voisinages, coexistences, appropriations: Groupes sociaux et territoires urbains (Moyen Age-16e siècle)*, ed. Chloé Deligne and Claire Billen (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 19-37; Hélène Noizet, "La transmission de la 'nature' et du 'rural' dans la ville: le cas de Tours," *Études Rurales* 175 (2005): 109-128. For Italy, see Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 92-118.

<sup>60</sup> Alain Ducellier, "Jeux et sports à Byzance," *Les dossiers de l'archéologie* 45 (1980): 83-87, at p. 87; see also Lynn Jones and Henry Maguire, "A Description of the Jousts of Manuel I Komnenos," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002): 104-148.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, "The Monument of Porphyrius in the Hippodrome at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 4 (1948): 29-49, at p. 29: "In the course of history the Hippodrome became not only the place for races and entertainments but also the scene of many important and some tragic events in Byzantine history." The main source for early Byzantine ceremonial is found in the tenth-century collections by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsiks, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins, rev. edn. (Washington, D.C., 1985); Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, *De cerimoniis*, ed. Johann Jacob Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris de cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829-1830).

<sup>62</sup> J. B. Bury, "The Nika Riot," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 17 (1897): 92-119, is still valuable in reconstructing the events. See also Geoffrey Greatrex, "The Nika Riot: a Reappraisal," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 117 (1997): 60-86, and, more recently, Mischa Meier, "Die Inszenierung einer Katastrophe: Justinian und der Nika-Aufstand," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 117 (2003): 273-300. For the prevalence of riots centered on the hippodrome in this period, see Cyril Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe - VIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1985), pp. 51-52. For the continuing importance of broad streets and other public spaces in Byzantine Constantinople, see Albrecht Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 161-172.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. McCormick *Eternal Victory*, p. 73.

capital did its best to keep its greatest entertainment building going, homes, churches, and graveyards sprang up in the arenas and circuses of the west.<sup>64</sup>

By the seventh century, as we saw in chapter 1, megacities of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants had shrunk to the tens of thousands or lower. Cities of thousands dropped an order of magnitude or more. There were also, as we saw, a few cases of outright abandonment, though these are rare.<sup>65</sup> Sometimes, centers which relied on Roman roads and military garrisons declined while centers on natural currents of movement like rivers arose.<sup>66</sup> Above all, the nature of cities had changed. Archaeologists are keen to point out that the picture is not one of abandonment but of shifting patterns of use and settlement.<sup>67</sup> Hendrik Dey in a recent book has argued that elites struggled to maintain the cities as much and as late as they could, even as numbers and the fabric of the cities themselves declined.<sup>68</sup> But population and power shifted away from cities, and

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<sup>64</sup> Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, pp. 229-33, 293; Kim Bowes and Afrim Hoti, “An Amphitheatre and Its Afterlives: Survey and Excavation in the Durrës Amphitheatre,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 16 (2003): 380-94, at p. 388.

<sup>65</sup> Adriaan Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Cambridge, 1999), 24-43. For an Italian case of apparent abandonment, see Enrico Cirelli and Elizabeth Fentress, “After the Rats: Cosa in the Late Empire and Early Middle Ages,” in *Vrbes Extinctae: Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns*, ed. Neil Christie and Andrea Augenti (Farnham, 2012), pp. 97-113.

<sup>66</sup> Verhulst, *Rise of Cities*, p. 2: “Also interesting... is the shift of a centre served exclusively by land routes, like Tongeren, to a place on a river, like Maastricht on the Meuse.” Cf. Joachim Henning, Michael McCormick, and Thomas Fischer, “*Decem Pagi* at the End of Antiquity and the Fate of the Roman Road System in Eastern Gaul,” *Proceedings of the XXst International Limes Congress* (forthcoming). For Maastricht, see Titus A. S. M. Panhuysen and Piet H. D. Leupen, “Maastricht in het eerste millennium: De vroegste stadsontwikkeling in Nederland,” in *La genèse et les premiers siècles des villes médiévales dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux: un problème archéologique et historique* (Brussels, 1990), pp. 411-449.

<sup>67</sup> Isabelle Catteddu, *Archéologie médiévale en France: le premier Moyen Âge (V<sup>e</sup> – IX<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris, 2009), pp. 25-49; Christopher Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. AD 600-1150: A Comparative Archaeology* (Cambridge, 2013), 9-29.

<sup>68</sup> Hendrick Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 1-20. See also Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 157-199, for efforts to maintain the classical structures in the early medieval period.

the megacities like Rome had diminished in human weight. Even if some rituals, like the *adventus* entrance-ceremonies which bishops as well as kings adopted, still required the “monumental armature” of Roman cities, politics in other cases fled urban spaces.<sup>69</sup>

Merovingian kings circled warily around their cities.<sup>70</sup> New centers of power tended to be rural, or, more specifically, located at the edge of forests, where kings could hunt.<sup>71</sup>

Where populations recovered quickest, they seem to have located in the countryside rather than the city.<sup>72</sup>

Throughout the Roman period, as in many historical settings from the Neolithic revolution until the very recent past, the vast majority of the population had always lived in the countryside. Nevertheless, cities enjoyed a disproportionate place in Roman political economy and culture. The ancient city was shaped, by evolution and by design, to accommodate crowds. The prevalence of the *turba* or the *multitudo* in Roman discourse reflects the real ubiquity of crowds in urban life, a ubiquity that allowed all classes to tap into the benefits of mass assembly, while also exposing them to its dangers.

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<sup>69</sup> Dey, *Afterlife*, p. 17. In Venice, a new urban “armature” based on islands and harbors arose. For the arrival of a major saint’s relic, for instance, hagiographers report rituals making use of the harbor at Olivolo (now San Pietro di Castello): *Translatio Marci* (BHL 5283-5284), ed. N. McCleary, “Note storiche ed archeologiche sul testo della *Translatio sancti Marci*,” *Memorie storiche Forogiuliesi* 27-9 (1931-3): 225-264, at p. 260, where after his long journey, including the relics’ escape from Alexandria, hidden from detection by pork which disgusted the local Muslims (p. 257), Saint Mark is received by cross-bearing clerics processing to the harbor.

<sup>70</sup> Eugen Ewig, “Résidence et capitale pendant le haut moyen âge,” in *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien: gesammelte Schriften* (Munich, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 362-408. Cf. Carlrichard Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1975-1990), vol. 1, p. 237, noting the rarity of royal visits to formerly major urban centers like Arles and Trier during the Carolingian period.

<sup>71</sup> D. Rollason, “Forests, Parks, Palaces, and the Power of Place in Early Medieval Kingship,” *Early Medieval Europe* 20 (2012): 428-49, at pp. 432-433; Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 245-246.

<sup>72</sup> John Schofield and Heiko Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” in *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell with M. Valor (Aarhus, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 111-153, at pp. 136-44. See further in chapter 1 above.

Spectacle venues were only a part of the ancient Roman experience of gathering, but one which reflects the complexity of the ancient urban system. The Theater of Pompey, like the Theater of Marcellus and the Crypta Balbi, consisted of an array of buildings meant to appeal to and control the crowd: a complex of temples, entertainment building, and food-distribution center.<sup>73</sup> These spaces offered a mix of ideology, entertainment, and food. Ancient urban environments achieved remarkable sophistication in their ability to corral numbers, although riot or spontaneous collective behavior threatened urban elites – and explains insistence upon the crowd’s political illegitimacy.<sup>74</sup> But Cassiodorus’ line about *excessus* is an articulation of how Roman elites survived in an urban environment potentially full of dangers. They took care of the needs of the many, and, when the time came, by enduring a degree of *popularis loquacitas* in exchange for docility in other conditions.<sup>75</sup>

Roman crowds have undergone much study, and it is not my purpose here to assess the accounts given of their activities by ancient historians. What I would like to emphasize from the work already done on ancient crowds is the unnaturalness of the ancient urban crowd in the wider scope of premodern history.<sup>76</sup> Doles expanded large cities beyond their normal size; structures like amphitheaters transformed the crowd’s

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<sup>73</sup> Daniele Manacorda, ed., *Crypta Balbi: archeologia e storia di un paesaggio urbano* (Milan, 2001); and the series: *Archeologia urbana a Roma: il progetto della Crypta Balbi*, 5 vols. (Florence, 1982-1990).

<sup>74</sup> E.g. Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 24.25.8, ed. T. A. Dorey, *Titi Livi Ab Vrbe Condita Libri XXIII-XXV* (Leipzig, 1976), p. 71: “<e>a natura multitudinis est: aut servit humiliter aut superbe dominatur.”

<sup>75</sup> Peter Brunt, “The Roman Mob,” *Past & Present* 35 (1966): 3-27, at p. 27.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Raymond Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople: Rewriting Roman History During Late Antiquity* (Waco, 2010), pp. 16-24.

roar into the kind of *clamor* that released endorphins among thousands.<sup>77</sup> These crowds were peculiarities of an urbanized civilization which sprang up around the Mediterranean during the first half of the first millennium. The impressive level of homogenization among Roman cities meant that Roman crowd culture extended over time and space. As Jones wrote, “A Roman citizen of the upper classes must have found himself at home wherever he traveled. The cities which he visited and the houses in which he stayed would have presented a very similar appearance to those he left behind.”<sup>78</sup> This “similar appearance” was fostered by a common core of built-environments designed, above all, for crowds: amphitheaters, theaters, stadiums, baths, main thoroughfares, temples, and, at the end of the imperial period, Christian churches.<sup>79</sup> The empire was never totally homogeneous, but the shattering of this shared physical organization, and the culture built upon it, was one of the salient features of the medieval centuries.<sup>80</sup>

In three centuries of demographic and urban decline, gatherings necessarily transformed into something else. Carrying capacities and the logistics of assembly downshifted from the sixth century onward, as we saw in the previous chapter. But just as important was the breakdown of the political and infrastructural uniformity across the west, and the collapse of the economic and social structures underpinning them.<sup>81</sup> The

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<sup>77</sup> Michael Hove, and Jane L. Risen, “It’s All in the Timing: Interpersonal Synchrony Increases Affiliation,” *Social Cognition* 27 (2009): 949-60; Joanna E. McHugh, Gavin Kearney, Henry Rice, and Fiona N. Newell, “The Sound of the Crowd: Auditory Information Modulates the Perceived Emotion of a Crowd Based on Bodily Expressions,” *Emotion* 12 (2012): 120-131.

<sup>78</sup> Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 1021.

<sup>79</sup> Dey, *Afterlife*, p. 142.

<sup>80</sup> Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 829-830.

<sup>81</sup> McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 115-119; Wickham, *Framing*, 33-50.



early Middle Ages were a moment of renewed contingency: what would happen to this civilization without its material substructure? Given both novel material constraints and the loss of forms of gathering linked to the Roman urban system, where did gatherings – in the most expansive, physical sense of that term – assemble from the end of the sixth century until the year 1000?

First, what happened to the ancient entertainment venues? What became of these spaces designed to accommodate crowds not only of thousands but sometimes tens of thousands, when such numbers were no longer at hand? “Now a Christian should have no dealings,” wrote Isidore in the mid seventh century, “with the circus’s folly, with the shamelessness of the theater, with the amphitheater’s cruelty, with the riotousness of the games.”<sup>82</sup> But Christians of Isidore’s day had little opportunity to violate the bishop’s injunction, judging by the sources. “Spectacles” in the West seem to peter out in the sixth century. Gregory of Tours writes that circuses at Soissons and Paris were built (maybe “built up” or “rebuilt”) by the Merovingian King Chilperic to “offer spectacles for the people.”<sup>83</sup> What Gregory meant by *spectaculum* is not perfectly clear. Gregory uses this term in reference to “proper” circus spectacles when he describes Byzantine politics.<sup>84</sup> Yet he also uses *spectaculum* in a more all-encompassing sense for noteworthy events

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<sup>82</sup> Isidore, *Et.*, 18.59.1: “Proinde nihil esse debet Christiano cum Circensi insania, cum inpudicitia theatri, cum amphitheatrici crudelitate, cum atrocitate arenae, cum luxuria ludi.” See also Carlin A. Barton, “The Scandal of the Arena,” *Representations* 27 (1989): 1-36.

<sup>83</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 5.17, MGH SRM 1.1, p. 216: “Quod ille dispiciens, apud Sessionas atque Parisius circus aedificare praecipit, eosque populis spectaculum praebens.” Cf. Dey, *Afterlife*, pp. 167-168. It is worth adding that in Gregory’s account, Chilperic’s patronage of the old forms of collective behavior contrasts with Guntram’s defense of pious collective institutions such as rogations, vigils, and fasts.

<sup>84</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 5.30, MGH SRM 1.1, p. 235: “Sed cum eum secundum consuetudinem loci ad spectaculum circi prestularet populus processurum, parare ei cogitans pro parte Iustiniani insidias, qui tunc nepus Iustini habebatur, ille per loca sancta processit.”

such as miracles.<sup>85</sup> Many post-Roman kings adopted the trappings of Roman power, so Chilperic's circuses are not too surprising.<sup>86</sup> In 507, Clovis I had distributed gold and silver to crowds along the Roman road leading to the church of the city of Tours.<sup>87</sup>

Theoderic avidly promoted the games in Italy, although as we saw his Roman spokesman mouthed the usual stoic pieties about the morality of the entertainments.<sup>88</sup> Chilperic's circuses, only half a century later, were already a rarity, but the Frankish king's actions are easy to comprehend. Chilperic ordered these circuses built in the wake of political crisis, and needed legitimating spectacles to bolster his Roman *bona fides*.<sup>89</sup>

After the sixth century, we rarely hear of circuses and amphitheaters being used for "spectacles" in the old sense, but they still appear from time to time as arenas of

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<sup>85</sup> E.g. Gregory of Tours, *Liber de miraculis Andreae apostoli* (BHL 430), 1.2.23, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2 (Hanover, 1885), p. 389: "Sed postmodum in nomine Iesu Christi resuscitavit puerum, et omnis civitas cucurrit ad hoc spectaculum."

<sup>86</sup> See M. Kazanski and P. Périn, "La tombe de Childéric: un tumulus oriental?" *Travaux et mémoires* 15 (2005): 287-98, for early Frankish rulers deploying both Roman and Hunnic models of rulership. For another problematization of the acculturation question, see Dieter Kremer, "Der Begriff Romanisch und romanische Volksbegriffe," in *Akkulturation: Probleme einer germanisch-romanischen Kultursynthese*, ed. C. Giefers et al. (Berlin, 2004), pp. 35-60.

<sup>87</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 2.37-38, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 88-89: "Tunc ascenso equite, aurum argentumque in itinere illo, quod inter portam atrii et ecclesiam civitatis est, praesentibus populis manu propria spargens, voluntate benignissima erogavit, et ab ea die tamquam consul aut augustus est vocitatus." For this event see Michael McCormick, "Clovis at Tours: Byzantine Public Ritual and the Origins of Medieval Ruler Symbolism," in *Das Reich und die Barbaren*, ed. Evangelos Chrysos and Andreas Schwarcz (Vienna, 1989), pp. 155-80.

<sup>88</sup> Jonathan Arnold, *Theoderic, the Goths, and the Restoration of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 212-224. Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford, 1973), p. 230, stresses that a special honor was reserved for the *venatio*. For a recent assessment of the *Variae*'s historical reliability, see Shane Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: a study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527-554* (Cambridge, 2013), esp. pp. 19-26, and Shane Bjornlie, "The Rhetoric of *Varietas* and Epistolary Encyclopedism in the *Variae* of Cassiodorus," in *Shifting Genres in Late Antiquity*, ed. Geoffrey Greatrex, Hugh Elton, and Lucas McMahan (Farnham, 2015), pp. 289-303.

<sup>89</sup> The circus races may have been intended to reassure Roman populations, or populations self-identifying as Romans, such as the "senatorial" aristocracy still influential in Gaul's politics; on which see Karl Friedrich Stroheker, "Die Senatoren bei Gregor von Tours," *Klio* 34 (1942): 293-305; and in greater detail Karl Friedrich Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien*, rev. edn. (Darmstadt, 1970). Cf. Bernard Bachrach, *The Anatomy of a Little War: A Diplomatic and Military History of the Gundovald Affair (568-586)* (Boulder, 1998), pp. 36-37.

violence and power, especially in Italy. In 604, a Lombard prince was raised to kingship in the circus of Milan before visiting ambassadors.<sup>90</sup> In 643/644, an exarch of Ravenna displayed a rebel's severed head in the city circus "as an example for the crowds."<sup>91</sup> As late as 768, one of the losers in a factional squabble for the papacy was dragged to the "Colosseum" (whether this refers to the amphitheater or the statue of Nero outside is unclear), where his eyes and tongue were removed by "wicked men" who – papal sources insisted – had no links to the pope who benefitted from this action.<sup>92</sup>

The best evidence for the fate of the entertainment buildings in the early Middle Ages is archaeological.<sup>93</sup> Many amphitheatres, theaters, and circuses dissolved into their new surroundings. They were converted into battlements, churches, palaces, and granaries. They were cannibalized for building materials or used as parts of new built-environments. Since such buildings were often built at the edges of cities, many settlements left their old entertainment buildings outside new walls: Paris, Reims, Senlis, Metz.<sup>94</sup> Many became fortresses. Some sank under the earth, like the theater at

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<sup>90</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* 4.30, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, MGH SRL 1 (Hanover, 1878), p. 127: "Igitur sequenti aestate mense Iulio levatus est Adaloaldus rex super Langobardos apud Mediolanum in circo, in praesentia patris sui Agilulfi regis, adstantibus legatis Teudeperti regis Francorum, et disponsata est eidem regio puero filia regis Teudeperti, et firmata est pax perpetua cum Francis." On this episode see Reinhard Schneider, *Königswahl und Königserhebung im Frühmittelalter: Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftsnachfolge bei den Langobarden und Merowingern* (Stuttgart, 1972), pp. 33-5.

<sup>91</sup> Liber Theodori, *Liber Pontificalis* I, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH Gesta Pontif. Rom. 1, p. 179: "ad exemplum multorum." Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, p. 117.

<sup>92</sup> *Vita Stephani III*, c. 14, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis* (Paris, 1886), vol. 1, p. 472: "Postmodum vero quidam iniqui Campanini qui hic Roma advenerant, adortati ab aliis nequioribus se et impiissimis, eundem Gracilem ex ipsa custodia abstollentes et quasi eum in monasterio deportantes, dum Colosseo advenissent, illic eius oculos eruerunt, etiam et linguam abstulerunt."

<sup>93</sup> See, for overview, J.-C. Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain* (Paris, 1988).

<sup>94</sup> Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, vol. 1, pp. 6-33, 53-72, 83-90; vol. 2, 41-62.

Tarquimpol. The grand amphitheater at Arles came to house several buildings.<sup>95</sup> Amiens possessed an amphitheater close to the city center, and this was incorporated into the new city walls.<sup>96</sup> This defensive repurposing of the solidly built amphitheaters transformed spaces for crowd entertainment into spaces for collective refuge. In 673, the enemies of the Goths at Nîmes made their last stand against King Wamba in the city's old amphitheater (*intra arenas*).<sup>97</sup> A late eleventh- or early twelfth-century chronicle preserved a similar story in which inhabitants of Trier saved themselves during a Vandal siege by hiding "in the arena of the city, that is, in the amphitheater, which they fortified."<sup>98</sup> Other entertainment buildings were repurposed as homes for another kind of crowd: the collected bodies of the dead.<sup>99</sup>

Were people conscious of these ancient buildings of assembly in their midst, or did need alone bring them back to consciousness? In Italy, where the physical remains of the old entertainment buildings would have been most visible, the silence of our sources can be baffling.<sup>100</sup> Most later observers seem uninterested in what remained of the ancient entertainment facilities. In the ninth century, Agnellus of Ravenna, otherwise minute chronicler of his city's architecture, only mentions the local amphitheater as a landmark

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<sup>95</sup> Jules Formigé, "L'amphithéâtre d'Arles," *Revue archéologique* 2 (1964): 113-163, at p. 140.

<sup>96</sup> Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, p. 232.

<sup>97</sup> Julian of Toledo, *Historia Wambae regis*, c. 18, ed. W. Levison, CCSL 115 (Turnhout, 1976), p. 234: "At ubi feroces nostrorum animos sustinere non possunt, intra arenas, quae ualidiori muro, antiquioribus aedificiis cingebantur, se muniendos includunt." Cf. André Dupont, *Les cités de la Narbonnaise première depuis les invasions germaniques jusqu'à l'apparition du Consulat* (Nîmes, 1942), p. 229.

<sup>98</sup> *Gesta Treverorum*, c. 20, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 8 (Hanover, 1848), p. 157: "in harena civitatis, id est in amphiteatro, quam munierant." For Trier, see Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, vol. 2, pp. 63-88.

<sup>99</sup> Bowes and Hoti, "An Amphitheatre and Its Afterlives," p. 388.

<sup>100</sup> Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 116-118.

to situate other buildings or events in Ravenna.<sup>101</sup> The inspiration for Agnellus' histories, the Roman *Liber pontificalis*, is rich with topographical details about early medieval Rome: churches, oratories, gates, streets, bridges, and aqueducts abound.<sup>102</sup> But the Colosseum, today the most famous of Rome's ancient monuments, goes unmentioned through centuries of coverage until, suddenly and surprisingly, it appears as the backdrop to a brutal act of political violence: the blinding of the "antipope" Constantine.<sup>103</sup> We do not even know if the text's *Colosseum* refers to the amphitheater or to the now-lost statue of Nero that stood in front of it in ancient times.<sup>104</sup> The circus at Ravenna, where the exarch Isaac displayed a rebel's head, is otherwise little attested in the sources, and has not been recovered by archaeologists.<sup>105</sup> The elevation of the young Lombard prince in the Milanese circus, with all its Byzantine overtones, is a rarity among the other royal

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<sup>101</sup> Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Rauennatis*, c. 2, ed. Otto Holder-Egger, MGH SRL 1 (Hanover, 1878), p. 149: "Templum Apollinis, quod ante portam quae uocatur Aurea, iuxta amphitheatrum, suis orationibus demoluit [*sc.* Saint Apollinaris]"; c. 129, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 305: "Ab amphitheatro, quod fuit priscis temporibus iuxta portam quae uocatur Aurea, usque ad iam dictam posterulam factus est quasi crepitus et sonitus ingens, et eleuatus est fumus quasi nebula, et hians terra omnes mortuos quos infra se clausos habuit, quos Posterulenses demoliti sunt, cum nimio foetore in suo sinu ostendit." For analysis of the second passage, but without reference to the amphitheater, see J. Martínez Pizarro, "Crowds and Power in the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*," in *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Hill and M. Swann (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 265-283; Cf. J. Martínez Pizarro, *Writing Ravenna: The Liber Pontificalis of Andreas Agnellus* (Ann Arbor, 1995), pp. 146-148.

<sup>102</sup> For seminal work on the material culture of the Roman churches from the *Liber pontificalis*, see the studies collected in Herman Geertman, *Hic fecit basilicam: studi sul Liber Pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici Roma da Silvestro a Silverio*, ed. Sible de Blaauw (Leuven, 2004). For the formulaic quality of the lives in the *Liber pontificalis*, see Thomas F. X. Noble, "The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2; c. 700–c. 900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 563-586, at p. 563.

<sup>103</sup> *Vita Stephani III*, c. 14, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis* (Paris, 1886), vol. 1, p. 472. For the Colosseum's sixth-century history see Silvia Orlandi, "Il Colosseo nel V secolo," in *The Transformations of Vrbs Roma in Late Antiquity*, ed. W. V. Harris (Portsmouth, R.I., 1999), pp. 249-263.

<sup>104</sup> See Howard Vernon Canter, "The Venerable Bede and the Colosseum," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 61 (1930): 150-164, at pp. 163-164.

<sup>105</sup> Giorgio Vespignani, "Il circo di Ravenna *regia civitas* (secc. V-X)," in *Ravenna: da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale* (Spoleto, 2005), vol. 2, pp. 1133-1142; Deborah Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 59-60; Humphrey, *Roman Circuses*, pp. 632-633.

inaugurations mentioned by this source.<sup>106</sup> Even in the east, where the circus continued to dominate high politics, it did so in attenuated form.<sup>107</sup> The frequency of chariot races decreased – from 66 annual holidays in the fifth and sixth centuries to less than a dozen by the tenth century.<sup>108</sup> Most other mentions of “amphitheaters” in our written sources tend to be spiritual in portent: the amphitheater as a site of Christian memory or a locus of spiritual combat.<sup>109</sup> Moralists like Isidore still cast barbs against this easy target, but they attacked a dying institution.

By the seventh century (if not earlier), these old venues had been taken over for new uses, and only occasionally did these uses involve large gatherings. New urban fabrics were built into, against, around the old entertainment buildings. They were no longer the open, public venues they had been, but fragmented into smaller portions. The Colosseum too was converted into a church at the end of the Roman empire. But although we know this happened, we have only the slightest evidence of this pious epilogue to the gladiatorial years.<sup>110</sup> This itself is an indication that the spectacle venue had diminished both in frequency and prominence.

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<sup>106</sup> McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 288.

<sup>107</sup> Rodolphe Guiland, “Études sur l’Hippodrome de Byzance (VI),” *Byzantinoslavica* 27 (1968): 289-307, esp. 302-305, for public displays of punishment and humiliation up to the twelfth century.

<sup>108</sup> Michael McCormick and Alexander Kazhdan, “Chariot Races,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991), vol. 1, p. 412. For more, see Gilbert Dagron, *L’hippodrome de Constantinople: jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris, 2011), pp. 119-126.

<sup>109</sup> E.g. Benedict of Aniane, *Corcordia regularum*, c. 25, ed. P. Bonnerue, CCCM 168A (Turnhout, 1999), p. 199: “Diligenter, quaeso, fratres, adtendite et cognoscite, quia in nobismetipsis habemus amphitheatrum spiritale, et illam quam silua barbara in spectaculis fingunt, cotidie patimur in ambitu cordis nostri.”

<sup>110</sup> Coleman, “‘Contagion of the Throng,’” p. 65: “...Fromm was able to declare in the nineteen-seventies that ‘the Colosseum in Rome is...one of the greatest monuments to human sadism.’ (He might have exploited the irony that its career as an amphitheatre was succeeded by a long stint as a Christian church.)” See Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard, *The Colosseum* (London, 2005), pp. 149-181, for an engaging history of the building’s afterlife.

In defining collective behavior as a subject of study, the sociologist Clark McPhail has remarked that “temporary gatherings of human beings are ubiquitous,” but the form such gatherings take is shaped by the history of space.<sup>111</sup> By the sixth and seventh centuries, the space which allows for excess (*locus qui defendit excessum*) no longer dominated the practice and imagination of gatherings. What patterns arose in its place? We must turn to the new venues within which gatherings could assemble. The forms taken by early medieval settlement and communications affected the spontaneity of gatherings. Second, new components of the built-environment, from churches to palaces to courts, encouraged gatherings to form and endowed them with significance. Third, mobile venues for the crowd came to dominate political life: the king and his court, entourages, extraordinary religious events, and armies. Fourth, one form of gathering built upon these basic patterns came to dominate other forms: the solemn assembly. Rare exceptions – riots, conspiracies, civil war, unauthorized religious gatherings – proved the rule. Gatherings in this period were well equipped to reinforce and express elite power.

### III. New Sites of Assembly

We saw in the last chapter that the demographic regime of the post-Roman west was characterized by smaller settlements and more sparsely inhabited countrysides.<sup>112</sup>

Only in the tenth or eleventh centuries were these trends significantly reversed, although

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<sup>111</sup> McPhail, “Crowd Behavior,” p. 880.

<sup>112</sup> See chapter 1 above. For a recent state of the question based on recent archaeological findings, see Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 33-56 (smaller communities), 57-75 (larger communities; cf. the earlier state of the question, see Edith Ennen, *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt* (Bonn, 1981), esp. pp. 84-121.

this was at the end of a long and regionally variable process of recovery.<sup>113</sup> Under these conditions, what were the basic possibilities for spontaneous gathering? Where would it have been possible for what Canetti calls “open” crowds to form on their own, without outside intervention?<sup>114</sup>

Here the concept of central places (Ger. *Zentralorte*) provides a helpful unit of analysis.<sup>115</sup> Although many Roman *ciuitates* remained important centers of trade, politics, and religious life, they coexisted with new sites which also fulfilled these functions. Aside from the settlements, which we have already examined in chapter 1, other sites of regular assembly included mills, mints, courts, villas, and markets. These sites tended to occur at crossroads of various kinds – rivers, roads, paths – and at sites where microecologies or microeconomies abutted. So it can be no accident that Einhard – on his saints’ initiative, he tells us – moved the relics of Petrus and Marcellinus from Michelstadt to what is now called Seligenstadt, which was then called Obermühlheim, the upper milling site.<sup>116</sup> The key feature of such sites of potential assembly was their

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<sup>113</sup> For the eleventh- and twelfth-century development of new coastal centers, see Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 352-60. For other forms of evidence for eleventh-century demographic growth, see L. Genicot, “Sur les témoignages d’accroissement de la population en occident du XIe au XIIIe siècle,” *Cahiers d’histoire mondiale* 1 (1953): 446-462; cf. Florian Mazel, *Féodalités, 888-1180* (Paris, 2010), pp. 387-88. For demographic growth in twelfth-century Italy around Verona, see Gian Maria Varanini and Fabio Saggioro, “Ricerche sul paesaggio e sull’insediamento d’età medievale in area veronese,” in *Dalla curtis alla pieve fra archeologia e storia: Territori a confronto: l’Oltrepò pavese e la pianura veronese*, ed. Silvia Lusuardi Siena (Mantua, 2008), pp. 101-160, at pp. 116 and 127 (figure 11).

<sup>114</sup> Elias Canetti, *Masse und Macht* (Düsseldorf, 1978), pp. 12-14. For a valuable early assessment of this book’s first edition, see Ian Watson, “Elias Canetti: The One and the Many,” *Chicago Review* 20 (1969): 184-200.

<sup>115</sup> Heiko Steuer, “Zentralorte,” *RGA*<sup>2</sup> 35 (Berlin, 2007), 878-914. Cf. Chris Loveluck, “Central-Places, Exchange and Maritime-Oriented Identity around the North Sea and Western Baltic, AD 600-1100,” in *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, ed. Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 123-66.

<sup>116</sup> Maurits Gysseling, *Toponymisch woordenboek van België, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noord-Frankrijk en West-Duitsland (vóór 1226)*, 2 vols. (Brussel, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 721-722 (“Mühlheim”: “Germ. *mulīn* ‘Mühle’ + *haima*- n. ‘Wohnung’.”), vol. 2, pp. 753-754: (“Ober” becomes *superior* in the Latin). In this



seasonality: these venues were conducive to gathering only at certain moments in the year.<sup>117</sup> This is why the collection of dues so often coincided with major festivals, such as the feast-days of local patron saints or major church holidays, as Dmitri Starostine ably demonstrates through charter evidence.<sup>118</sup>

Seasonality was also at play in that most famous of early medieval settlement forms, the emporia.<sup>119</sup> These coastal settlements, built along new trade networks but also closely connected to local hinterlands and regional economies, are one of the emergent features of early medieval settlement.<sup>120</sup> Written descriptions of these emporia suggest bustling markets. But how conducive were these sites of material exchange to large-scale physical gathering? One of the most famous emporia, Dorestad, has been called “a

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case “upper” refers to the town’s position on the Main relative to a second Mühlheim, now called Mühlheim am Main, approximately 18 km downriver. This is attested in medieval sources as *Mulinheim inferior*. The area was well inhabited. Cf. Einhard, *ep.* no. 9, ed. K. Hampe, MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin, 1899), p. 113: “Nam, sicut audivimus, de illa annona sive ad farinam sive ad bracem faciendam, quam ad Mulinheim mittere debuisti, nihil misisti; nec aliud aliquid nisi triginta porcos et illos ipsos non bonos, sed mediocres, et tres modios de legumine; de cetero nihil [sic].” Michelstadt in the Odenwald is about 45 km south of Seligenstadt and 18 km southwest into the woods of the (current) position of the Main.

<sup>117</sup> It is also interesting to note that Byzantine state documents were issued in demonstrably seasonal patterns: Mark C. Bartusis, “The Rhythm of the Chancery: Seasonality in the Issuance of Byzantine Imperial Documents,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 13 (1989): 1-21.

<sup>118</sup> Dmitri Starostine, “. . . In Die Festivitatibus: Gift-Giving, Power and the Calendar in the Carolingian Kingdoms,” *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006): 465-486, esp. pp. 478-479. Cf. Hans Martin Schaller, “Der heilige Tag als Termin mittelalterlicher Staatsakte,” *Deutsches Archiv* 30 (1974): 1-24.

<sup>119</sup> The literature on the so-called “emporium” or “wics” is now very large, and recent studies have tended to avoid using those terms in favor of more value-neutral ones. For recent overviews, see now Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 178-212 (which speaks more neutrally of “ports and maritime-oriented societies”); Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mahomet, Charlemagne et les origines de l’Europe*, trans. Cécile Morrisson with Jacques Lefort and Jean-Pierre Sodini (Paris, 1996), pp. 83-103, with revisions at pp. 171-2. For the traditional view, see, e.g., Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 50-83. For some classic sites, see, e.g. *Excavations at Hamwic I*, ed. A. Morton (London, 1992) and *Excavations at Hamwic II*, ed. P. Andrews (York, 1997); David Hill et al., “The definition of the early medieval site of Quentovic,” *Antiquity* 66 (1992): 965-969; Herbert Jankuhn, *Haithabu: Ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit*, rev. edn. (Neuminster, 1986).

<sup>120</sup> Frans Theuws, “River-Based Trade Centres in Early Medieval Northwestern Europe. Some ‘Reactionary’ Thoughts,” in *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, ed. Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 25-46, esp. pp. 40-44.

medieval metropolis.”<sup>121</sup> This should be put in context. Despite the impressive scale of Dorestad’s vast harbor, the town’s population cannot have numbered more than a few thousand, and this population would have changed drastically between summer and winter, “a bit like a holiday resort.”<sup>122</sup> Nevertheless, contemporaries could describe it as a *villa non modica* and it served an attractive target for multiple Viking raids.<sup>123</sup>

Other kinds of “market event” also drew crowds at different points in the year.<sup>124</sup> We know more about the archaeology of physical markets in the east than the west.<sup>125</sup> But even in the west, trade and communications picked up from the seventh century onward.<sup>126</sup> Carolingian kings attempted to regulate market attendance, but edicts like Charles the Bald’s at Pîtres (864) suggest a proliferation of markets which sometimes did

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<sup>121</sup> Annemarieke Willemsen, “Dorestad, a Medieval Metropolis,” in *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, ed. Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 65-80. For Dorestad, H. Tiefenbach, “Dorestad,” *RGA<sup>2</sup>* 6 (1986): 59-82; McCormick, *Origins*, 653-4. For the excavation, see W. A. van Es, Wietske Prummel, and W. J. H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad*, 3 vols. (Amersfoort, 1980-2009). For recent assessments, see Annemarieke Willemsen, “Dorestad Discussed: Connections and Conclusions,” in *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times*, ed. Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (Turnhout, 2010), 177-183.

<sup>122</sup> Willemsen, “Dorestad, a Medieval Metropolis,” p. 70. For the estimate of “a few thousand people,” see Annemarieke Willemsen, *Dorestad: een wereldstad in de middeleeuwen* (Zutphen, 2009), p. 7.

<sup>123</sup> *AB*, s.a. 863: “Dani mense Ianuario per Rhenum versus Coloniam navigio ascendunt, et depopulato emporio quod Dorestatus dicitur, sed et villam non modicam, ad quam Frisii confugerant, occisis multis Frisiorum negotiatoribus, et capta non modica populi multitudine, usque ad quandam insulam secus castellum Novesium perveniunt.” Jan van Doesburg, “*Villa non modica?* Some thoughts on the interpretation of a large early medieval earthwork near Dorestad,” in *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times*, ed. Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 51-58, esp. p. 56.

<sup>124</sup> Michael McCormick, “Movements and Markets in the First Millennium: Information, Containers, and Shipwrecks,” in *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, ed. Cécile Morrisson (Washington, DC, 2012), pp. 51-98, at p. 53.

<sup>125</sup> E.g. Luke Lavan, “From *Polis* to *Emporion*? Retail and Regulation in the Late Antique City,” in *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, ed. Cécile Morrisson (Washington, DC, 2012), pp. 33-77.

<sup>126</sup> McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 639-669.

not fall into seasonal patterns.<sup>127</sup> Nevertheless, it is probably correct to see economic life, insofar as it relates to gathering, as a fundamentally seasonal phenomenon.<sup>128</sup> Like the great fairs of Champagne in the high Middle Ages, early medieval fairs occurred once a year.<sup>129</sup> The movement of dependents was closely linked with these festivals, since the *homines* of a monastery might owe transport duties once or twice a year.<sup>130</sup> The first pattern of gathering in the early Middle Ages must then be its seasonal – and therefore predictable – nature. Now we must turn to fixed sites which encouraged gathering more actively.

#### IV. Fixed Assembly Sites

The quintessential fixed site for gathering in the Middle Ages must be church. Church gatherings met at predictable times and provided a schema upon which other assemblies could build. There is still some question as to how regularly most lay people attended church services in late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, despite periodic

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<sup>127</sup> Edict of Pîtres (864), c. 19, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 2 (Hanover, 1897), no. 273, pp. 317-318; cf. Schofield and Steuer, “Urban Settlement,” p. 142-44.

<sup>128</sup> McCormick, “Movements and Markets in the First Millennium,” p. 53, n. 11.

<sup>129</sup> For a recent overview of the history of the fairs of Champagne, Franz Irsigler and Winfried Reichert, “Les foires de Champagne,” in *Foires, marchés annuels et développement urbain en Europe*, ed. F. Irsigler and M. Pauly (Trier, 2007), pp. 89-105. Paul Rolland, “De l’économie antique au grand commerce médiéval: le problème de la continuité à Tournai et dans la Gaule du Nord,” *Annales d’histoire économique et sociale* 7 (1935): 245-284, remains valuable. For the later fairs of southern France, see Jean Combes, “Les foires en Languedoc au Moyen Âge,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 13 (1958): 231-259. See also Michael Mitterauer, “La continuité des foires et la naissance des villes,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 28 (1973): 711-734; Paul Arthur, “Medieval Fairs: An Archaeologist’s Approach,” in *Archeologia w teorii i w praktyce*, ed. A. Buko and P. Urbanczyka (Warsaw, 2000), pp. 419-436.

<sup>130</sup> Jean-Pierre Devroey, “Un monastère dans l’économie d’échanges: les services de transport à l’abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés au IXe siècle,” *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 39 (1984): 570-589.

efforts to increase the regularity of church attendance by decree. Ramsey MacMullen has argued that late antique churches were never intended to house more than a thin slice of local populations.<sup>131</sup> Even in Augustine's time, large crowds in church (at least at unusual times) could take preachers by surprise. Augustine complains in one of his sermons, "We have heard this reading of the holy gospel on Sunday, yesterday, as you recall: but today I wanted it to be read because yesterday there was a great crowd, crushed even in the passages, and rather restless, which did not give my voice an opportunity; for my voice is such that it will only carry in a great silence."<sup>132</sup> The crowds listening to Augustine were more frequently members of the upper strata of society.<sup>133</sup> Early medieval churches may have been, on the whole, smaller than their late antique counterparts.<sup>134</sup> Yet early medieval elites strove to impose regular churchgoing upon their subjects in ways that were new. If what matters is the physical effect to which ideological content is attached, as in the uniting of acclamation and feeling in the Roman context, small numbers acting in unison can enjoy the sense of euphoria and community provided by collective

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<sup>131</sup> Ramsay MacMullen, "The Preacher's Audience (AD 350-400)," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 40 (1989): 503-511, argued at greater length in Ramsay MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity, A.D. 300-400* (Atlanta, 2009).

<sup>132</sup> Augustine, *Sermo* 68.1, ed. G. Morin, *Sancti Augustini Sermones post Maurinos reperti* (Rome, 1930), p. 356: "istam sancti euangelii lectionem etiam hesterno dominico die, sicut meministis, audiuimus: sed hodie ut legeretur nos uoluimus, propterea quia heri multitudo constipata etiam angustiis aliquanto inquietior uoci nostrae non dabat facilitatem; quoniam non est talis ut sufficiat nisi magno silentio."

<sup>133</sup> This has recently drawn the attention of Peter Brown, who stresses the well-to-do quality of those described by our Latin sources as *pauperes*. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, pp. 339-358.

<sup>134</sup> Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 149-150, with figure 7.5 (p. 149), though even if new early medieval churches in Italy and Spain became smaller, many of the older, grand basilicas not only continued to be used, but continued to be restored and built up. Cf. MacMullen, *Second Church*, pp. 117-141.

behavior.<sup>135</sup> Carolingian rulers in the eighth and ninth centuries made efforts to ensure that all of their subjects would receive proper pastoral care, and thereby take their place (and pay their tithes) within Carolingian society.<sup>136</sup> Regular churchgoing was not a possibility for everyone in all places, however. In early medieval Europe, small communities might lack a proper church and priest. Monasteries in the countryside took responsibility for the pastoral care of the communities around them, and were essential in bringing institutional Christianity to newly converted regions.<sup>137</sup> This helps to explain the abundance of space in early medieval monasteries dedicated to housing nonmembers.<sup>138</sup>

Beyond the question of space was the question of timing. As in late Antiquity, the preacher's audience was biggest on festival days or large communal ceremonies like

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<sup>135</sup> Cohen et al., "Rowers' High," 1-3, used a small sample of volunteers. Sociologists and anthropologists have debated the nature of the emergent sense of togetherness provided by collective behavior. Two famous analyses are those of Durkheim (collective effervescence) and Turner (communitas). Émile Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, 4th edn. (Paris, 1960; originally 1912), p. 308: "Une fois les individus assemblés il se dégage de leur rapprochement une sorte d'électricité qui les transporte vite à un degré extraordinaire d'exaltation"; Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London, 2009; originally 1969), pp. 131-165, developed the concept of *communitas* to describe a "direct, immediate, and total confrontation of human identities, there tends to go a model of society as a homogeneous, unstructured communitas, whose boundaries are ideally coterminous with those of the human species" (pp. 131-132), which Turner explicitly contrasted to Durkheim's notion of solidarity.

<sup>136</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London, 1977), esp. pp. 80-154. See now Owen Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum* (Oxford, 2014), for links between regular liturgical celebration and empire building, with the baptism as the "most basic organizing principle" of Carolingian society (p. 1). For the rise of tithes, see Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 9-56; John Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship and Community, 950-1150* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 34-61. For large-scale overview, see Paul Viard, *Histoire de la dîme ecclésiastique, principalement en France, jusqu'au décret de Gratien* (Dijon, 1909).

<sup>137</sup> Giles Constable, "Monasteries, Rural Churches and the *Cura Animarum* in the Early Middle Ages," in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto Medioevo*, Settimana 28 (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 349-395. For England, see Alan Thacker, "Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England," in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp. 137-70.

<sup>138</sup> Matthias Untermann, "Kirchenfamilien, Grossklöster, Cellae: Schweizer Klöster im karolingischen Umfeld," in *Die Zeit Karls des Grossen in der Schweiz*, ed. Markus Riek, Jürg Goll, Georges Descœudres (Zurich, 2013), pp. 48-56, at p. 49. Although this space for guests was also the result of the close relationship between monasteries and secular rulers.

baptism and ordination.<sup>139</sup> Then as now, big church crowds would have been a seasonal phenomenon, linked with the largest festivals of the church: Easter, Christmas, Pentecost, and the feast days of local saints.<sup>140</sup>

On the whole, however, late antique and early medieval religiosity was less church-space-oriented than it became later in the Middle Ages. Other spaces drew as much or more attention from pious crowds. Crowds of the faithful could gather in fields, at catacombs, at holy shrines, or in those complexes of buildings and open spaces around holy sites. Christian processions took place in the streets, and new urban liturgies maximized the ample spaces of the city.<sup>141</sup> The eighth-century courtier Angilbert of Saint-Riquier used the long porticoes of his monastery to frame processions involving surrounding villages.<sup>142</sup> Spaces other than churches proved effective for preaching and religious rites, and for other forms of coordinated gathering. As we will see below, the missionary to the Anglo-Saxons Paulinus catechized and baptized at the confluence of two rivers.<sup>143</sup> Crossroads or meeting points of fluvial and land routes were common

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<sup>139</sup> MacMullen, “The Preacher’s Audience,” pp. 506-7; Phelan, *Formation of Christian Europe*, p. 71, for the coordination of baptism and major church ceremonies to increase audience size. In the literary imagination such ceremonies, with their large audiences, were a natural venue for miracles. In the *Vita Amandi altera* (BHL 335), c. 15, AASS Feb. 1.6.855D, an infant being baptized utters the word “Amen.” For this life, see Charles Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata: saints et sanctuaires dans le nord de la Gaule du haut Moyen Âge* (Stuttgart, 2006), p. 347.

<sup>140</sup> Sierck, *Festtag und Politik*, pp. 177-197; Hans-Werner Goetz, “Der kirchliche Festtag im frühmittelalterlichen Alltag,” in *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter*, ed. D. Altenburg, J. Jarnut, and H.-H. Steinhoff (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 53-62.

<sup>141</sup> John Romano, *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 25-74. For a ninth-century Byzantine procession, see Dmitry Afinogenov, “Imperial Repentance: the Solemn Procession in Constantinople on March 11, 843,” *Eranos* 97 (1999): 1-10.

<sup>142</sup> Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, *Institutio de diversitate officiorum*, c. 9, ed. K. Hallinger, M. Wegener, and H. Frank, CCM 1 (Siegburg, 1963), p. 296. Cf. Carol Heitz, “Architecture et liturgie en France de l’époque carolingienne à l’an Mil,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 1 (1995): 57-73, at pp. 58-59; Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City*, pp. 226-8.

<sup>143</sup> Bede, *HE* 2.14.2, ed. Lapidge, vol. 1, p. 370.

places for assembly. In the ninth century, however, parish churches increasingly became the focal point of religious life, and elites came to see society as a whole in terms of one great church or *ecclesia*.<sup>144</sup> This is one reason the Carolingian rulers insisted upon their subjects' attendance at church.<sup>145</sup> They also devoted efforts to improving the ritual quality of church gatherings. The competence and saintliness of priests, the correctness of texts and rituals, were all critical in ensuring the continued support of God against troubles.<sup>146</sup>

Early medieval Italy still boasted numerous monumental late antique basilicas, some of which still accommodated thousands.<sup>147</sup> As we have seen, late antique cities were probably only able to accommodate a minority of their populations in available church spaces, in some cases only 5-10 percent.<sup>148</sup> Between demographic thinning, new churches, and changing patterns of church-going, that percentage could have improved considerably in the early Middle Ages.<sup>149</sup> In early medieval Rome, it would probably

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<sup>144</sup> See Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La maison Dieu: une histoire monumentale de l'Église au moyen-âge, 800-1200* (Paris, 2006); Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Penser l'église, penser la société après le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite," in *Hiérarchie et stratification sociale dans l'Occident médiéval (400-1100)*, ed. François Bougard, Dominique Iogna-Prat, and Régine Le Jan (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 55-81.

<sup>145</sup> For the conciliar level, see e.g. Council of Mainz (813), c. 34, 36, ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Conc. 2.1* (Hanover, 1906), pp. 269-70 (focusing on the enforcement of fasting).

<sup>146</sup> See Arnold Angenendt, "Donationes pro anima: Gift and Countergift in the Early Medieval Liturgy," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. J. Davis and M. McCormick (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 131-154.

<sup>147</sup> See Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae: The early Christian basilicas of Rome (IV-IX cent.)* (Vatican City, 1937-1977); Richard Krautheimer, "The Constantinian Basilica," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 115-140; and the estimates in MacMullen, *Second Church*, pp. 117-141, which take account for obstructive features like columns, chancels, etc., esp. pp. 136-40: St. John Lateran (less than 2,500; compared to Krautheimer's 3,000); Old Saint Peter's (less than 3,000; compared to Krautheimer's 4,000); S. Paolo fuori le Mura (c. 500); Sant'Agnese fuori le Mura (less than 3,750).

<sup>148</sup> MacMullen, *Second Church*, pp. 95-114.

<sup>149</sup> See chapter 1.

have been possible to accommodate the entire population of the seventh- to ninth-century city into the fifteen or so largest of its hundreds of churches.<sup>150</sup> Rome was a city of pilgrims and visitors, and its estimated thirty-or-so thousand inhabitants must have been supplemented by streams of visitors from abroad, but even so it never recovered its ancient numbers.<sup>151</sup>

Churchgoing in early medieval Rome must have involved a constant interchange between open and closed spaces. Today, visitors experience late antique basilicas like Santa Sabina (c. 417-432) or Santa Maria Maggiore (c. 420-440) as broad, open expanses leading to the main apse. In late antiquity and the Middle Ages, these grand basilicas were subdivided into numerous smaller spaces. Cloisters, sacristies, crypts, and narthexes were only a part of the division.<sup>152</sup> A sharp fragmentation of church interiors, using obstructing chancels as well as curtains, columns, and other structures, corresponded to what Franz Bauer has called a “frammentazione liturgica” in church practice.<sup>153</sup> This continued into the eighth and ninth centuries. In John VII’s (r. 705-707) Santa Maria Antiqua, the minute subdivisions of the building itself were reflected in the decoration of

<sup>150</sup> Romano, *Liturgy and Society in early medieval Rome*, p. 55.

<sup>151</sup> Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, *L’Autre Rome: Une histoire des Romains à l’époque des communes (XIIe-XIVe siècle)* (Paris, 2010), pp. 35-36. A fascinating testament to Rome’s draw and fascination for early medieval visitors is a ninth-century manuscript containing inscriptions from the city: *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung und der Pilgerführer durch Rom: Codex Einsidlensis 326: Facsimile, Umschrift, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. Gerold Walser (Stuttgart, 1987). See Franz Alto Bauer, “Das Bild der Stadt Rom in karolingischer Zeit: Der Anonymus Einsidlensis,” *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 92 (1997): 190-229; Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, “Le più antiche guide romane e l’itinerario di Einsiedeln,” in *Romei e Giubilei: Il pellegrinaggio medievale a San Pietro (350-1350)*, ed. Mario D’Onofrio (Milan, 1999), pp. 195-198.

<sup>152</sup> E.g. Caroline Goodson, “La cripta anulare di San Vincenzo Maggiore nel contesto dell’architettura di epoca carolingia,” in *Monasteri in Europa Occidentale (Secoli VIII-XI): Topografia E Strutture*, ed. Flavia De Rubeis and Federico Marazzi (Rome, 2008), pp. 425-42.

<sup>153</sup> Franz Alto Bauer, “La frammentazione liturgica nella chiesa romana del primo medioevo,” *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 75 (1999): 385-446. See also Cécile Treffort, “Espace ecclésial et paysage mémoriel (IXe-XIIIe siècle),” in *Espace ecclésial et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Anne Baud (Lyon, 2010), pp. 239-52.



the church, providing visual cues for good behavior. There, a great apse mosaic depicts crowds, in hierarchical order, beneath the vision of God.

In Pope Paschal I's Santa Prassede, built a little over a century later, martyrs and crowds of saints are excluded from the innermost apse mosaic, and are placed lower down and further out on the triumphal mosaic. Paschal also redesigned his seat in Santa Maria Maggiore to prevent crowds of women from intruding on his and the priests' space.<sup>154</sup> The effort to subdivide church crowds extended to annexes and oratories. Old Saint Peter's in Rome developed an oratory "of Saint Petronilla," which seems to have served as a point of entry for high-ranking, Carolingian visitors.<sup>155</sup> Even the outside spaces of churches could be fragmented spatially. Sixteenth-century images of Old Saint Peter's during the 1575 Jubilee give an idea of how the space was parceled out even in front of the entrance.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> *Vita Paschalis*, c. 30, ed. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis* vol. 2, p. 60; Caroline Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817-824* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 123. See also below in chapter 5.

<sup>155</sup> Joanna Story, "The Carolingians and the Oratory of Saint Peter the Shepherd," in *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, ed. R. McKitterick, J. Osborne, C. M. Richardson, and J. Story (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 257-73, at p. 269. See also Anna Maria Voci, "'Petronilla auxiliatrix regis Francorum': Anno 757: sulla 'memoria' del re dei Franchi presso San Pietro," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo* 99 (1993): 1-28. For a useful overview of the Constantinian Old Saint Peter's, see Turpin C. Bannister, "The Constantinian Basilica of Saint Peter at Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 27 (1968): 3-32.

<sup>156</sup> *Piante e vedute di Roma e del Vaticano dal 1300 al 1676*, ed. Franz Ehrle, *Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo apostolico vaticano* 1 (Vatican City, 1956), tavola 31. For the unpopulated depiction of Saint Peter's, see Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *Roma antica e i disegni di architettura agli Uffizi*, ed. Franco Borsi et al. (Rome, 1976), figure 139, p. 136. I am grateful to Jo Story for bringing this image to my attention.



**FIGURE 2. Dosio's Engraving of the 1575 Jubilee at St. Peter's.** Giovanni Antonio Dosio's engraving of the Jubilee at Old Saint Peter's provides a sense of how the outside of the Constantinian church could be parceled out for crowds: *Piante e vedute di Roma e del Vaticano dal 1300 al 1676*, ed. Franz Ehrle, *Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo apostolico vaticano 1* (Vatican City, 1956), tavola 31.

This all suggests that early medieval churchgoing was not about numbers *per se* but about the spatial and temporal differentiation of populations into meaningful groups. Romano has argued that mass liturgical processions helped to stage urban unity in Rome.<sup>157</sup> The complex physical articulation of early medieval church spaces into hierarchical subdivisions permitted rituals of community to inscribe ideological visions of

<sup>157</sup> Romano, *Liturgy and Society in early medieval Rome*, pp. 109-140, on the "staging" of public unity in Rome using the liturgy.

order onto physical gatherings. Congregations were physically divided during the liturgy: into crowds of women and men, notable and non-notable people, standing and sitting, ordained and lay, high and low orders.<sup>158</sup> The church crowd was thus a creature of hierarchy, a hierarchy ratified by the presence of the divine. Anne Marie Yasin has stressed the importance of saints in directing communal prayer, and thus building a sense of community, within the physical patterns of church architecture.<sup>159</sup> And this may have been why the Carolingians, with their Roman fears about conspiracy and their preoccupation with order, put so much energy not only into oath-taking, but into parish-level pastoral care and churchgoing.<sup>160</sup> These Carolingian reform efforts had material imperatives: ensuring control over local politics, ensuring the regular payment of tithes to local authorities. It was also about keeping subjects in check. Carolingian elites came to see people as linked to land – to duties, to particular parishes.<sup>161</sup>

Yet the ideological side of these reforms was also important. Churches took the assembled bodies of their flocks and shaped them into ideological ideals of collective order. In this, churches replaced the theaters, amphitheaters, and circuses. The Roman

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<sup>158</sup> Cf. Michael McCormick, “The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine Identity, Movement, and Integration, A.D. 650-950,” in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. H. Ahrweiler and A. Laiou (Washington, DC, 1998), pp. 17-52, at pp. 47-51, for ex-Byzantine subjects of Rižana objecting to their new Carolingian overlords for failing to maintain order of precedence.

<sup>159</sup> Anne Marie Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 210-239.

<sup>160</sup> For fear of *conspiratio*, see esp. François-Louis Ganshof, “Charlemagne’s use of the oath,” in F.-L. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy: Studies in Carolingian History*, trans. J. Sondheimer (London, 1971), pp. 111-124, esp. pp. 112-3.

<sup>161</sup> On the rise of the parish system in Gaul, see Gabriel Fournier, “La mise en place du cadre paroissial et l’évolution du peuplement,” in *Cristianizzazione ed Organizzazione Ecclesiastica delle campagne nell’alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze* (Spoleto, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 495-563; more recently, see Étienne Renard, “Domaine, village ou circonscription administrative? La polysémie du mot *villa* aux VIIIe-Xe siècles et l’assise territoriale des paroisses rurales,” in *Autour du “village”: Établissements humains, finages et communautés rurales entre Seine et Rhin (IVe-XIIIe siècles)*, ed. J.-M. Yante and A.-M. Bultot-Verleysen (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2010), pp. 153-157.

entertainment buildings had also been minutely divided into different seating areas.<sup>162</sup>

These crowd entertainments also reflected Rome's imperial self-vision, as is clear from frequent descriptions of the Colosseum as microcosm of the empire.<sup>163</sup> The Carolingians, by contrast, often figured their empire as a great *ecclesia*.<sup>164</sup> Breakdowns in order were a cause of concern. Amolo of Lyon, in dealing with crowds of women in Dijon who had come to venerate unknown relics, advised his suffragan Theobald to reinforce his flock's attendance at *their own* churches.<sup>165</sup> Assembly in the wrong place – even in the same region – posed a threat to elite dreams of order.

Churches often act as venues for ritual crowds at critical junctures in more drawn-out crowd rituals, such as processions and assemblies. The preamble to a Carolingian council held at Friuli in 796/797 opens with a depiction of a “full house,” with all the relevant crowds in their place: a “large, harmonious crowd” (*non modica...consentanea turba*) of holy men within the church and a “throng of the common folk pressing at the door.”<sup>166</sup> As we will see in the final chapter, this differentiated coordination between

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<sup>162</sup> Rossella Rea, “Le antiche raffigurazione dell’Anfiteatro,” in *Anfiteatro Flavio: Immagine, testimonianze, spettacoli*, ed. M. Conforto et al. (Rome, 1988), pp. 23-46, at pp. 32-3.

<sup>163</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 79.25-26, ed. Boissevain, vol. 3, pp. 431-432; cf. Beard et al., *Religions of Rome*, vol. 1, p. 263.

<sup>164</sup> Mayke De Jong, “Ecclesia and the Early Medieval Polity,” in *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. Stuart Airlie, Walter Pohl, and Helmut Reimitz (Vienna, 2006), pp. 113-132.

<sup>165</sup> Charles West, “Unauthorised Miracles in Mid-Ninth-Century Dijon and the Carolingian Church Reforms,” *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 295-311. See also ch. 4 below (topoi).

<sup>166</sup> Council of Friuli (796 or 797), ed. A. Werminghoff, MGH Conc. 2.1 (Hanover, 1906), p. 179: “Igitur resedentibus cunctis ex more in sedilibus praeparatis, adsistente vero circumquaque non modica fratrum consentanea turba in ecclesia beate semper virginis Dei genetricis Mariae, immolato namque Deo primum in ara cordis sacrificio laudis et orationis hostia in altare pectoris caritatis igne concremata, post apostolicam et evangelicam lectionem imnisque spiritalibus salubriter praelibatis necdum valvis puplicis reseratiis patefactis, persistente nimirum pro foribus vulgi glomerata caterva, per secretioris ianue aditum vocante archidiacono intromissus est ad brevem sacerdotalis sub silentio venerabilis quoetus.”

religious and lay crowds, reinforced spatially, was critical in representing conciliar decisions as collective decisions.

Church entrances were crucial sites for regular gatherings. Merovingian and Carolingian churches were supposed to keep *matricula*, lists of the poor whose needs they provided for, and we may suspect that these indigent hung around the church.<sup>167</sup> The predictable presence of indigent people at church facilitated charity. An east Frankish noble woman once sent money to Dorestad because she heard there were “multitudes” of poor at the town’s churches.<sup>168</sup> The church offered a space in which elites could perform their charitable duties for the poor regularly and repeatedly. This created a symbiotic relationship between crowds of the poor, ecclesiastical authorities, and potential benefactors not unlike that which had united the Roman plebs, the government, and elites. In the *Passio Praeiecti*, a sick man makes an arduous journey to the shrine of the recently martyred saint in order to give offerings to the poor gathered there. This interesting view of intercession puts the saint himself somewhat at arm’s length. It is to

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<sup>167</sup> E.g. Gregory of Tours, *Liber de passione et virtutibus Iuliani martyris* (BHL 4541), c. 38, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2 (Hanover, 1885), p. 130. Michel Rouche, “La matricule des pauvres: Évolution d’une institution de charité du Bas Empire jusqu’à la fin du Haut Moyen Âge,” in *Études sur l’histoire de la pauvreté (Moyen Âge - XVIe siècle)*, ed. Michel Mollat du Jourdin (Paris, 1974), pp. 83-110. Cf. Michel de Waha, “À propos d’un article récent: quelques réflexions sur la matricule des pauvres,” *Byzantion* 46 (1976): 354-367. The poor of Saint Martin’s at Tours lynched one Claudius who insulted the saint in Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 7.29, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 1.1 (Hanover, 1951), pp. 346-349. According to Simon Loseby, “Gregory’s Cities: Urban Functions in Sixth-Century Gaul,” in *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. Ian Wood (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 239-284, at pp. 257-8, these poor, gathered around the church in the anecdote, are those poor entitled to receive alms by virtue of the *matricula*.

<sup>168</sup> Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii* (BHL 544-5), c. 20, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SRG 55 (Hanover, 1884), p. 45: “Ibi sunt ecclesiae plurimae et sacerdotes ac clerici, ibi indigentium multitudo.”

help a crowd of poor people (*turba pauperum*) that he brings his gift, and his generosity cures him.<sup>169</sup>

Churches were the site of liturgical rites and of rituals of almsgiving, but they were also one of the places where late antique oratory lived on in the medieval sermon.<sup>170</sup> Preaching is the quintessential crowd activity of the high Middle Ages.<sup>171</sup> Preaching to great audiences in fields and piazzas to enormous audiences was not an early medieval practice, and indeed, nothing in late antiquity could even compare to the late medieval practice of preaching.<sup>172</sup> The frequent and prominent gatherings of the high Middle Ages present a stark contrast to earlier practices, and they must be counted as one of the truly distinguishing features of later medieval civilization. Historians of preaching once dismissed the early medieval experience of preaching as small-scale and largely a question of soulless homilies delivered from old homiliaries.<sup>173</sup> As recently as 1991, one scholar has characterized the sixth to the twelfth centuries as “an inhospitable landscape

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<sup>169</sup> *Passio Praeiecti episcopi et martyris Aaverni* (BHL 6915-6916), c. 35, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 245. Cf. Aigradus of Fontenelle, *Vita Ansberti* (BHL 520a/523), c. 16, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 629.

<sup>170</sup> Beverly M. Kienzle, *The Sermon*, Typologie des Sources 81-83 (Turnhout, 2000). See also Beverly M. Kienzle, “Medieval Sermons and Their Performance: Theory and Record,” in *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden, 2002), pp. 89-124.

<sup>171</sup> For useful overviews, see Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris, 1983) and Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini: predicatori e piazze alle fine del Medioevo* (Bologna, 2005).

<sup>172</sup> Even in the large cities during late Antiquity, huge sermons were limited to major festivities, and the normal crowd for a late Roman sermon was probably a small gathering of upper-class hearers. See André Mandouze, *Saint Augustin: L'aventure de la raison et de la grâce* (Paris, 1968), pp. 591-653; Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, pp. 339-358; MacMullen, “The Preacher’s Audience,” p. 510: “Overall, however, it was a distinctly upper-class audience, enriched or impoverished, depending on one’s point of view, by a less narrow sampling of the population on certain days of special importance and in special settings, notably in martyr-churches.”

<sup>173</sup> Rudolf Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879), p. 1; Anton Linsenmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland von Karl dem Grossen bis zum Ausgange des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1969), p. 6.

to the historian of preaching.”<sup>174</sup> Nevertheless, the large body of sermons and homilies composed and copied in the early Middle Ages, together with Carolingian legislation insisting upon preaching in vernaculars, have led scholars to reassess early medieval preaching.<sup>175</sup> The old view that early medieval preachers spoke to closed-off audiences of monks and clerics is being abandoned.<sup>176</sup> James McCune has brought back into focus the concern early medieval authorities had with good sermons and polyptychs.<sup>177</sup> Who actually made up sermon audiences? Despite Gregory the Great’s admonition to would-be preachers to know their audiences, surviving sermons are often frustratingly sparse on details.<sup>178</sup> Nevertheless, the existence of a few fragments of vernacular sermons alongside legislative demands for vernacular preaching suggest that the old denigration of the early

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<sup>174</sup> R. Emmet McLaughlin, “The World Eclipsed? Preaching in the Early Middle Ages,” *Traditio* 46 (1991): 77-122, at p. 77.

<sup>175</sup> Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitulare ad presbyteros Parochiae suae*, c. 28, ed. P. Brommer, MGH Capit. episc. 1 (Hanover, 1984), pp. 125-126; cf. McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, p. 190. For homiliaries, see Aimé G. Martimort, *Les Lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des Sources 64 (Turnhout, 1992); Réginald Grégoire, *Homélieaires liturgiques médiévaux: analyse de manuscrits* (Spoleto, 1980); Henri Barré, *Les homélieaires carolingiens de l’école d’Auxerre* (Vatican City, 1962).

<sup>176</sup> James McCune, “Rethinking the Pseudo-*Eligius* sermon collection,” *Early Medieval Europe* 16 (2008): 445-476, arguing for a ninth-century date and a mixed audience of clergy and lay people; cf. Thomas Leslie Amos, “Early Medieval Sermons and their Audience,” in *De l’homélie au sermon: histoire de la prédication médiévale*, ed. J. Hamesse and X. Hermand (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 1-14. See also Maximilian Diesenberger, “Introduction: Compilers, Preachers, and Their Audiences in the Early Medieval West,” in *Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and Their Audiences in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen and Marianne Pollheimer (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 1-24.

<sup>177</sup> James McCune, “The Preacher’s Audience, c. 800 - c. 950,” in *Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and Their Audiences in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen, and Marianne Pollheimer (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 283-338. McCune builds on the work of Thomas L. Amos, “The Origin and Nature of the Carolingian Sermon,” PhD Thesis, Michigan State University, 1983. Cf. for a slightly later period, Milton Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto, 1977), using the sermons of Aelfric and Wulfstan.

<sup>178</sup> Gregory the Great, *Homily on Ezechiel*, 1.11.12, ed. C. Morel, *Homélieaires sur Ezéchiél: texte latin, introduction, traduction et notes*, SC 327 (Paris, 1986), vol. 1, p. 464: “Pensare etenim doctor debet quid loquatur, cui loquatur, quando loquatur, qualiter loquatur, et quantum loquatur.” See, for an attempt to reconstruct audience from text, Maximilian Diesenberger, “How Collections shape the Texts: Rewriting and Rearranging Passions in Carolingian Bavaria,” in *Livrets, collections et texts: Études de la tradition hagiographiques latine*, ed. Martin Heinzelmänn (Ostfildern, 2006), pp. 195-224

medieval sermon is misplaced.<sup>179</sup> But the aspiration at the very least reiterates the importance of orality, that is, communication by the spoken word, as a means of organizing society in the early Middle Ages.<sup>180</sup>

What were gatherings like in early medieval monasteries?<sup>181</sup> Monks and monasteries are frequently associated with crowds. A common hagiographical foundation topos associates the foundation of daughter monasteries with the overcrowding of parent houses. Monastic founders are said to assemble (*coadunare*) “crowds” or “throngs” of monks into new communities.<sup>182</sup> A community’s renown manifests itself in throngs of members.<sup>183</sup> The same language appears in charters and *placita*.<sup>184</sup> But how large were monastic crowds? When we have pure numbers, we face the same difficulties we examined in chapter 1. Do we trust high reported figures, like the figure of 900 monks for

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<sup>179</sup> Guy de Poerck, “Le sermon bilingue sur Jonas du ms. Valenciennes 521 (475),” *Romanica Gandensia* 4 (1955): 31-66; David Ganz, “The Old French Sermon on Jonah: the Nature of the Text,” in *Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and Their Audiences in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen, and Marianne Pollheimer (Turnhout, 2013), 427-39. Cf. Rob Meens, “A Preaching Bishop: Atto of Vercelli and His Sermon Collection,” in *Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and Their Audiences in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen, and Marianne Pollheimer (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 263-82.

<sup>180</sup> Michael Richter, *The Oral Tradition in the Early Middle Ages*, Typologie des Sources 71 (Turnhout, 1994).

<sup>181</sup> The question was treated by Ursmer Berlière, “Le nombre des moines dans les anciens monastères,” *Revue bénédictine* 41 (1929): 231-61; 42 (1930): 19-42.

<sup>182</sup> Ardo, *Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis* (BHL 1096), c. 24, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 209: “non parvam monachorum turbam coadunarunt” (composed c. 822-823); corrections to this text are printed by L. H. Lucassen, “À propos d’un texte de la vie de saint Benoît d’Aniane par Ardon,” *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 4 (1928): 78-79. On Ardo, see Wattenbach-Levison-Löwe 3 (Weimar, 1957), pp. 338-339. See also the likely eighth-century *Vita Agili abbatis Resbacensis* (BHL 148), AASS Aug. 6.30.586D-E.

<sup>183</sup> See chapter 4.

<sup>184</sup> E.g., MGH DD Karol 1, D 33, p. 46; DD Karol. 1, D.: 72, p. 105: “qualiter bonae recordationis domnus Ruothgangus archiepiscopus in monasterio quod vocatur Lauresham...monachorum turmam non modicam propter servitium omnipotentis dei coadunavit.” Cf. Henry Miller Martin, “Some Phases of Grammatical Concord in Certain Merovingian Charters,” *Speculum* 4 (1929): 303-14, at pp. 307-309.



Jumièges (especially when a list from 826 gives only 114 names)?<sup>185</sup> Some of the “standard” numbers derive from justifiable but uncertain guestimates by early modern scholars like Michel Félibien, who in 1706 fixed a much repeated number of 150 monks at Saint-Denis.<sup>186</sup> We are on firmer ground with the lists that begin to proliferate in the ninth century. Hrabanus Maurus in about 825 had a list of 603 monks at Fulda drawn up.<sup>187</sup> But these lists, rich as they are for prosopographical research, do not capture the full numbers present in monastic gatherings. They do not specify the number of sickly, the members of the *matricula*, the servants and slaves, visitors, and other groups of individuals. We possess reliable *minima*, from which we can extrapolate that communities of tens to hundreds were the norm, but unreliable *maxima* to reveal how many bodies were truly collected within monastic precincts.<sup>188</sup> As with church space, monastic space was carefully partitioned, and this spatial fragmentation bestowed meaning. The liturgy reinforced distinctions between “inner” and “outer” crowd created by the built-environment.

Early medieval monasteries too were crowded places not just in the sense that their liturgies regularly assembled ordered groups of monks, but also because monasteries catered to public needs. The largest ones, such as San Vincenzo al Volturno in Italy or

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<sup>185</sup> Berlière, “Le nombre [1],” p. 248.

<sup>186</sup> Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l’abbaye royal de Saint-Denys en France* (Paris, 1706), p. 79, using an act of association with Saint-Rémi of Reims.

<sup>187</sup> Karl Schmid, “Mönchslisten und Klosterkonvent von Fulda zur Zeit der Karolinger,” in *Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. K. Schmid 3 vols. (Munich, 1976-8), vol. 2, pp. 571-639.

<sup>188</sup> See chapter 1 above. See also Ian Wood, “Entrusting Western Europe to the Church, 400-750,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (2013): 37-73, at pp. 67-69.

Fulda in Hesse, were attached to small townlets.<sup>189</sup> A provision in the *Supplex Libellus* drawn up for the monastery of Fulda by Ratger in 812 accounted for extra numbers of guests during Saint Boniface's feast day.<sup>190</sup> Even in the imagination, monasteries were meant to be open, at least partly, to the crowds. On the famous ninth-century Saint-Gall Plan, the front gate of an idealized monastery bears the caption, "Here the whole crowd, coming in, has its entrance"; the path leading up to the gate carries a little poem about "rejoicing throngs."<sup>191</sup> Against this institutionalized welcome to crowds, there were sometimes concerns that monasteries were being crowded by the wrong kinds of people – by a *vulgus promiscuum*.<sup>192</sup> At the same time, Carolingian legislation issued in the context of a council at Soissons in 853 made provision to send out *missi* to ensure that monasteries were ready to receive the poor (*pauperes*) with sufficient supplies and

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<sup>189</sup> Richard Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages: the rise and fall of San Vincenzo al Volturno* (Ithaca, 1997); Richard Hodges, Sheila Gibson, and John Mitchell, "The Making of a Monastic City. the Architecture of San Vincenzo Al Volturno in the Ninth Century," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 65 (1997): 233-286; Richard Hodges, "Excavations at Vacchereccia (Rocchetta Nuova): a Later Roman and Early Medieval Settlement in the Volturno Valley, Molise," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 52 (1984): 148-194.

<sup>190</sup> Ratger, *Supplex libellus monachorum Fuldensium Carolo imperatori porrectus*, c. 14, ed. J. Semmler, CCM 1 (Siegburg, 1963), p. 325. See Peter Willmes, *Der Herrscher-Adventus im Kloster des Frühmittelalters* (Munich, 1976), pp. 117-8.

<sup>191</sup> A digital facsimile of the Saint Gall Plan can be consulted online at: <http://www.stgallplan.org/en/>.

<sup>192</sup> Albrecht Diem, "Who is Allowed to Pray for the King? Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and the Creation of a Burgundian Identity," in *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 47-88, at pp. 52-55. Diem stresses (pp. 55-63) the multiplicity of views on this score: attacks on "promiscuous" crowding in the *vita* seem to have gone against a "moral economy" of the promiscuous crowd about the relationship between monasteries and wider population. See also Barbara Rosenwein, "One Site, Many Meanings: Saint-Maurice d'Agaune as a Place of Power in the Early Middle Ages," in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages: The Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. Mayke De Jong and Frans Theuvs with Carine Van Rhijn (Leiden, 2001), pp. 271-290; and Barbara Rosenwein, "Perennial Prayer at Agaune," in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society: Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca, 2000), pp. 37-56.

lodgings.<sup>193</sup> The prayers of the monastic liturgy were often figured as a crowd. Martyrologies brought together a crowd of saintly dead within the pages of a codex.<sup>194</sup> Great monasteries kept other forms of “virtual crowds” in their records: the polyptychs and the confraternity list.<sup>195</sup> Such imaginary communities might be activated by royal power as well, as when Charlemagne had his kingdom as a whole pray to stave off a food crisis.<sup>196</sup>

So far, we have focused on religious sites of gathering. What about secular sites? Royal palaces and villas provided more or less fixed *loci* for gathering – although these too were extremely seasonal.<sup>197</sup> Royal palaces, including Charlemagne’s palace at Aachen, tended to be located away from ancient urban sites, often on the edge of forest or

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<sup>193</sup> Concilium Soissons (853), Capitulary, c. 1, ed. W. Hartmann, MGH Conc. 3 (Hanover, 1984), pp. 284-285.

<sup>194</sup> Felice Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: the Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627-827* (Notre Dame, 2006). The ninth-century martyrology of Usuard became extremely influential: *Martyrologium*, ed. Jacques Dubois, *Le martyrologe d’Usuard: Texte et commentaire*, Subsidia hagiographica 40 (Brussels, 1965).

<sup>195</sup> For a model study see Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften im westfränkischen Bereich: Bestandteil des Quellenwerkes Societas et Fraternitas* (Munich, 1978); Jean-Loup Lemaître, *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1980), brings together over 3,000 entries throughout the Middle Ages; Dieter Geuenich, “Der *Liber Viventium Fabariensis* als Zeugnis pragmatischer Schriftlichkeit im frühmittelalterlichen Churrätien,” in *Schrift, Schriftgebrauch und Textorten im frühmittelalterlichen Churrätien*, ed. H. Eisenhut, K. Fuchs, M. H. Graf, H. Steiner (Basel, 2008), pp. 65–77. See also Andrea Decker-Heuer, *Studien zur Memorialüberlieferung im Frühmittelalterlichen Paris* (Sigmaringen, 1998).

<sup>196</sup> Hubert Mordek, “Karls des Großen zweites Kapitular von Herstal und die Hungersnot der Jahre 778/779,” *Deutsches Archiv* 61 (2005): 1-52; cf. Michel Rouche, “Miracles, maladies et psychologie de la foi à l’époque carolingienne en France,” in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés, IVe-XII siècles* (Paris, 1981), pp. 319-37.

<sup>197</sup> Uwe Lobbedey, “Carolingian Royal Palaces: the State of Research From an Architectural Historian's Viewpoint,” in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: the Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 129-54. For surveys of medieval palaces in the German lands, see *Die Deutschen Königspfalzen: Repertorium der Pfalzen, Königshöfe und übrigen Aufenthaltsorte der Könige im deutschen Reich des Mittelalters*, ed. T. Zotz (Göttingen, 1983-2004).

even surrounded by forest.<sup>198</sup> Aside from hunting, the quintessential court activity, other forms of gathering could characterize court life. Justice was a major draw. “It so happened that a certain count of the Frankish people called Dotto was sitting to resolve legal cases,” reports an eighth-century saint’s life, “with a not trifling multitude of Franks gathered, as was enjoined to him.”<sup>199</sup> Another courtly form of crowding was the reading of poetry. Even under the late empire, the theater remained a venue for poetry to be transmitted to and appreciated by the crowd. We read that the *plebs* knew its Virgil as much from the theater as from the text.<sup>200</sup> Although the theater appears to have largely died out with the other entertainments of the Greco-Roman world, there are a few signs of its survival. What are we to make of scattered invectives against theatrical performances in early medieval texts?<sup>201</sup> Gift-centered practices at court may have put the material object at the center of gatherings, whether in the context of gift-giving or mass

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<sup>198</sup> Karl Bosl, “Pfalzen und Forsten,” in *Deutsche Königspfalzen: Beiträge zu ihrer historischen und archäologischen Erforschung* (Göttingen, 1963), vol. 1, pp. 1-29, esp. pp. 23-5. For recent archaeology at Aachen, see *Die karolingische Pfalzkapelle in Aachen: Material, Bautechnik, Restaurierung*, ed. U. Heckner and E.-M. Beckmann (Worms, 2012); *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte*, ed. H. Müller, C. M. Bayer, and M. Kerner (Regensburg, 2014); *Aachen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Vol. 2 Karolinger–Ottonen–Salier 765–1137*, ed. T. R. Kraus (Aachen, 2013). One of the exciting findings is that the imperial chapel at Aachen may be closely dated to the final decade or so of the eighth century: Burghart Schmidt et al. “Die Hölzer aus dem karolingischen Oktogon der Aachener Pfalzkapelle - Möglichkeiten einer dendrochronologischen Datierung,” *Jahrbuch der rheinischen Denkmalpflege* 40 (2009): 220-235.

<sup>199</sup> *Vita Amandi episcopi* I (BHL 332), c. 14, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 438: “Agebat namque, quod comes quidam ex genere Francorum cognomine Dotto, congregata non minima multitudine Francorum, ut erat illi iniunctum, ad dirimendas resederat actiones.”

<sup>200</sup> Horsfall, “Cultural Horizons of the ‘Plebs Romana,’” p. 102. Cf. Andrew Bell, “The Popular Poetics and Politics of the *Aeneid*,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 129 (1999): 263-279, at pp. 265-266.

<sup>201</sup> Council at Mainz (AD 852), c. 23, ed. W. Hartmann, MGH Conc. 3 (Hanover, 1984), p. 252: “Quod non oporteat sacerdotes aut clericos quibuscumque spectaculis in caenis aut in nuptiis interesse, sed antequam thimelici ingrediantur, exurgere eos convenit atque inde decedere.”

distribution of wealth on ceremonial occasions.<sup>202</sup> In all these palace-related gatherings, the site of the palace served both to center attention on the king and to inscribe ideals of hierarchy onto the assembled gatherings of the court.<sup>203</sup>

A particular note is due to bishops' palaces, which in some ways acted as smaller-scale versions of royal palaces, and in other respects were more similar to monasteries in their crowd management.<sup>204</sup> Bishops were expected to hold their palaces open to the poor and needy. Jamie Kreiner has shown how hagiography and law united to persuade bishops that the poor were their duty; she suggests that the insistence on episcopal care for the poor in Merovingian sources reflects a long-lasting resistance from bishops who saw their *métier* differently.<sup>205</sup> In one celebrated church council, bishops were warned not to keep guard dogs: "The habitation of a bishop ought to be guarded by hymns, not barks, by good works, not poisonous bites."<sup>206</sup> An episode in a saint's life adds some color to

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<sup>202</sup> Przemysław Urbańczyk, "The Polish discussion on medieval deposits of hack-silver," in *Historia archaeologica: Festschrift für Heiko Steuer zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Sebastian Brather (Berlin, 2009), pp. 501-526, at pp. 517-518, who interprets hack-silver finds as evidence of distribution rather than elite gift-exchange. For skepticism, see Florin Curta, "Gift-Giving and Violence in Bulgaria and Poland: a Comparative Approach to Ruling Strategies in the Early Middle Ages," in *Consensus or Violence? Cohesive Forces in Early and High Medieval Societies (9th-14th C.)*, ed. Sławomir Moździoch and Przemysław Wiszewski (Wrocław, 2013), pp. 113-44, at 129-130.

<sup>203</sup> Régine Le Jan, "Les cérémonies carolingiennes: symbolique de l'ordre, dynamique de la compétition," in *Le corti nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 2015), pp. 167-194, at p. 180. See also Philippe Depreux, "Hiérarchie et ordre au sein du palais: l'accès au prince," in *Hiérarchie et stratification sociale dans l'Occident médiéval (400-1100)*, ed. François Bougard, Dominique Iogna-Prat, and Régine Le Jan (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 305-23.

<sup>204</sup> Maureen Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and authority in medieval Italy* (Ithaca, 2000), pp. 54-85.

<sup>205</sup> Jamie Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 189-229.

<sup>206</sup> Concilium Matisconense (AD 585), c. 13, ed. C. de Clercq, *Concilia Galliae a 511-695*, CCSL 148A (Turnhout, 1963), p. 245: "Propterea tractatis omnibus, quae diuine uel humane iuris fuerunt, et finem usque perducta putauimus congruum esse de canibus etiam uel accipitribus aliqua statuere. Volumus igitur, quod episcopalis domus, quae ad hoc deo fauente instituta est, ut sine personarum acceptione omnes in hospitalitate recipiat, canes non habeat, ne forte hii, qui in ea miseriarum suarum leuamen habere confidunt, dum infestorum canum morsibus laniantur, detrimentum uersa uice suorum susteneant corporum."

this decree. Young Saint Praeiectus miraculously avoided the attacks of a wicked deacon's guard dogs, even as the dogs attacked others who approached in search of aid – a reminder that these imperatives to serve the amassed poor applied to lower orders of the clergy as well.<sup>207</sup> Powerful ecclesiastics drew in crowds just as kings did, but they faced pressures to keep their residences open to crowds of the needy especially.<sup>208</sup> According to a fifth-century papal letter, bishops were expected to spend a full quarter of their revenues on the poor; how often they met this high standard of institutional charity is another question.<sup>209</sup> In any case, it made episcopal residences an attractive gathering spot for those in need.

I have stressed that most sites for gathering were in the control of elites, but we may also describe these venues from the poor's point of view. Many of these sites of gathering – churches, monasteries, palaces, villas – attracted crowds by giving them something in return for assembly and ritual behavior. This led to a symbiosis in which elites receive legitimacy from the poor while the poor receive alms or other forms of care. Churches and monasteries had supplanted Roman institutions for the distribution of bread, clothing, shelter, and the like. A Merovingian saint's life describes how one bishop founded a *xenodochium* with accommodations for twenty people, including a staff of

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Custodienda est igitur episcopalis habitatio hymnis, non latratibus, operibus bonis, non morsibus uenenosis. Vbi igitur dei est assiduitas cantilenae, monstrum est et dedecoris nota canes ibi uel accipitres habitare.” In an age without antibiotics, the description of dogs' bites as “venomous” may not be purely rhetorical.

<sup>207</sup> *Passio Praeiecti episcopi et martyris Aueri* (BHL 6915-6916), c. 3, ed. Krusch, p. 227.

<sup>208</sup> For an eighth-century hagiographic depiction of how a *turba pauperum* might gather before the gates (*prae foribus*) of a saint, see *Vita Ansberti* (BHL 520), c. 16, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 629. Cf. the discussion of crowds of *pauperes* in chapter 4 below.

<sup>209</sup> Simplicius, *Epistola* 1, in *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum*, ed. A. Thiel (Brunsborg, 1868), vol. 1, pp. 175-7.

doctors.<sup>210</sup> These establishments distributed food on fixed dates; the first day of the month in the *xenodochia* of late ninth-century Bobbio in Piacenza and Pavia.<sup>211</sup> In Rome, the *diaconiae* continued to fill this purpose, although their close relationship to churches is more an urban example of this same pattern than a deviation.<sup>212</sup> There is some evidence that popes intended to coordinate festival celebrations with pilgrimage seasons.<sup>213</sup> The *xenodochia* and *scholae* of the city would have acted as focal points for assembly and information exchange.<sup>214</sup> At the same time, many royal villas must have drawn numbers of the poor to receive alms. We may therefore conclude that the fixed sites of gathering in the early medieval landscape were able to shape gatherings to ideological specifications, but only in return for material and social benefits.

## V. Movable Gatherings

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<sup>210</sup> *Passio Praeiectionis episcopi et martyris Averni* (BHL 6915-6916), c. 16, ed. Krusch, p. 235, with doctors to heal 20 sick people at once.

<sup>211</sup> Polyptych of Bobbio, 45(94) and 47(101), ed. L. Hartmann, “Abbreviatio de rebus monasterii Bobiensis,” *Bolletino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino* 8 (1903): 393-404, at pp. 402 (12 *pauperes* on the Kalends in Piacenza) and 403 (200 *pauperes* on the Kalends in Pavia).

<sup>212</sup> Hendrik Dey, “*Diaconiae, Xenodochia, Hospitalia* and Monasteries: ‘Social Security’ and the Meaning of Monasticism in Early Medieval Rome,” *Early Medieval Europe* 16 (2008): 398-422.

<sup>213</sup> In the 830s, pope Gregory IV celebrated All Saints’ Day on November 1, which Thomas F. X. Noble, “The Reception of Visitors in Early Medieval Rome,” in *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni*, ed. Cullen J. Chandler and Steven A. Stofferahn (Kalamazoo, 2013), pp. 205-17, p. 217, calls “a good example of the kinds of hints we have about the presence of pilgrims in Rome and papal solicitude for them.”

<sup>214</sup> Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, “Pellegrini, senatori e papi. Gli *xenodochia* a Roma tra il V e il IX secolo,” *Rivista dell’istituto nazionale d’archeologia e storia dell’arte* 19/20 (1997): 203-226; Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, “Hosting Foreigners in Early Medieval Rome: From *Xenodochia* To *Scholae Peregrinorum*,” in *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 69-88.

Not all venues for gathering were in one fixed place. Many gatherings were themselves movable. The most obvious case is the army, which assembled thousands of men and moved them – especially in the Carolingian period – across great geographical expanses.<sup>215</sup> But another instance is the elite entourage. Social and political legitimacy was linked with one’s ability to marshal numbers. Not just kings and bishops, but all nobles wished to be surrounded by impressive entourages, and nothing expressed high status like a ring of satellites.<sup>216</sup> A Lombard queen was embarrassed to arrive at the baths with a smaller entourage than a noble woman.<sup>217</sup> This was nothing new. Horace wrote that great men in Rome vied to appear in public with the biggest “crowd” of clients (*turba clientium*).<sup>218</sup> The Carolingian scribes who copied the first-century BC satirist would not have been surprised to read this.<sup>219</sup> After all, “no Carolingian grandee traveled alone.”<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> See above, ch. 1.

<sup>216</sup> See conversely, how the former Queen Emma (through her ghost-writer Gerbert of Aurillac) complains of her fallen status in a letter of 988 by complaining that she no longer has an entourage to accompany her during travel: Gerbert of Aurillac, *ep.*, no. 147, ed. Pierre Riché and Jean-Pierre Callu, *Gerbert d’Aurillac: Correspondance* (Paris, 2008), p. 360: “Ego illa He[mma] quondam Francorum regina, quae tot millibus imperavi, nunc nec vernaculos comites habeo, quibus saltem stipata conventus adeam tanti ducis Henr[ici], nec desiderabili praesentia vestra [the recipient is an unknown cleric] frui licet causa captandae salutis atque consilii.”

<sup>217</sup> Procopius, *Gothic Wars*, 2.3.1, ed. Jacob Haury, rev. Gerhard Wirth, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia* (Leipzig, 1962). See Paolo Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400-1000* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 50-51, for the baths as a place to “flaunt one’s status” with crowds of followers even into the seventh century.

<sup>218</sup> Horace, *Carm.* 3.1, lines 9-16 (at line 13), ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (Stuttgart, 1995), p. 67.

<sup>219</sup> E.g. Berne, Burgerbibliothek, MS 363 (s. IX<sup>2</sup>); Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 1703 (s. IX<sup>2/4</sup>); Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, BPL 28 (s. IX).

<sup>220</sup> McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 665. In fact, popes were required from the third century onward to maintain a permanent entourage of at least two priests and three deacons: Kristina Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 194.



Unfortunately, our knowledge of the make-up of lordly entourages is rarely detailed. Sometimes we have names, as with “the men” of one Joseph who signed an act around 902 or 903: Abraham, Prozilo, Petto, Seman, Tribagos, a second Abraham, Pretimir, Prozila, Joseph.<sup>221</sup> Often our sources take important aspects of entourages for granted.<sup>222</sup> Notably, how big were such entourages? A few historians have attempted guesswork on the question, as the previous chapter noted. One scholar puts the average bodyguard of a Merovingian bishop at “maybe no more than ten or twenty men.”<sup>223</sup> Hincmar of Laon was prevented from bringing more than a dozen or so of his own men to the council of Douzy in 871, even though the conciliar acts report that he arrived at the council “with the whole totality of his men in an armed band.”<sup>224</sup> But this would have excluded the whole cloud of slaves and followers that our sources frequently do not deign to mention.

Hincmar of Laon’s “armed band” reminds us that entourages were not just about standing, but about safety in numbers. Travel was dangerous.<sup>225</sup> Feuds made solitude

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<sup>221</sup> *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, ed. Theodor Bitterauf, 2 vols. (Munich, 1905), vol. 1, n. 1037, p. 782, after listing nine “testes per aures tracti” adds, “Istique homines sui istius traditionis testes fuerunt: Abraham. Prozilo. Petto. Seman. Tribagos. Alter Abraham. Pretimir. Prozila. Joseph.” For this list, including its Slavic names, see Geneviève Bühner-Thierry, *Evêques et pouvoir dans le royaume de Germanie: les Eglises de Bavière et de Souabe, 876-973* (Paris, 1997), p. 130.

<sup>222</sup> Jamie Kreiner, “About the Bishop: The Episcopal Entourage and the Economy of Government in Post-Roman Gaul,” *Speculum* 86 (2011): 321-360, provides a useful overview of the state of the question for Merovingian bishops’ entourages.

<sup>223</sup> Kreiner, “About the Bishop,” p. 341, n. 85.

<sup>224</sup> Concilium Douzy (a. 871), ed. W. Hartmann, MGH Conc. 4 (Hanover, 1998), p. 507: “et Hincmarus cum omni plenitudine suorum hominum armata manu veniebat ad synodum.” Charles West, “Lordship in Ninth-Century Francia: the Case of Bishop Hincmar of Laon and His Followers,” *Past & Present* 226 (2015): 3-40, at p. 10, estimates that the bishop’s entourage might have consisted of “a group of thirty to forty men.”

<sup>225</sup> A late ninth-century miracle collection describes a pilgrim murdered on his way to the body of a saint: Wolfhardus of Herrieden, *Miracula Waldburgis Monheimensia* (BHL 8765), 2.6.a-b, ed. A. Bauch. *Ein*

even more dangerous.<sup>226</sup> Early medieval sources are full of assassinations, such as the assassination of Fulk of Reims, which occurred when one grandee's retinue was too small to fend off another's.<sup>227</sup> The seventh-century *Vita Leudegarii* describes how Ebroin plotted to murder Leudegar after their mutual escape from Luxeuil. Ebroin, Leudegar, and Genesisius, the bishop of Lyon, all have retinues of various sizes, and the hagiographer muses that Ebroin was prevented from attacking his old enemy Leudegar by Genesisius, fearing either that man's advice or, more plausibly, "the strong war-band (*manus valida*) with which he had come."<sup>228</sup> The bishop's dedication to peace did not extend to his bodyguard.<sup>229</sup> Medieval exegetes know from the Gospel of Luke that Judas could only put his betrayal into effect when Jesus Christ was alone, "crowdless" (*sine turbis*).<sup>230</sup>

For lowlier members of society as well, there were good reasons to travel in numbers – to *be* in an entourage. After the transition from a "slave society" to a society in

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*bayerisches Mirakelbuch aus der Karolingerzeit: Die Monheimer Walpurgis-Wunder des Priesters Wolfhard*, Quellen zur Geschichte der Diözese Eichstätt 2 (Regensburg, 1979), pp. 222-226.

<sup>226</sup> See Heiko Steuer, "Archäologische Belege für das Fehdewesen in der Merowingerzeit," in *Nomen et fraternitas: Festschrift für Dieter Geuenich zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Uwe Ludwig (Berlin, 2008), pp. 343-362, at p. 346, for an interpretation of graves with men holding hands as evidence of feud culture. See also two recent analyses: Irene Barbiera, "Buried Together, Buried Alone: Christian Commemoration and Kinship in the Early Middle Ages," *Early Medieval Europe* 23 (2015): 385-409; Irene Barbiera, "Remembering the Warriors: Weapon Burials and Tombstones Between Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in Northern Italy," in *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Walter Pohl and Gerda Heydemann (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 407-435.

<sup>227</sup> Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, 4.10, ed. M. Stratmann, MGH SS 36 (Hanover, 1998), p. 402: "dum paucis admodum comitatus regis peteret alloquium."

<sup>228</sup> *Passio Leudegarii episcopi et martyris Augustodunensis* I (BHL 4849b), c. 17, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 298-299.

<sup>229</sup> Kreiner, "About the Bishop," p. 341.

<sup>230</sup> Luke 22:6: "et quaerebat oportunitatem ut traderet illum sine turbis." A few Carolingian exegetes make a point of bringing in this passage of Luke to explain Matthew 26:16 ("et exinde quaerebat oportunitatem ut eum traderet"): Christian of Stavelot, *Expositio in euangelium Matthaei*, c. 26, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 224 (Turnhout, 2008), p. 475; Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matthaem*, book 8, ed. B. Löfstedt, CCCM 174A (Turnhout, 2000), p. 685.

which slaves were captured more sporadically in raids and war, it was dangerous to be alone in certain parts of Europe.<sup>231</sup> Amalarius, a ninth-century intellectual and exegete, in a convoluted metaphor, imagined a man being captured and brought to Constantinople as a slave “on account of my carelessness” (*propter meam incuriam*).<sup>232</sup> Amalarius imagined that a victim of slavers could, though his “carelessness,” be likened to a man “enslaved” by his earthly sins. *Incuria*, in this hypothetical case, may well have been solitude, that is, failure to rely on safety in numbers.<sup>233</sup>

Extraordinary religious events also attracted crowd activity on the move, although here it is important to be aware of the role of topoi in shaping our sources. Einhard, Charlemagne’s courtier, wrote his account of the translation of the relics of two saints from Rome to Frankland in 830 or 831.<sup>234</sup> The ninth century saw a great exodus of dead Roman martyrs to new northern churches, and a concurrent rash of translation narratives

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<sup>231</sup> For this transition, see Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World*, pp. 499-504.

<sup>232</sup> Amalarius, *Liber officialis*, 1.38.8, ed. J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii opera liturgica omnia*, Studi e Testi 139 (Vatican City, 1948), vol. 2, p. 184: “Verbi gratia, fui catecuminus Constantinopoli captus; quaesivit me dominus meus misericors et piissimus, invenit me captivum, occidit illum qui me rapuit propter meam incuriam, et me reddidit libertati, ut reverterer ad patriam meam.” In the passage, Amalarius speaks in the first person but he is referring to a hypothetical character. See Shane Bobrycki, “A Hypothetical Slave in Constantinople: Amalarius’s *Liber Officialis* and the Mediterranean Slave Trade,” *Haskins Society Journal* 26 (2014): 47-67. For Amalarius, see Rudolf Suntrup, “Amalarius von Metz,” in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. W. Stammer, K. Langosch, and K. Ruh, 2nd edition (Berlin, 2004), vol. 2, col. 81-85; Michael McCormick, “Amalarius of Metz,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991), pp 72-73; Germain Morin, “Amalaire: esquisse biographique,” *Revue bénédictine* 9 (1892): 337-351.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. Shane Bobrycki, “A Hypothetical Slave in Constantinople: Amalarius’s *Liber Officialis* and the Mediterranean Slave Trade,” *Haskins Society Journal* 26 (2014): 47-67, at pp. 60-61.

<sup>234</sup> Einhard, *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233), ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 (1887). The study by M. Bandois, *La translation des Saints Marcellin et Pierre: étude sur Einhard et sa vie politique de 827 à 834* (Paris, 1907) remains valuable. For an overview with attention to the wider genre, see Martin Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, Typologie des Sources 33 (Turnhout, 1979), esp. pp. 52-62, 94-125. For a list of ninth-century translations see Henryk Fros, “Liste des translations et inventions de l’époque carolingienne,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986): 427-429. See also Giorgia Vocino, “Le traslazioni di reliquie in età carolingia (fine VIII-IX secolo): uno studio comparativo,” in *Del visibile credere: Pellegrinaggi, santuari, miracoli, reliquie*, ed. Davide Scotto (Florence, 2011), pp. 193-240.

(*translationes*).<sup>235</sup> These relic translation narratives typically had two main goals: first, to promote the cult of new relics; second, to dispel any doubts about their veracity. Both goals were achieved by recounting miracles, and in such miracles, the crowd looms large. Great gatherings, representing many levels of society, materialize when the hagiographer needs witnesses.<sup>236</sup> Often a miracle is observed by a crowd, as when a slave woman is healed before many witnesses. Frequently a miracle is enacted upon a crowd, as when a crowd of sick are healed en masse. And sometimes, the miracle is the crowd itself, as when Einhard describes “a very dense and large crowd” as *quid miraculi*, “a kind of miracle.”<sup>237</sup>

New relics had the power to attract large crowds.<sup>238</sup> In such relic translations, crowds helped shape what Hedwig Röckelein calls an early medieval public sphere.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Heinrich Fichtenau, “Zum Reliquienwesen des früheren Mittelalters,” in H. Fichtenau, *Beiträge zur Mediävistik: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Stuttgart, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 108-44. Cf. Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. edn (Princeton, 1990), pp. 28-43; Sean Lafferty, “*Ad Sanctitatem Mortuorum*: Tomb Raiders, Body Snatchers and Relic Hunters in Late Antiquity,” *Early Medieval Europe* 22 (2014): 249-279. For the early history of the cult of relics, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, 2nd rev. edn. (Brussels, 1933).

<sup>236</sup> *Vita Audoeni altera* (BHL 751-752), 5.43, AASS Aug 4.24.819B: “Convocato igitur agmine plurimorum monachorum, omnique ecclesia, seu populo ipsius urbis, totiusque provinciae, totam noctem cum laudibus & hymnis duxit pervigilem.” This set of texts, circulating in eleventh-century legendaries, probably represent epitomes of earlier, ninth-century lives. Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Sainly Relics, 684-1090* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 87-88.

<sup>237</sup> Einhard, *Translatio Petri et Marcellini*, 2.4, p. 247. The phrase *quid miraculi* commonly lacks any diminutive effect: e.g. Eucherius of Lyon, *Passio Acaunensium martyrum* (BHL 5737-5740), c. 16, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896), p. 38; *Vita Genovefae* (redactio C) (BHL 3336), c. 20, ed. K. Künstle, *Vita Sanctae Genovefae virginis Parisiorum patronae* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 11.

<sup>238</sup> *Annales Mettenses priores* (s.a. 690), ed. B. von Simson, MGH SRG 10 (Hanover, 1905), p. 12: “Quorum maxima turba ad beati Quintini martiris limina, nonnulli ad Perronam Scottorum monasterium, in quo beatus Furseus corpore requiescit, confugium fecerunt.” For the origins of these annals, see Irene Haselbach, *Aufstieg und Herrschaft der Karolinger in der Darstellung der sogenannten Annales Mettenses priores: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Ideen im Reich Karls des Großen* (Lübeck, 1970), pp. 25-40. See also Wattenbach-Levison-Löwe 2 (Weimar, 1953), pp. 260-264.

<sup>239</sup> Hedwig Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen im 9. Jahrhundert: über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 359-370.

The cult of relics was implicated in Carolingian society with public order and linked to the stability of the kingdom.<sup>240</sup> Hedwig Röckelein stresses the irenic function of this “Öffentlichkeit,” but publicity, articulated in terms of crowds, also played a role in competition as well as cooperation.<sup>241</sup> Einhard’s *translatio* is meant to prove that he and not another relic-hungry contemporary, Hilduin of Saint-Denis, possessed the true relics of Marcellinus and Petrus. The legitimating authority of crowds went far beyond the cult of relics.

## VI. The Solemn Assembly

Assemblies were perhaps the most important crowd events in early medieval political and religious life. Their importance originated in church councils, but many early medieval kingdoms also practiced political assembly, none more spectacularly than the Carolingians.<sup>242</sup> The line between political and religious assemblies could be very thin indeed.<sup>243</sup> As Jürgen Hannig has emphasized in an important study, assembled crowds of elites confirmed early medieval ideals about consensus and therefore political

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<sup>240</sup> Edina Bozoky, “Les reliques, le Prince et le bien public,” in *Le Prince, son peuple et le bien commun: De l’Antiquité tardive à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Hervé Oudart, Jean-Michel Picard, and Joëlle Quaghebeur (Rennes, 2013), pp. 203-15, at pp. 204-5. Cf. Julia M. H. Smith, “Rulers and Relics c.750–c.950: Treasure on Earth, Treasure in Heaven,” *Past & Present* 206, Supplement 5 (2010): 73-96.

<sup>241</sup> See also the stimulating essay by Patrick Boucheron, “Espace public et lieux publics: approches en histoire urbaine,” in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: Débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron and Nicolas Offenstadt (Paris, 2011), pp. 99-117. For Habermas’s account of public space, see Jürgen Habermas, “The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article,” trans. Sara Lennox and Frank Lennox, *New German Critique* 3 (1974): 49-55.

<sup>242</sup> Erich Seyfarth, *Fränkische Reichsversammlungen unter Karl dem Großen und Ludwig dem Frommen* (Leipzig, 1910), remains foundational.

<sup>243</sup> Timothy Reuter, “Assembly Politics in Western Europe,” in *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 193-216, at p. 201.

legitimacy.<sup>244</sup> This consensus ideal was religiously charged, and, as Hannig shows, derived from Merovingian episcopal norms.<sup>245</sup> Despite their frequency and importance, however, we know little about the logistics, size, and participation of early medieval assemblies.<sup>246</sup> Partly, this is because a large cast of supporting characters – servants, slaves, attendants, retainers, predatory merchants – escapes most contemporary reports.<sup>247</sup> Very large royal assemblies may have brought together thousands of people.<sup>248</sup> But total numbers are less important to our witnesses than numbers of the right kind of people. Many conciliar acts begin with lists of bishops by name.<sup>249</sup> Some secular assemblies also

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<sup>244</sup> Jürgen Hannig, *Consensus Fidelium: Frühfeudale Interpretationen des Verhältnisses von Königtum und Adel am Beispiel des Frankenreiches* (Stuttgart, 1982), esp. 3-41; Janet L. Nelson, “How Carolingians Created Consensus,” in *Le Monde Carolingien: Bilan, perspectives, champs de recherches*, ed. Wojciech Falkowski and Yves Sassier (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 67-81. Hannig’s argument rescussitated an older debate between Ganshoff and Buchner on the role of consensus in early medieval legal legitimacy.

<sup>245</sup> Steffen Patzold, “*Consensus - Concordia - Unitas*: Überlegungen zu einem politisch-religiösen Ideal der Karolingerzeit,” in *Exemplaris Imago: Ideale in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Nikolaus Staubach (Frankfurt-am-Main, 2012), pp. 31-56, at pp. 44-46; Hannig, *Consensus Fidelium*, pp. 64-79; cf. Seyfarth, *Fränkische Reichsversammlungen*, pp. 1-10.

<sup>246</sup> Reuter, “Assembly Politics in Western Europe,” p. 198; Cf. Wilfried Hartmann, “Eliten auf Synoden, besonders in der Karolingerzeit,” *Théorie et pratiques des élites au haut Moyen Âge*, ed. François Bougard, Hans-Werner Goetz, and Régine Le Jan (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 351-72, for the synods. Thomas Bauer, “Kontinuität und Wandel synodaler Praxis nach der Reichsteilung von Verdun: Versuch einer Typisierung und Einordnung der karolingischen Synoden und *concilia mixta* von 843 bis 870,” *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 23 (1991): 11-116, analyzes fo called “mixed councils” which combined both secular and ecclesiastical elements. See also Hans Hubert Anton, “Synoden, Teilreichsepiskopat und die Herausbildung Lotharingiens (859-870),” in *Königtum – Kirche – Adel: Institutionen, Ideen, Räume von der Spätantike bis zum hohen Mittelalter: Dem Autor zur Vollendung des 65 Lebensjahres*, ed. Burkhard Apsner and Thomas Bauer (Trier, 2002; originally 1993), pp. 421-468, for a lucid discussion of one region’s mid ninth-century synods.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. McCormick, *Origins*, p. 665.

<sup>248</sup> Michael McCormick, “Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter with Byzantium Down to the Accession of Charles the Bald,” in *Eriugena: East and West: Papers of the Eighth International Colloquium of the Society for the Promotion of Eriugenian Studies, Chicago and Notre Dame, 18-20 October 1991*, ed. Bernard McGinn and Willemien Otten (Notre Dame, 1994), pp. 15-48, at pp. 26-27; McCormick, *Origins*, p. 162.

<sup>249</sup> Wilfried Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn, 1989), pp. 7-8; see also Odette Pontal, *Die Synoden im Merowingerreich* (Paderborn, 1986); Odette Pontal, *Les conciles de la France capétienne jusqu’en 1215* (Paris, 1995).

preserve name lists. Anglo-Saxon charters' witness lists are practically attendance lists at the great meetings of the state. As the previous chapter argued, more assiduous counting of bishops means that synods (together with battlefields) are one of the only places where early medieval sources offer specific figures for numbers. Royal assemblies, by contrast, very rarely gave figures – although sometimes it is possible to guess.<sup>250</sup> We have nothing like the rich numerical details preserved in late medieval sources for preaching, like the extraordinarily detailed biography of Bernardino da Feltre.<sup>251</sup> And indeed, we have better data for late antique numbers, since sectarian parties often bandied numbers about in triumph or in concern.<sup>252</sup>

Early medieval sources have priorities other than that of providing accurate roll-calls. This is especially true for assemblies. Instead, chronicles and conciliar preambles are interested in demonstrating, or sometimes undercutting, that form of legitimacy most closely associated with large numbers acting in concert: authoritative consensus. The biblical motivation for this association was Christ's promise in the Gospel of Matthew: "For where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (*ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo ibi sum in medio eorum*).<sup>253</sup> This *logion* was quoted in the liturgical acts of councils.<sup>254</sup> Leo I had declared,

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<sup>250</sup> See McCormick, *Origins*, p. 665.

<sup>251</sup> Bernardino Guslino, *La vita del beato Bernardino da Feltre*, ed. Ippolita Checcoli (Bologna, 2008); cf. Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini*, p. 161, showing that chronicle and biographical reports for the size of preachers' audiences are believable given the size of *piazze*.

<sup>252</sup> Leslie Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa* (Berkeley, 2010), p. 21.

<sup>253</sup> Matthew 18:20, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1554.

<sup>254</sup> Ordo 12, ed. H. Schneider, *Ordines de celebrando concilio*, MGH Ordines, p. 398; Council of Frankfurt (794), ed. A. Werminghoff, MGH Conc. 2.1 (Hanover, 1906), p. 143; Council of Trier (927/928), c. 3, ed. Ernst-Dieter Hehl and Horst Fuhrmann, *Concilia aevi Saxonici a. 916-960*, MGH Conc. 6.1 (Hanover, 1987), p. 79. Cf. Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, c. 25, ed. P. Bonnerue, CCCM 168A

“I feel that, where so many saints are gathered, the very angels are among us.”<sup>255</sup> Yet this very power of public acclamations did have its pernicious side, as Avitus of Vienne (d. c. 518) noted to King Gundobad in his treatise against Eutychianism. Eutyches’ heresy had been quiet, Avitus reported, until a “practice of church in great cities” in the East, mass supplications to God at the beginning of the mass, led the populace (*plebs*) to give a supplicatory acclamation (*clamor*) to God whose wording allowed the Eutychian schism to break out.<sup>256</sup> The result was not only doctrinal confusion, but a “waxing storm of seditions” (*crescente seditionum procella*).<sup>257</sup> Interestingly, the same doctrinal schism prompted Boethius to mull over the false sense of unanimity and certainty produced by mass acclamation. Boethius had been present when Eutyches’ doctrines were condemned, in a series of acclamations, at a council at Rome. Boethius did not feel that the unsubtle medium of the acclamation grasped the doctrinal subtleties at play, and although he agreed Eutyches was wrong, he came to this conclusion only after much rumination.<sup>258</sup>

Gregory of Tours relates a story where Cato, the pretender-bishop of Tours, having assembled a crowd of “poor” (*adunata pauperum caterva*), then instructed them

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(Turnhout, 1999), p. 198: “Nam qui dixit: Vbi sunt duo uel tres congregati, quomodo probabitur congregatus, qui a semetipso cogitatione et uagatione dispersus est?”

<sup>255</sup> Leo I. *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, 2.2, ed. A. Chavasse, *Sancti Leonis Magni romani pontificis tractatus septem et nonaginta*, CCSL 138 (Turnhout, 1973): “Cumque hanc uenerabilium consacerdotum meorum splendidissimam frequentiam uideo, angelicum nobis in tot sanctis sentio interesse conuentum.”

<sup>256</sup> Avitus of Vienne, *Contra Eutychianam haeresim*, 2.3, ed. R. Peiper, *Alcimi Ecdicii Auiti Viennensis Episcopi opera quae supersunt*, MGH AA 6.2 (Berlin, 1883), pp. 22-23. Charlotte Roueché, “Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence From Aphrodisias,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 181-199, at pp. 181-188, provides an overview of the late Roman practice of acclamations. For later Byzantine metrical acclamations, see Paul Maas, “Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantine,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 21 (1912): 28-51.

<sup>257</sup> Avitus, *Contra Eutychianam haeresim*, 2.3, ed. Peiper, p. 23.

<sup>258</sup> Boethius, *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*, praef., ed. Claudio Moreschini, *Boethius, De consolatione philosophiae, Opuscula theologica* (Munich, 2000), pp. 207-208: “Meditabar igitur dehinc omnes animo quaestiones nec eglutiebam quod acceperam, sed frequentis consilii iteratione ruminabam.”



to shout out acclamations in his favor.<sup>259</sup> Cato “greedy for vain glory” (*vanae gloriae cupidus*) gave the crowd the command to should the following acclamation (*clamor*): “Why are you abandoning your sons, good father, whom you reared up until now? Who will refresh us with food and drink, if you depart? We ask that you not leave us, we whom you once supported.”<sup>260</sup> According to Gregory, the usurper turned to the clergy, saying, “You see you, beloved brothers, how this multitude of the poor (*haec multitudo pauperum*) loves me; I cannot leave them and go with you.”<sup>261</sup>

Nevertheless, the idea that numbers mattered in showing divine consensus proved influential despite these doubting voices. In the ninth and tenth centuries Photios, the

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<sup>259</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 4.11, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 141-142; For this episode, see Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001), pp. 102-103; Sandrine Linger, “Puissance sociale des *domini* d’après l’œuvre de Grégoire de Tours,” in *Aux sources de la gestion publique*, vol. 3: *Hommes de pouvoir, ressources et lieux du pouvoir (Ve-XIIIe siècles)*, ed. E. Magnou-Nortier (Villeneuve d’Ascq, 1997), pp. 51-69, p. 58; Allen E. Jones, *Social Mobility in Late Antique Gaul: Strategies and Opportunities for the Non-Elite* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 230, building on the suggestion by Rouche, “La matricule des pauvres,” p. 93, that these *pauperes* may have included the *matricularii* of Saint-Martin. Judith Herrin, “Urban Riot or Civic Ritual? the Crowd in Early Medieval Ravenna,” in *Raum und Performanz: Rituale in Residenzen von der Antike bis 1815*, ed. D. Boschung, K.-J. Hölkeskamp, and C. Sode (Stuttgart, 2015), pp. 219-240, at p. 229, n. 21, cites this case as “typical of the manipulation of crowds by unscrupulous rulers,” although in this case it might be equally described as the manipulation of negative crowd imagery by a more or less unscrupulous historiographer. For Cato’s aborted effort to become bishop of Tours, see Margarete Weidemann, *Kulturgeschichte der Merowingerzeit nach den Werken Gregors von Tours* (Mainz, 1982), pp. 203-204; Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (London, 1994), pp. 80-83.

<sup>260</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 4.11, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 142: “At ille, ut erat vanae gloriae cupidus, adunata pauperum caterva, clamorem dari praecepit his verbis: ‘Cur nos deseris, bone pater, filios, quos usque nunc edocasti? Quis nos cibo potuque reficiet, sit u abieris? Rogamus, ne nos relinquant, quos alere consuesti.’” For this use of *clamor*, see TLL, vol. 3, p. 1255, s.v. “clāmor,” I.A.1 (Hoppe).

<sup>261</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 4.11, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 142: “Tunc ille conversus ad clerum Turonicum, ait: ‘Videtes nunc, fratres dilectissimi, qualiter me haec multitudo pauperum diligit; non possum eos relinquere et ire vobiscum.’” For the depiction of *pauperes* in Gregory of Tours, see Johannes Schneider, “Die Darstellung der Pauperes in den Historiae Gregors von Tours: Ein Beitrag zur sozialökonomischen Struktur Galliens im 6. Jahrhundert,” *Jahrbuch Für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4 (1966): 57-74. Lutz Raphael, “Royal Protection, Poor Relief, and Expulsion: Types of State and Modes of Inclusion/Exclusion of Strangers and Poor People in Europe and the Mediterranean World Since Antiquity,” in *Strangers and Poor People: Changing Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion in Europe and the Mediterranean World From Classical Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. A. Gestrich, L. Raphael, H. Uerlings (Frankfurt, 2009), pp. 17-34, at pp. 29-30, attempts to link the care of the poor by church institutions with weakened royal power in the early Middle Ages, but kings also made a habit of giving to the poor in numbers.

patriarch of Constantinople (r. 858-867, 877-886), was widely attacked for allegedly doctoring or adding subscribers' names to his conciliar acts.<sup>262</sup> Hermann Sieben argued that the Frankish church developed a concept of conciliar legitimacy stressing quantitative (if not universal) consensus, as opposed to a consensus of the patriarchs.<sup>263</sup> Hannig showed that the consensus ideal hammered out by the Merovingian bishops was taken up by the Carolingians in their political assemblies, which even more than the Merovingians tended to integrate secular and sacred councils.<sup>264</sup> This sacrality of numbers slipped over into normal secular assemblies. In a famous article, Thomas Bisson argued that all early medieval "plenary assemblies" were "celebrations of hierarchical order and majesty," rather than truly deliberative bodies.<sup>265</sup> This argument still rings true of many early medieval depictions of assemblies. Bisson's argument has received some push-back from early medievalists, who note that assemblies had their practical uses: the airing of grievances, real deliberation, diplomacy, conflict resolution, military planning,

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<sup>262</sup> Anastasius, *Epistolae sive praefationes*, no 5, ed. Ernst Perels and Gerhard Laehr, MGH Epp. 7 (Berlin, 1928), p. 406; *Vita Hadriani II*, c. 31, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis*, vol. 2, p. 179: "Inde est quod subscriptionum istius videntur diversi characteres, et quidam eorum acutiori penna, quidam grossa, nonnulli vero, decrepitem simulantes, grossiori, membranam inquinantes, describunt; ut videlicet fraude presentium simplicitati absentium illudatur, et illud credat facilius universitas esse verissimum quod dissimilibus litteris fecerit falsitas esse diversum. At vos ilico subscriptionum dissimilitudinem, librum reserantes videbitis; fraudem vero, nisi Constantinopolim miseritis, minime cognoscetis"; Nicetas David, *The Life of Patriarch Ignatius* (BHG 817), c. 56-57, ed. A. Smithies with J. M. Duffy, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 51 (Washington, DC, 2013), pp. 82-4.

<sup>263</sup> Hermann-Josef Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee der alten Kirche* (Paderborn, 1979); Hermann-Josef Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee des lateinischen Mittelalters (847-1378)* (Paderborn, 1984).

<sup>264</sup> Hannig, *Consensus Fidelium*, pp. 152-163. For the rights and signs of councils, see Roger Reynolds, "Rites and Signs of Conciliar Decisions in the Early Middle Ages," in R. Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot, 1999), essay IX, pp. 207-49; cf. chapter 5 below.

<sup>265</sup> Bisson, "Celebration and Persuasion," p. 183. Cf. Thomas Bisson, "The Military Origins of Medieval Representation," *The American Historical Review* 71 (1966): 1199-1218.

and the dissemination of information.<sup>266</sup> Assemblies' location near campaign-sites often played a role in politics and war planning. Assemblies mobilized men and provided a critical venue for delivering information to armies.<sup>267</sup> They were also important as tools of control. Missing an assembly was tantamount to treason.<sup>268</sup>

The dissemination of information shows how the practical and the celebratory unite. It is easy to forget how important crowds have always been for the dissemination of information, both practical and ideological. Announcements to crowds are a remarkably efficient way of spreading information. The Roman magistracy possessed *praecones*, men of often lower-status origin (such as freedmen), who acted as public heralds, and played an official role in the organization of *contiones*.<sup>269</sup> Later medieval societies also possessed town criers to spread news in public.<sup>270</sup> In the early Middle Ages, royal *missi* sometimes functioned to deliver information, but assemblies too were spaces

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<sup>266</sup> Reuter, "Assembly Politics in Western Europe," p. 206: "Of course, to point to elements of staging and of ritualized or symbolised collective behaviour is not necessarily to deny the existence of more *ad hoc* and less structured elements, and hence ways of 'reading' these gatherings which legitimately treat the layer of staging and symbolic action as transparent and go through and beyond it."

<sup>267</sup> Karl Ferdinand Werner, "*Missus – Marchio – Comes: Entre l'administration centrale et l'administration locale de l'empire carolingien*," in *Histoire comparée de l'administration (IVe–XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. Karl Ferdinand Werner and Werner Paravicini (Munich, 1980), pp. 191-239, at pp. 194-5.

<sup>268</sup> *Capitulare Missorum* (819), c. 28, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (Hanover, 1883), no. 141, p. 291: "Ut omnis episcopus, abbas et comes, excepta infirmitate vel nostra iussione, nullam excusationem habeat, quin ad placitum missorum nostrorum veniat aut talem vicarium suum mittat, qui in omni causa pro illo rationem reddere possit"; Lupus of Ferrières, ep. 67 (24 June, 847), ed. L. Levillain, *Loup de Ferrières: Correspondance* (Paris, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 246-8. Cf. Jean-Pierre Devroey, *Puissants et misérables: Système social et monde paysan dans l'Europe des Francs (VIe-IXe siècle)* (Brussels, 2006), 74.

<sup>269</sup> Nicholas Purcell, "The *apparitores*: A study in Social Mobility," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 51 (1983): 125-173, at pp. 147-148; for their role in assembling the *contio* in Republican times, see Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (Leipzig, 1871-1888), v. 1, pp. 191-209. See also Nicholas Purcell, "The City of Rome and the *Plebs Urbana* in the Late Republic," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 9: *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146–43 B.C.*, ed. J. A. Crook, Andrew Lintott, and Elizabeth Rawson (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 644-688, esp. pp. 675-679, for the political ascendancy of the *plebs* during the late Republic.

<sup>270</sup> Nicolas Offenstadt, *En place publique: Jean de Gascogne, crieur au XVe siècle* (Paris, 2013).

especially designed to facilitate oral communication. Giving the word was “a delicate and sometimes dangerous task” which had to be kept in the hands of bishops and secular rulers.<sup>271</sup> Assemblies provided an occasion for “newsgathering and the exchange of information.”<sup>272</sup>

Here we may see a contrast to the Roman practice of information and ideology. Romans made more use of monumental written dissemination.<sup>273</sup> This was itself a kind of interaction with the crowd – although a different imagination of the crowd as passersby. Thus, the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, or the Price Edict of Diocletian, were displayed publicly.<sup>274</sup> Early medieval elites occasionally disseminated ideologically significant information using the written word in this fashion: Charlemagne too had his inscriptions.<sup>275</sup> But in general, ideological dissemination was oral in the early medieval world. In terms of expectations about gathering, this meant that Roman emperors relied more than their early medieval successors on ready-made gatherings, such as were likely to pass by spaces, like the Currency and Price Edicts of Aphrodisias. They might combine these displays with oral representation, but the spaces made used of already

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<sup>271</sup> Marianne Pollheimer, “Hrabanus Maurus – the Compiler, the Preacher, and His Audience,” in *Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and Their Audiences in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen, and Marianne Pollheimer (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 203-28, at pp. 218-219.

<sup>272</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 222, with further discussion at pp. 222-224.

<sup>273</sup> Ramsay MacMullen, “The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire,” *The American Journal of Philology* 103 (1982): 233-246, esp. 245-246.

<sup>274</sup> Paul Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, 2nd edn. (Munich, 1990); Cf. David Potter, *Constantine the Emperor* (Oxford, 2012), p. 88.

<sup>275</sup> Joanna Story et al., “Charlemagne’s Black Marble: the Origin of the Epitaph of Pope Hadrian I,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 73 (2005): 157-190.

crowded urban sites. The Carolingian *modus operandi* was different: to bring people to them.

One seventh-century case deserves special attention because it may show how assembly topographies could focalize attention on the authoritative voice. In the Northumbrian kingdom of Anglo-Saxon England, the seventh-century *villa regia* at Yeavering was adorned with a great hall, several smaller buildings, a cemetery, and a “Great Enclosure” (thought to be a field for cattle).<sup>276</sup> This complex also included a wooden theater (the “cuneus”) whose function has been debated.<sup>277</sup> The triangular structure (when excavated consisting only of postholes) is in the shape of a quarter of a Greco-Roman theater. It was reconstructed by Brian Hope-Taylor as a tiered array of stands focused toward a stage (which he assumed to hold a throne). In his estimation, this set of bleachers initially accommodated about 150 people (in its earlier iteration), but it was expanded to might accommodate over three hundred people.<sup>278</sup> The structure has sometimes been associated with the meeting of the Anglo-Saxon *witenagemot* or council.<sup>279</sup> Bede describes this site as a *villa regia* called “ad Gefrin” and tells us that it

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<sup>276</sup> Brian Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977). For more recent historical contextualization, see Colm O’Brien, “Yeavering and Bernician Kingship: A Review of Debate on the Hybrid Culture Thesis,” in *Early medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, 450 – 1100*, ed. D. Petts and S. Turner (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 207-220; Ian Wood, “An historical context for Hope-Taylor’s Yeavering,” in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. P. Frodsham and C. O’Brien (Stroud, 2005), pp. 185-88.

<sup>277</sup> Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering*, pp. 119-122, 241-244, for the “cuneus” (or “Building E”). For interpretations of the structure’s usage, see Paul S. Barnwell, “Anglian Yeavering: A Continental Perspective,” in *Yeavering: People, Power and Place*, ed. P. Frodsham and C. O’Brien (Stroud, 2005), pp. 174-184; and more recently Simon Keynes, “Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas,” in *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Gale Owen-Crocker and Brian Schneider (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 17-184, at p. 30.

<sup>278</sup> Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering*, p. 161.

<sup>279</sup> Stéphane Lebecq, “Imma, Yeavering, Beowulf: Remarques sur la formation d’une culture aulique dans l’Angleterre du VIIe siècle,” in *La culture du haut Moyen Âge: une question d’élites?*, ed. François Bougard, Régine Le Jan, and Rosamond McKitterick (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 239-255, at p. 247. Levi Roach,

was here Paulinus converted numerous Northumbrians.<sup>280</sup> Bede explains that Paulinus “catechized and baptized” for thirty-six days continuously at the River Glen. Bede makes no mention of the wooden theater, and we know that the predecessor building long preceded Paulinus’ travels to the north, but the presence suggests that the missionary was able to adapt native techniques and spaces for his own religious communication.

Witenagemot or Conversion is not really what matters. The point is that this complex (with its paucity of finds) was one of a few Anglo-Saxon ritual sites clearly intended to display power to large numbers. Yeavinging, associated with King Edwin (616-633), reflects a new pattern of early medieval spatial power, in which palaces were situated at the edge of cultivated and wild lands, between farmland and hunting grounds.<sup>281</sup> The archaeology suggests a small population – maybe hundreds – of beef-eating royal followers.<sup>282</sup> Nevertheless, this was clearly a site designed to draw and accommodate large numbers. The Monk of Whitby’s *Life of Gregory* (BHL 3637), the earliest surviving life of Gregory the Great, expects the presence of a “royal multitude” that accompanied Edwin at the time of his conversion.<sup>283</sup> Aside from the “cuneus,”

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*Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978: Assemblies and the State in the early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 43, envisions the Yeavinging cuneus as an royal assembly site.

<sup>280</sup> Bede, *HE* 2.14.2, ed. Lapidge, vol. 1, p. 370.

<sup>281</sup> Rollason, “Forests, Parks, Palaces, and the Power of Place in Early Medieval Kingship,” p. 433. Cf. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinging*, pp. 1-27. See also James Campbell, “Anglo-Saxon Courts,” in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 155-169, at pp. 155-156.

<sup>282</sup> Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinging*, pp. 325-333, for the faunal remains; Bryan Ward-Perkins, “Land, Labour and Settlement,” in *The Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 14: Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425-600*, ed. A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, and M. Whitby (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 315-345, at p. 324, makes the estimate of hundreds.

<sup>283</sup> Monk of Whitby, *Vita Gregorii* (BHL 3637), c. 15, ed. B. Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1986), p. 96: “omnis multitudo regia quę adhuc erat in platea populi.” The “platea populi” here is the “road of the peoples” (i.e. gentiles), i.e. the “way of the heathens.”

several buildings including a long main hall were added in the early 600s. The biggest was very spacious: eighty feet long, forty feet wide. The other thing to note about Yeavinger is its antiquity. This settlement had been inhabited since the Neolithic, and the Anglo-Saxon buildings are aligned between an ancient stone circle, a hedge, and a manmade barrow.<sup>284</sup> As Robin Fleming suggests, “it seems that the Northumbrian kings had co-opted and emended a highly wrought ritual landscape and then used it as a theatrical backdrop for newly invented ritual practices of their own.”<sup>285</sup>

Where did the bleachers of the “cuneus” fit into this interplay of rituals old and new? Can they be understood as part of the embrace of *Romanitas* which characterized the early medieval conversion in Anglo-Saxon England?<sup>286</sup> For excavator Brian Hope-Taylor, this theater bears “the stamp of Rome; blurred and deformed, perhaps, but unmistakable.”<sup>287</sup> If he is right, the Yeavinger “cuneus” appears to emerge at the intersection of two worlds: the built-environments of ancient Iron Age cultures and those of the Mediterranean Greco-Roman urban civilization. What links both worlds? Perhaps the matrix of assembly and spoken word, permitted by raised sites with directed visibility of oral presenters, signaled in the “cuneus” by the funneling focus of the bleachers

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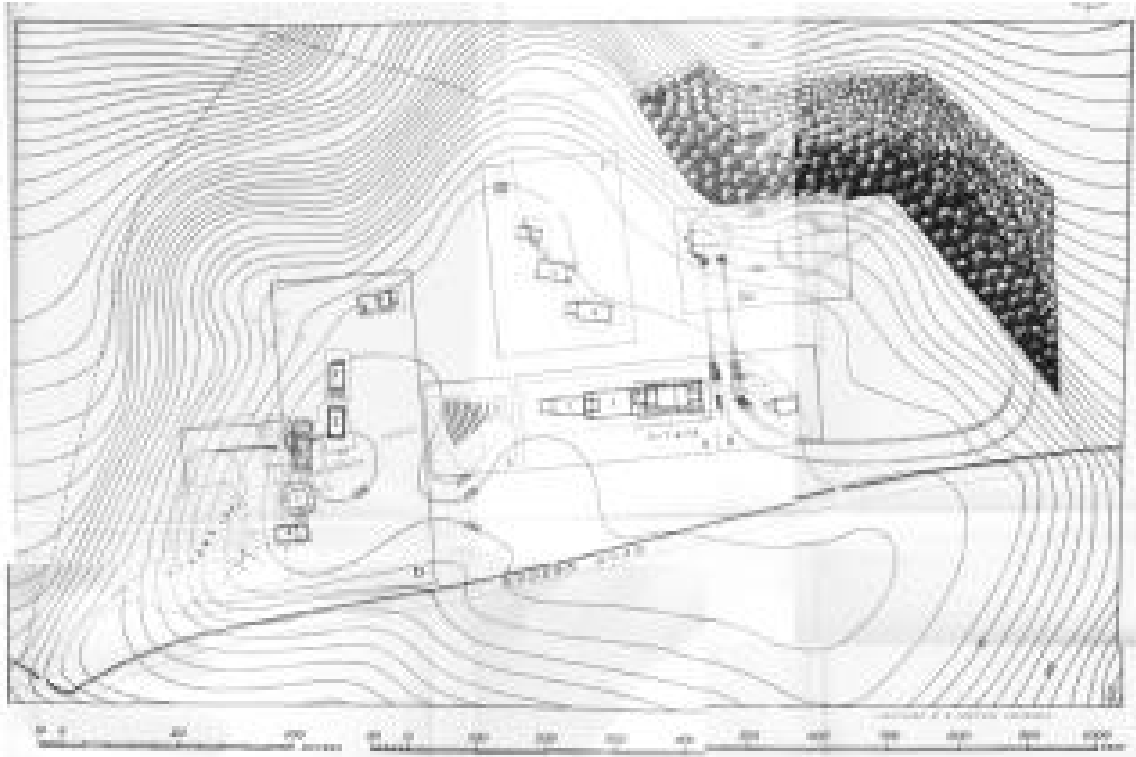
<sup>284</sup> See the historical overview in Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*, pp. 276-324.

<sup>285</sup> Robin Fleming, *Britain after Rome: The Fall and Rise, 400-1070* (London, 2010), p. 102. Cf. Clare Lees and Gillian Overing, “Anglo-Saxon Horizons: Places of the Mind in the Northumbrian Landscape,” in *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes*, ed. C. Lees and G. Overing (University Park, PA, 2006), pp. 1-26, at pp. 13-15.

<sup>286</sup> Cf. Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (Berkeley, 1999), p. 2.

<sup>287</sup> Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*, p. 241.

toward a stand. This reminds us of the confirmatory power associated with the king's word in this period.<sup>288</sup>



**FIGURE 3. The Yeavinger Cuneus *in situ*.** The triangular *cuneus* at Yeavinger in Northumbria can be seen in the middle of the excavated site (Building E). Brian Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977), p. 46 (Fig. 12).

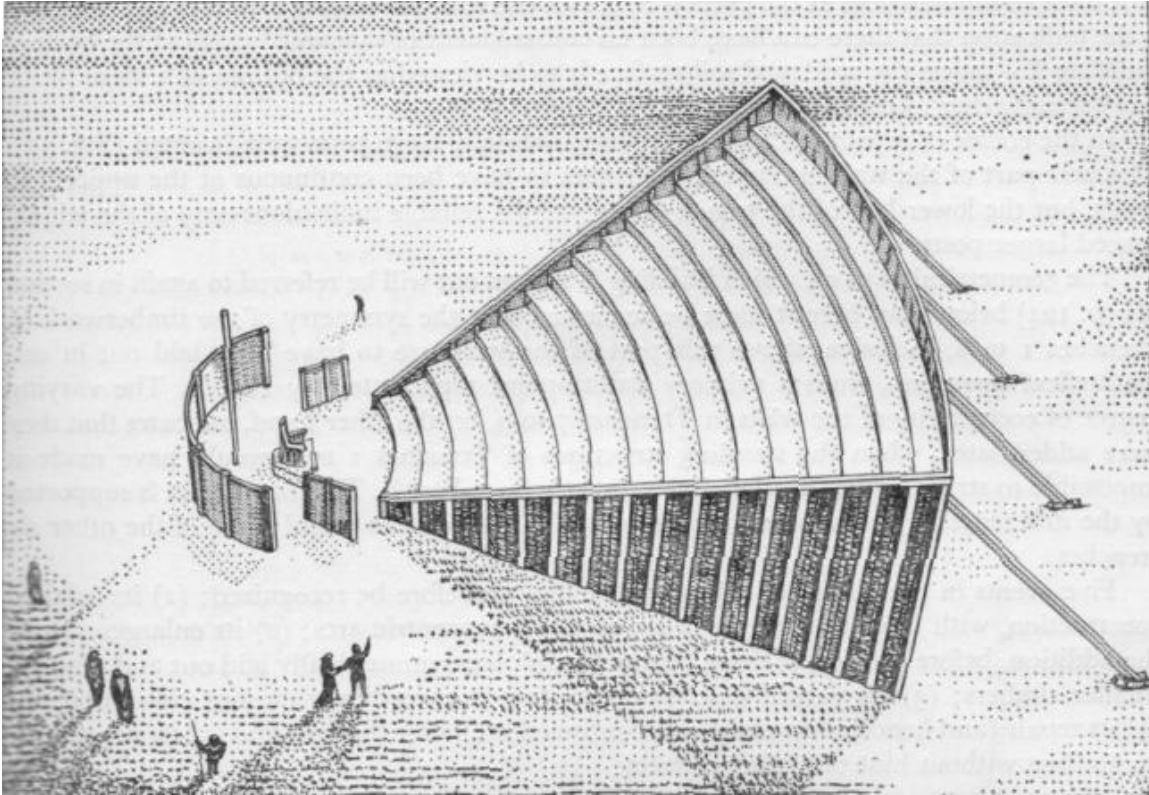
The “cuneus” is an exception in the archaeological record. There are clear signs that the “cuneus” structure, like other buildings at Yeavinger, was burned deliberately in the mid 600s; tinder was piled against the southwest corner of the structure and set alight.<sup>289</sup> Yeavinger was restored after this event, following the defeat of the

<sup>288</sup> See esp. Patrick Wormald, “*Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis*: Legislation and Germanic Kingship from Euric to Cnut,” in P. Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 1-43; Cf. Stuart Airlie, “‘For It Is Written in the Law’: Ansegis and the Writing of Carolingian Royal Authority,” in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Catherine Karkov, Janet Nelson, and David Pelteret (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 219-36, for the relationship of spoken and written word in the Carolingian period.

<sup>289</sup> Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger*, pp. 121-122.



Northumbrians by their Mercian enemies in 633, but this enigmatic set of stands disappeared until its outlines were spotted from the air. No other structure like it has been discovered in Anglo-Saxon archaeology.



**FIGURE 4. The Yeavinger Cuneus.** Reconstruction of the *cuneus* at Yeavinger as a set of wooden bleachers (or theater) with a central focal point. Brian Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977), p. 121 (Fig. 57).

Despite the unusual appearance of the Yeavinger theater, many other secular venues enabled information exchange and debate through physical assembly. Baker and Brookes have singled out what they call “hanging promontories” as a common meeting spot for large Anglo-Saxon assemblies.<sup>290</sup> By this they mean open fields which slope

<sup>290</sup> John Baker and Stuart Brookes, “Monumentalising the Political Landscape: a Special Class of Anglo-Saxon Assembly Site,” *The Antiquaries Journal* 93 (2013): 147-62. On Shetland, see Joris Coolen and Natascha Mehler, *Excavations and Surveys at the Law Ting Holm, Tingwall, Shetland: An Iron Age settlement and medieval assembly site* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 126-128, for ceremonial use which seems to end with the Picts. For a Scandinavian comparison, see Alexandra Sanmark, “Administrative Organisation and

downward, such that a speaker at a focal point on the higher elevation could dominate the attention of those lower down. These hanging promontories appear, based on the toponymic and archaeological evidence examined by Baker and Brookes, to have been preferred by Anglo-Saxon kings for their assembly. It is likely that continental rulers also chose sites where they could command a view of their magnates. Major assemblies often took place in fields and at the same crossroads of rivers and roads that centralized communications normally in this period.

Another secular site for crowding was the royal court. *Villae* like Yeavinger dotted the countryside of western Europe. Kings needed to be surrounded with great men, just as nobles did. According to Proverbs, “In the multitude of people is the dignity of the king; and in the small number of the people the dishonor of the prince.”<sup>291</sup> Hincmar speaks not just of “that multitude” which “is always present in the palace” but “which must always be present in the palace.”<sup>292</sup> Einhard tells of how Charlemagne bathed with “a hundred or more” faithful men at Aachen, but the fight for “closeness to the king” (*Königsnähe* in German scholarship) could be fierce.<sup>293</sup> The aristocratic hunt, the hunt with wild animals, was a crowd sport with a crowd’s reward; success in the hunt proclaimed one’s nobility to a crowd of peers.<sup>294</sup> About other games we know less. We

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State Formation: a Case Study of Assembly Sites in Södermanland, Sweden,” *Medieval Archaeology* 53 (2009): 205-41, showing how topographical assembly features often combine with environment-shaping. For instance, Kjula, a Thing site in Österrekarne is well documented as a meeting place for assemblies. A large mound provided the requisite lines of sight and sound, and in the eleventh century a rune-stone was established at the base of the mound (pp. 211-214).

<sup>291</sup> Prov. 14:28: “in multitudine populi dignitas regis et in paucitate plebis ignominia principis.”

<sup>292</sup> Hincmar of Reims, *De ordine palatii*, c. 27, ed. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer, MGH Font. iur. Germ. 3, 2nd edn. (Hanover, 1980), p. 526: “illa multitudo quae in palatio semper esse debet.”

<sup>293</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 22, ed. O Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 25 (Munich, 1911), p. 27.

know from the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris that fifth-century aristocrats' fun included field sports – he describes playing “balls,” *pilae*, on a green shaded by trees.<sup>295</sup>

Presumably similar forms of sport continued. We do know about occasional military exercises. Nithard describes “games for military exercise” (*ludi causa exercitii*).<sup>296</sup>

François Bougard has examined other “games” which survived the Roman years.<sup>297</sup> Other contexts for the crowd extended beyond the royal court to smaller courts across the Carolingian kingdom. The administration of justice, dispute settlements, occurred before crowds, or involved collective litigants.<sup>298</sup>

The court space, like the assembly, permitted gatherings to be ritualized. The glory that came to the king from such ordered gatherings was sometimes intangible. Large assemblies gave to kings “the aura of empire and hegemonic rule.”<sup>299</sup> But ritual was also a way of regulating meaning in a crowd: explaining what was going on in the

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<sup>294</sup> Jarnut, “Die frühmittelalterliche Jagd,” pp. 773-775; François Bougard, “Des jeux du cirque au tournoi: que reste-t-il de la compétition antique au haut Moyen Âge,” *Agôn: la Compétition, Ve-XIIe siècle*, ed. F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, and T. Lienhard (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 5-42, at pp. 26-27. For the notion that the hunt stood in for war, see Eric J. Goldberg, “Louis the Pious and the Hunt,” *Speculum* 88 (2013): 613-43, esp. p. 624: “the hunt seems to have played a crucial role as a proxy for war and as a public display of the emperor’s prowess and vigor. This was vital to the stability of Louis’s regime, since the Frankish nobles demanded that their ruler embody the bravery and martial skill on which they prided themselves.”

<sup>295</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *ep.* 2.2, ed. André Loyen, *Sidoine Apollinaire*, vols. 2-3: *Lettres* (Paris, 1970), vol. 2, p. 5.

<sup>296</sup> Nithard, *Historiae*, 3.6, ed. P. Lauer, rev. Sophie Glansdorff, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux* (Paris, 2012), pp. 120-122: “ludos...causa exercitii.” See also Dominique Barthélemy, “Les origines du tournoi chevaleresque,” in *Agôn: La compétition, Ve-XIIe siècle*, ed. F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, and T. Lienhard (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 111-130.

<sup>297</sup> Bougard, “Des jeux du cirque au tournoi,” esp. pp. 22-28.

<sup>298</sup> See the essays in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 1986) and the follow-up volume, *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 2010).

<sup>299</sup> Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 233.

context of a messy human gathering.<sup>300</sup> Some scholars, like Philippe Buc, have cast doubt on just how fully early medieval rulers were able to maintain order at rituals – is this not simply a trick of the biased evidence?<sup>301</sup> Edward Coleman has suggested that many Italian assemblies from the tenth or eleventh centuries onward were far messier, far less irenic than their early medieval northern counterparts.<sup>302</sup> Melve uses these “dialogic” Italian assemblies to support Buc’s attack on a “staged” thesis of the assembly.<sup>303</sup> But were eleventh-century assemblies truly characteristic of Italian assemblies in the Lombard and Carolingian periods? Lombard assemblies, such as the ones that promoted the Lombard laws, had a representative cast, since the assembly of judges and *fideles* stood for the whole people-army.<sup>304</sup> They seem to have functioned similarly to northern assemblies to confirm decisions in a ritual setting.

Among the great rituals which demanded the presence of crowds, elections were among the grandest and most fraught.<sup>305</sup> Philippe Buc has emphasized in his work on

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<sup>300</sup> Christina Pössel, “The Magic of Early Medieval Ritual,” *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009): 111-25, at p. 124: “the practicality of managing public interactions between powerful people required (and still today requires) some markers, and interactions before crowds needed visual clues for those too far away to hear.”

<sup>301</sup> Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, pp. 131-2, 140-1, for assemblies; Leidulf Melve, “Assembly Politics and the ‘Rules-of-the-Game’ (ca. 650-1150),” *Viator* 41 (2010): 69-90, at p. 89.

<sup>302</sup> Edward Coleman, “Representative Assemblies in Communal Italy,” in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 193-210.

<sup>303</sup> Melve, “Assembly Politics,” p.79.

<sup>304</sup> Paolo Delogu, “Lombard and Carolingian Italy,” in *New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 2, c. 700-c. 900*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 290-319, at p. 290. Delogu goes on to contend that the Lombard practice of “promulgation in front of an assembly” ceased to be important in the “basis of legislative authority” after the Carolingian conquest (p. 307).

<sup>305</sup> For royal inauguration rituals in the Frankish world, see Janet L. Nelson, “Inauguration Rituals,” in Janet Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 283-307; Janet L. Nelson, “National Synods, Kingship as Office, and Royal Anointing: an Early Medieval Syndrome,” in Janet Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 239-57; Janet L. Nelson, “Symbols in Context: Rulers’ Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages,” in *Ibid.*, pp. 259-281.

ritual that accounts of rituals are not the same as rituals themselves, and that we must be cautious when reconstructing medieval ceremonies on the basis of narrative evidence.<sup>306</sup> Crowds, which give legitimacy to elections, will be described in very biased ways in the records of these rituals.<sup>307</sup> The crowd of nobles, warriors, churchmen, and “the people” which accompanies the election of an early medieval king or bishop is such a consistent feature of accounts of royal elections that such crowds can seem like wallpaper. We will treat the election crowd as topos in chapter 4. Such crowds were felt to have a more concrete significance for the legitimacy of a royal ascension. When the Merovingian king Chlothar III died in 673, the mayor of the Neustrian palace Ebroin himself appointed Chlothar’s brother Theuderic III. The *Vita Leudegarii* I (BHL 4849b), composed sometime after 692 by a monk of Saint-Symphorian at Autun, explains that Ebroin did not call an assembly of magnates to discuss the succession when Chlothar “migrated from this light.”<sup>308</sup> It was because of the absence of a crowd that his opponents feared he hoped to seize power illegitimately.<sup>309</sup> In the same life, Ebroin is able to raise a large

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<sup>306</sup> Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, esp. pp. 88-122. For a critical but sympathetic assessment of Buc’s project, see Janet Nelson, review of *The Dangers of Ritual*, by Philippe Buc, *Speculum* 78 (2003): 847-851. For a critical assessment, see Geoffrey Koziol, “The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?” *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (2002): 367-388.

<sup>307</sup> E.g. for a typical topos of unanimity in “a great and mighty crowd of the city,” see the ninth-century *Vita Chrodegangi ep. Mettensis* (BHL 1781), c. 15, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 10 (Hanover, 1852), p. 560: “Se vero unanimes in praesule eligendo conclamant, nec unum restitisse dicunt in tanta ac tali turba civitatis, qui electioni generali alicuius controversiae machinamentis resistere conaretur.”

<sup>308</sup> *Passio Leudegarii episcopi et martyris Augustodunensis* I (BHL 4849b), c. 5, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), pp. 287-9. For the authorship and the dating, see Bruno Krusch, “Die älteste Vita Leudegarii,” *Neues Archiv* 16 (1891): 563-96, and Joseph-Claude Poulin, “Saint Léger d’Autun et ses premiers biographes (fin VII<sup>e</sup> – milieu IX<sup>e</sup> siècle),” *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de l’Ouest et des musées de Poitiers*, Series 4, 14 (1978): 167-200.

<sup>309</sup> *Passio Leudegarii episcopi et martyris Augustodunensis* I (BHL 4849b), c. 5, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 287-9: “Sed cum Ebroinus eius fratrem germanum nomen Theodericum, convocatis obtimatis, cum solemniter, ut mos est, debuisset sublimare in regnum, superbiae spiritu tumidus eos noluit deinde convocare. Ideo magis coeperunt metuere, eo quod regem, quem ad gloriam patriae publicae debuerat sublimare, dum post se eum retineret pro nomine, cui malum cupierat audenter valeretur inferre.”

*populus* because he convinces “everybody” (*cuncti*) that Chlothar III is truly Childeric’s son.<sup>310</sup> Making a “fact” a “fact” clearly involved marshaling numbers and important individuals, judging by this text. That included especially the “fact” of a king’s legitimacy.

But what are the chances that “rituals” such as these collective displays are historiographical fictions that cover up realities of dissent and discord?<sup>311</sup> While there certainly were “failed” assemblies, this form of gathering had some internal protections against ritual breakdown. For instance, Pössel imagines how the rules of the game might impede those from expressing their doubts in the middle of an assembly.<sup>312</sup> This means that “gatherings” were *not* typically venues for dissent. Because the “discussion” stage preceded the actual council, it was easy for the assembly to be a site of control.<sup>313</sup> Not only that, but thanks to conciliar *ordines* the behavior at assemblies was structured to represent order even at the planning stage.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> *Passio Leudegarii episcopi et martyris Augustodunensis* I (BHL 4849b), c. 19, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 301: “Qua de re multum colligerunt hostiliter populum, eo quod veresimile videbatur esse cunctorum.”

<sup>311</sup> Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, pp. 1-12.

<sup>312</sup> Pössel, “The Magic of Early Medieval Ritual,” p. 123: “for the duration of the performance, the ritualized frame can create the illusion of consensus and harmony, and make disagreement and subversion costly.”

<sup>313</sup> Gerd Althoff, “Colloquium Familiare - Colloquium Secretum - Colloquium Publicum: Beratung im politischen Leben des früheren Mittelalters,” in G. Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 157-84; Wilfried Hartmann, “Gespräche in der ‘Kaffeepause’ - Am Rande des Konzils von Attigny 870,” *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 27 (1996): 137-45, for an unusual case of discussion in the midst of ritualized consensus.

<sup>314</sup> E.g. the requirement to act *per ordinem* from rite to rite is consistently emphasized in conciliar *ordines*: Ordo 2, c. 10, ed. H. Schneider, *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, MGH Ordines 1 (Hanover, 1996), p. 182; Ordo 2C, c. 12, ed. Schneider, p. 197; Ordo 3, c. 20, ed. Schneider, p. 214; Ordo 5, c. 13, 18, ed. Schneider, pp. 253, 255. See also Herbert Schneider’s detailed introduction to this edition at pp. 1-122, esp. pp. 4-11. For notions of representational consent that arguably developed from this system, see Francis Oakley, *The Mortgage of the Past: Reshaping the Ancient Political Inheritance (1050-1300)* (New Haven, 2012), pp. 138-59.

An example will show how all these features fit together. Perhaps the most famous fair of the early Middle Ages was the fair to celebrate the feast day of Saint Denis.<sup>315</sup> October ninth marked the saint's feast day, when sacred and secular rituals coincided with a wine-harvest fair. At Saint-Denis, Carolingian kings built a palace to conduct royal ceremonies, while secular and church leaders built ever-larger basilicas, culminating in Suger's great Gothic church.<sup>316</sup> Fueling it all was the harvest and the fair, where fun could be had and information could be shared. At Saint-Denis it is easy to see how ideological and material factors coalesce. The convenient location of Saint-Denis (the Seine valley was densely populated, politically important, serviced by rivers and roads, in the middle of several regional economies with different comparative advantages), the very good timing of Saint Denis' martyrdom (just after the wine harvest), and the ideological and religious significance of Saint-Denis mutually enforced one another. Crowds at Saint-Denis are the catalyst for mutual forms of urban, cultural, and economic development.

## VII. Modes of Resistance

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<sup>315</sup> McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 647-653; Levillain, "Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 91 (1930), 5-65, at pp. 7-9; see also Devroey, "Un monastère," pp. 578-579.

<sup>316</sup> See Werner Jacobsen, "Saint-Denis in neuem Licht: Konsequenzen der neuentdeckten Baubeschreibung aus dem Jahre 799," *Kunstchronik* 36 (1983): 301-308. For the period leading up to Suger's abbacy, see Rolf Grosse, *Saint-Denis zwischen Adel und König: Die Zeit vor Suger (1053-1122)*, Beihefte der Francia 57 (Stuttgart, 2002).

This chapter has focused on gatherings which tended to work in conjunction with elite discourses. The crowd has usually been studied as a phenomenon of resistance.<sup>317</sup> Imperial discourses such as those of the Carolingians did not go unchallenged.<sup>318</sup> The dreams of unity and consensus which early medieval ritual represented did not always employ gatherings, nor was gathering always a good thing.<sup>319</sup> Yet one of the strange absences in early medieval gathering forms is the peasant revolt. Two decades ago, Eric Goldberg examined this absence in an assessment of one of the few early medieval popular revolts we know of, the Saxon Stellinga of the 840s.<sup>320</sup> Goldberg concluded that early medieval “peasant” revolts, such as they were, reflected temporary opportunism, permitted only by divisions among elites – and not always on the part of peasants.<sup>321</sup>

The possibility of revolts was curtailed not only by the blocks on spontaneous gathering, but by the power of aristocrats over the lowly. This is not to say that aristocrats enjoyed total power in this period. In fact, the strength of the weak against the strong in this age, as Chris Wickham has argued, was improved by their unreachability – that is

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<sup>317</sup> McPhail, “Crowd Behavior,” p. 880: “Most scholarly concerns have been with political gatherings that challenge the status quo.”

<sup>318</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 2006), pp. 69-89, for how Carolingian annals wrote a revolt into illegitimacy; cf. Karl Brunner, *Oppositionelle Gruppen im Karolingerreich* (Vienna, 1979).

<sup>319</sup> As we saw in the last chapter, there are a number of specific figures for mass deaths whose historicity scholars have debated. Burkhardt Wolf, “Massensterben. Macht und Gesetz der großen Zahl,” in *Massenfassungen: Beiträge zur Diskurs- und Mediengeschichte der Menschenmenge*, ed. Susanne Lüdemann and Uwe Hebekus (Munich, 2010), pp. 25-41.

<sup>320</sup> Eric Goldberg, “Popular Revolt, Dynastic Politics, and Aristocratic Factionalism in the Early Middle Ages: the Saxon Stellinga Reconsidered,” *Speculum* 70 (1995): 467-501. For another, later case, Bernard Gowers, “996 and All That: the Norman Peasants’ Revolt Reconsidered,” *Early Medieval Europe* 21 (2013): 71-98.

<sup>321</sup> Goldberg, “Popular Revolt, Dynastic Politics, and Aristocratic Factionalism in the Early Middle Ages,” p. 493.



until Carolingians aristocrats seized more control.<sup>322</sup> Yet if peasants in early Middle Ages enjoyed benign neglect, they had little recourse to collective action. The “infinite multitude” of the *Stellinga* was swiftly quelled. Goldberg sought to understand the rarity of early medieval popular revolts in terms similar to those I have examined here:

The key to understanding why large-scale “peasant” or “popular” revolts were so uncommon in the early Middle Ages, therefore, was the ability of the *domini* and *potentiores* to unite quickly in disciplined military formation against any resistance offered by the agricultural laborers. A socially volatile situation involving aristocratic domination, peasant ideology, and historical consciousness was not sufficient to propel peasants across a “threshold” of dissatisfaction into large-scale revolt. In this age of relatively sparse population, poor nutrition, and high mortality rate among the peasantry, successful rebellion against their lords simply was not possible as long as these well-fed, disciplined, armored men with iron weapons were united against them.<sup>323</sup>

One of the weaknesses of mass resistance in the Middle Ages may be one of its strengths in other periods: anonymity.<sup>324</sup> Participating in a crowd anonymously was a possibility in Roman demographic environments; it is hard to imagine it working in early medieval ones. Instead, resistance may have manifested itself as non-participation in gathering rather than in gathering itself: to give an instance we have records for, not attending sermons.<sup>325</sup>

Furthermore, the *domini* had other weapons too. The spectacular growth of the written word in the Carolingian world also created texts which were “forces in the

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<sup>322</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 536-40.

<sup>323</sup> Golberg, ‘Popular revolt, dynastic politics, and aristocratic factionalism in the early middle ages’, p. 500. Cf. Bernard Gowers, “996 and All That: the Norman Peasants’ Revolt Reconsidered,” *Early Medieval Europe* 21 (2013): 71-98, esp. 97-98. Cf. Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 140-2, 578-88.

<sup>324</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 140-152.

<sup>325</sup> McCune, “The Preacher’s Audience,” p. 293. Chris Wickham, “Gossip and Resistance Among the Medieval Peasantry,” *Past & Present* 160 (1998): 3-24, esp. pp. 18-19, analyzes peasant “gossip” (as it is described in our sources) in terms of Scott’s resistance; see esp. p. 23, for how gossip shapes community standards.

practice of power.”<sup>326</sup> We do not possess the “hidden transcript” of early medieval society, to use James Scott’s phrase.<sup>327</sup> The doggerels, broadsides, and letters which E. P. Thompson used to understand the “moral economy of the poor” in the eighteenth century do not exist for the Stellinga. For in the ninth century the powerful owned the word. For all we know, unruly gatherings were commoner than our sources allow. Certainly, veiled references to other “unauthorized” events exist. Two men posing as monks are supposed to have attracted the attention of vast multitudes; a woman from Alemaniam was beaten in public for preaching to large gatherings; women in Dijon assembled against the authority of the archbishop of Lyon; we know of two heretical leaders in Boniface’s day who attracted crowds of followers.<sup>328</sup> These crowd actions leave little other trace than their mention.

But the more common experiences of gathering encouraged a conflation between consensus and collectivity. The solemn assembly, either in its secular or its ecclesiastical form, was reproduced down the ladder in local courts and village gatherings. Its dominance meant that whereas Seneca saw the word *turba* and thought of the masses goading on gory escapades, early medieval authors just as frequently associated the term with gathering in a neutral or even positive sense.<sup>329</sup> It was in the interest of elites to let

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<sup>326</sup> Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, 259.

<sup>327</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pp. 1-16. Though see the able reconstruction by Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, esp. pp. 57-64.

<sup>328</sup> *AX*, s.a. 868, ed. von Simson, p. 24; *AF*, s.a. 847, ed. Kurze, pp. 36-7; Amolo, *Epistola*, no. 1, MGH Epp. 5/2, ed. E. Dümmler (1899), pp. 363-378. Cf. Nicole Zeddies, “Bonifatius und zwei nützliche Rebellen: die Häretiker Aldebert und Clemens,” in *Ordnung und Aufruhr im Mittelalter: historische und juristische Studien zur Rebellion*, ed. Marie Theres Fögen (Frankfurt, 1995), pp. 217-263.

<sup>329</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. Damien Kempf, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 19 (Paris, 2013), p. 48. Kempf, reading *turba* in its classical sense, translates, “abounded in numerous uproars of its peoples,” but Paul simply means that Metz was populous enough for an apostle.

unruly crowds escape the written record. But language, in this period, was on their side already. The vast family of concepts and words linked to assembly, gathering, crowds, and collective behavior were weighted in favor of the solemn assembly and against the “mob.”<sup>330</sup>

### VIII. Conclusions

What patterns dominated gatherings during the early Middle Ages? First, natural or spontaneous crowd formation tended to occur on a highly seasonal basis.<sup>331</sup> This meant that at certain times of year gatherings were more numerous than at others (e.g. harvest time, which coincided with important feast days), and also that gathering was more predictable than in more urban regimes. Second, the built-environments for assembly tended to encourage “ideological” gatherings, in which groups of people could be physically divided and assigned meaning. Third, these venues as well as moving venues like courts or traveling relics were within elite control. Fourth, the solemn assembly brought together these other features in one frequent and prominent social practice. Fifth, exceptions were rare and tended not to threaten the status quo. Resistance to power tended to take the form of hidden assembly, the conspiracy, if it was led by elites, or non-participation if it was led by non-elites.<sup>332</sup> In this environment, the whole body of gathering practice shifted toward the predictable and the controllable.

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<sup>330</sup> The exceptions were delegitimizing notions of rusticity (e.g. *vulgus, rustica turba*). See chapter 3 below.

<sup>331</sup> Cf. Sierck, *Festtag und Politik*.

<sup>332</sup> Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, pp. 192-198.

Why did this happen? Physical constraints on the assembly of many individuals in one place at one time – urban decline, demographic thinning, weakened communications – played a role. Yet these constraints only explain so much. Many successor kingdoms used assemblies, but only the Carolingians, combining secular and sacred councils, shaped the early medieval assembly into what Thomas Bisson called “celebrations of hierarchical order and majesty.” It was this form, hammered out in the Carolingian centuries, that transformed only very late into the deliberative parliament.<sup>333</sup> Buc and Melve remind us that assemblies did not always go as planned, that our written sources often had a vested interest in concealing discord, and that even celebratory gatherings could have a strong dialogic function.<sup>334</sup> Most assemblies, particularly on the local level, must have been full of dialogue and dispute, inexpert staging, and ritual “failures.”<sup>335</sup> Nevertheless, the most prominent form of gathering – if not the most frequent – was the assembly that worked. The predictability and manageability of early medieval gatherings, the social and religious importance of consensus and order, and the elite control of the written record, meant that solemn assemblies – those which our sources say went *rite, ut mos est, solemniter*, etc. – dominated the others on the level of the “public transcript,” in

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<sup>333</sup> Bisson, “Celebration and Persuasion,” p. 183.

<sup>334</sup> Philippe Buc, “The Monster and the Critics: a Ritual Reply,” *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007): 441-452; Melve, “Assembly Politics,” p. 89.

<sup>335</sup> For an unusually close glimpse into the dialogues behind the consensus-pieties of early medieval *placita*, see the *Plea of Rižana*, ed. A. Petranović and A. Margetić, “II Placito del Risano,” *Atti: Centro di ricerche storiche, Rovigno* 14 (1983-1984): 55-75. Discussed in McCormick, “The Imperial Edge,” pp. 47-51, for how newly-added subjects to the Carolingian empire felt that their own collective rites of hierarchy (orders of precedence) had been disrupted by Carolingian administration.

Scott's terminology.<sup>336</sup> The best evidence for this is that resistance of authority usually meant *not* gathering.<sup>337</sup>

Most early medieval crowds might then be said to adhere to Elias Canetti's definition of the "closed crowd": defined by hierarchical boundaries and by repeatability over time, as opposed to the "open crowd," boundary breaking and spontaneous.<sup>338</sup> For Canetti, the ultimate form of the "closed" crowd was the religious assembly, the "domestication of the crowd" by a world religion; in fact, for our period it is more like the domestication of the crowd by elites through a world religion.<sup>339</sup> Even if Canetti's terms do not mesh perfectly with the patterns we have seen, they sum up the essential transformation in the dominant forms of gathering. When Seneca set out to write a moral epistle on the subject of the *turba*, the "crowd," the form of gathering that presented itself to his mind was the gladiatorial spectacle.<sup>340</sup> By the ninth century, the *turba* could present itself to the mind of a bishop as an angelic assembly.<sup>341</sup>

That is to focus on the level of perceptions. We might also ask what physiological consequences attended the early medieval shift in gathering practices. On a biological

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<sup>336</sup> Christina Pössel, "Symbolic communication and the negotiation of power at Carolingian regnal assemblies, 814-840" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004), pp. 226-32, 237-38.

<sup>337</sup> Cf. James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1987), pp. 289-303.

<sup>338</sup> Canetti, *Masse und Macht*, pp. 12-14. I do not mean to ascribe to all Canetti's claims about the nature of open and closed crowds, but merely wish to build upon his fundamental distinction between spontaneous and planned crowds. For a useful assessment of Canetti's place in crowd theory, see J. S. McClelland, *The Crowd and the Mob from Plato to Canetti* (London, 1989), pp. 293-326.

<sup>339</sup> Canetti, *Masse und Macht*, pp. 24-26.

<sup>340</sup> Seneca, *Ep.* 7, ed. Reynolds, vol. 1, pp. 11-14.

<sup>341</sup> Theodulf of Orléans, *Carm.* 2.234-5, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae 1 (Berlin, 1881), p. 457: "Praemia luciflui promittunt ardua regni, / Quo chorus angelicus, quo pia turba patrum est."

level, coordinated behavior seems to enhance feelings of solidarity and euphoria.<sup>342</sup> It might be said that the Roman world made use of its dominant forms of coordinated gatherings as a powerful psychotropic.<sup>343</sup> Acclamations connected political or ideological content with emotional reward.<sup>344</sup> The link between such physical feedback loops and the consolidation of ideology or culture provided an easy way to introduce and consolidate novel ideological assertions.<sup>345</sup> Did early medieval forms of gathering possess the same capacity to affect men and women at the level of their endorphins, and consequently the same power to link the ideological with the physiological? At first glance, we might suspect not. As we have seen, early medieval gatherings were smaller, more predictable, and more controlled than their ancient urban predecessors. Still, studies on spiked endorphin levels associated with coordinated activities have occurred with small numbers of test subjects, in extremely controlled environments.<sup>346</sup> We might then reframe Canetti's idea of the "domestication" of the crowd. In this process, elite coopted the

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<sup>342</sup> Scott Wiltermuth and Chip Heath, "Synchrony and Cooperation," *Psychological Science* 20 (2009): 1-5; for physiological effects, see, e.g., Emma Cohen et al., "Rowers' High: Behavioural synchrony is correlated with elevated pain thresholds," *Biology Letters* (2009): 1-3. For a possible physiological mechanism, see R. A. Depue and J. V. Morrone-Strupinsky, "A Neurobehavioral Model of Affiliative Bonding: Implications for Conceptualizing a Human Trait of Affiliation," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 28 (2005): 313-395.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. Daniel Smail, *On Deep History and the Brain* (Berkeley, 2008), pp. 157-189, on the connections between civilization and psychotropy.

<sup>344</sup> A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt, 1970), pp. 79-118; Erik Peterson, *Eis Theos: Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 166-179; Coleman, "'The contagion of the throng,'" p. 73: "Shouting slogans in concert is a typical feature of crowd behavior at massed spectator events. Rhythmic chanting strengthens group solidarity and has an intoxicating effect." Cf. William McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), p. viii: "Moving our muscles rhythmically and giving voice consolidate group solidarity by altering human feelings."

<sup>345</sup> Cf. Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: a Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1946), for the ideological reappropriation of acclamational forms originally designed to praise pagan gods.

<sup>346</sup> Emma Cohen et al., "Rowers' High," p. 1 (twelve rowers).

physiology of coordination for the purposes of legitimating power, without the dangers coordination poses when directed against power. This need not have occurred quite at the level of elite consciousness – I am not suggesting that early medieval kings or bishops cynically manipulated collective euphoria as twentieth-century propagandists attempted to do – but rather that a regime of crowd-elite complicity arose from the evolution of institutions and rituals within changing demographic and political realities.<sup>347</sup> Large groups had become temporary, not permanent.

This regime did not last. Spontaneous forms of crowding reemerged as cities and rural nucleated settlements grew after the year 1000.<sup>348</sup> Revolts, mass heresies, the peace of God, and eventually the “People’s Crusade” all signal the arrival of a new regime of assembly.<sup>349</sup> These new forms were reflected in the return to the crowd of negative associations in eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>350</sup> The crowd regained the ambivalence it had lost in the early Middle Ages.<sup>351</sup> By the twelfth century, the first stirrings of a truly deliberative political assembly challenged the old celebratory model – with enormous

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<sup>347</sup> Cf. Bernard Bailyn, “The Challenge of Modern Historiography,” *The American Historical Review* 87 (1982): 1-24, at pp. 9-10.

<sup>348</sup> William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, 5.2, ed. J. Marx (Rouen, 1914); on this “peasants’ revolt,” see most recently Gowers, “996 and All That.” For the settlement history of this period, see Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 328-360.

<sup>349</sup> R. I. Moore, “Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 30 (1980): 49-69, at p. 49: “One of the most obvious novelties of the eleventh century is the appearance of the crowd on the stage of public events.” Cf. Gary Dickson, “Medieval Christian Crowds and the Origins of Crowd Psychology,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 95:1 (2000): 54-75, at pp. 58-59, for a turning point around the year 1000; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 301.

<sup>350</sup> Dickson, “Medieval Christian Crowds and the Origins of Crowd Psychology,” pp. 58-74; Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 234-57.

<sup>351</sup> For a polemical use of the term *turba* in the literature of the Investiture Conflict, see *Carmina ad schisma Alexandrinum pertinentia*, 1.51-52, ed. H. Boehmer, MGH LdL 3 (Hanover, 1897), p. 550: “Qui turbas turbet, qui ius abiuret, iniquos / Approbet, electos exprobet, iste fuit.”

political and ideological ramifications.<sup>352</sup> Yet early medieval developments on the changing assemblies also had lasting impact, particularly in associating gathering with notions of representation, consensus, and legitimacy.<sup>353</sup> The next two chapters will explore how perceptions developed from practices, starting with the words for gatherings themselves. Was Seneca's *turba*, with its connotations of danger, moral contagion, and violence, the same semantic entity as the ninth-century *turba*, with its connotations of uniformity, assembly, and counsel?

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<sup>352</sup> Thomas Bisson, *Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, 2009), pp. 507-509. Cf. John Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 376-380.

<sup>353</sup> Louis I. Hamilton, *A Sacred City: Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Manchester, 2010), pp. 56-88, for the liturgical crowd in eleventh-century Italy.



## PART TWO

# THE CROWD AS CONCEPT

## CHAPTER THREE

## WORDS

**I. Introduction**

Part 1 examined the early medieval crowd from a largely material perspective. Chapter 1 examined the size and chapter 2 the behavior of early medieval crowds, as defined neutrally in terms of “gatherings.” These chapters treated as crowds any physical assemblies of people attested directly or indirectly in our evidence. Part 2 turns to early medieval perceptions, and examine how early medieval men and women themselves understood gatherings on their own terms. The first step will be to identify and discuss the language of crowds: to reconstruct the semantic field of collective behavior in early medieval European texts.<sup>1</sup> Herbert Grundmann once described the semantic history of families of words as a sort of a seismograph for a history of mentalities.<sup>2</sup> Ideas of assembly and collectivity could be expressed variously in the languages used by men and women in early medieval Western Europe. Yet within the linguistic evidence for this setting, clear trends emerge. This chapter argues that the richly calibrated and often highly specialized semantic fields for collectivity in the ancient world gave way to much

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of a semantic field (Wortfeld) was formalized by Jost Trier in his study of the semantic field of “Verstand”: *Der deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes: die Geschichte eines sprachlichen Feldes* (Heidelberg, 1931), vol. 1, p. 1. The idea, however, has deeper roots, and modern linguists make no effort to cleave to Trier’s definitions. For the purpose of this study, “semantic field” is useful in characterizing a network of related terms and phrases, which nevertheless evoke radically different physical phenomena (a riot, an audience, a spiritual network, etc.). Cf. the usage in Green, *The Carolingian Lord* (Cambridge, 1965), p. xiii. See also Werner Zillig, “Wörter, Felder und Wortfelder: Ein Essay über eine sprachwissenschaftliche Metapher,” in *Jost Trier: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*, ed. W. Zillig (Münster, 1994), pp. 129-203.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert Grundmann, “Literatus-Illiteratus: Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 40 (1958): 1-65, at p. 3.

less neatly differentiated fields in the early Middle Ages. The late Roman social, political, and religious scene was characterized by an array of collective behaviors, more or less clearly differentiated. Chapter 2 explored how venues for crowd formation became more seasonal in the post-Roman west, even as feeder populations for crowds thinned out. In essence, the early Middle Ages inherited a large Latin vocabulary for collective behavior which covered more ground than was called for in these new demographic conditions.<sup>3</sup> This is the first trend which I will examine in this semantic history of crowds in the early Middle Ages. A language which had evolved to express the nuances of collective behavior of late Roman life was used in a world whose crowds were still important but less differentiated – or at least differentiated in new ways. The second trend this chapter examines is another feature of the later and post-Roman world: the Christianization of the language of collectivities. This Christianization has well-known parallels in other spheres of post-Roman and early medieval life. The third trend, in some ways, extends from the first two: this is the attenuation of negative connotations in crowd words which had been such a major part of the Roman vocabulary.

First, however, it makes sense to begin with an overview of the languages used in our period. The bulk of this chapter's evidence comes from that "half-living father tongue" of the Middle Ages, Latin.<sup>4</sup> But determining what "Latin" means in this period is

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<sup>3</sup> Among other terms: *turba*, *caterva*, *vulgus*, *agmen*, *multitudo*, *frequentia*, *copiae*, *concursum*, *occursus*, *contio*, *congressus*, *manus*, *massa*, *populus*, *circulus*, *plurimi*. For a partial list of Latin terms for collective behavior, see Hermann Menge, "Heer, Schar, Haufe," in *Lateinische Synonymik*, ed. O. Schönberger, 6th rev. edn. (Heidelberg, 1977), pp. 95-96.

<sup>4</sup> Jan Ziolkowski, "The Obscenities of Old Women: Vetularity and Vernacularity," in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan Ziolkowski (Leiden, 1998), pp. 73-89, at p. 74. Ziolkowski borrows the phrase from the twelfth-century author Nigel of Canterbury, *The Passion of St. Lawrence: Epigrams and Marginal Poems*, ed. and trans. Jan Ziolkowski (Leiden, 1994), p. 10, and favors it as a descriptor of the place of Latin in medieval diglossia: Jan Ziolkowski, "Towards a History of

not straightforward, particularly before the later eighth century. Late Latin evolved into numerous regional and social dialects after the fall of empire, and became what eighth- and ninth-century Latin texts tend to call “Romance.”<sup>5</sup> In fact, “vulgar” or nonliterary Latin as well as regional variation characterized the imperial period onward.<sup>6</sup> Yet political decentralization and interrupted communications sped up the proliferation of Latin-derived vernaculars from the sixth century onward. Scholars have debated whether (and when) it makes sense to speak of protoromance or vulgar Latin as opposed to literary Latin.<sup>7</sup> A venerable notion that the Carolingians effectively killed off living Latin by initiating grammatical, orthographical, and pronunciation reforms remains useful, even if it demands careful framing and revision.<sup>8</sup> The most philologically-informed version of this argument was put forward by Roger Wright. “‘Latin,’ as we have known it for the last thousand years,” Wright explained, “is an invention of the Carolingian

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Medieval Latin Literature,” in *Medieval Latin: an Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, D.C., 1996), pp. 505-536, at p. 522.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Council of Tours (813), c. 17, ed. A. Werminghoff, MGH Conc 2.1 (Hanover, 1906), p. 288: “Et ut easdem omelias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Thiotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intellegere quae dicuntur”; Cf. Council of Mainz (847), c. 2, ed. W. Hartmann, MGH Conc 3 (Hanover, 1984), p. 164; Additamenta ad capitularia Regum Franciae Orientalis, c. 248, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, MGH Capit. 2 (Hanover, 1897), p. 176. Nithard, *Historiae*, 3.5, ed. Philippe Lauer, rev. Sophie Glansdorff, *Nithard, Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux* (Paris, 2012), pp. 112-116: “...Lodhuvicus romana, Karolus vero teudisca lingua, juraverunt”; “Ac sic, ante sacramentum, circumfusam plebem, alter teudisca, alter romana lingua alloquuti sunt”; “...Karolus haec eadem verba romana lingua perorasset...”; “Sacramentum autem quod utrorumque populus, quique propria lingua, testatus est, romana lingua sic se habet...”

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of the literature on vulgar Latin, see now J. N. Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin, 200 BC – AD 600* (Cambridge, 2007) and J. N. Adams, *Social Variation and the Latin Language* (Cambridge, 2013). For useful short introductions to the basic developments of vulgar Latin, see Dag Norberg, *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval* (Paris, 1968), and Veikko Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, 3rd edn. (Paris, 1981).

<sup>7</sup> For a helpful introduction to this literature, see Roger Wright, *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 1-68.

<sup>8</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter* (Bern, 1958), esp. p. 86.

Renaissance.”<sup>9</sup> According to Wright, written Latin from before the decades around 800 should really be understood as “Romance.” Only in the ninth century (in Frankish Gaul) or later (in Spain) does a calcified version of Latin – with stricter orthography, artificial pronunciation of letters, and enforcement of academic grammatical norms – come into life alongside the spoken vernaculars. Wright has largely maintained this position, despite acknowledging some revisions inspired by Michel Banniard’s important 1992 book (which argued that Latin writers into the eighth century expected their works to be comprehensible orally by what we would call a “Romance” audience).<sup>10</sup>

In the case of individual words, it can be difficult to know whether to speak of Latin or Romance. In an inscription from Trier, probably from between the fifth and the early seventh century, we find *pupulo* for *populo*.<sup>11</sup> In Clermont-Ferrand we find *pleui* for *plebi* in an inscription probably composed in the seventh century.<sup>12</sup> Only rarely are texts denoted explicitly as “romance,” as in the Strasbourg Oaths preserved by Nithard, who says that Louis the German was speaking “Romance” (*romana lingua*) when he said, “pro christian poblo.”<sup>13</sup> Many words for crowds in Romance vernaculars – *foule*, *grant*

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<sup>9</sup> Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool, 1982), p. ix.

<sup>10</sup> Michel Banniard, *Viva voce: communication écrite et communication orale du IVe au IXe siècle en occident latin* (Paris, 1992); Wright, *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin*, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne*, vol. 1: *Première Belgique*, ed. Nancy Gauthier (Paris, 1975) no. 135, p. 352.

<sup>12</sup> *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne*, vol. 8: *Aquitaine première*, ed. Françoise Prévot (Paris, 1997), no. 25, p. 140. Though note that this orthography is preserved by a later copyist; the original inscription does not survive.

<sup>13</sup> Nithard, *Historiae*, 3.5, ed. Lauer, rev. Glansdorff, p. 114. For remarks on the language, see Wright, *Late Latin*, 122-131.

*gent* in Old French, *folla* in Italian, and *folā* in Provençal<sup>14</sup> – are likely to have emerged in spoken “Romance” during our period, but they are not attested in texts until later in the Middle Ages. *Foule*, *folla*, and *folā* (and their verbal forms, *fouler* and *follare*) refer to the experience of pressure in a dense mass of people, like the English words “crowd,” “throng,” “press,” “squeeze,” and “crush.”<sup>15</sup> *Foule/folla/folā* derive from Vulgar Latin *fullare*, “to full (cloth)” a verb that derives from Latin *fullo*, “the fuller,” the individual who cleans and thickens cloth by pounding it with his feet: a very vivid evocation of what it means to be in a crowd.<sup>16</sup> It would be interesting to know when precisely this metaphor came into use: sometime, it can be assumed, between late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, but the spoken origins of this metaphor are lost. Nevertheless, philology can detect shadow histories of some of these words in the fate of their Latin etyma.

Other vernaculars spoken in our period were more distinct from Latin, and their crowd terms can be analyzed separately. The early medieval Germanic languages – Gothic, Old Norse, Old Saxon, Old English, Old Frisian, Old Low Franconian, and Old High German – were spoken not only beyond the confines of the old empire, but within the new polities that arose in the west.<sup>17</sup> These languages used a set of cognate terms for

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<sup>14</sup> For *\*fulla* see, W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 265. Meyer-Lübke also lists Provençal *folā*; Cf. G. Körting, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd edn. (Paderborn, 1907), p. 460; Salvatore Battaglia et al., *Grande Dizionario Della Lingua Italiana*, vol. 4: *Fio-Graul* (Torino 2004), p. 111 (for *folla*). For *grant gent* see Frede Jensen, *Old French and Comparative Gallo-Romance Syntax* (Tübingen, 1990), p. 47 (c. 99).

<sup>15</sup> The English word “crowd” derives from the Old English *crūdan*, to press, crush, or push. OED, s.v. “crowd.” “Throng” also derives from an Old English word, *geþrang*, referring to pressure. OED, s.v. “throng.”

<sup>16</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 265.

<sup>17</sup> For a helpful overview of the early medieval Germanic languages, see Jay H. Jasanoff, “Germanic (le germanique),” in *Langues indo-européennes*, ed. F. Bader (Paris, 1994), pp. 251-280. For more details, see Orrin W. Robinson, *Old English and its Closest Relatives: A Survey of the Earliest Germanic Languages* (Stanford, 1992). Frauke Stein, “Frühmittelalterliche Bevölkerungsverhältnisse im Saar-Mosel-Raum:

crowds, many of them deriving originally from military terms. For early medieval Old English we are blessed with a large corpus of texts, although many fall out of the chronological range of this study.<sup>18</sup> Old English had a rich vocabulary of crowd words, often from root-words which implied either military origins or physical notions of mass and pressure: *gaderung*, *gelac* (“tumult”), *gemang*, *geþrang/geþring/geþryl*, *héap*, *hlop*, *hwearf*, *swearm*, *þréat*, *þring*, *worn*, *folcgeþrang*, *gecrod*, and so forth.<sup>19</sup> As in Latin (with *populus* especially), abstract terms for “the people” (*lēode*, *folc*) could also serve to describe concrete gatherings of people. Old High German and Old Saxon also survive in several texts from our period – including biblical translations (and epic renderings) which frequently make mention of large gatherings.<sup>20</sup> The most common OHG terms for “crowd” are *folk* and *liuti* (which share the double sense of their Old English cognates) as well as more concrete terms like *managī*, and military terms like *scara* and *heri*.<sup>21</sup> We will examine these terms in more detail below. Gothic survives in very few contexts, but these include the famous and relatively extensive Biblical translation of Ulfilas, which

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Voraussetzungen der Ausbildung der deutsch-französischen Sprachgrenze?” in *Grenzen und Grenzregionen - Frontières et régions frontalières - Borders and Border Regions*, ed. W. Haubrichs and R. Schneider (Saarbrücken, 1994), pp. 69-98, at p. 87, uses archaeological evidence to shed light on the location of the Romance/Germanic linguistic border in the Frankish world.

<sup>18</sup> For a brief schematic overview of key genres in the Old English corpus, see Robinson, *Old English and its Closest Relatives*, pp. 143-148.

<sup>19</sup> These terms are drawn from the 3047 texts which comprise the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, ed. Antonette di Paolo Healey, CD-ROM (Toronto, 2004). I am also very grateful to both Levi Roach and Leonard Neidorf for helpful discussions about Old English terminology for crowds.

<sup>20</sup> Elmar Seebold et al., *Chronologisches Wörterbuch des deutschen Wortschatzes: Der Wortschatz des 8. Jahrhunderts (und früherer Quellen)* (Berlin, 2001). Texts in OHG include Otfrid of Weissemburg’s *Evangelienbuch*, the Heliand, hymns (like the *Georgslied*, the Murbach Hymns), epic poetry (Muspilli, Ludwigslied, Hildebrandslied), Biblical translations (Mondsee Fragments), Notker, translations (OHG Isidore, Regula Benedicti, Tatian, etc.), and glosses.

<sup>21</sup> Rudolf Schützeichel, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 7th edn. (Berlin, 2012), p. 109, p. 217

renders the Biblical ὄχλος (or λαός) as *managei*,<sup>22</sup> and sometimes uses the term *hiuhma* (“multitude”) where the Greek has πληθος.<sup>23</sup> Cognates in other Germanic languages survive from later periods.

We also know something about the crowd words used in the Slavonic languages at the eastern edge of the early medieval west, thanks to biblical translations into Old Church Slavonic, which survive in later manuscripts but probably originate in our period. These terms include *narodъ* (“people,” “crowd”), *ljudъ* (“people,” “folk”), *mъnožstvo* (“multitude”), and *tlъpa* (“crowd,” “mob”).<sup>24</sup> The Celtic languages also leave behind some evidence from this period. In the early Middle Ages, Brittonic and Gaelic Celtic speakers still occupied Ireland, the British Isles in the west and north, and Brittany. Celtic speakers left behind glosses in Old Irish.<sup>25</sup> Old Irish *slóg/slúag* (the ultimate origin of the English noun “slew”) was an originally military term (“troop,” “host,” “army”) that could refer to crowds; its corresponding Brittonic form was *llu* – these are cognates with OHG

<sup>22</sup> *Die gotische Bibel*, ed. Wilhelm Streitberg, 2nd edn. (Heidelberg, 1919), pp. 172-173 (Mark 3:20): *ochlos*; pp. 158-159 (Luke 19:48): *laos*.

<sup>23</sup> *Die gotische Bibel*, ed. Streitberg, pp. 84-85 (Luke 1:10).

<sup>24</sup> Irina Liusen, *Grechesko-staroslavjanskiĭ konkordans k drevnejšim spiskam slavjanskogo perevoda evangelii: codices Marianus, Zographensis, Assemanianus, Ostromiri* [*Greek-Old Church Slavic concordance to the oldest versions of the translation of the Gospel texts: codices Marianus, Zographensis, Assemanianus, Ostromiri*] (Uppsala, 1995), p. 174 (s.v. “ὄχλος”), 189 (s.v. “πληθος”); cf. Horace G. Lunt, “Old Church Slavonic Glossary,” ed. Michael S. Flier (Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Harvard University, 1959, corrected 2011). Another major source for early Slavonic is *Clozianus: Codex Palaeoslovenicus Glagoliticus, Tridentinus et Oenipontanus*, ed. Antonín Dostál (Prague, 1959). I am very grateful to Kuba Kabala and Jake Ransohoff for their guidance in questions of Slavonic philology.

<sup>25</sup> *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ed. Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, 2 vols. (London, 1901-1910). The most famous set of glosses is from a manuscript of Priscian (in *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 49–224), completed in the middle of the ninth century, now St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 904. See also the recent edition of the first set of glosses from this manuscript: *The Sankt Gall Priscian Commentary: Part 1*, ed. Rijcklof Hofman, 2 vols. (Münster, 1996). I am grateful to Joe Wolf for his assistance with Irish material.



*liuti*, OS *liudi*, OE *lēode*, and OCS *ljudь*.<sup>26</sup> We find it (in the form *shuag*) as a gloss for the Latin word *agmen* in the mid ninth-century Old Irish Priscian glosses.<sup>27</sup>

An important language on the sidelines of this study is Greek, undergoing its own linguistic transformation in our period.<sup>28</sup> Greek had a profound influence on the semantic field of collective behavior in Latin. It deserves particular attention here for three reasons. First, westerners maintained contact with the Greek-speaking east throughout our period, and Greek continued to be spoken in Italy late into our period. Second, Greek left a deep impact on Latin (and other western languages) in the course of their long history together. The Greek of the New Testament and of the Septuagint shaped the Latin of the Vulgate and the liturgy, and set the pattern for the Gothic translation of the Bible. Third, Greek fascinated the intellectual world even after the decline of schools in the west, and influenced esoteric usage in Latin.<sup>29</sup> Other languages on the edge of the early medieval world must remain outside the scope of this study: Armenian, Georgian, Persian, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Coptic. Early medieval Arabic possessed a rich treasury of crowd terms,

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<sup>26</sup> J. Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'Irlandais ancien: Lettres R S* (Paris, 1974) pp. 136-7.

<sup>27</sup> *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ed. Stokes and Strachan, vol. 2, p. 70.

<sup>28</sup> For the development of medieval Greek in this period, see above all Robert Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London, 1969), and now also Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, 2nd edn. (Chichester, 2010).

<sup>29</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, "Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1967), vol. 2, pp. 246-74; Pascal Boulhol, *La connaissance de la langue grecque dans la France médiévale VIe-XVe s.* (Aix-en-Provence, 2008), pp. 21-48.

shaped by the usage of the Qur'an and the Hadith.<sup>30</sup> A deeper analysis of these terms in the post-Roman period would be desirable, but also falls beyond the scope of this study.<sup>31</sup>

The vast majority of our texts are in Latin, so this chapter concentrates on the Latin terms for crowds. Erich Auerbach famously doubted that Latin – particularly the polished Carolingian Latin of an Einhard as opposed to the “vulgar Latin” of a Gregory of Tours – could truly express early medieval life in all its fullness.<sup>32</sup> We read terms like *turba*, *caterva*, *multitudo*, *populus*, *vulgus*, *frequentia*, and so forth, but men and women, even the ones writing these terms, spoke and thought with vernacular expressions. Nevertheless, Latin remains a good reflection of early medieval perceptions. First, as mentioned above, for much of our period Latin was sufficiently close to spoken Romance that it served as the vernacular in places like southern Gaul and Italy.<sup>33</sup> Second, men and women who entered young into religious life – and there were a greater number of these than ever after the consolidation of Latin in the Carolingian empire – spoke Latin from early in their lives.<sup>34</sup> Latin in this context was not “dead” but vital to intellectual life. Third, constant and close interaction between Latin and spoken vernaculars continued

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<sup>30</sup> Among the key terms in the Qur'an and the Hadith are *jamā'a* (gathering, assembly), *laḥīf* (winding, coiling), *sawād* (masses, common people), *dāgaṭa* (pressure). Many thanks to Arafat Razzaque for guidance.

<sup>31</sup> See Paul M. Cobb, *White Banners: Contention in 'Abbasid Syria, 750-880* (Albany, 2001), pp. 103-124, for armed urban crowds in 'Abbasid Syria, including discussion of the language of crowds.

<sup>32</sup> Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter*, p. 86: “Mit suetonischem Latein konnte man Worte des Lebens der karolingischen Welt nicht wiedergeben.” For the English translation, see *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. R. Mannheim (New York, 1965), p. 118, which does not always capture the historicist terminology Auerbach used in his original text.

<sup>33</sup> Argued forcefully by R. McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 1-22.

<sup>34</sup> For the spread of child oblation in the Carolingian period, see Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the early medieval West* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 56-99.

throughout our period. There is good reason to believe that vernacular trends followed Latin ones, and *vice versa*, contrary to Auerbach's fears that Latin in its Carolingian stage was artificially divided from the thought-world of contemporaries. Finally, Latin was the language of the Roman world which continued to inspire early medieval civilization. Ancient Latin possessed a large and complex vocabulary for crowds whose connotations we know in some detail thanks to generations of philological labor by classicists. We can compare earlier usages to those which prevailed in our period, and observe how ancient terminology lived on or transformed.

This chapter will trace a number of changes. Compared with classical and late Antique Latin, crowd words in early medieval Latin tended to exhibit fewer negative connotations. Semantic barriers blurred or disappeared. Abstract and concrete terms oscillated. Physically specific words (like *agmen*, "file," implied a procession-like crowd) tended to be used more freely.<sup>35</sup> Adjectival circumlocutions, such as *cuncti*, *multi*, and *plurimi* with plural nouns, perform the same work as abstract terms.<sup>36</sup> Technical terms – especially from the political and military spheres – lost their nuances. Fixed phrases, reused from the Bible or from classical literature, shifted in meaning and use. Why did these changes occur? Part of the explanation, I will argue, involves the material

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<sup>35</sup> For the classical semantic range, see TLL, vol. 1, p. 1339, s.v. "agmen."

<sup>36</sup> *Vita Aichardi seu Aichadri abbatis Gemeticensis* (BHL 181), c. 46, AASS Sep. 5.15.94F: "coram cunctis fratribus." For this life, see Charles Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata: saints et sanctuaires dans le nord de la Gaule du haut Moyen Âge* (Stuttgart, 2006), p. 345. A vision involving a whole monastic community in a ninth-century *translatio* imagines "all of the brothers of that monastery sitting in the right part of the choir, decked in white clothing": *Translatio Germani Parisiensis anno 846* (BHL 3479), c. 29, in "Translatio S. Germani Parisiensis anno 846 secundum primævam narrationem, e codice Namucensi," *Analecta Bollandiana* 2 (1883): 69-99, at p. 91: "cunctos hujus monasterii fratres in dextera parte consistere chori, indutos candidissimis vestimentis." Similarly, *omnis* or *omnes* may be used to describe representative gatherings: *Vita Hugonis* (BHL 4032a), c. 30, ed. J. Van der Straeten, "La vie inédite de S. Hughes," *Analecta bollandiana* 87 (1969): 232-260, at pp. 257-258: "occurrit omnis sancta plebs omnisque familia cum omni ornatu ecclesiae [*sic*]."

transformations we have examined in the first two chapters. The constraints on large gatherings created by early medieval demographic regimes meant that spontaneous and large crowds were rarer than they had been in the Roman urban system. As chapter 2 explored, the absence of urban venues for mass assembly transformed the ecology of collective behavior. This material transformation is reflected in the Latin representation of the crowd: a highly-articulated vocabulary evolved to express a wide range of collective behaviors radically simplified. Yet this is not the only explanation for the shifts in meanings that emerge in Latin texts. No less significant was the impact of ancient Christianity. The dominion of the Bible and the huge influence of Christian religious texts, including saints' lives, with their emphasis on crowds as witnesses or characters in the sacred drama, played a large role in guiding the semantic changes this chapter examines.

## II. *Turba*: Erosion of Negative Connotations

One of the most noticeable transformations in the use of crowd words in the early medieval written sources is a shift in valence across crowd terms from negative connotations to neutral or positive connotations. This transformation may be tracked across numerous terms associated with collective behavior (e.g. *caterva*, *contio*, *vulgus*).<sup>37</sup> But the most striking instance is the fate of the word *turba*. *Turba*, in classical

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<sup>37</sup> In late Roman North Africa, *caterva* in one famous case served as a technical term for a kind of civic brawl: Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, 4.24.53, ed. Paul Tombeur, CCSL 32 (Turnhout, 1982), p. 159. See Brent D. Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 18-28; Giovanni Alberto Cecconi, "Come finisce un rituale pagano: la 'Caterva' di Cesarea di Mauritania," in *Forme di aggregazione nel mondo romano*, ed. E. Lo Cascio and G. D. Merola (Bari, 2006), pp. 345-361; Jerzy Rohoziński, "Ritual Violence and Society in Maghreb: Regarding a Passage of St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*," in *Euergeries Charin: Studies Presented to Benedetto*

Latin, very commonly bore strong negative connotations.<sup>38</sup> The word's etymology suggests violent physical activity: turmoil, commotion.<sup>39</sup> The word possessed close relatives – *turbo*, *turbare*, *turbidus*, *turbator* – which are almost always negative. The typical use in antiquity implied a physical group, often a mixed or promiscuous crowd. *Turba* was the main word for the unruly mob or rabble in its physical manifestation (*vulgus* being the equivalent term with a more abstract sense).<sup>40</sup> The common connotation of the term was disorder or unruliness.<sup>41</sup> When Seneca wrote his moral epistle warning Lucilius to avoid the contagious conversation of the “crowd,” this was the word he used. “You ask me what, above all else, you ought to avoid? The crowd (*turbam*).” After mingling with the masses, Seneca explained, “I come home greedier, more ambitious, more degenerate. And worse still: I come home crueler and less human, *because* I was

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*Bravo and Ewa Wipszycka by Their Disciples*, ed. Tomasz Derda, Jakub Urbanik, and Marek Węcowski (Warsaw, 2002), pp. 219-223.

<sup>38</sup> OLD, s.v. “turba.”

<sup>39</sup> A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine, histoire des mots*, 4th edn. with corrections (Paris, 1967), pp. 707-708; Michiel de Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages* (Leiden, 2008), p. 634; Cf. Greek τὸρβη.

<sup>40</sup> For the abstract usage of *vulgus* enshrined in the adverb *vulgo/volgo* (“commonly”): Johann Sofer, “‘Vulgo’: Ein Beitrag zur Kennzeichnung der lateinischen Umgangs- und Volkssprache,” *Glotta* 25 (1936): 222-229.

<sup>41</sup> OLD, s.v. “turba,” 1a, 1b (“civil disorder”), 1c (“commotion,” “upheaval”).

among humans.”<sup>42</sup> The poets tended to concur, and when *turbae* appear in early Latin poetry they tend to be crowds of clients or followers at best, mobs at worst.<sup>43</sup>

Patrizia Arena has offered an analysis of how this term was used in early imperial sources and although she emphasizes the word’s polysemy, many of these uses are negative.<sup>44</sup> The plural genitives which tended to accompany *turba* most often involved subaltern groups in the Roman imagination: plebs, clients, women, circus spectators, lowly classes.<sup>45</sup> One should not overstate the negative valence of the *turba* in ancient Latin. Romans might refer to a *turba* when speaking of family or some other tight-knit group, just as modern Americans might speak of the “clan” or the “gang.”<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, many neutral or positive uses of *turba* can be found in ancient sources. Arena emphasizes that the *turba* was not exclusively linked to ideas of sedition or to lowly social status; the word could be a synonym for *multitudo* or *populus*. In the imperial period, Arena argues, the term began to designate “the assembly of the whole civic body in one and in the presence of the emperor in the most diverse occasions.”<sup>47</sup> This was true especially of

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<sup>42</sup> Seneca, *Ep.* 7.1, 3, ed. L. D. Reynolds, *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales* (Oxford, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 11, 12: “Quid tibi uitandum praecipue existimes quaeris? turbam. ...Nihil uero tam damnosum bonis moribus quam in aliquo spectaculo desiderare; tunc enim per uoluptatem facilius uitia subrepunt. Quid me existimas dicere? auarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior, immo uero crudelior et inhumanior, quia inter homines fui.” For this letter, see Gregor Maurach, *Der Bau von Senecas Epistulae Morales* (Heidelberg, 1970), pp. 45-47; Franz-Frieder Lühr, “Zur Darstellung und Bewertung von Massenreaktionen in der lateinischen Literatur,” *Hermes* 107 (1979): 92-114, at pp. 109-110.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. Horace, *Epode* 5, line 97, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera* (Stuttgart, 1995), p. 148 (throwing rocks).

<sup>44</sup> Patrizia Arena, “*Turba quae in foro litigat, spectat in theatris* (Sen., *Cons. ad. Marc.* 11, 2): Osservazioni sull’utilizzo del sostantivo *turba* in Seneca, Tacito, e Svetonio,” in *Forme di aggregazione nel mondo romano*, ed. Elio Lo Cascio and Giovanna D. Merola (Bari, 2007), pp. 13-30.

<sup>45</sup> Arena, “*Turba*,” p. 17, n. 14.

<sup>46</sup> R. Winnington-Ingram, “Two Latin Idioms,” *The Classical Review*, New Series 5 (1955): 139-41, at pp. 140-141.

<sup>47</sup> Arena, “*Turba*,” p. 30.

crowds who received largess or who greeted the emperor on solemn occasions. Thus in his panegyric for Emperor Theodosius, Pacatus could speak of “the crowd (*turba*) of your beneficiaries.”<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, the same fourth-century panegyrist more frequently used the term with its more negative connotations, deploring “impious crowds” (*impiae...turbae*) of rebels, or painting a picture of desolation by invoking “a crowd of exiles” (*exulum turbam*).<sup>49</sup>

Christianization made the difference in the valence for this common word for crowd. With the translations of the New Testament into Latin, beginning with the various versions of the Vetus Latina and culminating in Jerome’s Vulgate, the word *turba* was thrust into new, positive light. The Vulgate, like earlier Latin versions before it, used the word *turba* to translate the Greek word ὄχλος, which, like *turba*, functions fairly ambivalently in ancient Greek.<sup>50</sup> But ὄχλος is also by far the commonest term for those crowds of the New Testament who attended the preaching of Jesus Christ.<sup>51</sup> The narrative function of these ὄχλοι is complicated. Sometimes, the *ochlos* is portrayed as a neutral observer, sometimes as a persecutor, in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Nevertheless, it is very frequently treated as a critical witness to sacred drama, and in this capacity it plays a largely positive role. As Elizabeth Malbon has stressed in her study of Mark, the crowd is not portrayed as consistently positively as the closer group of

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<sup>48</sup> Pacatus, *Oratio* 2 (XII), ed. W. Baehrens, *XII Panegyrici Latini* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 104.

<sup>49</sup> Pacatus, *Oratio* 2 (XII), ed. Baehrens, pp. 119, 138.

<sup>50</sup> H. G. Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. edn. with supplement (Oxford, 1996), s.v. “ὄχλος,” p. 1281.

<sup>51</sup> See below, chapter 4.

disciples, but its overall depiction was as a credible witness of Jesus and his miracles.<sup>52</sup> The powerful example set by biblical usage passed through the bloodstream of Christian letters, down the arteries of hagiography and liturgy to the capillaries of historiography and poetry. The Bible radically changed the way literary texts represented collective behavior, as we will examine further in the next chapter.

Before we examine how the *turba* appeared in “Christianized” early medieval texts, however, it is worthwhile examining its appearance in a late antique text unaffected by Christian sentiment. Ammianus Marcellinus composed his *Res Gestae* at the end of the fourth century while Jerome was working on his translation of the Bible.<sup>53</sup> Ammianus, “a former soldier and a Greek” (*miles quondam et Graecus*) as he puts it in the famous ending to his text, wrote for the conservative senatorial audience of fourth-century Rome.<sup>54</sup> His language was learnedly traditional, although he deployed the latest techniques of prose rhythm.<sup>55</sup> His usage of the term *turba* can stand as a good representation of late Latin without Christian intermixture.

For Ammianus, the *turba* is nearly everywhere a negative force. Its first appearance in Ammianus’ history describes the plebeian mob of Rome, who squander

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<sup>52</sup> Elizabeth Malbon, “Disciples/Crowds/Whoever: Markan Characters and Readers,” *Novum Testamentum* 28 (1986): 104-130.

<sup>53</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, ed. W. Seyfarth, L. Jacob-Karau, and I. Ulmann (Leipzig, 1978).

<sup>54</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gesta*, 31.16.9; on the context of Ammianus’ histories, see John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, rev. edn. (Ann Arbor, 2007), esp. pp. 8-32; Alan Cameron, “The Roman Friends of Ammianus,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 54 (1964): 15-28; Roger Pack, “The Roman Digressions of Ammianus Marcellinus,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 84 (1953): 181-189.

<sup>55</sup> For this feature of Ammianus’ style, see Steven Oberhelman, “The Provenance of the Style of Ammianus Marcellinus,” *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*, New Series, 27 (1987): 79-89; Steven Oberhelman and Ralph Hall, “Meter in Accentual Clausulae of Late Imperial Latin Prose,” *Classical Philology* 80 (1985): 214-227, at pp. 215, 224-225.



their days and nights in idle pleasure.<sup>56</sup> The *turba* could also be piteous: Ammianus speaks of a *turba flebilis* exiled from the city of Nisibis by a Persian appointed to rule it by Jovian.<sup>57</sup> Ammianus most frequently speaks of *turbae* as “riots.” *Turbae* describe the “commotions” for which wicked soldiers are “always eager.”<sup>58</sup> One “unquiet man” and serial trouble-maker is said to be “constantly addicted to his lust for *turbae*.”<sup>59</sup> A foreign prince stirs up *turbarum difficultates*.<sup>60</sup> Ammianus frequently denounces such “agitators” of *turbae*, and he seems to envision the *turba* as something whipped up by a malign individual. One evil-doer is a “blazing riot-inciter” (*igneus turbarum incitor*), another is a “most bitter agitator of riots” (*turbarum acerrimus concitor*), while a third is a “frightful stirrer-up of riots” (*metuendo...incensore turbarum*); in a speech, a disaffected soldier hopes that he and his companions will not be taken for mere “*turbarum...concitores*”; *turbae* are something one can “stir up” (*ciere*); envy is a *turbarum acerrima concitatrix*; those who “author” *turbae* must be handed over for punishment or put to death; a foreign king turns out to be a “worker of disturbances (*turbae*).”<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 14.6.25, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 17.

<sup>57</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 25.9.5, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 376.

<sup>58</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 14.7.15, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 20: “*militares audi saepe turbarum.*”

<sup>59</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 29.1.5, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 96: “*turbarum cupiditati semper addictus*”

<sup>60</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 30.1.1, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 131: “*Inter has turbarum difficultates, quas perfidia ducis rege Quadorum excitavit occiso per scelus, dirum in oriente committitur facinus Papa Armeniorum rege clandestinis insidiis obruncato.*”

<sup>61</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 15.1.2, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 37 (*igneus turbarum incitor*); 15.7.5, p. 56 (*turbarum acerrimus concitor*); 31.9.4, p. 182 (*metuendo...incensore turbarum*); 17.9.5, p. 118 (*turbarum...concitores*); 20.9.9, p. 205 (*nullas ciere potuit turbas*); 22.12.3, p. 277 (*ciere turbas intempestiuas*); 21.13.12, p. 241 (*invidia...turbarum acerrima concitatrix*); 22.8.49, p. 270 (*auctores...turbarum*); 28.6.28, p. 93 (*deletoque tristium concitore turbarum*); 30.3.6, p.139 (*turbarum rex artifex*).

Ammianus sometimes uses *turba* as an abstract designation for “commotion,” “disorder,” or “troubles” (perhaps thinking of his native language’s τὺρβη). Julian’s prefect leaves camp on the pretense of getting supplies, but in fact he wishes to escape the *turba* prevailing in the camp.<sup>62</sup> Julian’s father dies, with many others, in the “strife” (*turba*) between would-be emperors.<sup>63</sup> The Romans cut a deal about frontiers with the Persians to avoid *turbae*.<sup>64</sup> Captives seized at the beginning of a period of unrest (*primis turbarum exordiis*) are to be returned afterward.<sup>65</sup> The young emperor Gratian seeks out war across the Rhine to “crush...a wretched people devoted to causing trouble” (*delere...malefidam et turbarum avidam gentem*).<sup>66</sup>

Sometimes Ammianus uses the term *turba* in a more physical sense to describe enemy troops, generally with a disparaging tone. A savage army of barbarians deserves the appellation *turbae* because it “scurries about.”<sup>67</sup> Describing the slavish habits of the Persians, Ammianus explains that Persian foot-soldiers, poorly armed, go into battle in a throng (*turba*) behind the cavalry “as if in perpetual servitude.”<sup>68</sup> In one battlefield scene dead Persians lie in crowds (*turbae*) on the ground.<sup>69</sup> A young Theodosius proves his

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<sup>62</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 20.4.6, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 189.

<sup>63</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 25.3.23, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 360.

<sup>64</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 27.12.17, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 58: “Quae imperator doctus, ut concitandas ex hoc quoque negotio turbas consilio prudenti molliret, diuisioni acquieuit Hiberiae, ut eam medius dirimeret Cyrus et Sauromaces Armeniis finitima retineret et Lazis, Aspacures Albaniae Persis que contigua.”

<sup>65</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 29.5.16, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 117.

<sup>66</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 31.10.11, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 184.

<sup>67</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 19.11.11, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 177

<sup>68</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 23.6.83, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 323: “Sequiturque semper haec turba, tamquam addicta perenni seruitio, nec stipendiis aliquando fulta nec donis.”

<sup>69</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 25.3.13, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 358.

mettle by crushing *turbae* of onrushing enemies.<sup>70</sup> It is worth mentioning that Ammianus never applies *turba* in this physical sense to the Roman army, unless, as in cases above, he wishes to describe a state of rebellion. Whenever Ammianus uses the term to describe physical crowds of soldiers in battle, they are always barbarian soldiers.

Does Ammianus ever use the term in a positive light? When Julian takes the city of Sirmium, on a collision path with his uncle Constantius II, a local crowd of soldiers and “all sorts” acclaims him.<sup>71</sup> This usage of *turba* is in keeping with what Arena calls an early imperial development in the semantic history of this word: a gathering before the emperor. Yet it is clearly an exception in Ammianus’ prose. Shortly after this passage, Julian learns that Constantius has died and is relieved to avoid the civil war that would have ensued between them; Ammianus writes that Julian was “overjoyed” to have escaped the “commotions of wartime worries” (*bellicarum sollicitudinum turbas*).<sup>72</sup> In another passage which borders on a neutral valence, Julian resists the urging of a *turba* which comes to him denouncing a certain civil servant.<sup>73</sup> Even though the usage is, strictly speaking, neutral in the sense that the group is only called “numerous” and it is a gathering of petitioners, the context – rabble-rousers trying to defame their enemy, whom Julian resists despite temptations to punish an old enemy – puts this *turba* too in a negative light. Thus, out of a total of 27 instances of the word *turba* in the surviving works of this fourth-century historian, all but one are negative in valence. Other

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<sup>70</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 29.6.15, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 129: “obsistentes fortissime turbas confluentes oppressit.”

<sup>71</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 21.9.8, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 229.

<sup>72</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 22.2.2, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 251.

<sup>73</sup> Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 22.9.16, ed. Seyfarth et al., p. 273.

conservative or pagan late antique authors might be expected to reveal similar uses. For instance, Symmachus (d. 402) usually brings up *turbae* in the context of calming or forestalling public disturbances.<sup>74</sup>

Contemporary Christian authors with literary training – most famously Augustine and Jerome – can show a bifurcation in their approach. Augustine often throws the term *turba* at heretical enemies, but he is also led to speak of *turbae* in more positive terms when close to a biblical text or in the course of his sermons.<sup>75</sup> Jerome was capable of using the term in the traditional way, but he also made the decision to use the term to describe biblical crowds, as we have seen. Why did he do so? It is possible that the use of *turba* was already shifting in his time in vernacular usage. Egeria, a rich Christian woman who recounted her travels to the Holy Land in 381-84 in vulgar Latin, often deploys the term *turba* to describe crowds of worshippers, wholly in a neutral or positive light. This contemporary of Ammianus, Augustine, and Jerome looked warmly upon the large crowds (*turbae*) she encountered. She was particularly impressed by the variety of crowds in Jerusalem: men and women, lay and clerical, people from all regions.<sup>76</sup> The

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<sup>74</sup> Symmachus, *Epistulae*, 10.2, ed. O. Seeck, MGH AA 6.1 (Berlin, 1883), p. 277: “tu nobis publicas turbas in tranquillum redegisti”; Symmachus, *Relationes*, 49, ed. O. Seeck, MGH AA 6.1 (Berlin, 1883), p. 317: “gestorum ordinem sciscitamur: omnium convenit adsertio, nihil turbarum esse conflatum.” For Symmachus’ place in the cultural life of late Rome, see Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 353-398.

<sup>75</sup> Augustine, *Ad catholicos de secta Donatistarum*, 11.29, 13.34, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 52 (Vienna, 1909).

<sup>76</sup> E.g. Egeria, *Itinerarium*, c. 13.3, 24.7, 25.12, 36.2, 37.9, 49.1, ed. A. Franceschini and R. Weber, CCSL 175 (Turnhout, 1965), pp. 54: “nunc autem in ipso uico turbae aliquantae commanent”; 68: “Et post hoc denuo tam episcopus quam omnis turba uadent denuo post Crucem et ibi denuo similiter fit sicuti et ante Crucem”; 72: “Pro sollempnitate autem et laetitia ipsius diei infinite turbae se undique colligent in Ierusalem, non solum monachos, sed et laici, uiri aut mulieres”; 79-80: “Et iam inde cum ymnis usque ad minimus infans in gessamani pedibus cum episcopo descendit, ubi pre tam magna turba multitudinis et fatigati de uigiliis et ieiuniis cotidianis lassus, quia tam magnum montem necesse habent descendere, lente et lente cum ymnis uenit in Gessamani”; 82: “Maxima autem turba peruigilant, alii de sera, alii de media nocte, qui ut possunt”; 90: “Nam ante plurimos dies incipiunt se undique colligere turbae non solum monachorum uel apudactum de diuersis prouinciis, id est tam de Mesopotamia uel Syria uel de Egypto aut

sense of disorder associated with the term in classical Latin is absent in her travel account. This need not mean that Egeria's usage represents a vernacular reality on which Jerome modeled his translation. *Vetus Latina* translations already (and it seems consistently) used *turba* for the crowds of the New Testament, following the original Greek in its repurposing of the term ὄχλος.<sup>77</sup> Egeria's own preference for *turba* may also reflect the tendency of later Latin to prefer vivid, physical terms to more abstract ones. Yet as early as the fourth century, a Christian author such as Victricius of Rouen might consistently use the term *turba* to describe crowds of saints.<sup>78</sup>

It is probably truest to say that the term *turba* shed its negative connotations because the term ceased to be differentiated from other terms like *caterva*, *multitudo*, *plebs*, *vulgus*, *populus*, and *frequentia*. It did so in part because there was little pressure from legal or etymological texts to preserve its few ancient technical meanings. Roman

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Thebaida, ubi plurimi monazontes sunt, sed et de diuersis omnibus locis uel prouinciis; nullus est enim, qui non se eadem die in Ierusalima tendat ad tantam laetitiam et tam honorabiles dies; seculares autem tam uiri quam feminae fideli animo propter diem sanctum similiter se de omnibus prouinciis isdem diebus Ierusalima colligunt."

<sup>77</sup> E.g. Matthew 15:32 (Vulgate), ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1550: "Iesus autem convocatis discipulis suis dixit misereor turbae..." , translating the Greek in *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle, E. Nestle, B. Aland, K. Aland, et al. 28th edn (Stuttgart, 2015), p. 49: "Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν Σπλαγγίζομαι ἐπὶ τὸν ὄχλον..." Other readings: "Misereor turbae" in *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis*, ed. Michael Hetzenauer (Innsbruck, 1906); Itala: "contristatus sum super turbas" in *Portions of the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew from the Bobbio ms. (k), now numbered G. VIII. 15 in the National library at Turin*, ed. John Wordsworth et al., Old-Latin Biblical Texts 2 (Oxford, 1886), and *Evangelium Palatinum reliquias IV evangeliorum ante Hieronymum latine translatorum*, ed. J. Belsheim (Christiania, 1896); Itala: "misereor turbis" in *Codex Vercellensis*, ed. J. Belsheim (Christiania, 1894); Itala: "Misereor huic turbae" in *Codex Veronensis*, ed. J. Belsheim (Prague, 1904); Itala: "misereor super turbam" in *A full collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with the received text of the New Testament*, ed. F. H. Scrivener (Cambridge, 1864); Itala: "misereor turbae" in *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, ed. John Wordsworth, Old-Latin Biblical Texts 1 (Oxford, 1883), etc. In every instance in the Beuron Card Index, the term in Matthew 15.32 is *turba* in some form. The one exception in the database is Juvenius' line: "Secreto adloquitur: 'Plebs miseratio multa est,'" which shows how closely *plebs* and *turba* were linked during the fourth century: Juvenius, *Evangeliorum Libri IV*, 3.204, ed. J. Huemer, CSEL 24 (Vienna, 1891), p. 87.

<sup>78</sup> Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum*, 1, 3, 12.1, ed. J. Mulders and R. Demeulenaere, CCSL 64 (Turnhout, 1985), pp. 69 ("inter turbas sanctorum"), 74 ("turba castorum"), 88 ("turba sanctorum").

law, in at least one case, made a numerical distinction between a *rixa*, a “brawl,” and a *turba*, a “riot” or “mob.”<sup>79</sup> Instigators of *turbae* were punished much more harshly than participants of *rixae*, so the distinction was theoretically meaningful. The early third-century jurist Ulpian opined that a *rixa* was a matter of two antagonists, but that a *turba* was the “agitation and assembly of a multitude of people,” involving at least “ten to fifteen men,” and certainly not just “three or four.”<sup>80</sup> Even though this opinion was included in the Digest, such distinctions appear to have had only limited significance.<sup>81</sup> Ulpian’s numerical definition of the *turba* is fascinating – the number of ten to fifteenth seems surprisingly low – but it would be wrong to insist on its significance outside of its jurisprudential context.

In non-legal classical Latin, *turba* could refer to all sorts of crowds, from enormous riots to small families, since, as we saw above, Romans could refer to their friends or *familia* as a *turba*.<sup>82</sup> An interesting late antique case occurs in Gregory’s

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<sup>79</sup> It is important to distinguish between a *turba* here and a *tumultus*, which held a separate significance in Roman law. The *turba* in this particular case refers to violence done in the course of a riot. A *tumultus* was a *vis maior* against the state. See Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 746.

<sup>80</sup> *Dig.* 48.7.4.3: “Turbam autem ex quo numero admittimus? Si duo rixam commiserint, utique non accipiemus in turba id factum, quia duo turba non proprie dicentur: enimvero si plures fuerunt, decem aut quindecim homines, turba dicetur. Quid ergo, si tres aut quattuor? Turba utique non erit. Et rectissime Labeo inter turbam et rixam multum interesse ait: namque turbam multitudinis hominum esse turbationem et coetum, rixam etiam duorum.”

<sup>81</sup> For another case in which a particular number differentiates between one category and another, according to a late antique commentator to Lucan, *De bello civili*, 1.1, ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *M. Annaei Lucani De bello civili libri X*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart, 1997), p. 1 (“Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos”), Caesar and Pompey’s wars were “worse than civil” (*plus quam civilia*) either “by quality” or “by quantity.” They were “worse than civil wars” *a qualitate*, because they pitted father-in-law against son-in-law, but *a quantitate*, “whereas [more than] 84 were slain.” *M. Annaei Lucani Commenta Bernensia*, ed. H. Usener (Leipzig, 1869), p. 9: “PLVS QVAM CIVILIA CAMPOS a quantitate. ubi .LXXXIII. sunt caesa. PLVS QVAM CIVILIA a qualitate, ut(pote) inter generum et socerum gesta. ubi et filii cum parentibus et fratres dimicauere cum fratribus.”

<sup>82</sup> Winnington-Ingram, “Two Latin Idioms,” pp. 140-141, citing post-Augustan literary examples and positing an origin in large *familiae* involving a “throne of slaves” (p. 141).

*Moralia in Job*, where Job’s “very great family” (*familia multa nimis*) (Job 1.3) is imagined as the “numberless thoughts held under the mastery of the mind” (*cogitationes innumeras sub mentis dominatione*).<sup>83</sup> We “hold together” (*restringimus*) our thoughts just as the master of a household controls his kin, so that the “crowd of thoughts” (*cogitationum turba*) may be likened to a “great family.” Gregory adds that when the household’s mistress, reason (*domina = ratio*) departs, this community of cogitations falls into disorder until she returns. An unreasoning multitude of thoughts is thus an un-ruled household, in which *clamor* emerges, “just as the chattering crowd of serving-women increases in number.”<sup>84</sup> Gregory’s influential sixth-century exegesis does not imbue the *turba* with any inherent connotative or legal significance. Instead, it is the presence or absence of lordly restraint that gives the *turba* its moral quality.

The word *turba* did not attract much attention from ancient or late antique grammarians or philologists. It was too banal for Varro’s *De lingua latina*.<sup>85</sup> Isidore has not much to say about the etymology of *turba* in his influential encyclopedia. In the *Etymologiae*, he mentions that a plant called the *turbiscus* is so-named because “from one of its graftings many branches rise up, as a crowd (*turba*).”<sup>86</sup> In his *De differentiis*, Isidore did attempt a contrast between the *multitudo* and the *turba*, as we have seen: “The difference between a multitude and a crowd. A multitude is made by numbers, a crowd is

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<sup>83</sup> Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, 1.30, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143 (Turnhout, 1979), p. 47.

<sup>84</sup> Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, 1.30, ed. Adriaen, p. 47: “uelut garrula ancillarum turba multiplicat.”

<sup>85</sup> There is no sustained discussion of the word *turba* in the surviving portions of Varro, but the first-century BCE author does use the term *multitudo* to characterize multiplicity when discussing gendered plurals: Varro, *De lingua latina*, 8.2.7, 8.5.14, 8.23.45, ed. G. Goetz and F. Schoell (Leipzig, 1910).

<sup>86</sup> Isidore, *Et.*, 17.7.56: “Turbiscus, quod de uno cespite eius multae uirgultae surgunt, quasi turba.” Cf. his similar etymology of the poplar (*populus*) from “crowd” (*populus*): *Et.* 17.7.45.

established by space. For a few people can make up a crowd (*turba*) in narrow confines.”<sup>87</sup> Yet this definition has no detectible impact on early medieval usage, least of all Isidore’s own. Only much later was the etymology taken up and built upon by Huguccio of Pisa.<sup>88</sup>

Christian institutions – sermons, synods, monasteries – had a much deeper impact on the use of the word *turba*. Gatherings in these Christian settings might be depicted as *turbae* in line with biblical precedents. Yet changes emerged in the civic sphere. It is not uncommon in the fifth and sixth centuries to find a “pious *turba*” even outside of any Christian context. Sidonius (d. 489) insults the *rustica turba*, but he also sings of the *pia turba senatus* (“the pious crowd of the senate”).<sup>89</sup> Cassiodorus (d. 585) in his *Variae* tends to use the term positively. He hopes that the “genius of your Liberty will look upon the grateful crowd (*turba*) of the senate.”<sup>90</sup> He speaks more than once of a “crowd of learned men” (*turba doctorum*).<sup>91</sup> In a letter to the *cancellarius* Vitalianus, Cassiodorus praises the great *turbae* of Roman citizens. The occasion is a demand that Vitalianus send pork and beef which Lucania and Bruttium owed, respectively, to the capital. This affords Cassiodorus an opportunity to praise Rome’s numbers:

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<sup>87</sup> Isidore, *De differentiis verborum*, c. 369, PL 83, col. 48: “Inter Multitudinem et numerum. Multitudo numero fit, turba loco posita. Possunt enim pauci in angusto turbam facere.”

<sup>88</sup> Uguccione da Pisa, *Derivationes*, 2, T 78 [=tero] [38], ed. Enzo Cecchini (Florence, 2004), p. 1214: “Item a turbo hec turba -e, idest turbatio: et turba populi multitudo, sed multitudo numero fit, turba vero tantum in loco; possunt enim pauci in angusto turbam facere; unde turbella, idest turbatio; Augustinus De civitate Dei ‘omnem motum cordis et salum omnesque turbellas fluitare asserit.’”

<sup>89</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *carm.* no. 1, line 13; *carm.* no. 7, line 572, ed. André Loyen. *Sidoine Apollinaire*, vol. 1: *Poèmes* (Paris, 1960), pp. 2, 76.

<sup>90</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.4.1, ed. Å. J. Fridh, CCSL 96 (Turnhout, 1958), p. 13: “optamus, ut Libertatis genius gratam uideat turbam senatus.”

<sup>91</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variae* 3.33.2, 9.7.6, ed. Fridh, pp. 121, 355.



[Nam quam] breui numero esse poterat, qui mundi regimina possidebat. Testantur enim turbas ciuium amplissima spatia murorum, spectaculorum distensus amplexus, mirabilis magnitudo thermarum et illa numerositas molarum, quam specialiter contributam constat ad uictum.<sup>92</sup>

For how could she be small in number, she who came to possess the government of the universe! For the gigantic expanse of the walls, the gaping capacity of spectacle buildings, the mighty amplitude of the baths, and that great quantity of water mills, which was purposely established for the food supply, all attest to her crowds (*turbae*) of citizens.

For Cassiodorus, in stark contrast with Ammianus a century and a half earlier, *turbae* were an ornament which honored a state. It is poignant that Cassiodorus' praise of Rome's crowds – in contrast with Ammianus' stinging attack on Rome's plebeian *turba* – protests too much. Rome in the 530s when Cassiodorus first wrote this letter was shrinking (although it had not yet diminished to the catastrophic lows it would achieve later in Cassiodorus' lifetime). Its huge walls, numerous circuses, theaters, and amphitheaters, great baths, and water mills now probably testified to numbers lost – although Cassiodorus' letter shows how mightily civic officials strove to maintain numbers for ideology's sake.<sup>93</sup> It is poignant that the *turba* became an ornament to civic pride precisely as the city declined in numbers.<sup>94</sup>

So with little to hold its semantic field intact, and good reasons to use it in its biblical sense, the *turba* came over the seventh through tenth centuries to be a fairly clear equivalent for any other crowd term. It designated the “large crowd” which received an

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<sup>92</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 11.39.2, ed. Fridh, p. 457. Here Fridh conjectures (and prints) “numquam” for the manuscripts’ “nam quam,” which would make sense (“Never could she be small in number...”) but which lacks manuscript support. For the first two words of the text printed above, therefore, I have preferred the reading in the edition of the *Variae* by Theodor Mommsen, in MGH AA 12 (Berlin, 1894), pp. 352-353.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Raymond Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople: Rewriting Roman History during late Antiquity* (Waco, Texas, 2012), pp. 1-46, esp. 16-24.

<sup>94</sup> Roberto Meneghini and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'Altomedioevo: Topografia e urbanistica della città dal V al X secolo* (Rome, 2004), pp. 21-27.

important individual at the gates of a city.<sup>95</sup> The word was enthusiastically embraced by monastic authors for friendly crowds.<sup>96</sup> The word Seneca used to denigrate the “mob” of the Roman amphitheater became a term for monks in their most secret, sacred spaces.<sup>97</sup> A ninth-century plan of an ideal monastery has this caption written above the cloister: *Hinc pia consilium pertractet turba salubre*, “Through here let healthful counsel be debated by the pious crowd (*pia...turba*).”<sup>98</sup> The same map describes how the front gate is open to *omnibus turbis*.<sup>99</sup> A great many texts describe a “crowd of monks” (*turba monachorum*).<sup>100</sup> Men and women attending church services can be called a *turba*.<sup>101</sup> As

<sup>95</sup> Archanaldus of Angers, *Vita Maurilii ep. Andegavensis* (BHL 5731), 16.94, ed. B. Krusch, MGH AA 4.2 (Berlin, 1885), p. 94: “Taliterque propriam regressus ad urbem, nimirum spectantibus turbis, de domini promissione securus venit ad pueri tumulum.” This life, which purports to be by Fortunatus, is in fact the work of a diacon of Angers named Archanaldus, who wrote it in 905.

<sup>96</sup> In an eighth-century life: Donatus, *Vita Ermenlandi* (BHL 3851), c. 1, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 685: “Ipse vero gaudens, quia Dei virum in domum suam suscipere meruit, convocatis amicorum turbis, hilariter omnibus iussit cum pauperibus et peregrinis supervenientibus ex eodem vino ubertim distribui.”

<sup>97</sup> Though it should be remembered that early medieval scribes copied Seneca’s text: Claudia Villa, “La tradizione delle *Ad Lucilium* e la cultura di Brescia dell’età carolingia ad albertano,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969): 9-51.

<sup>98</sup> W. Horn and E. Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1979), vol. 3, p. 81. A facsimile of the Saint Gall Plan can now be consulted online at: <http://www.stgallplan.org/en/>.

<sup>99</sup> Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, vol. 3, p. 17.

<sup>100</sup> A crowd of monks in Ambrosius Autpertus (mid 8C, Volturmo), *Vita sanctorum patrum Paldonis, Tatonis et Tasonis* (BHL 6415), c. 14, ed. Robert Weber, *Ambrosii Autperti Opera*, Part 3, CCCM 27B (Turnhout, 1979), p. 901: “Interea turba fratrum succrescente, coeperunt contra uotum habere per quod possent eisdem quod regebant subuenire. Dumque praedicti uenerabilis patris Thomae immemores dicti, multos per eos in hoc loco esse saluandos, amicam paupertatem sollicitate requirentes, abicere conantur ea quae possidere uidebantur. Sed resistente eis diuino iudicio turba fratrum, studuerunt magis secundum Apostolum non sua singuli, sed quae alterius sunt quaerere.” A “faithful *turba*” deposits the relics of Saint Audomar: *Vita Audomari III* (BHL 768, 769, 771), 4.37, AASS Sep. 3.9.414D: “Fidelis uero turba, per vim apertis januis, sanctas reliquias introduxit, easque super altare, prout dignum erat, constituit.” In the ninth-century life of abbess Anstrudis of Laon, the term *turba* is used for a crowd of sisters: *Vita Anstrudis abbatissae Laudunensae* (BHL 556), c. 21, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 6 (Hanover, 1913), p. 74: “turbam sororum.”

<sup>101</sup> In a ninth-century saint’s life, Saint Condedus draws in crowds (*turbae*) to hear his preaching on the Old and New Testament: *Vita Condedi anachoretiae Belcinnacensis* (BHL 1907), c. 7, ed. W. Levison, MGH

the spatial and numerical realities of gatherings changed, so did this term for the largest, most unruly of gatherings.

Hagiographical sources frequently use the term *turba* to describe the “witness crowds” which observe and legitimize miracle stories.<sup>102</sup> The relics of Helianus were welcomed to their new home in Benevento by the city’s “whole crowd” (*omnis turba*), to the light of candles and lamps amid a haze of incense.<sup>103</sup> When the bodies of Regnobertus and Zeno were transported in the middle of the ninth century, they were met, according to a ninth-century hagiographer, by a “numerous crowd of people” (*plurima turba populi*) and accompanied by a “great crowd” (*multa turba*) as they traveled.<sup>104</sup> The positive valence of these crowds is clarified later in this same *translatio* by a series of joyous

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SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 649: “O quam felix et beata insula Belcinnaca, beluarum quondam nutrix, nunc quoque servorum Christi secretissima quies! Hic namque vir sanctus fervore sanctae conversationis accensus, artiori animi studio se ipsum macerando constringebat et confluentium ad se turbas suavi fovebat alloquio, pandens de thesauro sui cordis nova et vetera.” A subsequent epitome designed for liturgical use depicts the same scene: *Vita Condedi* (BHL 1908), c. 2, AASS Oct. 9.21.355A. For these lives, see Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Sainly Relics, 684-1090* (Toronto, 1995), p. 94-96. Cf. a late tenth-century life of the Carolingian saint Ida: Uffingus, *Vita s. Idae* (BHL 4143), c. 12, AASS Sep. 2.4.265E: “Superveniente quadam sacrosancta Pentecostes solennitate, quando plus solito conflua turba eumdem locum annuatim frequenta...”

<sup>102</sup> E.g. *Miracula Audoeni* (BHL 761), AASS Aug. 4.24.839A: “in vigiliis ejusdem solennitatis fidelium turbis se immiscuit”; “omni spectante turba”; p. 839D: “ad cujus novitatem miraculi, velut ad spectaculum, populosa civitatis confluentibus turbis.” Milo of Saint-Amand, *Vita Amandi episcopi* II (Suppletio Milonis) (BHL 339-343b), c. 6, 8, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), pp. 473, 482. For this ninth-century text, see Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, pp. 347-348. See also Heiric of Auxerre, *Miracula Germani* (BHL 3462, 3463, 3464), AASS Jul. 7.31.266E, for a saint’s cure of an invalid who was “among the crowds of people coming forth” (*inter turbas properantium*); *Vita Genovefae* (BHL 3335), c. 42, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), p. 233: “Et magnificavit universa turba Deum pro repentina incolomitate meritis Genovefae Claudiae reddita.” See also the use of the *turba* in the ninth-century poetic hagiography of Heiric of Auxerre, *Vita Germani Autissiodorensis* (BHL 3458), c. 1.248, 2.160, 3.301, 4.52, 57, 4.189, 4.251, ed. L. Traube, MGH Poet. 3 (Berlin, 1886), pp. 445, 457, 477, 480, 481. On Heiric’s lengthy verse epic, see Wolfgang Kirsch, *Laudes Sanctorum: Geschichte der hagiographischen Versepike vom IV bis X Jahrhundert*. 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 2004), vol. 2.2, pp. 843-861.

<sup>103</sup> In the eighth-century *Translatio Heliani Beneventum a. 763* (BHL 3799), c. 2, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SRL 1 (Hanover, 1878), p. 582: “Cumque Beneventi meniis propinquasset, cum cereis et lampadibus ac diverso thimiamatum genere omnis turba confluit per stadiorum aliqua spatia; et sic cum ymnis et canticis introductum sanctissimum corpus, honorifice situm est in basilica, quam ille antequam iret construxerat.”

<sup>104</sup> *Translatio Regnoberti et Zenonis* (BHL 7063), c. 5, AASS Mai. 3.16.621B.

exclamations: “What a great array of monks was present there! What a numerous crowd (*turba*) of canons! For the whole multitude of the people (*omnis multitudo populi*) had assembled there from the neighboring provinces.”<sup>105</sup> This huge assembly of worshippers, in the eyes of the hagiographer, was even a miracle. The whole region had been suffering from rainfall, but the place to which these crowds had gathered had been spared any inundation.<sup>106</sup>

The topos of witness crowds will be discussed in further detail below in chapter 4. Sometimes the positive quality of narrative *turbae* is as clear as it is here in the translation accounts mentioned above. In other cases, it can be difficult to untangle to connotative significance of hagiographical *turbae*. To give another ninth-century example, Archbishop Eusebius of Thessaloniki sees himself in a dream in the city’s theater with a “crowd of attendants” (*turba famulorum*) in Anastasius Bibliothecarius’ translation of the passion of Saint Demetrius.<sup>107</sup> Do these crowds in such an “obscene place” foreshadow a “multitude of barbarians” which will come to threaten the city?<sup>108</sup> Or do they represent the population Eusebius oversees? The difficulty of determining the connotative significance of such narrative *turbae* is a sign that the word had lost its

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<sup>105</sup> *Translatio Regnoberti et Zenonis* (BHL 7063), c. 8, AASS Mai. 3.16.622D: “Quantus Monachorum aderat ordo! Canonicorum quam plurima turba! Videlicet ex vicinis provinciis ibi confluerat omnis multitudo populi...”

<sup>106</sup> *Translatio Regnoberti et Zenonis* (BHL 7063), c. 8, AASS Mai. 3.16.622D-E: “pluvia enim totam illam regionem instar fluviorum irrigaverat, sed in loco, quo populus ad festivitatem celebrandam convenerat, nihil omnino pluit.”

<sup>107</sup> Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Miracula S. Demetrii* (BHL 2123), PL 129, col. 722A-B: “Eusebius Thessalonicae civitatis archiepiscopus visionem vidit quam narrare cupio vobis. Antequam super civitatem Thessalonicam barbarici irruerent nimbi, vidit se praedictus pontifex in somnis sedere in teatro civitatis cum magna turba famulorum.” For this text, see Benedetta Valtorta, *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi: Auctores Italiae (700-1000)* (Florence, 2006), p. 29.

<sup>108</sup> Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Miracula S. Demetrii* (BHL 2123), PL 129, col. 722B: “innumerabilis barbarorum multitudo.”

particular negativity. *Turba* appears promiscuously alongside *populus*, *multitudo*, *caterva*, *volgus*, and the like, in early medieval saints' lives. Processions in translation accounts, which supply the owners of relics with a public legitimation, are often termed *turbae*.<sup>109</sup> When the crowd acted as an interlocutor in narratives, it might be called a *turba*. A seventh-century hagiographer describes a *religiosa ac felix turba* in a passage that deploys several other terms to describe the same crowd: *multitudo*, *viri*, *congeries*.<sup>110</sup> Royal entourages as well might be called *turba*. In a famous passage of Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, the ninth-century courtier describes how Charlemagne took baths with crowds of his entourage in the hot springs at Aachen. "He invited not only his sons to the bath, but nobles and friends, and sometimes even a crowd (*turba*) of subordinates and bodyguards, so that often a hundred men or more would be bathing together."<sup>111</sup> All these topoi and type-scenes use *turba* with a positive valence.

The liturgy embraced the *turba* with special abandon. The exultet (as it appears, for instance, in the eighth-century Gellone sacramentary) is typical when it describes the rejoicing of an angelic crowd of the heavens: "exultet iam angelica turba caelorum."<sup>112</sup> There is little difference, semantically, between this sacred host and the "multitude of

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<sup>109</sup> *Translatio Viti martyris* (BHL 8718-19) c. 5, ed. I. Schmale-Ott, *Übertragung des heiligen Märtyrers Vitus*, Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Westfalen 41 (Münster, 1979), p. 48: "habens secum turbam copiosam tam suorum monachorum quam aliorum virorum."

<sup>110</sup> Stephen of Auxerre, *Vita S. Amatoris* (BHL 356), AASS Maii 1.1.58. Compare the slippage between the concrete term *manus* and the abstract term *multitudo* made explicit in the gloss to the early tenth-century *Gesta Berengarii*, book 1, line 145, ed. P. von Winterfeld, MGH Poetae 4.1 (Berlin, 1899), p. 364: "manus] multitudo." On the glossator, see E. Bernheim, "Der Glossator der *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris*," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 14 (1874): 138-154.

<sup>111</sup> Einhard, *Vita Karoli* (BHL 1580), c. 22, ed. O Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 25 (Munich, 1911), p. 27.

<sup>112</sup> *Missale Gothicum*, ed. Els Rose, *Missale Gothicum: e codice Vaticano Reginensi Latino 317 editum*, CCSL 159D (Turnhout, 2005), rubric 677.

angels” that praises God elsewhere in this same liturgical collection.<sup>113</sup> Such angelic crowds are a common occurrence in early medieval liturgical texts of many kinds.<sup>114</sup>

Other pious if not angelic crowds appear in further hymnological sources. A hymn of perhaps the ninth century, *De uno Pontifice*, describes the *praesul* as chosen by the “holy crowd of clergy and people” (“Te sacra cleri populique turba...poscit”).<sup>115</sup>

Nor are these positive *turbae* unique to sacred texts. It might be imagined that these positive uses of the word *turba* are merely reflections of genre. In hagiography and liturgy, it stands to reason that the biblical refashioning of the word *turba* would prevail over negative classical connotations. As the next chapter will examine in further detail, hagiographers felt a strong need to include witness crowds in their saints’ lives and relic translation accounts. Yet the sacred *turba* appears outside of these genres. Formularies and charters also describe communities of monks as *turbae*.<sup>116</sup> One phrase, *turba plurima monachorum* (“a numerous crowd of monks”), is used several times in Merovingian formulary-books to describe the community of monks to which an individual might donate or sell properties.<sup>117</sup> These widely-copied texts were designed to provide models

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<sup>113</sup> *Missale Gothicum*, ed. Rose, rubric 341: “Deus quem...angelorum multitudo conlaudat.”

<sup>114</sup> E.g. *Missale Gothicum*, ed. Rose, ordo 4, oratio 17 (p. 356): “Omnes denique turba exultabat angelorum, quia terra regem suscepit aeternum.”

<sup>115</sup> AH 27, no. 184, p. 260.

<sup>116</sup> Henry Miller Martin, “Some Phases of Grammatical Concord in Certain Merovingian Charters,” *Speculum* 4 (1929): 303-314, at p. 309 (with other terms, such as *congregatio* and *caterva* discussed at pp. 307-309).

<sup>117</sup> *Marculfi Formulae* 1.2, 2.3, ed. K. Zeumer, MGH *Formulae* 1 (Hanover, 1886), pp. 41 (line 16), 75 (lines 7-8). *Formulae Augienses*, “Collectio A,” c. 13, ed. K. Zeumer, MGH *Formulae* 1 (Hanover, 1886), p. 344 (line 41). On the formulary of Marculf, see K. Zeumer, “Zur Herkunft der Markulfischen Formeln,” *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 30 (1905): 716-719; Wilhelm Levison, “Zu Marculfs Formularbuch,” *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 50 (1935): 616-619; Alice Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae, c. 500-1000* (Cambridge 2009), pp. 81-103. For the so-called *Formulae Augienses*, see Karl

for use.<sup>118</sup> The same expression can then be found in a forgery of a Merovingian charter and in two genuine Carolingian royal charters by Pippin and Charlemagne.<sup>119</sup> By the end of the eighth century, the positive *turba* of monks had become formulaic.

There are exceptions to these positive uses. A seventh-century Spanish hymn for Lent describes Judas giving over his master to the crowds (*turbae*).<sup>120</sup> Another hymn praises the archangel Michael for “crushing dark and demonic crowds (*turbae*).”<sup>121</sup> Hilduin of St-Denis, in his prose *vita* of saint Denis (BHL 2175) juxtaposes the *multitudo fidelium* that dies with Denis (and the *multitudo coelestis exercitus* that assists in his posthumous and headless march from Montmartre to what would become Saint-Denis) with a *turbae infidelium*. It is into the midst of this “pagan rabble” that Larcia, the woman who had accused Denis but who repented upon seeing him carry his own head, threw herself crying that she was a Christian.<sup>122</sup> A demonic *turba* is cast away in a ninth-

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Zeumer, “Über die alamannischen Formelsammlungen,” *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 8 (1883): 473-553, who divides the formulary into three collections (A, B, and C); Rio, *Legal Practice*, pp. 144-150, provides a lucid critique of this division, with an overview of the manuscripts.

<sup>118</sup> For an instructive case of how one of these formularies were put to use in a royal charter, see F. Beyerle, “Das Formelbuch des westfränkischen Mönchs Markulf und Dagoberts Urkunde für Rebais a. 635,” *Deutsches Archiv* 9 (1951): 43-58. Rio, *Legal Practice*, pp. 20-26, argues forcefully for the historical utility of the formularies as evidence for social, economic, and legal life in the early Middle Ages.

<sup>119</sup> D Mer. no. 192, ed. T. Kölzer, MGH DD Mer. 1 (Hanover, 2001), p. 478; D Pippin no. 17, ed. E. Mühlbacher, MGH DD Kar. 1 (Hanover, 1906), p. 25 (line 40); D Charlemagne, ed. E. Mühlbacher, MGH DD Kar. 1 (Hanover, 1906), p. 137 (line 17).

<sup>120</sup> *Hymnodia hispanica*, ed. J. Castro Sánchez, CCSL 167 (Turnhout, 2010), p. 195: “Non ut fallax discipulus, / qui pacem ferens osculo / et dolum tenens pectore / turbis magistrum tradidit.”

<sup>121</sup> *Hymnodia hispanica*, ed. Castro Sánchez, p. 581: “tenebrosis dominare turbisque demonicis.”

<sup>122</sup> Hilduin of St-Denis, *Passio Dionysii* (BHL 2174), c. 32, 33, PL 106, col. 47A: “Tantaque multitudo fidelium”; 47B: “multitudo coelestis exercitus”; 47D: “[Larcia] prosiluit in infidelium turbas.” For an invading *turba* of pagans in an eighth-century hagiographical text, see Anso of Lobbes. *Vita Erminonis episcopi et abbatis Lobbiensis* I (BHL 2614), c. 7, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM 6 (Hanover, 1913), p. 466.

century saint's life.<sup>123</sup> In another ninth-century life, a villainous character "in the likeness of Judas" arrives "close-packed by a wicked *turba*."<sup>124</sup> The next chapter will examine a "crowd of amazed and astonished people" which drew the condemnation of the ninth-century archbishop: he called them a *turba*.<sup>125</sup> A "seditious rabble" (*seditiosum vulgus*), made "beastlike" by mad rage, attacks Saint Wandrille in one of his *vitae* (BHL 8805); this crowd is twice described as a *turba*.<sup>126</sup> The passion of Saint Saturninus of Cagliari (BHL 7491), an early medieval text according to its most recent editor, imagines the saint being murdered "by one from out of the crowd" (*ab uno de turba*) in response to his profession of faith.<sup>127</sup> To be sure, these negative *turbae* often share space with their positive equivalents. The same *passio* of Saturninus in an earlier passage praises a "crowd of believers" (*turba fidelium*) which "expanded day by day" thanks to the saint,

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<sup>123</sup> *Vita Alcuini* (BHL 242), c. 2, ed. W. Arndt, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 185: "malorum subito disparuit turba."

<sup>124</sup> Adrevald of Fleury, *Vita Aigulfi* (BHL 194), PL 124, col. 960A: "turba stipatus maligna."

<sup>125</sup> Amolo of Lyon, *Epistolae*, no. 1, c. 2, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin, 1899), p. 364: "admirantium et stupentium turba." See further below in chapter 4.

<sup>126</sup> *Vita Wandregiseli* (BHL 8805), c. 4, AASS Jul. 5.22.273A-B.

<sup>127</sup> *Passio sancti Saturnini* (BHL 7491), c. 23, ed. Antonio Piras, *Passio Sancti Saturnini* (BHL 7491) (Rome, 2002), p. 41: "Quo audito, ab uno de turba uel ab ipso nequissimo sacerdote memoratus beatissimus Saturninus martyr gladio grauitur uulneratus, Christum Dominum confitendo sanguinem effundens, spiritum tradidit beatorum conmartirum suorum choris adiunctus III kalendarum Novembrium die." The *passio Sancti Saturnini* was traditionally thought to have been compiled in the eleventh or twelfth century as a pastiche of elements drawn from the hagiographical dossier of the more famous Saturninus of Toulouse. The *passio*'s recent editor, Antonio Piras, argues for an earlier dating, between the end of the sixth (*sic*) century and the end of the eighth century, basing this assertion, not very compellingly, largely on the presence of language redolent of Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, and Bede (d. 735) (*op. cit.*, pp. 15-16). As Richard Gyug rightly notes in his review of the edition in *Journal of Medieval Latin* 13 (2003): 279-281, at p. 280, Piras's argument merely establishes a "terminus ante quem non," since authors such as Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, and Bede continue to be quoted throughout the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, Gyug concedes that on the basis of the Latinity of the *passio* that "there is little reason to doubt that the *Passio* is early." Further philological examination may shed light on the question.



countered in turn by a “crowds of sinners” (*turbae sceleratorum*).<sup>128</sup> These negative usages are a reminder that the phenomenon at work in the semantic history of *turba* is mostly one of a loss of distinct meanings, and not the demise of negative associations entirely.

While *turba* might seem a natural choice to describe “bad” gatherings, given its ancient associations with disorder, this was not always the case. Wicked crowds might equally appear as a *multitudo*. A villain in an eighth-century saint’s life smashes through a set of doors with the help of a “mighty crowd (*multitudo*) of accomplices.”<sup>129</sup> Metrical or stylistic considerations drove usage as much as semantic suitability. A ninth-century hymn concludes with an alliterative assault on “foul mobs” (*taetrae turbae*), and here the word *turba* seems to have been chosen to alliterate with *timor*, *tremor*, *taetras*, *terreat*.<sup>130</sup> This impulse is taken to extremes in Hucbald of Saint-Amand’s alliterative *Ecloga de calvis* (ninth-century), whose 146 verses famously all begin with the letter “c”; here Hucbald praises those bald saints who have cured “blind crowds” (*caecas...catervas*).<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> *Passio sancti Saturnini* (BHL 7491), c. 11, ed. Piras, p. 39: “Crescebat autem per dies singulos turba fidelium et multiplicabantur apud deum coronae iustorum”; c. 13, p. 39: “Ad quod sceleratorum turbae cum inmundis hostiis concurrebant.”

<sup>129</sup> *Vita Landiberti episcopi Traiectensis vetustissima* (BHL 4677), c. 13, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 6 (Hanover, 1913), p. 367: “Cum vero Dodo et plurima multitudo sodaliorum eius cum eo adpropinquassent et intrare cepissent ianuis, fractisque osteis et sepis disruptis, et supermontare cepissent, cumque vidisset hec memoratus puer, subito currens nunciavit pontifici.” Cf. *Ibid.*, c. 24, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 378: “Nam in modicum tempus post visionem revelata de multitudinem hostium, que cum Dodono domestico ad necem sancti Landiberti fuerunt, pauci ex eos infra annum remanserunt.” Nevertheless, the word *multitudo* also describes the “copious crowd of men” that elects Landibert (c. 4, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 356) and the “great crowd of Christians” that attends his funeral (c. 25, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 379).

<sup>130</sup> AH 51, p. 359: “Timor, tremor / taetras turbas terreat.”

<sup>131</sup> Hucbald of Saint-Amand, *Ecloga de calvis*, ed. P. von Winterfeld, MGH Poetae 4.1 (Berlin, 1899), p. 269. For Hucbald, see Franz Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Âge*, trans. Henri Rochais with Jean-Paul Bouhot (Turnhout, 1990-1996), vol. 2, pp. 509-511; Wattenbach-Levison-Löwe 5 (Weimar, 1973), pp. 552-555.

When *turba* came into Old Irish (*torb*), it simply meant crowd without clear positive or negative associations.<sup>132</sup> In the early Middle Ages, therefore, *turba* evolved in a similar fashion to other crowd terms.

A failure to recognize this can lead to misunderstandings.<sup>133</sup> An interesting episode in Paul the Deacon's *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, which was expanded in the tenth century, describes how Clement expelled a "multitude" of snakes from the city's amphitheater.<sup>134</sup> This symbolically significant telling of a Christian repurposing of the old space (cf. chapter 2 above) begins with a description of how Metz was first converted. According to Paul's text, Peter, based in Rome, sent disciples to many regions: Apollinaris to Ravenna, Leucius to Brindisi, Anatolius to Milan, Mark first to Aquileia and then Alexandria. Clement he sent to Metz, because "copiosis populorum turbis abundaret."<sup>135</sup> Kempf, reading *turba* in its classical meaning, translates, "abounded in numerous uproars of its peoples."<sup>136</sup> But the *turbae* here are the gatherings of Cassiodorus', not Ammianus' Rome, not "uproars" but "crowds." Paul simply means that Metz was populous and required an apostle. The loss of technical distinctions, the use of the "particularizing plural," and the free pleonasm conspire here and in other cases to

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<sup>132</sup> W. Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries* (London, 1862), p. 42.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Carlrichard Brühl, *Deutschland – Frankreich: Die Geburt zweier Völker*, 2nd rev. edn (Cologne, 1992), p. 83, for parallel discussion of the "Dilemma der Gliederung" in the historical study of political terminology.

<sup>134</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. and trans. Damien Kempf, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 19 (Paris, 2013), pp. 50-54. Concerning the interpolation, see *Ibid.*, p. 35-36, and, for the arguments, J.-C. Picard, "Le recours aux origines: Les vies de saint Clément, premier évêque de Metz, composées autour de l'an mil," in J.-C. Picard, *Évêques, saints et cites en Italie et en Gaule: Études d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Rome, 1998), pp. 367-384.

<sup>135</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Liber*, ed. Kempf, p. 48.

<sup>136</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Liber*, ed. Kempf, p. 49.

confuse readers approaching Paul’s Latin with classical expectations. This development was part of a larger blurring of distinctions between words for collectivities to which we now turn. A good example is another word from Paul’s description, *populi*, which should also be understood as both “crowd” and “people” or “populace,” but probably not “peoples.” This word’s ability to express both physical assemblies and abstract collectivities had existed in classical Latin.<sup>137</sup> But in early medieval texts, semantic interchangeability becomes paramount. *Turba* could function to mean a “collectivity” or a “whole” in the broadest of senses. In the prologue of a saint’s life (BHL 1290), composed most likely at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, an anonymous author explains that Christ’s twelve apostles were “selected from the whole (*turba*) of the whole human race.”<sup>138</sup>

From *turba* as collection of individuals (with negative valence) and *turba* as an abstract condition (and also negative), *turba* came to designate physical and abstract communities whose consensus represented authority. There were exceptions, cases in which *turba* retained its ancient negative connotations. These changes had lasting effects. Late in French medieval history, the institution of the *enquête par turbe* or legal “inquiry by the crowd” preserved both the probative importance of the crowd and the positive connotations of the word *turba* forged in the early Middle Ages.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> OLD, s.v. “populus.”

<sup>138</sup> *Vita Bertini* II (BHL 1290), praef., AASS Sept. 2.5.590E: “duodecim Apostolos de turba totius generis humani electos.” For this text, see Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, p. 351.

<sup>139</sup> Laurent Waelkens, “L’Origine de l’enquête par turbe,” *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* 53 (1985): 337-346; Jean-François Poudret, “Réflexions sur la preuve de la coutume devant les juridictions royales françaises aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles, notamment le rôle de l’enquête par turbe,” in Jean-François Poudret, *Coutumes et libertés: Recueil d’articles* (Dijon, 2009), pp. 72-89 (originally 1987).

### III. *Multitudo, Populus*: Blurring Distinctions

Another major development in the early medieval semantic history of crowds is the blurring of distinctions, between gatherings physical or abstract, crowds defined by number or by space. We saw above that Isidore attempted to distinguish between the *multitudo* and the *turba* on the basis of numbers as opposed to density, pressure, or concentration. Why did this distinction fail to be used in practice? Again, biblical usage helps explain the general trend. The Greek New Testament tends to use ὄχλος (*ochlos*) to describe Jesus' witness crowds, but just as commonly it speaks of the λαός (*laos*) or the πλῆθος (*plethos*), or even combines these terms.<sup>140</sup> Similarly, the Latin bibles tended to cycle between *turba*, *populus*, and *multitudo*.<sup>141</sup> The semantic indeterminacy may reflect a stylistic effort to achieve variation. There are some cases in which a *multitudo* could plausibly refer either to a physical crowd or an abstract state (a continuing series of crowds).<sup>142</sup> Semantic indeterminacy also reflected a sense that crowds stood for more abstract groups, like peoples, tribes, or citizen bodies.

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<sup>140</sup> E.g. Mark 3:20; Luke 19:48.

<sup>141</sup> For discussion of the history of the Latin bible, see F. Stummer, *Einführung in die lateinische Bibel: Ein Handbuch für Vorlesungen und Selbstunterricht* (Paderborn, 1928), esp. pp. 4-76; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge: Aperçu historique, état des questions," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19 (1988): 137-59, at pp. 276-314; Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris, 1893).

<sup>142</sup> *Translatio SS. Chrysanti et Dariae a. 844* (BHL 1793), c. 8, AASS Oct. 11.25.491D-E: "Cum vero jam decerneremus in locum, ubi nunc adorantur, Sanctorum deduci corpora; multitudo innumerabilis processit mundare vias, per quas reliquiæ deducendæ erant Martyrum. Cum igitur quædam succideretur arbor, quidam non præcavens casum, cecidit super eum. Cum itaque putaretur mortuus, amota arbore, ut credimus orationibus Sanctorum, ita incolumis repertus est, ac si nil pertulisset læsionis"; *Vita Geremari* (BHL 3441), c. 10, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), p. 630: "Erat autem ibidem in monasterio multitudo maxima monachorum."

This phenomenon has occasionally drawn attention from historians and lexicographers. Alan Cameron, in his study of the circus factions, drew attention to the expanded use of the Greek term δῆμος/ δῆμοι (roughly equivalent with *populus/populi*) in early Byzantine Greek. Building upon the grammarian’s concept of the “particularizing plural.”<sup>143</sup> This is when a word for a collective entity, like *turba* or *plebs* or *populus* is pluralized but deployed “more or less interchangeably” with the abstract plural.<sup>144</sup> Cameron’s point is that the δῆμος cannot be seen as a term of art for circus factions, but as a term for “people” with far wider semantic possibilities.

The common phrase *multitudo populi* offers a specific instance of the elision between crowd and wider social group.<sup>145</sup> The inspiration for most early medieval usages is almost certainly biblical, although it emerges infrequently in classical literature.<sup>146</sup> This phrase appears four times in the Vulgate Old Testament, where it mirrors the Greek of the Septuagint.<sup>147</sup> In the New Testament, the phrase appears in the corpus of Luke, and

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<sup>143</sup> Manu Leumann, J. B. Hofmann, and A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* (Munich, 1972-1977), p. 21 (no. 32).

<sup>144</sup> Cameron, *Circus Factions*, pp. 28-35.

<sup>145</sup> E.g. Alcuin, *Vita Vedasti* (BHL 8506-8), c.3, c. 9, ed. Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, *L'œuvre hagiographique en prose d'Alcuin: Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii: Édition, traduction, études narratologiques* (Florence, 2003); *AB*, s.a. 830, ed. Grat et al., p. 2: “Ibique ueniens Pippinus cum multitudine populi...”; Einhard, *Translatio Marcellini et Petri*, 4.14, ed. Waitz, p. 261; *Translatio Viti martyris* (BHL 8718-19), ed. Schmale-Ott, pp. 581, 582, 583, 584, 585; Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii* (BHL 1400), c. 6, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRG 57 (Hanover, 1905), p. 34.

<sup>146</sup> Lucius Cornelius Sisenna, *Fragment* no. 80, ed. H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1967), vol. 1, p. 288 (not a likely source for most authors of the earlier Middle Ages); Cicero, *De officiis*, 2.18.63, ed. C. Atzert (Leipzig, 1963), p. 76.

<sup>147</sup> 2 Chronicles 13:8, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 602: “nunc ergo vos dicitis quod resistere possitis regno Domini quod possidet per filios David habetisque grandem populi multitudinem atque vitulos aureos quos fecit vobis Jeroboam in deos”; 2 Chronicles 33:25, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 631: “porro reliqua populi multitudo caesis his qui Amon percusserant constituit regem Iosiam filium eius pro eo”; Proverbs 14:28, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 969: “in multitudine populi dignitas regis et in paucitate plebis ignominia principis”; Sirach 42:11, ed. Weber-Gryson, pp. 1082-1083: “super filiam luxuriosam confirma custodiam nequando

translates the Greek τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ.<sup>148</sup> It has much in common with other pleonasm – like the *turbæ populorum* which appears in the Vulgate Genesis 28:3 – that link an abstract concept (a people, a community) with its physical manifestation (a physical assembly).<sup>149</sup>

In early medieval texts it becomes possible for terms like *populus* or *multitudo* to denote a “discrete group” such as a monastic community or a royal entourage.<sup>150</sup> Both terms continued to have broader meanings than discrete crowds, especially *populus*.<sup>151</sup> *Multitudo* could be used to describe any large number of phenomena, including animals and other natural occurrences.<sup>152</sup> In hagiography, *populus* sometimes denotes a single crowd which represents the population as a whole, particularly when that population needs to have a speaking role.<sup>153</sup> We see this as early as fifth-century sources.<sup>154</sup> The term *populus* enjoyed a fairly physicalized sense early on in the Middle Ages. In his *Moralia*

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faciat te in opprobrium venire inimicis a detractone in civitate et abiectione plebis et confundat te in multitudine populi.”

<sup>148</sup> Luke 1:10, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1605: “et omnis multitudo populi erat orans foris hora incensi”; Acts 21:36 ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1736: “sequebatur enim multitudo populi clamans tolle eum.”

<sup>149</sup> Genesis 28:3 ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 40: “Deus autem omnipotens benedicat tibi et crescere te faciat atque multiplicet ut sis in turbas populorum.”

<sup>150</sup> Jamie Kreiner, “About the Bishop: The Episcopal Entourage and the Economy of Government in Post-Roman Gaul,” *Speculum* 86 (2011): 321-360, at p. 328.

<sup>151</sup> For instance, in reference to a populace as a whole: Aigradus of Fontenelle, *Vita Lantberti* (BHL 4675), c. 3, 4, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), pp. 610, 612.

<sup>152</sup> E.g. fish: *Vita Bertini* I (BHL 763), c. 21, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 768; for a “multitude” of waters, see *Vita Sulpicii episcopi Biturigi*, Recensio A (BHL 7927), c. 2, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), p. 374.

<sup>153</sup> *Vita Leucii* (BHL 4894), *Bibliotheca casinensis* 3 (Monte Cassino, 1877), pp. 358-365, at p. 361 (column A), where *omnis turba populorum* is made the equivalent of *omnis populus*.

<sup>154</sup> Hilary of Arles, *Sermo de Vita Honorati Episcopi Arelatensis* (BHL 3975), 39.2, ed. Marie-Denise Valentin, *Hilaire d'Arles: Vie de Saint Honorat: introduction, texte critique, traduction, et notes*, SC 235 (Paris, 1977), p. 176.

in *Job*, Gregory I explains that the early church preached without letters, because “populos non sermo, sed causa suaderet” (“crowds would not be swayed by the word, but by the thing”).<sup>155</sup> There are perhaps some indications that the *populus* as opposed to the *multitudo* possessed rustic connotations. The Latin word *populus* or its vernacular descendants (It. *popolo* or *populo*) came to be used in Byzantine Greek (πόπολον, πόπουλον, πόπολο, πόπουλο) as a term for the lower classes.<sup>156</sup>

A ninth-century manuscript illustration provides another sense of the significance of the term *populus* to early medieval elites. The donor page of the Raganaldus Sacramentary (Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 19bis, fol. 173v), produced at Tours in the 840s, shows a scene in which Abbot Raganaldus blesses a gathering. Raganaldus is identified by name on the left, where he stands at the base of his seat. Crozier in hand, the abbot reads from a book held aloft by a deacon, while blessing twelve bowing figures (not including the deacon), some with haloes and some, at the bottom, without haloes (see figure 5 below). A caption above the scene reads, “He blesses the populace/crowd,” “Hic benedic[at] populu[m].”<sup>157</sup> The term *populus*, with its easy interplay between physical and abstract uses, is here used as a catch-all to encompass both the ecclesiastical and lay members of Raganaldus’ flock.

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<sup>155</sup> Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, 1.27.25, ed. Adriaen, p. 38.

<sup>156</sup> Henry Kahane and Renée Kahane, “Abendland und Byzanz: Sprache,” *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik* 1 (Amsterdam, 1976): 345-640, at pp. 565-6, 583.

<sup>157</sup> Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 19bis, fol. 173v. For this manuscript, see Roger E. Reynolds, “The Portrait of the Ecclesiastical Officers in the Raganaldus Sacramentary and its Liturgico-Canonical Significance,” *Speculum* 46 (1971): 432-442; cf. Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Charlotte Denoël, eds., *Trésors carolingiens: livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve* (Paris, 2007), p. 46.



**FIGURE 5. Raganaldus blesses the *populus*.** In the donor page of a ninth-century sacramentary, Abbot Raganaldus is depicted blessing a *populus*. The inscription above the scene reads “He blesses the *populus*” (“Hic benedicat populum”), and on the seat to the left of the standing abbot is written: “Raganaldus Abba” (“Abbot Raganaldus”). Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 19bis, fol. 173v.

In the vernacular languages as in Latin, it is difficult to detect clear distinctions between crowd terms in the literature that survives. In OHG, *folk*, *liut*, and *managī*, in Slavonic, *narod*, *tlipa*, and *liud*, all tend to be used indeterminately. Modern speakers of German could be forgiven for seeing in *folk*, *liut*, and *managī* the origins of the distinctions inherent in modern terms Volk, Leute, and Menge, but all three terms have wider scope in their early medieval form. *Folk*, however, seems to have acquired loftier connotations, as it and not the others is common name element in Germanic personal



names.<sup>158</sup> Terms for gathering gained a new flexibility, in which various collectivities both abstract and concrete could be expressed with the same words. In Gaul, *populus* became Old French *peuple*, which denoted both “the (lowly) people” and “a crowd,” a double function similar to that of *vulgus* in Roman times.<sup>159</sup> Other terms, like *gens* and *natio* could sometimes take on a more concrete usage, or come to describe different types of collectives than they had in classical Latin. We see the result of these trends in medieval French, where the fixed phrase *grant gent* came to mean “crowd.”<sup>160</sup> The term *plebs* came to denote parish communities as well as urban assemblies (and thus became *pieve* in modern Italian).

#### IV. *Contio*: Loss of Technical Meaning

Another trend is the disappearance of technical meanings. While words like *turba*, *populus*, and *multitudo* are common enough that it can be difficult to identify any single development other than loss of differentiation itself, other words are sufficiently rare that we can follow their movements with greater precision.<sup>161</sup> A useful example is the word *contio*. *Contio* is originally an abbreviated form of the word *couentio*, literally a “coming

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<sup>158</sup> Nicoletta Francovich Onesti, *Vestigia longobarde in Italia (568-774): lessico e antroponomia* (Rome, 1999), pp. 84-5.

<sup>159</sup> Jensen, *Old French and Comparative Gallo-Romance Syntax*, p. 43 (c. 90).

<sup>160</sup> Jensen, *Old French and Comparative Gallo-Romance Syntax*, p. 47 (c. 99).

<sup>161</sup> For an interesting if exceptional case, Henri Goelzer, “Remarques lexicographiques sur le latin de saint Avit, évêque de Vienne,” *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 3 (1927): 173-195, at p. 192, discusses Avitus of Vienne’s use of the term *populositas*.

together” (*con + venire*).<sup>162</sup> The basic, and probably oldest, meaning is thus simply a “gathering” or an “assembly.” But early in the history of the Roman Republic, *contio* became the technical designation for a public assembly at which Roman citizens heard public information: before a major trial, before legislation in the *comitia*, or in the context of political campaigning.<sup>163</sup> In subsequent centuries its basic meaning as well as its connotations changed radically.

Ancient Republican *contiones* were summoned by public magistrates, through official heralds, to meet in a public urban setting, most commonly the *forum*, but sometimes the Campus Martius. Magistrates could call off a *contio* summoned by an inferior, while tribunes could use their power of veto to prevent a *contio* from taking place.<sup>164</sup> In constitutional theory at least, the *contio* was thus a crowd of male civilian listeners heavily controlled and circumscribed, seen but not heard.<sup>165</sup> Unlike other Latin words for crowd – *turba*, *caterva*, *volgus*, and even *populus* and *plebs* – the word *contio* had a mainly positive connotation in the early Republic, as a solid Roman legal institution, a “good” crowd.<sup>166</sup> Around the turn of the first century BCE, however, it is possible to detect the signs of change. Roman philologists did, it is true, protest in Augustus’s day that *contio* had a fixed legal meaning. “A *contio* signifies a gathering, but

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<sup>162</sup> Alternative spellings include *conctio* (CIL 1.384.18) and *concio* in Antiquity (Gudeman, “contio,” TLL 4, p. 429). Medieval Latin admits of even further orthographical variation: *concio*, *cuntio*, *comptio*, *conctio*, and *conscio*. MLW, vol. 2 (“C”), p. 1742, lines 49-50. By the High Middle Ages, as with most *-tio* nouns, *concio* is at least as common as *contio*.

<sup>163</sup> Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (Leipzig, 1871-1888), v. 1, pp. 191-209; Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, s.v. “contio,” p. 413.

<sup>164</sup> OCD, s.v. “contio” (Piero Treves and Andrew William Lintott), p. 385. See also A. M. Ward, “How Democratic Was the Roman Republic?” *New England Classical Journal* 31 (2004): 101-119.

<sup>165</sup> Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, v. 3, p. 305.

<sup>166</sup> e.g. OLD, s.v., meaning 1.

only one which has been convened by a magistrate or a public priest through a herald.”

So explains an ancient treatise on the signification of words.<sup>167</sup> But this definition, composed when republican institutions were already beginning to be reduced to symbolic importance, protests too much.<sup>168</sup> In truth, the word, like the crowds themselves, had long since escaped governmental control.

Thus the first semantic shift in the term’s usage, which seems to have occurred over the course of the first century BCE. In this period *contio* increasingly came to be used of *any* public gathering assembled around a speaker. Armies listening to generals, citizens listening to politicians, and rebels listening to agitators could all be *contiones*.<sup>169</sup> Already in Cicero’s time it was possible to speak of “rebellious” or “seditious” *contiones* which took place outside of the law.<sup>170</sup> And as the word became less technical, it gradually lost its positive associations and acquired negative ones. What was the cause of this shift? If what makes a *contio* a “good” crowd is its regulation by legal authority, it is easy to see how it became a “bad” one in an age of civil war. For the first century BCE saw, in Lucan’s words, “worse than civil war”: a series of internecine conflicts that ended

<sup>167</sup> Quoted in TLL, s.v.: “contio significat conventum, non tamen alium quam eum qui a magistratu vel a sacerdote publico per praeconem convocatur.” The source is the second century epitome (S. Pompeius Festus) of a lost first-century work on the signification of words (M. Verrius Flaccus) which survives in an eighth century summary (Paul the Deacon) attested by a single eleventh-century fragmentary manuscript (the so-called *Codex Farnesianus*), which has in turn been badly burned and disassembled since its rediscovery in the early modern period. The standard edition is Festus, *De verborum significatu*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome* (Leipzig, 1913). For the manuscript see A. Moscadi, ed., *Il Festo farnesiano (Cod. Neapl. 4.A.3)* (Florence, 2001). Incidentally, Giorgio Agamben’s celebrated figure of the *homo sacer* derives from this battered source. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, 1998), p. 72.

<sup>168</sup> Although see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. 1, p. 191.

<sup>169</sup> New Pauly, vol. 3, p. 747; F. Pina Polo, “Procedures and Functions of Civil and Military *Contiones* in Rome,” *Klio* 77 (1995): 203-216. Cf. Caesar, *Bellum Civile*, 2.32.1, ed. A. Klotz, *C. Iuli Caesaris Commentarii*, vol. 2: *Commentarii belli civilis*, rev. edn. (Leipzig, 1969), p. 74. Idiomatically the word could mean “public opinion.” OLD, s.v., meaning 2.

<sup>170</sup> New Pauly, vol. 3, p. 747.

with the establishment of imperial rule by Augustus.<sup>171</sup> In those dark days, *contiones* seemed more like press-gangs than constitutional assemblies. And in the first years of imperial government, they became obsolete press-gangs.

This explains how in this first semantic shift the word burst its constitutional confines and came to mean practically any kind of crowd. The one constant was that a *contio* tended to remain an audience in early imperial Latin. So fairly early on *contio* came to mean the speech as well as the crowd that came to hear it.<sup>172</sup> This secondary meaning drove the word, in late republican and imperial Latin, toward increasingly negative connotations. The word's derivative forms all have negative undertones. *Contionari*, the verb, "to *contio*-nize," meant "to harangue" in classical Latin.<sup>173</sup> A person who "contionizes" is called a *contionator*, which meant "an agitator, a demagogue." Meanwhile the adjective *contionalis*, "contional," came to designate somebody "addicted" to harangues or political rallies.<sup>174</sup>

At the same time, technical constitutional phrases, like *contionem dare*, "to grant an opportunity of addressing a meeting," were relegated to the history books.<sup>175</sup> Other idioms were misunderstood. *In contionem escendere* originally meant "to rise up to give a *contio*," but the second-century author Aulus Gellius understood it literally – "to climb up onto a *contio*" – and imagined the *contio* as a raised platform or rostrum from which one

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<sup>171</sup> Lucan, *De bello civili*, 1.1, ed. Shackleton Bailey, p. 1.

<sup>172</sup> OLD, meaning 3.

<sup>173</sup> OLD, s.v., meaning 1.

<sup>174</sup> OLD, s.v. "contionor," "contionalis"; TLL, s.v. "contionor," "contionalis."

<sup>175</sup> OLD, "contio," meaning 1a.

gave harangues.<sup>176</sup> By then, even a speechifier at a banquet might be said to “give a *contio*.” As the imperial period wore on, a special funk coalesced over the word for Christian authors due to the pagan stamp of such addresses. Around 200, Tertullian includes *contiones* among other “pomps of the devil” that Christians must avoid.<sup>177</sup>

By the fourth century, a writer like Ammianus Marcellinus uses the word almost exclusively of armies and army speeches.<sup>178</sup> In the later Empire, *contio* was simply a rarer word. And this brings us to our second major shift in meaning. The *contio*, spurned by Tertullian, slowly, slowly became a synonym for a “congregation” among late antique Christians, while *contionator*, once a “demagogue,” transformed into a “preacher” or a “pastor.” It is not too difficult to imagine what may have led to this Christianization of the *contio* and its derivations: the Christianization of Roman public life across the fourth and fifth centuries. This process took time. In the fifth century Jerome still used the verb “to contionize” to describe Herod in his translation of Acts, when the wicked king gives a speech that so angers God its deliverer lasts just two more biblical verses.<sup>179</sup> But a century and a half later a Christian poet could praise a contemporary of Jerome as a “nobilis adstructor, facundus contionator,” that is, a “dignified teacher, eloquent preacher.”<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 4.2.3, ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae ad Atticum*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1987), vol. 1, p. 128; Cicero, *Post reditum in senatu*, c. 12, ed. T. Maslowski, *M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae manserunt omnia* (Leipzig, 1981), fasc. 21, p. 7; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 18.7.5-8, ed. C. Hosius, *A. Gellii Noctium Atticarum Libri XX* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 244-245 (acknowledging two other meanings).

<sup>177</sup> Tertullian, *De spectaculis* 5.13, ed. E. Dekkers, CCSL 1 (Turnhout, 1954).

<sup>178</sup> TLL, s.v. “contio.”

<sup>179</sup> Acts 12:21: “Statuto autem die Herodes vestitus veste regia sedit pro tribunali, et concionabatur ad eos.”

<sup>180</sup> Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Martini* (BHL 5624), book 2, line 394, ed. F. Leo, MGH AA 4.1 (Berlin, 1881) p. 327.

By the early Middle Ages, the *contio* had been definitively won over for the City of God. The influential seventh-century etymologist Isidore of Seville defined a *contionator* as “a comforter, a preacher.”<sup>181</sup> He explained that “Ecclesiastes,” the biblical nickname for the older, wiser Solomon, is best translated by a word that once meant a demagogue: “we call him *Contionator* in Latin since his admonishment is not specifically directed to one person, as in Proverbs, but to everyone generally, as if to the whole *contio* and church.”<sup>182</sup> This passage highlights another important semantic transformation, our third major shift in the word’s meaning, which we might consider a corollary of the second, Christianizing, shift. This was a shift in the way *contio* described groups in space. What once referred to a circumscribed body of male citizens in a concrete urban space, now came to mean the whole community of Christians very broadly. We can elucidate this change by way of comparison to a famous contemporary semantic transformation of a different word. The word “pagan,” *paganus*, which meant “country bumpkin” in classical Latin, recalling the *pagus* or countryside, came in these years to mean “non-Christian.”<sup>183</sup> The fifth-century historian Orosius helps us understand how. Thinking of Augustine’s distinction between the City of Man and the City of God, while keeping the original meaning of *paganus* in mind, Orosius explained that his *Histories Against the Pagans* were intended to “counter the vain depravity of those aliens to the city of God,

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<sup>181</sup> Isidore, *Et.*, 10.38: “consolator, adlocutor.”

<sup>182</sup> Isidore, *Et.*, 6.2.18: “Latine Contionator dicitur, eo quod sermo eius non specialiter ad unum, sicut in Prouerbiis, sed ad uniuersos generaliter, quasi ad totam contionem et ecclesiam dirigatur.” See also Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon de studio legendi*, ed. Charles Buttmer (Washington, DC, 1939), 4, 80, which repeats this explanation verbatim.

<sup>183</sup> But see Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, pp. 14-25, for important modifications.

called ‘pagans’ after the little rural crossroads and districts they come from.”<sup>184</sup> He was referring to the urbanity of faith, and the rusticity of unbelief. Orosius’s interiorization of urbanity points the way to the Christianization of the *contio*.<sup>185</sup>

The shift in meaning of both *paganus* and *contio*, which owes first and foremost to Christianization, also corresponds to the first great wave of urban decline in the Roman west. It was in these years that cities shrank, as chapter 1 explained. The physical decline of the cities catalyzed, if not caused, what I have called the third major shift in the *contio*’s meaning, its change in spatiality. The Roman *contio* had been concrete, physical – an individual audience, an individual speech; the Christian *contio* meant a “congregation,” both in the sense of a particular assembly in a particular church (that is, a “sermon”) but also in the sense of a mystic body, a collective singularity. The *placitum* or assembly in Italy was described as a *contio*.<sup>186</sup> Increasingly in the early Middle Ages, this figural meaning prevailed. By the end of the eleventh century, an abbot “and the *contio* committed to him” can send their best wishes to an emperor.<sup>187</sup> It took a while for the

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<sup>184</sup> Prologue, in *Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, ed. C. Zangemeister, CSEL 5 (Leipzig, 1889), p. 3: “Praeceperas mihi, uti aduersus uaniloquam prauitatem eorum, qui alieni a ciuitate Dei ex locorum agrestium conpitis et pagis pagani uocantur siue gentiles quia terrena sapiunt, qui cum futura non quaerant, praeterita autem aut obliuiscantur aut nesciant, praesentia tamen tempora ueluti malis extra solitum infestatissima ob hoc solum quod creditur Christus et colitur Deus, idola autem minus coluntur, infamant.” Orosius’s preface is addressed to Augustine, who had commissioned the work to support his own contention in the *City of God* that the empire’s recent catastrophes were not the result of its Christianization as pagans believed. Augustine contended that pre-Christian history was equally full of disasters, and Orosius’s *Histories Against the Pagans* set out to prove that point.

<sup>185</sup> Orosius himself still used *contio* in the historical sense, describing how Gracchus was cut down by a mob at a *contio*. See *Historiae adversum paganos* (as above), p. 304.

<sup>186</sup> Stefano Gasparri, “Venezia fra l’Italia bizantina e il regno italico: la *civitas* e l’assemblea,” in *Venezia Itinerari per la storia della città*, ed. S. Gasparri, G. Levi, and P. Moro (Bologna, 1997), pp. 61-82, at p. 61.

<sup>187</sup> *Codex Udalrici*, no. 84, ed. Philippe. Jaffé, ed., *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum* (Berlin, 1869), vol. 5, p. 166: “cum contione sibi comissa.” This letter survives in the twelfth-century formulary-book compiled by the Bamberg cleric Udalric, designed mainly as a primer for school exercises. For the sources of this collection, see Carl Erdmann, “Zu den Quellen des Codex Udalrici,” *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 50 (1935): 445-453. For this use of *contio*, see J. F. Niermeyer et al., ed.,

word to enter church hymns, but from the tenth-century onward *contio* becomes a ready term for choirs of the faithful. Hymnal *contiones* were not limited to human beings either. A typical tenth-century hymn for All Saints' Day speaks of "the sacred *concio* of angels."<sup>188</sup>

This angelic participation in the *contio* signals another aspect of what I have called shifts two and three, Christianization and the rise of figural signification. This shift is characterized by a return to positive connotations. *Contio*, bathed in hymnal glory, was now definitely a "good" crowd again. The word's derivative forms took on positive tones.<sup>189</sup> The tenth-century Rather of Verona speaks of "contional eloquence" when talking about a good sermon.<sup>190</sup> The verb *contionari*, "to contionize," last to shake off its past, finally lost its dark connotations, and now meant "to preach, to give a homily."<sup>191</sup>

Another spatial feature of *contio*'s transformation was a move to the countryside.

Throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, *contio* was used to describe royal assemblies.<sup>192</sup> The typical venue for such assemblies was not an urban forum, but a field near a royal hunting lodge or outside of a royal town (see above, chapter 2). So when the word referred to a physical assembly it often meant one that took place outdoors, that is, not in a city.

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*Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2002), vol. 2, p. 309, s.v. "concio" (albeit not listing the full range of other meanings).

<sup>188</sup> *AH* 7, no. 118, p. 132, 3a.

<sup>189</sup> *MLW*, vol. 2 ("C"), p. 1744, lines 53-54.

<sup>190</sup> Rather of Verona, *Praeloquia*, 1.31, ed. P. Reid, *CCCM* 46A (Turnhout, 1984), p. 31.

<sup>191</sup> R. E. Latham, ed., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Oxford, 1975), s.v. "contio."

<sup>192</sup> *ARF*, s.a. 800, ed. Kurze, pp. 112-113.



This early medieval norm was not to last. By the start of the eleventh century, towns in the Low Countries and Italy were coming back to life. Demographic growth may have begun as early as the seventh or eighth centuries, and by the year 1000 it was in full swing.<sup>193</sup> Mass pilgrimages, great assemblies, enormous trade fairs, open-air sermons – and soon crusades – were now the rule of a new age of crowds. Above all, the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw a burst of concern in the church about heresy, and heretics were increasingly conflated with crowds.<sup>194</sup> If a charismatic preacher was a *contionator* and the scene of his address was a *contio*, it was possible for heterodox preachers to be *contionatores* addressing *contiones*.<sup>195</sup> And thus, *contio* slowly regained its ancient ambiguity by the High Middle Ages. A twelfth-century poet could thus sing of a *turba furens, gens dissona, concio discors*, “a raging mob, a strident brood, a warring *concio*,” a return to ancient ochlophobia which signals a different world from the one that emerged in the wake of the Roman empire.<sup>196</sup>

What is clear is that, regardless of shifts in valence, the original technical meaning of *contio* had been lost in most cases. But not completely. After all, the technical Republican definition was only preserved by the eighth-century author Paul the Deacon. The source is the second-century epitome (S. Pompeius Festus) of a lost first-century work on the signification of words (M. Verrius Flaccus) which survives in Paul the

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<sup>193</sup> U. Büntgen et al., “2500 Years of European Climate Variability and Human Susceptibility,” *Science* 331 (2011): 578-582.

<sup>194</sup> R. I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*, rev. edn. (New York, 1985), pp. 76-78.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. Herbert Grundmann, *Religious movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, 1995; first published 1935).

<sup>196</sup> Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, book 7, line 172, ed. R. Bossuat, *Alain de Lille: Anticlaudianus, texte critique*, Textes philosophiques du Moyen Age 1 (Paris, 1955), p. 177.

Deacon's eighth-century summary attested by an eleventh-century fragmentary manuscript (the so-called Codex Farnesianus), which has in turn been badly burned and disassembled since its rediscovery in the early modern period.<sup>197</sup>

It is worth noting that the great Carolingian gloss traditions include several different entries for *contio*, each detailing different meanings.<sup>198</sup> To be sure, some glossing traditions – like the eighth-century Abba-Ababus glossary represented by St Gall, MS 912 (see figure 6 below) – provide only the new meaning: a *contio* is a “coming together of people” (*conventus populi*).<sup>199</sup> Others however, like the *Liber Glossarum*, are liberal in their variety; the great late eighth-century Corbie manuscript Paris, BnF, lat. 11529 lists several different meanings of the word (see figure 7 below).<sup>200</sup> Early medieval learned audiences were aware of technical polysemy and perhaps even change over time. This must be kept in mind when considering trends in the semantic history of individual words. Trends are not the full picture.

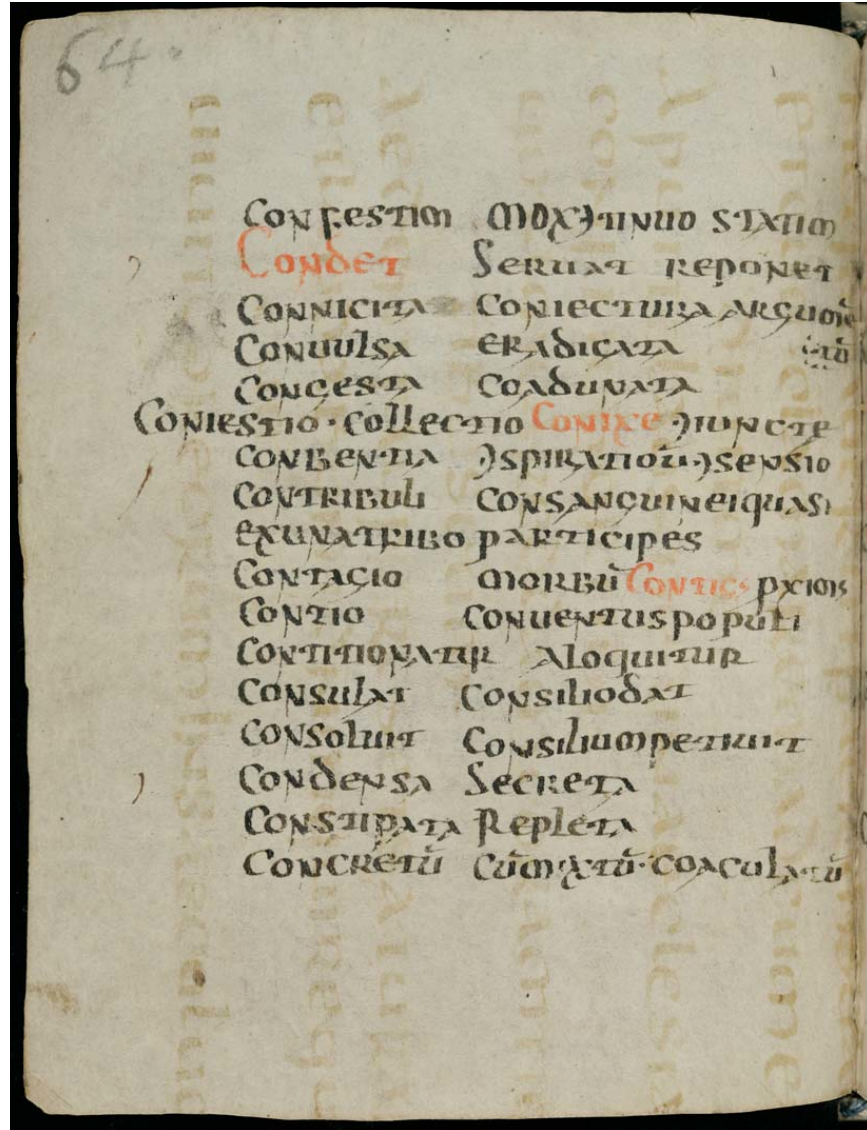
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<sup>197</sup> Festus, *De verborum significatu*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome* (Leipzig, 1913).

<sup>198</sup> *Liber Glossarum*: Paris, BnF, lat. 11529, fol. 72r.

<sup>199</sup> For this tradition, see Rosamond McKitterick, “Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production,” in *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Manuscript*, ed. E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick, and R. Thomson (Leiden, 2012), pp. 21-78.

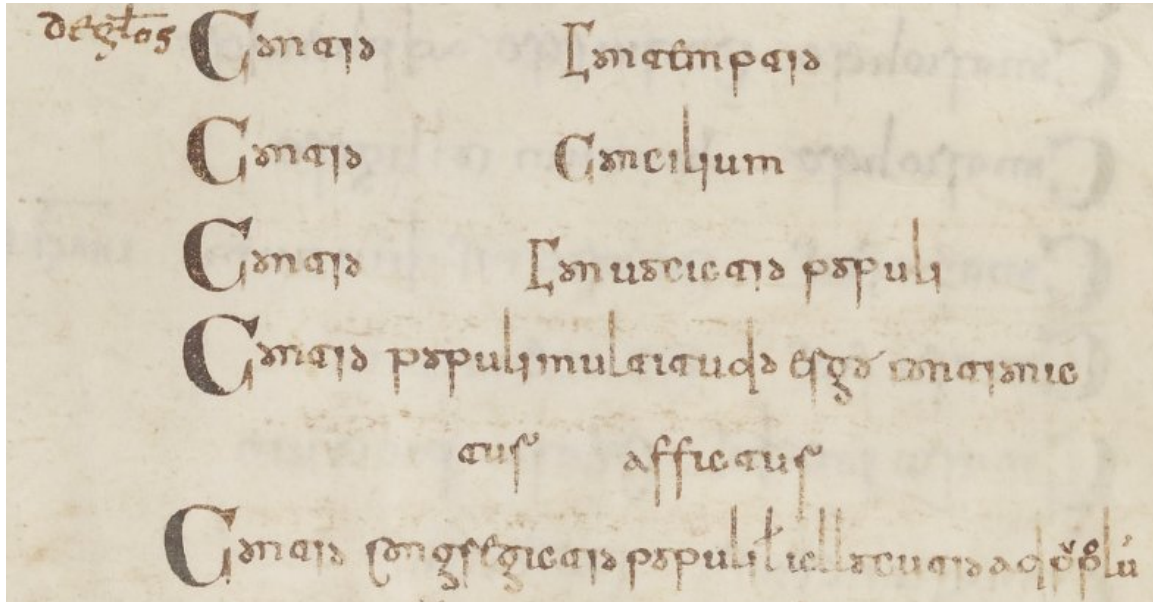
<sup>200</sup> David Ganz, “The ‘Liber Glossarum’: a Carolingian Encyclopedia,” in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. P. L. Butzer and D. Lohrmann (Basel, 1993), pp. 127-135; for the transmission of this text, see Paolo Gatti, “Liber Glossarum,” in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo*, ed. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 264-67. See also A. C. Dionisotti, “On the Nature and Transmission of Latin Glossaries,” in *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'antiquité tardive à la fin du moyen âge*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), pp. 205-250.



**Figure 6. *Contio* in the Glossaries: New Meanings.** The gloss on “contio” in the Abba-Ababus Glossary, in a palimpsest manuscript written during the eighth century in what is now Switzerland over an earlier fifth-century codex from Bobbio (containing Donatus, Terence, medical texts, and biblical texts). At line 11, “CONTIO” is glossed “CONUENTUS POPULI” (“a gathering of people”). St Gall, MS 912, p. 64.

The early Middle Ages saw the continuity of old crowd words (*caterva*, *agmen*, *turma*) as well as the rise of new ones (*drungus*, *scara*) taken from Germanic languages. There was a great deal of osmosis between military crowd concepts and theological ones (hosts of angels; monks/saints as soldiers of Christ; material inspired by Paul’s Ephesians

metaphor). There are numerous instances of military terms taking on non-technical contexts. But there is evidence that early medieval authors endeavored to respect technical military meanings.<sup>201</sup> The importance of late Roman military manuals among warrior elites meant that Roman military terminology continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>202</sup>



**Figure 7. *Contio* in the Glossaries: Polysemy.** Glosses on the word “contio” in the *Liber Glossarum* produced at Corbie in the late eighth century: “contemptio” (“disorder”); “concilium” (“council”); “conuocatio populi” (“gathering of people”); “populi multitudo ergo contionatus affatus” (“a multitude of people, thus ‘contional’ speech”); “congregatio populi vel allocutio ad populum” (“a congregation of people or a speech to the people”), Paris, BnF, lat. 11529, fol. 72r.

In some cases, technical definitions do appear to have been largely forgotten.

Words relating to bacchanalia came to refer with much less precision to celebratory crowds. Paschasius Radbertus in the acrostic dedication to Warinus of his *De corpore et*

<sup>201</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 7691 (Spanish Glossarium), with, e.g., fol. 11r: “coors [=cohors]: Numerus militum.”

<sup>202</sup> See Michael D. Reeve, “The Transmission of Vegetius’s *Epitome rei militaris*,” *Aevum* 74 (2000): 243-354, for the extraordinary afterlife of the most important late Roman military handbook.

*sanguine domini* guilelessly explains that “bachica nostra velim, puero quae misimus olim.”<sup>203</sup> On the other hand, military crowd terms experienced a mix of creative oblivion and continuity. As early as the development of bureaucratic language in the late empire, technical distinctions (e.g. for civil or military units) were obscured by use of synonyms and elevated language.<sup>204</sup> Ammianus, clear as he is about the undesirability of *turbae*, could be surprisingly unclear – for a former soldier – about military units. He made little clear distinction between technical terms like *numerus*, *cohors*, and *turma*.<sup>205</sup>

Finally, it is worth treating one area where crowds regularly maintained their negative connotations: in the words related to the term *vulgus/volgus*. *Vulgus* held onto its ancient disparaging connotations in a way that no other crowd term did.<sup>206</sup> Sometimes other terms did duty for despicable crowds of rustics: *rustici*, *plebs*, and the like.<sup>207</sup> There are certainly exceptions. The mid-eighth-century *Regula canonicorum* of Chrodegang of Metz insists that every community should come to concord in the name of God (“omne vulgus pro nomine Dei consensit”).<sup>208</sup> This phrase owes to biblical precedent.<sup>209</sup>

<sup>203</sup> Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, lines 1-5, ed. B. Paulus, CCCM 16 (Turnhout, 1969), p. 1: “Regis adire sacrae qui vis sollemnia mensae, / Almificum Christi corpus contingere votis, / Delicias vesci, roseum potare cruorem, / Bachica nostra velim, puero quae misimus olim, / Et niveos casto condas in pectore flores.” Note that the MSS all had trouble with *bachica*, including the “oldest and best of our manuscripts” (Paulus, p. xii), Paris, BnF, lat. 2854, which reads “brachia nostra” (f. 1r). Other readings included “bacchica,” “bachicha,” “bachia,” “brachia,” and “munera.”

<sup>204</sup> Ramsay MacMullen, “Roman Bureaucratise,” *Traditio* 18 (1962): 364-378, at pp. 369-70 (noting on p. 369 that “Confusion, however, has its uses.”)

<sup>205</sup> Albert Müller, “Militaria aus Ammianus Marcellinus,” *Philologus* 64 (1905): 573-632

<sup>206</sup> E.g. *Vita Vigoris* (BHL 8608-8613), c. 8, AASS Nov. 1.1.301B: “consurgens omnis multitudo rusticorum vulgus cum injuria ejecerunt eum.”

<sup>207</sup> E.g. *ARF*, s.a. 826, ed. Kurze, p. 171; Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* 19.3, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae 2 (Hanover, 1884), p. 184.

<sup>208</sup> Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula canonicorum*, c. 31 (lines 22-23), ed. Wilhelm Schmitz, *Regula canonicorum: aus dem Leidener Codex Vossianus Latinus 94 mit Umschrift der tironischen Noten* (Hanover, 1889), p. 21. Cf. Aug. *Civ. dei*, 19.21; 19.24. For Chrodegang’s *Regula canonicorum*, see M. A.

Yet poetic considerations for rhetorical variety could also lead authors to resist negative connotations. Many of these changes can be seen in a poem by the seventh-century bishop and polymath Julian of Toledo on the subject of rhythmic verse and prose.<sup>210</sup> Julian describes how crowds of great men eschewed “rithmicas sententias,” and in enumerating one group after another he uses several of the terms explored here: not just Moses, David, Job, and Jeremiah, but the “whole assembly of holy fathers” (*omnis contio / patrum sacrorum*), the “manifold throng of learned authors” (*caterva doctiorum multiplex*), a strange list which runs, “Socras, Acates, Ferecides, Ennius, / Focas, Omerus, Varro, Cesar, Symmachus,” or the “crowd of other secular authors, be they philosophers or poets.”<sup>211</sup>

## V. Conclusions

What do these semantic developments add up to? Is it possible to make assumptions about changing perceptions on the basis of language? This chapter has argued that the negative associations of crowds in ancient culture had attenuated – with the exception of some usages like *vulgus* as rustic or simple. At the same time, collective

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Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonicorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 58-113.

<sup>209</sup> Joshua 9:18, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 298; 2 Kings 3:37, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 421; 2 Chronicles 23:20, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 615; Jeremiah 50:37, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1242.

<sup>210</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, “Ein Brief Julians von Toledo über Rhythmen, metrische Dichtung und Prosa,” in B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 288-298.

<sup>211</sup> Bischoff, “Ein Brief Julians von Toledo,” pp. 293-294: “ceterorum turba saecularium / seu sint sophistae seu poetae carminum.”

behaviors were being linked ever more closely with notions of unity, consensus, and legitimacy. In the next chapter we will examine some of these words at work in the topoi or motifs of literary Latin. What explains these semantic trends? One possibility is that we are observing a new representational regime. Early medieval representations of gathering, in other words, were shaped by the new material regime of gathering explored by the previous chapters. Another explanation is provided by Christianity and its key texts. Biblical, hagiographical, and liturgical norms overwhelmed classical norms, and the the sacred crowds of the Gospels replaced the riotous mobs of the classical philosophers and historians. The next chapter will ask to what extent the attenuation of negative crowd discourse is a trick of the sources. The vast majority of our texts are explicitly Christian. A third possibility depends on the transformation of political and social life, in a world that no longer possessed Roman cities, but which held onto the culture those cities produced. When large groups were temporary and predictable, rather than permanent and spontaneous, it makes sense that a more positive representational regime of crowds could have arisen.

As we saw in the previous two chapters, early medieval communities were capable of assembling vast numbers, in war, in councils, in fairs, in religious celebrations. Nevertheless, as we saw, these crowds were marked by their seasonality. It is probably the combination of physical and cultural factors that drove the semantic change. Christianization exerted a profound effect upon the semantic field of crowds, but this effect had already begun in the later Roman empire, when political, social, and demographic structures remained in their ancient forms. What really made the early medieval semantic field particular was probably the combination of material change and

cultural engagement with the Christian past. Preaching replaced public oratory, the court took over for the *basilica*, and the expanding importance of monasticism and ecclesiastical organization transformed the socio-political arena in which crowds acted. As the words for crowds changed, so did the expectations for crowd behavior. In the next chapter, we will turn to commonplaces, or *topoi*, which structured the representation of gatherings in early medieval sources.



## CHAPTER FOUR

## TOPOI

**I. Introduction**

Early medieval written depictions of crowds tended to conform to commonplaces: a crowd of rapt witnesses, a throng of political or military supporters, multitudes drawn to a holy man for guidance or healing.<sup>1</sup> These topoi are intimately related to the semantic transformations we examined in the last chapter. There, we saw that words with classically negative connotations, such as *turba*, became more susceptible to positive valences. Negative connotations to many terms for collective behavior became attenuated, although terms related to stereotypes about “rustic” or “vulgar” groups

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. witnesses: *Vita Germani ep. Parisiensis II brevior* (BHL 3469), c. 3, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 7 (Hanover, 1920), p. 421: “fratrum caterva mirans...”; *Vita Alpini episcopi Cabilonensis* (BHL 310), c. 13, AASS Sep. 3.7.89A-B (a man blinded by demons is cured in the view of large crowds); *Virtutes Fursei* (BHL 3213), c. 6, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), p. 442 (a “large crowd of men and women in lamentation” comes to the house of a man they believed dead, who has been resurrected by a saint); Herard of Tours, *Vita Chrodegangi episcopi Sagiensis, translationes et miracula* (BHL 1782, 1784), 2.16, AASS Sep. 1.3.771A: “multitudo supervenientum fidelium” (crowd drawn to a miraculous sound); *Vita Genovefae* (BHL 3335), c. 25, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), p. 226 (crowds exulting in the wake of a miracle). Entourages: *Karolus Magnus et Leo papa*, lines 153-176, ed. H. Beumann, F. Brunhölzl, and W. Winkelmann, *Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa: ein paderborner Epos vom Jahre 799* (Paderborn, 1966), pp. 70-72; Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici Caesaris*, 4.2175-2177, ed. E. Faral, *Ermold le Noir: Poème sur Louis le Pieux et Épitres au Roi Pépin*, Les Classiques de l’Histoire de France au Moyen Age 14 (Paris 1964), p. 166. Both texts draw on the Virgil’s much used hexametric line ending: *cominante caterva/stipante caterva*: Virgil, *Aen.*, 2.40, 2.370, 4.136. Cf. Richard Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 13-15. Rapt multitudes: Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque* (BHL 1898), 1.10, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRG 37 (Hanover, 1905), p. 169: “Ibi residens vir egregius, monasterium construere coepit, ad cuius famam plebes undique concurrere et cultui religionis dicare curabant, ita ut plurima monachorum multitudo adunata, vix unius caenubii collegio sistere valeret.” Crowds in seek of aid: *Vita Amati* (BHL 362), c. 13, AASS Sep. 4.13.130C: “Præterea multi dæmoniâci, cæci, ad exequias Sancti convenientes, incolumes ad propria redierunt”; *Vita Boniti episcopi Arverni* (BHL 1418), c. 27, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 6 (Hanover, 1913), p. 132: “Cumque post hec eum infirmantium turba ubique prosequeretur, sed ille iactantiae vicium cavens, ubicumque potuisset, semet ipsum ospitiolo trudebat et infirmos ex oleo, quod ex beati Petri sepulcro benedictione levâri iusserat, ungi præcipiebat”; Aimoin, *Translatio sanctorum Georgii, Aurelii et Nathaliae* (BHL 3409), PL 115, col. 949C: “compressantibus se hinc inde turbis.”

(notably *vulgus*) preserved ancient negative overtones intact. The line between concrete and abstract terms blurred. Conceptual terms, like *multitudo*, acquired physicalized meanings, while more concrete crowd words, like *agmen* and *caterva*, came to denote abstract groups.<sup>2</sup> Technical terms, like *contio* or *turma*, slipped into more generalized meanings.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, writers exploited the polysemy of words like *populus*, *ecclesia*, and *exercitus* to draw connections between physical crowds and the abstract groups (people, church, army) they represented.<sup>4</sup>

Moving from language to mentalities, the previous chapter argued that ideas associated with the crowd grew more positive in valence, less differentiated in type, and more symbolic in function than they had been in late Antiquity, even as the demographic underpinnings of physical gathering changed (as part 1 argued). This chapter examines in turn how these trends further materialized in literary clichés or motifs. It is well known that medieval authors of all periods followed the ancients in using commonplaces (*loci communes*, *topoi*) to express common ideas.<sup>5</sup> Social historians of the crowd have often regarded such “stereotypes” as hindrances to knowledge about historical collective

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<sup>2</sup> Compare the general trend in late Latin for more vivid words in daily use (e.g. *manducare*, “to jaw,” over *edere*, *comedere*, “to eat,” producing Fr. *manger* and It. *mangiare*, though note Sp. and Port. *comer*): Einar Löfstedt, *Late Latin* (Oslo, 1959), pp. 40-41; Veikko Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, 3rd edn. (Paris, 1981), pp. 21, 75-81. For a helpful overview of the basic morphological and syntactical changes in Late Latin, see Dag Norberg, *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval* (Paris, 1968), pp. 14-92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Väänänen, *Introduction*, pp. 81-82, for further “généralisation d’emplois spéciaux.”

<sup>4</sup> The army, however, had been a ready social metaphor in Roman times too: Ramsay MacMullen, “The Legion as a Society,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 33 (1984): 440-456.

<sup>5</sup> For a brief overview to medieval *topoi*, see Franz Quadlbauer, “Topik,” in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1997), vol. 8, col. 864-867. For Ernst Robert Curtius’s role in shaping how medievalists use the concept of *topoi*, see below.

behavior.<sup>6</sup> Yet taken as a whole, these stereotypes are valuable evidence of changes in mentality. By tracing the changes in the use of topoi associated with a given family of concepts – here, collective phenomena – we can gain insight into changing patterns of representation and thought.

This chapter argues that the dominant topoi in early medieval sources increasingly came to associate the figure of the crowd with ideas of legitimacy. As with the semantic histories of individual words, commonplaces about rabbles and mobs gave way to topoi about throngs of witnesses and supporters. An association between collective action and legitimate consensus, reinforced by the Bible and by hagiographical texts, spread across genres. This chapter deals with literary topoi associated with crowds and collective behavior in the early Middle Ages, and focuses on how ancient negative topoi of the crowd as fickle or violent gave way to positive clichés (influenced by the depiction of witness crowds in the New Testament), particularly those casting the crowd as witness. The chapter concludes with an exception, a case where a concerned ninth-century archbishop of Lyon denigrated crowds of women behaving strangely, showing how and why this ecclesiastical writer departed from normal patterns of representation.

## II. Topoi: Definition, Methodology, Sources

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<sup>6</sup> George Rudé, *The Crowd in History* (London, 1964, rev. edn. 1981), pp. 7-8, laments “stereotyped approaches” to the crowd whether they regard the crowd as a positive or negative force in society; E. P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past & Present* 50 (1971): 76-136, at p. 78, introduced the thesis that there existed “in almost every eighteenth-century crowd action some legitimizing notion. By the notion of legitimation I mean that the men and women in the crowd were informed by the belief that they were defending traditional rights or customs; and, in general, that they were supported by the wider consensus of the community.”

First, what do we mean by a commonplace, cliché, motif, or topos? Ernst Robert Curtius controversially, but influentially, recycled the ancient rhetorical concept of a *topos* or “topic” to describe literary commonplaces.<sup>7</sup> He used this classical term loosely to describe various repeatable literary phenomena: individual figures (the *puer senex*), sentiments (all must die), or modes of authorial self-presentation (the topos of modesty). Curtius’s labile usage has had its critics.<sup>8</sup> Scholars have doubted Curtius’s wider claim that the topos is the glue uniting one vast literary cultural unity from Antiquity to the Baroque.<sup>9</sup> Yet despite doubts about the empirical nature of topos analysis and its universal applicability, the concept itself has also enjoyed remarkable practical success. A handful of late antique, medieval, and Byzantine literary studies have devoted attention to defining the “topos,”<sup>10</sup> but most historians and literary scholars are comfortable using

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<sup>7</sup> In classical rhetoric, the term *topos* (or Latin *locus*) had a specific function as part of *inventio*: Aristotle, *Ars Rhetorica*, 2.22-23.1395b-1400b, ed. R. Kassel (Berlin, 1976), pp. 121-138; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 5.10.20-22, ed. M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 257-258. See Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*, ed. and trans. M. T. Bliss et al. (Leiden, 1998), pp. 119-20 (§ 260), 171-196 (§§ 373-409). Cf. Leonid Arbusow, *Colores rhetorici: eine Auswahl rhetorischer Figuren und Gemeinplätze als Hilfsmittel für akademische Übungen an mittelalterlichen Texten*, ed. Helmut Peter, 2nd. rev. edn. (Göttingen, 1963), pp. 91-121. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton, 1953), p. 70, spells out his own approach (cf. p. x, where he speaks of a “technique of philological microscopy”). These ideas reiterates Curtius’s earlier “Zur Literarästhetik des Mittelalters II,” *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 58 (1938): 129-232, at pp. 129-143, esp. 139-40. For the intellectual origins of Curtius’s concept, see Stefan Goldmann, “Zur Herkunft des Topos-Begriffs von Ernst Robert Curtius,” *Euphorion* 90 (1996): 134-145.

<sup>8</sup> Most notably, Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000-1150*, 2nd edn. (London, 1986), pp. 1-22, esp. 11-22, a devastating critique of Curtius’ tendency to underestimate the diversity of medieval poetic traditions, his underestimation of individual agency, and his claims to “empirical soundness” (p. 11).

<sup>9</sup> For a useful overview of the idea’s reception, see Albrecht Classen, “Robert Curtius and the Topos of the Book. The Impact of an Idea on Modern Philological Research,” *Leuvense Bijdragen* 87 (1998): 59-78.

<sup>10</sup> A. J. Festugière, “Lieux communs littéraires et thèmes de folk-lore dans l’hagiographie primitive,” *Wiener Studien* 73 (1960): 123-152, esp. p. 124; Jacques Fontaine, “Un cliché de la spiritualité antique tardive: *stetit immobilis*,” in *Romanitas - Christianitas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit: Johannes Straub zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. K-H. Schwarte and G. Wirth (Berlin, 1982), pp. 528-552, esp. pp. 551-552; see also the definition in Thomas Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos: griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin, 2005), p. 355: “Ein Topos ist ein relativ feststehendes literarisches Motiv, eine literarische Konstante, die innerhalb der byzantinischen

the term freely to denote literary patterns of all sorts.<sup>11</sup> In this chapter “topos” is preferred to “cliché,” “commonplace,” or “motif” mainly to avoid the negative connotations the latter terms often imply.

Other literary scholars have added nuance to Curtius’s concept. Erich Auerbach, who sparred with Curtius in the pages of *Romanische Forschungen*, offered a parallel approach to rhetorical patterns in medieval texts. Although Auerbach did not examine topoi in the same terms as Curtius (even if he did use “topos” as a term of analysis), his work also sought to interpret rhetorical forms in terms of cultural structures.<sup>12</sup> A recent development of Curtius and Auerbach’s literary-historical analysis is Joaquín Martínez Pizarro’s use of the type-scene, borrowing from classical and biblical scholarship.<sup>13</sup>

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hagiographischen Literatur breite Anwendung gefunden hat, stets neu aufgegriffen und auf diesem Wege tradiert wurde.” Dronke, *Poetic Individuality*, pp. 17-18, criticizes Curtius for insisting on the fixed nature of literary motifs and thus the possibility of typologizing commonplaces “empirically.” We should bear in mind Pratsch’s stress on the “relatively” fixed nature of these motifs or commonplaces.

<sup>11</sup> Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts and Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, rev. edn. (Princeton, 1990), pp. 16-18, using hagiographical commonplaces about the theft of relics as evidence for medieval attitudes about relics and the sacred. Cf. the Bollandist treatment of hagiographical commonplaces about relics: Hippolyte Delehaye, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels, 1934), pp. 75-116.

<sup>12</sup> See Erich Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter* (Bern, 1958), p. 69, for Auerbach’s treatment of Curtius’s concept of topos. For the two scholars’ exchange on the subject of Auerbach’s masterpiece *Mimesis*, see Ernst Robert Curtius, “Die Lehre von den drei Stilen in Altertum und Mittelalter,” *Romanische Forschungen* 64 (1952): 57-70; Erich Auerbach, “Epilegmina zu Mimesis,” *Romanische Forschungen* 65 (1953): 1-18.

<sup>13</sup> Joaquín Martínez Pizarro, *A Rhetoric of the Scene: Dramatic Narrative in the Early Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1989), p. 19, defines “a scene in narrative” as “the representation of a transaction between particular characters in their own words and actions, without the mediation of authorial commentary.” Pizarro contrasts scenic presentation, which he characterizes as fundamentally oral and fundamentally early medieval (cf. p. 36: “scenes” are “the basic unit of early medieval narrative”) with “the narrative of classical historiography” which is “authorial, exemplary, and summarizing” (p. 19). A type-scene is simply a repeatable scene (p. 35). See also Joaquín Martínez Pizarro, “The King Says No: On the Logic of Type-Scenes in Late Antique and Early Medieval Narrative,” in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. J. R. Davis and M. McCormick (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 181-192, at pp. 181-182. For earlier biblical scholarship using type-scenes, see Robert Alter, “Biblical Type-Scenes and the Uses of Convention,” *Critical Inquiry* 5 (1978): 355-368. See also his more detailed *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York, 1981). Classical scholarship had already pioneered the study conventional scenes: Walter Arend, *Die typischen Szenen bei Homer* (Berlin, 1933).

Pizarro argues that the “scene” is the basic unit of early medieval narrative, in contrast with ancient literary narrative which exhibits a more authorial, editorializing style.<sup>14</sup> A type-scene is then a narrative unit that repeats, in the same way that a topos repeats, rhetorically and across sources.<sup>15</sup> Pizarro gives examples of the prophet admonishing the king, the death-bed scene, the miraculous healing, and scenes of access to a powerful figure such as a king.<sup>16</sup> Many type-scenes – including the four mentioned above – involve crowds (especially insofar as the center on a royal figure). We will examine some of the more common examples below. Pizarro helps us distinguish between topoi directly about the crowd and type-scenes in which crowds play a part.

In method, then, this chapter borrows Curtius’s loose usage of “topos,” with the addition of Pizarro’s type-scene, but without Curtius’s strict categories or any assumption of cultural homogeneity. “Topos” here will refer to a figure, a sentiment, a mode of self expression, or a scene which reappears in roughly the same form across different texts. Following Auerbach, I contend that these rhetorical patterns shed light on early medieval perceptions. This is not to argue, as Auerbach did, that different time periods have authentic (or by contrast false) literary forms or languages, but simply to suggest that patterns in the representation of crowds reflected and influenced prevailing mentalities about crowds.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Pizarro, *Rhetoric of the Scene*, pp. 19-20. See recently Jamie Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 92-104, which offers another trenchant analysis of the “scenic style” in the context of hagiographic mnemonic techniques.

<sup>15</sup> Pizarro, *Rhetoric of the Scene*, p. 96. Cf. Arend, *Die typischen Szenen*, pp. 1-27.

<sup>16</sup> Pizarro, *Rhetoric of the Scene*, p. 35 (prophet), p. 87 (death-bed), pp. 51-52 (healing). Cf. Pizarro, “The King Says No,” pp. 182-191 (access).

<sup>17</sup> For Auerbach’s historicism, see Jan Ziolkowski, “Foreward,” to Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language and its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. R. Manheim (Princeton, 1993), pp. ix-

But what kind of evidence are the formulaic depictions of crowds in early medieval sources? Are topoi evidence for real crowd activity? What is their relationship to widespread perceptions about crowds? Or are topoi better evidence for more generalized phenomena: an educational milieu (Curtius), a linguistic community (Auerbach), a narrative regime (Pizarro)? In chapter 2, we noted that topoi raise obstacles to certainty in reconstructing real, physical collective behavior from written texts. We can partially overcome these obstacles with multiple, independent forms of evidence. In this chapter, we will focus on a second challenge of reconstructing mental attitudes from clichés. It is not always clear how topoi relate to contemporary patterns of thought. Topoi may be better evidence for medieval conventionality than for particular medieval attitudes. Still, early medieval thought often valued the universal over the particular, a pervasive cultural habit which differs from modern disregard for conventionality. Early medieval writers wrapped important particulars in the shroud of the universal.<sup>18</sup>

Another possible obstacle works similarly. Since medieval authors built closely on biblical and ancient models, so we might rightly worry that our sources reiterate fossilized attitudes about crowds. This is especially a danger in hagiography and poetry, two of the genres from which this chapter draws heavily. How do we make sure we are

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xxxix; Wolfgang B. Fleischmann, "Erich Auerbach's Critical Theory and Practice: An Assessment," *MLN* 81 (1966): 535-541. Note the similar gesture made by Curtius, "Zur Literaturästhetik des Mittelalters II," p. 9, that links the use of *topoi* to the entity he describes as "Romania" (reiterated in *European Literature*, pp. 30-35). Cf. Pizarro, "The King Says No," pp. 191-192.

<sup>18</sup> For a helpful discussion of how the eighth-century hagiographer Arbeo used "Wandermotive," see Heinz Löwe, "Arbeo von Freising Eine Studie zu Religiosität und Bildung im 8 Jahrhundert," H. Löwe, *Von Cassiodor zu Dante: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Geschichtsschreibung und politischen Ideenwelt des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1973), pp. 75-110, at pp. 95-98 (reprinted from the *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 15/16 (1950/51): 87-120). Arbeo of Freising, *Vita Corbiniani episcopi Frisingensis* (BHL 1947), ed. H. Glaser, F. Brunhölzl, and S. Benker, *Vita Corbiniani. Bischof Arbeo von Freising und die Lebensgeschichte des hl. Korbinian* (Munich, 1983), pp. 84-157; Arbeo of Freising, *Vita et Passio Sancti Haimhrammi Martyris* (BHL 2538), ed. B. Bischoff, *Vita et passio Sancti Haimhrammi, Leben und Leiden des hl. Emmeram* (Munich, 1953).

not mistaking conventions in the representation of reality for real views? Is it possible for an author to obscure his or her thought-world by expressing contemporary realities in ancient clichés? Auerbach thought so. For him, Einhard's Suetonian Latin was incapable of expressing the experienced realities of Carolingian life.<sup>19</sup>

Historians are less inclined today to that kind of historicism. By treating ideology as performative, we can sidestep Auerbach's concerns about authentic cultural forms; as long as a view is expressed in the public sphere it can influence discourse or ideology.<sup>20</sup> It is indeed revealing of Carolingian mentalities if Einhard sought to reinterpret his imperial *nutritor* in Suetonian fashion, even if this obscured "vernacular" aspects of Charlemagne's reign.<sup>21</sup> In general, scholars are less drawn to make sweeping claims about the nature of Carolingian society today than when Auerbach wrote, when a keen anxiety to periodize the early Middle Ages between Antiquity and the high Middle Ages motivated many arguments about the nature of early medieval society. Like historians of

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<sup>19</sup> Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum*, p. 86: "Mit suetonischem Latein konnte man Worte des Lebens der karolingischen Welt nicht wiedergeben"; cf. p. 87: "was die karolingische Epoche an Personen, Einrichtungen und Ereignissen bot, besaß eine ganz andere Struktur." Auerbach did however open up the possibility that this analysis might only be true for some spheres of Carolingian life. Noting his opposition to Paul Lehmann's observation that Einhard reflected his times, a view reiterated by Heinz Löwe in the *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Vorzeit und Karolinger* (Weimar, 1953), pp. 275-276, Auerbach allowed that although Löwe's view seemed at odds with his own, "das liegt an der Verschiedenheit der Problemstellung. Löwe kommt es auf das Weltanschauliche und Politische, mir auf das sinnlich Anschauliche und menschlich Eigentümliche an" (*Literatursprache*, 86, n. 23). The distinction between the *Weltanschauliche* and the *Politische* on the one hand and the *sinnlich Anschauliche* and *menschlich Eigentümliche* on the other is part of Auerbach's historicism. The English translation by Manheim (*Literary Language and its Public*, p. 117-8, n. 23) struggles with these distinctions: "But this is explained by our different approaches to the question. Löwe is interested in political attitudes and *Weltanschauung*, where as I am concerned with sensuous figures and human individuality."

<sup>20</sup> As I argue in "Nigellus, Ausulus: Self-promotion, self-suppression and Carolingian ideology in the poetry of Ermold," in *Ego Trouble: Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R. Corradini et al. (Vienna, 2010), pp. 161-173, at p. 173.

<sup>21</sup> For instance, see Matthew Innes, "The Classical Tradition in the Carolingian Renaissance: Ninth-Century Encounters with Suetonius," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 3 (1997): 265-282, at pp. 267-270. Cf. Patrick Geary, *Language and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Waltham, MA, 2013), pp. 11-37, for a genealogical critique of the assumption that the vernacular represents unmitigated historical truth.



political, economic, and social structures, historians of mentalities have felt increasingly comfortable with heterogeneity in the early medieval historical landscape.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that our sources for crowd topoi do build closely upon earlier models. This is particularly true for hagiographic and poetic texts. While crowds appear in almost every conceivable genre of written source from the early Middle Ages, they appear most insistently in hagiographical sources: saints' lives, *translationes*, and various kinds of *miracula* (such as those preserved in sermons).<sup>23</sup> These sources are full of topoi and type-scenes that involve collective behavior: the crowd that witnesses a miracle, the persecuting crowd, the crowd that speaks in unison, the crowd healed by a saint, the crowd that demands the election of a reluctant future abbot or bishop, the crowd that rushes to miracle-working relics. Not every saint's life contains a crowd. The earliest acts of Christian martyrs generally report only the altercations between martyrs and persecutors.<sup>24</sup> Descriptions of the movement of a saint's body may allude to crowds, but indirectly. One early Christian martyr was "received by his brothers with high honor" at Agrigentum.<sup>25</sup> Sometimes this format survives in early

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<sup>22</sup> Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005), p. 830.

<sup>23</sup> For overviews, see Martin Heinzmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, Typologie Des Sources 33 (Turnhout, 1979); René Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie: Ses sources - ses methods - son histoire* (Brussels, 1953; repr. 2000). See also the ongoing multi-volume series, dedicated to hagiographical traditions on a regional basis, with six volumes projected: *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout, 1994-). For an example of a common *topos* among relic translation accounts, the incorruptibility of the saint's body, see Arnold Angenendt, "Corpus incorruptum: Eine Leitidee der mittelalterlichen Reliquienverehrung," *Saeculum* 42 (1991): 320-348.

<sup>24</sup> See the examples collected in *Acti e passioni dei martiri*, ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen, 2nd edn. (Milan, 1990).

<sup>25</sup> E.g. *Passio Felicis Tubzacensis* (BHL 2895), ed. H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford, 1972), vol. 2, p. 270: "exceptus est a fratribus cum summo honore." He is received "in the same fashion" ("similiter") at Catania.

medieval hagiography. For instance, a short, probably seventh-century *Passio Aefrae* (BHL 107b) consists predominantly of an exchange between the saint and her judge.<sup>26</sup> Yet in most medieval hagiography witness crowds are a staple. Conventional crowds – which often replicate verbatim scenes from earlier texts and the bible – are so ubiquitous that scholars of hagiography often treat them only in passing.<sup>27</sup> A second major source for crowd topoi, with similar traits, is early medieval poetry. Early medieval poetry, in its frequently literal dependence on classical models, also poses the potential danger of a genre that is fundamentally conservative. Poetry, particularly secular poetry, can preserve some of the most conservative (i.e. Roman) attitudes about the crowd.

What are the sources of early medieval crowd topoi? The Bible was always a major font of motifs and scenes.<sup>28</sup> A few Old Testament scenes (Moses handing down the laws, the numbering of the tribes) influenced early medieval representations of comparable behavior (royal legislative councils).<sup>29</sup> The role of the crowd in topoi of desolation was shaped by the prophetic books, and in particular Isaiah and Ezekiel.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> *Passio Aefrae vetustior* (BHL 107b), ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 7 (Hanover, 1920), pp. 200-204.

<sup>27</sup> A notable exception is Hedwig Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen im 9. Jahrhundert: über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 325-370.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. J. Contreni, “The Patristic Legacy to c. 1000,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. 2: From 600 to 1450*, ed. J. Carleton Paget and J. Schaper (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 505-535, at pp. 525-6 for the influence of the Bible, as read through the church fathers, on early medieval culture. See also the useful discussion in Pizarro, *Rhetoric of the Scene*, pp. 50-53. For a much wider-ranging study of the impact of the Old Testament on legal and liturgical texts in the early Middle Ages, see Raymund Kottje, *Studien zum Einfluss des Alten Testaments auf Recht und Liturgie des frühen Mittelalters (6.-8. Jahrhundert)* (Bonn, 1970).

<sup>29</sup> See, e.g., the depiction of the handing-down of the laws in the Stuttgart Psalter, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Bibl. fol. 23, at Psalm [Vulgate] 77.1 (“Adtendite populus meus legem meam...”), fol. 90r, with an isocephalic audience dressed as Carolingian aristocrats.

<sup>30</sup> For instance, the absence of crowds: Gregory the Great, *Homily on Ezekiel*, 2.6.22, ed. C. Morel, *Homélies sur Ezéchiel: texte latin, introduction, traduction et notes*, SC 327 (Paris, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 312: “Nullus in agris incola, pene nullus in urbibus habitator remansit.” Cf. Biagio Saitta, “Crisi demografica e

References to the crowds, peoples, and multitudes in the Psalms shape the early medieval language of human collectivities.<sup>31</sup> It was, however, the New Testament that provided the most salient models for medieval depictions of crowds. Jesus preached, performed miracles, and suffered in front of crowds, and early medieval literature is thick with crowds modeled on the ὄχλος of the Gospels.<sup>32</sup> The crowds in the Acts of the Apostles, both good (the thousands converted: Acts 2:41, Acts 4:4; the multitudes that must come together: Acts 21:22) and bad (cf. Stephen's death in Acts 7 and the silversmiths of Ephesus in Acts 19:23-41), were another influence, particularly on hagiography.<sup>33</sup> And although the crowds in the Book of Revelations had broader impact on the visual arts than on texts, as we will see in the next chapter, apocalyptic multitudes had their place in early medieval writing as well.<sup>34</sup>

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ordinamento ecclesiastico nell'Italia di Gregorio Magno," *Quaderni catanesi di studi antichi e medievali* 3 (2004): 62-108.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. Psalm [Vulgate] 108.30, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 912: "confitebor Domino nimis in ore meo et in medio multorum laudabo eum" (Iuxta LXX), p. 913: "confitebor Domino vehementer in ore meo et in medio populorum laudabo eum" (Iuxta Hebr.). See, e.g., the eighth-century life by Audoenus, *Vita Eligii Noviomagensis* (BHL 2474), 2.20, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hanover 1902), p. 712: "Venit ergo per medias populorum turbas, et stans in quodam eminenti loco ante basilicam, coepit instantius praedicare, vehementer obiurgans populum, eo quod monitis salutaribus terga parantes, diabolicis filacteriis tantopere essent intenti"; the seventh-century collection of homilies, Eusebius "Gallicanus," *Collectio homiliarum*, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 101A (Turnhout, 1971), homily 39 (lines 13, 19); and the ninth-century Pseudo-Isidorian forger, Ps.-Clemens, *ep. I, c. 37*, ed. P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 42.

<sup>32</sup> The word ὄχλος appears 167 times in the New Testament (47 times in Matthew, 34 times in Mark, 41 times in Luke, 19 times in John, 22 times in Acts, and 4 times in Revelation). For biblical narrative strategies involving the crowd, see Elizabeth S. Malbon, "Disciples/Crowds/Whoever: Markan Characters and Readers," *Novum Testamentum* 28 (1986): 104-130. See also Joel F. Williams, "Discipleship and Minor Characters in Mark's Gospel," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 153 (1996): 332-343, at p. 333.

<sup>33</sup> J. Carnandet and J. Fèvre, *Les Bollandistes et l'hagiographie ancienne et moderne: études sur la collection des Actes des Saints* (Lyon, 1966), p. 92; Theofried Baumeister, *Martyrium, Hagiographie und Heiligenverehrung im christlichen Altertum* (Rome, 2009), p. 238-239. See also Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Miracles bibliques et Vies de saints," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 88 (1966): 376-385.

<sup>34</sup> Christoph Winterer, "Karolingische Apokalypsenzyklen als ekklesiologischer Kommentar," in *Tot sacramenta quot verba: Zur Kommentierung der Apokalypse des Johannes von den Anfängen bis ins 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. K. Huber, R. Klotz, and C. Winterer (Münster, 2014), pp. 343-360. For early medieval

Late antique hagiography also provided influential models. Individual *Lives* such as Evagrius' translation of Athanasius' *Life of Anthony* (BHL 609), Sulpicius Severus' *Life of Saint Martin* (BHL 5610), the anonymous *Acts of Saint Sylvester* (BHL 7725-7743), as well as consequential miracle collections such as the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, were storehouses of material from which early medieval hagiographers often drew.<sup>35</sup> The so-called *Verba seniorum*, together with the lives of the desert saints, shaped topoi such as the flight from the crowd and the assembly of sick people in search of cures.<sup>36</sup> Ancient and late antique biography and historiography preserved topoi about entourages or urban crowds which were taken up by writers of early medieval lives and histories.

Early medieval sources also copied one another. This can be seen most clearly in the hagiographical dossiers of nonexistent saints, when hagiographers strung together clichés or simply changed the name of one saint to that of another.<sup>37</sup> The genre of the

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apocalypticism more generally see James Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2014); Wolfram Brandes, "'Tempora Periculosa Sunt': Eschatologisches im Vorfeld der Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen," in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur*, ed. Rainer Berndt (Mainz, 1997), vol. 1, 49-79.

<sup>35</sup> Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, trans. Evagrius of Antioch (BHL 609), PL 73, col. 125-169; Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* (BHL 5610), ed. J. Fontaine, *Vie de Saint Martin*, 3 vols., SC 133-5 (Paris, 1967-9; rev. edn. 2004); Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi*, ed. J. Fontaine, *Gallus: Dialogues sur les "vertus" de Saint Martin*, SC 510 (Paris, 2006); *Acta Sylvestri* (BHL 7725-31), ed. B. Monbrius, *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum*, vol. 2 (Hildesheim, 1978; repr. from 1910); Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum libri iv*, ed. A. de Vogüé, SC 251, 260, 265 (Paris, 1978-1980), which also enjoyed great popularity in the Byzantine East thanks to the translation into Greek by Pope Zacharias (741-752). Cf. Ivan Havener, "The Greek Prologue to the Dialogues of Gregory the Great," *Revue bénédictine* 99 (1989): 103-117.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. *Verba seniorum* (BHL 6527), 1.7, PL 73, col. 855c (flight from the crowd). For the origins and early diffusion of these texts, see Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley, 2005), pp. 100-105.

<sup>37</sup> Delehaye, *Cinq leçons*, p. 24. For the classic introductions to the development of hagiographical dossiers, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, 2nd rev. edn. (Brussels, 1933); Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, 3rd. rev. edn. (Brussels, 1927).

*translatio* of relics is also very susceptible to this kind of borrowing.<sup>38</sup> Crowd topoi which appear in Einhard's *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233) are taken up by Adrevald's *Miracula Benedicti* (BHL 1123-1124), which in turn informed Aimoin's *Translatio Vincentii* (BHL 8644-8646) and the mid-ninth-century *Historia Translationis Helenae* (BHL 3773).<sup>39</sup> Similarly, even as Einhard built upon Suetonius for his *Vita Karoli* (BHL 1580), Thegan and the Astronomer built upon Einhard in their biographies of Louis the Pious.<sup>40</sup> The classical poets exerted a powerful influence on early medieval language and style. Virgil was always fantastically influential<sup>41</sup> – and the *Aeneid* is as much about “crowds and the man” – but occasionally more jaded depictions of the “vulgar mob” or even the “unruly rabble” make their way through reading of Ovid, Horace, and other ancient poets. Also crucial were Prudentius, Sedulius, and the other late antique poets whose versifications of the Bible and hagiographies became school

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<sup>38</sup> Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte*, pp. 63-66, on the typical depiction of probative miracles. For a helpful overview of the depiction of *miracula* in early medieval hagiography, see Hans-Werner Goetz, “Wunderberichte im 9. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zum literarischen Genus der frühmittelalterlichen Mirakelsammlungen,” in *Mirakel im Mittelalter: Konzeptionen, Erscheinungsformen, Deutungen*, ed. Martin Heinzelmann, Klaus Herbers, and Dieter R. Bauer (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 180-226.

<sup>39</sup> Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 118-124. Adrevald, *Miracula Benedicti* (BHL 1123-1124), ed. E. de Certain, *Les miracles de saint Benoit*, Société de l'histoire de France 96 (Paris, 1858); Aimoin, *Translatio Vincentii* (BHL 8644-8646), PL 126, col. 1011-1027; Almann of Hautvillers, *Historia Translationis Helenae* (BHL 3773), AASS Aug. 3.18.599-611.

<sup>40</sup> Innes, “The Classical Tradition in the Carolingian Renaissance,” at p. 267. For the argument that Einhard may have also been inspired by the biography of Agricola by Tacitus, available in the library at Fulda where he studied, see Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 17-20. For the extraordinary impact of Einhard's biography, see Matthias M. Tischler, *Einhard's Vita Karoli: Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption* (Hanover, 2001).

<sup>41</sup> *The Virgilian Tradition: the First Fifteen Hundred Years*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C.J. Putnam (New Haven, 2008).

texts in the Middle Ages.<sup>42</sup> Among early medieval poets, Aldhelm of Malmesbury and Venantius Fortunatus were widely read and imitated.<sup>43</sup>

Building on these models, early medieval authors presented crowds in common patterns. Perhaps the most consistent feature of early medieval topoi involving crowds is that the crowd tends to appear on the periphery of narrative action. In the language of narrative studies, the crowd acts as a minor character, whose behavior clarifies or amplifies a narrative that is fundamentally centered on some other character or event.<sup>44</sup> Often crowds in early medieval sources are really about the individuals who face them. This was typical of ancient topoi about crowds as well. Auerbach long ago noted the ancients' lofty disinterest in the crowd's motivations. For Ammianus Marcellinus, riots were the result of mere "stupid effrontery."<sup>45</sup> *Seditio*, in Virgil's crowd simile from Book 1 of the *Aeneid*, "often" emerges among the rabble (*magno in populo saepe coorta est*).

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<sup>42</sup> Birger Munk Olsen, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale* (Spoleto, 1991), p. 23. Especially important were the verse celebrations of the saints in Prudentius, *Liber peristefanon*, ed. M. P. Cunningham, CCSL 126 (Turnhout, 1966).

<sup>43</sup> Günter Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekansons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Munich, 1970), pp. 5-6, 18-19. See also Antonio Placanica, "Venantius Fortunatus (Carmina)," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo*, ed. P. Chiesa and L. Castaldi (Florence, 2005), vol. 2, pp. 526-538, for the wide transmission of Venantius' poetry. Venantius composed a group of saints' lives which were similar to Prudentius in their influence: *Vita Martini* (BHL 5624), ed. F. Leo, MGH AA 4.1 (Berlin, 1881), pp. 293-370; *Vita et virtutes Hilarii* (BHL 3885, 3887), ed. B. Krusch, MGH AA 4.2 (Berlin, 1885), pp. 7-11; *Vita Paterni* (BHL 6477), ed. Krusch, *Ibid.*, pp. 33-37; *Vita et miracula Albini* (BHL 234-5), ed. Krusch, *Ibid.*, pp. 27-33; *Vita Marcelli* (BHL 5248), ed. Krusch, *Ibid.*, pp. 49-54; *Vita Radegundis* (BHL 7048), ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), pp. 364-377; *Vita Severini episcopi Burdegalensis* (BHL 7652), ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 7 (Hanover, 1920), 219-224; *Vita Germani episcopi Parisiensis* (BHL 3468), ed. Krusch and Levison, *Ibid.*, pp. 372-418. For Venantius's construction of episcopal identity, see Simon Coates, "Venantius Fortunatus and the Image of Episcopal Authority in Late Antique and Early Merovingian Gaul," *The English Historical Review* 115 (2000): 1109-1137.

<sup>44</sup> Alex Woloch, *The One vs. the Many: Minor Characters and the Space of the Protagonist in the Novel* (Princeton, 2003), pp. 4-6, 246-254.

<sup>45</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton, 1957), p. 52, building on Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, 15.7.1, ed. W. Seyfarth, L. Jacob-Karau, and I. Ulmann (Leipzig, 1978), pp. 55-56.

There is no need to explain how or why; Virgil focuses on the *vir* who controls the crowd.<sup>46</sup> This feature of ancient crowd discourse – the tendency of authors to use the crowd to illuminate the individual while suppressing the crowd’s own motivations and experiences – means that classical Latin literature often reduced crowd depictions to topoi. Virgil’s simile is common: a virtuous man calms an unruly crowd. The same topos appears in early medieval sources.<sup>47</sup>

The main features of ancient Roman crowd discourse left a varied impact on the post-Roman world. These include the uneasy division of crowds into good and bad, the focus on individuals confronting the crowd, and the conformance of crowd depictions to topoi or type-scenes. Early Christian discourse about the crowd – which knew crowds of persecutors and followers alike, which also tended to push the crowd to the periphery of narrative, and developed its own body of biblically-oriented crowd topoi – built upon but also departed from the ancient model. Early medieval discourse about the crowd thus developed from these two, at times discordant, sources of inspiration.

Two final caveats. First, we must distinguish between genre-specific topoi (especially in hagiography) and patterns which have a wider influence across early medieval discourse. There is a danger of confusing hagiographical, poetic, or liturgical conventions with early medieval mentalities as a whole. This chapter argues that, despite

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<sup>46</sup> Virgil, *Aen.* 1.148-149.

<sup>47</sup> E.g. Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* (BHL 7049), book 2, c. 2, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), p. 380: “Hoc audientes Franci universaque multitudo cum gladiis et fustibus vel omni fremitu diabolico conabantur defendere; sancta vero regina immobilis perseverans, Christum in pectore gestans, equum quem sedebat in antea non movit, antequam et fanus perureretur, et, ipsa orante, inter se populi pacem firmarent.” Baudonivia’s depiction builds on the *stetit immobilis* topos discussed by Fontaine, “Un cliché,” but also on the ancient topos of the man (or, as here, woman) who controls the unruly crowd. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 1.148-153, mentioned above. For another example, see the bilingual seventh- or eighth-century *Vita Brigittae (Bethu Brigitte)*, c. 40, ed. and trans. Donncha Ó hAodha, *Bethu Brigitte* (Dublin, 1978), p. 31.

generic peculiarities, there are in fact patterns of representation that hold across sources. Second, individuality matters. Texts and authors have different goals, different methods, and different ulterior motives. *Toposforschung* favors the general over the specific. Peter Dronke framed his *Poetic Individuality* to criticize this tendency.<sup>48</sup> Dronke argued that scholars cannot assume *topoi* always function identically across texts; instead, their purpose within any given work must be closely analyzed in terms of local context. Nor should scholars be doctrinaire in classifying topoi. Pratsch in his recent book on Byzantine hagiographical topoi is careful to include a caveat to this effect in his definition: “Ein Topos ist ein *relativ* feststehendes literarisches Motiv.”<sup>49</sup> I use topoi as a heuristic tool, not as an objective classification. The presence of a topos does not necessarily imply an individual author’s submission to the “poetic tradition.” Medieval authors were capable of using topoi inventively and idiosyncratically, just as they were capable of reusing the classical tradition. As we seek to find patterns in the sources, it is also important to look out for distinctive voices, and with this in mind the chapter ends with a counter-case, the women of Dijon as discussed by Amolo in the mid ninth century.

In what follows, we will examine the main kinds of crowds that appear in our sources: different forms of witness crowds, passive crowds, and active crowds. Second, we will turn to qualities of the crowd that appear again and again, such as the topos of the undifferentiated crowd (“all sexes, all classes, all ages”), crowds associated with particular social groups, and the qualities of number and density.<sup>50</sup> Third, we will

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<sup>48</sup> Dronke, *Poetic Individuality*, pp. 11-20.

<sup>49</sup> Pratsch, *Topos*, p. 355 (emphasis mine).

<sup>50</sup> Curtius, *European Literature*, p. 160.



examine type-scenes involving crowds, from spontaneous or miraculous assemblies to the scenes implied by diplomatic formulae. Fourth, we will examine the equivocations implied by some of the crowd topoi the chapter examines, to see how early medieval texts linked crowds with social groups, information, good or evil behavior, and political or religious legitimacy. Finally, we will treat some exceptions to our findings.

### III. Types of Crowds: Witness Crowds, Passive Crowds, Active Crowds

Most crowds in early medieval sources function as what we might term a “witness crowd.” A witness crowd observes an individual or event within a narrative, provokes or reacts to what it sees, but is fundamentally peripheral to the main action of the text. They can be depicted negatively or positively, but the narrative focus is not on them *per se*.<sup>51</sup> For this reason, they are often relegated to an ablative absolute in Latin texts (a parenthetical aside: “with crowds watching”), as in one late eighth- or early ninth-century saint’s life in which a saint is observed walking on water by “crowds of heathen” (*gentilium turbae*).<sup>52</sup> In terms of narrative, witness crowds act as minor characters, extraneous to the main action but intensifying or illuminating the drama.<sup>53</sup> Their purpose

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<sup>51</sup> Or their valence can shift. Kate Cooper, “Ventriloquism and the Miraculous: Conversion, Preaching, and the Martyr Exemplum in Late Antiquity,” in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 22-45, at p. 24, gives the example of the martyr whose audience comes to observe the saint for the wrong reasons, but which is educated by his martyrdom. This narrative audience is in turn a model for the audience of the sermon in which it is likely to appear.

<sup>52</sup> *Vita Vulframni* (BHL 8738), c. 8, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 667: “aspicientibus gentilium turbis.” For this text, see Stéphane Lebecq, “Vulfran, Willibrord et la mission de Frise: pour une relecture de la *Vita Vulframni*,” in S. Lebecq, *Hommes, mers et terres du Nord au début du Moyen Âge* (Villeneuve d’Ascq, 2011), vol. 1, pp. 75-94.

<sup>53</sup> Malbon, “Disciples/Crowds/Whoever,” pp. 123-126.

is to clarify or amplify the moral, emotional, or ideological standing of what they observe.

We may distinguish between types of witness crowd on the basis of what they witness, and more broadly, on the normative standing of what they witness. Generally their focal point is an individual – a heroic protagonist like a saint, a bishop, a king, etc. – but their focal object can be a set of events. The crowd may be depicted as more or less aligned with the positive or negative valence of what its members observe. Such crowds go from being witnessing crowds, defined by their largely passive role in the narrative, to a more active crowd: persecuting or persecuted, participating, reacting emotionally or verbally (e.g. crying, “amen”).<sup>54</sup> A crowd may be part of a vision: a group among whose ranks a saint appears, for instance.<sup>55</sup> We should not draw too firm a line between passive and active crowds. The important point is that many crowds – probably the majority of crowds – in early medieval written sources conform to this pattern of peripheral action.

Among early medieval sources, witness crowds appear most commonly in hagiographical texts such as saints’ lives and translation accounts, but they are common in poetic, historical, and even liturgical sources as well. Despite, or perhaps because of their ubiquity, witnessing crowds have not attracted the attention one might expect from

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<sup>54</sup> Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Contra Fabianum*, fragment 34, ed. J. Fraipont, CCSL 91A (Turnhout, 1968): “si quis autem quaerit, cui deo, illa statim angelica multitudo respondet: sedenti in solio et agno”; Alcuin, *Carm.* 27, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae 1 (Hanover, 1881), p. 247: “Omnis ubique simul populus respondeat ‘amen’”; *Translatio Sancti Calixti Cisionium* (BHL 1525), c. 5, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 420: “Et dum, datas oratione, una voce populus respondisset: ‘Amen,’ elevantes eum a loco in quo iacebat, nullo gravati pondere, efferebant cum ymnis et laudibus usque in atrium aecclisiae, ubi antea gressum fixerat.” For a crowd that turns from weeping to exulting in the wake of a miracle, see the ninth- or tenth-century *Vita Eremberti ep. Tolosani* (BHL 2587), c. 4, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 655.

<sup>55</sup> As in the ninth-century *Vita Aldegundis* II (BHL 245), c. 12, AASS Jan. 2.30.1037. For the ninth-century dating of this rewriting of an earlier, perhaps eighth-century life, *Vita Aldegundis* I (BHL 244), AASSOSB 2 (Paris, 1669), pp. 807-815, see Charles Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata: saints et sanctuaires dans le nord de la Gaule du haut Moyen Âge* (Stuttgart, 2006), p. 346.

students of early medieval topoi.<sup>56</sup> The image of Christ before the crowd was probably the fundamental model during our period. A few examples will suffice. First, many authors replicate biblical scenes in which Jesus drew large crowds. A clear example is Matthew 4:23-25:

Et circumibat Iesus totam Galilaeam docens in synagogis eorum et praedicans evangelium regni et sanans omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem in populo et abiit opinio eius in totam Syriam et obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes variis languoribus et tormentis comprehensos et qui daemonia habebant et lunaticos et paralyticos et curavit eos et secutae sunt eum turbae multae de Galilaea et Decapoli et Hierosolymis et Iudaea et de trans Iordanen.<sup>57</sup>

And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom: and healing all manner of sickness and every infirmity, among the people. And his fame went throughout all Syria, and they presented to him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and such as were possessed by devils, and lunatics, and those that had the palsy, and he cured them: And much people followed him from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond the Jordan [Douai-Rheims].

Second, Christ's interactions with the crowd – his teaching, sermons, and miracles – were also influential.<sup>58</sup> Many early medieval sources possess shadows of these biblical crowds.<sup>59</sup> They, like the crowds of the Synoptic Gospels especially, act as witness crowds that observe miracles and sacred words: throngs coming to see saints and relics; assemblies assenting to political decisions; groups performing approbatory rituals in liturgy; and opposing sides in legal disputes staking their claims.

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<sup>56</sup> But see Röcklein, *Reliquientranslationen*, pp. 342-343.

<sup>57</sup> Matthew 4:23-25, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1531. Cf. Luke 4:42, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1614.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Mark 2:13, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1577: "Et egressus est rursus ad mare omnisque turba veniebat ad eum et docebat eos."

<sup>59</sup> Interpretations of the gospel crowds were incorporated into the liturgy. See, e.g., Jesse D. Billett, "Sermones ad diem pertinentes: Sermons and Homilies in the Liturgy of the Divine Office," in *Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and Their Audiences in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen, and Marianne Pollheimer (Turnhout, 2013), 339-73, at pp. 356-358.

The second main type of witness crowd is the one that observes wicked behavior. Early medieval narrators often avoid describing the crowd's disapprobation directly, but rather point to a distinction by using contrasting descriptors of the crowd and the individual or event confronted with the crowd, as when a "crowd of faithful heading to the ceremony of the mass" meets a blasphemer who has visited relics "without due devotion, as it later turned out, and without pure faith."<sup>60</sup> In this story, related by a ninth-century *translatio* for Saint Genesius, a crowd (*caterva*) of faithful people going to mass asks "a certain man of the plebeian rabble" (*quidam vir ex plebeio conventu*) what miracles the saint's relics have accomplished. The man blasphemously responds that the only miracle the relics have inspired is that "some woman, by a hidden power of her womb, brazenly let forth a noise."<sup>61</sup> Not long after, this man is struck, falls off his horse and breaks his arm, and only the relics he had insulted can (partly) heal his resulting torpor. As a continued chastisement, he is left partly weakened. The crowd in this little drama provokes the man's behavior, by asking him what sign (*signum*) the relics had been accomplishing. Yet the crowd here is extremely peripheral. Its members are not depicted reacting to the man's blasphemy, and they mainly serve as a contrast to the wicked rustic. Their candid faith contrasts with the "wayward devotion and impure faith" with which the blasphemer visited the relics in the first place.<sup>62</sup> The display a passive agency common in such miracle stories: in seeking out the saint they come across the real

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<sup>60</sup> *Miracula S. Genesii* (BHL 3314), c. 4, ed. W. Wattenbach, "Die Übertragung der Reliquien des h. Genesius nach Schienen," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 24 (1872): 8-21, at pp. 13-14.

<sup>61</sup> *Miracula S. Genesii* (BHL 3314), c. 4, ed. Wattenbach, pp. 13-14: "Non aliud signum, inquit, illic modo diffamatum audivi, nisi quod mulier quaedam per secretam alvi naturam sonitum protulit inpudenter."

<sup>62</sup> *Miracula S. Genesii* (BHL 3314), c. 4, ed. Wattenbach, p. 13. See also discussion of this text below.

focus of the *exemplum*.<sup>63</sup> The crowd also serves to lend credence to the story. This *Translatio* is preoccupied with dispelling doubt or uncertainty (*dubietas, ambiguitas*). The hagiographer (writing in the 820s or 830s in Reichenau) depicts crowds as witnesses to retributive or healing miracles, and often explicitly concludes anecdotes with phrases such as: “who could doubt...?” Another hagiographical text, written in the middle of the ninth century under the auspices of Hincmar of Reims, describes how the veracity of Saint Helen’s relics are determined only by a large assembly (*conventus*) of the church of Reims.<sup>64</sup>

Witness crowds also allowed authors to clarify value judgments about the behavior of individuals or the moral or political status of events described.<sup>65</sup> If texts are, as Buc has argued, “forces in the practice of power,” then the topos of the witness crowd acted to bolster the authority of textual assertions.<sup>66</sup> This would seem to be the case with large crowds that assembly in hagiography to show that a saint or relic is real.<sup>67</sup> When Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes come to Britain to (in Bede’s understanding)

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. *Vita Maximini* (BHL 5822), c. 5, AASS Mai. 7.29.22A, where an assembled multitude (*collecta multitudo*) of clerics and people seeks out the body of the saint, and they encounter a young boy who shows them the way.

<sup>64</sup> Almann of Hautvillers, *Historia Translationis Helenae* (BHL 3773), 2.13, AASS Aug. 3.18.602C.

<sup>65</sup> For a famous example, see Laurent Jégou, “Compétition autour d’un cadavre: Le procès du pape Formose et ses enjeux (896-904),” *Revue Historique* 675 (2015): 499-524, at pp. 520-521.

<sup>66</sup> Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001), p. 259. Cf. Philippe Buc, “Postface,” in Philippe Buc, *Pułapki rytuału Między wczesnośredniowiecznymi tekstami a teorią nauk społecznych*, trans. Michał Tomaszek (Warsaw, 2011), pp. 308-329.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Kreiner, *Social Life*, p. 162: pointing to the power of saints to control populations; cf. Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, Wisc., 1992), p. 148 for the bishop as “controller of crowds.”

refute the Pelagian heresy, their arrival attracted “huge crowds from all directions” and news about them spread across the island.<sup>68</sup>

Does this mean that the “witness crowd” is a purely retrospective phenomenon? That is, did authors insert such topoi from pure rhetorical habit? Comparison with legal sources suggests not. Proof in cases of injury depended on not just the testimony of witnesses, but their presence supporting a defendant’s innocence or an accuser’s just complaint.<sup>69</sup> The *narrationes* of early medieval charters also tend to stress overcoming *dubietas* or *ambiguitas*, while also emphasizing the legitimizing presence of witnesses.<sup>70</sup> In some cases, however, these witness crowds in charters may have been as imaginary as those in saints’ lives. A few charters which are said to be enacted “with many people standing by” but which must have occurred in less crowded settings.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, early medieval political ritual suggests that these figures were not merely retrospective or literary. Instead of existing in a purely literary or hagiographical context, the witness crowd was a pattern with wider influence: it informed the way that early medieval people understood how collective behavior should function and what it meant.

To what end? First, these crowds amplify whatever they observe, and this amplification is often associated with legitimacy: a miracle verified, a sermon appreciated, a ritual confirmed, or conversely, a crime condemned, because it is

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<sup>68</sup> Bede, *HE* 1.17.2, ed. Lapidge, vol. 1, p. 174: “ex diuersis partibus multitudo”

<sup>69</sup> Lisi Oliver, *The Body Legal in Barbarian Law* (Toronto, 2011), p. 41

<sup>70</sup> E.g. DD Lo 15, ed. T. Schieffer, MGH DD Karol. 3 (Berlin, 1966), p. 407; DD Karl 172 178, 184, ed. P. Kehr, MGH DD Karl (Berlin, 1937), p. 243, 257, 266-267.

<sup>71</sup> *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, ed. Theodor Bitterauf, 2 vols. (Munich, 1905), vol. 1, no. 275, p. 242 (30 May 808): “multis adstantibus.” For elucidation of this dispute, see Warren Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society* (Ithaca, 2001), pp. 135-138.

committed or punished in the crowd's view. Second, early medieval authors picked up on biblical cues to present witness crowds as model "publics" or "audiences," and in so doing provided patterns for readers or listeners to contemplate.<sup>72</sup> Early medieval authors generally regarded the crowd attracted to the sacred as a positive, despite patristic polemics against pure "curiosity." For the ninth-century exegete Christian of Stavelot, the biblical crowd's sense of "wonder" showed its moral qualities, in contrast to the Pharisees or Sadducees. The crowd's response was a simple wisdom which helped further to link the witness crowd with legitimation. Thus, when Christian interpreted Matthew 9:33 ("And after the devil was cast out, the dumb man spoke, and the multitudes wondered, saying, 'never was the like seen in Israel'"), he drew the following lesson: "Crowds [*turbae*], which seem less learned, were always wondering at the teaching of the Lord. But the Pharisees and the Sadducees were denigrating it, or turned into a wicked faction on account of envy, since they suffered because of the teaching of the Lord, since Christ was believed to be both holier and wiser by the crowds (*a turbis*)."<sup>73</sup>

The legitimizing function of these witness crowds is clearest when they serve as the implicit or even explicit judges of competition. Early medieval conflict resolution provided a real model, judging by contemporary accounts: courts were crowded scenes.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Cf. Malbon, "Disciples/Crowds/Whoever," p. 104.

<sup>73</sup> Christian of Stavelot, *Expositio in euangelium Matthaei*, c. 25 (9:33), ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 224 (Turnhout, 2008), p. 210: "*Et ejecto daemone locutus est mutus, et miratae sunt turbae* [Matthew 9:33]. *Turbae, quae minus eruditae videbantur, admirabantur semper doctrinam Domini. Pharisei autem et Sadducaei detrahebant, vel in malam partem convertebant propter invidiam, quia dolebant pro doctrina Domini, quia Christus a turbis et sanctior et sapientior credebatur.*"

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Theodulf of Orléans's description of the crowds that gathered in waves to bribe royal justices in *Contra iudices*, line 153, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae 1 (Berlin, 1881), p. 498: "Magna catervatim nos contio saepe frequentat." On the language of this poem, see M. Fuhrmann, "Philologische Bemerkungen zu Theodulfs *Paraenesis ad iudices*," in *Das Profil des Juristen in der europäischen Tradition: Symposium aus Anlaß des 70. Geburtstages von Franz Wieacker*, ed. K. Luig and D. Liebs (Ebelsbach 1980), pp. 257-277.

In hagiography, competition scenes include martyrs disputing with their persecutors, missionary saints disputing with pagans, and Catholic saints prevailing against the heretics. A clear example emerges in the first book of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.<sup>75</sup> In Bede's account of Germanus of Auxerre's and Lupus of Troyes's arrival on the shores of Britain to combat Pelagianism, the Catholic bishops' opponents approach the holy men with a multitude of followers, which attracts further crowds of men, women, and children. Making specious arguments, and giving a good show in their finery, the corrupted Pelagians attempt to persuade the crowd. But they are refuted by the "waves of eloquence" poured upon them by the bishops of Gaul. Then Germanus, with recourse to a bag of relics around his neck, healed the sick daughter of a "tribune," and both forms of her blindness – the physical and the spiritual – are replaced by light.

Bede is keen to stress that this occurred in sight of "all."<sup>76</sup> In a subsequent scene, the Pelagian heresy arises again and Germanus returns. A local leader, Elafius, hastens to the bishop with his ill son, bringing a crowd of local people. Again, Germanus heals the young child "in the presence of all," and having duly impressed the crowd, Germanus proceeds to give them a sermon which ensures the survival of Catholic faith there for a

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<sup>75</sup> The text of the *HE* was reedited by Michael Lapidge for Sources Chrétiennes: *Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple anglais*, ed. M. Lapidge, trans. P. Monat and P. Robin, SC 489-491 (Paris, 2005); this expands upon the text in the Oxford Medieval Texts series: *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans., B. Colgrave and R. Mynors (Oxford, 1969; repr. with corrections, 1991). For an initiation into the enormous literature on this famous text, see Alan Thacker, "Bede and History," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 170-189. See also the influential interpretation of Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 235-328.

<sup>76</sup> Bede, *HE* 1.17-18, ed. Lapidge, vol. 1, pp. 170-178. When the saint heals the child, "the parents rejoice as the crowd trembles at the miracle." Bede, *HE* 1.18.1, ed. Lapidge, vol. 1, p. 178: "Exultantes parentes; miraculum populus contremescit." In the same passage the evil opinion ("suasio iniqua") of heresy has been pushed away from "the minds of all" ("ex animis omnium").



long time to come.<sup>77</sup> The witness crowds in Bede's miracle competition, even when acting implicitly as judges, stand at the periphery. They are neither the active subject nor the passive object of the main action.<sup>78</sup> Yet witness crowds can easily achieve greater prominence in narrative. In other hagiographical texts crowds serve both as witness and beneficiary of saints' wonder-working. Crowds of converts both witness and react to narrative heroes.<sup>79</sup> In such cases, the crowd is the object of the central action; it as a whole hears the sermon, receives the miracle, or even responds verbally.<sup>80</sup> One example of crowds of this sort are crowds healed en masse by saints. A seventh-century story tells of how the prayers of Saint Honoratus and the intercession of Saint Genesius rescued a crowd from a collapsing bridge.<sup>81</sup> At the same time, a topos of the modest miracle worker meant that saints were often depicted as trying to avoid the ostentation of working wonders in front of crowds.<sup>82</sup> In Jerome's *Life of Hilarion*, for instance, Saint Hilarion constantly flees the applause of the multitudes.<sup>83</sup> Hilarion, in Jerome's telling, is beset by crowds all his life but mistrusts them for their seductive qualities. Circus, arena, and

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<sup>77</sup> Bede, *HE* 1.21.2, ed. Lapidge, vol. 1, p. 188: "in conspectu omnium."

<sup>78</sup> Bede, *HE* 1.21.2, ed. Lapidge, vol. 1, p. 188, describes the crowd as an "inscia multitudo."

<sup>79</sup> *Vita Willehadi* (BHL 8898), ed. H. Pertz, MGH SS 2 (Hanover, 1829), p. 381, for a pagan multitude (*multitudo gentilium*) which is converted and baptized.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. *Passio SS. Prisci, Cotti, et sociorum* (BHL 6930), AASS Mai. 6.26.365-367, at 366.

<sup>81</sup> *Sermo seu narratio de miraculo S. Genesii martyris Arelatensis* (BHL 3307), PL 50, col. 1273A-1276A.

<sup>82</sup> Influenced by biblical precedent, when Jesus conducts healing miracles but commands beneficiaries to conceal the miracle from others (which they never do): Matthew 8.4, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1536: "vide nemini dixeris" (leprosy); Matthew 9:30, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1539: "videte ne quis sciat" (blindness).

<sup>83</sup> Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis* (BHL 3879), ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen, *Vite dei santi*, vol. 4: *Vita di Martino, Vita di Ilarione, In Memoria di Paola*, ed. Christine Mohrmann (Milan, 1975), pp. 72-143.

theater disgusted Hilarion, and “his whole delight was in the assembly of the church.”<sup>84</sup> Hilarion sought out Antony of Egypt in the desert and lingered with him for a few months, but he was perplexed by the hordes of suffering people who besieged the aged saint’s isolation. “He thought it strange to endure, out in the desert, the crowds of the cities.”<sup>85</sup> So Hilarion, who had become a Christian in Alexandria and an ascetic in Egypt’s deserts, returned to Palestine, his homeland. Near Gaza, the bustling emporium that supplied the late Roman world with strong wine, he established his hermitage. For decades he suffered out in the desert beyond Gaza. His reputation expanded. Crowds of afflicted men, women, and animals were led to his camp. His cures attracted ever larger numbers. A crowded monastery grew up around him. The saint, now an old man, pined for solitude. Leaving his now populous “desert,” he set out for Egypt. There too the crowds found him, and he fled from Egypt to Libya to Sicily to Cyprus, beset by multitudes. Even in Cyprus, where he died, one of his last acts was to cure a crowd of two hundred men and women, which he did with unusual alacrity, “as if lashing out to avenge himself.”<sup>86</sup>

Hilarion died in 371. Around 390 Jerome wrote his life, the *Vita Hilarionis* (BHL 3879), in Bethlehem. The topos of the saint’s flight from the crowd dominates Jerome’s narrative of Hilarion’s deeds. Solitude, together with poverty and abstinence, was one of

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<sup>84</sup> Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis* (BHL 3879), 2.3, ed. Bastiaensen, p. 74: “non circi furoribus, non arenae sanguine, non theatri luxuria delectabatur, sed tota illi voluntas in ecclesiae erat congregatione.”

<sup>85</sup> Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, 2.6, ed. Bastiaensen, p. 76: “nec congruum esse ducens pati in eremo populos civitatum...”

<sup>86</sup> Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, 30.6, ed. Bastiaensen, p. 136: “...quodammodo in ultionem sui saeviens...”

the pillars of monastic asceticism.<sup>87</sup> To be a “monk” (*monachus*) was, by definition, to be “alone” (μοναχός).<sup>88</sup> Unlike Seneca’s correspondent Lucilius, who avoided the crowd in youth to be able to master it in maturity, the early Christian monks sought radical isolation. But monastic solitude was busier than one might expect. Many desert lives, which revel in the paradoxes of asceticism, play with the tension between isolation and another kind of public service: charity. A saint inured to solitude must endure the company of the needy out of charity, but modesty and saintliness will urge him to flee the crowds he has served.<sup>89</sup> The *Vita Hilarionis* takes this topos to its strange conclusion: the crowd-haunted saint cures and flees the masses, finally “lashing out” (*saeviens*) against the crowds of Cyprus with unusually swift cures. His reward for such stoic endurance is, finally, a solitary death.

Ultimately, the model is again biblical. Mark 8:1-3 offers an influential scene in which Christ clarifies his attitude toward the crowd: “In those days again, when there was great multitude and they had nothing to eat; calling his disciples together, he saith to them: I have compassion on the multitude, for behold they have now been with me three days and have nothing to eat. And if I shall send them away fasting to their home, they will faint in the way: for some of them came from afar off.”<sup>90</sup> Or, at Matthew 15:32 puts

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<sup>87</sup> E.g. *Verba seniorum* (BHL 6527), 1.7, PL 73, col. 855c: “Dicebant de abbate Theodoro, cui est praenomen de Pherme, quia haec tria capitula habuerit supra multos, id est, nihil possidendi, abstinendi, homines fugiendi” (“They used to say about abbot Theodore, who bore the name of Pherme, that he had held these three strictures above many other people, namely: to possess nothing, to remain abstinent, and to flee human company”); *Verba seniorum* (BHL 6527), 1.7, PL 73, col. 855c.

<sup>88</sup> *Verba seniorum* (BHL 6527), 1.7, PL 73, col. 855c.

<sup>89</sup> Gerhart Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, rev. edn. (New York, 1967), pp. 341-343.

<sup>90</sup> Mark 8:1-3, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1587: “in illis diebus iterum cum turba multa esset nec haberent quod manducarent convocatis discipulis ait illis, misereor super turba quia ecce iam triduo sustinent me nec

it in a commonly quoted phrase: “Iesus autem convocatis discipulis suis dixit misereor turbae quia triduo iam perseverant me cum et non habent quod manducent et dimittere eos ieiunos nolo ne deficient in via.”<sup>91</sup> *Miserere turbae*: “have compassion on the multitude.” This is one of the most important ideal qualities of an early medieval saint.<sup>92</sup> In the secular sphere, kings, counts, and other officials were expected to shower similar largess on the crowd: mass healing has its secular (and sometimes hagiographical) parallel in mass distribution of coins.<sup>93</sup>

Frequently the line between a witness crowd and a crowd receiving the benefits of a miracle worker is crossed. In the late sixth- or early seventh-century *Life of Saint Amator of Auxerre*, the bishop of Auxerre miraculously resurrects a child who is brought to him by a lamenting crowd. The hagiographer emphasizes the crowded nature of the scene: “Accurrit catervatim turba languentium, et ante vestibulum Antistitis prosternunt.”<sup>94</sup> The crowd of sick people come “in droves” (*catervatim*). Not only does Amator heal the child, but he also cures the whole crowd from “numerous afflictions.” In the following pages, Germanus, playing the role of Saul, brings a crowd with him to kill

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habent quod manducent, et si dimiserit eos ieiunos in domum suam deficient in via quidam enim ex eis de longe venerunt.”

<sup>91</sup> Matthew 15:32, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1550.

<sup>92</sup> Christian of Stavelot, *Expositio in euangelium Matthaei*, c. 15:32, ed. R. Huygens, CCCM 224 (Turnhout, 2008), p. 309: “Utraque natura domini in hoc facto monstratur, et diuina qua miraculum facit et humana qua turbae miseretur.”

<sup>93</sup> For miraculous reduplication of coins being distributed, see, e.g., *Passio Praeiectionis episcopi et martyris Averni* (BHL 6915-6916), c. 6, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 22; *Vita Hadriani II*, c. 2, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1892), vol. 2, p. 173. Cf. R. Ingoglia, “‘I Have Neither Silver nor Gold’: an Explanation of a Medieval Papal Ritual,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 85 (1999): 531-540.

<sup>94</sup> Stephen of Auxerre, *Vita S. Amatoris* (BHL 356), AASS Mai. 1.1.58A; see also 59E (“Accedunt hi propius qui portabant; viri Dei sospitatem inquirunt; cognoscunt ipsius fuisse, quam catervatim ex urbe proficisci viderant, pompam funeris deducendam”).

the current bishop of Auxerre for attacking a sacred tree. In order to overcome the “assembly of Christians” he gathers together a *turba* of roughs to oppose the Christian crowd (“...& ne ei aliquo modo quorundam Christianorum conventus furenti resisteret, turbam secum agrestum coadunans civitati improvisus advenit”).<sup>95</sup> This bad crowd ends up as a witness to good deeds, however, and is converted to the good. In a story that hangs on the bishop and a future bishop, each side must have his own crowd.

The crowd often exists as an audience for a speech.<sup>96</sup> Sometimes, however, the crowd moves from witness to protagonist via the mechanism of direct speech. In the seventh-century *Passio Prisci et sociorum*, set in the third century, a crowd, led by Priscus, challenges a Roman official who eventually has them killed.<sup>97</sup> The focus of the text switches from Priscus to the *immensa multitudo* (365), which becomes a character with one voice and one will.<sup>98</sup> The hagiographer imagines a heated debate between the increasingly irate Roman official, Alexander, and the calm and united crowd of Christians, speaking in unison. The author varies the sobriquet of the crowd as they respond to Alexander’s angry questions: *sanctissima multitudo*, *sancti viri*, *congeries*

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<sup>95</sup> Stephen of Auxerre, *Vita S. Amatoris* (BHL 356), AASS Mai. 1.1.57E.

<sup>96</sup> E.g. *Libellus de mirabili revelatione S. Corcodemi M., et conversione S. Mamertini ab idololatria* (BHL 5200-5201), AASS Jul. 7.31.210D: “Tunc ait turbæ, quæ cum eo erat.” For this understudied early medieval dream vision, see Wolfert van Egmond, “Een weinig bekende, zesde-eeuwse visioenstekst: aard en doel van de *Revelatio Corcodemi seu conversio Mamertini*,” in *Rondom Gregorius van Tours*, ed. Mayke de Jong, Els Rose, and Henk Teunis (Utrecht, 2001), pp. 74-81. For further on this text, see Wolfert van Egmond, *Conversing with the Saints: Communication in Pre-Carolingian Hagiography from Auxerre* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 97-107.

<sup>97</sup> *Passio SS. Prisci, Cotti, et sociorum* (BHL 6930), AASS Mai. 6.26.365-367, at 366. See discussion in Kreiner, *Social Life*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>98</sup> *Passio SS. Prisci, Cotti, et sociorum* (BHL 6930), AASS Mai. 6.26.365F: “Cumque venisset ad locum, qui Cociacus vocatur, reperit Christianum, Priscum nomine, cum immensa multitudine ejusdem religionis psallentem.”

*christiana, religiosa ac felix turba, viri sancti.*<sup>99</sup> The exchange concludes with Alexander, the official, asking the crowd if it is ready to die for its faith. When the crowd tells the Roman to do what he must, they do so in unison: “omnes unica voce dixerunt.”<sup>100</sup> Jamie Kreiner has emphasized that such depictions of crowds in Merovingian hagiography “showed the processes of social solidarity in motion.”<sup>101</sup> They promoted Christianity as an unparalleled force for cohesion and consensus, and the symbol of this force was the unity of the crowd. In Kreiner’s reading, these seventh-century authors used the crowd to demonstrate Christianity’s power to create desirable consensus. Scenes in which the crowd is imagined to speak as a unison are paralleled by real rituals in which crowds must have delivered acclamations.

Yet an individual, not the crowd *per se*, is usually at the heart of the action. Even this passage in the *Passio Prisci* ends with Priscus the individual. Alexander, exasperated by the crowd, finally turns to the leader of the crowd: “His et tu consentis?” Priscus stands firm, and engages in an exchange with Alexander that mirrors the official’s previous exchange with the crowd. Alexander kills the saint when Priscus reaffirms the link between unity and eagerness for death in unity: “Sicut unum Deum colimus, ita et pro eo omnes unanimiter interfici festinamus.” Alexander obliges, kills Priscus by the sword, puts the rest to death (this is almost an afterthought), and throws Priscus’ corpse in a well. Even in this mass martyring, the crowd functions from the periphery. So too in the dossiers of collective cults, such as Saint Maurice and the Ten Thousand Martyrs, or

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<sup>99</sup> *Passio SS. Prisci, Cotti, et sociorum* (BHL 6930), AASS Mai. 6.26.365F, 366A, 366B; Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, p. 144 (§ 257.2) for *variatio*.

<sup>100</sup> *Passio SS. Prisci, Cotti, et sociorum* (BHL 6930), AASS Mai. 6.26.366B.

<sup>101</sup> Kreiner, *Social Life*, p. 129.

in the tradition of Cassius, Victorinus, and Antholianus and the “sacred legion” that died with them, individuals predominate above the collective.<sup>102</sup>

Occasionally the crowd is even shown to be powerless as a narrative agent. In one late eighth-century saint’s life, the passion of Saint Salvius (BHL 7472), a large crowd (*multitudo populi*) is unable to move the body of the saint from its resting place to its new home in the church of Saint-Martin at Valenciennes. When the expected crowd of witnesses assembled to observe the saint’s translation intervenes in the narrative, the intervention is for naught. Only when the crowds step away (*ablata vero multitudine*), at the bishops’ command, leaving only two oxen to carry the body, can the relics of the saint be transported to Valenciennes.<sup>103</sup> In this case, the hagiographer has emphasized the crowd’s proper function as an observer, not an actor, in the sacred drama.

Sometimes, however, the crowd plays a negative role. Perhaps the most insistent negative modern stereotype of the crowd is the persecuting mob.<sup>104</sup> The rabble which seeks out an undeserving victim is a common figure in early modern and modern crowd discourse.<sup>105</sup> Certainly, the bible depicts persecuting crowds, as do classical sources. By contrast, this kind of mob is surprisingly rare in early medieval texts. Nevertheless, there are several examples to be found throughout the early medieval hagiographical literature,

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<sup>102</sup> For the cult of Cassius, Victorinus, and Anatholianus, promoted by Praeiectus in the late seventh century, see the *Passio Praeiecti episcopi et martyris Averni* (BHL 6915-6916), c. 9, ed. Krusch, pp. 230-231 and c. 17, ed. Krusch, p. 236. Wattenbach-Levison-Löwe 1 (Weimer, 1952), p. 129; see also Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2006), pp. 165-166.

<sup>103</sup> *Passio Salvii* (BHL 7472), c. 15, ed. M. Coens, “La passion de saint Sauve, martyr à Valenciennes,” *Analecta bollandiana* 87 (1969): 133-187, at pp. 181-183.

<sup>104</sup> Gustave Le Bon, *La psychologie des foules* (Paris, 1894), pp. 36-37; Robert A. Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology: Gustave Le Bon and the Crisis of Mass Democracy in the Third Republic* (London, 1975), p. 21, for fears about the politicized mob in nineteenth-century France.

<sup>105</sup> Michael Gamper, *Masse lesen, Masse schreiben: eine Diskurs- und Imaginationsgeschichte der Menschenmenge, 1765-1930* (Munich, 2007).

particularly on the early side of our period.<sup>106</sup> One striking example is the death-scene of Saint Desiderius in the *Life of Desiderius* (BHL 2148) composed by the Visigothic king Sisebut early in the seventh century:

So he spoke, and behold! at once a packed, raving crowd of madmen advanced, men ruinous and vile in aspect, whose face was pitiless, eyes savage, mien despicable, motion horrid; and they were wicked of mind, in habits depraved, in speech lying, in words obscene, outwardly swollen, inwardly empty, loathsome left and right, poor in good deeds, rich in evil ones, guilty of crimes, enemies of God, friends indeed of the age-old devil, utterly bent on death.<sup>107</sup>

The mob that stoned Desiderius, saintly bishop of Vienne - *Bienne* as Sisebut called it in Toledo - displays all the pathologies of the crowd familiar in nineteenth-century discourse.<sup>108</sup> Raging with criminal emotion, it rushes to accomplish the worst possible deed: the making of a martyr. Its individual participants are indistinct. The throng has a life of its own. This monstrous entity, somewhere between plurality and singularity, careens to its members' collective spiritual doom.

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<sup>106</sup> But for a mid ninth-century case, see *Historia translationis Gorgonii* (BHL 3622), c. 10, AASS Mart. 2.11.59C.

<sup>107</sup> Sisebut, *Vita et Passio Sancti Desiderii* (BHL 2148), c. 18, ed. Juan Gil, *Miscellanea Wisigothica* (Seville, 1972), p. 65: "Sic ait et ecce subito rabientium stipata caterua furens aduenit, homines funesti et uultu teterrimo, quorum erat frons torua, truces oculi, aspectus odibilis, motus orrendus; erantque mente sinistri, moribus prauis, lingua mendaces, uerbis obsceni, foris turgidi, interius uacui, utrobique deformes, de bonis indigui, de pessimis opulenti, delictis obnoxii, inimici Dei, amici sane diabulo perpetui, ad mortem nimis ultronei." Gil's edition is preferable to Bruno Krusch, ed., MGH SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896), pp. 630-637 (the above appears on p. 636). For Sisebut's *Vita*, see Dekkers, CPL no. 1298, p. 430; Díaz y Díaz, no. 86, p. 24; Manitius, 1.188. King Sisebut (r. 612-621), ruler in the time of Isidore of Seville, also composed letters, a poem about eclipses, and possibly a hymn on the reckoning of time (Dekkers, CPL, nos. 1298-1301, pp. 430-431). See, most recently, Yitzhak Hen, "A Visigothic King in Search of an Identity - *Sisebutus Gothorum gloriosissimus princeps*," in *Ego Trouble: Authors and Their Identities in The Early Middle Ages*, ed. R. Corradini, R. McKitterick, I. Renswoude, and M. Gillis (Vienna, 2010), pp. 89-99. Desiderius himself is probably best known for Gregory the Great's admonition to him that he turn away from classical frivolities in Gregory the Great, *ep.* 11.34, ed. L. M. Hartmann, MGH Epp. 2 (Berlin, 1899), p. 303.

<sup>108</sup> For overview, see Jaap van Ginneken, *Crowds, Psychology, and Politics, 1871-1899* (Cambridge, 1992).



At the same time, Sisebut's *vita* also contains the more typical witness and passive benefit crowds. For another sort of "multitude" flocked to Desiderius during his lifetime: witness crowds of faithful folk (c. 5). Some came to be healed; others came to witness the divine. Making the sign of the cross over one enormous crowd (*plebs maxima*), the saint supplied his thirsty witnesses with miraculous wine. "Thus the assembled crowd was refreshed by his blessing and by the miraculous draught" (c. 12). United in faith and hope, this blessed assembly pursued life, physical and spiritual.

Sisebut's negative depiction may be colored by a few different phenomena. On the material side, it may reflect the greater Romanization of the "most Roman successor kingdom," that of the Visigoths. Spain in this period may have been, if not more urbanized, more politically centered in urban spaces; Visigothic kings invested in urban ideology, as the case of Reccopolis shows.<sup>109</sup> On the ideological side, Desiderius has a major axe to grind in this text, which was inspired by his political disputes with the Merovingian royalty who act as the villains of the piece.<sup>110</sup>

The crowd's legitimating function in early medieval narrative should not be overstated. Sisebut's "raving crowd of madmen" is not unique. Early medieval authors could still draw upon the vast storehouse of ancient ochlophobia, and they often invokes crowds to express the illegitimacy of their narrative villains. For instance, in the early ninth-century *Annales Mettenses priores*, the Merovingian king Theuderic III is said to "trust more in the multitude of an innumerable people than in the counsels of prudence"

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<sup>109</sup> For Reccopolis see Lauro Olmo Enciso, "Fuentes escritas y primeras investigaciones sobre Recópolis," in *Recópolis y la ciudad en la época visigoda* (Alcalá de Henares, 2008), pp. 23-39; and Lauro Olmo Enciso, "Recópolis: una ciudad en una época de transformaciones," in *Ibid.*, pp. 41-62.

<sup>110</sup> See Jacques Fontaine, "King Sisebut's *Vita Desiderii* and the Political Function of Visigothic Historiography," in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford, 1980), pp. 93-129.

in opposing Pippin II during the late seventh century.<sup>111</sup> In this case, one again, the crowd throws the legitimacy or illegitimacy of key characters into relief. The “multitude of an innumerable people” represents the Merovingian king’s failure to hear good counsel, as opposed to the Carolingian lord who works in collaboration with other nobles.

We have examined at least three ways in which the crowd acts in early medieval narrative: as a witness, as the passive object of the action, and as the active subject of the action (for good or for ill). Now we turn to more differentiated qualities of the crowd, including the most common descriptors of crowds in our sources. Perhaps the most frequent quality of the crowd is a reference to its universality: the idea that the crowd, in its undifferentiated make-up, or size, or density, somehow represents “all” the members of a particular community. “An accumulation of crowds was packed together,” reports the author of one ninth-century translation account approvingly, before specifying that both common people (*vulgus*) and aristocrats (*nobiles*), “all in common,” were praising God with “one voice.”<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> *Annales Mettenses priores*, s.a. 690, ed. B. von Simson, MGH SRG 10 (Hanover, 1905), p. 10: “Nam Theodericus in innumerabilis populi multitudine magis quam in consiliis prudentiae confidens traditum sibi iam Pippinum cum universo exercitu suo inanibus verbis gloriabatur.” Irene Haselbach, *Aufstieg und Herrschaft der Karolinger in der Darstellung der sogenannten Annales Mettenses priores: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Ideen im Reich Karls des Großen* (Lübeck, 1970), p. 166, places this depiction of Theuderic III within the context of other intentional contrasts between good Carolingian rulership and bad Merovingian rulership. Cf. McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 48, for these annals’ commitments and possible place of origin. Yitzhak Hen, “The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past,” in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Y. Hen and M. Innes (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 175-190, downplays the text’s anti-Merovingian streak, though he notes that Theuderic III is one of the Merovingian rulers targeted especially by the authors of the annals (esp. pp. 189-190). See also Norbert Schröder, “Die *Annales Mettenses priores*: Literarische Form und politische Intention,” in *Geschichtsschreibung und geistiges Leben im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Heinz Löwe zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Hauck and H. Mordek (Cologne, 1978) pp. 139-158, at pp. 139-142, for different scholarly interpretations of these annals’ political and ideological aims.

<sup>112</sup> *Translatio Alexandri et Iustini* (BHL 271), c. 1, ed. W. Wattenbach, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 287: “Densabatur nichilominus constipatio catervarum; vulgus simul ac nobiles, omnes in commune pergebant, una voce Dei laudes canebant, sanctorum suffragia postulantes.”

The link between a physical assembly and a notional unity of people is one of the most important in the political history of the crowd. Crowds are often said to represent “everyone” (*cuncti, universi*).<sup>113</sup> When a saint brings relics to a town in one life, “the whole city rejoices”: “every sex, all ages, every rank, every status ran toward the vision of this great father, exulting.”<sup>114</sup> This exultant description uses several commonplaces of universal action. A common way early medieval texts express collective uniformity is to speak of the “promiscuous” or undifferentiated crowd.<sup>115</sup> Sources also speak of the crowd of “all ages, all classes, and/or both sexes.”<sup>116</sup> This topos was treated in a panegyric context by Curtius, who discussed it under the banner of “inexpressibility topoi.”<sup>117</sup>

<sup>113</sup> E.g. *Vita Gaugerici* (BHL 3286), c.8, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896), p. 654: “Quoddam itaque tempore, cum triduo conventu rogationis, quas cunctos excolit populus veneratione plenissima...”; *Passio Desiderii episcopi et martyris Viennensis* (BHL 2149), c. 6, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896), p. 640: “Nam et hoc cunctus populus, populo dicente, cognovit, non unum ibidem dextera Christi per confessoris ipsius interventu leprae macula vulneratus, suam imminentem misericordiam, fuisse sanatus.” For debates on the dating of this text, see José Carlos Martín Iglesias, “Una posible datación de la *Passio sancti Desiderii* BHL 2149,” *Euphrosyne*, N.S. 23 (1995): 439-456.

<sup>114</sup> *Vita Audoeni* (BHL 753), 23.57, ed. E. P. Sauvage, “*Vita S. Audoeni Rotomagensis episcopi auctore Anonymo* (BHL 753),” *Analecta Bollandiana* 5 (1886): 67-146, at p. 133: “Tota civitas exultabat; et ad tanti patris visionem omnis sexus, ætas universa, dignitas omnis, omnis conditio gaudentes occurrebat.” This text is possibly from the ninth or tenth century, although it survives in later manuscripts: Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684-1090* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 87-88.

<sup>115</sup> E.g. *Vita Arnulfi* (BHL 692), c. 10, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), p. 245: “Per idem namque tempus, quo triduanum ieiunium universalis celebrare consuevit aeclesia, vir sanctus extra civitatem cum crucibus adque promiscuo populi genere orandi gratia secundum mos ex urbe processit...” A curious use of this topos in a probably late eighth-century saint’s life envisions the saint’s body interred in a stable, where a large bull guards it from the other cattle, imagined as a promiscuous crowd: *Passio Salvii* (BHL 7472), c. 10, ed. Coens, p. 177: “Nempe, ut dictum est, si aliqua ex eis ire voluisset ad locum illum, taurus quidem diversis calcibus et cornuum ictibus eisdem resistebat omnem multitudinem bucularum promiscui sexus in circuitu stare faciebat, ut eundem locum sanctum coinquinare non valerent.”

<sup>116</sup> E.g. *Vita Rimberti* (BHL 7258), c. 22, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SRG 55 (Hanover, 1884), p. 98; *Translatio S. Vincentii* (BHL 8644-8646), book 2, c. 3, PL 126, col. 1019C-1020A; from the tenth century, *Sermo de Adventu Sanctorum Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni in Monte Blandinium Vocato* (BHL 8810), c. 4, ed. N. Heyghebaert, *Une Translation de Reliques à Gand en 944. Le Sermo de Adventu Sanctorum Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni in Monte Blandinium* (Brussels, 1978): “Cui translationi sollempniter celebrandae occurrit pari affectu omnis clerus, omne vulgus, omnis quoque sexus et aetas.”

<sup>117</sup> Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 160-161.

Sometimes this topos is so generalized as to remain abstract.<sup>118</sup> It may be used so reflexively as to lose any concrete meaning.<sup>119</sup> Other times, the inexpressibility topos is more closely linked with physical crowds. The youth in Modoin’s eclogue for Charlemagne wants to call Aachen “new Rome” because “everyone will be here, every sex and age.”<sup>120</sup> The tenth-century hagiographer Baltherus of Säckinggen describes how Saint Fridolin’s reputation for mercy and healing miracles attracted an “innumerable crowd of people of either sex.”<sup>121</sup>

Election accounts insist that “all” people chose the king, bishop, or abbot in question.<sup>122</sup> The topos is taken to great extremes in the *Liber pontificalis*, sometimes with paradoxical results.<sup>123</sup> Such accounts very frequently insist that the individual being

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<sup>118</sup> E.g. Dracontius, *De laudibus dei*, 3.394, ed. C. Moussy and C. Camus, *Dracontius: Œuvres*, vol. 2: *Louanges de Dieu* (Paris, 1988); Venantius Fortunatus, *Ad Chilpericum regem*, lines 13-16, ed. F. Leo, MGH AA 4.1 (Berlin, 1881), p. 201: “te nascente patri lux altera nascitur orbi, | nominis et radios spargis ubique novos, | que praefert Oriens, Libyes, Occasus et Arctus: quo pede non graderis, notus honore venis.”

<sup>119</sup> J. Martínez Pizarro, “Crowds and Power in the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*,” in *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Hill and M. Swann (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 265-283, at p. 266, notes that despite referring to the crowds of combatants in an annual battle as being of *promiscui sexus*, Agnellus of Ravenna only ever mentions men as participants. Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Rauennatis*, c. 126, ed. Otto Holder-Egger, MGH SRL 1 (Hanover, 1878), p. 361: “Die omni dominico vel apostolorum die Ravennensis cives non solum illustres, sed homines diversae aetatis, iuvenes et ephibi, mediocres et parvuli, promiscui sexus, ut diximus, post refectiorem per diversas portas aggregatim egredientes, ad pugnam procedunt.”

<sup>120</sup> Modoin, *Eclogue*, lines 40-41, ed. E. Dümmler, “Nasos (Modoins) Gedichte an Karl den Grossen,” *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 11 (1886): 77-91, at p. 83: “Quo caput orbis erit, Romam vocitare licebit / Forte locum: omnis erit huc, omnis sexus et aetas.”

<sup>121</sup> Baltherus, *Vita Fridolini confessoris Seckingensis* (BHL 3170), c. 30, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 3 (Hanover, 1896), p. 368: “Illuc ergo ad suam basilicam undique sexus innumerabili populorum caterva pro sua inpetranda clementia properante, allatus est idem paralyticus a suis parentibus in eandem ecclesiam.”

<sup>122</sup> This is true even when a candidate is selected by an individual. E.g. *Vita Amandi episcopi* I (BHL 332), c. 18, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 442: “Tunc vero rex sanctum accessivit Amandum, congregataque multitudine sacerdotum populique turbam non modicam, ad regendam Treiectensium ecclesiam eum praeposuit.” Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, p. 347, discusses possible authors for this text, likely written by a “clerc septentrional” writing in the seventh or eighth century.

<sup>123</sup> E.g. *Vita Hadriani II*, c. 4, ed. Duchesne, pp. 173-4: Every single person desired him, except for those who did not. “Sed cum apostolicae memoriae sanctissimus papa Nicolaus rebus excessisset humanis et iste

elected resisted the call. This is one of the most common topoi in all of hagiography, and it uses the ability of crowds to compel by force to insist upon the humility of its subjects.<sup>124</sup> The object of this universality is not always a person (or relic), but can also be an event, such as a procession, a political ritual, or a church foundation. The issue is not merely hagiographical. Ninth-century canon law forgers devoted a great deal of energy to defending the right kind of episcopal translation (that is, a transfer from one see to another). The key point – echoed by ninth-century popes themselves – was that episcopal translations were authorized if there was *utilitas* and *necessitas* and above all if the translation occurred at the exhortation, election, or advice of “others.”<sup>125</sup> In the *Life of Gaugeris*, the saint carries out a Rogation procession in which “all members of the populace” (*cuncti populi*) are supposed to participate.<sup>126</sup>

Crowds may also be used to represent universalities within particular categories. Among the most common is the poor. Many sources associate the *plebs* or the *populus* with the poorest members of society. Kreiner notes that this association is one of the rare moments in Merovingian texts when the *pauperes* escape reflexive negative characterizations as “rustics.”<sup>127</sup> Another single group often depicted as a unified crowd

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in presbiterio quintum et vigesimum annum transiret, omnes urbis Romanae concives, simul et hi quos extrinsecus adesse contigerat, tam pauperes quam divites, tam clericalis ordo quam cunctum populi vulgus, omnis scilicet etatis, professionis et sexus, contemptis omnibus excusationibus, Hadrianum desiderant, Hadrianum dari sibi presulem ac pastorem exoptant; nullusque in totius Urbis amplissimo spatio repertus est, nisi vel se vel suum quemque provehi voluisset, qui non Hadrianum promovendi ad hoc culmen medullitus exoptaret.” See P. Daileader, “One Will, One Voice, and Equal Love: Papal Elections and the *Liber Pontificalis* in the Early Middle Ages,” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 31 (1993): 11-31.

<sup>124</sup> E.g. *Passio Praeiectionis episcopi et martyris Averni* (BHL 6915-6916), c. 14, ed. Krusch, p. 234.

<sup>125</sup> As expressed also in Pseudo-Isidore: ed. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, p. 152.

<sup>126</sup> *Vita Gaugerici* (BHL 3286), c. 8, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 3 (1896), p. 654.

<sup>127</sup> Kreiner, *Social Life*, pp. 172-173. The “crowd of paupers” survives into later hagiography as a subject of a saint’s pious mercy: *Vita Ansberti* (BHL 520), c. 16, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p.

are the “youths” at court. The late eighth-century poem *Karolus et Leo Papa* includes such a band in its hunting scene.<sup>128</sup> Similarly, nobles (*proceres, senatus, nobiles, maiores*) might be singled out as a physical crowd that also symbolizes a whole class or category. The same is true of women, and of the clergy and monks. Many of these differentiated crowds served to paint a broader picture of legitimacy. Authors like to portray arrays of orders below a central figure like a king or bishop.<sup>129</sup> Women and men were meant to stand in separate places in church.<sup>130</sup> One group that is often treated in terms of “crowds” is the monastic community, as we saw in the previous chapter. In addition to the hagiographical sources examined there, it is very common in poetic sources to read of a *turba monachorum*.<sup>131</sup> Such classifications extend to crowds of

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629: “Contigit enim tunc pauperum turbam prae foribus conclamare elemosinam petendo.” According to Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, p. 348, this life was composed in Fontanelle during the second half of the eighth century or the ninth century, building upon of an earlier life from around the year 700, now lost. Cf. the trivially different phrasing in *Vita Ansberti episcopi Rotomagensis* (BHL 519), ed. E. P. Sauvage, “Vita Sancti Ansberti Archiepiscopi Rotomagensis (BHL 519),” *Analecta Bollandiana* 1 (1882): 178-191, at p. 186 (lines 19-21): “Contigit enim tunc pauperum turbam pro foribus clamare eleemosynam petendo.”

<sup>128</sup> *Karolus Magnus et Leo papa*, line 173, ed. Beumann, Brunhölzl, and Winkelmann, p. 72; building on Virgil. For the role of youth in the Carolingian court life, see Matthew Innes, “‘A Place of Discipline’: Carolingian Courts and Aristocratic Youth,” in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: the Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 59-76.

<sup>129</sup> Martínez Pizarro, “Crowds and Power,” p. 272.

<sup>130</sup> E.g. Amalarius, *Liber officialis*, 3.2.6-10, ed. J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii opera liturgica omnia*, Studi e Testi 139 (Vatican City, 1948), vol. 2, pp. 262-246: “In conventu ecclesiastico seorsum masculi et seorsum feminae stant... Masculi stant in australi parte et feminae in boreali, ut ostendatur per fortiorem sexum firmiores sanctos semper constitui in maioribus temptationibus aestus huius mundi, et per fragiliorem sexum infirmiores aptiore loco.”

<sup>131</sup> Theodulf of Orléans, *De vulpecula involante gallinam* (*Carm.* no. 50), ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae 1 (Berlin, 1881), p. 551: “His visis gaudet monachorum turba fidelis, / Admiranda videns signa favente deo”; *Inscriptiones Locorum Sacrorum*, no. 23, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae 1 (Berlin, 1881), p. 317: “Haec, Benedicte, tibi, pius abba, dux monachorum, / Confessor vester, texta dicata manent. / Turba monachorum celebrat te sancta per orbem, / Quorum vita fuit fame scripta tuo. / Te quoque sancta cohors fratrum specialiter istic / Assiduis precibus laudat, honorat, amat.”; St Gall plan has this caption written above the cloister: *Hinc pia consilium pertractet turba salubre*, “Through here let healthful counsel be debated by the pious crowd (*pia...turba*).”

animals. In the same poetic text above, the poet speaks of “horn-bearing crowds.”<sup>132</sup> A common hagiographical topos is the abandoned site inhabited only by crowds of animals.<sup>133</sup>

Related to these associations of universality are two figures always closely associated with the crowd: number and density. The “innumerable” crowd is a common figure of all early medieval sources. This imagery – and its positivity – was linked with God’s promise to his Chosen People. God promised Abraham that his seed would be without number, like the stars in the sky and the sand on the shores of the sea.<sup>134</sup> The image of the innumerable crowd is frequent in the Bible.<sup>135</sup> We saw that Isidore of Seville noted in his *De differentiis verborum* that the difference between a multitude (*multitudo*) and a crowd (*turba*) was that a multitude was determined by numbers while a crowd was determined by space. “For a few people can make up a crowd (*turba*) in narrow confines.”<sup>136</sup> Although this particular distinction, as we saw in the last chapter, did not prevail in early medieval Latin, the principle that density as well as number could define

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<sup>132</sup> *Karolus Magnus et Leo papa*, line 152, ed. Beumann, Brunhölzl, and Winkelmann, p. 369: “Sternere cornigeram nigraque sub arbore turbam.”

<sup>133</sup> Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque* (BHL 1898), 1.10, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRG 37 (1905), p. 169: “solae ibi ferae ac bestiae, ursorum, bubalorum, luporum multitudo frequentabant.” I am grateful to Patrick Meehan for stimulating discussions about this and other passages in Jonas of Bobbio’s hagiographical works.

<sup>134</sup> Genesis 22:17, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 30: “benedicam tibi et multiplicabo semen tuum sicut stellas caeli et velut harenam quae est in litore maris.”

<sup>135</sup> E.g. 3 Kings 3:8, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 461: “et servus tuus in medio est populi quem elegisti populi infiniti qui numerari et supputari non potest prae multitudine.” This language is picked up in the ninth century by Rudolf of Fulda to describe crowds thickly packed into a small oratory: *Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum* (BHL 7044), c. 5, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 334: “Erat autem ibi oratorium non grande, quod intrare et feretrum inferre volentes, prae multitudine turbarum, quae praebant et quae sequebantur, minime potuimus, ac per hoc sub divo in loco editiore altari erecto, ac feretro iuxta illud posito, rursus missarum solemnina celebravimus.”

<sup>136</sup> Isidore, *De differentiis verborum*, c. 369, PL 83, col. 48. See above in chapter 3.

what it means to have a crowd persevered. A topos of the dense crowd is the crowd so thick it blocks movement. This topos appears in several *translationes*. Einhard revels in the dense crowd that assembled at his home in Aachen when news (miraculously) spread of his relics. A crowd prevents a woman carrying a lame child from getting to the altar in the *Translatio* of Saint Vitus.<sup>137</sup> Even in that scene, the crowd is entirely peripheral; the woman simply shoves herself into the throng (“*ingerens se in medium populi*”), and the miracle takes place. The notion of the blocking crowd continued to have power in the later Middle Ages, for Suger’s justification for the rebuilding of his church hinged on the crowdedness of Saint-Denis during festival season.<sup>138</sup>

#### IV. Type-Scenes

Having treated some of the qualities of the crowd, we now turn to the type-scenes in which they repeatedly appear. Hagiographic texts often insist that saints, relics, and holy places exert a miraculous draw on crowds, so that crowds may testify to sanctity. In his *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233), Einhard puts this explicitly. He prefaces a description of the assembly of a large crowd in Aachen, drawn from their daily business to a procession of the relics by a sweet scent, by writing that he must not “pass over in

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<sup>137</sup> *Translatio Viti*, c. 9, ed. I. Schmale-Ott, *Übertragung des heiligen Märtyrers Vitus*, Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Westfalen 41 (Münster, 1979), p. 52: “Quae cum non valeret cum ipso prae turba accedere ad feretrum.”

<sup>138</sup> Suger, *Libellus alter de consecratione ecclesiae Sancti Dionysii*, c. 2, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Oeuvres complètes de Suger* (Paris, 1867), pp. 216-217, for the famous scene in which crowds are so thick that the women in church turn men’s heads into their floor.



silence” “something of a miracle.”<sup>139</sup> Einhard was most struck by the crowd’s spontaneity. The appearance of an unplanned assembly proved that the fragments of bone, dust, and fabric Einhard’s men had stolen by night from a faraway Roman catacomb were not mere stuff, but holy relics: living, willing agents of their own “translation” to Aachen. In some cases, rumor or some other force draws crowds in (thus in Jerome’s *Life of Hilarion*, as we saw, the crowd is more of a test than a sign of sanctity).<sup>140</sup> In other cases, the assembly of the crowd is very closely linked with the legitimacy of the miracle.<sup>141</sup> In one saint’s life, a girl falls into a deep well and the hagiographer emphasizes the number and the variety of the crowds which observed her rescue thanks to the intercession of saint Audomarus.<sup>142</sup> A hagiographical sermon from the end of the ninth century dwells on the many groups that together praise the name of

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<sup>139</sup> Einhard, *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233), 2.4, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 247: “In illa vero processione nostra, quam de basilica usque ad oratorium nostrum nos fecisse dixi, quid miraculi acciderit, censeo non esse tacendum.”

<sup>140</sup> E.g. *Translatio SS. Chrysanti et Dariae a. 844* (BHL 1793), c. 27, AASS Oct. 11.25.493E: “Cum itaque frequens Sanctorum virtutem et miracula opinio circumquaque diffunderet, habitatores etiam praefata replevit villæ. Hac excitati fama, facta conventionem ad locum omnes pariter oratum disponebant ire.” Alternatively, the crowd itself may be contiguous with rumor. See for instance the mid ninth-century life by Anskar of Bremen, *Miracula Willehadi* (BHL 8899), ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 2 (Hanover, 1829), p. 385: “in ecclesia Bremensi coeperunt divinitus agi miracula, et de die in diem semper multiplius crescere, ita ut iam longe lateque per populos rumor increbesceret plurimus.” Marc Bloch, “Réflexions d’un historien sur les fausses nouvelles de la guerre,” in Marc Bloch, *Mélanges Historiques* (Paris, 1963), vol. 1, pp. 41-57, provided an analysis of false rumor in wartime which combined his firsthand experience with medieval history. I am grateful to Courtney Booker for bringing this article to my attention, and for sharing with me his forthcoming article on early medieval rumor: Booker, Courtney, “*Iusta Murmuratio*: The Sound of Scandal in the Early Middle Ages” (forthcoming).

<sup>141</sup> *Miracula S. Genesii* (BHL 3314), praef., ed. Wattenbach, p. 9: “Quae [reliquiae sancti Genesii martyris Christi] in brevi postquam in praedio praefati viri in secusso cuiusdam montis, quem Skinam aetas prior appellavit, haud longe a Rheno fluvio habitaculum sibi a deo, ut ad magnam aedificationem ecclesiae fideles circumquaque Christo laudem concinentes, permoti miraculis adcurrere festinarent.”

<sup>142</sup> *Vita Audomari II* (BHL 765, 767), 2.20, AASS Sept. 3.9.405F: “De quo pene innumerabiles testes promiscui sexus virorum feminarumque adhuc manent, qui ad hoc spectaculum presentes adstiterunt.”

God: monks, clerics, priests, women, children, young men, and old men.<sup>143</sup> Einhard's case is instructive because we have a sense of what was at stake in such crowd-approved miracles. In 830, Einhard wrote his *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233) to tell the tale of his acquisition of these relics from beginning to end, recounting innumerable miracles achieved by the saints. These miracles prove that Einhard had the real saints and that the saints wanted to be in his company. The need to demonstrate this point was caused by the counter-claim of Saint-Denis to possess the relics. Thus the insistence upon crowds, sudden and thick, throughout the *Translatio*.<sup>144</sup>

Crowds can draw other figures than saints. Bede describes how a "crowd" ("caterua") of students was drawn to Theodore and Hadrian at the school of Canterbury in the late seventh century.<sup>145</sup> Authors depicted holy places themselves drawing in multitudes. One common type-scene involving crowds is the foundation of a monastery or church.<sup>146</sup> A new monastery must be founded when an old one grows too large.<sup>147</sup> This

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<sup>143</sup> *Sermo de relatione corporis beati Vedasti* (BHL 8516), c. 7, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 403: "Quippe aderat non parva monachorum caterua; aderat multiplex conventus canonicorum, presbiterorum reliquorumque clericorum; aderant viri cum mulieribus et parvulis, iuvenes et virgines; senes cum iunioribus ibi laudabant nomen Domini."

<sup>144</sup> Einhard, *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233), ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887). Other translations show the same thing. *Translatio Viti martyris* (BHL 8718-19), c. 27, ed. Schmale-Ott, p. 60: "Tandem igitur Christo propitio finito cepto itinere monasterium, quod Corveia Nova dicitur, multitudine populi utriusque sexus de nobilissimo Saxonum genere nobiscum comitante pervenimus pridie ante vigiliam sancti Viti, quod est Idus Iunias." Cf. Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen*, p. 279. Aimoin, *Translatio S. Vincentii* (BHL 8644-8646), book 2, c. 3, PL 126, col. 1019C-1020A: "Intrantesque quamdam ejusdem provinciae villam, quae a priscis cultoribus nomen Albis accepit, imposuerunt illud super altare ecclesiae beatae Mariae Virginis. Quo innumera multitudine utriusque sexus per biduum confluyente, reperti sunt inter eos, contracti genibus duo, et una debilis mulier, caecus unus, ac febricitantes seu energumeni, ejus sanctis meritis ab omni infirmitatum gravedine liberati."

<sup>145</sup> Bede, *HE* 4.2.1, ed. Lapidge, vol. 2, pp. 200-202: "Et quia litteris sacris simul et saecularibus, ut diximus, abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulorum caterua scientiae salutaris cotidie flumina irrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant, ita ut etiam metricae artis, astronomiae et arithmeticae ecclesiasticae disciplinam inter sacrorum apicum uolumina suis auditoribus contraderent."

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Carl Albrecht Bernoulli, *Die Heiligen der Merowinger* (Tübingen, 1900), p. 84. See also Anne-Marie Helvétius, "Le saint et la sacralisation de l'espace en Gaule du Nord d'après les sources

type-scene occurs in the Columbanian lives.<sup>148</sup> It occurs both for male and female houses, as in the *Passio Praeiectionis* (BHL 6915-16), when the saint helps found a new female monastery when that of Chamalières becomes too crowded.<sup>149</sup> In the same source, after Praeiectionis' death, his successor at Clermont Avitus is said to have initiated the monastery at Volvic not only because Praeiectionis' relics were performing miracles at his home there, but specifically because these were drawing large numbers.<sup>150</sup>

Similarly, funerals were depicted as crowded events.<sup>151</sup> An early example from the late fifth or early sixth century pictures the whole *civitas* of Orange reacting to the

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hagiographiques (VIIe-XIe siècle),” in *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident: Études comparées*, ed. Michel Kaplan (Paris, 2001), pp. 137-161, at p. 158, for the ubiquity of this widely spread topos.

<sup>147</sup> *Vita Filiberti* (BHL 6805-6806), c. 26, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 597: “Egressus de carcere per litteras beati Audoini, adiit ad Ansoaldo viro nobile, Pectavorum pontifice ob monasterii gratiam construendi, quia multitudo hominum, qui per praedicationem illius ad Dominum confluebant, uno in loco capere non poterant.” For a case of a female monastery outgrowing its original size, see *Vita Segolena* (BHL 7570), c. 2.12.13, AASS Jul. 5.24.633B: “Cumque jam multarum monacharum societate densaretur, instituitur dies, qua se Sancta intra septa monasterii (ut mos virginum est) deliberaverat retrudi. Adfuit etiam plebium multitudo: omnes gaudent, omnes exsultant de ejus glorioso proposito.”

<sup>148</sup> Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque* (BHL 1898), 1.10, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRG 37 (1905), pp. 169: “Cumque iam multorum monachorum societate densaretur, coepit cogitare, ut potioris loci in eodem heremo quereret, quo monasterium construxisset”; Bobolenus, *Vita S. Germani abbatis Grandivallensis* (BHL 3467), c. 7, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 36: “Cernens vero Deo plenus, Spiritu sancto repletus, sacerdos Dei Waldebertus certatim undique catervas monachorum coadunari, anhelare coepit de tam plurima multitudine, si forte ubi et ubi inveniri possint loca uberrima, ubi de suis monachis ad habitandum adunaret.”

<sup>149</sup> *Passio Praeiectionis episcopi et martyris Averni* (BHL 6915-6916), c. 16, ed. Krusch, p. 235. This passage appears to build on the *Vita Germani* (BHL 3467), c. 7, ed. Krusch, p. 36, quote above.

<sup>150</sup> *Passio Praeiectionis episcopi et martyris Averni* (BHL 6915-6916), c. 34, ed. Krusch p. 244. Cf. Aimoin, *Translatio S. Vincentii* (BHL 8644-8646), book 2, c. 4, PL 126, col. 1020A-C.

<sup>151</sup> For the rituals of death culture in early modern Europe, see Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990); C. Treffort, *L'Église carolingienne et la mort: christianisme, rites funéraires et pratiques commémoratives* (Lyon, 1996).

death of Saint Verus of Orange “with the collective lament of all.”<sup>152</sup> In a seventh-century life, a “whole multitude of monks” arrives to grieve over the saint’s demise.<sup>153</sup> The large number of individuals present is part of what allows a queenly saint in an eighth-century text to be buried “with full honor and great reverence.”<sup>154</sup> In a saint’s life revised early in the ninth century, the crowd (*turba*) buries a saint “in accordance with custom.”<sup>155</sup> These examples could be extended.<sup>156</sup> In all these cases, saints are defined by their crowds and multitudes. The reputation (*fama*) of the saint or that saint’s deeds may be mentioned as the catalyst, particularly after the saint’s death.<sup>157</sup> Interaction with the crowd became a defining feature of sainthood. As a possibly tenth-century *vita* (BHL 2455) summarizes

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<sup>152</sup> Verus of Orange, *Vita Eutropii* (BHL 2782), ed. P. Varin, “Vie de saint Eutrope, évêque de l’Orange,” *Bulletin de la comité historique des monuments écrits de l’histoire de France* 1 (1849): 51-64, at p. 63: “communi universorum planctu.”

<sup>153</sup> *Vita Wandregiseli* (BHL 8804), c. 20, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 23: “Ad ultimum vero exitus suae congregata est omnis multitudo monachorum.”

<sup>154</sup> *Vita Balthildis* A (BHL 905), c. 15, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), p. 502: “Omnibusque stupefactis pariter prostratisque ilico super humum, multisque ibi profusis lacrimis, cum inmenso doloris gemitu flentes et pio Domino gratias agentes et conlaudantes, commendaverunt eius sanctam animam pio regi Christo, ut ipse eam in sanctae Mariae choro vel sanctorum consortio produceret, et, ut tunc erat decus ipsius, sepelientes eam cum magno honore et multa reverentia.”

<sup>155</sup> *Vita Bavonis confessoris Gandavensis* (BHL 1049), c. 7, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hanover, 1902), p. 540: “Videns eum turba iam mortuum, cum fletu corpus eius in navi deduxerunt ad memoratum castrum Gandavum, ut tumularetur illic, sicut mos est mortuos sepelire.” For this life, see Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, p. 349.

<sup>156</sup> E.g. the eighth-century *Vita Audoini episcopi Rotomagensis* (BHL 750), c. 17, ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), p. 564: “Dum vero conventionem factam plurimorum episcoporum una cum abbatibus eorum vel sacerdotum seu clericorum multitudine seu inlustrium virorum et turba populorum Villiocasinensium opido ingressi sunt, cum magno favore beatum corpus humeribus deportantes, convenerunt cum laudibus et hymnis Deo canentes, cum grandi fletu pastoris feretrum praestolantes.” Cf. the *Vita Geremari* (BHL 3437), 2.19, AASS Sept 6.24.702D, where a “crowd of people weeping and lamenting” (“multitudo populi flens atque lugens”) follows the body of the saint to its inhumation in the church he had constructed; the *Vita Bertae abbatis Blangiacensis* (BHL 1266), 2.24, AASS Jul. 2:4.53E, where Bertha’s funeral rites are conducted “with a great crowd of people standing by” (“multa turba circumstante populi”).

<sup>157</sup> *Vita et miracula Austrebertae* (BHL 832), 3.18, AASS Feb. 2.10.423C: “Superueniente porro die Dominico, quia iam eius bonitatis ac virtutum fama per Galliam longe lateque claruerat, confluerunt ad eius transitum cateruatim Sacerdotes & Clerici, Abbates & monachi, necnon & vtriusque sexus populi multitudo.” For this text, see Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, p. 348-349.

the virtues Eleutherius of Tournai, “What more should be said? For many (*multi*) believed through him; many (*multi*) were baptized by him; many (*multi*) were killed in Christ’s name together with this same martyr.”<sup>158</sup>

These literary crowds tended to assembly at monasteries rather than towns. In his recent book on eleventh-century church dedication, Louis Hamilton devotes a chapter to the role of the resurgent urban crowd in northern Italian cities during the eleventh century. Liturgical as well as historical accounts of church dedication insist on the presence of large crowds, and specifically, large undifferentiated crowds. A common phrase, “the crowd rushes forth” (*turba concurrit*) links the reforming texts with the liturgical ones.<sup>159</sup> Hamilton argues that the church dedications must be understood as “among the religious and communal activities that fostered the development of the commune” because liturgical documents from the late tenth century to the twelfth suggest broad participation across the social spectrum.<sup>160</sup> As we have seen, the idyll at least of the unmixed crowd as part of church dedication existed in the Carolingian period. If Hamilton is right, the idyll may have become a reality that shaped the growth of the communes in Italy.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> *Vita Eleutherii Tornacensis* I (BHL 2455), c. 1, AASS Feb. 3.20.187B: “Quid plura? Denique multi per eum crediderunt; multi ab eo baptizati sunt; multi cum eodem Martyre pro Christi nomine interempti sunt.”

<sup>159</sup> Louis Hamilton, *A Sacred City: Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Manchester, 2010), pp. 56-88. Here, Hamilton contests the argument made by Diana Webb, *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City-States* (London, 1996), pp. 33-34, that the liturgical figure of the *plebs* or the *populus* in the liturgy is undifferentiated, something she sees as an inheritance of earlier hagiographical literature (see esp. pp. 34-36).

<sup>160</sup> Hamilton, *A Sacred City*, p. 61.

<sup>161</sup> Philip Jones, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford, 1997), p. 334, for a new logic “not of representation, the subordinate, class-divided parliaments of a hierarchic Ständestaat, but of common participation, government by all (*cunctus populus, universitas civium*), regenerate republicanism.”

In both urban and monastic settings, a very important topos of crowd depictions is the processional crowd.<sup>162</sup> In hagiographic texts, particularly *translationes*, such crowds are very common. In the *Vita Arnulfi* (BHL 692), the saint leaves the city for a rogation procession with crosses and a mixed crowd (*cum crucibus adque promiscuo populi genere*).<sup>163</sup> The *Translatio Viti martyris* (BHL 8718-19) offers a typical example with the deposition of the relics of Vitus to the monastery of Rebais. Abbot Warin processes with the relics of Vitus from Saint-Denis to the abbey of Rebais, and the author is at pains to stress the presence of enormous crowds throughout the procession. One description of the crowd uses the “all sexes” topos to stress the undifferentiated nature of the crowd: *coram innumerabili multitudine populorum, tam monachorum quam canonicorum, virorum ac mulierum*. When Warin proceeds, he does so “bringing with him an abundant crowd (*turba*) both of his own monks and of other men” (*habens secum turbam copiosam tam suorum monachorum quam aliorum virorum*), and Abbot Hilduin “with his monks” and the “whole crowd which had come to the festival day” (*omnis populus, qui ad diem festum convenerat*), all proceeded together to the monastery of Rebais, where Warin deposited the relics.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Donatien de Bruyne, “L’Origine des processions de la Chandeleur et des Rogations à propos d’un sermon inédit,” *Revue bénédictine* 34 (1922): 14-26; Geoffrey Nathan, “The Rogation Ceremonies of Late Antique Gaul: Creation, Transmission and the Role of the Bishop,” *Classica et mediaevalia* 49 (1998): 275-303; Ian Wood, “Topographies of Holy Power in Sixth-Century Gaul,” in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages: the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws, and Carine van Rhijn (Leiden, 2001), pp. 137-155, at pp. 150-154. For the interplay of architecture and processional liturgy, see Carol Heitz, “Architecture et liturgie en France de l’époque carolingienne à l’an Mil,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 1 (1995): 57-73. For processions in Greco-Roman Antiquity, see Marion True et al., “Processions,” in *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (Los Angeles, 2004), vol. 1, 1-58.

<sup>163</sup> *Vita Arnulfi* (BHL 692), c. 10, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), p. 245.

<sup>164</sup> *Translatio Viti martyris* (BHL 8718-19) c. 5, ed. Schmale-Ott, p. 48. Cf. another ninth-century vita, emphasizing the universal nature of an audience: Liutgar, *Vita Gregorii abbatis Traiectensis* (BHL 3680), c. 4, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 71: “coram universo senatu populi Francorum.”

Many monasteries took the name Jerusalem. Rebais did so because of a vision of its sainted abbot Agilus.<sup>165</sup> But here the insistence on the name evokes Christ's crowd-strewn entry into Jerusalem. Rebais is over 70 kilometers to the east of Saint-Denis. The *translatio* helpfully details the entire journey. At each stage, multitudes throng the bier carrying the relics.<sup>166</sup> If the account describes real events, this would have meant maintaining a crowd for two days. Yet lest such a route seem far for a procession, we should remember that lengthy processions were a critical part of the penitential liturgy, especially during Lent. The annual procession from Clermont to the body of Saint Brioude instituted in the sixth century was nearly the same distance: 65 kilometers.<sup>167</sup> This may be why the author of the *translatio* reintroduces the crowd at stages: starting at Saint-Denis, then moving to the procession, finally reaching the goal. The author has interwoven a depiction of a concrete event, a procession whose parameters and timing we know, with topoi of universal and undifferentiated crowds. The abbots probably chose their timing carefully. The ritual and the text went hand in hand. The topos serves to reinforce the ritual and to codify its meaning.

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<sup>165</sup> *Vita Agili abbatis Resbacensis* (BHL 148), 4.21-22, AASS Aug. 6.30.582 (possibly eighth century). Cf. Giles Constable, "The Dislocation of Jerusalem," in *Norm und Krise von Kommunikation: Inszenierungen literarischer und sozialer Interaktion im Mittelalter: für Peter von Moos*, ed. Alois Hahn, Gert Melville, Werner Röcke (Berlin, 2006), pp. 355-370, at p. 360.

<sup>166</sup> For speed of travel, see McCormick, *Origins*, 474-6; see also Carlrichard Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis: Studien zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Königtums im Frankenreich und in den fränkischen Nachfolgestaaten Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien vom 6. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1968), vol. 1, p. 66, for the likely speed (20-30 kilometers per day) of the Carolingian court on the move.

<sup>167</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* 4.5, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, pp. 138-9; Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae partum*, 6.6, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2, pp. 234-5; Ian Wood, "Liturgy in the Rhône Valley and the Bobbio Missal," in *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, ed. Y. Hen and R. Meens (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 206-218, at p. 208; Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 31. For other examples of the careful construction of cults through liturgy and hagiographical memory, see Ian Wood, "Constructing Cults in Early Medieval France: Local Saints and Churches in Burgundy and the Auvergne 400-1000," in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford, 2002), pp. 155-187.

Authors were also keen to record numbers from the battlefield. Military historians of the early Middle Ages have emphasized the importance of numbers in early medieval warfare.<sup>168</sup> As we saw in chapter 1, Bernard Bachrach has recently made a case for a large Carolingian army, rejecting traditional assumptions about demographic decline.<sup>169</sup> Although Bachrach may overstate his case for the mildness of post-Roman demographic decline and the vigor of Carolingian recovery, recent archaeological and historical analysis support a gradual recovery of the population after the sixth century, as we have seen (chapter 1). Charlemagne and his successors were capable of raising what must have been by contemporary standards enormous armies.<sup>170</sup> And as we saw in chapter 2, early medieval warfare, when it was not a series of raids, was a numbers game.<sup>171</sup>

Contemporaries recognized this with a topos of density or number which finds its visual parallel in isocephalic crowds depicted in church and manuscript art (see chapter 5). In his poem *In honorem Hludowici Caesaris*, Ermold, writing in the late 820s about the siege of Barcelona in 800/801, paints a scene of Frankish armies closing in, stressing the density of their numbers:

*Interea regis proceres populique phalanges,*

*Dudum commoniti, jussa libenter agunt.*

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<sup>168</sup> Bernard Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia, 2001), esp. pp. 57-59 (and endnotes at pp. 294-296); cf. Eric Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Ithaca, 2006), pp. 124-126; for a minimalist interpretation, see Guy Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900* (London, 2003), pp. 119-133.

<sup>169</sup> Bernard Bachrach, *Charlemagne's Early Campaigns (768-777): a Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (Leiden, 2013), p. 9.

<sup>170</sup> Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Heeresorganisation und Kriegführung im deutschen Königreich des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts," in K. F. Werner, *Structures politiques du monde franc (VIe-XIIe siècles): études sur les origines de la France et de l'Allemagne* (London, 1979), Essay III, pp. 791-843, at p. 813.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Goldberg, *Struggle*, pp. 95-96.



*Undique conveniunt Francorum more catervae*

*atque urbis muros densa corona tenet.*

*Convenit ante omnes Carolo satus agmine pulcro;*

*Urbis ad exitium congregat ille duces.*<sup>172</sup>

The same language of density may also be found in Notker's famous depiction of Charlemagne's attack on Pavia. From the ramparts, the horrified Desiderius observes Charlemagne's forces approaching. As each wave of Charlemagne's army comes into view, the Lombard king asks his Frankish interlocutor whether this is Charlemagne himself, but only after an endless parade of densely packed troops does he see the ironclad king of the Franks.<sup>173</sup>

It was also important to early medieval authors to emphasize the enormity of enemy forces. When the bold count Boniface, who led an impromptu attack on North Africa somewhere "between Utica and Carthage" arrived with his small band of men, he met local resistance from what the *Royal Frankish Annals* call an "unnumbered multitude of local inhabitants suddenly assembled together" (*innumera incolarum multitudo subito congregata*).<sup>174</sup> As we saw in the first chapter, Delbrück controversially established as a first principle of military estimates that accounts of enemy forces generally tend to exaggerate the number of one's foes.<sup>175</sup> This has the effect of elevating skirmishes to battles, which seems to be the aim in this story of the *Royal Frankish Annals*. Boniface's

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<sup>172</sup> Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici Caesaris*, 1.302-307, ed. Faral, pp. 26-28.

<sup>173</sup> Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, 2.17, ed. H. F. Haefele MGH SRG N.S. 12 (Berlin, 1959), p. 83.

<sup>174</sup> *ARF*, s.a. 828, ed. Kurze, p. 176.

<sup>175</sup> Hans Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte*, 3. Teil: *Das Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1907).

raid becomes a heroic display of bravery which, the annalist explains, left a powerful impression on the Africans.<sup>176</sup>

There are also conventions in which “the crowd” can be synonymous with rumor or the spreading of news. In Alcuin’s *Vita Willibrordi* (BHL 8935), for instance, the saint returns to Francia from Rome to achieve great successes as a preacher. Among the “witnesses” to the fruits of his labors, Alcuin singles out the human masses who benefitted from his preaching:

The more urgently the man of God had strewn the seeds of life in those regions, the more he had realized that it was necessary to banish the old famine of ignorance. The witnesses to what fruit his labors achieved, with the help of divine grace, are the peoples (*populi*) throughout the cities, villages, and strongholds which he brought, up to the present day, to the knowledge of the truth and to the cult of the one omnipotent God; and witnesses too are the churches which he built through individual locations; and witnesses are also the assemblies of servants of God whom he brought together in other places.<sup>177</sup>

Alcuin juxtaposes the term *populi*, with its double sense of “crowds” and “populations,” with other images of collective behavior: the physical churches and the congregations of faithful which Willibrord “brought together” (*adunauit*).

It is also worth mentioning ancient crowd topoi that do not or only infrequently appear in our sources. The first, and most important, is the association of crowds and sedition. This was the ancient negative crowd topos *par excellence*.<sup>178</sup> Riot or sedition is

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<sup>176</sup> *ARF*, s.a. 828, ed. Kurze, p. 176: “hoc facto ingentem Afris timorem incussit.”

<sup>177</sup> Alcuin, *Vita sancti Willibrordi Traiectensis episcopi* (BHL 8935), c. 8, ed. Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, *L’œuvre hagiographique en prose d’Alcuin. Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii: Édition, traduction, études narratologiques* (Florence, 2003): “Eo uir Dei instantius illis in regionibus semina uitae sparserat, quo plus necessarium antiquam ignorantiae famem depellere perspexerat. Qualem, diuina gratia adiuuante, illis in locis fructum fecisset testes sunt usque hodie populi per ciuitates, uicos et castella quos ad ueritatis agnitionem et ad unius omnipotentis Dei cultum pia ammonitione perduxerat; testes quoque ecclesiae quas per loca singula construxerat, testes et Deo famulantium congregationes quas aliquibus adunauit in locis.”

<sup>178</sup> Peter Brunt, “The Roman Mob,” *Past & Present* 35 (1966): 3-27; Z. Yavetz, “Vitellius and the ‘Fickleness of the Mob,’” *Historia* 18 (1969): 557-569. Seneca’s letter to Lucilius about the crowd (cited below) is, along with the angry speeches of Dio Chrysostom to the ochlophile Alexandrians, a *locus*

less common as a phenomenon linked with crowds.<sup>179</sup> Instead – and this is particularly true of the Carolingian period – illegitimate political behaviors such as conspiracies are more often associated with small groups of nobles. Still, the oaths to Charlemagne and his sons were taken in large groups, so even if fears of conspiracy were not fears of crowds, their solution involved the assembly of the people.<sup>180</sup> Other figures are similarly absent: the Cataline-like genius man as the man of the “unlearned crowd,” which is so prominent a part of the eleventh-century Patarine and Investiture conflicts.<sup>181</sup> Crowds in hell tend not to be depicted, as they are in Virgil and in Dante, as great crowds thick as autumn leaves.<sup>182</sup> Instead, visions of the beyond tend to depict eternal punishments as

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*classicus* for anti-crowd anxieties among the Greco-Roman elite. For the crowd as the site of just indignation, Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 3.49.1-2, ed. R. M. Ogilvie, *Titi Livi Ab urbe condita*, vol. 1: *Libri I-V* (Oxford, 1974) p. 211: “Concitur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris, partim spe per occasionem repetendae libertatis” (in connection with the evil deeds of the decimvir Appius Claudius Crassus toward the plebeian virgin Verginia).

<sup>179</sup> See the nuanced discussion of the most famous counter-example, Eric Goldberg, “Popular Revolt, Dynastic Politics, and Aristocratic Factionalism in the Early Middle Ages: the Saxon *Stellinga* Reconsidered,” *Speculum* 70 (1995): 467-501.

<sup>180</sup> Gerd Tellenbach, “Die geistigen und politischen Grundlagen der karolingischen Thronfolge. Zugleich eine Studie über kollektive Willensbildung und kollektives Handeln im neunten Jahrhundert,” in G. Tellenbach *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1988), vol. 2, pp. 503-621; See also Matthias Becher, *Eid und Herrschaft: Untersuchungen zum Herrscherethos Karls des Grossen* (Sigmaringen, 1993), pp. 16-17.

<sup>181</sup> E.g. Beno, *Gesta Romanae ecclesiae contra Hildebrandum*, no. 1, c. 7, ed. K. Francke, MGH LdL 2 (Hanover, 1892), p. 372: “vulgus indoctum.” Cf. Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978; repr. 2002), 234-257, on the rise of an anti-crowd polemics in the twelfth century. But see also Carolingian examples, such as Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matthaum*, book 6, ed. B. Löfstedt, CCCM 174A (Turnhout, 2000), p. 582: “Turba simplex et vulgus indoctum per humilitatis uiam gradiens ad credendum Domino miracula ab eo facta uenerari cogebatur.” For an introduction to the Patarines of Milan in the eleventh century, see Cinzio Violante, *La pataria milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica* (Rome, 1955).

<sup>182</sup> Virgil, *Aen.*, 6.305-314, but esp. lines 309-310: “quam multa in siluis autumnus frigore primo / lapsa cadunt folia...”; Dante, *Inferno*, canto 3, lines 112-117, ed. G. Petrocchi, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, 4 vols. (Milan, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 52-53: “Come d'autunno si levan le foglie / l'una appresso de l'altra, fin che 'l ramo / vede a la terra tutte le sue spoglie, / similmente il mal seme d'Adamo / gittansi di quel lito ad una ad una, / per cenni come augel per suo richiamo.” See also Brendan Cassidy, “Laughing with Giotto at Sinners in Hell,” *Viator* 35 (2004): 355-386, at pp. 363-364, for the representation of hell in late medieval Italian liturgical dramas: “Devil actors would move among the audience abusing them with comic harangues and engaging in horseplay with actor saints” (p. 363).

individualized and separate.<sup>183</sup> Even in art, the depiction of hell avoids crowds. In the Stuttgart Psalter (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. bibl. fol. 23, fol. 56r), sinners are shown suffering in individual cauldrons, each stoked by one demon apiece (figure 8 below).



**FIGURE 8. Hell in Solitude.** Five sinners burning in individual cauldrons in hell to illustrate Psalm 43 (Vulgate).<sup>184</sup> Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. bibl. fol. 23, fol. 56r.

So far, this chapter has argued that the majority of early medieval crowd topoi depict dense human assembly as morally neutral to positive and passive. As we saw in

<sup>183</sup> For these texts see Paul Dutton, *Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1994), and John Contreni, “‘Building Mansions in Heaven’: the ‘Visio Baronti’, Archangel Raphael, and a Carolingian King,” *Speculum* 78 (2003): 673-706; see also Jesse Keskiäho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900* (Cambridge, 2015). The *Visio Baronti* is edited as *Visio Baronti monachi Longoretensis* (BHL 997), ed. W. Levison, MGH SRM 5 (Hanover, 1910), pp. 368-394.

<sup>184</sup> Psalm 43 (Iuxta LXX), ed. Weber-Gryson, pp. 822-824.

the phenomenon of witness crowds, the peripheral quality of narrative crowds was critical to their function. Curtius, Auerbach, and Pizarro, whose literary concepts I have used in this chapter, all argue that literary patterns can tell us about deeper societal realities. For Curtius, the persistence of topoi was evidence for a great cultural unity woven together by ancient rhetoric. Auerbach's historicism was deeper still. Pizarro too, believes the "scenic" style of narrative helps us periodize: it reflects a period of post-Roman culture when the oral style predominated. This chapter does not argue that rhetorical topoi, let alone crowd topoi specifically, constituted a unifying bond across the early Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the presence of similar topoi across different settings is a useful reminder of the cultural legacy that united the post-Roman west. In some features of mentality the early Middle Ages exhibited patterns which hold true across contexts. Topoi are not the only evidence. Jamie Kreiner, in her recent study of Merovingian hagiography, has emphasized that despite political fragmentation, saints' lives from different regions were linked together by their mutual borrowings and intertextual discussions: "These textual relationships are only one sign among many we will see that although the kingdom was somewhat fragmented in terms of royal and local administrations, it was nevertheless highly intellectually integrated."<sup>185</sup> Yet although early medieval authors developed a largely positive shared body of topoi about gatherings, crowds sometimes remained a source of elite anxieties.

### **V. Counter-Example: The Women of Dijon**

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<sup>185</sup> Kreiner, *Social Life*, p. 15.

Early medieval elites and their literary spokesmen came to see the crowd through the prism of religious and court assemblies, and, as we have seen, through the image of the pious multitudes of the New Testament.<sup>186</sup> Yet some gatherings still posed recognized threats to aristocratic control. A famous case occurred in 859, when a group of Frankish peasants swore oaths to defend the Seine against the Vikings, only to be killed by their own lords.<sup>187</sup> This oath-group was not a “riot” or a “rebellion,” but a form of collective behavior which disrupted or threatened to disrupt the aristocratic monopoly on violence. Such gatherings did not threaten elite power openly, but indirectly. Elite domination depended on, and, even more than that, consisted in physical assembly. As chapter 2 discussed, the performance of governance and pastoral care, and the payment of dues in return, worked as a series of predictable gatherings.<sup>188</sup> Spontaneous collective behavior (gathering “incautiously” as the annalist puts it) threatened a system which asked for order in return for protection.<sup>189</sup> How did elite writers describe such crowds that failed to meet expectations of order and consensus? An instructive case survives from mid ninth-century Dijon. When crowds of women in 840s Dijon challenged local episcopal power,

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<sup>186</sup> Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen*, pp. 359-70. For their place in court culture, see R. Le Jan, “Les cérémonies carolingiennes: symbolique de l’ordre, dynamique de la compétition,” in *Le corti nell’alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 2015), pp. 167-94, at p. 180. On the centrality of assemblies to politics see T. Reuter, “Assembly Politics in Western Europe,” in T. Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), p. 193-216.

<sup>187</sup> *AB*, s.a. 859, ed. Grat et al., p. 80; See Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 580-1; Eggert, “Rebelliones servorum,” p. 1152; Epperlein, *Herrschaft und Volk*, p. 49; Brunner, *Oppositionelle Gruppen*, pp. 11-2, 131-2; and for an alternative view, O. G. Oexle, “Conjuratio und Gilden im frühen Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag der sozialen Kontinuität zwischen Antike und Mittelalter,” in *Gilden und Zünfte: Kaufmännische und gewerbliche Genossenschaften im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, ed. B. Schwineköper (Sigmaringen, 1985), pp. 151-214, at pp. 152-3.

<sup>188</sup> The best study on the coordination of political and religious gatherings is M. Sierck, *Festtag und Politik: Studien zur Tagewahl karolingischer Herrscher* (Cologne, 1995). See also McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 222-4, for information exchange at assemblies.

<sup>189</sup> *AB*, s.a. 859, ed. Grat et al., p. 80: “incaute.”

they did so indirectly, but their archbishop responded with the power of the word as well as with the power of the rod.<sup>190</sup> Archbishop Amolo's response to an ecstatic religious crowd illuminates contemporary secular violence against cases such as the 859 *coniuratio*, but it also shows how the written word could serve to neutralize rare threats posed to early medieval elites by collective behaviors.

Amolo's letter survives in only one small manuscript, eight parchment folios in length: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, MS 717.<sup>191</sup> This ninth- or tenth-century manuscript contains a pair of letters composed by two Carolingian archbishops of Lyon.<sup>192</sup> The first letter (fols. 1r-5r) is from Archbishop Amolo of Lyon (r. 841-852) to

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<sup>190</sup> This case has received only one in-depth study, C. West, "Unauthorised miracles in mid-ninth-century Dijon and the Carolingian church reforms," *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010): 295-311, whose conclusions I find broadly compelling. I offer a few differences of interpretation below. Unlike West, I focus on the crowd rather than on the authenticity of the relics. A few scholars have treated this case in passing. See, e.g., R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), p. 329; M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 287, n. 14; J. M. H. Smith, "The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe, c. 780-920," *Past & Present*, 146 (1995): 3-37, at p. 35; cf. Julia M. H. Smith, "Women at the Tomb: Access to Relic Shrines in the Early Middle Ages," in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. K. A. Mitchell and I. A. Wood (Leiden, 2002), pp. 163-180; Treffort, *L'Église carolingienne et la mort*, pp. 165-7; Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 28-9; E. Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon* (Cologne, 1969), pp. 313-4. For an older approach, see L. Chomton, *Histoire de l'Église Saint-Bénigne de Dijon* (Dijon, 1900), pp. 67-8.

<sup>191</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 717 (hereafter Arsenal 717). The manuscript measures 270 by 240 mm (with bounding lines at approximately 198 by 150 mm, writing above the line). The eight folios are bound within a covering of two late medieval bifolia pasted one against the other, all now in a workaday modern binding with modern flyleaves. The bifolia are marked A and 9; one can just make out late medieval writing on this recycled piece of parchment. Tenth-century: H. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris, 1886), vol. 2, pp. 55-6; A. Bressolles, *Doctrine et action politique d'Agobard* (Paris, 1949), 34; *Agobardi Lugdunensis opera omnia*, ed. L. van Acker, CCCM 52 (Turnhout, 1981), pp. liv-lv: "début du 10e siècle." Ninth-century: West, "Unauthorised Miracles," p. 303, and p. 303, n. 46; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., (Munich, 1911), vol. 1, p. 389; B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, ed. B. Ebersperger, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 2014), vol. 3 (Padua-Zwickau), p. 10 (no. 3923): "Frankreich, IX. Jh., ca. Mitte."

<sup>192</sup> Arsenal 717, fols. 1r-8r. These letters are the sole original contents of the manuscript as it survives. A conciliar extract (from the Council of Troyes in 1107) was added to the empty final verso (fol. 8v) during the twelfth century. See Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II, 1100-1110* (Toronto, 1978), pp. 84-9, with the text of the council at pp. 90-7.

his suffragan Bishop Theobald of Langres (d. 849).<sup>193</sup> It was composed after 841 and probably before 844.<sup>194</sup> Arsenal 717 is its only witness. The second (fols. 5r to 8r) is by Agobard of Lyon (d. 841), Amolo's predecessor.<sup>195</sup> Agobard's letter in Arsenal 717, probably composed after 828, exists in another ninth-century manuscript.<sup>196</sup> It is one of several texts Agobard penned against popular superstitions. Another attacked popular belief in "cloud people" and "weather wizards" (*tempestarii*) who claimed they could

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<sup>193</sup> Amolo of Lyon, *ep.* 1, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin, 1899), pp. 363-68. Amolo's letter was previously printed by *Sancti Agobardi archiepiscopi Lugdunensis Opera*, ed. E. Baluze, 2 vols. (Paris, 1666), vol. 2, pp. 135-47, and reprinted in PL 116, col. 77-84. Amolo is best known as the author of a long treatise against the Jews, *De Judaicis superstitionibus* (PL 116, col. 131-84). For this work, see Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du moyen âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme* (Paris, 1963), pp. 195-200; Abigail Firey, *A Contrite Heart: Prosecution and Redemption in the Carolingian Empire* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 147-53; Johannes Heil, "Agobard, Amolo, das Kirchengut und die Juden von Lyon," *Francia*, 25 (1999): 39-76, esp. pp. 65-76; but also Warren Pez , "Amalaire et la communaut  juive de Lyon:   propos de l'antijuda isme lyonnais   l' poque carolingienne," *Francia*, 40 (2013): 1-25. On literary politics in Lyon in this period, see also Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, *Florus von Lyon als Kirchenpolitiker und Publizist* (Stuttgart, 1999).

<sup>194</sup> A reference to the "still living" bishop of Narbonne, Bartholomew (Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 6, ed. D mmler, p. 366: "Narbonensis qui nunc superest Bartholomeus"), indicates that Amolo wrote this letter sometime between his own accession in 841 and Bartholomew's death, apparently before 845. Louis Duchesne, *Fastes  piscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 2nd rev. edn. (Paris, 1907), vol. 1, p. 305; D mmler (*op. cit.*), p. 366, n. 4.

<sup>195</sup> From 816 to 835 this fiery archbishop immersed himself in the political and religious debates of the day. He was deposed in 835, only to be restored in 839 (he died in 840). The best overview is Boshof, *Agobard*, with a useful summary of previous scholarship (pp. 1-19). Allen Cabaniss, *Agobard of Lyons: A Ninth Century Ecclesiastic and Critic* (Chicago, 1941) offers a vivid portrayal of the archbishop, but must be consulted with caution. See also Bressolles, *Doctrine et action politique d'Agobard*, the first volume of an unfinished planned trilogy. For an excellent recent study of Agobard's self-portrayal, see Stuart Airlie, "'I, Agobard, unworthy bishop,'" in *Ego Trouble: Authors and their Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R. Corradini et al. (Vienna, 2010), pp. 175-83. For Agobard's literary output, see F. Brunh lzl, *Histoire de la litt rature latine du moyen  ge*, trans. H. Rochais (Louvain, 1991), vol. 1.2, pp. 166-77.

<sup>196</sup> Agobard of Lyon, *De quorundam inlusione signorum*, ed. L. van Acker, *Agobardi Lugdunensis opera omnia*, CCCM 53 (Turnhout, 1981), pp. 237-43. The other manuscript is a ninth- or early tenth-century Lyon manuscript containing most of Agobard's works, now Paris, BnF, lat. 2853, at fols. 124v-127v, where it bears the title "De quorundam inlusione signorum" (124v), and where it is ascribed not only to Agobard but also to "Hildigisus" and "Florus" (ed. van Acker, p. 237). On this letter, see Brunh lzl, *Histoire*, vol. 1.2, p. 174; Bressolles, *Doctrine et action politique d'Agobard*, pp. 96-9. The dating of the letter to after 828 is based (somewhat tenuously) on Bartholomew's first appearance as bishop of Narbonne at a council in Toulouse (Duchesne, *Fastes*, vol. 1, p. 305). It is reasonable to suppose that the letter was composed before 835, when both Agobard and Bartholomew were deposed.



control the skies.<sup>197</sup> In the letter preserved in Arsenal 717, Agobard advised Archbishop Bartholomew of Narbonne about wonder-working relics in Uzès which had stirred up crowds at the shrine of Saint Firmin and elsewhere.<sup>198</sup> This letter analyzed biblical examples to show that the unseen blows and stigmata observed in Uzès were not real miracles.<sup>199</sup> Amolo's letter in Arsenal 717 also treated crowds provoked by relics. Because Amolo's letter in Arsenal 717 makes explicit reference to Agobard's – noting that “we have also sent you a copy (*exemplar*) of that same letter”<sup>200</sup> – scholars have suspected that Arsenal 717 is a close copy of Amolo's missive as it was originally sent: a ninth-century Lyonnais dossier on dangerous crowds.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>197</sup> For Agobard's writings against popular superstition, see Brunhölzl, *Histoire*, vol. 1.2, pp. 171-174; Bressolles, *Doctrine et action politique d'Agobard*, pp. 89-99. The most famous is probably his *Liber contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis*, ed. van Acker, pp. 3-15 (preserved in Paris, BnF, lat. 2853, fols. 93r-106r), which repudiates his credulous flock for believing that bad weather was the result of magicians called *tempestarii*. For discussion of this letter, see (just to name a few) Jean Jolivet, “Agobard de Lyon et les faiseurs de pluie,” in *La méthode critique au Moyen Âge*, ed. M. Chazan and G. Dahan (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 15-25; Boshof, *Agobard*, pp. 176-178; Paul Dutton, “Thunder and Hail Over the Carolingian Countryside,” *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York, 2004), pp. 169-88; and Rob Meens, “Thunder over Lyon: Agobard, the *tempestarii*, and Christianity,” in *Paganism in the Middle Ages: Threat and Fascination*, ed. C. Steel, J. Marenbon, and W. Verbeke (Leuven, 2012), pp. 157-66. Carolingian homilies against popular superstitions abound, although it is difficult to say how well they describe actual “popular” beliefs. See, e.g. (Pseudo-)Hrabanus Maurus, *Homiliae*, no. 42, PL 110, col. 78-80, criticising people who shouted at the moon in eclipse to help it get through the eclipse (78D), but Hrabanus borrowed the whole story from a fifth-century sermon of Maximus of Turin. Robert Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 56-8.

<sup>198</sup> Agobard does not mention Uzès by name; the location is given by Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 6, ed. Dümmler, p. 366: “civitatem quendam haut longe a nostris finibus, quae Ucaetia nuncupatur, sita in provincia Narbonensi... ad sepulchrum sancti Firmini episcopi.” Cf. Agobard, *De quorundam inlusione signorum*, c. 1, ed. van Acker, p. 237: “in quadam ecclesia, ubi cuiusdam sancti corpus ueneratur nomine Firmini.” This is not Firmin of Amiens (d. 284), famous for the Running-of-the-Bulls, but a sixth-century bishop, Firmin of Uzès, brother of Saint Ferréol of Uzès. His life, *Acta Firmini* (BHL 3015), AASS Oct. 5.11.635-41, is of uncertain date. Firmin's feast day, October 11, like that of Saint Denis (October 9), coincided with the wine harvest, providing a possible context for the large gatherings at Uzès.

<sup>199</sup> Agobard, *De quorundam inlusione signorum*, c. 2-10, ed. van Acker, pp. 238-42.

<sup>200</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 9, ed. Dümmler, p. 368: “Misimus vobis etiam exemplar epistolae praefati pii patris et nutritoris nostri ad iam dictum Narbonensem episcopum....”

<sup>201</sup> Van Acker, *Agobardi opera*, p. lv; West, “Unauthorised Miracles,” pp. 303-4; cf. Boshof, *Agobard*, pp. 313-4.

The dossier's recipient was Bishop Theobald of Langres, Amolo's suffragan. Large crowds of worshippers, "and especially women," were behaving strangely in Theobald's diocese, at the church of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon.<sup>202</sup> Amolo's source of information was Theobald's chorepiscopus (assistant bishop), probably one Ingelramnus.<sup>203</sup> According to the eleventh-century *Chronicle of Saint-Bénigne*, Ingelramnus was the active ruler of the monastery of Saint-Bénigne in the mid ninth century.<sup>204</sup> "A year ago," this chorepiscopus had reported, two self-proclaimed monks had come to Dijon with saints' relics from Rome "or somewhere else in Italy." With "utter lack of shame" they admitted that they had forgotten the name of the saint or saints

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<sup>202</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 1, ed. Dümmler, p. 363: "et maxime, immo, ut nonnulli affirmant, tantummodo in feminis"; cf. c. 7 (p. 366): "tanta infelicitium hominum et maxime mulierum multitudo."

<sup>203</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 1, ed. Dümmler, p. 363: "Mandastis nobis per dilectum fratrem, chorepiscopum vestrum"; c. 2 (p. 363): "praedictus frater noster"; c. 2 (p. 364): "ab illo fratre nostro, quem misistis." This chorepiscopus goes unnamed in Amolo's letter, but it was probably one Ingelramnus, whose name we know from contemporary charters and later histories: *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon: Prieurés et dépendances des origines à 1300*, ed. G. Chevrier and M. Chaume and R. Folz, 2 vols. (Dijon, 1943-1986), vol. 1, p. 84 (no. 51, dated November 23, 840): "domno Ingelranno episcopo atque abbate"; *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, suivie de la Chronique de Saint-Pierre de Bèze*, ed. E. Bougaud and Joseph Garnier (Dijon, 1875), pp. 94-5. See also Pierre Gras, "Le séjour à Dijon des évêques de Langres du Ve au IXe siècle: Ses conséquences sur l'histoire de la ville," in *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel* (Paris, 1955), vol. 1, 550-561, at 552. Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 28, also identifies the chorepiscopus as "Ingelrannus," following Dümmler, 363, n. 2 and PL 116, c. 78D. On chorepiscopi in this period, see A. Schröder, "Über die Chorbischöfe des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 15 (1891): 176-178; Raymund Kottje, "Chorbischof, 2. Westkirche," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1983), vol. 2, col. 1884-6; H. Leclercq, "Chorévêques," in *DACL* 3.1 (Paris, 1913), col. 1423-53; for chorepiscopi in Lyon specifically, see J. Beyssac, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de l'Eglise de Lyon: corévêques, suffragants et auxiliaires de Lyon* (Montbrison, 1910), pp. 1-10.

<sup>204</sup> *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. Bougaud and Garnier, p. 94: "Per idem tempus defuncto Herleberto Corepiscopo qui vices Pastoris in hoc loco tenuerat, successit ad regimen animarum Ingelrannus eundem in Ecclesiasticis gerens officium." Charters preserved in the Saint-Bénigne cartulary acknowledge that "the venerable man Lord Theobald preside[d] as bishop" in the church of Saint-Bénigne, but they never describe Theobald as abbot. Pace Gras, "Le séjour à Dijon," p. 552, who cites the "catalogue sommaire" of the second volume of Chevrier and Chaume (*Chronique de l'Abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. Bougaud and Garnier, vol. 2, xxxvi, nos. 54, 55, 58, 59), to conclude that "c'est Thibaut lui-même qui prend le titre d'abbé." While it is true that Theobald presided in these cases, and two others, he is always styled "bishop" and not "abbot." See *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. Chevrier and Chaume and Folz, vol. 1, pp. 86-7 (no. 54): "venerabilem virum Teutbaldum episcopum"; vol. 1, p. 87 (no. 55): "ubi venerabilis vir domnus Teutbaldus preesse videtur episcopus"; vol. 1, p. 90 (no. 58): domni Tedbaldi episcopi"; vol. 1, p. (no. 59): "domno Teotbaldo episcopo"; vol. 1, pp. 94-5 (no. 62) "domno Teutbaldo episcopo"; vol. 1, p. 98 (no. 66) "domino Teudbaldo pontifici."

in question.<sup>205</sup> Theobald “sensibly and piously” determined that the relics were neither to be accepted nor rejected outright, and gave the monks time to prove their veracity.<sup>206</sup> Since then, one of the monks had died and the other had departed, promising to return with proof.<sup>207</sup> Despite the monks’ “lowly” quality and the relics’ “dubious” status, however, the nameless bones had been laid “reverently” (Amolo pointedly does not say by whom) next to the body of Saint Benignus in Dijon, in the church dedicated to him in this monastery at the center of an important quarter of the city.<sup>208</sup>

Soon after the relics’ deposition at the church of Saint-Bénigne, “certain quasi miracles” began to take place there and elsewhere, drawing large numbers.<sup>209</sup> The “miracles” in question were invisible “blows and strikes” (*percussiones et elisiones*),

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<sup>205</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 1, ed. Dümmler, p. 363: “Dixit [sc. chorepiscopus] enim, quod anno transacto duo quidam, qui se monachos esse dicerent, detulerint usque ad praefatam sancti martyris basylicam quaedam velut cuiusdam sancti ossa, quae se vel ex urbe Roma vel ex nescio quibus Italiae partibus sustulisse affirmabant: cuius tamen sancti nomen se oblitos esse mira impudentia dixerunt.” For a useful overview of the use of written “authentics” (small slips of parchment or papyrus) to validate relics’ authority, see B. Galland, *Les authentiques de reliques du Sancta Sanctorum* (Vatican City, 2004), pp. 34-38; cf. Julia M. H. Smith, “Care of Relics in Early Medieval Rome,” in *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World: Studies in Honor of Thomas F.X. Noble*, ed. V. Garver and O. Phelan (Farnham, 2014), pp. 179-204, at pp. 182-183, for their conditions of storage. On validating relics more generally, see Delehay, *Cinq leçons*, pp. 75-116.

<sup>206</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 363: “...prudenter et religiose fecistis, ut istiusmodi reliquias...nec ullo modo recipiendas iudicaretis, nec penitus contemnendas.”

<sup>207</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, pp. 363-4.

<sup>208</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 364: “Attamen dum illa ossa...velut causa honoris iuxta sepulchrum praefati gloriosi martyris reverenter locata conservantur.” To depose unknown bones in this holy place was clearly an error, but Amolo does not identify a culprit. His passive construction (“the bones were stored”) and affective language (“reverently”) simply implies that *someone* had blundered. For what (little) we know of the pre-Romanesque archaeology of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, see Christian Sapin, *La Bourgogne préromane: construction, décor et fonction des édifices religieux* (Paris, 1986), pp. 75-9. For the famous subsequent church built by William of Volpiano between 1001 and 1016, see Carolyn Marino Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon en l’An Mil, Totius Galliae Basilicis Mirabilior: Interprétation politique, liturgique et théologique* (Turnhout, 2009).

<sup>209</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 364: “[dixit] coepisse in eadem basylica velut quaedam miraculi fieri” (embedded in the indirect discourse of the chorepiscopus). Once again, Amolo uses passive construction (*coepisse...fieri*) to express uncertain agency.

which seemed to cause miserable little women in that house of prayer suddenly to collapse and jerk about, just as if they were being beaten; yet nevertheless no wounds appear on any part of their bodies, and no traces of any sort of blow seem to be visible. By virtue of this momentous occurrence, a crowd (*turba*) of amazed and astonished people rushes to that place, with the following effect, as we have learned not only from that brother of yours [Theobald's *chorepiscopus*], whom you sent to me, but also from several other people: now three hundred or four hundred persons,<sup>210</sup> or even more than this, are said to be there, and now they too in the manner I just described are collapsing and being jerked about, and, after a little while, when it seems that they have been cured and their senses have been restored, they utterly refuse to leave from that place. For as soon as they try to return to their households,<sup>211</sup> at once they are struck by I know not what new blow, and are compelled to return to the church from which they had departed. Among them, they say that there are not only girls but also married women, young and old, both of greater status and of lesser status.<sup>212</sup>

The whole affair stank of impropriety, but Theobald apparently did not know what to do.

“Your soul has been troubled by a sort of uncertainty (*ambiguitas*), and you judged that it was our duty, our fraternal duty, to come up with advice.”<sup>213</sup> Amolo “cut through” his suffragan’s reservations, and his first step was to prove that neither the women nor the “miracles” could be seen as holy.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 364: “trecente sive quadringente aut eo amplius personae.” Strictly speaking, *personae* is a gender- and value-neutral term. Amolo uses it to refer to males in the same letter in reference to the two monks (c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 364: “a tam vilibus personis”) and also in reference to the “divine person” of Christ (c., 8, ed. Dümmler, p. 367; Cf. his *De Judaicis superstitionibus*, PL 116, col. 149A).

<sup>211</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 364: “ad domos suos.” As the end of the letter makes clear, not just their physical homes, but to their *familiae*, to their households, the kin-units to which they belong.

<sup>212</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 364: “...quibus miserae mulierculae subito in ipsa orationis domo cadere et conlidi et quasi vexare viderentur; cum tamen in nulla parte corporis lesae appareant, aut ulla plagae alicuius vestigia monstrare videantur. Qua ex causa tanta illuc velut admirantium et stupentium turba, sicut non solum ab illo fratre nostro, quem misistis, sed etiam a nonnullis aliis didicimus, ut iam trecente sive quadringente aut eo amplius personae esse referantur, quae iam dicto modo corruentes atque elisae et post paululum velut recepto sensu sanatae nullatenus a loco discedere posse firmantur, quia videlicet si ad domos suas redire temptaverint, statim nova nescio qua plaga percussae, ad ecclesiam de qua exierant redire compellantur. In quibus esse dicuntur non solum puellae, sed etiam coniugatae, iuveniores et maturiores aetate, honestiores atque viliores.”

<sup>213</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 1, ed. Dümmler, p. 363.

<sup>214</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 3, ed. Dümmler, p. 364.

Amolo starts by denigrating the women – and the fact that Amolo underscores the presence of women “especially” is meant to reinforce the illegitimacy of these gatherings. A large contemporary literature attacked unauthorized forms of “female religious expression.”<sup>215</sup> Scholars have debated whether this body of writings constitutes a Carolingian “clampdown” on all forms of female religiosity in the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>216</sup> While maximalist views of Carolingian patriarchal repression have been challenged in recent years, Amolo built upon longstanding traditions of delegitimizing topoi against impious women. He uses a telling phrase to describe them: they are *miseræ mulierculæ*, “miserable little women.”<sup>217</sup> *Muliercula*, the diminutive of *mulier*, “woman,” was an established pejorative for errant women in early medieval texts.<sup>218</sup> The Latin version of Paul’s second letter to Timothy warned that wicked men foretelling end times would “creep into households and capture *mulierculæ* burdened with sins and led

<sup>215</sup> Smith, “The Problem of Female Sanctity,” p. 35. Cf. J. T. Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500-1100* (Chicago, 2001), pp. 59-125; Janet L. Nelson, “Women and the Word in the earlier Middle Ages,” in J. Nelson, *The Frankish World, 750-900* (London, 1996), pp. 199-221; Suzanne Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 127-48.

<sup>216</sup> Nelson, “Women and the Word,” pp. 203-4.

<sup>217</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 364. The adjective *miser* can mean “impoverished” or “poor,” but also implies social powerlessness (cf. Fr. “misérable”). Its case is similar to that of *pauper*, which did not come to mean “poor” “im Sinne der Wirtschaftsgesellschaft” until the rise of cities in the later Middle Ages: Karl Bosl, “Potens und Pauper: Begriffsgeschichtliche Studien zur gesellschaftlichen Differenzierung im frühen Mittelalter und zum “Pauperismus” des Hochmittelalters,” in K. Bosl, *Frühformen der Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Europa: Ausgewählte Beiträge zu einer Strukturanalyse der mittelalterlichen Welt* (Munich, 1964), pp. 106-34, at p. 134.

<sup>218</sup> Sixth-century: Fulgentius of Ruspe, *De ueritate praedestinationis et gratiae dei*, 1.24, ed. J. Fraipont, *Sancti Fulgentii episcopi Ruspensis opera*, CCSL 91A (Turnhout, 1968), p. 473; Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, 67.31, ed. M. Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmorum I-LXX*, CCSL 97 (Turnhout, 1958), p. 600; Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, 3.9.7-8, ed. A. Adams, CCSL 92 (Turnhout, 1985), p. 149-50; Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum X*, 10.25, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 519; seventh-century: Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 2.19, ed. C. Lawson, CCSL 113 (Turnhout, 1989), (line 33); eighth-century: Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositio in Apocalypsin*, 4.9.7b-8a, ed. R. Weber, *Ambrosii Autperti opera, Expositionis in Apocalypsin libri I-V*, CCCM 27 (Turnhout, 1975), 349-51; Bede, *In epistolas VII catholicas*, 5.18, ed. D. Hurst, *Beda Venerabilis opera, ii. Opera exegetica*, pt. 4, CCSL 121 (Turnhout, 1983), pp. 222-3.

astray by various passions” (2 Timothy 3:6).<sup>219</sup> More than one Carolingian author built upon this passage to attack superstitious women and their instigators. In the mid eighth century, Boniface quoted 2 Timothy 3:6 to explain to Pope Zacharias that the heresiarch Aldebert “captured *mulierculae*.”<sup>220</sup> Aldebert said that he spoke with angels, claimed parity with the Apostles, and distributed his own fingernails and hair as relics, thus convincing a “multitude of simple people” that he was a saint.<sup>221</sup> Theodulf of Orléans (in the *Opus Caroli*) and Agobard both quoted a passage in which Jerome wrote against *mulierculae* who showed veneration “to little gospel-books, to the wood of the cross, and to things of that sort; who do have zeal for God, but not in accordance with knowledge.”<sup>222</sup> And at the end of the ninth century, a famous canon of the council of Nantes (895) condemned *mulierculae* who “endlessly disturbed general councils and public gatherings (*placita generalia et publicos conventus*).” This canon ended by opining that “this disgraceful presumption should be blamed more on the instigators than

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<sup>219</sup> 2 Timothy 3:6, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1838: “ex his enim sunt qui penetrant domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis quae ducuntur variis desideriis.” For the Greek (“γυναϊκάρια”), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle, E. Nestle, B. Aland, et al., 28th edn. (Stuttgart, 2015), p. 647. *Vetus Latina* or pre-Hieronymian Bibles also fairly consistently use *muliercula* to translate γυναικάριον (diminutive of γυνή): *Vetus Latina: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, ed. H. J. Frede (Freiburg, 1982), vol. 25, fasc. 10.10, pp. 763-4.

<sup>220</sup> Boniface, *ep.*, no. 59, ed. M. Tangl, MGH Epp. sel. 1 (Berlin, 1916), p. 111.

<sup>221</sup> Nicole Zeddies, “Bonifatius und zwei nützliche Rebellen: die Häretiker Aldebert und Clemens,” in *Ordnung und Aufruhr im Mittelalter: Historische und juristische Studien zur Rebellion*, ed. Marie Theres Fögen (Frankfurt, 1995), pp. 217-263, who emphasises that Aldebert was a useful heretic to Boniface in his efforts to present local customs as heretical (pp. 262-3).

<sup>222</sup> Jerome, *Commentarii in Evangelium Matthaei*, 4, 23.5, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCSL 77 (Turnhout, 1969), p. 212; *Opus Caroli*, 1.18, ed. A. Freeman and P. Meyvaert, MGH Conc. 2, Suppl. 1 (Hanover, 1998), p. 191. Agobard, *De picturis et imaginibus*, c. 26, ed. van Acker, 175: “Hoc apud nos superstitiose mulierculae in paruulis euangeliis, in crucis ligno, et in istiusmodi rebus, qui habent quidem zelum Dei, sed non iuxta scientiam, usque hodie factitant.” Cf. Agobard, *De cauendo conuictu et societate iudaica*, ed. van Acker, p. 232, for another case of *mulierculae*.

on the women themselves.”<sup>223</sup> Amolo similarly wished to portray the *mulierculae* as playthings of forces beyond their control, susceptible because of their sin.

Amolo disparaged the “miracles” too.<sup>224</sup> God’s anger, demonic mischief, or human fakery prompted signs of “blows and strikes,” but these were not “signs of divine mercy and loving-kindness.”<sup>225</sup> Why would God’s church harm instead of heal?<sup>226</sup> Why would God’s martyrs want to separate daughters from parents, wives from husbands?<sup>227</sup> Amolo told Theobald to consult Agobard’s letter for “richer and fuller” instruction in questions of miracle interpretation.<sup>228</sup> Agobard’s letter to Bartholomew had consisted mainly of a long list – composed with the help of the learned deacon Florus – of biblical “signs” which similarly portended divine anger rather than succor.<sup>229</sup> (To what extent did Amolo choose to describe the women’s behavior in terms of “unseen” blows simply to imitate the details of his predecessor’s letter?<sup>230</sup>) Amolo hoped that his advice would

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<sup>223</sup> Council of Nantes (895), c. 19, ed. G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Venice, 1778), vol. 18, 171-2: “mirum videtur, quod quaedam mulierculæ, contra divinas humanasque leges attrita fronte impudenter agentes, placita generalia & publicos conventus indesinenter adeant, & negotia regni, utilitatesque reipublicæ magis perturbent, quam disponant... Quæ ignominiosa præsumptio fautoribus magis imputanda videtur, quam fœminis.” See Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, pp. 105-6, for an interpretation. Nelson, “Women and the Word,” p. 203, offers an alternative explanation.

<sup>224</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 5, ed. Dümmler, p. 365: “Quis haec non videat vel fallaciis hominum nequissimorum vel deceptionibus et ludibriis daemonum concinnata...?”

<sup>225</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 364.

<sup>226</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 5, ed. Dümmler, p. 365.

<sup>227</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 5, ed. Dümmler, p. 365. On contemporary ideals of women’s home life, see Hans-Werner Goetz, *Frauen im frühen Mittelalter: Frauenbild und Frauenleben im Frankenreich* (Weimar, 1995), pp. 221-31; Valerie Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2009), pp. 170-223.

<sup>228</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 9, ed. Dümmler, p. 368: “ut si quis de huiusmodi causis subtilius et plenius nosse voluerit, illius lectione uberius ac profundius instruat.”

<sup>229</sup> Agobard, *De quorundam inlusionem signorum*, c. 2-10, ed. van Acker, pp. 238-42.

<sup>230</sup> Agobard, *De quorundam inlusionem signorum*, c. 1, ed. van Acker, p. 237. On Amolo’s self-fashioning after Agobard, see Boshof, *Agobard*, p. 312.

resolve the *ambiguitas* of the matter, but it is important to stress that he and Agobard were not uttering universal views. Other hagiographical sources use what we might term “immobility miracles,” in which people are unable to leave a saint’s relics, to underscore saints’ legitimacy.<sup>231</sup>

Yet Amolo undercuts such an interpretation of immobilizing or striking “quasi miracles.” Not only does Amolo suggest that the women’s “blows and strikes” are divine anger or infernal provocation, he also raises the possibility that they are the work of “human trickery.”<sup>232</sup> This had been on Agobard’s mind as well. Agobard’s letter to Bartholomew in Arsenal 717 also survives in a ninth-century manuscript from Lyon, where it bears the title, “On the faking of certain signs.”<sup>233</sup> Amolo in his own letter noted that he would have hesitated even to raise the possibility of “faking” (*fictio*) had he not seen “such things” “among certain little people” (*in quibusdam homunculis*) in Agobard’s time.<sup>234</sup> Those *homunculi* (the term is a gender-neutral parallel of *mulierculae*) had pretended to be possessed by devils, only to be brought before Agobard, who had them

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<sup>231</sup> Joan Petersen, *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great in their Late Antique Cultural Background* (Toronto, Ontario, 1984), pp. 125, 132. A majority of medieval saintly healing miracles seem to have targeted impairment of motion: Irina Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about Physical Impairment During the High Middle Ages, c. 1100-1400* (London, 2006), pp. 132-3. A roughly contemporary miracle collection tells two different stories of woman who were unable to leave the presence of sacred relics: *Miracula S. Genesii* (BHL 3314), c. 8, ed. Wattenbach, at p. 15; and c. 21, ed. Wattenbach, p. 20. The subjects of these immobility miracles were sinners - frozen in place until they repent - but for the hagiographer that did not diminish the power or the draw of the relics.

<sup>232</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 5, ed. Dümmler, p. 366: “per astutiam hominum.”

<sup>233</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 2853, f. 124v (ed. van Acker, 237): “De quorundam inlusionem signorum.” There is no title where the letter begins in Arsenal 717 (f. 5r).

<sup>234</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 6, ed. Dümmler, p. 366: “Haec de fictione talium inlusionum et insana quorundam cupiditate nequaquam in huius responsionis nostrae serie diceremus, nisi talia tempore pii patris et antecessoris nostri ita certissime in quibusdam homunculis, tam viris quam feminis, intra parroaechiam nostram experti essemus, ut de his nullatenus dubitare permittatur.”



beaten until they “publicly” confessed that “need and poverty” compelled them.<sup>235</sup> That is, they pretended to be demoniacs for the sake of the alms brought by sympathetic crowds. Amolo imagined that the afflicted women at Dijon may have continued their behavior in order to gain similar alms.<sup>236</sup>

Neither Amolo nor Agobard attacked the cult of relics *per se*.<sup>237</sup> Amolo clarified that collective worship of the saints was correct at “fixed and legitimate” points in the liturgical calendar: during rogations, in emergency litanies organized by authorities, during the Lenten fast, and on feast days.<sup>238</sup> The new relics in Dijon, however, were untested, and Amolo drew attention to their dubiousness. He could not believe that the two “monks” could have forgotten the name of the saint whose relics they had bought or stolen, and carried on so long and treacherous a journey.<sup>239</sup> In another subtle departure from norms expressed by his contemporaries, who often stressed the probative

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<sup>235</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 6, ed. Dümmler, p. 366.

<sup>236</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 4, ed. Dümmler, p. 365.

<sup>237</sup> Very few authors in this period went that far. For one case, see Claudius of Turin, *Apologeticum atque rescriptum adversum Theutmirum abbatem*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. 4 (Berlin, 1895), pp. 610-613. On Claudius, see Brunhölzl, *Histoire*, vol. 1.2, pp. 242-4, and G. Sergi, “Claudio,” *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1982), vol. 26, pp. 158-61. Claudius provoked the fierce response of his contemporary Dungal: *Responsa contra Claudium*, ed. Paolo Zanna, *Dungal Responsa contra Claudium: A Controversy on Holy Images* (Florence, 2002).

<sup>238</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 8, ed. Dümmler, p. 367: “Quod si votum et desiderium est populorum fidelium, diversorum martyrum et ceterorum sanctorum limina suppliciter frequentare, sunt dies certi et legitimi, quibus id iuxta antiquam ecclesiae observantiam devote exercere conveniat: tempore videlicet generalium rogationum, et pro diversis tribulationibus ac necessitatibus indictarum laetaniarum seu quadragesimalium ieiuniorum, sive etiam in vigiliis et nataliciis martyrum.” Cf. Council of Mainz (813), c. 36, MGH Conc. 2.1 (Hanover, 1906), pp. 269-70, for a list of legitimate feasts. See ch. 2 above. See also Sierck, *Festtag und Politik*, pp. 18-28.

<sup>239</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 1, ed. Dümmler, p. 363. See Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 108-28, for typical justifications for the theft of relics. It is noteworthy that Amolo signals out the danger of travel. For the contemporary logistics - and dangers - of travel, see McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 393-500; Martin Gravel, *Distances, rencontres, communications: réaliser l'empire sous Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 46-94.

importance of crowds in determining the validity of relics, Amolo insisted that episcopal approbation decided a relic's veracity.<sup>240</sup>

The cult of Saint Benignus (and the church of Saint-Bénigne) had itself begun with bones in a mysterious sarcophagus, where locals claimed to observe healing miracles.<sup>241</sup> According to Gregory of Tours, writing late in the sixth century, Bishop Gregory of Langres (d. 539/40) first ordered local people to stop venerating the unknown tomb, but he experienced a vision, later corroborated by a passion text brought from Italy, which revealed Benignus's identity. The saint's church then became a site of proven miracles – especially for vision problems.<sup>242</sup> Generally this has been understood by modern scholars as a quintessential apocryphal “invention.”<sup>243</sup> Amolo does not (interestingly) mention this story – though he praises Benignus as “most proven” and “most glorious” – but he does cite the parallel example of Saint Martin, who like Gregory of Langres stepped in when local people were worshipping unknown bones.<sup>244</sup> Those

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<sup>240</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 3-4, ed. Dümmler, pp. 364-5. On the normal role of representative crowds in legitimising relic translations, see Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen*, pp. 341-2.

<sup>241</sup> Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, c. 50, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2 (Hanover, 1885), pp. 72-4. Élie Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine*, rev. edn. (Paris, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 138, 142-3.

<sup>242</sup> Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, c. 50, ed. Krusch, p. 73. For Gregory of Langres, see Duchesne, *Fastes*, vol. 2, pp. 185-6.

<sup>243</sup> Delehay, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, pp. 354-5; Griffe, *Gaule chrétienne*, vol. 1, pp. 142-3; Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie*, pp. 187-8. See also H. Leclercq, “Dijon,” in *DACL* 4.1 (Paris, 1920), col. 828-58, at 841-2, for the dubious historical value of the legends associated with Benignus.

<sup>244</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 3, ed. Dümmler, pp. 364-5: “Habemus in hac re magnum et reverendum pietatis exemplum in gesti[s] beati Martini, ut nequaquam temere adhibeamus incertis fidem. Qui beatus et gloriosus Christi confessor et pontifex locum quendam a praecessoribus suis ab altaris titulo consecratum et concurrentis populi frequentia celebratum, quia nec nomen sepulti illic, ut ferebatur, martyris, nec tempora passionis eius repperit, omnino se ab illo loco abstinuit, nec auctoritatem suam vulgi opinioni accommodare ullatenus voluit, donec rei veritate sibi divinitus patefacta, etiam populum superstitionis illius absolvit errore.” This passage borrows from Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* (BHL 5610), 11.1-5, ed. J. Fontaine, *Vie de Saint Martin*, SC 133, corr. edn. (Paris, 2004; originally 1967), vol. 1, p. 276. For Benignus's merits, see Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 4, ed. Dümmler, p. 365: “probatissimi atque gloriosissimi martyris merita.”

turned out to be the bones of a criminal, not a saint, and Martin discovered this not by “the opinion of the vulgar mob” but by the divine revelation of a vision.<sup>245</sup> Theobald too should hide the relics “far from holy sites and any busy place,” and forbid the gatherings, until the bones’ validity had been established by less violent miracles or by the appearance of a name.<sup>246</sup>

Crowd control (hiding relics, forbidding gatherings) was only a stopgap. Amolo feared a more systematic spiritual breakdown in his suffragan’s see. As Charles West has noted, Amolo worried that the relics “were distracting people from... a more fulfilling religiosity.”<sup>247</sup> People must not think that one shrine is more efficacious than another, and flock there in neglect of their own churches.<sup>248</sup> Each *plebs*, each “congregation,” had to cleave to its own parishes.<sup>249</sup> This crowd threatened propriety by dissolving boundaries between male and female, young and old, rich and poor, stranger and neighbor, parish and parish.<sup>250</sup> Good Christians must assemble at *their own* churches, with *their own* priests, at *their own* sites; women could not be ripped from *their own* homes.<sup>251</sup> If “deluded or deluding people” were truly seized by devilish power, let them be dealt with

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<sup>245</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* (BHL 5610), 11.4, ed. Fontaine, p. 276.

<sup>246</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 3 (hiding the relics), 7 (forbidding the gatherings), ed. Dümmler, pp. 364, 366.

<sup>247</sup> West, “Unauthorised Miracles,” p. 304.

<sup>248</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 9, ed. Dümmler, p. 367-8.

<sup>249</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 7, ed. Dümmler, pp. 366-7. Cf. Treffort, *L’Église carolingienne et la mort*, p. 166.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. E. Canetti, *Masse und Macht* (Düsseldorf, 1978), pp. 14-16. For Canetti the definitive moment of the formation of any crowd is an “Entladung” (discharge) which consists of the elimination of distinctions.

<sup>251</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 364: “ad domos *suas*”; c. 5, p. 365: “ad domos eorundem parentum *suorum*”; “in *suis* sanctuariis”; “ad virorum *suorum* domos”; and (as discussed below) throughout in c. 7, p. 366: “a sacerdote *suo*”; p. 367: “decimas et primitias *suas*”; “filios *suos*”; “vota et oblationes *suas*”; “orationes et supplicationes *suas*”; “in istiusmodi *suis* et proximi salubribus utilitatibus...etc.”

“in their own places by their own priests,” “and not hounded after foolishly by mobs and tumults of people.”<sup>252</sup>

West has argued that this is not a defense of “organized” versus “unconstrained” religiosity, but a defense of organization as itself sacred.<sup>253</sup> The cult of saints was just one part of a religiosity defined by keeping to one’s own place. On West’s reading, Amolo mounted this defense in response to a threat posed by the monks of Saint-Bénigne. The monks of Saint-Bénigne may have encouraged the new relic cult “to gain a measure of autonomy” in the vacuum caused by the civil war in the Langres bishopric in the 840s.<sup>254</sup> Amolo’s letter may seem to oppose a dour and repressive (or sober and rational) *correctio* to the popular enthusiasm of relic veneration.<sup>255</sup> In the usual reading of this episode, Amolo was simply “dealing with the inevitable abuses and scandals” that accompanied the rapid expansion of the Carolingian cult of relics.<sup>256</sup> But West suggests that largely unspoken but influential Weberian ideal types, “charisma” and “routine,”

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<sup>252</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 9, ed. Dümmler, p. 368: “Nam etsi quidam illorum fallacium atque fallentium, vere inergumini et arrepticii essent, more ecclesiastico vel in locis suis a sacerdotibus suis vel in quibusque martyrum sanctuariis a propinquis et amicis tranquille debuerant tractari atque opitulante Dei gratia purgari, non populorum turbis ac tumultibus inaniter prosequi.”

<sup>253</sup> West, “Unauthorised Miracles,” p. 309: “there is no justification for distinguishing between the kinds of holiness embedded in the parish and the relic as incommensurate, let alone opposed; they were merely different channels through which holiness was articulated in the ninth century.”

<sup>254</sup> West, “Unauthorised Miracles,” p. 302: “We may...suspect that the community acted...to bring relics within its compound without authorisation, and either exploited the popular excitement which resulted, or made no attempt to quieten it down.”

<sup>255</sup> West, “Unauthorised Miracles,” p. 307. For a confessional approach to the parallel case of Agobard, cf. Bressolles, *Doctrine et action politique d’Agobard*, p. 89: “Cet amour de la saine raison, cette horreur de tout ce qui est chimérique et faux inspire à Agobard ses nombreuses campagnes contre les superstitions.”

<sup>256</sup> Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 29. An older approach went further: J. E. Darras, *Histoire générale de l’église* (Paris, 1855), p. 449, likened Amolo’s crowds to the “convulsionnaires” of Saint-Médard who assembled at the tomb of the Jansenist François de Pâris in the eighteenth century: “Ce qu’il y eut de plus singulier dans ce fait, c’est qu’il se produisit, à Saint-Bénigne, des convulsions exactement pareilles à celles que, sept siècles plus tard, les Jansénistes eurent la prétention d’accréditer sur le tombeau du diacre Pâris.”

have distracted historians into overly systematic readings of cases like this one in terms of rational versus popular religiosity.<sup>257</sup> West evokes Edward Shils's reframing of Weber's "charisma" as "awe-arousing centrality" to bring the discussion back to local power politics.<sup>258</sup> The monks had proposed, or manipulated, one source of "awe-arousing centrality" in the relics they had received, or ordered, from Italy. Amolo undercut their efforts with ancient topoi of vulgar or feminine crowds, while proposing ecclesiastical "organization" (*institutio* in his Latin) as the true locus of the sacred.<sup>259</sup>

It is true that by the late 830s and 840s tensions between the community of Saint-Bénigne and the bishops of Langres must have been high.<sup>260</sup> Bishops of Langres had been based at Dijon from the fifth century until the mid eighth, and they had traditionally served as abbots of Saint-Bénigne.<sup>261</sup> But in the mid eighth century the see was given by

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<sup>257</sup> West, "Unauthorised Miracles," pp. 306-10, targets historiographical narratives which portray late antique "charismatic" forms of sanctity as institutionalised by Carolingian churchment, e.g. Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, AD 200-1000*, rev. edn. (Oxford, 2013), pp. 435-62, and R. W. Southern, *Western Church and Society* (London, 1971), pp. 173-4. Certainly, Bressolles, *Doctrine et action politique d'Agobard*, pp. 89-99, and Cabaniss, *Agobard*, pp. 13-4, both attempted to read Agobard's attacks on "superstition" as examples of Carolingian "rationalism." See criticism by Boshof, *Agobard*, pp. 8-10, 60-1, 173.

<sup>258</sup> Edward Shils, "Charisma, Order, and Status," in E. Shils, *The Constitution of Society* (Chicago, 1972), pp. 119-42, at 121-2, reprinted from *American Sociological Review* 30 (1965): 199-213, at pp. 200-1. West, "Unauthorised Miracles," p. 309. See also two other essays by Shils in *Constitution of Society*: "Center and Periphery" (pp. 93-109), and "Charisma" (pp. 110-8). Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in C. Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983), pp. 121-46, at pp. 122-3, ably summarises Shils's contribution in terms of "the point or points in a society where its leading ideas come together with its leading institutions to create an arena in which the event that most vitally affect its members" lives take place. It is involvement, even oppositional involvement, with such arenas and with the momentous events that occur in them that confers charisma. It is a sign, not of popular appeal or inventive craziness, but of being near the heart of things." For Weber's original notion of "charisma," see Joshua Derman, *Max Weber in Politics and Social Thought: From Charisma to Canonization* (Cambridge, 2012), pp.176-215.

<sup>259</sup> West, "Unauthorised Miracles," pp. 309-10.

<sup>260</sup> For Dijon in this period, see Pierre Gras, "Les temps obscurs (VIe-XIe siècles)," in *Histoire de Dijon*, ed. P. Gras (Toulouse, 1981), pp. 27-39.

<sup>261</sup> Gras, "Le séjour à Dijon," pp. 550-2. As we have seen, the monastery was founded by a bishop of Langres. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, c. 50, ed. Krusch, pp. 72-4.

Pippin III to a Bavarian family, and later it fell to another Bavarian kin group associated with Schäftlarn monastery.<sup>262</sup> Under absentee bishops, the monks may have acquired greater autonomy, as did the local count.<sup>263</sup> A memory of this is preserved in the eleventh-century *Chronicle of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon*, which reports that by mid century “monastic order was almost in ruin.”<sup>264</sup> The situation changed with Theobald’s reforming predecessor Alberic (d. 838), later remembered as a reformer who restored “order” to Saint-Bénigne but also oversaw many “shake-ups and seizures of land.”<sup>265</sup> Otto Gerhard Oexle has shown that Alberic transferred personnel across the religious houses of his see.<sup>266</sup> He moved Saint-Bénigne monks to Bèze (30 kilometers northeast of Dijon) and to Saint-Mammès in Langres (70 kilometers away from home). He evidently transferred

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<sup>262</sup> Wilhelm Störmer, “Bischöfe von Langres aus Alemannien und Bayern: Beobachtungen zur monastischen und politischen Geschichte im ostrheinischen Raum des 8. und frühen 9. Jahrhunderts,” in W. Störmer, *Mittelalterliche Klöster und Stifte in Bayern und Franken: Aufsätze*, ed. E. Lukas-Götz (St. Ottilien, 2008), pp. 407-430; O. G. Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften im westfränkischen Bereich* (Munich, 1978), pp. 163-9. See also Hubert Flammarion, “Quartier canonial et croissance urbaine au Moyen Âge: L’exemple de la cité épiscopale de Langres,” *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique de Langres* 24 (2003): 109-23, at p. 112, for Langres’s gradual return to significance.

<sup>263</sup> It was Amadeus, count of Dijon, who helped lead new construction c. 814-825. J. F. Böhmer, E. Mühlbacher et al., *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern*, Regesta Imperii 1, 3rd edn. (Hildesheim, 1966), no. 800, pp. 317-8. Cf. Oexle, *Forschungen*, pp. 165-6.

<sup>264</sup> *Chronique de l’Abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. Bougaud and Garnier, 91-2: “Eo tempore presidebat Lingonice ecclesie Domnus Albericus Pontifex. Defuncto prenominato Abbate Herlegauo iam pene dilapso monastico ordine, in hoc loco suscepit curam regiminis memoratus Episcopus Albericus, dans Pastorem congregationi hic commanenti Herlebertum sub eo corepiscopum.” This is, however, a common topos of monastic histories. Cf. Steven Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2013), p. 30.

<sup>265</sup> *Chronique de l’Abbaye de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, ed. Bougaud and Garnier, p. 92: “Quo tempore facte sunt plurime commutationes vel coemptiones terrarum, tam ab ipso Pontifice, quam a Rectoribus loci istius.” Josef Semmler, “Zu den bayrisch-westfränkischen Beziehungen in karolingischer Zeit,” *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 29 (1966): 344-424, at pp. 388-91; Boshof, *Agobard*, p. 294. Alberic was an imperial *missus* in 825, a reformer, and an active local figure. Florus of Lyon turned to him (among others) in his attempts to remove Amalarius from power and restore Agobard in 838: Florus of Lyon, *Epistola ad Drogonem, Heti, Aldricum, Albericum et Hrabanum*, ed. K. Zechiel-Eckes and E. Frauenknecht, *Flori Lugdunensis Opera Polemica*, CCCM 260 (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 49-61. Cf. Zechiel-Eckes, *Florus*, p. 52.

<sup>266</sup> Oexle, *Forschungen*, pp. 163-83.

these individuals more effectively to impose distinctions between monastic and canonical identities not previously used in Dijon.<sup>267</sup> Alberic's "muscular direct management" may have been seen as a threat by the community of Saint-Bénigne.<sup>268</sup> After his death in 838, promoting new relics was a way to fight back. The 840s would have been the right time to move for independence.<sup>269</sup> After 841, Lyon had a new archbishop in Amolo, Agobard's loyal successor. Even royal power in the region was unsettled; as civil war raged, it remained to be seen which Carolingian brother would triumph in Dijon. Did the monks seize their opportunity with the help of mysterious bones?

A monastic bid for autonomy was also a bid for resources. Monks were periodically forbidden by Carolingian legislation to educate laymen, to involve themselves in lay life, and to mix with the opposite sex, but laymen not only received pastoral and other services from monastic communities, they also paid for them in gifts, alms, oblations, and even tithes.<sup>270</sup> New relics occasioned bursts of local giving.<sup>271</sup> Ties

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<sup>267</sup> Semmler, "Zu den bayrisch-westfränkischen Beziehungen," esp. pp. 389-90. Semmler saw Alberic as a follower of Benedict of Aniane, but Oexle, *Forschungen*, pp. 173-174, counters that there is little evidence of this, pointing to Chrodegang of Metz and Leidrad of Lyon as likelier reforming models.

<sup>268</sup> West, "Unauthorised Miracles," p. 301. Cf. Oexle, *Forschungen*, pp. 181-182: "Ingesamt wird man hier für die Beurteilung und den Vergleich von Listen die Erkenntnis gewinnen können, daß sich die Zusammensetzung solcher monastischer und geistlicher Gemeinschaften des früheren Mittelalters oft sehr schnell und in kurzer Zeit beträchtlich verändern konnte."

<sup>269</sup> Gras, "Le séjour à Dijon," p. 552, notes that it is difficult to know when in the ninth century bishops of Langres permanently shifted their residence from Dijon to Langres, but records episcopal involvement by both Alberic and Langres at Saint-Bénigne.

<sup>270</sup> For reformers' ideals about the separation of religious professions, see esp. Josef Semmler, "Monachus - clericus - canonicus," in *Frühformen von Stiftskirchen in Europa: Funktion und Wandel religiöser Gemeinschaften vom 6. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, ed. S. Lorenz and T. Zotz (Leinfelden-Echterdingen, 2005), pp. 1-18; Josef Semmler, "Benedictus II: una regula - una consuetudo," in *Benedictine Culture, 750-1050*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Louvain, 1983), pp. 1-49, for the reforming ideals. Cf. Kelly Gibson, "La vie monastique dans les vies de Saint Gall réécrites au IXe siècle," in *Normes et hagiographie dans l'Occident latin (Ve-XVIIe siècles)*, ed. Marie-Céline Isaïa and Thomas Granier (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 329-43, esp. pp. 342-43, for saints' lives rewritten to express these Benedictine ideals. For the earlier involvement of monks in pastoral care, see Ursmer Berlière, "L'exercice du ministère paroissial par les moines dans le haut Moyen-Âge," *Revue bénédictine* 39 (1927): 227-250; G.

created by grants of land, money, or livestock to the saints could become bonds of allegiance – and regular sources of revenue for the saints’ earthly representatives.<sup>272</sup>

Such crowds of visitors, as we have seen, could cast legitimacy onto monasteries’ claims and actions. This seems to be Amolo’s fear, for he writes that “some in the holy places and basilicas of the holy martyrs” were encouraging the crowds in Theobald’s see “for the sake of filthy lucre,” goading them on just “in order to fill their coffers and money-bags.”<sup>273</sup> Agobard too had worried about unbridled giving at Uzès in his letter to Bartholomew: “people of both sexes and various ages offer up certain gifts at the site or, as you tell me, multiple sites, for now it seems this is also going on elsewhere. They offer whatever gifts each one of them can, either in gold and silver or in livestock, or in whatever other kind; in this, they are counseled by no man’s urging, by no reason, but rather they are utterly terrorized by irrational fear.”<sup>274</sup>

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Constable, “Monasteries, Rural Churches and the *Cura Animarum* in the Early Middle Ages,” in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell’alto Medioevo: espansione e resistenze* (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 349-395; Thomas Leslie Amos, “Monks and Pastoral Care in the Early Middle Ages,” in *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, ed. T. F. X. Noble and J. J. Contreni (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp. 165-180; and on monastic collection of tithes in this period, see Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 57-82; for monks’ (and nuns’) involvement in lay education, see M. M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 37-48. Compare the *Capitula Ecclesiastica ad Salz data* (between 803 and 804), c. 5, MGH Capit. 1, no. 42, p. 119: “Ut nullus in monasterio puellarum vel ancillarum Dei intrate praesumat...salve necessitate monasterii secundum canonicam institutionem et iuxta quod episcopus ipsius parochiae ibidem ordinaverit.” See also Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2007).

<sup>271</sup> Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: the Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 18-21, for the enormous number of gifts the recently arrived relics of Nazarius attracted to the monastery of Lorsch.

<sup>272</sup> Innes, *State and Society*, p. 29.

<sup>273</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 5, ed. Dümmler, p. 366: “turpis lucri gratia” (cf. Titus 1.7). Cf. McCormick, *Origins*, 287, n. 14: “Amulo manifestly considers this a case of fraud for profit...”

<sup>274</sup> Agobard, *De quorundam inlusione signorum*, c. 1, ed. van Acker, p. 237: “Quę uidētes utriusque sexus et diuerse aetatis homines offerunt in loco aut, sicut dicitis, locis - iam enim et in aliis fieri uidetur - quędam donaria, quę unusquisque potest, aut in auro et argento uel pecoribus, aut in quibuscumque



It may seem strange for two ninth-century archbishops to cast aspersions on spontaneous collective charity. As we have seen, many Carolingian hagiographical texts depicted spur-of-the-moment collective giving as a virtue.<sup>275</sup> The whole fourth book of Einhard's influential *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233) depicts crowds observing miracles and giving alms in response.<sup>276</sup> The mid ninth-century *Miracula S. Genesii* (BHL 3314) includes an episode which warned readers or listeners to join the very crowds Agobard and Amolo condemned. After the relics of Genesius had been brought to Schienen on Lake Constance (from Jerusalem), three local peasants discussed whether they should visit them:

Near a certain *villa* situated in the vicinity, the peasants were pursuing their endless labor of cultivating the earth, as peasants do, and three of them happened to be laboring together at the same time, and in the course of gossiping, as laboring men do, they suddenly had the following conversation: "So where," asked one of them, "should we attend a church gathering tomorrow, for it will be Sunday?" "Why don't we investigate," proposed the second, "that place where everybody is rushing in droves from all sides, the nearby hill; why don't we too visit, with similar devotion, the relics recently brought there?" But the third peasant, assuming that a closer church would be easier to get to, quoted a vulgar proverb: "Who travels on a river to seek out water?" The retribution that followed showed how perversely he reasoned. For at once he collapsed like a paralytic, all of the joints of his limbs going slack. Even after as he was carried by his friends to shelter that same day, the ailment had little abated, so the next morning he was placed on a cart and was carried to that very church where he had refused to go the day before, and there, to the great glory of Christ, through the intercession of the saints he recovered his previous health. Who could doubt that this was done

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spetiebus, nullius exortatione, nulla ratione admoniti, sed inrationabili terrore perterriti." Cf. Boshof, *Agobard*, p. 177, for "unreasoning fear."

<sup>275</sup> E.g. *Vita et translatio Gildardi* (BHL 3539/3540), ed. Albert Poncelet, "Vita Sancti Gildardi episcopi Rothomagensis et ejusdem translatio Suessiones anno 838-840 facta (BHL 3539/3540)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 8 (1889): 389-405, at p. 403.

<sup>276</sup> Einhard, *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233), 4, ed. Waitz, pp. 256-64; cf. 2.4, ed. Waitz, p. 247, treating the spontaneous assembly of a crowd at Aachen as "something of a miracle" (*quid miraculi*). Pilgrimage and charity went arm in arm. One saint's life praises a rich lay woman for seeking out distant shrines to give alms to the crowds there: Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii* (BHL 544-5), c. 20, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SRG 55 (Hanover, 1884), p. 45.

for the example of others, so that no man thereafter should dare rashly to speak out against a holy place.<sup>277</sup>

The paralysis and subsequent healing of the peasant is an “example to others.” We know that many religious leaders took active steps to attract larger crowds. Large guesthouses were a staple of monasteries.<sup>278</sup> The idealized Plan of Saint-Gall depicted the monastery’s gate as “open to all crowds.”<sup>279</sup> The monks of Saint-Germain d’Auxerre built a museum-like crypt designed to make visits to the relics easier.<sup>280</sup> Religious institutions were built at strategic locations.<sup>281</sup> Einhard, when he was managing his own cult of relics, made sure

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<sup>277</sup> *Miracula S. Genesii* (BHL 3314), c. 3, ed. Wattenbach, p. 13: “Dum itaque iuxta villam quandam in vicino sitam rustici, ut moris est, ruris colendi gratia infatigabili per campos labori insisterent, ternique pariter quadam in parte opere eodem occupati existerent, interque multa alia quae solent inter laborantes oboriri conloquia subito in talia verba prorumpunt: “Ubinam,” ait unus ex ipsis, “die crastina, quae dominica habetur, conventum ecclesiae frequentemus?” “Curne,” inquit alius, “in monte vicino, ubi catervatim cunctos undique cernimus confluere, nos etiam devotione consimili nuper allatas reliquias visitamus?” Sed quia in prumptu [*corr.* promptu] vicinior habebatur ecclesia, tertius ex ipsis vulgare quoddam intulit proverbium: “Quis,” inquit, “super fluvium pergens aquam quaerit?” Quod quam perversa mente protulisset, ultio mox subsequens innotuit. Nam subito in modum paralitici, resolutis cunctis membrorum compagibus, iacuit. Qui dum a sociis die eadem ad tecta portaretur, languorque minime quiesceret, mane facto plaustro super inpositus, ad ipsam quam pridie adire recusabat portabatur ecclesiam, ibique ad magnam Christi laudem per suffragia sanctorum pristinam recoepit sanitatem. Hoc ad exemplum caeteris factum quis dubitet, ut nullus deinceps temere audeat contra locum sanctum proferre conloquium?” No proverb exactly matches this one in the *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi: Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters*, ed. S. Singer, 13 vols. (Berlin, 1995-2001) under the categories “Bach” (vol. 1, pp. 322-4), “Strom” (vol. 11, pp. 190-6), or “Wasser” (vol. 12, pp. 365-89), but this is akin to the proverb that it is absurd to pour water into a river (vol 12, pp. 382-3, “Wasser,” no. 16.2: “Wasser in einen Fluss tragen”).

<sup>278</sup> Matthias Untermann, “Kirchenfamilien, Grossklöster, Cellae: Schweizer Klöster im karolingischen Umfeld,” in *Die Zeit Karls des Grossen in der Schweiz*, ed. Markus Riek, Jürg Goll, and Georges Descœudres (Zurich, 2013), pp. 48-56, at p. 49.

<sup>279</sup> W. Horn and E. Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1979), vol. 3, p. 17. Cf. Werner Jacobsen, *Der Klosterplan von St. Gallen und die karolingische Architektur: Entwicklung und Wandel von Form und Bedeutung im fränkischen Kirchenbau zwischen 751 und 840* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 132-39; Giles Constable, “Carolingian Monasticism as Seen in the Plan of St Gall,” in *Le monde carolingien: Bilan, perspectives, champs de recherches*, ed. Wojciech Fałkowski and Yves Sassier (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 199-217. See also the studies of early medieval church entry spaces collected in Christian Sapin, ed., *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IVe et le XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2002).

<sup>280</sup> Christian Sapin, ed., *Archéologie et architecture d'un site monastique, Ve-XXe siècles: 10 ans de recherches à l'abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre* (Auxerre, 2000), pp. 237-56, and plates VIII-X.

<sup>281</sup> Innes, *State and Society*, p. 29.

to move Saints Petrus and Marcellinus from an isolated town in the forest (Michelstadt) to a busy milling site on the Main River (*Mulinheim*, later Seligenstadt).<sup>282</sup> Amolo, on the other hand, cited canon law against those who founded churches on dubious saints “with the help of holy processions.”<sup>283</sup> How did Amolo find himself on the side, not of many respectable religious leaders, but of the proverb-quoting peasant?

The likeliest answer is that the crowds of Dijon, by neglecting their own sees to assemble at strange churches, threatened the flow of resources – tithes especially – upon which episcopal administration was built.<sup>284</sup> Carolingian legislation had strengthened the trinity of baptism, tithe, and parish.<sup>285</sup> Across the Carolingian world the tithe was commonly understood as payment for pastoral care, especially baptism.<sup>286</sup> One paid one’s

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<sup>282</sup> Einhard, *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233), 1.11-14, ed. Waitz, pp. 244-5. For lists of spontaneous processions 2.4-5, ed. Waitz, p. 247.

<sup>283</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 4, ed. Dümmler, p. 365; Arsenal 717, fol. 2r: “sacris processionibus.” The quote is from a letter Pope Gelasius of 494, *ep.* 14, c. 25, ed. A. Thiel, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum Genuinae* (Brunsborg, 1868), vol. 1, pp. 375-6 (Jaffé-Ewald 636 [391]). In some manuscripts which preserve this canon, this reads instead *sacris professionibus* (“with the help of sacred declarations” - probably oaths) (Thiel, 376, n. 104). It is in this version that the canon appeared (as canon 27 of Gelasius’s decretals) in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection: *Decreta Gelasii papae, c. 27*, ed. P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 653: “sacris professionibus.” West writes that Amolo quotes this canon “in a variant form which could point to a Pseudo-Isidorian source” (“Unauthorised Miracles,” p. 300, n.23), but I have found only one manuscript, New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 442, f. 187rb, which reads “processionibus,” with the marginal note “vel professionibus.” Neither Hinschius nor the incomplete online Pseudoisidor project (<http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/267.htm>) list any other variants which would imply that Amolo took this passage from Pseudo-Isidore.

<sup>284</sup> Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, pp. 36, and 43-4 for the usual division of tithes among bishop, clergy, buildings, and the poor. Cf. P. Viard, *Histoire de la dîme ecclésiastique, principalement en France jusqu’au Décret de Gratien* (Dijon, 1909), esp. 87-148. H. Leclercq, “Dîme,” in *DACL* 4.1 (Paris, 1920), col. 995-1003, esp. 1001-3.

<sup>285</sup> See Josef Semmler, “Zehntgebot und Pfarrtermination in karolingischer Zeit,” in *Aus Kirche und Reich: Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf*, ed. H. Mordek (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 33-44, esp. p. 41.

<sup>286</sup> Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, pp. 36-37, notes the rise of a theory, repudiated at the synod of Trosly in 909, in which tithes became “a parochial revenue given almost in return for the sacraments” (pp. 36-37).

tithes at one's "own" church.<sup>287</sup> Paying tithe to a religious institution acknowledged not only an institutional but also a spatial commitment, and this was the glue that held the incipient parish system together.<sup>288</sup> Some Carolingian intellectuals questioned the prevalent notion that the tithe was a payment for pastoral care, and the 909 council of Trosly would declare it uncanonical (the tithe was supposed to be a biblical obligation, not an exchange).<sup>289</sup> But in practice many in the early medieval world felt otherwise. One early ninth-century parish priest refused communion to his parishioners until they paid their tithes.<sup>290</sup> The Pseudo-Isidorian decretals defended an interpretation in which tithes were above all to be organized by bishops and paid by all.<sup>291</sup> Agobard himself had argued that monks and clerics too had to pay tithes even if that meant using their parishioners' tithes to pay them.<sup>292</sup>

And it may be that behind many conflicts about the vulgar crowd, like Agobard's fears over crowd-duping "weather wizards" who charged a *canonicum* for their services,

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<sup>287</sup> Jean-Pierre Devroey, "L'Introduction de la dîme obligatoire en Occident: entre espaces ecclésiastiques et territoires seigneuriaux à l'époque carolingienne," in *La dîme, l'église et la société féodale*, ed. M. Lauwers (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 87-106, at pp. 105-6.

<sup>288</sup> For the development of the parish system, see Gabriel Fournier, "La mise en place du cadre paroissial et l'évolution du peuplement," in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze* (Spoleto, 1982), pp. 495-563; A. Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 325-30; Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 66-91; and for a new methodology, P. Chareille, X. Rodier, and É. Zadora-Rio, "La construction des territoires paroissiaux en Touraine: Modélisation à l'aide d'un SIG," in *Temps et espaces de l'homme en société: analyses et modèles spatiaux en archeology*, ed. J.-F. Berger et al. (Antibes, 2005), pp. 175-86.

<sup>289</sup> Council of Trosly (June 26, 909), c. 6, ed. W. Hartmann, I. Schröder, and B. Schmitz, MGH Conc. 5 (Hanover, 2012), pp. 523-8. For this important tenth-century council, see Gerhard Schmitz, "Das Konzil von Trosly (909): Überlieferung und Quellen," *Deutsches Archiv* 33 (1977): 341-434.

<sup>290</sup> Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, p. 37.

<sup>291</sup> Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, pp. 45-6.

<sup>292</sup> Agobard, *De dispensatione ecclesiasticarum rerum*, c. 8, ed. van Acker, p. 125. Cf. Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, pp. 32-3.

lay anxieties about misplaced tithes.<sup>293</sup> Rob Meens has argued that the *canonicum* charged by the *tempestarii* may not have been a sorcerer's fee, but a warped version of a tithe or donation.<sup>294</sup> Not every local priest or monastic community shared the Carolingian reformers' ideals about separate *ministeria* (and so separate sources of funding) for separate religious vocations: monks, clerics, canons, and so forth.<sup>295</sup> For Meens, what many historians have seen as crypto-pagan magicians may have seen themselves as traditional Christian practitioners.<sup>296</sup> Bishops and archbishops frequently had to arbitrate when religious establishments vied for the same tithe-paying parishioners.<sup>297</sup> Laymen, for their part, were often reluctant to pay.<sup>298</sup> The burden could be heavy. In his list of mandatory offerings to be brought to one's own church, Amolo included not just "tithes

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<sup>293</sup> Agobard, *De grandine et tonitruis*, c. 15, ed. van Acker, p. 14: "Haec stultitia est portio non minima infidelitatis, et in tantum malum istud iam adoleuit, ut im plerisque locis sint homines miserrimi, qui dicant, se non equidem nosse imittere tempestates, sed nosse tamen defendere a tempestate. His abitatores loci habent statutum, quantum de frugibus suis donent, et appellant hoc canonicum"; cf. Bressolles, *Doctrine et action politique d'Agobard*, p. 97: "L'erreur est si répandue que, en beaucoup d'endroits, des malhonnêtes savent en profiter: ils se déclarent capable, non pas d'envoyer la tempête, mais d'en préserver. On leur donne une part des récoltes, qu'on appelle "canonicum," dont ils s'abstiennent eux-mêmes de verser la dime."

<sup>294</sup> R. Meens, "Thunder over Lyon," pp. 165-6: "it is surely possible some clerics were involved in questionable ways - questionable at least in the eyes of a bishop like Agobard - controlling the weather and exacting a kind of payment for their activities in return"; Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, pp. 1-2. Similarly, Paul Dutton suggests that in the case of the *tempestarii* Agobard was especially alarmed because his flock was spending their tithe money on "weather wizard" fees: Dutton, "Thunder and Hail," pp. 185-8.

<sup>295</sup> Semmler, "Monachus - clericus - canonicus," pp. 17-8.

<sup>296</sup> Meens, "Thunder over Lyon," p. 166. Although the frequency of anti-Carolingian legislation on *tempestarii*, acknowledged by Meens, makes this a stretch.

<sup>297</sup> For a rich case from Langres in 903, see *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Étienne de Dijon*, ed. J. Courtois (Dijon, 1908), pp. 31-3 (no. 17), in which Bishop Argrimus of Langres mediated a multi-party dispute over tithes. Cf. Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, p. 75. Argrimus's tenure of the bishopric of Langres was contested, so this settling of disputes about tithes also occurs in a crisis of local legitimacy. Duchesne, *Fastes*, vol 2, pp. 189-90.

<sup>298</sup> Einhard, *Translatio Marcellini et Petri* (BHL 5233), 3.14, ed. Waitz, pp. 253-4, relates an extraordinary miracle in which a young woman is possessed by a Latin-speaking demon who admits that he and his brothers had been allowed to cause havoc in the region because of the sins of the local populace, and chiefly because of their refusal to pay tithes.

and first-fruits,” but also “votive offerings and oblations,” the “largess of alms to orphans and widows, to paupers and pilgrims,” “duties of hospitality,” and gifts “for the salutary needs of neighbors.”<sup>299</sup>

We should remember that the fulfillment of these obligations would have looked, physically, like crowds. Tithes, offerings, largess, and the like, were paid, and pastoral care was given out, in church gatherings.<sup>300</sup> So too, the gifts and rituals of hierarchy that held together the Carolingian state were reinforced at large assemblies.<sup>301</sup> Missing an assembly was tantamount to rebellion, “very dangerous” as Lupus of Ferrières put it.<sup>302</sup> Similarly, refusing to pay one’s tithe – an offence worthy of excommunication – consisted of “holding back” or not showing up.<sup>303</sup> This is why the unordered assemblies in Theobald’s see – and beyond – were so threatening. Three to four hundred persons in the wrong place constituted a major disruption to the regular flow of resources to the neglected churches.<sup>304</sup> We know little about Dijon’s demography in this period, but if we

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<sup>299</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 7, ed. Dümmler, pp. 366-7.

<sup>300</sup> For a useful overview, see Julia M. H. Smith, “Religion and Lay Society,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, c. 700–c. 900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), 654-678, at pp. 660-5. The same exchange characterised regular secular gatherings. Charlemagne commanded his counts not to abandon their courts for the sake of hunting or feasting on the days when a regular court gathering (*placitum*) took place, lest the poor and orphans suffer: *Duplex legationis edictum* (23 March, 789), c. 17, MGH Capit. 1, no. 23, p. 63; cf. *Capitulare missorum generale* (beginning of 802), c. 1, MGH Capit. 1, no. 33, p. 92; *Capitulare missorum generale*, c. 2, MGH Capit. 1, no. 44, p. 122.

<sup>301</sup> Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, pp. 72-82.

<sup>302</sup> Lupus of Ferrières, *ep.* 67 (24 June, 847), ed. L. Levillain, *Loup de Ferrières: Correspondance* (Paris, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 246-8. Cf. Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, p. 74.

<sup>303</sup> For a case of men threatened with excommunication by the archbishop of Lyon because they “unjustly held back their tithes” (“decimas...injuste retinerent”) to the abbey of Savigny between 960 and 978, see *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Savigny*, ed. A. Bernard (Paris, 1853), pp. 92-3 (no. 129); Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, p. 75. See also Herard of Tours, *Capitula*, c. 135, ed. R. Pokorny and M. Stratmann with W.-D. Runge, MGH Capit. episc. 2 (Hanover, 1995), p. 156.

offer a very generous estimate of a few thousands, this could have been a tenth of the population or more.<sup>305</sup> Carolingian administration was the formalization of informal networks at regular gatherings.<sup>306</sup> The system which Amolo in his letter describes as “organization” (*institutio*) was under attack.

The heart of Amolo’s letter is a long, rhetorical defense of this *institutio*. This defense, probably meant to provide material for exhortatory sermons, is worth quoting at length:

You must expel from [the house of the Lord] this sort of faking and devilish falsehood, which so lamentably and shamefully holds bound, as though enslaved and mentally enthralled, such a great multitude of hapless folk, and especially women; by proclaiming to all faithfully and by adjuring that, having terminated empty and pernicious gatherings of this sort, from which no soul’s health, no body’s wellbeing, no life’s utility is known to derive, each individual congregation should confine itself in tranquility to the parishes and churches to which it is espoused. For it is to those holy places, where it receives sacred baptism, where it experiences the body and blood of the Lord, where it has become accustomed to hear the celebration of mass, where it obtains from its own priest penance from wrongdoing, visitation in sickness, burial in death, where too it is commanded to offer its own tithes and first-fruits, where it rejoices to have its own sons admitted by the grace of baptism, where it regularly hears the word of God, and learns how to act and how not to act: Thereto! I say, let them eagerly bring forth their own votive offerings and oblations, there! let them eagerly pour out their own prayers and supplications to the Lord; there! let them seek out the aid of all saints, who, as it is written, “follow the lamb wherever he goes” (Rev. 14:4), and who are therefore ever present to those who faithfully call upon them, and so is omnipotent God, through them and in them, for he promised his own people, saying, “In every place where the memory of my name shall be, I will come to you, and will bless you” (Exod. 20:24). There!, in sum, let each

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<sup>304</sup> Cf. West, “Unauthorised Miracles,” p. 300: “This would have made this distinguished but relatively small Burgundian community the temporary home to a group of conspicuously undisciplined women far more numerous than any contemporary convent.” For the rarity of exact figures in early medieval accounts of gatherings, see Brühl, *Fodrum, Gistum, Servitium Regis*, vol. 1, pp. 70-72.

<sup>305</sup> For Dijon in this period (with no population figure), see Leclercq, “Dijon,” col. 828-32. This may be why Amolo stresses the involvement of “not only girls but also married women, young and old, both of greater status and of lesser status” (Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 2, ed. Dümmler, p. 364).

<sup>306</sup> Cf. Charles West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation Between Marne and Moselle, c. 800 - c. 1100* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 11-2, 46-8.

individual congregation show forth, to orphans and widows, to paupers and pilgrims, from whatsoever means God has granted, the largess of its alms; let it fulfill its duties of hospitality; and whatever it once wasted on feasts and drinking parties and on the greed of empty men, let it pay out instead to its own folks of this sort [orphans, widows, paupers, and pilgrims] and for the salutary needs of a neighbor. For this is the legitimate and ecclesiastical form of religion, this is the ancient custom of the faithful, through which both the vanity of novelties<sup>307</sup> is cut off and the old and right road of evangelical and apostolic organization is kept strong!<sup>308</sup>

This passage shines with rhetorical bravura.<sup>309</sup> Most striking is the emotive motion from multiplicity to uniformity, from the long sevenfold anaphora of “where” to Amolo’s dramatic interjection (“here, I say”), through the triple anaphora of “there,” to the double

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<sup>307</sup> “novitatum vanitas.” This phrase has interesting resonance with an influential late antique text, the “Ambrosiaster,” in his exegesis on 2 Timothy 3:6. Ambrosiaster, *Commentarius ad Timotheum II*, ed. H. Vogels, *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur Commentarius in Epistulas Paulinas*, CSEL 81 (Vienna, 1969), vol. 3, p. 312: “hi inveniunt mulieres prae vanitate nova aliquid desiderantes audire et per ea, quae placita sunt, suadent illis foeda et illicita; cupidae enim sunt discendi, cum iudicium non habeant probandi.”

<sup>308</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 7, ed. Dümmler, pp. 366-7: “eliminētis ex ea [*sc.* domus Domini] istiusmodi commentum et figmentum diabolicum, quo tanta infelicitum hominum et maxime mulierum multitudo nimis dolende ac pudende, velut captiva et mente capta, obligata tenetur; annuntiando omnibus fideliter atque optestando, ut intermisso huiusmodi vano et pernicioso concursu, unde nulla animae salus, nulla corporis incolumitas, nulla vitae utilitas provenire cognoscitur, unaqueque plebs in parroeciis et ecclesiis, quibus attributa est, quieta consistat. Atque ad ea sanctuaria, ubi sacrum baptismum accipit, ubi corpus et sanguinem Domini percipit, ubi missarum sollemnia audire consuevit, ubi a sacerdote suo penitentiam de reatu, visitationem in infirmitate, sepulturam in morte consequitur, ubi etiam decimas et primitias suas offerre praecipitur, ubi filios suos baptismatis gratia initiari gratulatur, ubi verbum Dei assidue audit, et agenda ac non agenda cognoscit, illuc, inquam, vota et oblationes suas alacriter perferat, ibi orationes et supplicationes suas alacriter Domino effundat, ibi suffragia omnium sanctorum quaerat, qui, ut scriptum est, ‘sequuntur agnum quocunque vadit’ et idcirco fideliter invocantibus ubique praesto sunt, et per ipsos atque in ipsis omnipotens Deus, qui populo suo promittit dicens: ‘In omni loco, in quo memoria fuerit nominis mei, veniam ad te et benedicam tibi’. Ibi itaque unaqueque plebs pupillis et viduis, pauperibus et peregrinis, de facultatibus quas Deus tribuit elemosynarum largitionem exhibeat, hospitalitatis officia impendat, et quo[d]cumque in comesationibus et ebrietatibus et quaestu hominum vanorum consumere solebat, in istiusmodi suis et proximi salubribus utilitatibus expendat. Haec est enim legitima et ecclesiastica religionis forma, haec antiqua fidelium consuetudo, per quam et novitatum vanitas amputatur, et vetusta ac recta evangelicae atque apostolicae institutionis semita custoditur.”

<sup>309</sup> Alliteration: *studium et sacerdotalem sinceritatem ac severitatem; maxime mulierum multitudo*. Chiasm: *istiusmodi commentum et figmentum diabolicum*. Anaphora: *nulla...nulla...nulla; ubi...ubi...ubi*, etc. *ibi...ibi...ibi; haec...haec*. Isocola: *novitatum vanitas amputatur...institutionis semita custoditur*. Homophonic pairs which serve to lend emphasis to each point: *dolende ac pudenda, captiva et mente capta, annuntiando... atque optestando*. Polyptoton: *captiva...capta*.



anaphora “*this* is...the form, *this* is the custom”; the passage ends triumphantly in one single “old and right path” of evangelical and apostolic organization.<sup>310</sup>

This “old and right road of evangelic and apostolic organization” meant gathering and bringing resources to the right places.<sup>311</sup> Amolo’s religiosity is intensely spatial. Here is it important to recall that Saint-Bénigne was not the only affected site. Crowds also gathered “in another church in the *castellum* itself” (Saint-Étienne, Dijon?), “at several other [churches] across your parishes,” and “in Autun’s territory, at the place called Saulieu, in which the holy martyrs Andochius, Tyrsus, and Felix are entombed.”<sup>312</sup> Even if West is correct that Saint-Bénigne initiated the popular enthusiasm in a bid for autonomy, the practice was spreading. This stands to reason. When crowds bearing gifts met in the wrong place and the wrong time, someone (parish priests, local monasteries, even bishops) was being deprived of income.<sup>313</sup> Local authorities mindful of loss may have promoted local relics or encouraged local “miracles of blows and strikes,” as Amolo implies. Perhaps they really did “imitate” the community at Saint-Bénigne “for the sake of lucre,” as a recourse against sudden competition.

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<sup>310</sup> It brings to mind the Tertullianic notion of *concorporatio* at the heart of Agobard’s political theology, a political reformulation of Paul’s body of the church comprised of many members (1 Corinthians 12:14). Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard von Lyon*, pp. 43-46; cf. Michael E. Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of Frankish Kingship, 300-850* (Washington, D.C., 2011), pp. 301-302.

<sup>311</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 7, ed. Dümmler, p. 367. For the conflation of “old and right,” see Fritz Kern, “Recht und Verfassung im Mittelalter,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 120 (1919): 1-79, at pp. 17-23; Treffort, *L’Église carolingienne et la mort*, pp. 166-7.

<sup>312</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 3, ed. Dümmler, p. 364: “non solum in ecclesia sancti Benigni, sed etiam in altera ecclesia intra ipsum castellum et in aliis nonnullis per parrochias vestra...et in Augustodunensi territorio...apud ecclesiam, in qua sancti martyres Andochius, Tyrsus et Felix conditi sunt.”

<sup>313</sup> Cf. Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, pp. 35-9.

We do not know what became of the crowds in Dijon.<sup>314</sup> If Theobald followed his metropolitan's advice, the story may have ended much as did the famous Thiota affair in the same period.<sup>315</sup> In that case, a "pseudo-prophetess" from Alemania travelled around predicting the exact date of the end of the world, winning a large following which included "men of holy orders." Thiota was dragged before a synod of bishops at Mainz after she "disturbed" the see of the bishop of Constance; she was flogged "by synodal judgment" until she repudiated her prophecies and blamed them on "a certain priest":

At that time a certain woman from the region of Alemania named Thiota, a pseudo-prophetess, came to Mainz; she had not a little disturbed the parish of bishop Salomon [of Constance] with her prophecies. For she said that she knew, as if by divine revelation to her, the exact day of the end of the world and innumerable other secrets known to God alone and in that same year she was preaching that the last day of the world was approaching. For this reason many of the common folk of either sex, prompted by fear, came to her and offered her gifts and commended themselves to her prayers; and, what is worse, men of holy orders followed her as if she were a teacher sent from heaven, in so doing casting aside church teachings. As soon as she was carried into the presence of the bishops at Saint Alban and was rigorously interrogated about her claims, she admitted that a certain priest had fed her these [prophecies] and that she had said these things for the sake of gain. As soon as she was she was beaten by public whippings according to synodal judgment, she gave up with shame the ministry of preaching, which she had unreasoningly arrogated and presumed for herself against ecclesiastical custom, and in her humiliation put an end at last to her prophecies.<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c., ed. Dümmler, p. 364, c. 3.

<sup>315</sup> *AF*, s.a. 847, ed. Kurze, pp. 36-37. The suffragan at Autun in these years was probably one Alteus. Duchesne, *Fastes*, vol. 2, p. 181.

<sup>316</sup> *AF*, s.a. 847, ed. Kurze, pp. 36-37: "Per idem tempus mulier quaedam de Alamanniae partibus nomine Thiota pseudoprophetissa Mogontiacum venit, quae Salomonis episcopi parroechiam suis vaticiniis non minime turbaverat. Nam certum consummationis seculi diem aliaque perplura Dei solius notitiae cognita quasi divinitus sibi revelata scire se fatebatur et eodem anno ultimum diem mundo imminere praedicabat. Unde multi plebeium utriusque sexus timore perculti ad eam venientes munera illi offerebant seque orationibus illius commendabant; et, quod gravius est, sacri ordinis viri doctrinas ecclesiasticas postponentes illam quasi magistram caelitus destinatum sequebantur. Haec in praesentiam episcoporum apud sanctum Albanum deducta et diligenter de suis assertionibus requisita presbyterum quendam publicis caesa suggestisse et se talia questus causa narrasse professam est. Quapropter synodali iudicio publicis caesa flagellis ministerium praedicationis, quod inrationabiliter arripuit et sibi contra morem ecclesiasticum vindicare praesumpsit, cum dedecore amisit suisque vaticiniis tandem confusa finem inposuit."

This event has been interpreted variously as an example of the repression of female religiosity or as a ninth-century case of millenarianism.<sup>317</sup> “Disturb” – a word which appears in this story and others like it (“she had not a little disturbed [*turbaverat*] the parish of bishop Salomon [of Constance] with her prophecies”) – suggests that it was once again crowds which inspired the episcopal clampdown. *Turbare*, a phrase which evokes the *turba* or “crowd,” is used also in Amolo’s opening line (*animus vester...turbaretur*, “your soul has been disturbed”), and, indeed, in the celebrated canon from the council of Nantes.<sup>318</sup> In 847 the bishops at Mainz may have been just as worried about crowds interrupting normal gatherings as about women preachers or superstition.

So too in parallel cases. In 867, two priests in monastic garb “simulating sanctity” attracted the attention of gift-giving crowds. “A great multitude of the local people flowed to them, both rich and even poor, bringing diverse gifts” until Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz forced the men to reveal their deception.<sup>319</sup> In Agobard’s famous letter on weather-wizards, as we have seen, the *canonicum*, the pseudo-tithe exacted by the *tempestarii*, led the people of Lyon to neglect their real dues.<sup>320</sup> Bishops responded swiftly not only because they were appalled by such pseudo-prophets and wolves in sheep’s clothing. They feared for misspent tithes, first-fruits, and donations – and they

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<sup>317</sup> Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, pp. 144-5; Smith, “The Problem of Female Sanctity,” p. 35; J. Schulenburg, “Female Sanctity: Public and Private Roles, ca. 500-1100,” in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Erler and M. Kowaleski (Athens, Georgia, 1988), pp. 102-25, at p. 116; Nelson, “Women and the Word,” 218. For a millenarian interpretation, see Richard Landes, *Heaven on Earth: The Varieties of the Millennial Experience* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 37-49, 61-6, 81-3.

<sup>318</sup> *AF*, s.a. 847, ed. Kurze, p. 37; Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 1, ed. Dümmler, p. 363; Council of Nantes (895), c. 19, ed. Mansi, p. 171: “utilitatesque reipublicæ magis perturbent.”

<sup>319</sup> *AX*, s.a. 867 (866), ed. von Simson, p. 24: “Et confluebat ad eos multitudo magna gentis huius, tam divitum quam etiam ceterorum, diversa munera deferentes.”

<sup>320</sup> Agobard, *De grandine et tonitruis*, c. 15, ed. van Acker, p. 14. In addition to Dutton and Meens (as above), see also Heinrich Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, trans. Peter Munz (Oxford, 1957), pp. 173-5.

worried about their authority if they could not guarantee their subordinates' revenue.

Unauthorized gatherings threatened the normal order because regular gatherings underpinned the normal order.

Victims of these crackdowns must have reacted with surprise when their lords came down upon them. Thiota's preaching was aimed at penance before end times; the women of Dijon probably aimed to reconstruct familiar forms of gathering in unfamiliar circumstances, with help from opportunistic local authorities. One ninth-century bishop of Langres took great pains to organize public displays of penance.<sup>321</sup> Acts of collective contrition were not uncommon in the ninth century.<sup>322</sup> This was not a world, like the late medieval urban environment recently analyzed by Patrick Lantschner, accustomed to an urban "logic of political conflict."<sup>323</sup> The crowds that alarmed the early medieval authorities did so because they were too similar to the forms of collective behavior which ordered society: oaths for the wrong reason, tithes to the wrong pastor, charity in the wrong place. "For Satan himself transforms himself into an angel of light," Amolo had warned Theobald.<sup>324</sup> The women followed the scripts they knew. That is why Amolo

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<sup>321</sup> Robert Folz, "La pénitence publique au IXe siècle d'après les canons de l'évêque Isaac de Langres," in *L'encadrement religieux des fidèles au Moyen-Age et jusqu'au Concile de Trente* (Paris, 1985), pp. 1-11.

<sup>322</sup> In a positive context, see the collective fasting in the *Translatio S. Adelphi Mettensis* (BHL 76), c. 1, ed. L. von Heinemann, MGH SS 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), p. 294. Cf. Christian Wilsdorf, "Remarques sur la première vie connue de Saint Adelphe de Metz et le pèlerinage de Neuwiller-lès-Saverne (IXe-XIIe siècles)," *Revue d'Alsace* 119 (1993): 31-41.

<sup>323</sup> Patrick Lantschner, *The Logic of Political Conflict in Medieval Cities Italy and the Southern Low Countries, 1370-1440* (Oxford, 2015); Patrick Lantschner, "Revolts and the Political Order of Cities in the Late Middle Ages," *Past & Present*, 225 (2014): 3-46, at p. 46. See also Patrick Lantschner, "Voices of the People in a City Without Revolts: Lille in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Voices of the People in Late Medieval Europe: Communication and Popular Politics*, ed. Jan Dumolyn, Jelle Haemers, Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer, and Vincent Challet (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 74-88. See also Richard Lim, "Religious Disputation and Social Disorder in Late Antiquity," *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 44 (1995): 204-231, for a discussion (esp. p. 227) of late antique ritualized conflict in cities, positing a similar familiarity with collective disruption in late imperial urban politics.

<sup>324</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 3, ed. Dümmler, p. 364, quoting 2 Corinthians 11:14, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1799.

stressed the importance of reinforcing correct “organization” (*institutio*). That is why he threw the power of the written word against the crowds of Dijon. Above all, that is why his pejorative language writes the crowds of Dijon as exceptional, female, dangerous. For to participants they may not have seemed so threatening. West is surely right to see this as a battle of Shilsian charismas, an argument about who or what is (in Geertz’s reformulation of Shils) “near the heart of things.”<sup>325</sup>

Where your heart is, there will be your treasure also. Just as peasant resistance in this period took the form of non-participation rather than revolt (as we saw in chapter 2), failure to assemble in rightly, not mass resistance, constituted the crowd’s greatest danger to elite power and wealth in the early Middle Ages. This has escaped historians’ notice not only because of preconceptions about the relationship between crowds and oppressors, but because of the intentionally obfuscating nature of our sources. Men like Amolo wielded the might of the Carolingian written word against the crowd in order to reframe conflict as consensus, to delegitimize opponents, and to write unpalatable events out of history.<sup>326</sup> And if all else failed, early medieval elites did not rule by the word alone. “Take hold of sacerdotal scrupulousness and severity,” Amolo alliterated to Theobald.<sup>327</sup> Bishops were invested with a *virga* or *baculus* (“rod” or “staff”).<sup>328</sup>

“Receive the staff of the episcopal office, so that you may be fierce in the correction of

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<sup>325</sup> See West, “Unauthorised Miracles,” p. 310, for West’s take on the lasting consequences. Geertz, “Centers, Kings, and Charisma,” p. 123.

<sup>326</sup> Cf. Firey, *Contrite Heart*, pp. 155-6.

<sup>327</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 7, ed. Dümmler, pp. 366-7: “arripiatis...sacerdotalem sinceritatem ac severitatem.”

<sup>328</sup> M. Andrieu, “Le sacre épiscopal d’après Hincmar de Reims,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 48 (1953): 22-73, at p. 57.

vices,” began one prayer recited upon the bestowal of this sign of office.<sup>329</sup> Like the father in Proverbs, the bishop who spared this rod “hated” his children.<sup>330</sup> Like Christ, who whipped the dove-sellers out of the Temple, the bishop had to safeguard his Father’s house, even if by force.<sup>331</sup> In the 847 case, the bishops at Mainz stopped Thiota by having her beaten in public.<sup>332</sup>

## VI. Conclusions

The first part of this chapter argued that the commonplaces which typified the literary representation of the early medieval crowd reinforced links between crowds and legitimacy. Particularly during the Carolingian period, the predominance of what Canetti termed a “closed” or controlled crowd permitted this representational regime to flourish.<sup>333</sup> Yet if the Carolingian era really was a golden age for the “closed crowd,” this

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<sup>329</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 1217, f. 72v: “Cu(m) datur ei baculus. Sequitur or(at)io. Accipe baculu(m) pastoralis officii, ut sis in corrigendis uiciis seuiens, in ira iudiciu(m) sine ira tenens, cu(m) iratus fueris mis(eri)c(or)d(i)a reminiscens.” Description of the manuscript in V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1937), vol. 2, pp. 109-11. Cf. The “Benedictio episcopalis” in St. Petersburg, Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, lat. Q.v.I., no. 35, fols. 19v-22r, at fol. 21v, ed. A. Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle conservés à la bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Petersbourg* (Saint-Petersburg, 1910), vol. 1, p. 156 (“Ad uirgam dandam”). Description of the manuscript in N. Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux du haut Moyen Âge: genèse du livre de l’évêque* (Louvain, 1998), pp. 89-135.

<sup>330</sup> Proverbs 13:24, 23:13-4, ed. Weber-Gryson, pp. 969, 977.

<sup>331</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 7, ed. Dümmler, p. 366, referring to Matthew 21:13, Luke 19:46, John 2:14-16. Carolingian bishops were expected to flog priests guilty of repeat fornication. *Concilium Germanicum* (21 April 742), c. 6, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (Hanover, 1883), p. 26. An undated capitulary commands that women ignorant of the lord’s prayer should be “punished with flogging or fasts.” *Capitula duo incerta*, c. 2, ed. Boretius, MGH Capit. 1, p. 257: “Feminae vero aut flagellis aut ieiuniis constringantur.”

<sup>332</sup> *AF*, s.a. 847, ed. Kurze, pp. 36-37; cf. Nelson, “Women and the Word,” p. 218.

<sup>333</sup> For the term, Canetti, *Masse und Macht*, pp. 15-6. Cf. Susanna Elm, “Captive Crowds: Pilgrims and Martyrs,” in J. Schnapp and M. Tiewes (eds.), *Crowds* (Stanford, 2006), pp. 133-48.

rested on more than the thinness of populations and the power of ideology, or even on the crafty might of the written word. When crowds assembled in the wrong place or at the wrong time, elites turned to new polemics, emphasizing the rustic or female qualities of dangerous crowds. They sometimes went further. “If some should happen to appear more obstinate in a case of this nature, it seems to us they should be compelled, coerced by very harsh blows, to confess the truth,” Amolo wrote.<sup>334</sup> Even then, however, it was repeated patterns of good crowds that informed the victims of such blows what the “truth” was: not just the saints’ lives and sermons read to congregations which this chapter has explored, but also the art in mosaics and frescoes to which we will turn in the next and final chapter.

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<sup>334</sup> Amolo, *ep.* 1, c. 8, ed. Dümmler, p. 367: “ita ut si forte aliqui obstinatiores in tali facto apparere voluerint, duris omnino verberibus coerciti ad confessionem veritatis compellendi nobis esse videantur.”

## PART THREE

# BETWEEN REAL AND IDEAL



## CHAPTER FIVE

## REPRESENTATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

“For, alas, the Ideal always has to grow in the Real, and to seek out its bed and board there, often in a very sorry way.”

-Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*.<sup>1</sup>

**I. Introduction**

Both previous parts of this study have been concerned with the crowd from the outside inward, from what anthropologists might call an “etic” point of view.<sup>2</sup> Chapters 1 and 2 examined post-Roman material constraints upon early medieval assembly (number, space, time, venue). Those chapters focused on “gatherings” in a broad sense. They borrowed from the purposefully neutral language used by modern sociologists.<sup>3</sup> Chapters 3 and 4 focused on early medieval words and topoi: the actors’ categories of collective behavior. By examining the linguistic or literary products of a civilization to comprehend the society that made them, these chapters approached medieval categories from the

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (London, 1843), pp. 41-42.

<sup>2</sup> For a sketch of the distinction emic/etic, see Marvin Harris, “History and Significance of the EMIC/ETIC Distinction,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 5 (1976): 329-350. Broadly speaking, the distinction emic/etic (originally linguistic, from *phonemic/phonetic*) describes the difference in approaching cultural phenomena from an insider’s perspective (emic) or an outsider’s perspective (etic). For the application of this distinction to the study of early medieval ritual, see Christina Pössel, “The Magic of Early Medieval Ritual,” *Early Medieval Europe* 17 (2009): 111-125, at pp. 115-116. Here I apply this distinction not in any technical sense, since part 2 offers, in many respects, an “emic” analysis, but merely as a shorthand.

<sup>3</sup> McPhail, *Myth of the Madding Crowd*, p. 177. For further methodological discussion, see chapter 2 above.

perspective of the “sociophilologist” or the literary historicist.<sup>4</sup> This final chapter explores the space between gatherings and *topoi*. It seeks to identify the early medieval crowd as early medieval men and women represented it to themselves, both in ritual and in the depiction of ritual by authors, artists, and scribes.

This chapter therefore examines representations and institutions which emerged at the intersection of real and ideal in early medieval gathering. In particular, it makes the claim that lasting medieval political, religious, and legal institutions were organized around the “crowd” as it functioned in the western part of Europe from about 500 to about 1000. As chapter 2 explored, between an ancient inheritance and new material constraints on gathering, the culturally dominant form of early medieval collective behavior became the solemn assembly. The early medieval crowd regime this study has examined lived on in several ways, but the most significant afterlife of the early medieval crowd was the development of enduring institutions of church and secular assembly.

The solemn assembly did “seek out its bed and board” in what, by late Roman standards, were “very sorry” material conditions.<sup>5</sup> The scale on which royal and conciliar

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<sup>4</sup> Here I draw on the terminology of Roger Wright, *A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin* (Turnhout, 2002), esp. pp. 3-17. For Erich Auerbach’s comparable historicist ambitions, see Wolfgang Fleischmann, “Erich Auerbach’s Critical Theory and Practice: An Assessment,” *MLN* 81 (1966): 535-541. See also above, chapter 4.

<sup>5</sup> Carlyle, *Past and Present*, pp. 41-42, quoted in full above. Cf. the blunt formulation by Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 178-9: “Societies with large cities, complex production- and distribution-networks, and the widespread use of writing, are...different from societies of villages, with...household production and an oral culture. The transition from Roman to post-Roman times was a dramatic move away from sophistication to much greater simplicity.” Ward-Perkins positions himself against “continuationist” accounts of the “Transformation” (rather than “Fall”) of the Roman World (rather than “Empire”), stressing that this transition was “very unpleasant for the Roman population” (p. 10). A review by Guy Halsall, *Early Medieval Europe* 16 (2008): 384-86, at p. 384, captures some of the contentiousness of this debate: “Red varnished pottery and Argonne-ware dishes, African amphorae and sauce made from fishes, traded commodities and furnishings: these, apparently, are a few of Bryan Ward-Perkins’s favourite things.” For a healthy critique of debates framed in terms of “catastrophe” versus “continuity,” see Hendrick Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 250-251.

assemblies could take place had diminished.<sup>6</sup> Aside from the largest cities of Italy, like Rome, Milan, and Naples, there were few large urban sites from which to draw large numbers and in which to conduct great ceremonies. For his Roman audience, Anastasius Bibliothecarius may have needed to apologize for the “small number of subscribers” (*subscriptentium paucitas*) who attended the Tenth Session of the Eighth Ecumenical Council in 869 in Constantinople, but these hundred-odd bishops would have constituted an impressive crowd north of the Alps.<sup>7</sup> Yet even in a city like Rome, with a population perhaps under 30,000, the organization of public space had transformed.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, as we have seen, there were advantages, for ruling elites, in physical constraints on gathering. As chapter 2 argued, elites could better control the bodies they assembled, following ideals of hierarchy and order, when crowds were what Elias Canetti would have termed “closed crowds.”<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, unlike the Byzantine and Islamic worlds, where non-elite crowds continued to be the object of elite anxieties, peasant resistance was most effectively exercised not through gatherings, but through the avoidance of official gatherings.<sup>10</sup> Thus in the eighth and ninth centuries, when urban

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<sup>6</sup> For the logistics of the *placita generalia* in the ninth century, see Philippe Depreux, “Lieux de rencontre, temps de négociation: quelques observations sur les plaids généraux sous le règne de Louis le Pieux,” in *La royauté et les élites dans l’Europe carolingienne (début IXe siècle aux environs de 920)*, ed. Régine Le Jan (Lille, 1998), pp. 213-231.

<sup>7</sup> BAV Vat. lat. 4965, fol. 140v (and Vat. lat. 5749, fol. 118r); Claudio Leonardi, “Anastasio Bibliotecario e l’ottavo concilio ecumenico,” *Studi Medievali*, Ser. 3, 8 (1967): 59-192, at p. 182.

<sup>8</sup> For a new examination of the changing nature of public space in the late antique Roman forum, see Gregor Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity: Transforming Public Space* (Austin, Texas, 2015). Kalas’s book works with a collaborative project based at the UCLA Digital Humanities Center: C. Johnson, G. Kalas, and D. Favro, ed., “Visualizing Statues in the Late Roman Forum,” which attempts to digitally reconstruct the arrangement of statues and public spaces in the Roman forum during the fourth and fifth centuries ([inscriptions.etc.ucla.edu/](http://inscriptions.etc.ucla.edu/)).

<sup>9</sup> Elias Canetti, *Masse und Macht* (Düsseldorf, 1978), pp. 12-14.

<sup>10</sup> Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 578-88. Cf. James C. Scott,

riots seized ‘Abbasid Syria, Arabic had a far richer language for urban unrest than contemporary Latin.<sup>11</sup> Byzantine hagiography makes use of unruly or demotic crowds in the ninth century as well, just as it had in earlier periods.<sup>12</sup> It is possible that the Slavic world inherited some of its neighbors’ attitudes. In a late eleventh-century Greek saint’s life of Clement and Methodius, thought to be based on a tenth-century Slavonic text, crowds play the part of stock villain.<sup>13</sup>

Not so in the West. Early medieval kingdoms, deprived of Roman tools of resource extraction, relied on regular gatherings for pastoral care, justice, and taxation. This is reflected in the easy polysemy of partly physical, partly abstract crowd words like *populus*, which imply the conceptual equivalence between a crowd and a society. The

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*Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven, 1990), esp. pp. 1-16, on “passive resistance.” This analysis of dominant elite versus passively resisting non-elite still depends on a rather sharply-drawn distinction between domination and resistance which overlooks some of the nuances of early medieval (and not just early medieval) social relations. Elite written accounts may simply misunderstand non-elite behaviors as resistance. For a theoretical attempt to overcome this difficulty, see H. Campbell and J. Heyman, “Slantwise: Beyond Domination and Resistance on the Border,” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 36 (2007): 3-30, esp. pp. 3-4, examining ad hoc migrant settlements on the US-Mexico border, with a particular focus on social behavior which dominant groups identify as resistance but which are not intended or understood as such by participants.

<sup>11</sup> Paul M. Cobb, *White Banners: Contention in ‘Abbāsid Syria, 750-880* (Albany, 2001), pp. 104-105 (‘*ayyārūn*, “rabble”; *al-‘amma*, “the common folk”; *al-ghawghā*, “riff-raff”).

<sup>12</sup> E.g. *Vita Leonis ep. Cataniae* (BHG 981b), c. 25, ed. A. G. Alexakis, *The Greek Life of St. Leo bishop of Catania*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 91 (Brussels, 2011), p. 170, depicting a “popular crowd” being calmed (“Τοῦ δὲ δημώδους ὄχλου τοῖσδε τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ θυμοῦ λήξαντος...”). The editor, Alexakis, argues for a ninth-century dating of this life. For a riot at the hippodrome in, see *Vita Marcelli Acoemeti* (BHG 1027z), c. 34, ed. Gilbert Dagron, “La vie ancienne de Saint Marcel l’Acémète,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 86 (1969): 271-321, at pp. 316-318. For the dating of this text to roughly the mid sixth century, see pp. 277-279. On the famous monastery of the “sleepless ones,” see Venance Grumel, “Le Monastère des Acémètes,” in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, ed. Marcel Viller with F. Cavallera and J. de Guibert (Paris, 1937), vol. 1, pp. 169-175. For the Byzantine depiction of peasant rebellion, see Angeliki Laiou, “Peasant Rebellion: Notes on Its Vocabulary and Typology,” in *Ordnung und Aufruhr im Mittelalter: Historische und juristische Studien zur Rebellion*, ed. Marie Theres Fögen (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), pp. 99-117.

<sup>13</sup> Theophylact of Ohrid, *Vita Clementis* (BHG 355), c. 24-25, ed. A. Milev, *Grŭtskite zhitija na Kliment Okhridski: Uvod, tekst, prevod i objasnitelni beležki* (Sofia, 1966), pp. 98-100. I am grateful to Kuba Kabala for this reference, and for his illuminating discussion of the crowds in this saint’s life: Jakub Kabala, “Imagining Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish, Roman and Byzantine Concepts of Space and Power in the Slavlands, c. 750-900,” PhD Thesis (Harvard University, 2014), pp. 250-252.

*populus* (“crowd”) you assembled was the *populus* (“populace”) you ruled.<sup>14</sup> Reduced to more *ad hoc* forms of control and resource exchange than in Roman Antiquity, governance in the Early Middle Ages depended upon the regular assembly and ritual manipulation of gatherings, and by the extraction of resources from them.<sup>15</sup>

How then did early medieval elites represent collective behavior to themselves? What rituals and institutions developed at the intersection of real and ideal in the post-Roman centuries? What happened when the material conditions underpinning them began to change? This chapter argues that consensus became a dominant characteristic of gatherings in the imagination of early medieval societies across time, and even across geographical space.<sup>16</sup> Consensus had its own characteristics, which could take visual shape: order, uniformity, and legible hierarchy. The consensus-imperative, that is, the ritual and narrative need to represent gatherings as sites of accord, was felt even in places like Rome where factional dispute continued to affect politics. In fact, collective rituals of consensus were particularly important for settings marked by political contention.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. TLL 10.1, pp. 2713-2736, line 54, s.v. “populus” (Ottink).

<sup>15</sup> See below in chapter 2. Cf. Dmitri Starostine, “. . . *In Die Festivitatibus*: Gift-Giving, Power and the Calendar in the Carolingian Kingdoms,” *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006): 465-486, at p. 478: “one can notice the trend of merging celebration of the church holidays with the practices of acknowledging submission to the Carolingian authority, a trend that was an integral part of the way in which the networks of power developed in the Frankish kingdom and the empire.”

<sup>16</sup> For a succinct assessment of some of the problems of geographical comparison in the early Middle Ages, see Chris Wickham, “Problems of Comparing Rural Societies in Early Medieval Western Europe,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 2 (1992): 221-246, esp. pp. 221-225, 227-228, for how a “legal history” paradigm dominates historians’ comparisons of post-Roman successor polities.

<sup>17</sup> For the “torbida gestazione delle nuove energie romane” in the later ninth century and early tenth century, see P. Brezzi, *Roma e l'impero medioevale (774-1252)* (Bologna, 1947), pp. 83-96. For a more skeptical reading of the evidence (mainly Liutprand of Cremona), see C. Wickham, “‘The Romans According to their Malign Custom’: Rome in Italy in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries,” in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, ed. J. M. H. Smith (Leiden, 2000), pp. 151-167.

This chapter first examines how the consensus-imperative developed in a Visigothic, Frankish, and papal context, both in ritual and in narrative. It then turns to some examples of the early medieval visual culture, and particularly manuscript culture, of gathering to explore how “isocephalic” (heads-in-a-row) crowds reinforced the connection between gathering and legitimacy-by-consensus. It will then expand the exploration of conciliar consensus to “virtual” crowds or crowd-like phenomena such as books of names, litanies of saints, and even administrative and legal documents. Finally, it will conclude with a brief epilogue that looks forward to some of the new forms of collective behavior that begin to appear in the sources from 1000 onward, those forms which inspired R. I. Moore to identify the eleventh century with “the appearance of the crowd on the stage of public events.”<sup>18</sup> This final chapter concludes with one possible consequence of the transformation of the closed crowds of the early Middle Ages into the open crowds of the eleventh century and the later Middle Ages: the development of a new spiritual aesthetics of solitude.

## II. Consensus as a Ritual Requirement

How did Seneca’s *turba* “to be avoided above all else” become the *pia turba*, the “pious assembly,” of the ninth-century Saint-Gall Plan, debating “healthful counsel” in the cloister of an ideal monastery?<sup>19</sup> One important testimony is provided by a decree issued in the Eleventh Council of Toledo (675), one of the many great Visigothic

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<sup>18</sup> R. I. Moore, “Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series 30 (1980): 49-69, at p. 49.

<sup>19</sup> See above, chapter 3.

councils of the early Middle Ages.<sup>20</sup> This influential decree forbade forms of group behavior – gossip, levity, contentiousness – which disrupted any “conciliar assembly” (*conventus concilii*), and whose practitioners would be punished by excommunication, that is, by exclusion from the “common gathering” (*a communi cetu*):

Let no one cry out or in any way disrupt the lord’s priests as they take their places in the site of blessing. Let no one cause disturbance by recounting idle tales or telling jokes or, far worse, by carrying out obstinate quarrels. As the apostle says, “And if any man think himself to be religious, not bridling his tongue but deceiving his own heart, this man’s religion is vain” [James 1:26]. For justice loses its devotion when the silence of judgment is troubled by a crowd (*turba*) of obstreperous people, as the prophet said: “The reverence due to justice will be silence” [Isaiah 32:17]. Therefore whatever is either being considered by participants, or proposed by individuals bringing forward an accusation, should be stated through the most gentle expression of words (*mitissima verborum relatio*), so that hearers’ faculties are not disturbed by contending voices and that these voices do not weaken the power of judgment from their hubbub (*de tumultu*). As for anyone who believes that these things, which have just been put forth, do not need to be observed in a conciliar assembly (*in conventu concilii*), and disturbs it with noise, contention, or levity, despite the injunctions here, he will be stripped in dishonor of his right to attend, and will be forced to depart from the communal assembly (*a communi cetu*), according to the divine law which says, “Drive off the scoffer and strife will go out with him” [Proverbs 22:10], and let him be placed under the judgment of excommunication for three days.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> XI Toledo (675), c. 1, ed. G. Alberigo et al., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta* (Turnhout, 2006), p. 406 (Mansi, vol. 11, p. 137). Cf. Norman Tanner, *The Councils of the Church: A Short History* (New York, 2001), pp. 17-18 (consensus); Rachel Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589-633* (Ann Arbor, 2000), pp. 177-181; For the Spanish synods, see José Orlandis and Domingo Ramos-Lisson, *Die Synoden auf der Iberischen Halbinsel bis zum Einbruch des Islam (711)* (Paderborn, 1981).

<sup>21</sup> XI Toledo (675), c. 1, ed. Alberigo et al., p. 406 (Mansi, vol. 11, p. 137): “In loco benedictionis consentientes domini sacerdotes nullis debent aut indiscretis vocibus perstrepere, aut quibuslibet tumultibus perturbari; nullis etiam vanis fabulis, vel risibus agi, et, quod est deterius, obstinatis concertationibus tumultuosas voces effundere. ‘Si quis enim, ut apostolus ait, putat se religiosum esse non refrenans linguam suam, sed seducens cor suum, huius vana est religio.’ Cultum enim suum iusticia perdit, quando silentium iudicii obstrepentium turba confundit dicente propheta: ‘Erit cultus iusticiae silentium.’ Debet ergo, quicquid aut consentientium collationibus agitur aut accusantium parte proponitur, sic mitissima verborum relatione proferri, ut nec contentiosis vocibus audientiam turbent nec iudicandi vigorem de tumultu enervent. Quicumque ergo in conventu concilii haec, quae praemissa sunt, violanda crediderit et contra haec interdicta aut tumultu aut contumeliis vel risibus concilium perturbaverit, iuxta divinae legis edictum, quo precipitur: ‘Eice derisorem et exhibit cum eo iurgium,’ cum omni confusionis dedecore abstractus a communi cetu secedat et trium dierum excommunicationis sententiam perferat.”

The “crowd of obstreperous people” (*obstreptium turba*) lamented by this seventh-century council is similar to the hagiographical persecution-crowd described by a source from the same milieu. Sisebut, the Visigothic king, described in his life of Bishop Desiderius of Vienne a persecuting crowd which was “poor in good deeds, rich in evil ones.”<sup>22</sup> Such disordered assemblies were balanced out – and, in hagiographical sources, frequently overcome – by ordered assemblies.<sup>23</sup>

In the case of Sisebut’s *Life of Desiderius* (BHL 2148), the crowds that persecute Desiderius are counterbalanced not only by the witness crowds that appear earlier in the life, but by the ordered assemblies that later celebrate the martyred saint.<sup>24</sup> In the 675 decree, a true *conventus concilii* (“conciliar assembly”) was solemn in formation, ordered in behavior, and organized into a legible hierarchy – defined in a sense by what it was not: unruly, unserious (that is, not *mitissima*).<sup>25</sup> A council had the power to overcome the heterogeneity and disorder caused by gossip, jokes, and quarrels, through the regulation of bodies and voices. The assembled bishops also wielded the threat of excommunication, or a separation from the *communis cetus*, the “collective assembly.” This Visigothic interest in regulating consensus reflects real moments of contention. The Eleventh Council of Toledo itself occurred amid fierce disputes among bishops. The bishops there

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<sup>22</sup> Sisebut, *Vita et Passio Sancti Desiderii* (BHL 2148), c. 18, ed. Juan Gil, *Miscellanea Wisigothica* (Seville, 1972), p. 65. See also further discussion in chapter 4 above.

<sup>23</sup> See above, chapter 4 (esp. parts III-IV), for topoi and type-scenes balancing good against evil crowds.

<sup>24</sup> Sisebut, *Vita et Passio Sancti Desiderii* (BHL 2148), c. 5, 22, ed. Gil, pp. 56-57 (for the *multitudo* Desiderius heals during his lifetime), pp. 67-68 (for the *copia* of Christians that come to venerate his body).

<sup>25</sup> XI Toledo (675), c. 1, ed. Alberigo et al., p. 406 (Mansi, vol. 11, p. 137).



wanted to police correct assembly not only in order to avert disorder in real church councils, but also to control against disorder in the written record.<sup>26</sup>

Their narrative efforts were influential. As Rachel Stocking has argued, numbers came to matter in showing, in proving, consensus for Visigothic bishops conducting their great counsels.<sup>27</sup> Performed consensus became necessary to authenticate public facts in the Visigothic kingdom as a whole, even when heartfelt consensus remained difficult to achieve in reality. Visigothic, and then later Frankish, churches developed a concept of conciliar legitimacy based on this form of performative consensus.<sup>28</sup> The Visigothic ideal proved influential in other early medieval contexts as well, in part through the extraordinary transmission of the Spanish counsels through the body of canon law known as the *Hispana* (in fact, compiled in southern France, but with a core of Visigothic conciliar decrees).<sup>29</sup> The decree in the Eleventh Council of Toledo (675), with its promise

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<sup>26</sup> Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus*, p. 181.

<sup>27</sup> Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus*, pp. 2, 160, and 172, on procedures for the identification and exclusion of difference within society.

<sup>28</sup> The leading church historian of these developments is the theologian Hermann-Josef Sieben (SJ), who authored a number of influential histories of this development: Hermann-Josef Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee des lateinischen Mittelalters (847-1378)* (Paderborn, 1984), pp. 15-74; Hermann-Josef Sieben, "Die früh- und hochmittelalterliche Konzilsidee im Kontext der 'Filioque'-Kontroverse," *Traditio* 35 (1979): 173-207; and, for the transformation of the patristic conciliar ideal, see also Hermann-Josef Sieben, "Pseudoisidor oder der Bruch mit der altkirchlichen Konzilsidee: Das Zeugnis der Kirchenrechtssammlungen bis zum Decretum Gratiani einschließlich," *Theologie und Philosophie* 53 (1978): 498-537.

<sup>29</sup> G. Martínez Díez and F. Rodríguez, ed., *La Colección Canónica Hispana*, 4 vols (Madrid, 1966-88). For a helpful overview, see Antonio García y García, "Hispana, Collectio," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5 (1991), col. 38. For the southern French origins of the collection as it was transmitted, see Jean Tarré, "Sur les origines arlésiennes de la collection canonique, dite 'Hispana,'" in *Mélanges Paul Fournier: de la Bibliothèque d'histoire du droit sous les auspices de la Société d'histoire du droit* (Paris, 1929), pp. 705-724. For complete listing of the manuscripts, see Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages, ca. 400-1140: A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature* (Washington, DC, 1999). Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 250-256, provides a useful critique of the older schematized categorizations of early canonical collections. These groupings – Sanblasiana, Hispana, Vetus Gallica, Dacheriana, Herovalliana, Quesnelliana, Dionysio-Hadriana – are important classifications but they can be misleading, since early medieval canonical collections often drew upon a mixture of canonical sources.

to excommunicate anyone who caused a “hubbub” (*tumultus*) in a council, was repeated in later conciliar *ordines* as well.<sup>30</sup> The impulse to develop an *ordo* or “order” of conciliar assembly itself is a telling reification of sacred consensus into repeatable ritual. Liturgy stabilized the performance of ritual, but it also required that ritual conform to written expectation. The basic notion that legitimating consensus involved a degree of ritual purity affected the logic of secular assembly as well. Visigothic kings depended for their authority upon large-scale gatherings in both urban and church spaces.<sup>31</sup>

Jürgen Hannig has traced the consensus-ideal from its conciliar roots into the aristocratic politics of the Frankish period.<sup>32</sup> In Hannig’s interpretation, consensus became a central political value for the Frankish realms, particularly in the age of Carolingian dominion (c. 750-888). The importance of consensus to Frankish political legitimacy has been debated. François-Louis Ganshof, drawing on the capitularies where the ideal of *consensus* is expressed, was skeptical of the insistence upon concord in Frankish sources, seeing it as merely dressing up the power of the king’s verbal authority (*bannum* or *bannus*).<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, scholars in more recent years have been inclined to

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<sup>30</sup> E.g. *Ordo 26*, c. 13, ed. H. Schneider, MGH *Ordines 1* (Hanover, 1996), p. 573: “Finito sermone archiepiscopus praecipiat archidiacono, ut primum capitulum XI Toletani concilii legat.” Then follows the text cited above. This is an eleventh-century *ordo* from Rouen. It is possible that this language lies behind a hagiographical division of good and evil people in an eleventh-century saint’s life: *Vita Aquilini* (BHL 655), c. 24, AASS Oct 8.19.509C: “Hoc enim proprium electorum, semper optare secretum, sicut reproborum desiderare tumultum.”

<sup>31</sup> Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City*, pp. 140-160. But also see P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 124-129, for the power of Visigothic kings to influence conciliar forms and decisions.

<sup>32</sup> Jürgen Hannig, *Consensus Fidelium: Frühfeudale Interpretationen des Verhältnisses von Königtum und Adel am Beispiel des Frankenreiches* (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 40-41.

<sup>33</sup> See, e.g., François-Louis Ganshof, *Recherches sur les capitulaires* (Paris, 1958), pp. 29-36, on the “source de l’autorité dans les capitulaires,” concluding that the *bannus* (the king’s authority, linked to his word) rather than consensus was the effective source of legitimacy in Carolingian capitularies (legal decrees). For a new assessment of the capitularies, stressing the mediated nature decrees promulgated and

give ear to the Frankish insistence upon *consensus* or *unitas*.<sup>34</sup> The focus on consensus has an important consequence for early medieval political history. Thomas Bisson once argued that all pre-parliamentary medieval “assemblies” were “celebrations of hierarchical order and majesty,” rather than truly deliberative bodies.<sup>35</sup> Such assemblies’ function was to make authority manifest.

As I have suggested in earlier chapters, the logic of conciliar legitimation by consensus spread onward to other areas of early medieval life. Topoi of legitimation in hagiographical, narrative, and legal texts, all use collective consensus as a proof of legitimacy: to authenticate a relic, to prove a king’s or a bishop’s or an abbot’s suitability, even to confirm a land grant or a court case, it became both a ritual and a narrative necessity to produce a crowd of consenting witnesses. And that drove an association

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agreed upon at assemblies and the texts which survive in manuscripts, see Jennifer Davis, *Charlemagne’s Practice of Empire* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 34-36.

<sup>34</sup> See, among others, János M. Bak and Pavel Lukin, “Consensus and Assemblies in Early Medieval Central and Eastern Europe,” in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and M. Mostert (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 95-113; Gregory Halfond, “*Cum Consensu Omnium*: Frankish Church Councils From Clovis to Charlemagne,” *History Compass* 5 (2007): 539-559; Janet Nelson, “How Carolingians Created Consensus,” in *Le monde carolingien: bilan, perspectives, champs de recherches*, ed. W. Falkowski and Y. Sassier (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 67-81; P. S. Barnwell, “Kings, Nobles, and Assemblies in the Barbarian Kingdoms,” in *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 11-28; Steffen Patzold, “Consensus - Concordia - Unitas: Überlegungen zu einem politisch-religiösen Ideal der Karolingerzeit,” in *Exemplaris Imago: Ideale in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Nikolaus Staubach (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 31-56. Cf. Steffen Patzold, “Konsens und Konkurrenz: Überlegungen zu einem aktuellen Forschungskonzept der Mediävistik,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 41 (2007): 75-103. For a very valuable assessment of the role of consensus in ancient intellectual thought, see Klaus Oehler, “Der *Consensus Omnium* als Kriterium der Wahrheit in der antiken Philosophie und der Patristik,” in *Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter: Aufsätze zur Geschichte des griechischen Denkens* (Munich, 1969), pp. 234-271.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas N. Bisson, “Celebration and Persuasion: Reflections on the Cultural Evolution of Medieval Consultation,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 7 (1982): 181-204, esp. pp. 181, 183, 189-190. In tracing the later development of medieval assemblies, Bisson notes that even as the role of secular and religious assemblies (parliaments and councils) became more professional or genuinely deliberative in the twelfth and especially thirteenth century, other collective assemblies, such as “great courts” centered on chivalric ritual, took the place of the early medieval solemn assembly in articulating a realm’s unanimity and celebrating order: “Such assemblies could function once again as ritual representations of the realm... in a way to which the councils could not pretend” (p. 190).

between gathering and consensus, not only because assembly favored the powerful in this age of demographic thinness, but because elites shaped the spaces in which people did assemble.<sup>36</sup> In a conciliar context, with bishops arrayed in hierarchical seating order it was easy to identify and eliminate those who “disturbed” collective concord.<sup>37</sup> And if this process was not always simple in practice, it was facilitated by the written word.

Conciliar decrees permitted their authors to insist upon total consensus even when it had been absent. In a different legal context, eighth- and ninth-century Frankish capitularies, collections of royal decrees arranged into chapters or *capitula*, explicitly described *consensus* as a source of legitimacy.<sup>38</sup> Through consensus, punishment was justified.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. the legible hierarchy of Roman churches as analyzed by Franz Alto Bauer, “La frammentazione liturgica nella chiesa romana del primo medioevo,” *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 75 (1999): 385-446.

<sup>37</sup> For the organization of seating in church assemblies, see especially Evangelos Chrysos, “Konzilsakten und Konzilsprotokolle vom 4. bis 7. Jahrhundert,” *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 15 (1983): 30-40. Compare his earlier study of ordered seating in the Byzantine councils: Evangelos Chrysos, “Konzilspräsident und Konzilsvorstand: Zur Frage des Vorsitzes in den Konzilien der byzantinischen Reichskirche,” *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 11 (1979): 1-17. Much the best evidence for this assembly comes from the liturgical *acta* or *ordines* for conciliar assembly. See especially the introductory remarks by Herbert Schneider, *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, MGH Ordines 1 (Hanover, 1996), pp. 1-11.

<sup>38</sup> Capitulary of Pippin at Soissons (744), ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 1 (Hanover, 1883), p. 29: “Dum plures non habetur incognitum, qualiter nos in Dei nomine una cum consensu episcoporum sive sacerdotum vel servorum Dei consilio seu comitibus et obtimatibus Francorum conloqui apud Suessionis civitas synodum vel concilio facere decrevimus: quod ita in Dei nomine et fecimus.” This council concluded with a confident expression of authority by the consensus of twenty-three bishops with other priests or servants of God, together with Pippin and all the “lords” of the Franks: “Si quis contra hanc decretam, quam XXIII episcopi cum aliis sacerdotibus vel servis Dei, una cum consensu principem Pippino vel obtimatibus Francorum consilio constituerunt, transgredire vel legem irrumpere voluerint vel dispexerint, iudicatus sit ab ipso principe vel episcopis seu comitibus, componat secundum quod in lege scriptum est unusquisque iuxta ordine suo” (c. 10, ed. Boretius, p. 30). Compare Italian capitularies from the ninth-century which cites the *consensus fidelium* as the source of authority for adding new decrees: *Capitularia Hlotarii I et Regum Italiae*, no. 201, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 2 (Hanover, 1897), p. 60; *Capitularia Hlotarii I et Regum Italiae*, no 221, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 2 (Hanover, 1897), p. 101.

<sup>39</sup> In the case of someone who departs from a council or resists its decisions: *Capitularia Hlotarii I et Regum Italiae*, c. 205, ed. A. Boretius MGH Capit. 2 (Hanover, 1897), p. 74: “Et si aliquis de senioribus de hac convenientia exierit aut se retraxerit vel huic communi decreto, quod absit, contradixerit, cum plures seniorum nostrorum fideles et regnorum primores in unum convenerint, eorum, qui haec observaverint, seniorum consilio et episcoporum iudicio ac communi consensu, qualiter de eo, qui debite admonitus incorrigibilis perseveraverit, agendum sit, favente Domino decernemus.” Cf. *Additamenta ad Hludowici capitularia*, no. 197, c. 2, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 2 (Hanover, 1897), p. 54. See also cases of

Meanwhile, “counsel” (*consilium*) came to be closely linked with collective approbation. This is why illegitimate behavior was often cast as being “without counsel” (*sine consilio*).<sup>40</sup>

Once again, this narrative stress on consensus in legal documents should not be read as evidence for an absence of competition and contention in the Frankish aristocracy or high clergy.<sup>41</sup> Nobles still competed for royal attention (Königsnähe).<sup>42</sup> As Stuart Airlie has argued, lords could square seemingly dueling identities: dutiful servant to the king and temporary rebel.<sup>43</sup> Scholars like Gerd Althoff and Timothy Reuter, among others, have argued that an early medieval politics of concord existed largely to smooth over frequent cases of discord.<sup>44</sup> Reuter has nicely expressed this point of view about early medieval discourse: “The characteristic form of public political action was...not that of transparent mediation between divergent interests or claims openly expressed, but

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punishment which occur when someone acts without first securing the consensus of a relevant group, for instance a woman who takes the veil without first seeking out the *consensus sacerdotum*: *Additamenta ad Hludowici capitularia*, no. 196, c. 49.15, ed. A. Boretius, MGH Capit. 2 (Hanover, 1897), p. 42.

<sup>40</sup> Agobard of Lyon, *ep.* 15, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin, 1899), p. 225; Hannig, *Consensus Fidelium*, pp. 257-8. See also Fritz Kern, *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter: zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie*, 6th edn. (Darmstadt, 1954), p. 284.

<sup>41</sup> For a useful overview to the venues for early medieval competition, see Régine Le Jan, “Compétition et sacré: médiation et exclusion,” in *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge: entre médiation et exclusion*, ed. P. Depreux, F. Bougard, and R. Le Jan (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 5-15.

<sup>42</sup> See the especially lucid discussion by Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. xiv, 76-82.

<sup>43</sup> Stuart Airlie, “*Semper Fideles?* Loyauté envers les carolingiens comme constituant de l’identité aristocratique,” in *La royauté et les élites dans l’Europe carolingienne (début IXe siècle aux environs de 920)*, ed. R. Le Jan (Villeneuve d’Ascq, 1998), pp. 139-143, esp. pp. 141-143.

<sup>44</sup> Gerd Althoff, “Colloquium Familiare - Colloquium Secretum - Colloquium Publicum: Beratung im politischen Leben des früheren Mittelalters,” in G. Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 157-84, at p. 182; cf. his account of early medieval *satisfactio* (ritual resolution of disputes): Gerd Althoff, “Demonstration und Inszenierung: Spielregeln der Kommunikation in mittelalterlicher Öffentlichkeit,” in Althoff, *Spielregeln*, pp. 229-57, at pp. 241-247.

that of opaque ritualised behaviour symbolising closure and reaffirming an order which should if at all possible be seen not to have been threatened.”<sup>45</sup> In other words, it became necessary that political conflict be excluded from the language of politics. The reality of competition – for “Königsnähe” and for the resources that it could bring, but also across many other disputes over resource control and social standing – had to be transmuted into a vocabulary of cooperation and consensus. One question for historians is *where* that happened: in actual rituals conducted to smooth over differences, or in texts written after the fact to rewrite those rituals as successful (or unsuccessful, for that matter)?<sup>46</sup>

### III. Consensus as a Narrative Requirement

Probably both. Consensus was not only a ritual and political necessity in the sense described by Althoff and Reuter, but a narrative necessity in the sense described by Philippe Buc.<sup>47</sup> The topos of uniform acclamation was *de rigueur* in all written accounts of

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<sup>45</sup> Timothy Reuter, “Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth,” in T. Reuter, *Medieval politics and modern mentalities*, ed. J. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 193-216, at p. 203.

<sup>46</sup> Early medieval scholars have thus also been interested in the reality and depiction of “failed” rituals. See especially Simon MacLean, “Ritual, Misunderstanding, and the Contest for Meaning: Representations of the Disrupted Royal Assembly at Frankfurt (873),” in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800-1500*, ed. B. Weiler and S. MacLean (Turnhout, 2006) pp. 97-119 (on a royal Carolingian scion’s failed attempt at a penitential ritual during a royal assembly); Steffen Patzold, “Amalar, Guntard und die missglückte Messfeier: ein methodischer Versuch über das Spucken im Frühmittelalter,” in *Geschichtswissenschaft und “Performative Turn”: Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. Jürgen Martschukat and Steffen Patzold (Cologne, 2003), pp. 55-82 (on the question of whether spitting in church invalidates the ritual).

<sup>47</sup> Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001), in part sets out to criticize what Buc calls a “functionalist” interpretation of medieval ritual, which, in his view, naively takes sources at their word. Yet Buc also attempts to uncover medieval authors’ aims in describing rituals. A good example is in Buc’s analysis of a papal life’s treatment of the ritual of distribution of coins. Buc, *Dangers*, pp. 62-63, argues that this *vita* tries to make the “papal dignity...coterminous with the deeds and gestures of the pope at his installation” (p. 63), pointing to parallels between the rituals described and those prescribed by contemporary *ordines* (p. 63, n. 39), but puts his focus squarely on the author of the *vita* and not on the papal ritual. In his critique, Buc draws on Jack

elites coming to power: kings, popes, bishops, and abbots.<sup>48</sup> Yet many royal or episcopal elections were highly contentious, and anything but affairs of universal consensus. The papal biographies report several cases of factional violence in the streets of eighth- and ninth-century Rome, as when antipope Constantine was blinded in front of the Colosseum after a brief reign.<sup>49</sup>

The narrative imperative to describe consensus in politics sometimes leads to strange results, when authors stress consensus even as they are also compelled to admit the absence of consensus: protesting too much, in other words. A hint of this ambivalence is already present in the Eleventh Council of Toledo, whose gossips, jokers, and “obstreperous people” may have felt themselves to be legitimate and orderly participants in the council. Sometimes, however, topoi of total consensus are unable to conceal a real

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Goody, “Against ‘ritual,’” in *Secular Ritual*, ed. S. F. Moore and B. G. Myerhoff (Assen, 1977), pp. 25-35. For very good discussion of anthropological and sociological approaches to ritual as a subject of inquiry, see Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford, 1997), esp. pp. 27-29, on the limits of functionalism. For the application of Buc’s problematic to early medieval liturgy, see Louis I. Hamilton, “Les dangers du rituel dans l’Italie du XIe siècle: entre textes liturgiques et témoignages historiques,” in *Mises en scène et mémoires de la consécration de l’église dans l’Occident médiéval*, ed. D. Méhu, (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 159-188.

<sup>48</sup> Philip Daileader, “One Will, One Voice, and Equal Love: Papal Elections and the *Liber Pontificalis* in the Early Middle Ages,” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 31 (1993): 11-31. Cf. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton, 1953), p. 160.

<sup>49</sup> *Vita Stephani III*, c. 14, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis* (Paris, 1886), vol. 1, p. 472. For the aristocratic politics of the eighth-century papacy, see Florian Hartmann, “L’Adelspapsttum nel secolo VIII,” *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 63 (2009): 363-377. Compare later cases, such as the “public” punning jibes aimed at Hadrian II (r. 867-872) reported in *Vita Hadriani II*, c. 14, ed. Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, vol. 2, p. 176: “Nicolaitanus et scriberetur et publice diceretur.” Hadrian II was a Nicholaitan both in the sense that he was the successor of Nicholas I, and in the sense that he possessed a wife and daughter from before entering higher orders. Cf. Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 7th edn. (Stuttgart, 1922), vol. 3, p. 175, who sees this as the result of Hadrian II’s balancing act between Nicholas I’s supporters: “Indem er so die Freunde seines Vorgängers beruhigte, erbitterte er dessen Feinde, welche nun seiner öffentlich spotteten, und ihm den doppelsinnigen Namen Nicolait beilegten.” See also Thomas S. Brown, “Urban Violence in Early Medieval Italy: The Cases of Rome and Ravenna,” in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Guy Halsall (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 76-89, for violence in Italian cities under Byzantine influence, esp. pp. 78-82, for periodic violence in early medieval Rome.

break in concord. Thus the extraordinarily partial “universal” consensus topos of a late ninth-century papal *vita*, for the compromise candidate Hadrian II (r. 867-872):

But when the holy pope Nicholas of apostolic memory had withdrawn from human affairs and [Hadrian] had passed into the twenty-fifth year of his priesthood, all the citizens of the city of Rome, as well as those who happened to be present from elsewhere, both poor and rich, both the clerical order and the whole crowd of the people, that is, every age, profession, and sex, spurning all his excuses, desired Hadrian, wished that Hadrian be given to them as bishop and pastor; and there was no one found in the most ample space of the whole city who did not wish from the marrow that Hadrian should be promoted to this office, except for those who wanted either themselves or one of their own to be promoted.<sup>50</sup>

The strange afterthought of this topos of universal acclamation – “except for those who wanted themselves or their own candidate” – highlights a paradox at the heart of much early medieval political legitimacy. Popes like Hadrian II (r. 867-872) usually came to power thanks to momentarily successful aristocratic factions, imperial support, and forces that our sources only occasionally allow us to glimpse.<sup>51</sup>

Politics not only in ninth-century Rome, but throughout the early Middle Ages, were just as contentious as they had been in Antiquity, so what purpose did narrative consensus serve? In this case, we might suspect that the text’s anxiety reflects

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<sup>50</sup> *Vita Hadriani II.*, c. 4, ed. L. Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, pp. 173-4: “Sed cum apostolicae memoriae sanctissimus papa Nicolaus rebus excessisset humanis et iste in presbiterio quintum et vigesimum annum transiret, omnes urbis Romanae concives, simul et hi quos extrinsecus adesse contigerat, tam pauperes quam divites, tam clericalis ordo quam cunctum populi vulgus, omnis scilicet etatis, professionis et sexus, contemptis omnibus excusationibus, Hadrianum desiderant, Hadrianum dari sibi presulem ac pastorem exoptant; nullusque in totius Urbis amplissimo spatio repertus est, nisi vel se vel suum quemque provehi voluisset, qui non Hadrianum promoveri ad hoc culmen medullitus exoptaret.” I am grateful to the members of the 2010 seminar on “Computational Philology, Papal Rome, Italy, the Slavs and Byzantium in the ninth century,” led by Michael McCormick, for rich discussions of this text which have influenced my understanding of this papal biography until the present.

<sup>51</sup> What compelled the author of this *vita* (probably John the Deacon) to allow Hadrian II’s detractors to appear so incongruously alongside the *cunctum populi vulgus* which wanted Hadrian “from the depths of their marrow”? Is this a wry aside? An acknowledgement driven by the notoriety of the event? A latent critique of Hadrian himself? As often, the tendency of early medieval Roman historiography to conceal details of factional strife makes it difficult to say. Cf. Brown, “Urban Violence in Early Medieval Italy,” p. 80, for modern historians’ uncertainty regarding early medieval accounts of factional dispute.



contemporary attempts to square Hadrian II's self-depiction as the faithful successor to Nicholas I's policies with Hadrian's actual political compromises as pope. Indeed, Hadrian was probably elected in 867 as a compromise candidate.<sup>52</sup>

Hadrian II was not the pushover that historians have sometimes made him out to be, but he was no equal to his extraordinary *decessor*, Nicholas I (r. 858-867).<sup>53</sup> He was often ill or pleaded illness.<sup>54</sup> He belonged to an older generation of Lateran elites, and had been married before taking orders. He may have looked back to the 840s with nostalgia.<sup>55</sup> In Hans Grotz's phrase, he was an "heir against his will," obliged by

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<sup>52</sup> Klaus Herbers, "Agir et écrire: les actes des papes du IXe siècle et le *Liber pontificalis*," in *Liber, Gesta, Histoire: Écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'Antiquité au XXIe siècle*, ed. F. Bougard and M. Sot (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 118-119. On papal ideology in this period, see W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), pp. 190-228.

<sup>53</sup> Louis Halphen, *Charlemagne et l'Empire Carolingien* (Paris, 1947), p. 347: "Borgne et boiteux, c'est un homme sans grand prestige, accueillant et serviable, mais sans personnalité et sans caractère, toujours prêt à témoigner sa gratitude et sa bonne volonté à un empereur de qui il attend le salut et don't il vante les mérites." Halphen may have misunderstood *VH*, p. 173, c. iii ("cum oculus esset ceco et pes probabatur existere claudo"), which does not say that Hadrian was half-blind and lame, but that, like Job, he was an eye to the blind and a foot to the lame (Job 29:15). Nevertheless, Hadrian was by many accounts a weak pope. For a similarly scathing account of Hadrian II, see J. N. D. Kelly and M. J. Walsh, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 107-109. It is commonly held that Hadrian's weakness opened space for Anastasius: Dietrich Lohrmann, *Das Register Papst Johannes' VIII. (872-882)* (Tübingen, 1968), p. 239.

<sup>54</sup> Pope John VIII says that in the Lothar affair, Hadrian's sickness prevented him from carrying out the projects he initiated: *Fragmenta*, no. 6, ed. Ernst Perels and Gerhard Laehr, MGH Epp. 7 (Berlin, 1928), p. 277: "dominus et decessor noster sanctę memorie Adrianus papa cepit nec tamen propter continuas infirmitates suas perfecit."

<sup>55</sup> Probably Hadrian II was handpicked for an earlier election, but denied. Gregory gave him the *titulus* of San Mark, which had been his own *titulus* before his election to the papacy, and which he had redecorated during his papacy with mosaics that still remain in the church. Another sign of his "conservatism" was his possession of a wife and daughter. We learn of Hadrian II's wife and daughter from the Frankish bishop Hincmar of Reims, *AB*, s.a. 868, ed. Grat et al., p. 144. He probably had married before higher orders, as A. Lapôte, *De Anastasio bibliothecario sedis apostolicae* (Paris, 1885), p. 236, n.4, reasoned: "Non enim credibile est legem ecclesiasticam palam aperteque ab eo esse violatam." This may be to overestimate the strength of "ecclesiastical law" in the mid ninth century. Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, "Il matrimonio e il concubinato presso il clero romano (secoli VIII-XII)," *Studi storici* 41 (2000), pp. 943-971, discussing Hadrian II specifically at p. 954: "Molto probabilmente, il divieto di sposarsi dopo aver conseguito gli ordini maggiori persisteva, ma il matrimonio in se stesso, concluso in giovane eta e quando si avevano solo gli ordini minori, non impediva l'ulteriore avanzamento nella carriera ecclesiastic." See also Martin Boelens, *Die Klerikerehe in der Gesetzgebung der Kirche: Eine rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Paderborn, 1968), pp. 87-89.

Nicholas's supporters to defend that pope's uncompromising belief in the supremacy of papal authority, while antagonizing the very people whose support he needed most at the start of his pontificate.<sup>56</sup>

Yet in the discourse of political legitimacy that prevailed in Rome as well as elsewhere in early medieval western Europe, the (probably contemporary) author of Hadrian II's life felt obliged to emphasize the city's uniformity of purpose in Hadrian as pope.<sup>57</sup> Rather than dismissing this impulse as slavish subordination to narrative requirements, as "just" a topos to be overcome by the historian searching for "real" papal politics, it is worth considering how early medieval connections between crowds, consensus, and authority shaped memory and perception. The ritual and narrative smoothing-over of differences provided by collective gatherings was particularly valuable in political contexts full of strife, such as the Rome of Hadrian II's reign.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Hans Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen: Hadrian II. (867-872) und seine Zeit* (Vienna, 1970), pp. 117-135 for an examination of Hadrian II's initial difficulties. See also Lapôte, *De Anastasio*, pp. 208-212.

<sup>57</sup> The most likely author of this text is John Hymmonides the Deacon, as argued by Arthur Lapôte, "Le Souper de Jean Diacre," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 21 (1901), pp. 305-385, at pp. 369-381. John the Deacon was the author of the wildly popular *Vita Gregorii Magni* (BHL 3641-3642), PL 75, of which a new edition by Lucia Castaldi is forthcoming. The list of manuscripts of this life has already appeared: *Johannes Hymmonides diaconus Romanus, Vita Gregorii I papae* (BHL 3641-3642), vol. 1: *La tradizione manoscritta*, ed. L. Castaldi (Florence, 2004). For John the Deacon's possibly authorship of the life of Hadrian II, see R. Aubert, "Jean Diacre dit Himmonide (fils d'Hymmo?)," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1995-1997), vol. 26, col. 1466-1468 ("Peut-être a-t-il collaboré à la continuation du *Liber pontificalis* (notamment la vie d'Adrien II)"); W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg, and O. Prinz, *Dictionnaire des auteurs grecs et latins de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, trans. J. D. Berger and J. Billen (Turnhout, 1991), p. 460; Brezzi, *Roma e l'impero medioevale*, p. 62, n.1 ("Giovanni Diacono, autore della vita di S. Gregorio Magno e forse della biografia di Adriano II").

<sup>58</sup> For instance, in the political endurance of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who continued to occupy a central place in the Lateran after multiple scandals and political setbacks, including (alleged) involvement in the death of Hadrian II's wife and daughter, a story which is omitted entirely from Hadrian's *vita*. Hincmar of Reims, *AB*, s.a. 868, ed. Grat et al., p. 144; Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen*, pp. 168-172, offers an inventive reconstruction of event. Cf. Bronwen Neil, *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs: The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (Turnhout, 2006), p. 20, n.44: "The story of the kidnapping of the pope's wife and daughter is completely omitted from the Life of Hadrian, suggesting that the author was indeed a supporter of Anastasius."

#### IV. Consensus Made Visible

As crowds became associated with legitimacy more exclusively in written sources, so too legitimacy came to be associated with crowds in visual culture. Gestural or other forms of physical uniformity came to stand for the crowd at its most essential.<sup>59</sup> This seems to be one purpose of early medieval “isocephalic” depictions of crowds, that is, depictions of crowds of people whose heads (and often the rest of their bodies) are drawn on the same level. Isocephaly had been a common feature of ancient friezes, and it is in that context that art historians first described it, but the practice was also widely used by medieval artists to depict large numbers.<sup>60</sup> Even in Late Antiquity, biblical crowds had been depicted isocephalically in manuscripts, as in the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, BnF, MS NAL 2334). This manuscript, possibly from North Africa, may have been completed around 600.<sup>61</sup> In the depiction of Moses giving the law, an isocephalic and terraced populace receives the word in hierarchical order, with men to the right and (clearly high-status) women to the left (figure 9 below).

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<sup>59</sup> For the wider context of gestural development in the same period, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990), pp. 100-110.

<sup>60</sup> For an early example of the usage of this term in a medieval context, see Miriam Schild Bunim, *Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective* (New York, 1940), p. 140: “The representation of crowds in isocephalic rather than terraced form helps to produce the impression that the ground is a horizontal rather than a tilted plane and that it is an extension of the ground of the spectator into the picture. Furthermore, the isocephalic form helps to effect a unified point of view.” For the traditional definition, see, e.g., Cyril M. Harris, ed., *Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture* (New York, 1977), p. 307.

<sup>61</sup> For palaeographical analysis, see CLA, vol. 5, no. 693.



**FIGURE 9. The Giving of the Law in the Ashburnham Pentateuch.** A late sixth- or early seventh-century depiction of the Giving of the Law, showing the Jewish people in hierarchical order. Moses stands to the right. Ashburnham Pentateuch, Paris, BnF, MS NAL 2334, fol. 76r.

This late antique idiom of liturgical assembly came to be shared by visual representations of other crowds. Like the artists of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, the scribes who illustrated Psalm 77:1 in the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter, compiled at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the 820s, depicted Moses' audience as an isocephalic crowd in the garb of Frankish nobles.<sup>62</sup> Manuscript images of church councils, like those in Mozarabic manuscripts of Visigothic councils, depicted conciliar ritual and also served, in Roger Reynolds's phrase, "as an authenticating sign" of conciliar rulings.<sup>63</sup> The orderly row of clerics in the Codex Vigilanus, a late tenth-century Mozarabic manuscript

<sup>62</sup> Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Bibl. fol. 23, fol. 90r.

<sup>63</sup> Roger E. Reynolds, "Rites and Signs of Conciliar Decisions in the Early Middle Ages," reprinted in his *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot, 1999), Essay IX, pp. 207-249, at p. 244; cf. pp. 208, 212, 226.

depicting a Council of Toledo, attends upon the words of the seated metropolitan.<sup>64</sup> They offer a colorful visible expression of conciliar consensus, again, in due hierarchical order (see figure 10 below).



**FIGURE 10. A Council of Toledo in the Codex Vigilanus.** An isocephalic (heads in a row) depiction of a council of Toledo in the late tenth-century Codex Vigilanus. The metropolitan is seated at the left. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo d. I. 2, fol. 142r.

Other early medieval manuscript artists tasked with drawing councils or liturgical assemblies carried out similar depictions.<sup>65</sup> Several early medieval canonical collections contain illuminations of church councils depicting dozens or even hundreds of individual figures.<sup>66</sup> In some cases, these images depict the central councils of early church history: Nicaea, Ephesus, Chalcedon, I Constantinople. In others, such as the Codex Vigilanus, they depict Visigothic assemblies. Early medieval artists could use inscriptions to give

<sup>64</sup> See Reynolds, “Rites and Signs,” p. 225, for discussion of the book. We know the name of the scribe of the manuscript, *Vigila*, a monk at the monastery of San Martín de Albelda (Navarre).

<sup>65</sup> Hermann-Josef Sieben, *Konzilsdarstellungen-Konzilsvorstellungen: 1000 Jahre Konzilsikonographie aus Handschriften und Druckwerken* (Würzburg, 1990), is an examination of images of councils from Late Antiquity to modern Catholicism, including Visigothic and Frankish visual depictions of church councils.

<sup>66</sup> Reynolds, “Rites and Signs,” pp. 207-210.

meaning to the crowd. But artists also took pains to illustrate status differences which might be represented visually: by placement, by position, by size, by gesture, by garb.

Furthermore, even when depicting putatively ancient or biblical assemblies, early medieval artists frequently drew their world onto the past, and that past justified those artists' patrons. For instance, when a Carolingian scribe in Reims set out to depict the ancient council which decided upon the wording of the *Fides catholica* in an illustrated Psalter (see Figure 1 in chapter 1 above), he depicted a central figure, larger than the others, presiding over deliberations.<sup>67</sup> For art historian Celia Chazelle, even though the Utrecht Psalter illuminator was depicting a scene set in the past, almost certainly using an late antique exemplar for guidance, his representation owes much to historical circumstances in the 840s or 850s.<sup>68</sup> For Chazelle, the artist stressed the central authority of the bishop in the midst of the assembly in such a way as “to link FC [the text of this creed, the *Fides catholica*] with certain ideas about the church and its organization that the Carolingians understood to be rooted in ancient tradition. Among these were the central role of councils in church government, in determining the principles of Christian faith, and consequently in assuring Christian unity, and the connection between archiepiscopal authority, the *pallium* [a bishop's ceremonial vestment], and Catholic belief.”<sup>69</sup> In this case, visual topoi, signs of the ordered crowd, frame the other relevant

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<sup>67</sup> Utrecht Psalter (ninth-century), Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 32, fol. 90v; with facsimile: K. van der Horst and J. H. A. Engelbregt, *Utrecht-Psalter: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift* (Graz, 1984).

<sup>68</sup> Celia Chazelle, “Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter,” *Speculum* 72 (1997): 1055-1077, esp. at p. 1057. Chazelle here challenges the interpretation of Suzy Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht: Sources et apport carolingien* (Paris, 1978), who largely takes the Psalter to be in its details a copy of a now lost late antique manuscript source.

<sup>69</sup> Chazelle, “Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter,” pp. 1062-1063.

information: the gestural and positional uniformity of the crowd speak to sacred consensus, the centrality and size of the central figure highlight the bishop's importance. Old idioms for depicting gatherings therefore had new uses in making arguments about episcopal and conciliar legitimacy.

Dreams of order made legible through crowd depictions could take on even greater complexity when crowds left the manuscript page and came to adorn the "liturgically fragmented" spaces of frescoes or mosaics on walls.<sup>70</sup> Our picture of the whole decorative regime of medieval buildings is often only partial, but Rome provides some unusually well-preserved decorative programs.<sup>71</sup> In John VII's (r. 705-707) Santa Maria Antiqua, the half-preserved apse fresco displays a hierarchy of assemblies that extends to Heaven.<sup>72</sup> The apse fresco at Santa Maria Antiqua depicts the assembled populace in hierarchical order, beneath ranks of isocephalic angels, who are in turn beneath the apparition of God. A little over a century later, another pope, Paschal I (r.

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<sup>70</sup> Bauer, "La frammentazione liturgica," pp. 395, 397 (with figure 7), for the spaces of Santa Prassede.

<sup>71</sup> Surviving early medieval frescoes are more uncommon north of the Alps than in Italy. For the famous frescoes at Saint-Germain d'Auxerre uncovered in the 1920s, see Edward King, "The Carolingian Frescoes of the Abbey of Saint-Germain d'Auxerre," *The Art Bulletin* 11 (1929): 358-375. The ninth-century poet Ermold Nigellus describes frescoes in the royal palace of Ingelheim: Ermoldus Nigellus, *Carmen in honorem Hludowici Caesaris*, 4.2126-2163, ed. E. Faral, *Ermold le Noir: Poème sur Louis le Pieux et Épitres au Roi Pépin*, Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age 14 (Paris 1964), pp. 162-164; Walther Lammers, "Ein Karolingisches Bildprogramm in der *Aula Regia* von Ingelheim," in *Vestigia mediaevalia: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur mittelalterlichen Historiographie, Landes- und Kirchengeschichte* (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 219-283. Frescoes are also attested indirectly in a ninth-century letter by a bishop requesting pigments for frescoes: Frothar, *ep. 20*, ed. M. Parisse, *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien: Frothaire de Toul (ca. 813-847), avec les lettres de Theuthilde, abbesse de Remiremont* (Paris, 1998), p. 128: "peto, ut nobis mittas ad decorandos parietes colores diversos, qui ad manum abentur, videlicet auri pigmentum, folium Indicum, minium, lazur adque prasinum et vivo argento iuxta facultatem."

<sup>72</sup> For the function of eighth-century Santa Maria Antiqua as a possible *diaconia* or distribution center, see Gregor Kalas, "The Eighth-Century Renewal of Ancient Architecture at S. Maria Antiqua in Rome" (forthcoming). I am very grateful to Gregor Kalas for conversations, some *in situ*, about Santa Maria Antiqua and other Roman churches.

817-824), oversaw the construction and decoration of one of the marvels of early medieval church art, Santa Prassede (see figure 11 below).



**FIGURE 11. Mosaics at Santa Prassede.** Apse and triumphal mosaics in the early ninth-century church of Santa Prassede, Rome. On the inner arch, the twenty-four elders of Revelation worship the lamb. On the outer arch, saints enter into the heavenly Jerusalem at top, with crowned martyrs below. Interior, Santa Prassede, Rome (Creative Commons).

When Paschal I (r. 817-824) came to power in 817 he initiated an impressive campaign of building and restoring sacred sites in the city of Rome.<sup>73</sup> One of his earliest achievements was Santa Prassede, the church dedicated to Praxedis, martyr of the second century. Santa Prassede, on the Esquiline near Santa Maria Maggiore, became the storehouse for a large group of relics which Paschal translated in 817 from the catacombs outside of the walls to the inner city. A large inscription inside the church lists the names of the saints translated into the city, a translation which is represented spiritually in the

<sup>73</sup> See especially Caroline Goodson, *The Rome of Pope Paschal I: Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation, 817-824* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 197-256.



mosaic above the apse.<sup>74</sup> Art historians have argued that Paschal I may have instructed his artists to design Santa Prassede's mosaics as they did in order to eternalize his 817 translation of relics, the spectacular ritual that initiated his reign as pope.<sup>75</sup> In a climate of frequent relic thefts from these catacombs, Paschal's translation could be seen as a robust act of independence against Frankish power.

The mosaics in Santa Prassede depict highly differentiated heavenly assemblies. Martyrs bearing palm fronds are excluded from the innermost apse mosaic, and are placed lower down and further out on the triumphal mosaic. Groups of more important, named saints are led into the heavenly Jerusalem at the highest section of the triumphal or outer mosaic. Within are the secrets of Revelation, the typical scene for apse mosaics in early medieval churches. The Lamb of God occupies a central position, surrounded by the seven candle-stands of Revelation 1:12. On the Lamb's level appear angels and the figures of the four evangelists. The twenty-four elders of Revelation 4:4 stand below to the left and right, arrayed in their white robes (in this case, senatorial robes), doing obeisance to the lamb.<sup>76</sup>

Pope Paschal, whose monogram is visible prominently both in this mosaic and elsewhere in the church, is depicted, with the square halo of still-living-subject, in the

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<sup>74</sup> Now this inscription is attached to a pier in the church, so its original position is lost: Goodson, *Rome of Pope Paschal I*, p. 5.

<sup>75</sup> Marchita Mauck, "The Mosaic of the Triumphal Arch of S. Prassede: a Liturgical Interpretation," *Speculum* 62 (1987): 813-828, at p. 827: "In a stunning tour de force, Paschal incorporated the splendid *translatio* in 817 that was part of the dedication of his church into the timeless heavenly liturgy." Cf. Judson Emerick, "Focusing on the Celebrant: the Column Display Inside Santa Prassede," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 59 (2000): 129-159.

<sup>76</sup> Revelation 1:12, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1882: "et conversus sum ut viderem vocem quae loquebatur mecum et conversus vidi septem candelabra aurea"; Revelation 4:4, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1886: "et in circuitu sedis sedilia viginti quattuor et super thronos viginti quattuor seniores sedentes circumamictos vestimentis albis et in capitibus eorum coronas aureas."

middle of the apse mosaic, alongside Jesus, Saint Praxedis, her sister Pudentiana, Peter and Paul, and a deacon. Paschal carries the church itself in his arms. No longer visible from the nave of the church are paintings which used to adorn the transept: only a few survive in the left (west) transept.<sup>77</sup> These showed scenes from the life of Praxedis and her family, who in their service to the martyrs presaged Pope Paschal in his role as translator of the early saints back into the city. Pope Paschal probably intended these mosaic and fresco images to provide visible cues for ordered collective behavior in church. These cues reinforced the liturgical fragmentation present in the spatial divisions of the church. Yet behind this representation of collective order and hierarchy, there may lurk a specter of contention. Paschal, in redirecting not only Roman but pilgrim energy (and alms) from the catacombs to churches in the cities, was affecting a “reversal of tradition and interruption of a long-standing pattern of worship in Rome to replace it with another.”<sup>78</sup> Santa Prassede’s ordered assemblies both celebrated and fought for Paschal’s restoration of Roman saints’ relics to the inner space of the city.

Serried ranks of martyrs, palm-fronds aligned, heads-in-a-row, represented heavenly consensus which provided a model of behavior for those assembled in churches like Santa Prassede. Moreover, they represented *ordered* consensus, in which different groups kept to their places. Such representations stressed not only consensus itself, but, crucially, a consensus that endured, that remained visible in the tesserae of mosaics. To that extent, one of the ambitions of the early medieval crowd, as it was represented in frescoes and mosaics, was not just to assert elite authority but to keep it going.

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<sup>77</sup> Goodson, *Rome of Pope Paschal I*, pp. 235-241. I am very grateful to Bill North and Maureen Miller for acquiring the *permesso* to examine these frescoes in person.

<sup>78</sup> Goodson, *Rome of Pope Paschal I*, p. 235.

Admittedly, it can be dangerous to read too much into the representational strategies used by early medieval artists to depict gatherings. First, depictions of isocephalic crowds can be found in Greco-Roman art, and indeed they exist in other historical contexts as well. The sixth-century Buddha depicted on the western wall of Cave 428 at Dunhuang, in far western Gansu province (now in China) along the Silk Road, is mourned by a row of followers in an isocephalic array.<sup>79</sup> These disciples, with their haloes and heads aligned, which would not be out of place in early medieval Europe. Arraying bodies is an artistically efficient method of representing large numbers in a common pursuit.

It also bears noting that this visual topos did not always bear a positive connotation in early medieval art. Because armies are so frequently depicted in ranks of soldiers, that means that good as well as bad military forces are rendered as isocephalic crowds.<sup>80</sup> The Seleucid forces of 1 Maccabees are shown isocephalically in the tenth-century Leiden Maccabees.<sup>81</sup> One of the earliest manuscript depictions of Vikings, in an eleventh-century manuscript of a saint's life (Paris, BnF, MS NAL 1390; the life is of

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<sup>79</sup> Mogao Cave 428 (Northern Zhou, c. 557-581 CE). Stanley Abe, "Art and Practice in a Fifth-Century Chinese Buddhist Cave Temple," *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1990): 1-30. For an overview of these temples, see James O. Caswell, "Cave Temples and Monasteries," in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism, A-L*, ed. W. M. Johnston (Chicago, 2000), pp. 255-263.

<sup>80</sup> This equivocal nature of the military crowd is true of texts as well: e.g. *Gesta Dagoberti I regis Francorum* (BHL 2193), c. 24, 28, 36, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 2 (Hanover, 1888), pp. 409, 411, 414 (*multitudo*). For an interesting analysis of the difference between military armies and mobs in late antique and early medieval historiography, see Bernard Bachrach, "Armies as Mobs in the Early Middle Ages," in *Mobs: An Interdisciplinary Inquiry*, ed. Nancy van Deusen and Leonard Michael Koff (Leiden, 2012), pp. 63-78, esp. p. 78, for the anxiety among political leaders regarding unregulated armies.

<sup>81</sup> E.g. Leiden, UBL Cod. Perizoni F.17, fol. 9v (made in St Gall, late ninth century or early tenth century, but completed in Reichenau in the later tenth century). On this manuscript, see Melanie Holcomb, "Book of Maccabees I," in *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Holcomb (New Haven, 2009), pp. 46-48.

Saint Albinus of Angers), shows rows of Vikings, armed top to bottom, arrayed neatly in their warship (see figure 12 below).<sup>82</sup>



**FIGURE 12. Ship of Isocephalic Vikings.** Depiction of an army of Northmen traveling, tightly packed, by sea, from an eleventh-century hagiographical collection. Paris, BnF, MS NAL 1390, fol. 7r.

The fact that undesirable gatherings – such as the Seleucid villains of I Maccabees or the Viking villains of early medieval saints’ lives – sometimes took on the same visual characteristics of desirable gatherings (such as conciliar or liturgical assemblies and hosts

<sup>82</sup> For discussion of this illuminated manuscript, see Jean Porcher, *L'enluminure française* (Paris, 1959), pp. 232-240; Magdalena Carrasco, “Notes on the Iconography of the Romanesque Illustrated Manuscript of the Life of St. Albinus of Angers,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 47 (1984): 333-348; Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative effect in pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, 2001), p. 335.

of saints and angels) does not fundamentally alter the remarks above on the role of isocephaly in representing unity. Unity of gesture, voice, or action were phenomena which could go awry, as early medieval readers knew, not least, from the Bible.<sup>83</sup> The discipline of behavior and word – the 675 Toledo Council’s demand that conciliar participants make their desires known only through “a most measured expression of words” (*mitissima verborum relatio*) – served to forestall these kinds of dangers. For the most part, then, early medieval depictions of gatherings could be linked to positive uniformity, but elites like Paschal I or the drafters of Toledo XI knew that the consensus they promoted was in threat of contestation.

This brings us back to the useful distinction by crowd theorist Elias Canetti between an “open crowd” (spontaneous, boundary breaking, temporary) and a “closed crowd” (hierarchical, boundary-reinforcing, eternal).<sup>84</sup> Closed crowds can be hard to spot because they do not look like the discrete, physical events modern English-speakers tend to associate with the word “crowd.” Yet the behaviors depicted in early medieval art participate in a much wider discourse of ordered collective behavior. This brings us to some unintuitive cases of gatherings in medieval manuscript culture, like depictions of conciliar crowds, stress hierarchy, order, and unity. These “crowd-like phenomena,” I will suggest, drew upon the early medieval imagination of crowds to give order to broad communities, not only of the living, but also of the dead.

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<sup>83</sup> E.g. Acts 19:23-41, in which the silversmiths started the cry, “Μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσίων” (Acts 19:34: “Great is Artemis of the Ephesians”). For discussion of this acclamation in its ancient context, see Charlotte Roueché, “Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence From Aphrodisias,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 181-199, at p. 181. See also Barry Baldwin, “Acclamations in the *Historia Augusta*,” *Athenaeum* 59 (1981): 138-149.

<sup>84</sup> Elias Canetti, *Masse und Macht* (Düsseldorf, 1978), pp. 12-14.

### V. Crowd-Like Phenomena in Manuscript Culture

The Reichenau Confraternity Book is a book of names first compiled in the 820s at the abbey of Reichenau, now in southern Germany.<sup>85</sup> The names it preserves include not only Reichenau monks, but a wider network of religious co-brothers, and co-sisters: clerics and lay, living and dead (see below, Figure 13).<sup>86</sup> In its 99 parchment folios, the Reichenau Confraternity Book contains a grand total of 38,232 names.<sup>87</sup> In 820 (even before the list of names grew to this full size), this book brought more people together in one place than any western Latin city. The Reichenau Confraternity Book is only the largest of several “confraternity books” or “Books of Life” which survive from the early Middle Ages.<sup>88</sup> The Confraternity Book of St Peter’s, Salzburg (Salzburg, Stiftsarchiv St Peter, MS A 1) lists 7,614 names.<sup>89</sup> The Pfäfers *Liber Viventium* (St Gall, Stiftsarchiv,

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<sup>85</sup> Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. Hist. 27, ed. J. Autenrieth, Dieter Geuenich, and Karl Schmid, *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, MGH Libri mem. N.S. I (Hanover, 1979); see Karl Schmid, “Zum Quellenwert der Verbrüderungsbücher von St. Gallen und Reichenau,” *Deutsches Archiv* 41 (1985): 345-89.

<sup>86</sup> For the communion of living and dead in the memorial books, see the important essay by K. Schmid and J. Wollasch, “Die Gemeinschaft der Lebenden und Verstorbenen in Zeugnissen des Mittelalters,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967): 365-405.

<sup>87</sup> For a description of the manuscript, see Autenrieth et al., *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, pp. xv-xli (J. Autenrieth, “Beschreibung des Codex”).

<sup>88</sup> For a very helpful quick overview of these manuscripts, see Dieter Geuenich, “A Survey of the Early Medieval Confraternity Books From the Continent,” in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, Margaret Harvey, and Lynda Rollason (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 141-147, with discussion of the Reichenau Confraternity book at pp. 144-145.

<sup>89</sup> Salzburg, Stiftsarchiv St Peter, MS A 1; ed. S. Herzberg-Fränkell, MGH Nocr. 2 (Berlin, 1904), pp. 3-64. On this confraternity book and its organization of names, see Rosamond McKitterick, “Geschichte und Gedächtnis im frühmittelalterlichen Bayern: Virgil, Arn und der Liber Vitae von St. Peter zu Salzburg,” in *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg*, ed. Meta Niederkorn-Bruck and Anton Scharer (Munich, 2004), pp. 68-80.

Fonds Pfäfers, MS 1) contains 4,644 names.<sup>90</sup> The St Gall confraternity book (St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Class. I. Cist. C3, MS B 55) contains an impressive 14,932 names, though in fact this collection brings together more than one confraternity book into one single assortment.<sup>91</sup>

The Remiremont *Liber memorialis* (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 10) is also very large, with 10,631 names.<sup>92</sup> The memorial book of San Salvatore and Santa Giulia in Brescia (Brescia, Biblioteca civica Queriniana, MS G VI. 7), contain a total of 7,002 names.<sup>93</sup> The Corvey *Liber vitae* (Münster, Staatsarchiv, MS Misc. I 133) lists 2,642 names.<sup>94</sup> Finally, an Anglo-Saxon example, the Durham *Liber Vitae* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian VII), belonged to the monastic community of Saint Cuthbert, which moved from Lindisfarne to Chester-Le-Street to Durham in the wake of Viking attacks; in the ninth century it contained over 3,000 names, though many more names were added in subsequent centuries.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Fonds Pfäfers, MS 1; ed. A. Bruckner, H. R. Sennhauser, and F. Perret, *Liber Viventium Fabariensis I: Faksimile-Edition* (Basel, 1975); *Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis*, ed. P. Piper, MGH Necr. Suppl. (Berlin, 1884).

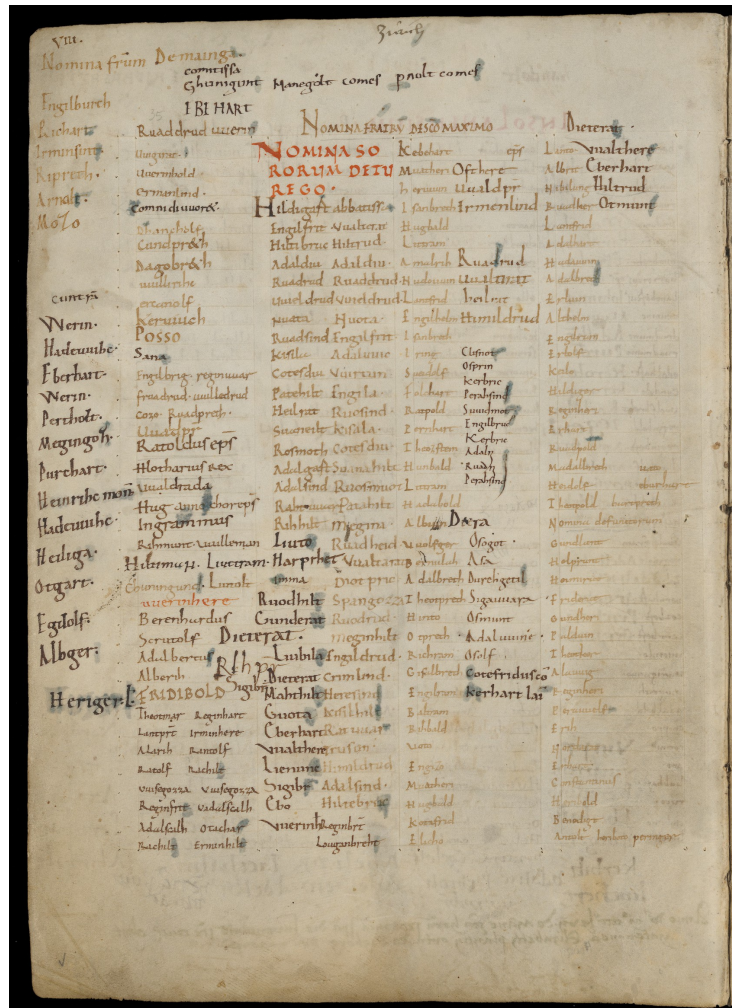
<sup>91</sup> St Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Class. I. Cist. C3, MS B 55; ed. M Borgolte, D. Geuenich, and K. Schmid, *Subsidia Sangallensia*, vol. 1 (St Gall, 1986), pp. 13-284.

<sup>92</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 10; ed. E. Hlawitschka, K. Schmid, and G. Tellenbach, *Liber memorialis von Remiremont*, MGH Libri mem. 1 (Munich, 1981).

<sup>93</sup> Brescia, Biblioteca civica Queriniana, MS G VI. 7; ed. D. Geuenich, U. Ludwig, et al., *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore / Santa Giulia in Brescia*, MGH Libri mem. N.S. 4 (Hanover, 2000).

<sup>94</sup> Münster, Staatsarchiv, MS Misc. I 133; ed. K. Schmid and J. Wollasch, *Der Liber Vitae der Abtei Corvey* (Wiesbaden, 1983)

<sup>95</sup> London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian VII, with ninth-century levels at fols. 15-45, 47. See the preface to *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. Rollason et al. (as above), p. xi.



**FIGURE 13. Reichenau Confraternity Book.** Compiled mainly in the 820s at Reichenau, but expanded over the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, the Reichenau Confraternity Book ultimately contained over thirty thousand names. Names are listed in columns with heading. The rubric (in red) reads “Nomina sororum de Turego” (“Names of the Sisters of Zürich”). Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. Hist. 27, fol. 17v.

These memorial books were virtual communities built by invisible bonds of faith, but also physically embodied in a medium: ink and animal skin.<sup>96</sup> Just as ordered array

<sup>96</sup> Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, “Societas et Fraternitas: Begründung eines kommentierten Quellenwerkes zur Erforschung der Personen und Personengruppen des Mittelalters,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 9 (1975): 1-48. For later cultures of memory using these early medieval memorial collections, see Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 23-47. See also Hartmut Hoffmann, “Anmerkungen zu den *Libri Memoriales*,” *Deutsches Archiv* 53 (1997): 415-459, and the response by Joachim Wollasch and Gerd Althoff, “Bleiben die *Libri Memoriales* stumm? Eine Erwiderung auf H. Hoffmann,” *Deutsches Archiv* 56 (2000): 33-53.



and difference of appearance in visual representations of crowds stood for consensus and hierarchical order, so too the organization of the thousands of names in memorial books was shaped by rows, headers, hierarchy of script, and shifts of ink.<sup>97</sup> For instance, on fol. 17v of the Reichenau Confraternity Book, beneath the red rubric, “Names of the Sisters of Zürich” (*Nomina sororum de Turego*), appear the names in order, beginning with the abbess and moving on to what may be (from shared name elements) relatives (see above Figure 13).<sup>98</sup>

Tellingly the Reichenau Confraternity Book and others like it have their origins in a series of physical ceremonial assemblies.<sup>99</sup> At the royal palace of Attigny in 762, forty-four abbots and bishops assembled to form an *amicitia* or “friendship pact” where they promised to pray for one another in perpetuity; a second prayer league met at Dingolfing in Bavaria in 770.<sup>100</sup> These assemblies lived on in the Reichenau Confraternity Book

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<sup>97</sup> See Rosamond McKitterick, “Carolingian Book Production: Some Problems,” in R. McKitterick, *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th-9th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), Essay XII, pp. 1-33.

<sup>98</sup> The so-called Freiburg school associated with Karl Schmid and Gerd Tellenbach analyzed memorial books in large part to conduct analyses of changing patterns of kinship, extrapolated from assumptions about the relatedness of adjacent entries. See, e.g., Gerd Tellenbach, “Liturgische Gedenkbücher als historische Quellen,” in Gerd Tellenbach, *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze* (Stuttgart, 1988), vol. 2, pp. 426-37. For a helpful introduction to onomastic analysis of this sort, for a later period with a smaller body of names, see Josef Dittrich, “Personennamen im Codex Odalberti,” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 61 (1921): 55-60.

<sup>99</sup> See also Jean-Loup Lemaître, “Aux origines de la commémoration collective: *Les Libri Memoriales*,” in *Autour des Morts: Mémoire et identité*, ed. O. Dumoulin and F. Thelamon (Rouen, 2001), pp. 223-231; Jean-Loup Lemaître, “Nécrologes et obituaires: Une source privilégiée pour l’histoire des institutions ecclésiastiques et de la société au Moyen Âge?” in *Memoria: Ricordare e dimenticare nella cultura del medioevo*, ed. Michael Borgolte, Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, Huber Houben (Bologna, 2005), pp. 201-217.

<sup>100</sup> For these councils, see Karl Schmid and Otto G. Oexle, “Voraussetzungen und Wirkung des Gebetsbundes von Attigny,” *Francia* 2 (1974): 71-122. See also Autenrieth et al., *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, pp. lxi-lxviii (Karl Schmid); Karl Schmid, “Probleme einer Neuedition des Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuches,” in *Die Abtei Reichenau: Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters*, ed. H. Mauer (Sigmaringen, 1974), pp. 35-67. For the nature of *amicitia* in this context, see Eva-Maria Butz, “Eternal *amicitia*? Social and Political Relationships in Early Medieval *Libri Memoriales*,” in *De amicitia: Friendship and Social Networks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. K. Mustakallio and C. Krötzel (Rome, 2009), pp. 155-172. For *amicitia* as a Frankish political virtue, see Régine Le Jan, “*Timor, amicitia, odium*: les liens politiques à l’époque mérovingienne,” in *Der*

which was first compiled around 823 or 824.<sup>101</sup> This manuscript, like other memorial books, was meant to be used in ever repeated liturgical assemblies, placed on the altar during Masses which commemorated this network of “friends.” These friends encompassed institutions in East and West Francia, and across the Alps at the great abbey of Nonantola in Italy.<sup>102</sup> Since the original *amicitia* assemblies took place over fifty years before the book was compiled, these friends included many dead as well as living individuals, since the original assemblies took place over fifty years before the book was compiled.

This network of friends, then, used the interplay of real and virtual crowds to reinforce the shared religious and political identity of communities on either side of the Alps, and on either side of life.<sup>103</sup> The Reichenau Confraternity Book shows how physical assemblies, reinforcing collective identities over space and time through

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*frühmittelalterliche Staat: europäische Perspektiven*, ed. Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser (Vienna, 2009), pp. 217-226. In her criticism of “feudalism” as a misguided ideal type, E. A. R. Brown, “The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe,” *The American Historical Review* 79 (1974): 1063-1088, p. 1082, building upon the work of Georges Duby, proposes using *amicitia* in the place of “feudalism” to describe the often “vague and imprecise” “ties of fidelity” which held together the upper ranks of society by the tenth century.

<sup>101</sup> Karl Schmid, “Bemerkungen zur Anlage des Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuches,” in K. Schmid, *Gebetsgedenken und adliges Selbstverständnis im Mittelalter: Ausgewählte Beiträge: Festgabe zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 514-531, at pp. 527-529. Similar pacts were made later in the century, for instance, a prayer association between the monks of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Saint-Denis, and Saint-Rémi of Reims: ed. Robert de Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire général de Paris*, vol 1: 528-1180 (Paris, 1887), pp. 52-54 (no. 36).

<sup>102</sup> Autenrieth et al., *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, p. lxi (map: “Die Abfolge der verbrüdereten Klöster nach den capitula”)

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Uwe Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung*, MGH Studien und Texte 25 (Hanover, 1999), pp. 175-236. See also Uwe Ludwig, “Krise des Karolingerreichs und Gebetsgedenken: Anmerkungen zum Problem der ‘grossen Personengruppen’ in den frühmittelalterlichen *Libri Vitae*,” in *Les élites au haut Moyen Âge: crises et renouvellements*, ed. François Bougard, Laurent Feller, and Régine Le Jan (Turnhout, 2006), 439-456.

friendship pacts (*amicitia*), were lastingly transformed into a physical memorial which served as a focal point for an endless series of actual assemblies in church.<sup>104</sup>

Yet *libri memoriales* or *libri vitae* are only one form of early medieval name lists which build upon physical rituals of gathering. We might even speak of a “name listing habit” as an early medieval trait (to counterbalance the absence of a Roman-style “epigraphic habit”).<sup>105</sup> The listing habit is visible in many aspects of the early medieval written word, and not just in lists of monastic members and their living and dead lay co-brothers.<sup>106</sup> The same visual strategies were also employed in administrative or legal documents, like polyptychs or charters.<sup>107</sup> The use of neat columns of witnesses in private charters (or in Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas) recapitulated a social order that had initially been physical.<sup>108</sup> It is worth remembering that the links created by and sustained by crowd-like phenomena in manuscript culture were not always warmly received. The naming habit was also a tool of authority; there is a reason Domesday Book was named after Judgment Day.

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<sup>104</sup> Schmid and Wollasch, “Societas et Fraternitas,” pp. 2-5.

<sup>105</sup> Ramsay MacMullen, “The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire,” *The American Journal of Philology* 103 (1982): 233-246, esp. the concluding thoughts about the wider significance of the end of the “habit” at p. 246: “Apparently the rise and fall of the epigraphic habit was controlled by what we can only call the sense of audience. In the exercise of the habit, people (I can only suppose) counted on their world still continuing in existence for a long time to come, so as to make nearly permanent memorials worthwhile; and they still felt themselves members of a special civilization, proud (or obliged) to behave as such. Later, in not bothering any more to record on stone their names or any other claim to attention, perhaps they expressed their doubts about the permanence or importance of that world. Perhaps. At least I cannot see in the evidence anything less than the sign of some very broad psychological shift.” See also Nicholas Purcell, “Maps, Lists, Money, Order and Power,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990): 178-182.

<sup>106</sup> See esp. Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften im westfränkischen Bereich* (Munich, 1978).

<sup>107</sup> See above chapter 1.

<sup>108</sup> Benoît-Michel Tock, *Scribes, souscripteurs et témoins dans les actes privés en France: VIIIe-début du XIIe siècle* (Turnhout, 2005), p. 74, on the difference between diplomatic regimes which use autography (like Italy) and those which use witness names in columns (like France).

One unusual charter gives a sense of how and why lords assembled name lists of members of a lower stratum of society. Five days before Christmas 797, Count Theudaldus of Paris, hoping not come to his final judgment “unprepared” by “unexpected death,” made donations to Saint-Denis of properties situated in the pagus Camliacinse, that is, in the Chamblois of the Oise valley: Bruyères (Brogaria), Bernes (Bagerna), Lys-sur-Oise (Lis), Coye (Caugia), and Villiers-Adam (Uillariculo).<sup>109</sup> The gift was made out to the church “where that precious one,” the martyr Denis, “together with his saintly companions, lies buried.” As usual with such charters, Theudaldus’ gifts of land came with appurtenances: homesteads, buildings, and natural resources. Among these appurtenances are included 130 unfree human beings, described as *accolae* or *mancipia*.<sup>110</sup> Of these slaves, twenty-eight were women whose names are provided in the text, eighty-nine were their children, and thirteen were men. Theudaldus’ bequest, whose parchment original survives in the Archives nationales of Paris (Paris, Archives nationales, K 7, no. 16), provided the names of forty-one of these people.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Paris, AN K 8. no. 16, ed. H. Atsma and J. Vezin, ChLA 16 (Dietikon-Zurich, 1986), pp. 96-99, at p. 96.

<sup>110</sup> ChLA 16, p. 96: “id sunt una cu(m) mansis, domibus, superpositis, aedificiis, accolabus, mancipiis his nominibus.” For early medieval unfree statuses, see Alice Rio, “Freedom and Unfreedom in Early Medieval Francia: The Evidence of the Legal Formulae,” *Past & Present* 193 (2006): 7-40. For a useful overview of appurtenance clauses, see Berent Schweineköper, “‘Cum aquis aquarumve decursibus’: Zu den Pertinenzformeln der Herrscherurkunden bis zur Zeit Ottos I.,” in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65 Geburtstag*, ed. Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke and Reinhard Wenskus (Sigmaringen, 1977), pp. 22-56, with discussion of *mancipia* and other terms for local unfree persons at p. 28.

<sup>111</sup> ChLA 16, p. 96: “Gautrude cum infantes septem, Erisma cum infantes quinq(ue), Iungulfo cum infantes tres, Maurica cu(m) infantes quattuor, Madalbertane cum infantes duos, Uualdefreda cum infantes tres, Elissanna cum infante uno, Plictrude cum infantes quattuor, Beninga cum infantes septem, Alictrudis cum infantes duos, Ladina cum infantes quinq(ue), Izintrudis cum infantes tres, Leutrude cum infantes sex, Uuarentrudis cum infantes sex, item Alectrude cum infantes tres, Aldrada cum infantes tres, Deda cum infantes tres, Aldinga cum infante uno, Unberta cum infantes duos, Ermina cum infante uno, Luba cum infante uno, Serena cu(m) infante uno, Aldegilde cum infantes duos, Hildigera cum infantes tres, item Ermina cum infantes tres, Autfreda cum infantes tres, Ermfreda cum infantes tres, Sirican cum infantes duos, Gulfiane, item Gautrude, Albuid, Adelane, Ragamfredo, Airefredo, Sigebaldo, Framericco, Teudoino, Anafredo, Andefredo, Ermenario, Adelaldo.”

It is unusual to find this level of onomastic detail – on par with polyptychs, confraternity books, or charter subscriptions – in the body of a charter. More unusual still is the predominance of women and children among persons listed. Among the named individuals, the majority (68 percent) are women; only thirteen (32 percent) are men. All of the women listed are mothers, and the charter provides a number for how many children each mother has, for a total of eighty-nine. Of the 130 individuals in total, that means that approximately 68 percent are children, 22 percent are women, and only 10 percent are men. In this case, one suspects that these individuals had been physically assembled, perhaps to celebrate Christmas, before this detailed assessment took place. This charter may show how one count, and his beneficiaries, bolstered seasonal patterns of control-through-assembly with the additional strength of the written word.

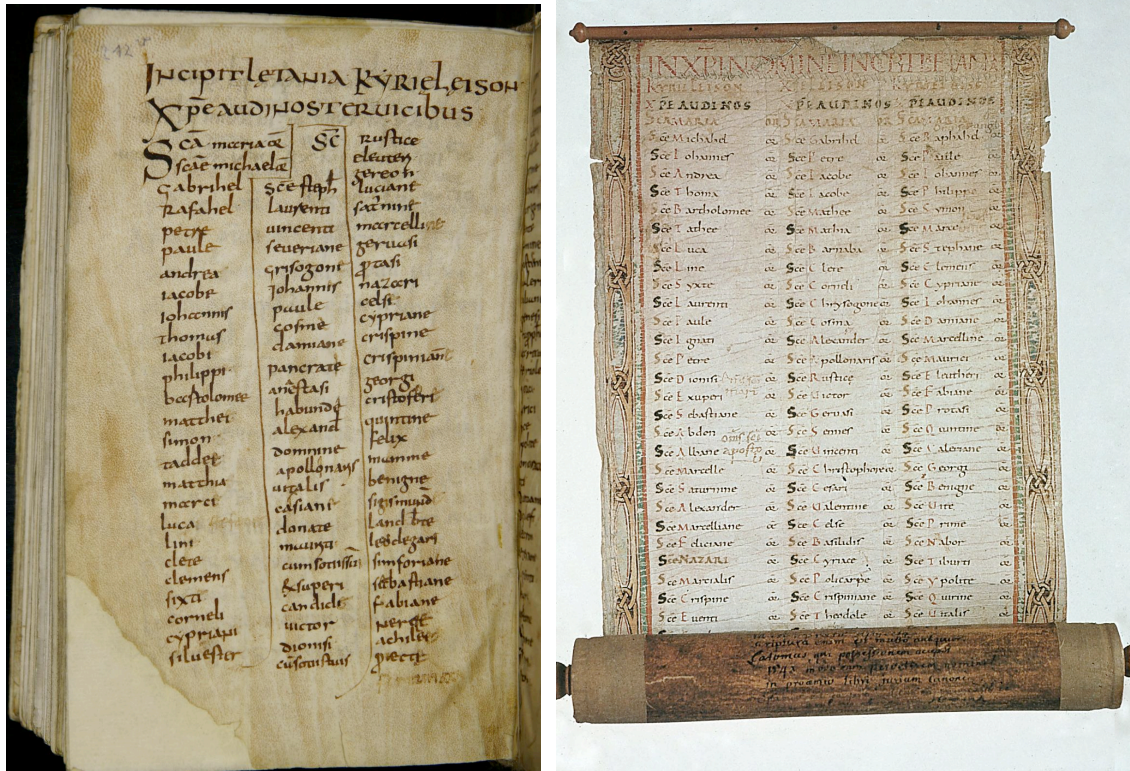
Names meant to be commemorated, as opposed to controlled, might be entered into liturgical books. The Gospel Book of Cividale (Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, CXXXVIII) brings together some 1,600 names, added for liturgical remembrance, to a Gospel-book.<sup>112</sup> Martyrologies, with long lists of saints' feast days in calendar order, were supplemented with *obits* for the recent local dead.<sup>113</sup> Proximity to the saints protected the dead in the same way that proximity to saints' relics protected the living. And lists of saints themselves, particularly for use in litanies sung out during Rogationtide, are preserved in numerous manuscripts from the early Middle Ages.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Geuenich, "A Survey," p. 142.

<sup>113</sup> Felice Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627-827* (Notre Dame, 2005).

<sup>114</sup> For the Carolingian examples, see Astrid Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften der Karolingerzeit*, MGH Hilfsmittel 24 (Hanover, 2007).



**FIGURE 14. Saints in Order: Litanies.** Two ninth-century litanies. On the left, a Carolingian litany now in Karlsruhe with saints' names arranged into three columns. On the right, the Lorsch Rotulus, an eight-foot-long parchment roll containing 534 saints' names. Left: Litany, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. 254, fol. 212v (s. IX 1/4). Right: Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS. Barth. 179.

Litanies, invisible but audible crowds, filled church spaces and also the open air in processions. Early medieval elites, like Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, devoted particular ritual care to the organization of these rituals.<sup>115</sup> The lists of names in the liturgical manuscripts which preserved the texts for litanies display visually a collective order similar to that of depictions of crowds, in which collectivity appears as fundamentally hierarchical. The most important saints (major, local, etc.) are listed close to the top of

<sup>115</sup> E.g. Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, *Institutio de diversitate officiorum*, c. 9, ed. K. Hallinger, M. Wegener, and H. Frank, CCM 1 (Siegburg, 1963), p. 296. See also chapter 1 above.

the litany, with less central figures below them. This is often what permits scholars to localize liturgical manuscripts containing such litanies.

It is worthwhile to consider a single case. The Lorsch Rotulus (Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt am Main, MS. Barth. 179) is a massive Rogationtide litany on a parchment scroll some eight feet long.<sup>116</sup> It lists 534 saints' names, by far the longest litany surviving from the Carolingian period.<sup>117</sup> Astrid Krüger has argued that this scroll was designed for Louis the German (d. 876) by the abbey of Lorsch during the 860s.<sup>118</sup> For one scholar of Louis the German, Eric Goldberg, the Lorsch Rotulus represents the monastery's contribution to the imperial ambitions of Charlemagne's most militaristic grandson.<sup>119</sup> Although the list of names does include (and to some extent promotes) local saints' names from Lorsch, it is also full of names from all over the Carolingian world, including the "imperial" names of the Roman church itself.<sup>120</sup> In Goldberg's interpretation, the Lorsch Rotulus was a return-gift commissioned by

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<sup>116</sup> For facsimile see Katharina Bierbrauer, *Der Lorscher Rotulus: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Lorscher Rotulus: Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, Ms. Barth. 179* (Graz, 1994).

<sup>117</sup> Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, pp. 296-306.

<sup>118</sup> Astrid Krüger, "Sancte Nazari ora pro nobis: Ludwig der Deutsche und der Lorscher Rotulus," in *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit*, ed. W. Hartmann (Darmstadt, 2004), pp. 184-202, esp. pp. 200-202.

<sup>119</sup> Eric Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Ithaca, 2006), pp. 291-292. For a lucid discussion of Louis the German's self-consciously militaristic public persona, see Eric Goldberg, "'More Devoted to the Equipment of Battle than the Splendor of Banquets': Frontier Kingship, Martial Ritual, and Early Knighthood at the Court of Louis the German," *Viator* 30 (1999): 41-78. Goldberg uses a range of diplomatic, narrative, and material evidence to make the case that Louis adopted a frontier/warrior persona in his kingship, sometimes explicitly at odds with the more Byzantinizing self-presentation of his younger brother Charles the Bald. As early as the nineteenth century, a similar argument was ventured on the basis of the "simple, unadorned" and "soldierly" state of the king's body in its sarcophagus (uncovered in 1800) at Lorsch: Ernst Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1888), vol. 2, p. 414.

<sup>120</sup> Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, pp. 299-302, lists the "local" saints in this litany.

Theoderich, the abbot of Lorsch who had been a close ally of Louis in his struggles for mastery with his brothers and nephews.

Since the great litany, which the Rotulus serves, is intended to be sung out on Rogation Sunday, Goldberg connects the scroll to the Rogation Sunday of 868, which fell upon May 23, in the middle of a large synod at Worms, where Louis drafted a charter in favor of the monastery of Lorsch, granting properties and unfree dependents to the monk in exchange for other lands and for the monks' perpetual prayers.<sup>121</sup> For Goldberg, then, the monks of Lorsch under Theoderich's guidance may have designed the great scroll to "invoke the army of heaven to the defense of [Louis the German's] kingship and dynasty as he had requested."<sup>122</sup> As they did so, they used the grandeur and comprehensiveness of the Rotulus to appeal both to Louis's dynastic ambitions, and to the imperial ambitions which he expressed later in his reign.

Numbers bolstered this economy of praise, prayer, and gifts. The productively multiple forms of collectivity present in the Lorsch Rotulus, and other manuscript litanies, served as a connection between real and imagined communities. Like the productive multiple meanings of *populus*, the multiple collectivities represented by the Lorsch Rotulus permitted the scroll to serve as a crystalizing node. The Rotulus connected an invisible host of saints, an entire empire represented by the geographical

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<sup>121</sup> D Louis the German, no. 126, ed. P. Kehr, *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen*, MGH DKar Germ. 1 (Berlin, 1934), pp. 176-177; J. F. Böhmer, E. Mühlbacher et al., *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern*, Regesta Imperii 1, 3rd edn. (Hildesheim, 1966), no. 1470 (1427), p. 622. For the synod, see Wilfried Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn, 1989), pp. 301-309.

<sup>122</sup> Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 292; the "request" takes the form of Louis the German's stipulation that the monks of Lorsch pray for him and his family in perpetuity in exchange for properties in Gochsheim (Kreichgau): "ut eos [sc. the monks] pro nostra coniugis ac carissimae prolis nostrę salute nec non pro remedio animarum antecessorum nostrorum domini clementiam delectabilius exorare delectet" (D Louis the German, no. 126, ed. Kehr, pp. 176-177).



diversity of those saints, a monastic community that served that empire with its prayers, and a family, Louis the German's Carolingian dynasty. This enduring, written document was also a commemoration of an annual physical experience, the litany of Rogationtide, a moment in which to rekindle the connections between these collectivities. This is the critical connection which early medieval elites attempted to master: between a physical ritual and the eternalizing power of the written word. Where did this liturgical ritual originate? Next, I will step back to look at a sixth-century author and bishop who managed to shape a liturgical ritual and its written memory, albeit in ways that probably would have surprised him in the end.

## VI. The Origins of a Crowd Institution: Rogations

By the eighth or ninth century, the liturgical institution of rogations had become a central element of the Christian calendar. In most liturgical traditions of Carolingian Europe, rogations consisted of two important ceremonies of the liturgical year, one fixed and one movable.<sup>123</sup> The Major Rogation took place on April 25, coinciding with the Feast of Saint Mark.<sup>124</sup> This rogation was conceived as a petition (*rogare*, “to ask,” “to beseech”) directed to God and marked by fasting and litanies.<sup>125</sup> Early on, this rite of

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<sup>123</sup> H. Leclercq, “Rogations,” in *DACL* 14.2 (Paris, 1948), col. 2459-2461; P. Siffrin, “Rogazioni,” *Enciclopedia cattolica*, ed. P. Paschini et al, vol. 10 (1953), col. 1084-1086.

<sup>124</sup> H. Leclercq, “Marc (Procession de Saint),” in *DACL* 10.2 (Paris, 1932), col. 1740-1741.

<sup>125</sup> For the practice by the thirteenth century: William Durandus, *Rationale diuinarum officiorum*, 3.18.10, ed. A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau, CCCM 140 (Turnhout, 1995), p. 229.

petition came to be associated with the greater litany.<sup>126</sup> The Minor Rogations took place on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Ascension (Rogationtide).<sup>127</sup> Both sets of rogations, later in their history, consisted of procession and invocatory prayer, often marking the bounds of a parish, a practice called beating the bounds.<sup>128</sup> The origin of this aspect of the rogation has sometimes been described as the ancient pagan ceremony of Robigalia, in which Roman farmers processed through fields to pray against blight (*robigo*).<sup>129</sup> The Minor Rogations are usually described as a Gallic innovation, thanks to a

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<sup>126</sup> Joyce Hill, “The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo- Saxon England: terminology, texts and traditions,” *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000): 211-246. Cf. Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, pp. 5-13; John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), p. 137.

<sup>127</sup> Donatien de Bruyne, “L’origine des processions de la Chandeleur et des Rogations à propos d’un sermon inédit,” *Revue bénédictine* 34 (1922): 14-26; Geoffrey Nathan, “The Rogation Ceremonies of Late Antique Gaul: Creation, Transmission and the Role of the Bishop,” *Classica et mediaevalia* 49 (1998): 275-303; Ian Wood, “Topographies of Holy Power in Sixth-Century Gaul,” in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages: the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws, and Carine van Rhijn (Leiden, 2001), pp. 137-155, at pp. 150-154.

<sup>128</sup> Simon Esmonde Cleary, “Beating the Bounds: Ritual and the Articulation of Urban Space in Roman Britain,” in *Roman Working Lives and Urban Living*, ed. Ardle MacMahon and Jennifer Price (Oxford, 2005), pp. 1-17. See also Bryan Davis, “Beating the Bounds Between Church and State: Official Documents in the Literary Imagination,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 13 (1996): 31-38, for the non-liturgical rites of beating the bounds in late medieval England. See also Joseph Dyer, “Roman Processions of the Major Litany (*litaniae maiores*) from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century,” in *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman De Vegvar (Ashgate, 2007), pp. 113-137, at pp. 114-121, for the major litany at Rome from the sixth century to the ninth century. See also the important essay by Victor Saxer, “L’Utilisation par la liturgie de l’espace urbain et suburbain: l’exemple de Rome dans l’Antiquité et le haut Moyen Âge,” in *Actes du XIe congrès international d’archéologie chrétienne: Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21-28 Septembre 1986)* (Rome, 1989), vol. 2, 917-1033. On the dancing processions of the later Middle Ages, see Roger Reynolds, “The Drama of Medieval Liturgical Processions,” *Revue de musicologie* 86 (2000): 127-142, at pp. 139-140.

<sup>129</sup> For the connection, see L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien: étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne*, 5th edn. (Paris, 1925), pp. 304-306. On *robigalia*, see Friedrich Pfister, “Robigalia,” Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* 2, Reihe 1 (R-Z) (Stuttgart, 1914), col. 949-951; J.-A. Hild, “Robigus, Robigalia,” in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, ed. C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, and E. Pottier (Paris, 1873-1919) vol. 4, part 2 (R-S), pp. 874-875; Fabrizio Vistoli, “Nota di aggiornamento critico e bibliografico sui ‘Robigalia,’” *La parola del passato* 64 (2009): 35-46; Gianpaolo Fassino, “Le processioni delle Rogazioni: dalla fecondità della terra ai confini del villaggio,” *Bollettino dell’Atlante Linguistico Italiano*, 3rd series, 26 (2002): 143-155. Nathan, “The Rogation Ceremonies of Late Antique Gaul,” pp. 281-284, suggests that the rogations owe more to another bounds-marking pagan ceremony, the Ambarvalia, a lustration rite which occurs generally later in Spring.

robust late antique Gallic tradition ascribing the invention of rogations to Bishop Mamertus of Vienne (d. c. 475).<sup>130</sup> Gregory of Tours, who makes several references to the salutary power of rogations against disasters (especially plague), was one of several authors who understood the rogation as an invention of Mamertus.<sup>131</sup> How did the rogation ritual develop in its first centuries of existence? And how was the vision of a Merovingian innovator like Gregory altered by later ritual experts?<sup>132</sup>

By the middle of the eighth century, both sets of rogations, the Minor and the Major, were incorporated into the Gregorian sacramentary and relatively clearly delineated.<sup>133</sup> In late antique and early medieval Gaul, however, rogations were not so clearly defined as they became in later medieval liturgical practice. In early accounts, the distinction between the two forms of rogation, minor and major, was also not starkly drawn, nor was the ceremony necessarily fixed on April 25 or the week before Ascension. In the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris, in a letter to his friend “Boar” (Aper), gives the first account of the rogation ritual as it functioned in late antique Gaul, explaining that “the father and pontiff” Mamertus “invented, initiated, and introduced us

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<sup>130</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *ep.* 5.14.2, ed. André Loyen, *Sidoine Apollinaire*, vols. 2-3: *Lettres* (Paris, 1970), vol. 2, p. 196; Avitus, *Homilia de rogationibus* (BHL 5203), ed. R. Peiper, MGH AA 6.2 (Berlin, 1883), pp. 108-112. For the homilies of Avitus, see Ian Wood, “The Homilies of Avitus,” in *Sermo Doctorum: Compilers, Preachers and Their Audiences in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen and Marianne Pollheimer (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 81-97.

<sup>131</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 2.2, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 83: “Refert enim in quadam omilia, quam de rogationibus scripsit, has ipsas rogationes, quas ante ascensionis dominicae triumphum caelebramus, a Mamerto ipsius Viennensis urbis episcopo, cui et hic eo tempore praerat, institutas fuisse, dum urbis illa multis tereretur prodigiis.”

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Helmut Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550-850* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 12, for Gregory’s “vision of community.”

<sup>133</sup> De Bruyne, “L’Origine,” pp. 19-20.

to” (*inuenit instituit inuexit*) the practice of rogations.<sup>134</sup> Sidonius was a contemporary of Mamertus, and had exchanged ideas and literary compliments with Mamertus’ brother, the Neoplatonic theologian Claudianus Mamertus.<sup>135</sup> In his letter to Aper, Sidonius contrasted rogations with whatever “business or leisure” he imagined his friend attending to (whether Aper was taking the baths or enjoying the villas of his friends).<sup>136</sup> Whatever Aper’s pastimes or affairs, Sidonius knew, Aper would be called back into the city “for the sake of rogations” (*rogationum contemplatione*).<sup>137</sup>

In the depiction of rogations given by Gregory of Tours we see a collective ritual in the course of development. Gregory, I will suggest, made an effort to define the purpose and nature of rogations in line with his other historiographical priorities. For somewhat paradoxical reasons his definition proved extremely influential, but probably not in the way Gregory of Tours himself anticipated. Gregory of Tours discusses rogations six times in his *Libri decem historiae* and twice in his *Liber vitae patrum*.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *ep.* 5.14.2, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, p. 196: “Quarum [i.e. *rogationes*] nobis sollemnitatem primus Mamertus pater et pontifex reuerentissimo exemplo, utilissimo experimento inuenit instituit inuexit.”

<sup>135</sup> Raymond Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley, 1985), p. 164.

<sup>136</sup> For the long-lived significance of the baths in early medieval civilization in Italy, see Paolo Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400-1000* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 44-66.

<sup>137</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris, *ep.* 5.14.1, ed. Loyen, vol. 2, p. 196: “Calentes nunc te Baiae et scabris cauernatim ructata pumicibus aqua sulphuris atque iecorosis ac phthisiscentibus languidis medicabilis piscina delectat? An fortasse montana sedes circum castella et in eligenda sede perfugii quandam pateris ex munitionum frequentia difficultatem? Quicquid illud est, quod uel otio uel negotio uacas, in urbem tamen, nisi fallimur, rogationum contemplatione reuocabere.” For this use of ablative *contemplatione* (as an equivalent for *gratiā* or *causā*), see Jacobsohn, “contemplatio,” TLL, vol. 4, p. 648 (meaning III), and cf. the usage in Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* 9.9.16, ed. André Loyen, *Sidoine Apollinaire*, vols. 2-3: *Lettres* (Paris, 1970), vol. 3, p. 152.

<sup>138</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 2.2, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 83; *Hist.* 4.5, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 138; *Hist.* 9.6, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 418; *Hist.* 9.21, p. 441; *Hist.* 10.30, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 525; Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum* (BHL 6541), c. 4, 6, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2 (Hanover, 1885), pp. 226, 235.

Each time Gregory mentions rogations, it is in the context of the group of relatives, saints, bishops, and kings which Gregory wove into what Helmut Reimitz has called Gregory's "spiritual network."<sup>139</sup> The practice is first described as the innovation of Mamertus of Vienne, but Gregory consistently describes the practice of forming into processions and beseeching the saints en masse as a response to catastrophe, in one prominent case, in the immediate context of another collective response that failed.<sup>140</sup> Thus, Guntramn staves off plague by resorting to *rogationes* conducted together with church attendance, fasting, and vigils.<sup>141</sup> By contrast, Bishop Theodore of Marseille's efforts to conduct private vigils *cum paucis* (that is, without crowds), even as many flee the city, fail to prevent the plague from "killing those who returned."<sup>142</sup> Another example which Gregory provided was a serious plague (*gravis lues*) which struck the region of Tours and Nantes in April 591, but which was "alleviated" thanks to rogations (*rogationes*) conducted with abstemiousness, fasting, and charity.<sup>143</sup> Gregory of Tours does not indicate the agency of the local bishop; in this case it is Gregory himself.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity*, p. 128.

<sup>140</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 9.21-22, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 441-442. For the biblical roots to collective acts of repentance, see, e.g., Jonah 3, ed. Weber-Gryson, pp. 1398-1399. Kalani Craig, "Bishops and Balancing Acts: Divine and Human Agency in Gregory of Tours's Vision of Episcopal Authority," in *Envisioning the Bishop: Images and the Episcopacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sigrid Danielson and Evan A. Gatti (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 63-89, explores Gregory's construction of episcopal agency.

<sup>141</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 9.21, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 441.

<sup>142</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 9.22, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 442.

<sup>143</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 10.30, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 525: "Hoc anno mense secundo tam in Turonico quam in Namnetico gravis populum lues adtrivit, ita ut modico quisque aegrotus capitis dolore pulsatus animam funderet. Sed factae rogationes cum grandi abstinentia et ieiunio, sociatis etiam elemosinis, averso divini furoris impetu mitigatum est." The dating to 591 is derived from the previous passage (*Hist.*, 10.29, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 525), which mentions the death of the abbot Aredius of Limoges.

<sup>144</sup> The bishop of Nantes in 591 was Nonnichius. See L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, (Paris, 1899), vol. 2 (L'Aquitaine et les Lyonnaises), p. 363. Bishop Nonnichius is mentioned by name in

For Martin Heinzelmann, Gregory thereby “deliberately renounced” an opportunity to “make a direct comparison between himself and his eminent episcopal predecessors...Mamertus of Vienne and Gallus of Clermont, whose equally successful rogations had found appropriate acknowledgement in earlier books.”<sup>145</sup> Yet in another respect Gregory is underscoring his own historical importance. This chapter, at the very end of Gregory’s *Ten Books of History*, ends not with one natural disaster but with four. Not only did a *gravis lues* ravage Tours and Nantes, that is, until *rogationes* brought it to bay, but Gregory also describes the death of “many people” (*pleri*) from fire from heaven, a punishment for performing *publica opera* on a Sunday. Meanwhile, a great drought (*siccitas immensa*) struck livestock and wild animals, only to be succeeded by an overabundance of rain which harmed the grain harvest.<sup>146</sup> Only *rogationes*, a particular form of liturgical gathering which belonged particularly to Gregory’s “spiritual network,” held these disasters at bay in the region of Tours. Gregory had at this point firmly established, in the course of his previous descriptions, that this collective ritual, as he himself conducted it (with full community participation, full community fasting and vigils, perambulation of the local area, and litanies to the saints), was *the* effective response to a range of catastrophes. But he had also established, through careful juxtaposition, that the *rogatio* had an identity.

In the final book, when Gregory of Tours depicts Gregory the Great using litanies to fend off the plague of 590, Gregory of Tours’s argument-by-insinuation is that the

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Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 8.43, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 409-410; Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus Martini episcopi* (BHL 5618), 4.27, ed. B. Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2 (Hanover, 1885), p. 206.

<sup>145</sup> M. Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century*, trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge, 2001), p. 86.

<sup>146</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 10.30, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 525.

pope was following a Gallic example, that he belonged to Gregory's network.<sup>147</sup> This is, I would suggest, a form of kinshipping through the nexus of collective behavior and written word not unlike the Lorsch monks and their Rotulus centuries later. Yet by an irony of transmission, the architectonic of juxtapositions which facilitated this network was broken by later copyists.<sup>148</sup> For instance, a Namur manuscript of Gregory's text disrupts the juxtapositions between successful rogation and unsuccessful alternative.<sup>149</sup> Meanwhile, Pope Gregory's importance in the West grew, and ironically he, rather than Mamertus and Gallus, became the figure most associated with the use of litanies and rogations against plague.<sup>150</sup>

Nevertheless, some of the connections between danger, proper collective response, and identity which Gregory of Tours had attempted to establish survived. By

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<sup>147</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 10.1, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 477-481. See Jacob A. Latham, "The Making of a Papal Rome: Gregory I and the *Letania Septiformis*," in *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, ed. A. Cain and N. Lenski (Farnham, 2009), pp. 293-304, stressing the ways in which "these processions demanded that their participants accept and perform a certain social identity" (p. 299). Latham notes that the septiform litany was only performed twice, although its extraordinary apocalyptic nature may have "compensated" for its ephemeral nature (p. 301). It might be argued that the anti-plague litany had a much longer life as a liturgical trope, as another article by Jacob A. Latham, "Inventing Gregory 'the Great': Memory, Authority, and the Afterlives of the *Letania Septiformis*," *Church History* 84 (2015): 1-31, esp. p. 26, suggests, though I am not persuaded by Latham's suggestion that Gregory "confused" the Roman septiform litany with the Gallic Rogation (p. 15), rather than conflating them purposely. Many thanks to Eric Nemanich for bringing Latham's recent article to my attention.

<sup>148</sup> For the manuscript transmission of Gregory of Tours's histories, see Pascale Bourgain, "Gregorius Turonensis Ep.," in *Te.Tra. 1 (La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo)*, ed. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence, 2004), pp. 152-168; Pascale Bourgain and Martin Heinzelmann, "L'Œuvre de Grégoire de Tours: la diffusion des manuscrits," in *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois*, ed. Nancy Gauthier and Henri Galinié (Tours, 1997), pp. 273-317.

<sup>149</sup> E.g. "C2": Namur, Musée archéologique, MS 11; the juxtaposition is broken precisely at Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*, 9.21-22, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 441-442, since 9.22 (the passage describing Theodore) is omitted. I am very grateful to Helmut Reimitz for sending me his notes on this manuscript.

<sup>150</sup> For stimulating theories about the changing popularity of Gregory the Great in the early Middle Ages, see Conrad Leyser, "Auctoritas e potestas: Gregorio Magno e la tradizione gregoriana nella società altomedievale," in *Storia della Direzione Spirituale*, vol. 2: *L'età medievale*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano (Brescia, 2010), pp. 207-221. I am very grateful to Eric Nemanich for thought-provoking discussions about Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great, and the rogations.

the time the monks of Lorsch were designing their enormous litany scroll in the third quarter of the ninth century, rogations which called upon the names of the saints were still a tool to protect an embattled society (Louis the German was at war), and they were still a link between the kingdom of the Franks and the imperial memory of Rome.<sup>151</sup> The delicate vision Gregory had designed was broken by the transmission of his text. Moreover, Gregory's vision of the rogation-and-litany combination as an *ad hoc* response to disaster could not withstand the convenience of a more seasonal vision of this ceremony. Not only the vicissitudes of textual transmission, but the changing parameters of assembly themselves, as discussed in chapters 1 and 2 above, reshaped Gregory's Gallic vision of the rogation (a response to crisis) into an annual petition to the saints. The notion that a regulated response of fasting and collective prayer could avert disaster – already visible in the Bible (cf. Jonah 3:5-10) – meant that the imagery of Gregory's books of history still resonated with their Carolingian copyists, but not in the way that Gregory seems to have intended.<sup>152</sup>

## VII. The Crowd Between Real and Ideal

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<sup>151</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1946), esp. pp. 65-111. For the relationship between litanies and the *laudes regiae*, see Gisbert Knopp, "Sanctorum Nomina Seriatim: Die Anfänge der Allerheiligenlitanei und ihre Verbindung mit den 'Laudes regiae,'" *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 65 (1970): 185-231. See also Nancy van Deusen, "Laudes Regiae: in Praise of Kings: Medieval Acclamations, Liturgy, and the Ritualization of Power," in *Procession, Performance, Liturgy, and Ritual: Essays in Honor of Bryan R. Gillingham*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Ottawa, 2007), pp. 83-118, for an exploration of the later medieval development of the liturgical praises of kings.

<sup>152</sup> Jonah 3:5-10, ed. Weber-Gryson, p. 1399. Cf. Mary Alberi, "'Like the Army of God's Camp': Political Theology and Apocalyptic Warfare at Charlemagne's Court," *Viator* 41 (2010): 1-20, at pp. 5-6, for empire-wide efforts to organize prayer in the Carolingian period.



That is the trouble with institutions, collective or otherwise; they are meaningful but in ways that change.<sup>153</sup> Across historical contexts, more or less formal rituals and institutions make use of gatherings. What is distinctive about early medieval cases? The peculiarity of early medieval crowd rituals is that early medieval men and women drew on a set of practices and notions that came to them from a world very different from the one in which they lived. To give one example, the early medieval entrance-ritual for kings, counts, or bishops, the *adventus*, built upon ancient Roman forms of imperial urban entry. To a Roman general or emperor, an episcopal *adventus* would have been a strange sight: smaller in scale, adapted to rural built-environments rather than urban ones, and involving audience movement to a greater extent than its predecessors.<sup>154</sup> From the sixth century into the high Middle Ages, bishops developed their own complex *adventus* rituals.<sup>155</sup> Yet processions which had once been urban phenomena now became rural: beating the bounds, marking the edges of parishes.<sup>156</sup> Similarly, audiences for royal ritual became less “mass-oriented” and more exclusively aimed at elites.<sup>157</sup> Compared to the

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<sup>153</sup> Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think* (Syracuse, 1986), pp. 91-109, on how “institutions do the classifying,” sometimes in unexpected ways.

<sup>154</sup> For a major study of the afterlife of the *adventus*, see Pierre Dufraigne, *Adventus Augusti, adventus Christi: recherche sur l'exploitation idéologique et littéraire d'un cérémonial dans l'antiquité tardive* (Paris, 1994); Dey, *Afterlife of the Roman City*, pp. 1-20, esp. p. 17, makes a case for a tenacious early medieval commitment to what he calls an urban “armature.” For a major study of Roman liturgical forms in new medieval circumstances, Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*.

<sup>155</sup> Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 330-331; Peter Willmes, *Der Herrscher-Adventus im Kloster des Frühmittelalters* (Munich, 1976), pp. 117-8. Nevertheless, early medieval authors depict the crowds involved in *adventus* as representative of society as a whole. One example is the late eighth-century *Vita Madalvei* (BHL 5132t), c. 18, ed. J. Van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques de Charleville, Verdun, et Saint-Mihiel*, Subsidia hagiographica 56 (Brussels, 1974), p. 199, which depicts Madalveus returning with relics from the east, received by the entire population.

<sup>156</sup> Carol Heitz, “Architecture et liturgie en France de l'époque carolingienne à l'an Mil,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 1 (1995): 57-73.

<sup>157</sup> McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, p. 330.

Byzantine capital, where the emperor could use invitation to court assemblies on short notice as a tool of power, western kings drew in nobles through hunting or *Königsnähe*, or they demanded aristocratic presence at fixed times of the year.<sup>158</sup> Gatherings could still act as a destabilizing surprise, but in the opposite way. Notker tells us that Charlemagne's sudden visits sent hosts scurrying to the basement for supplies.<sup>159</sup>

As we have seen, after the end of Roman rule in the west, physical gatherings formed less readily, but collective behavior remained central to social life. Political rulers relied on seasonal assemblies to gather resources, share information, and seek out the loyalty of subjects. Religious gatherings, from the liturgy to the church council, sealed the association between collective action and legitimacy. Elites both lay and religious overcame logistical constraints on assembly by coordinating rituals with venues naturally conducive to crowding. Similarly, crowds were important in early medieval written and visual culture. Literary topoi, like biblically inspired witness crowds in saints' lives, reinforced links between legitimacy and collective consensus. Different forms of gestural or acclamatory uniformity came to represent the crowd at its most essential. New "crowds" emerged as well. Monastic memorial books created virtual crowds in name-lists of spiritual brothers and sisters. All these forms tended to reinforce the association between gathering and social order. Yet this development would not last. What happened

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<sup>158</sup> Alexander P. Kazhdan and Michael McCormick, "The Social World of the Byzantine Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture From 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 167-97, at p. 196: "In terms of daily life, this must mean that courtiers expected the unexpected, arranging their lives to attend the emperor not only on predictable, recurring occasions like religious feast days or coronation anniversaries, but also unexpectedly and at short notice. The experience of large numbers of officials being convoked at the drop of a hat must have powerfully reinforced a social psychology of dependence and imperial omnipotence."

<sup>159</sup> Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, 1.15, ed. H. F. Haefele, MGH SRG N.S. 12 (Berlin, 1959), pp. 18-19. For the hierarchy of foods a host might offer to his lord, see Rachel Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 236-237.

to the early medieval crowd when the demographic and social conditions that gave rise to it themselves began to change?

### VIII. Epilogue: Into The Eleventh Century

By the early eleventh century, the demographic regime that had prevailed for a half-millennium was changing. Some of these changes must have been underfoot by the tenth century, as Marc Bloch suspected long ago.<sup>160</sup> Demographic growth in the aggregate seems now to have begun as early as plague's ravages ebbed.<sup>161</sup> But the single most significant demographic change of this period was the "décollage urbain," the takeoff of larger towns and cities.<sup>162</sup> This was a departure. New surveys of decades of archaeological excavation suggest that, whatever the history of gross population growth, local communities of skilled artisans and traders – towns and cities with a markedly "urban" character – were agglomerating both in the North Sea trade zone and in the Mediterranean after 1000.<sup>163</sup> In light of this development, Moore's "appearance of the crowd" on the eleventh-century "public stage" – that is, the urban brawls of the Pataria or the mass movements of the Peace of God – may not be so surprising.<sup>164</sup> Spectacular new

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<sup>160</sup> Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon (London, 1965), p. 69.

<sup>161</sup> See chapter 1 above.

<sup>162</sup> Florian Mazel, *Féodalités, 888- 1180* (Paris, 2010), p. 387.

<sup>163</sup> Christopher Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 302-327.

<sup>164</sup> Moore, "Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform," p. 49, with a detailed discussion of the new social factors at play. See also Gioacchino Volpe, *Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievale italiana, secolo XI-XIV* (Florence, 1961), pp. 5-15; Cinzio Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precomunale* (Bari, 1953), pp. 196-213. A recent fuller study of the Patarines has been conducted by Olaf Zumhagen, *Religiöse Konflikte und kommunale Entwicklung: Mailand, Cremona, Piacenza und Florenz zur Zeit der Pataria* (Cologne, 2002). On the political environment leading into the

collective forms explode onto the scene: the great fairs of Champagne, the heretical gatherings at Orléans and Arras which terrified bishops in France, the mass armed pilgrimages which came to be known as Crusades, and the huge outdoor sermons that inspired these Crusades.<sup>165</sup> The new towns and cities not only brought together more people more regularly, they were a platform for new social tensions. In was in the first decades of the eleventh century that the first signs of a violent new mass persecution of the Jews of western Europe.<sup>166</sup> These culminated in the mass slaughters of 1095-1096.<sup>167</sup>

When did this new crowd regime replace the old one? To be sure, certain elements of the early medieval depiction of crowds remained in tact. Hagiography long continued to depict witness crowds on the model of the New Testament's masses.<sup>168</sup> An

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Peace of God movement, see Thomas Head, "Peace and Power in France Around the Year 1000," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 23 (2007): 1-17; Richard Landes, "La vie apostolique en Aquitaine en l'an mil: Paix de Dieu, culte des reliques, et communautés hérétiques," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 28 (1991): 573-593; Theo Riches, "The Peace of God, the 'Weakness' of Robert the Pious and the Struggle for the German Throne, 1023-5," *Early Medieval Europe* 18 (2010): 202-222. For the historiography of the Peace of God, see the useful essay by F. S. Paxton, "The Peace of God in Modern Historiography: Perspectives and Trends," *Historical Reflections* 14 (1987): 385-404.

<sup>165</sup> For the heretics of Orléans, see Heinrich Fichtenau, "Die Ketzer von Orléans (1022)," in *Ex Ipsis Rerum Documentis: Beiträge zur Mediävistik: Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Herbers, H. Henning Kortüm, and C. Servatius (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 417-427. For those at Arras as well, see Michael Frassetto, "Reaction and Reform: Reception of Heresy in Arras and Aquitaine in the Early Eleventh Century," *The Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997): 385-400. For the relationship between the Peace of God and the First Crusade, see Jean Flori, "L'Église et la Guerre Sainte: de la 'Paix de Dieu' à la 'croisade,'" *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 28 (1992): 453-466.

<sup>166</sup> Robert Chazan, "1007-1012: Initial Crisis for Northern European Jewry," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 38 (1970): 101-117, at p. 117, for the influence of earlier eleventh-century violence on the paroxysms of violence that erupted at the time of the First Crusade. See also Michael Frassetto, "Heretics and Jews in the Writings of Ademar of Chabannes and the Origins of Medieval Anti-Semitism," *Church History* 71 (2002): 1-15, at pp. 13-14, for the violent language directed against the Jews in early eleventh-century sermons.

<sup>167</sup> For the relationship of these attacks to the First Crusade, see Jean Flori, "Une ou plusieurs 'première croisade'? Le message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident," *Revue Historique* 285 (1991): 3-27.

<sup>168</sup> E.g., a typical late eleventh-century example of a crowd (*turba*) of witnesses to a posthumous miracle: Fulbertus of St. Ouen, *Miracula Audoeni* (BHL 760), c. 26, AASS Aug. 4.24.830D.

early sign of change, however, may be the proliferation of concerns about unregulated military bands or gangs in clerical historians of the tenth century.<sup>169</sup> Demographic change and political instability set the stage long before 1000. The Stellinga Revolt in the 840s as well as the Saracen and Viking invasions of the ninth century coincided with “ruptured fraternal peace,” as a ninth-century poet described the Carolingian civil wars.<sup>170</sup> The civil wars of Louis the Pious’s sons led to a breakdown of Carolingian consensus.<sup>171</sup> Viking attacks on Francia and Anglo-Saxon England similarly disrupted local systems of control, and contemporary historians needed to report on terrifying new crowds and multitudes: armies approaching and victims slain.<sup>172</sup> In West Francia, the number of large-scale synods, bringing more than one province together, declines precipitously after 881.<sup>173</sup>

The rémois historians of tenth-century France, Flodoard and Richer, tell gruesome stories about private entourages conducting illicit feuds.<sup>174</sup> Yet even these depictions tend

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<sup>169</sup> Alban Gautier, “Les activités compétitives au sein des bandes armées de l’Europe du Nord au haut Moyen Âge,” in *Agôn: La compétition, Ve-XIIIe siècle*, ed. F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, and T. Lienhard (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 75-91, at pp. 88-91, for the outbreak of violence in northern European armed bands before the tenth century.

<sup>170</sup> Angilbert, *Aurora cum primo mane*, strophe 1, line 3, ed. Francesco Stella, *Corpus Rhythmorum Musicum Saec. IV-IX* (Florence, 2007), vol. 1, p. 182: “de fraterna rupta pace gaudet demon impius.”

<sup>171</sup> For a valuable narrative overview of the civil wars from their beginning until the battle of Fontenoy, see Adelheid Krah, *Die Entstehung der “potestas regia” im Westfrankenreich während der ersten Regierungsjahre Kaiser Karl II. (840-877)* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 49-86. Rudolf Buchner, “Kulturelle und politische Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühle im europäischen Frühmittelalter,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 207 (1968): 562-583, at pp. 581-582, explores the conceptions of collective identity that the Carolingian civil war put to the test.

<sup>172</sup> Asser, *Vita Alfredi*, 9.7, ed. William H. Stevenson, *Asser’s Life of King Alfred, together with the Annals of Saint Neots* (Oxford, 1959), p. 8.

<sup>173</sup> Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit*, p. 373.

<sup>174</sup> On Flodoard, see esp. Michel Sot, *Un historien et son église au Xe siècle: Flodoard de Reims* (Paris, 1993); Martina Stratmann, “Die *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*: Flodoards Umgang mit seinen Quellen,” *Filologia mediolatina* 1 (1994): 111-27. For Richer, see Justin Lake, *Richer of Saint-Rémi: the Methods*

to show divine justice converging with collective behavior in the end. “Gripped by the pain” of the loss of two abbeys, count Baldwin II of Flanders, and not just Baldwin, but “all of his *comitatus*,” decided to attempt to take the life of Fulk, the archbishop of Reims. In the summer of 900, while Fulk was on his way to a royal *colloquium*, “defended by his bodyguards” (*stipatoribus vallatus*) – on that June day, Winemar, one of Count Baldwin’s cronies, and a gang (*cohors*) of assassins, descended upon Fulk and his entourage and surprised them with a flurry of spears.<sup>175</sup> It was too late to put up a fight, and Fulk was killed. After Fulk was slain, a few of his followers made it back to Reims to spread the news. Immediately a posse, a *magna militum manus*, “a great gang of fighters,” set out to avenge the archbishop.<sup>176</sup> Fulk’s successor, together “with many other bishops,” excommunicated Winemar. At this point, according to both Flodoard and Richer, God struck the murderer with a wasting disease that made him stink so much that no one would go near him until he had “ended his wretched life with a wretched death.”<sup>177</sup> In the narrative, both excommunication and the punishment of bad odor are also about collective behavior, since they serve to isolate Winemar from human interaction. These may be gangs and band, but at least these acts of illicit collective

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*and Mentality of a Tenth-Century Historian* (Washington, D.C., 2013); Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: the Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004); Hartmut Hoffmann, “Die Historien Richers von Saint-Remi,” *Deutsches Archiv* 54 (1998): 445-532.

<sup>175</sup> Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, 4.10, ed. M. Stratmann, MGH SS 36 (Hanover, 1998), p. 402: “Cuius anxietatis dolore succensus tam Balduinus quam omnis eius comitatus, dum querunt, qualiter ulcisci se possint, amicitiam cum eodem presule resarcire se fingunt, querentes ultionis locum explorantesque, quomodo a metatu suo ad regis colloquium stipatoribus vallatus proficisci soleret quadam die, dum paucis admodum comitatus regis peteret alloquium, eum in via duce quodam Winemaro aggredientes intercipiunt.”

<sup>176</sup> Richer of Reims, *Historiae*, 1.17 ed. H. Hoffmann, MGH SS 38 (Hanover, 2000), p. 55: “Tunc vero magna militum manus, ab urbe mox cum armis educta, adversarios persequi conatur.”

<sup>177</sup> Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, 4.10, ed. Stratmann, p. 402; Richer, *Historiae*, 1.17, ed. Hoffmann, pp. 55-56.

violence end with justice. Such seditious or violent crowds appear in saints' lives in the decades before and after the year 1000. Aimoin, author of the eleventh-century, *Vita sancti Abbonis* (BHL 3), describes seditious crowds (*turbę*) who resist the saintly abbot of Fleury, Abbo, himself the victim of a violent death in 1004.<sup>178</sup>

There is one other sign of changing attitudes to crowds around the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century: a new interest in solitude. Solitude had long been considered a spiritual virtue, and the twelfth century especially saw new expressions in virtuosic solitude.<sup>179</sup> Perhaps this had something to do with the dangers which urban life posed for those under religious vows. The late eleventh-century preacher and hermit Rainald of the Melinaiis feared for the moral safety of urban monks, who might be drawn into sin by the sounds of urban crowds – particularly the songs or chatter of women.<sup>180</sup> Rainald himself ended his life as a solitary.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Aimoin, *Vita sancti Abbonis* (BHL 3), c. 20, ed. and trans. R.-H. Bautier and Gillette Labory, *L'Abbaye de Fleury en l'an mil*, Sources d'histoire médiévale 32 (Paris, 2004), p. 124.

<sup>179</sup> See especially Anne-Marie Helvétius, "Ermites ou moines: Solitude et cénobitisme du Ve au Xe siècle (principalement en Gaule du Nord)," in *Ermites de France et d'Italie XIe - XVe siècle*, ed. P. Vauchez (Rome, 2003), pp. 1-27; Diana Webb, *Privacy and Solitude in the Middle Ages* (London, 2007); Peter-Damian Beslisle, *The Language of Silence: The Changing Face of Monastic Solitude* (Maryknoll, NY, 2003). For the complicated theological significance of solitude in the subsequent period, see Giles Constable, "The Ideal of Inner Solitude in the Twelfth Century," in Giles Constable, *Culture and Spirituality in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 1996), essay XI, pp. 28-34.

<sup>180</sup> Rainald of the Melinaiis. *De vita monachorum*, ed. Germain Morin, "Rainald l'Ermite et Ives de Chartres: Un épisode de la crise du cénobitisme au XIe–XIIe siècle," *Revue bénédictine* 40 (1928): 99-115, at p. 109: "Quid dicemus de his, qui in urbibus commorantes saepius audiunt ab ipso dormitorio ipsas mulierum cantilenas, et earum strepitus, et choreas, et inquirunt principum et vulgi rumores, et aliquando videntur, et locuntur cum mulieribus, et habitant inter fumantes coquinas?" For the urban monasteries of northern Europe, see Hartmut Atsma, "Les monastères urbains du nord de la Gaule," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 62 (1976): 163-187. For the monastic regulation of conversation and noise in the early medieval period, see Scott G. Bruce, "The Tongue Is a Fire: the Discipline of Silence in Early Medieval Monasticism (300-1100)," in *The Hands of the Tongue: Essays on Deviant Speech*, ed. Edwin D. Craun (Kalamazoo, 2007), pp. 3-32, at pp. 10-13.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Bede Lackner, *The Eleventh-Century Background of Cîteaux* (Washington, D.C., 1972), pp. 93-94, for Rainald's career in context.

The practice of solitary mass, in which priests performed the sacrament of the Eucharist by themselves, meant that the liturgical crowd of participants could be excluded even from the central collective rite of the Christian church. Eleventh- and twelfth-century commentators had to make sense of the plural language in the liturgy of the mass, as priests performed this popular new practice of solitary masses in larger numbers.<sup>182</sup> A line in Hrotsvit's drama *Pafnutius* speaks to the growing importance of sacred solitude as early as the tenth century. Pafnutius is on his way to see Thais, the famous prostitute, when he encounters a small group of *iuvenes* or "youths." They mistrustfully exchange information, and the young men show Thais' residence to Pafnutius. "If you'd like, we could come along with you," they tell him. "I'd prefer to go alone," he replies.<sup>183</sup> Pafnutius' response probably provoked a smile ("as you please," respond the *iuvenes*), but it is also programmatic in the drama. Hrotsvit's play is about a man of solitude rescuing a woman bound to the crowd (in this case, a crowd of men) by bringing her into a long eremitical solitude, a pious inversion of usual comic narratives derived from Terence.<sup>184</sup> There was an easy road from solitude as noble spiritual virtue to solitude as object of aesthetic interest.

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<sup>182</sup> For Odo of Cambrai, solitary celebrants of the mass addressed the "whole body" of the church when they read the words *et omnium circumstantium*. Odo of Cambrai, *Expositio in canonem missae*, PL 160, col. 1057B-C: "Cum primitus missae sine collecta non fierent, postea mos inolevit Ecclesiae, solitarias et maxime in coenobiis fieri missas. Et cum non habeant quam pluraliter collectam salutent, nec plurales mutare possunt salutationes, convertunt se ad Ecclesiam, dicentes se Ecclesiam in Ecclesia salutare, et in corpore totum corpus alloqui, et virtute totius communionis in Ecclesia confici sancta mysteria per gratiam Dei, nec esse quemquam alicubi infidelium, qui vivificorum non fiat particeps et cooperatorius sacrosanctorum, dum in corpore Ecclesiae adhaeret capiti, velut utile membrum." Cf. Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 20-21.

<sup>183</sup> Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, *Pafnutius*, 2.6, line 20, ed. P. von Winterfeld, MGH SRG 34 (Berlin, 1902), p. 169: "Malo ire solus."

<sup>184</sup> For Hrotsvit's reimagining of Terence, see, among others, Keith A. Bate, "Hrotsvitha, Térence et les conventions scéniques romaines," in *Hommages à Carl Deroux*, vol. 5: *Christianisme et Moyen Âge: Néolatin et survivance de la latinité*, ed. P. Defosse (Brussels, 2003), pp. 292-300; Carole Newlands,



Yet both spiritual and aesthetic solitude must have been shaped by the changes in collective life that accompanied demographic expansion from the tenth century into the eleventh century. Might the praise of solitude in eleventh- and twelfth-century poetry reflect the new, sometimes frightening forms of gathering which emerged after the year 1000? In language which builds on the Song of Songs, one of the most beautiful poems from the Cambridge Songs (in fact probably compiled in the Rhineland sometime in the tenth century) depicts the voice of a woman delighting in lonely woods:<sup>185</sup>

*Ego fui sola in silua  
et dilexi loca secreta  
fugique frequentius turbam  
atque plebis cateruam.*<sup>186</sup>

I have been alone in the forest  
And I have loved hidden places  
And often have I fled the crowd.  
And the throng of the people.

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“Hrotswitha’s debt to Terence,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 116 (1986): 369-391; Judith Tarr, “Terentian elements in Hrotsvith,” in *Hrotsvith of Gandersheim, rara avis in Saxonia? A Collection of Essays*, ed. K. M. Wilson (Ann Arbor, 1987), pp. 55-62.

<sup>185</sup> F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1957), pp. 302-303: “the most famous of all the Cambridge Songs.” For the influence of the Song of Songs on this poem, see Peter Dronke, “The Song of Songs and Medieval Love-Lyric,” in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Leuven, 1979), pp. 236-262, at p. 247.

<sup>186</sup> *Carmina Cantabrigensia*, no. 27, ed. K. Strecker, MGH SRG 40 (Hanover, 1926), p. 71; see also the edition and commentary in Jan Ziolkowski, ed. and trans., *The Cambridge Songs* (Tempe, 1998), pp. 92-94 (edition) and pp. 251-260. The Cambridge Songs survive in a famous eleventh-century manuscript with the modern shelfmark, Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.5.35, where this poem has been almost entirely erased. This poem is also preserved in two other manuscripts, both of which provide neumes (musical annotation): Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Vindobonensis 116, fol. 157v (tenth-century); Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1118, fol. 247v (late tenth-century). For the poem’s unusual meter, see Wilhelm Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1905-1936), vol. 1, p. 228.

There were perhaps always early medieval women and men who “fled the crowd,” who felt ill-at-ease or nervous in gatherings. Are there historical settings when ochlophobia is impossible? Certainly not, but these poetic sentiments about crowds, knowingly invoking a distrust for the many and a search for solitude, might sit strangely with elites in the early Middle Ages; probably even with Flodoard and Richer, who noticed the gangs and bands of tenth-century west Francia. But the world that would produce these lines was taking shape even as those authors wrote in theirs.

## CONCLUSION

**I. The Crowd in the Early Middle Ages**

In the late first century CE, the Colosseum of Rome could have accommodated some 50,000 people in a city of a million inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> The famous amphitheater was only one of many entertainment facilities – theaters, circuses, baths, secular basilicas, temple and later church complexes – which attested to Rome’s *turbæ civium*, or “crowds of citizens,” as Cassiodorus could still brag in the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> By the mid seventh century, the Colosseum alone would have been able to contain the city’s entire contemporary population twice over.<sup>3</sup> War, plague, and economic contraction had deprived not only Rome but most of western Europe of their urban multitudes.<sup>4</sup> Structures designed in Roman Antiquity to accommodate the masses (theaters, baths, circuses) were reused for material and space. Only after 1000, following centuries of slow demographic recovery, did such quintessentially medieval forms of collective

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<sup>1</sup> For the estimation of the carrying capacity of the Colosseum (and discussion of the problems involved in developing a plausible estimate), see Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard, *The Colosseum* (London, 2005), p. 110-112, esp. p. 112: “Modern estimates cluster around an estimated capacity of about 50,000.”

<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 11.39.2, ed. Å. J. Fridh, CCSL 96 (Turnhout, 1958), p. 456; also ed. T. Mommsen, MGH AA 12 (Berlin, 1894), pp. 352-353. See also the discussion in chapter 3 above.

<sup>3</sup> Roberto Meneghini and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell’Altomedioevo: topografia e urbanistica della città dal V al X secolo* (Rome, 2004), pp. 21-8. For the fate of the Colosseum in the early Middle Ages, see Rossella Rea, “Il Colosseo nell’alto medioevo,” in *Roma dall’antichità al medioevo archeologia e storia: Nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, ed. Maria Stella Arena et al. (Rome, 2001), pp. 612-614, and Rossella Rea, “Il Colosseo: Destruizione e riuso tra IV e VIII secolo,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome* 111 (1999): 183-195. See also above, ch. 1.

<sup>4</sup> For urbanism in this period within a broad perspective, see Paul Bairoch, *Cities and Economic Development From the Dawn of History to the Present*, trans. Christopher Braider (Chicago, 1988), pp. 109-123.

behavior as outdoor sermons, mass pilgrimages, and urban riots began to appear “on the stage of public events.”<sup>5</sup> New kinds of large-scale gathering, as we saw at the end of the last chapter, reshaped the place of the crowd in the thought-world of western Europeans: in intellectuals’ studied disdain toward the crowd, in poets’ and saints’ spiritual aesthetics of solitude. By the end of the eleventh century, a spectacular new form of mass action had emerged. Europeans in their thousands – if not, as the Byzantine princess Anna Komnene believed, migrating all at once like locusts in one single body – trekked to the Holy Land on the armed mass pilgrimage that would later be called the First Crusade.<sup>6</sup>

What happened to crowds between the end of circuses and the rise of crusades? This study has argued that the crowd, despite de-urbanization and a concomitant breakdown in the spontaneity of gatherings, remained a central force in the public life of the early Middle Ages. After the end of Roman rule in the west, physical gatherings formed less readily, but collective behaviors and representations continued to regulate early medieval rituals and institutions. Church spaces allowed bishops and abbots to inscribe visions of order and hierarchy onto pious gatherings. Bishops’ councils invoked the legitimacy of numbers to justify their decrees. Politics was still an affair of mass acclamations, collective rites, and solemn assemblies, even if rulers now had to schedule

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<sup>5</sup> R. I. Moore, “Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 30 (1980): 49-69, at p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 10.5-6, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 2 vols., *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 40 (Berlin, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 297-298. Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Casualties and the Number of Knights on the First Crusade,” *Crusades* 1 (2002): 13-18, offers a useful overview of the various debates on the numbers of combatants in the First Crusade. For the non-combatants, see Walter Porges, “The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade,” *Speculum* 21 (1946): 1-23. Glenn Storey, “Warfare Casualty Numbers, Cultural Numeracy and Demography: Anthropological Reflections,” in *Guerre et démographie dans le monde antique*, ed. J.-N. Corvisier (n.p., 2009), pp. 1-31, reflects on the mechanisms governing accurate military numeracy. On the Carolingian liturgical roots of the First Crusade, see Michael McCormick, “The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages: Crisis, Litanies, and the Carolingian Monarchy,” *Viator* 15 (1984): 1-23.

these rituals at opportune times and places, like the annual March or Mayfield meeting where large numbers of Franks came together to debate affairs of state.<sup>7</sup> Ancient Latin words for all kinds of collectivities (*turba, caterva, contio, multitudo, populus, vulgus*) still populated early medieval chronicles, saints' lives, law books, poems, and liturgical texts, although their meanings were changing. New "crowds" emerged as well. Abbots eager to reinforce networks of prayers and resources commissioned virtual crowds in name-lists of spiritual brothers and sisters. Church-builders decorated walls with isocephalic crowds, while scribes depicted them on the parchment pages of manuscripts. Litanies in church and in outdoor processions filled sacred spaces with invisible crowds of saints and angels. These crowds of the imagination loomed large in the early medieval understanding of gatherings. By the tenth century, after decades of additions, the confraternity book of Reichenau contained 38,232 names, a human multitude more numerous than any western Christian city.<sup>8</sup>

This study has proceeded under the assumption that these collective behaviors and representations – taken together – constitute a single historical subject which can shed light on the transformation of the Roman world into the medieval world. The history of early medieval crowds has never before been studied as a single subject, even though

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<sup>7</sup> Jörg Busch, "Maifeld," in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. A. Cordes, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 2014), part 3, col. 1174-1175; Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, 2nd edn. (Kiel, 1883), vol. 3, pp. 558-576. Cf. Timothy Reuter, "Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth," in T. Reuter, *Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities*, ed. J. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 193-216, at pp. 197-198. See for a discussion of the older literature Bernard Bachrach, "Was the Marchfield Part of the Frankish Constitution?" *Mediaeval Studies* 36 (1974): 178-186.

<sup>8</sup> J. Autenrieth, Dieter Geuenich, and Karl Schmid, eds., *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, MGH Libri mem. N.S. I (Hanover, 1979), p. xlii (Dieter Geuenich, "Die Namen des Verbrüderungsbuches").

individual aspects of this study have received attention from scholars.<sup>9</sup> To what extent can the protean subject of “early medieval crowd” hold together? Is “the crowd,” in the intentionally broad sense I have adopted, a coherent historical phenomenon, despite the variety in the real and imagined gatherings this study has examined? And what conclusions can be drawn for a single subject across five hundred years and many regions of Europe, given the diversity which characterized political and social life in Europe during the half-millennium after the end of the Roman empire in the west?<sup>10</sup>

This study has tried to demonstrate that even within tremendous diversity it makes sense to speak of a single early medieval experience of the crowd. There are good reasons to approach the crowd from the broad perspective I have adopted, and precisely across a broad chronological and geographical span. Connectivity across the west was weaker than it had been in Roman times, but communications still extended across the former western provinces. Between the eighth century and the tenth, a Frankish empire united much of western Europe politically and culturally. Frankish elites, traders, pilgrims, and ambassadors could experience both the seasonal assemblies of the north and the urban crowds of the south. Taken as a whole, the history of post-Roman gatherings and their early medieval representation illuminates the process we think of as a multi-faceted

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<sup>9</sup> A recent article, Judith Herrin, “Urban Riot or Civic Ritual? The Crowd in Early Medieval Ravenna,” in *Raum und Performanz: Rituale in Residenzen von der Antike bis 1815*, ed. Dietrich Boschung, Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp, and Claudia Sode (Stuttgart, 2015), pp. 219-240, argues for continuities in urban violence across the early Middle Ages, albeit without addressing the question of urban change outside of cities like Rome and Ravenna.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2005), p. 825: “The early middle ages has always resisted synthesis; single generalizations about the motors of its development (Christianization, Roman-Germanic fusion, the breaking of the Mediterranean...) have always foundered.” But despite the importance of variation in Wickham’s description, Wickham concludes (pp. 830-831) by stressing scalar change on a broad comparative level. See also his defense of the Early Middle Ages as a category of analysis in Chris Wickham, “The Problems of Comparison,” *Historical Materialism* 19 (2011): 221-231, at p. 231, in response to Brent D. Shaw, “After Rome,” *New Left Review* 51 (2008): 89-114.

transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Between Christian values and new physical realities, elites abandoned old prejudices against mobs while that very abandonment allowed them to embrace the crowd's legitimacy. Crowd-scarce early medieval societies still organized their institutions around the behavior of crowds. Assemblies, festivals, fairs, and the church's invisible multitude of saints ensured that collective behavior remained central to early medieval public life. Urban violence was a more important feature of Italian cities – Rome, Ravenna, probably Milan and Naples – but even then it did not compare to the consistent urban turmoil of the later Middle Ages.<sup>11</sup> Collective behavior and collective representation in this half millennium were different from what came before and after, and I argue that that sheds light on what is distinctive about the early Middle Ages.

The preceding pages examined that distinctiveness of the early medieval crowd on several levels. Chapter 1 used archaeological and demographic evidence to reconstruct the size, density, and carrying capacities of crowds from region to region in the early medieval West. It argued that in both northern and southern Europe, early medieval gatherings depended on temporary agglomerations of population (drawn from further afield than in Antiquity), and so became less spontaneous, but, paradoxically, more geographically diverse, than in the Roman past. Nevertheless, important differences had developed between the more seasonal built-environments of the north, like the emporia, and the surviving urbanism of the western Mediterranean. Chapter 2, drawing on the

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas S. Brown, "Urban Violence in Early Medieval Italy: The Cases of Rome and Ravenna," in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Guy Halsall (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 76-89; cf. Thomas S. Brown, "Justinian II and Ravenna." *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995): 29-36. See also Herrin, "Urban Riot or Civic Ritual?" p. 224, describing Ravenna's urban brawls as "the gang violence typical of early medieval cities," though this would only apply to a small number of early medieval cities.

sociology of crowds, used written and archaeological sources to trace the decline of late Antique crowd spaces (the old circuses, theaters, baths, colonnades of the cities), and to explain the appearance of new medieval gatherings in new enclosed and open-air spaces, such as royal and church assemblies, hunts, war-bands and armies, and political ceremonies. Although the Roman venues which attested to Cassiodorus' "crowds of citizens" no longer shaped western gatherings, early medieval men and women could develop expectations for how gatherings "should" function thanks to the rise of regular, new venues which tended to be less spontaneous.

Chapter 3 analyzed the semantic history of collectivity in early medieval Latin and vernacular sources. The analysis showed that technical and connotative distinctions in ancient words for crowds became attenuated, and that they did so in the face of the new distinctions. These distinctions drew on the Latin Bible and early Christian texts which tended to imagine the crowd as a witnessing phenomenon or even as a kind of miracle. Chapter 4 studied patterns to which crowds conform in early medieval written sources: clichés and type-scenes repeated in saints' lives, histories, liturgy, and poetry. It argued that crowd representations show how elites linked collective behavior with political legitimacy, even as it examined how social tensions about crowds still gave rise to gendered anxieties. Now when crowds were "bad," they had to be marked with *other* symbols of illicitness: rusticity or femininity. The crowd itself was no longer a byword signifying danger and disorder; but the crowd could be marked negatively by a rustic and feminine otherness.

Finally, chapter 5 treated the represented crowd: imagined depictions of crowds in visual media and physical rituals which put concepts of collective behavior to use in



choreographing the assembly and movement of physical bodies. It argued that enduring medieval political, religious, and legal institutions were organized around the crowd behavior during the early Middle Ages largely because the crowd was linked to the notion of a legitimizing consensus. Even in the face of obstacles to regular gathering, crowds in the early Middle Ages played a role in constituting public life. Not only in political ritual and religious belief, but also in visual culture, the early medieval crowd had a distinct identity.

What was that identity? This study has contended that across early medieval contexts the crowd came to serve a mainly legitimating function. The early medieval crowd was both a scarce resource and a tool of social control, but it was only rarely the uncontrolled force which leads the crowd to be an object of scorn in so many other elite discourses. As chapter 2 underlined, borrowing from the terminology of Elias Canetti, the early Middle Ages was an age of “closed” crowds, though, as chapter 4 argued, elites still had to exercise vigilance against crowds which did not conform to their visions of hierarchical order.<sup>12</sup> This regime emerged not only because of material factors – the transformation of urbanism, the decentralization of politics – but also because of cultural phenomena. Visigothic, Lombard, Frankish, and even Anglo-Saxon elites remained bound up with the late Roman past. Roman associations between mass acclamation and authority meant that the crowd was socially useful in mediating conflict or promoting one’s own power. Their engagement with Christian tradition led them to see the crowd as a manifestation of divine presence and legitimizing approval.

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<sup>12</sup> Elias Canetti, *Masse und Macht* (Düsseldorf, 1978), pp. 12-14.

## II. The Early Middle Ages and Beyond

What is the wider significance of these findings? Here I would like to highlight three areas of discussion which have influenced this study. First, how does the history of crowds contribute to the periodization of the early Middle Ages (c. 500–1000)? Can the discussion of the previous pages help answer questions about the framing of what French scholarship still sometimes calls the “premier Moyen Âge”?<sup>13</sup> Second, what does this history contribute to the study of the Middle Ages more generally? How, if at all, did early medieval crowds shape gatherings in the later Middle Ages? Third, what can a study of early medieval crowds contribute to the much broader study of collective behavior in a historical perspective? Can the history of early medieval crowds tell us anything about the political and social place of crowds today?

It should come as no surprise that, for crowds as for other phenomena, the early Middle Ages had one foot in Antiquity and one foot in a new world. Scholars have long acknowledged the transitional nature of the period of European history, c. 500–1000, although they have emphasized differently the fundamental Romanness, the “Germanic” or “medieval” quality, the historical autonomy, or the cultural hybridity of the early Middle Ages.<sup>14</sup> This study’s contribution to debates on the periodization of a half-millennium of European history – themselves often a matter of emphasis or abstraction –

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<sup>13</sup> Particularly in Francophone archaeology: Katalin Escher, *Les sites de la France préromane: hauts lieux du premier Moyen Âge (Ve-XIe siècles)* (Lacapelle-Marival, 2013); Frédéric Chantinne et al., ed. *L’archéologie en Wallonie: le Premier Moyen Âge* (Namur, 2014); Isabelle Catteddu, *Archéologie médiévale en France: Le premier Moyen Âge (Ve-XIe siècle)* (Paris, 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Robert Fossier, “Les tendances de l’économie: stagnation ou croissance?” in *Nascita dell’Europa ed Europa carolingia: un’equazione da verificare* (Spoleto, 1981) vol. 1, pp. 261-274, at p. 274: “puisque’il me faut répondre à la question qui soutient le thème de cette ‘semaine’: l’Europe médiévale est-elle issue de l’Europe carolingienne, dans l’immédiat, et en ce qui concerne l’économie, je réponds fermement: ‘non!’”

is in part methodological. By approaching “the crowd” as both a physical phenomenon (the “gathering”) and as subject of discourse, I have tried to emphasize that a focus on either continuity or collapse alone obscures this period’s significance in European history. Instead, this study has examined forms of collective behavior and representation which emerged precisely where material change met cultural tenacity.<sup>15</sup>

It is important to recognize both; debates about rupture or continuity too easily lead to totalizing views of the early Middle Ages which replace, for instance, an old pessimism with a new optimism. The history of settlement demography is a case in point. The transformation of urbanism and demography at the beginning of the early medieval period, I have argued, had major cultural, political, and social ramifications. As we saw in chapters 1 and 2, however, recent scholarship has rightly chipped away at the old image of total, uniform, unidirectional, and perpetual urban and demographic collapse. Archaeological surveys of early medieval settlement patterns have emphasized surprising continuities and extraordinary diversity in local patterns of settled life. This has recently led one archaeologist to proclaim “la fin de quelques paradigmes,” including those which stressed uniform urban decay.<sup>16</sup> Yet in nuancing the picture of post-Roman settlement, we should not overlook the fact that urbanism contracted in this period, widely and with profound consequences, even if the new forms of settlement which replaced Roman cities were kaleidoscopic in their variety.

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<sup>15</sup> I borrow the notion of “tenacity” from Hendrick W. Dey, *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 136.

<sup>16</sup> See especially Catteddu, *Archéologie médiévale en France*, pp. 159-161. Contrast Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit* (London, 2012), pp. 67-90, 91-115; cf. Richard Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne* (London, 2000), pp. 69-92.

This study of how that process affected the ability of large numbers regularly to assemble offers a warning against new paradigms which would abandon a focus on comparative urbanism. In their important 2000 book, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell argued that scholars of Mediterranean history should disown cities as “a particularly helpful category.”<sup>17</sup> For Horden and Purcell “the town” or “the city” is so intrinsically a part of ecological history that it makes no sense to separate urbanism from a broader environmental history.<sup>18</sup> Considering how profoundly gatherings changed as a result of the transformed urbanism of the early Middle Ages (chapter 1), I hope to challenge their claim. The old image of abandoned cities and “landscapes of fear” ought to be abandoned by many scholars, but we should not replace these old crypto-normative images with a new vision of early medieval settlement that fails to account for scalar change.<sup>19</sup> The city can distract us: the vast majority of the premodern European population – before, during, and after the early Middle Ages – inhabited the countryside. Yet this study has also shown how significant the decline of urbanism was to the history of gatherings, and how central crowds remained to political legitimacy, the exchange of resources, and the organization of society.

This history only makes sense with respect to Roman continuities. From the perspective of the very *longue durée*, the population of western Europe had not reached its “nadir” in the seventh century, even upon the most “catastrophist” reading of post-

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<sup>17</sup> Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 89-122, esp. 90-108, with quote at p. 90. For criticism see Wickham, *Framing*, p. 591, n. 1. See also James Fentress and Elizabeth Fentress, “The Hole in the Doughnut,” review of *The Corrupting Sea*, by P. Horden and N. Purcell, *Past & Present* 173 (2001): 203-219.

<sup>18</sup> Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, p. 91: “urban history is far from being mere ‘superstructure’ on a microecological base. The point is precisely that it is indivisible from the broader canvas.”

<sup>19</sup> Vito Fumagalli, *Paesaggi della paura: vita e natura nel Medioevo* (Bologna, 1994).

Roman demographic decline.<sup>20</sup> Instead, in terms of the density of urban settlement, conditions in the western Mediterranean and northwestern Europe were probably close to what they had been in the centuries before the Roman period. The difference was that the rulers and cultural producers within these societies were still bound up with the Roman world, culturally and materially.<sup>21</sup> The highly specific significance accorded to the crowd by the New Testament – originally Greek texts produced by Jews of the Levant – became the prism through which even Anglo-Saxon kings might view the crowd. The isocephalic crowds of early medieval art built on ancient and late antique precursors. The *adventus* in its episcopal and royal forms drew directly on the late imperial entry. The very language of crowds in the written records – the treasury of Latin words which underwent semantic transformation – was a Roman inheritance. This early medieval engagement with the “resources of the past” meant that rupture was never complete.<sup>22</sup> Even in the eighth century, the famous “Albi Map” of the Mediterranean, perhaps made in northern Spain, depicted an *oikoumene* centered on what Romans called “Our Sea,” when the Roman world it depicted was battered if not broken.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Cyprian Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World* (Oxford, 2013), p. 358 (estimating a Mediterranean population around 15 million people during the second millennium BCE), pp. 506-7 (estimating a growing population around 20 million by c. 800 BCE). For an account of village growth from the longue durée, see Frederic Cheyette, “The Origins of European Villages and the First European Expansion,” *The Journal of Economic History* 37 (1977): 182-206.

<sup>21</sup> For Britain, see Robin Fleming, “Recycling in Britain After the Fall of Rome’s Metal Economy,” *Past & Present* 217 (2012): 3-45.

<sup>22</sup> See the essays gathered in Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick, and Sven Meeder, ed. *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015).

<sup>23</sup> Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 29 (115), fol. 57v; Maja Kominko, “The Map of Cosmas, the Albi Map, and the Tradition of Ancient Geography,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 20 (2005): 163-186.

At the same time, the collective forms developed in this period lived on into the later Middle Ages. To be sure, Moore had good reason to signal the eleventh century as a moment of change in the history of European crowds.<sup>24</sup> With correspondingly larger towns and cities, and complex new social arrangements, the monopoly of the closed crowd was fated to end. Yet alongside the new forms of mass gathering – public preaching, crusades, urban ceremonial, factional brawls – of the high and later Middle Ages, early medieval collective forms lived on, sometimes transformed in nature, just as Roman ones had lived on into the early Middle Ages. The early medieval ceremonial assembly set the stage for high medieval parliaments, an old idea recently given new support by English scholar J. R. Maddicott.<sup>25</sup> Notions of representationality in law and politics had their origin in the liturgical and political collective fictions of the Carolingian period.<sup>26</sup> The inquiry “by crowd” became a feature of late medieval French procedural law.<sup>27</sup> In scholastic philosophy, Aristotelian commentators debated the nature of the multitude in ways that built upon the early medieval equivalency between crowds and

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<sup>24</sup> Moore, “Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform,” p. 49.

<sup>25</sup> John R. Maddicott, *Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327* (Oxford, 2010). See also John R. Maddicott, “‘An Infinite Multitude of Nobles’: Quality, Quantity and Politics in the Pre-Reform Parliaments of Henry III,” *Thirteenth Century England* 7 (1997): 17-46.

<sup>26</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), p. 476 (and esp. n. 65); Lisi Oliver, *The Body Legal in Barbarian Law* (Toronto, 2011), p. 190. See for the later medieval period, see Gaines Post, “Plena Potestas and Consent in Medieval Assemblies: A Study in Romano-Canonical Procedure and the Rise of Representation, 1150-1325,” *Traditio* 1 (1943): 355-408; Gaines Post, “Roman Law and Early Representation in Spain and Italy, 1150-1250,” *Speculum* 18 (1943): 211-232; Stephen C. Yeazell, *From Medieval Group Litigation to the Modern Class Action* (New Haven, 1987).

<sup>27</sup> Laurent Waelkens, “L’Origine de l’enquête par turbe,” *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* 53 (1985): 337-346. See also the discussion in chapter 3 above.

communities.<sup>28</sup> Early medieval visions of throngs of angels and saints lived on in later art and literature as well. In the *Paradiso*, when Dante is overwhelmed by the beauty of celestial crowds, Beatrice tells him he should have expected these throngs. “Non sai tu che tu se’ in cielo,” she asks him. “Don’t you understand that you’re in Heaven?”<sup>29</sup> By the early fourteenth century, it had become self-evident that Heaven contained throngs of angels arrayed in splendor.

Finally, I hope these findings about crowds in the Middle Ages will also contribute, in some small way, to our understanding of collective phenomena in the present.<sup>30</sup> We encounter “crowds” constantly, in the news, on the street, on film, in our virtual lives.<sup>31</sup> Wherever there are riots, revolutions, protests, inaugurations, and battles, there are crowds. Markets, religious spaces, sports arenas, and cityscapes are all sites of crowds and crowding.<sup>32</sup> Virtual crowds – social networks, smart mobs, crowdsourcing –

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<sup>28</sup> Vasileios Syros, “The Sovereignty of the Multitude in the Works of Marsilius of Padua, Peter of Auvergne, and Some Other Aristotelian Commentators,” in *The World of Marsilius of Padua*, ed. Gerson Moreno-Riaño (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 227-248, at pp. 240-241, for Marsilius’ attitude toward the judgment of the multitude.

<sup>29</sup> Dante, *Paradiso*, canto 22, line 7, ed. G. Petrocchi, *La Commedia secondo l’antica vulgata*, 4 vols. (Milan, 1967), vol. 4, p. 357.

<sup>30</sup> For a striking analysis of how social scientific categories of collective behavior have influenced modern policing practices, see David Schweingruber, “Mob Sociology and Escalated Force: Sociology’s Contribution to Repressive Police Tactics,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 41 (2000): 371-389.

<sup>31</sup> For the aesthetics of crowds in the train station, see Anthony Raynsford, “Swarm of the Metropolis: Passenger Circulation at Grand Central Terminal and the Ideology of the Crowd Aesthetic,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 50 (1996): 2-14; for crowd in cinema, see Michael Tratner, “Working the Crowd: Movies and Mass Politics,” *Criticism* 45 (2003): 53-73. See also C. Phelps, “The Strike Imagined: The Atlantic and Interpretive Voyages of Robert Koehler’s Painting *The Strike*,” *Journal of American History* 98 (2011): 670-697.

<sup>32</sup> For modern tourism as a crowd phenomenon, see Florence Deprest, *Enquête sur le tourisme de masse: l’écologie face au territoire* (Paris, 1997). A large sociological literature exists on the modern sports crowd, especially in (English) football: Eric Dunning and Bruno Poncharal, “Approche figurative du sport moderne: Réflexions sur le sport, la violence et la civilisation,” *Vingtième siècle: Revue d’histoire* 106 (2010): 177-191; Eric Dunning, Patrick Murphy, and John Williams, “Spectator Violence at Football Matches: Towards a Sociological Explanation,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 37 (1986): 221-244;

are a familiar part of our digital world, and human networks are now as ever being understood as crowds, mobs, or multitudes.

As historians we can adopt radically different approaches to the crowd as a subject of analysis. Is the crowd an emergent physical entity, or a figure of discourse? Is the crowd a source of agency for the powerless, or a force that strips individuals of their freedom and maybe even their very selves?<sup>33</sup> If collective behaviors can “flood their subjects with affect,” as Victor Turner put it, is this for good or for ill?<sup>34</sup> Can we hold a

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Anthony King, “The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 48 (1997): 576-593.

<sup>33</sup> The ability of crowds to alter mental states has been an enduring question of crowd theory. See recently S. B. Patten and J. A. Arboleda-Flórez, “Epidemic Theory and Group Violence,” *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 39 (2004): 853-856; L. Nummenmaa, J. Hirvonen, and R. Parkkola, “Is Emotional Contagion Special? An fMRI Study on Neural Systems for Affective and Cognitive Empathy,” *Neuroimage* 43 (2008): 571-580; Stefan Stürmer and Bernd Simon, “Pathways to Collective Protest: Calculation, Identification, or Emotion? A Critical Analysis of the Role of Group-Based Anger in Social Movement Participation,” *Journal of Social Issues* 65 (2009): 681-705; Elisabeth M. J. Huis in ‘t Veld and Beatrice de Gelder, “From Personal Fear to Mass Panic: the Neurological Basis of Crowd Perception,” *Human Brain Mapping* 36 (2015): 2338-2351; Sigal G. Barsade, “The Ripple Effect: Emotional Contagion and Its Influence on Group Behavior,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 47 (2002): 644-675; Tibor Bosse et al., “Agent-Based Analysis of Patterns in Crowd Behaviour Involving Contagion of Mental States,” in *Modern Approaches in Applied Intelligence*, ed. Kishan G. Mehrotra et al. (Berlin, 2011), pp. 566-577; Elaine Hatfield, John T. Cacioppo, and Richard L. Rapson, “Emotional Contagion,” *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 2 (1993): 96-99; J. Tsai, E. Bowring, and S. Marsella, “Empirical Evaluation of Computational Emotional Contagion Models,” *Intelligent Virtual Agents* (2011): 384-397. More recently, A. Kramer, J. Guillory, and J. Hancock, “Experimental evidence of massive-scale emotional contagion through social networks,” *PNAS* 111 (2014): 8788-8790, was a controversial study of emotional contagion across the online social network Facebook, which generated concern when it did not inform experimental participants that they were being subjected to a study. A related concept, the “informational cascade,” is discussed by Sushil Bikhchandani, David Hirshleifer, and Ivo Welch, “A Theory of Fads, Fashion, Custom, and Cultural Change as Informational Cascades,” *Journal of Political Economy* 100 (1992): 992-1026. See also Jan Lorenz, Heiko Rauhut, Frank Schweitzer, and Dirk Helbing, “How Social Influence Can Undermine the Wisdom of Crowd Effect,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 108 (2011): 9020-9025, positioned as a critique of recent positive assessments of collective reasoning. See also Tony D. Sampson, *Virality: Contagion Theory in the Age of Networks* (London, 2012).

<sup>34</sup> Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London, 2009; original edition 1969), p. 128. Turner was confident that collective rituals might permit participants to access an equalizing but short-lived sense of community which he termed *communitas*: “Communitas breaks in through the interstices of structure, in liminality; at the edges of structure, in marginality; and from beneath structure, in inferiority. It is almost everywhere held to be sacred or ‘holy,’ possibly because it transgresses or dissolves the norms that govern structured and institutionalized relationships and is accompanied by experiences of unprecedented potency” (p. 128).



crowd accountable for its actions – legally or morally?<sup>35</sup> Is the crowd a tool for emancipation, or a weapon for dictators and demagogues?<sup>36</sup> Studying radical differences in how collective behaviors were organized twelve centuries ago helps us think through our own categories today. Anthropologist Mary Douglas once spoke of the “spiky, verbal hedges that arbitrarily insulate one set of human experiences...from another.”<sup>37</sup> The early medieval history of collective behaviors can help us interrogate our own spiky intuitions about what collective behavior is, both as a historical subject, and for its relationship today to group identity and legitimacy. Crowds in the early Middle Ages functioned as they did in no other moment of European history, thanks to the combination of new possibilities of physical gathering and an ancient legacy of assumptions about crowds. Yet alongside a reminder of the radical contingency of our notions of collectivity, we may perhaps draw other lessons entirely, about how societies manage and imagine structural transformation, when demographic and infrastructural change does not keep pace with the development of culture, religion, and politics.

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<sup>35</sup> The subject of Christian List and Philip Pettit, *Group Agency: The Possibility, Design, and Status of Corporate Agents* (Oxford, 2011); see also Philip Pettit, “Responsibility Incorporated,” *Ethics* 117 (2007): 171-201.

<sup>36</sup> A striking example of modern uncertainty on this point is a line in the poem, “Prayer of Fear,” composed by Mahmoud Ezzat and published on 27 September, 2013, in the wake of the August 2013 Rabaa Massacre in Cairo, Egypt. Reflecting on the transition from hope in the mass Egyptian demonstrations of 2011 to fear in the wake of the violence, he writes: “Save us from unity.” I am very grateful to Elliott Colla for sharing this poem with me, and for discussing it further in person.

<sup>37</sup> Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, rev. edn. (London, 2003; original edition 1970), p. 8: “The first thing is to break through the spiky, verbal hedges that arbitrarily insulate one set of human experiences (ours) from another set (theirs).”

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