

The Unwilling Prophet and the New Maccabees: John de Roquetaillade and the Valois in the Fourteenth Century

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Constat patri amicitiae vestrae que licet in curia romana omni volenti audire dominum terribiles eventus in proximo in universo mundo me non esse prophetam missum a deo verbum hoc dixit domino cuius fuerant ysaias, ezechial, jeromias, et duodecim sanctissimi prophetae.¹

In the introduction to his synoptical *Vade Mecum in Tribulatione*, the fourteenth-century Franciscan John de Roquetaillade eschews the title of prophet. His reticence might initially seem to stem from some sort of professional prophetic modesty, which emphasised the prophetic tradition and message of reform rather than any individual sense of importance within that tradition.² John's peculiar circumstances also played a role in his unwillingness to be associated with the prophets of scripture.³ Despite his refusal to use the term, Roquetaillade in many ways assumed the functions of the Old Testament prophets in his works, chastising the wayward monarchs of a chosen people to prepare them for the end times. The bonds between medieval prophets like John de Roquetaillade and their Old Testament predecessors need qualification, for as we shall see some historians have noted fundamental differences between the two prophetic styles. Also important to an understanding of the works of Roquetaillade, however, are a knowledge of the tradition in which he wrote and of his own rather unique circumstances.

As with many medieval figures, John's early life is obscure and largely hidden from historians. Of his family's name and the location of his birth we know little. He

was born around 1310 and entered university at Toulouse in 1327 or 1328. Five years later he joined the Order of Friars Minor and remained at Toulouse for another five years. Franciscan houses in southern France were located in what was the hotbed of the Spiritual movement, of which more will be said later. It was for alleged connections to this movement—in various forms the bane of Franciscan orthodoxy in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries—that modern historians believe John was placed under house arrest by the Provincial of Aquitaine in 1344. The authority and jurisdiction under which John was detained switched to the Curia at Avignon in 1349. As a papal ward John was allowed to write down his prophecies and visions about the end times, a practice which in part accounts for the survival of his texts. Declared *fantasticus* rather than *hereticus* later that year,⁴ he was nonetheless detained for the remainder of his earthly days, which came to an end in 1366.

The prophetic tradition to which John belonged was that of Joachim of Fiore, the twelfth-century Cistercian abbot whose writings and commentaries upon other apocalyptic works provided the framework for many later medieval prophetic enthusiasts, such that any work of prophecy could be attributed to the Italian monk.⁵ In 1976 Robert Lerner noted that the modern scholarly community was only just beginning to come to an understanding of Joachim and his works.⁶ It was not until seven years after Lerner's article that a critical edition of one of Joachim's main treatises appeared, and even that edition failed to consider the work in its entirety.⁷ Joachim's thought is complex, and his works have caused nearly as much of a stir amongst modern historians as they did amongst his contemporaries and immediate successors; one modern historian has commented that "Joachim's thought is not easily reduced to a simple formula."⁸

His three-status interpretation of the unfolding of human history is the motif for which Joachim is most well-known. History unfolded in a process of three ages, that of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, each of which corresponded roughly to the history of the Old Testament, the age of Christ the Son, and the third age, the beginning of which varied according to which Joachimist one addressed. Within that larger motif, however, were several leitmotifs, devices which later biblical exegetes would recast for their own needs. Such was the case with Franciscan Spirituals, who would, like many others after them, fashion the clay nose of prophecy in their own image.⁹

Joachim noted that the third dispensation of history, that of the Holy Spirit, would be accompanied by the advent of *viri spirituales*—a group which corresponded

roughly to the reformed Cistercian houses of his own day—as well as by the presence of a new *intellectus spiritualis*, which Joachim equated with an arduous study of scripture assisted by a divine spark.¹⁰ Manifestly, such devices are easily transferable to other religious orders, especially those which organised themselves around the battle cry of reform. Marjorie Reeves has pointed out that “one need not be a committed Joachite to share in [this] general attitude towards the role of St Francis and his Order in history.”¹¹ Many members of the Order of Friars Minor felt that Francis was somehow the harbinger of a new era, the leader of an order of men devoted to spreading the word of God. Yet more detailed connections between the life of Francis and the writings of Joachim could be made, and it was the later party of Franciscan Spirituals who would make those links. The Spiritual wing of the Franciscans saw the need to live a life of poverty—the ideal of absolute evangelical poverty—as the cornerstone of Francis’ message.¹²

For the Spirituals who became interested in prophecy, the *viri spirituales* of Joachim’s works were of course themselves, and they were also naturally possessed of the *intellectus spiritualis*, which they interpreted as the ideal of absolute poverty—despite the fact that “only once does he [Joachim] emphasize poverty as a special characteristic of the third order.”¹³ As persecution of their ideas increased, not only by Rome but also by the more conservative Conventual wing of their own Order, the Spirituals became locked into these posturings, taking solace in their self-defined role in the final conflict. In 1319, John XXII officially declared the matter closed by relaxing four of them to the secular arm in Marseilles for their obstinacy and recalcitrance.¹⁴ The condemnation failed to resolve the issue of evangelical poverty, and historians have supposed that if John de Roquetaillade’s preaching took anything like the form his writing did, he was likely detained upon suspicion of being a Spiritual, one of the “Fratricelli.” Many of John’s works are known only through references to them in his four surviving prophetic tracts, the *Commentum in oraculum beati Cyrilli* (c1345-1349), the *Liber secretorum eventuum* (1349), the *Liber Ostensor* (1356), and John’s brief but well-known *Vade mecum in tribulatione* (also 1356, after the previous work).

As earlier Franciscans had done, Roquetaillade adapted his sources as suited his needs. In her study of Roquetaillade, Jeanne Bignami-Odier established in 1952 the framework within which most scholars would view him, describing John as the first of the national prophets for whom particular secular authorities played more significant roles in the end times. John was the leading champion of what Bignami-Odier

and others have termed “French Joachimism,” which declared a special role on the side of good for the Valois Kings of France during the end times. By the end of the fourteenth century, prophecies of a decidedly German Imperialist leaning had begun to respond to Franciscan francophilia.¹⁵

In our own century, some medieval historians have found in various sources evidence of nationalism in the reigns of the Capetians and the Valois cousins who followed them; legal scholars in particular created and defended the legal principles which emancipated kingdoms from the universal authority of the Empire, those legally-defined kingdoms which would evolve into what we know as modern European nations.¹⁶ These ideas reached, and were accepted by, some of the more influential intellectual historians and historians of prophecy in the next generation.¹⁷ In the last decade, however, a new debate about medieval nations and nationalism has begun, and seems to be on the brink of influencing wide and varied sections of the medieval scholarly community. There are few direct lines of descent between the post-war generation of medieval nationalists such as Kolt, Kantorowicz, Post, and Strayer, and those scholars now advocating the possibility of nations and nationalism in the middle ages. Although the seeds of the current debate were sown before the arrival of Eric Hobsbawm’s *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, it was the arrival of this Marxist work in 1990 which seems to have unleashed a flood of new medieval nationalists.¹⁸ Although few, if any, of the recent medieval nationalists cite her work as an influence, Colette Beaune created a flexible definition of nationalism in her 1985 monograph, *Naissance de la Nation France*.¹⁹ These debates are important, and will likely continue in the coming years. Here, however, the focus will remain John de Roquetaillade’s own contribution to such debates.²⁰

Indeed, while he does not enter into the debates about nationalism, Robert Lerner has recently downplayed the extent of Roquetaillade’s supposed French biases.²¹ Citing examples of the appearance of specific Capetian monarchs in a variety of earlier prophetic tracts, most of which were not part of the Spiritual tradition,²² Lerner views John’s Frenchness as neither unique nor original. He also emphasises the formalism to which prophecy as a genre is subject, and considers John as belonging to the Spiritual tradition of prophecy—a fact which Bignami-Odier was willing to concede.²³ Even in the thirteenth century, French monarchs had an exalted role in the last days, according to Spiritual literature. Southern Italian Joachimites expressed in prophetic terms the benefits of an alliance with the House of Anjou against Frederick II and his spawn.²⁴ While not therefore denying John’s French proclivities, Lerner’s

assessment of Roquetaillade's French Joachimism considers the full extent of John's program, in which the royal descendants of the House of Capet and their cadet branches actually have little role in the drama of the last days. Roquetaillade's structure of the last days is itself somewhat unorthodox, calling for the battle with Antichrist, then a millennium of peace and slow degeneration, and only then the final coming of Christ, in which very few secular authorities are named as likely participants. This program is what makes John original, according to Lerner.²⁵

Even given Lerner's misgivings and the power of literary convention, the extant sources still provide ample proof of John's biases for the Valois and their cousins. For example, in his *Liber Ostensor*, written in 1356 and addressed to Elias Talleyrand-Perigord, the papal legate and Cardinal-Protector of the Franciscan Order,²⁶ Roquetaillade took oracles of various prophets and glossed them with respect to current events and personages. One section of the *Ostensor* is a gloss upon an oracle revealed to a Franciscan in the Kingdom of Aragon in 1345. To this Brother Rhema appeared an angel, foretelling the "defeat of a flower" and predicting the coming of a *reperator* named Jonas and of a black rooster and his chicks.²⁷ Employing previous oracles, as well as his own gifts of exposition, Roquetaillade explicated the message sent to friar Rhema as follows: the line *flos devinctur* from Rhema's oracle he interprets in terms of the tribulations of the Kingdoms of France, Naples, and Hungary—all of which possessed armorial designs that included lilies, and with them, a French connection.²⁸ Traditionally patrons of the church against its enemies, these kingdoms had all fallen upon hard times of late; hence, the *tristitia* associated with the fact that the *flos devinctur*.²⁹

For John, 1345 was a dreadful year, beginning as it did with the assassination of Andrew of Hungary—an Angevin with a claim to the then-vacant throne of Naples. Despite his incarceration, John seems to have kept himself abreast of current events, for he was aware of Andrew's murder during the composition of his *Liber secretorum eventuum* as well.³⁰ In the *Ostensor* John hoped to place the assassination within a proper prophetic context. A decade after Andrew's strangulation, John was aware of the chaos which followed the murder, and particularly of the efforts of Andrew's brother, Louis, King of Hungary, to bring to justice those responsible for the deed. When the *Liber secretorum eventuum* was written, Louis had only temporarily given up the fight, but Roquetaillade doomed him to failure, since all of Italy would eventually bow to Louis, King of Sicily. He, as the spawn of the Hohenstaufen, served as the *Antichristus magnus* in John's prophetic scheme.³¹

The chaos in Italian politics in the fourteenth century, however, was due to a variety of factors, not the least of which was the death of King Robert of Naples in 1343, an event of far greater significance politically than Andrew's murder. King Robert of Naples had been an ardent supporter of the idea that Christ and his Apostles held no property, either singly or in common, and he issued written statements to that effect. Yet Michael of Cesena had cited King Robert's support in his own defence when Pope John XXII went on the offensive,³² and it is possible that the link between Cesena and Robert of Naples prevented Roquetaillade from heaping praise upon the dead Angevin. The year of Robert's death hardly fit well within John's framework, and lauding him as a champion of the holy French blood raised ideological difficulties Roquetaillade would likely not have cared to face. Andrew, on the other hand, was too young to have involved himself in such matters. Moreover, he was the victim of a conspiracy (a conspiracy some believe was led by his older wife, the infamous Joanna of Naples)³³ which ended in a grisly strangulation—ripe material for a prophecy about the coming of Antichrist. Ideologically and chronologically, Andrew's death provided better grist for the prophetic mill than that of Robert.

In August of the following year, 1346, another disaster befell the sons of the lily with the defeat of Philip at Crecy.³⁴ These setbacks were, as stated openly in John's reference to the battle, the judgment of God, rendered not that the French would fall, but that their pride might be chastised before their coming struggle with the Antichrist.³⁵ Similarly, John's *Vade mecum in tribulatione*, a synoptic work written not long after the *Ostensor*, took the demoralising capture of King John at Poitiers and rationalised it. This most Christian of kings had to fall so that a sufficient power vacuum would be left in which the Antichrist could rise and oppress the clergy.³⁶ Worthy of note is John's use of the standard propaganda epithet of the Capetian and Valois dynasty, their claim to be the "most Christian kings" of France. (The title was absent from his description of Philip III in the *Ostensor*.³⁷) As noted even in these few examples, however, Roquetaillade went well beyond the generic Spiritual and Joachite literary conventions he inherited, making specific laudatory references not only to the Valois monarchs Phillip III and John the Good, but also to other cadet branches of the Capetians who ruled elsewhere in Europe.

Rhema's oracle in the *Ostensor* also provided cryptic statements concerning a *gallus nigrus* and *pulli eius*. For Roquetaillade this image provided two possibilities. In both cases he is called *gallus* because he will come from the Gallic nation. In one version he is a pope and the *pulli* are evangelical men; in the other he will be a future world emperor and *pulli eius* will be French nobility.³⁸

John rejects elsewhere in his works that he is a prophet like Isaiah or Jeremiah,³⁹ yet in this capacity he is very much like the ancient Hebrew prophets, for all of them remonstrated with monarchs who strayed from their role as God's chosen. Rather than excoriate the Valois for their sins and failings, Roquetaillade merely places their shortcomings within his vision of future events; readers do not encounter dire warnings. Indeed, Roquetaillade sometimes expresses his aspirations about the end times in positive terms, as in his *Vade mecum*, where he notes that he is sad about the events at hand but hopeful for the future.⁴⁰ A scheme of this kind is, however, a commonplace in medieval prophetic literature, which Lerner has described as essentially optimistic in outlook.⁴¹

John's willingness to explain prophecies in detail in the *Liber Ostensor* is not surprising, since it is a long work which has the explication of various prophecies as its focus. In the *Liber secretorum eventuum*, Roquetaillade is no less pro-French, but he spares his readers the details of his *Ostensor*. In the *Vade mecum*, however, he limits himself to the Capetian propaganda slogan, their claims to be *reges christianissimi*, and little else. In the course of his works, Roquetaillade moves beyond the simple statements of future greatness for the French monarchy given in non-Joachite works. He also inherits and maintains southern Italian Spiritual biases against the Staufen, whose ghosts played a far more imposing role in his scheme of things than they were politically capable of mustering in the fourteenth century. Yet, by maintaining such bogeymen, Roquetaillade manufactures adversaries of sufficient *gravitas* for the cousins of the Valois in Naples, who during this time spent most of their time exterminating one another rather than battling Frederick II's heirs.

With regard to the broad apocalyptic picture, Lerner's assessment of Roquetaillade's significance is perhaps the most subtle and perceptive. The judgement of Big-nami-Odier and others about John's French nationalism is also tenable, especially according to Beaune's broad definition of the term. Roquetaillade is no legist, and he still seems to put some stock in the universal authority of the Imperial dignity—as opposed to that of the national French monarchy—when in the course of his prophetic scheme he notes that a future French King will be elected Emperor against the way of the Germans.⁴² Confusingly, Roquetaillade often refers to the Kingdom and Kings of France with imperial terminology,⁴³ recalling—however inadvertently—the legal arguments constructed along the principle *rex in regnum suum imperator est*. Elsewhere his language is that of monarchy, of royal houses, and of holy blood.⁴⁴ Imposing any but the most open-ended of modern constructs of nationalism upon him and his thought is perhaps anachronistic.

Roquetaillade was the inheritor of many traditions, the most pronounced of which were the Joachite-Spiritual traditions of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. He inherited as well the traditions of the Hebrew prophets, although he denied such ties and differed from them in his reluctance to chastise those whom he saw as the instruments of divine will, the Valois. Extending the image of a chosen but nonetheless persecuted people, Roquetaillade saw the Valois as the new Maccabees. Among the works by Roquetaillade now lost is a commentary upon the books of Maccabees, his *Liber revelationis archanorum librorum Machabeorum*, itself known only by its mention in John's *Commentum in oraculum beati Cyrilli*.⁴⁵ Its appeal is obvious, with its story of Israel's struggle for independence and the recounting of the mighty deeds of a noble house of leaders who serve as the instrument of divine will. Ironically, the books of the Maccabees are notable for their lack of prophets and prophecies; in the first book when Judas and his men return to the Temple area, they set aside the stones of the old defiled structure "until a prophet should come and decide what to do with them" (1 Mc 4:47), and the second book closes with an account of the appearance of Jeremiah before the final victory of Judas over Nicanor (2 Mc 15:12-16). They nonetheless chronicled themes close to John's heart, themes which he expressed in terms of the Valois and their role in the end times. John would be followed by other prophets who inherited from him—among other things—his pronounced advocacy of the Valois.

The most renowned late medieval prophetic advocate of the Valois referred to himself as Telesphorus of Cosenza. Historians of prophecy, as much as any other historians, know how precarious the trail of extant evidence concerning any individual can be. It therefore comes as little surprise that evidence concerning Telesphorus' works exists in Adriano Capelli's *Dizionario di Abbreviature latine et italiane*, a tool used by most medievalists.⁴⁶ The reference to Telesphorus' *libellus* in the will of an Italian Franciscan about to proclaim his final vows is fascinating, but can realistically be of little value in telling the historian a great deal about Telesphorus. Some have suggested that he was actually Roquetaillade, labouring on in infirmity under a pseudonym;⁴⁷ scholarly opinion has, however, moved away from such a belief, but has yet to discover the full truth of Telesphorus' identity.⁴⁸ Whoever he was, Telesphorus was the main conduit by which the ideas of Roquetaillade, in particular, would filter into the reigns of the three Valois Charleses and into the late fifteenth century.

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Notes

1 John de Roquetaillade, *Vade mecum in tribulatione*, quoted from Vatican Library, MS Vaticana latina 1964, f. 196r. Roquetaillade's most famous prophetic tract, the *Vade Mecum* is extant in more than twenty manuscript versions. It has been available to modern scholars mostly through the only printed edition, the version in Edward Brown's *Appendix ad Fasciculum rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* (London, 1690). The Catalan version has recently been edited by Josep Perarnau i Espelt in "La traducció Catalana resumida del Vademecum in tribulatione (Ve ab mi en tribulació) de Fra Joan de Rocatalhada," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 12 (1993), pp. 43-140. This version employs some Latin manuscripts in its critical apparatus, but is not itself a critical edition; my thanks to Robert Lerner for pointing out its existence to me. The value of Brown's edition is largely its availability; otherwise it has deficiencies as a source which Roquetaillade scholars sometimes ignore (for which see, for example, note 38). All references to the *Vade mecum* below are taken from the aforementioned Vatican manuscript, ff. 196r-203v, a fifteenth-century version. Variants from the Brown edition will be noted in the critical apparatus. For example, this passage reads in Brown's version:

Noscat, pater, firmiter vestra paternitas, licet in curia *Romana* omni volenti audire denunciavi terribiles eventus futuros in proximo in universo mundo, me non esse prophetam missum a Domino per verbum *Hoc dicit Dominus Deus*, cuiusmodi fuerunt *Esaias, Jeremias & Ezechiel* ac XII. sanctissimi prophetae

[Know, caring father, that even though I announced the terrible coming events to all those in the Roman Curia who were willing to listen, I am not a prophet sent by the Lord with the words *Thus says the Lord God*, as were Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve most holy prophets]

While clumsy, this method is more sound than reliance on the testimony of a single questionable witness. This study is also not intended to be an exhaustive study of Roquetaillade and his works; these notes provide links to current research and point to the larger issues touched upon here.

2 A similar sentiment occurs near the end of the *Liber secretorum eventuum* (ed. Christine Morerod-Fattebert, with an introduction by Robert Lerner, Fribourg, 1994), p. 214, §151:

Melius enim vocari debet prescripta revelatio “communicatio *intelligentie spiritus* prophetarum in rebus eventuum futurorum” quam “communicatio *spiritus prophetie*,” quia dato quod omni prescripta ad litteram evenirent, nolo ut nomen prophete michi, qui ut dixi *propheta non sum*, ascribatur.

[Thus it is better that the above revelation be called a “communication of the knowledge of the spirit of prophecy in future deeds and events” rather than a “communication of the spirit of prophecy,” and although I offer that all the prescribed events came to pass word for word, I nonetheless wish that the title of prophet not be ascribed to me, as I have said that *I am not a prophet*.]

Morerod-Fattebert points to Amos 19:10 and Zachariah 13:5 as possible sources of inspiration.

3 Robert Lerner argues that such a claim would have been easily condemned as having been implanted by ‘an unclean spirit;’ see his Introduction to Roquetaillade’s *Liber secretorum eventuum*, p. 39.

4 Lerner, *Liber secretorum eventuum*, p. 31.

5 On Joachim, see Marjorie Reeves, *Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969). For a more recent look at Joachim, see E.R. Daniel, “Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse,” in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Cornell, 1992).

6 Robert Lerner, “Refreshment of the Saints: The Time After Antichrist As A Station For Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought,” *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97-144, p. 115.

7 *Liber Concordie novis et veteris testamenti* ed. E.R. Daniel (Philadelphia, 1983), and three years later, *Enchiridion super Apocalypsim* ed. Edward K. Burger (Toronto, 1986).

8 Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), p. 127.

9 Joachim’s introduction into the Order remains not entirely clear. The Franciscan chronicler Salimbene de Adam related an anecdote about Joachim’s works in southern Italy in the 1240’s; the condemnation of Gerard of Borgo San Donnino (for a form of Trinitarianism believed to have been related to Joachim’s ideas) in Paris in the mid-1250’s may lead one to conclude that the abbot’s works filtered into the

ranks of the Franciscans around this time. For a complete discussion see E.R. Daniel, "A Re-examination of the Origins of Franciscan Joachimism," *Speculum* 43 (1968), pp. 671-6.

10 Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 16-17.

11 Reeves, *Influence*, p. 177.

12 For introductions to the Spirituals, see Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (Holmes and Meier, New York, 1976); Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester UP, 1967); and Decima Douie, *The Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester UP, 1932).

13 Reeves, *Influence*, p. 138.

14 By later reopening the debate upon the issue of poverty with *Cum inter nonnullos* (1323), John actually violated Nicholas III's bull *Exiit qui seminat* (1279), which asserted the validity of the theoretical claims concerning the extent to which Christ and the Apostles had themselves lived a life of absolute poverty. The action threw Michael Cesena, Minister-General of the Franciscans and the pope's former ally against the Spirituals, into open rebellion himself. This created two groups of *Fraticelli*, the *fraticelli de paupera vita*, the early Spirituals who believed in the practical application of the ideal of absolute poverty, and the *fraticelli de opinione*, or Michaelists, after the renegade Minister-General. The legal arguments created by the Michaelists denouncing the validity of John's actions constituted the most withering and potentially damaging case against him; see Brian Tierney, *Origins of Papal Infallibility 1150-1350* (Leiden, 1972), and James Heft, *John XXII and Papal Teaching Authority* (Lewiston/Queenston, 1986). For his part, Roquetaillade is careful to distance himself from the Michaelists for several reasons. The former Minister-General had not only placed himself in open rebellion against the Pope, but he had also sought refuge in the Court of Louis of Bavaria, who was himself engaged in a dispute with the Holy See concerning his elevation to the Imperial dignity. In his *Commentum in oraculum beati Cyrilli* (1345-49), Roquetaillade therefore uses Michael of Cesena as the symbol of a false ministry. For the framework of Roquetaillade's life and work see Jeanne Bignami-Odier, *Études sur Jean de Roquetaillade (Rupescissa)* (Paris, 1952), reprinted in 1981 as "Jean de Roquetaillade: Theologien, Polemiste, Alchimiste," *Histoire de la litteraire de la France* 41 (Paris, 1981). All citations here are from the earlier edition; there are few substantial differences between the two. (For his attitude to Michael of Cesena see p. 82).

15 For the prophecies attributed to “Gamaleon” and others, see McGinn, *Visions*, p. 246, and for Telesphorus see p. xxx.

16 Among the early and most well-known theorists, see Ernst Kantorowicz, “*Pro patria mori* in Medieval Political Thought,” *American Historical Review* 56 (1952), pp. 472-92, Halvdan Kolt, “The Dawn of Nationalism in Europe,” *American Historical Review* 52 (1947), pp. 265-80, and Gaines Post, “Two Notes on Nationalism in the Middle Ages,” *Traditio* 9 (1953), pp. 281-320. The entire corpus of Joseph Strayer touches on the issue directly or indirectly; see in particular *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, 1970) and his collection of essays *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton, 1971).

17 In his survey of prophetic sources, Bernard McGinn noted: “As incipient national consciousness grew stronger in the later fourteenth century and through the fifteenth, the political nature of apocalypticism moved in more overtly national directions;” *Visions of the End*, p. 127.

18 Another influential work in the genre of modern nationalism was Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso Books, 1983; 2nd ed. 1991). My own use of the terms ‘modern’ and ‘medieval’ nationalism belies a debate that is expanding rapidly and will suffer if historians fail to heed the warning of Lesley Johnson to define their terms more specifically; see Johnson, “Imagining Communities: Medieval and Modern,” in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson, and Alan V. Murray. Leeds Texts and Monographs, n.s. 14 (1995), pp. 1-17. Indeed, the failure of many recent medieval nationalists to draw a line of descent from themselves to the 50’s school derives largely from the fact that the latter very often were arguing for the existence of what may more properly be called medieval states. Adrian Hastings’ recent *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997), presents itself as a systematic critique of Hobsbawm’s study. While Hastings is not himself a medievalist, his work would place him alongside the medieval nationalists.

19 Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Gallimard, 1985); reissued in English as *Myths and Symbols of Nation in late Medieval France*. Trans. Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley, California, 1991). Historiographically, Beaune may be seen as both a student of the Annales *mentalité* tradition and an exemplar of the current popularity of iconographic history. While she recognises her place within the historiographic tradition (p. 4 of *Myths and Symbols*), she struggles to avoid any association with any hard and fast definitions of nationalism:

It [*Naissance*] does not begin with any a priori notion of what the nation is...Mental images, images of the collective imagination, will be my primary focus. Readers should not be surprised when they find that these images hardly coincide with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ideas of nationhood.

Beaune's flexible definition of nationhood may account for the English title of the 1991 edition, which bears few traces of her original title.

20 Indeed, Beaune knowingly left open the topic of messianic literature as fodder for future research; see *Myths and Symbols*, p. 316. Beaune, André Vauchez and others are currently undertaking such a study; see "Recherches sur prophétisme en occident," in *Genèse de l'état moderne: Bilans et perspectives* (Paris, 1990), pp. 201-206. This reference comes from Robert Lerner, "'Popular Justice': Rupescissa in Hussite Bohemia," in *Eschatologie und Hussitismus* New Series, Supplement 1 (1996), p. 39n.

21 Robert Lerner, "Introduction," *Liber secretorum eventuum*, pp. 61-63.

22 Louis VII appears in the Prologue to Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris*, and Philip Augustus in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*; see Lerner, "Introduction," *Liber secretorum eventuum*, p. 61n.

23 Bignami-Odier, *Études*, pp. 203-209: "Le caractère nationale des propheties de J. de Rupescissa n'est pas donc simplement le résultat d'une prédilection pour la France et son roi. Elle exprime aussi des traditions anciennes qui s'étaient merveilleusement épanouies dans les milieux joachimites."

24 The seminal text here is the *Liber de Flore*, an early fourteenth-century prophetic tract believed by many medieval exegetes to have been written by Joachim; Reeves sees in it the "first hint of French Joachimism," *Influence*, p. 320. The *Liber* speaks in broad terms of the coming of a 'king of Pippin's stock,' a phrase which surfaces again in Roquetaillade's *Liber Ostensor*, fol 40^v: *Tunc generosus rex de posteritate Pipin veniet peregre ad videns claritatem generosi pastoris* "Then a king of Pippin's line will come to see the brilliance of the noble pastor." The passage describes the future alliance of this king with an angelic Pope, a union which overcomes Saracens and schisms. On the *Liber* in general, see H. Grundmann, "*Liber de Flore*, eine Schrift des Franziskaner-Spiritualen aus dem Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft* 49 (1929), pp. 33-91. On the *Liber de Flore* in John's writings, a text from which John borrows freely, see Bignami-Odier, pp. 151-3.

25 See, for example, his Introduction to the *Liber Secretorum Eventuum*, as well as his article “The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath,” in *Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. McGinn (Cornell, 1992), pp. 51-71. In John’s *Liber Secretorum Eventuum*, Jerusalem is restored in the end by a ruler *de semine Abraham* (§122), a man with no ties to the French royal house. The *Vade Mecum* foresees the restoration of the Holy City under a Sicilian king, who then retires to the Order of Friars Minor (the figure descended from Abraham disappears):

Prefatus autem papa in regno Cicie unum regem constituet qui in manu potenti et brachio extento regnum Jherosolimitanum acqutet post cuius acquisitionem reliquet rex ille mundum et habitum ac vitam fratrum minorum assumet (MS Vat. lat. 1964, f. 200v).

[But the aforementioned pope will appoint in the Kingdom of Sicily a king who will acquire the Kingdom of Jerusalem in his powerful hand and far-reaching arm; after this acquisition the king will retire from the world and take the habit and life of a Franciscan.]

The passage as it appears in Brown, p. 502, is:

Praefatus autem Papa in regno *Sicilie* unum regem constituet qui in manu potenti & brachio extento regnum *Hierosolymitanum* acqiret, post cuius acquisitionem relinquet Rex ille mundum, & habitum & vitam fratrum minorum assumet.

The most significant variant between manuscript and printed edition—‘acquiret’ for ‘acqutet’—here favours the printed edition.

26 Reverendissimo in christo patri domino T[alleyrand] perigoris dignissime domino episcopo albanensi sacrosancte universalis romane decclesiem matris cunctorum fidelium eminentissimo cardinalis evangelici ordinis fratrum minorum potentissimo gubernatori protectori et correctori pauper incarceratus et devotus orator vestris frater jo[hn] de rupecissa professor indignus eiusdem ordinis... (*Liber Ostensor*, Vaticana Latina 753, folio 1r).

[To the most reverend in Christ, Lord Father Talleyrand Perigord, most worthy Lord Bishop of Albano, most eminent Cardinal of the Holy Catholic Roman Church, source of the body of the faithful, most powerful guide, guardian, and disciplinarian of the evangelical order of Friars Minor, your poor incarcerated and faithful orator, Brother John of Rupescissa, unworthy professor of the same Order...]

On Talleyrand and his career, see Norman Zacour, *Talleyrand: The Cardinal of Périgord (1301-1364) Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 50. Part 7 (1960). The *Liber Ostensor* is described by Bignami-Odier, *Études*, pp. 140-56. Lerner addresses the “Cedars of Lebanon” prophecy as it appears in the *Ostensor* in *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon Vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment* (Berkeley, California, 1983), pp. 138-41.

27 Anno nativitate Domini computando more Romane Curiae m ccc xlv ipsa die nativitatis sacratissime salvatoris nostri Jhesum Christi sicut moris est in ordine fratrum minorum gardiano unius monasterii regni Aragonie †immentanis† misit quemdam fratrem probum hominem et devotum qui adhuc vivit ad predicandum ad ecclesiam... Cui rhema meditante apparuit angelus domini in ipse magni et ad mirabilem senis cum barba cana magna lata et valde prolixa...rhematis fratri dixit hec verba:... *quasi tristitiam et magnum gaudium flos devincetur... Eritque Jonas contra ventum meridionalem...Cuius †circa† erit gallo nigro et pullis eius...* (MS Vat. lat. 753, f. 34r).

[In the year of our Lord 1345, by computing with the nativity in the manner of the Roman Curia (as is the custom of the order of Friars Minor), on the very day of the birth of our most holy Saviour Jesus Christ, to the warden of a monastery in the Kingdom of Aragon. He sent a friar, a worthy and devoted man, who still lives to prophesy to the church...To this Rhema, while meditating, appeared an angel of the Lord, itself a wondrous old man with a great white full beard....To Rhema he said these words:... sadness, as it were, and great hope, a flower will be defeated...and this Jonas will be a force against the ‘middle wind’* ...and near him will be a black cock with his chicks.]

*During the course of the passage Roquetaillade will eventually associate Islam with the ‘middle wind.’

28 Cum ergo dicit *flos devincetur* hoc est quid dixit annuntiare summo pontifici et collegio suo *quasi tristitiam* quia illa tristitia et lamentatio cadit super hoc quod dicit *flos devincetur* Et vult dicere cum romana ecclesia multum diligit florem lilii scilicet imperatorem francorum et imperium francum ac regna que ab illo imperio et degenere regali Francie processunt scilicet regem neapolitanum et regem unguarie qui flores lilii portant in signe suorum armorum... (MS Vat. lat. 753, f. 35r).

[When, therefore, he says *the flower will be defeated*, this is what he means to announce to the High Pontiff and his College: since this sadness and lamentation fall upon that which he called *the flower who will be defeated*, meaning the many who with the Roman church, should esteem the flower of the lilies, namely the Emperor of the French people and the French Empire and the kingdoms which from that authority and the royal origin of France were sprung, that is the Kings of Naples and Hungary, who bear lilies in their coats of arms...]

While this particular section concerns interpretations of the lily symbol, this passage should not be confused with what some historians have come to call the “Prophecy of the Lily,” which itself may be described as ‘anti-Valois.’ For a version of that prophecy, see Migne’s *Patrologiae Latinae*, vol. 190, p. 394. For discussions of the prophecy, see Robert E. Lerner, “Popular Justice,” p. 48, and *Powers*, p. 134n.)

29 Bene igitur in veritate proprie loquitur in oraculo sancto angelus domini dicens annuntiare summo pontifici et collegio suo *quasi tristitiam* quia flos id est regnum francorum et regem apulie ac regem unguarie que sunt tria regna de sanguine benedicto francorum quibus ecclesia fulcitur *devincetur* scilicet regnum francorum a preditoribus et ab emulis vicinis Et regnum Apulie a sine propriis et agente sine capite sic est hodie Regnum autem Unguarie a tartaris conteretur in brevi hec enim tria regna francorum erant in auxilium ecclesie romane: Regem francorum contra tirranos imperii romani, Regem apulie contra filios presecutoris frederici secundi, Regem unguaria contra tartaros aquilonis... (MS Vat. lat. 753, f. 36r).

[The angel of the Lord, therefore, spoke truthfully and accurately in the holy oracle saying to the High Pontiff and His College “sadness, as it were,” since the flower—that is, the Kingdom of the French, the King of Naples and the King of Hungary, all of which are of the holy French blood and by whom the Church is supported—will be defeated, primarily the Kingdom of the French by predators and by its neighbouring enemies, and the Kingdom of Naples by landless men, the people without a head*—as it is today—and Hungary will shortly be pounded. Thus these three kings of the French have assisted the Roman Church: the King of France against the tyrannical [Holy] Roman Emperors, the King of Naples against the brood of the persecutor Frederick II, the King of Hungary against the northern Tartars...]

*I follow Lerner's interpretation of the 'people without a head' as being the Great Company under Werner of Urslinger, which entered the peninsula at the behest of Andrew's brother Louis the Great in 1348. On the passage in Roquetaillade, see Lerner's *Powers of Prophecy*, p. 146, and *passim*. On Werner, see Peter Partner, "Florence and the Papacy 1300-1375" in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages* eds John Hale, Roger Highfield and Beryl Smalley (Evanston, 1965), pp. 91-92 and E.G. Leonard, *La Jeunesse de Jeanne I^{re}, Reine de Naples, Comtesse de Provence* (Monaco, 1932).

30 John also mentions Andrew's murder in his *Liber secretorum eventuum* (1349): *Et a facta michi revelatione prescripta, infra tres menses venerunt nova de morte crudeli regis Andree* (p. 142, §12), "And three months from the time of the aforementioned revelation to me, came news of the gruesome death of King Andrew."

31 Notum enim sit Ecclesie sancte Dei quod Ludovicus rex Hungarie, qui regnum italicum arripere sic conatur, finaliter non obtinebit quod volet nisi ad tempus breve. Et cassando Italia Gallicos, destruet et finaliter semetipsam, quia ignoranter super orbem inducet futurum Antichristum. Calabria enim Apulia, Terra laboris et Campania finaliter ad Ludovicum Siculum revertentur et Italici plurimi Ludovico proximo libentius unientur. (*Liber secretorum eventuum*, §13).

[Let it be known to the Holy Church of God that Louis, King of Hungary, who currently tries to grab the Kingdom of Italy, will not obtain that which he desires in the near future. And by bringing naught to the French of Italy, he will destroy it and finally himself, since the future Antichrist* will unknowingly lead the whole world. Calabria and Apulia, the Terra di Lavore, and Campagna will ultimately revert to Louis of Sicily and the rest of Italy will gladly be united to this Louis.]

Roquetaillade's system called for two Antichrists, a mystical and a great Antichrist, the former preceding the latter. Louis of Bavaria, who had tangled with John XXII and harboured the fugitive Michael of Cesena, had been marked as the mystical Antichrist in Roquetaillade's *Commentum oraculum beati Cyrilli*, composed between 1345 and 1349 (Bignami-Odier, p. 98). Louis of Sicily, or Trincaria in the day, was as near a descendant of Frederick II, the old Spiritual enemy, as could be found. Louis' mother was Constance, the daughter of Manfred, Frederick II's well-known illegitimate son. Louis' Aragonese connection, through his father Peter of Aragon, also worked against him in John's prophetic schemes, since Aragonese intervention during and after the Sicilian Vespers of 1282 made them the greatest block to the reassertion of Angevin claims there.

32 Decima Douie, *Nature and Effect*, p. 164n. On Roquetaillade's attitude towards Michael of Cesena, see note 14. On the history of the Kingdom of Naples in the fourteenth century, see Leonard, *La Jeunesse de Jeanne I^{re}*, and *Les Angevins des Naples* (Paris, 1954).

33 Remarkably, John is one of few contemporaries to absolve Joanna of any wrongdoing: *Et ob hanc rem Dominus observabit Johannem velut innoxiam de manu furie regis Ungarie* "And on account of this the Lord will find Joanna innocent concerning the murder Of the king of Hungary." The quotation is from John's *De oneribus orbis*, composed around 1354, Tours MS 520, cited originally in Leonard, *La Jeunesse*, I:478, and later described by Bignami-Odier, pp. 130-9, 242.

34 quia cum dixit tristitiam ecclesie *flos devinctetur* ad litteram eodem anno visitari incepit in morte reges andree qui in alio oraculo tractatus qualiter appellatur flos ursi quia a suffocatio dicti regis et citra regnum florum lilii neapolitanum non sine tristitia ecclesiam ab unguaris et a gente sine capite turpiter est devinctum pariter et vastatum...anno domini m ccc lvi in augusto inclitissimus ac strenuissimus miles philippus rex francorum in francia iuxta crassini permittente oculo iudicio dei in campo bello devictus est ab edoardo rege anglorum auxilio preditorum regni flammangorum et gaufredi de aericuria normanni et aliorum multorum..." (MS Vat. lat. 753, f. 36v)

[Since he said in the passage that the flower will be defeated in the same year that the sadness will be visited upon the church, it began with the death of King Andrew, who similarly in another oracle is called the flower of the bear, because with the suffocation of the said king, the nearby kingdom of the flower of the lily, Naples, has been foully defeated and thoroughly preyed upon by the Hungarians and by the 'people without a head,' not without sadness to the church....in August of the year of the Lord 1346 the most renowned and vigorous knight, Philip, king of the French, in France near Crecy by submitting to the secret judgment of God, was defeated on the battlefield by Edward, King of England, with the aid of the aforementioned kingdom of the Flemings, Geoffrey Harcourt, and many others.]

35 *et devinctetur flos non ut predatur sed ut francorum superbia castigetur et laxatio cleri penitus extirpetur* (MS Vat. lat. 753, f. 36v), "And the flower will be defeated not that it may be preyed upon, but rather that the haughtiness of the French will be castigated and that the laxity of the church will be thoroughly extirpated."

36 in quinta intentione taxatis dominum casus inclitissimi ac christianissimi principis nostri francorum et debilitatem potentis imperii gallici †piuscum† hoc anno heu †extermit† ut †cervitis† dolentes precedere debet fuga ecclesia de avinion et adventus antichristi propinqui per eo quasi robur christianissimi frances induraret a vigore prestimo nunquam possent affligi viri ecclesiae nec ferorum proximus antichristus venire quare prosumo teneati pro super medium roburi et fortitudo francorum ab imperiis †mimetur† hac vice usquequo non possit viros ecclesiasticos de tyrannis tueri quos super modum necessarium est †castigibi† hac vice. Et sciatis si bella futura plura inter popululum francorum et adversarios regni et sicut michi in signo ostendit dominus in die sancti Michaelis inmediate preterito propter captionem domini regis nostri predicti. (*Vade Mecum*, MS Vat. lat. 1964, f. 198v)

The Brown edition has:

In *quinta intentione* praeterita; quoniam inclytissimi atque Christianissimi Principis Regis nostri *Francorum* ac * deliberationum adventuum Imperii *Gallici*, qui multum heu! In hoc anno excrevit, ut dolentes cernitis, praecedere debet fugam Ecclesia de *Avinione* & antichristi propinqui pro eo: quod si robur *Christianissimi* imperii *Francorum* duraret in vigore pristino nunquam possent affligi viri Ecclesiastici, nec ferox proximus *antichristus* venire. Quare teneatis pro firmo quod supra modum robur & fortitudo *Francici* imperii imminuentur hac vice usque quo non possit viros Ecclesiasticos a tyrannis tueri, quos supra modum necesse est castigi hac vice. Et scitote bella plurima inter populum *Francorum* & adversarios regni futura, ut mihi indignissimo ostendit Dominus in die *S. Michaelis* inmediate praeterito propter captionem Regis nostri *Johannis*.

*Misere his corrumpitur textus ob egregiam scribae vel transcriptoris insciam: siquid ex laceris verbis sensus possis elicere, bene est: vide autem interea, Lector, quantum damni patiuntur authores, cum amanuenses stulti, qui manuscripta antiqua nesciunt legere, eorum opera exscribenda in se recipiunt. (Brown, *Fasciculum*, p. 499 and note)

[In the fifth *intention* above; whereas this year saw the fall of the most renowned and most Christian Prince, our King of the French, and * the enfeebled power of the gallic empire—what great sadness! Such lamenting, that the church should begin to leave Avignon and the antichrist near at

hand for its own sake: but the strength of the most Christian empire of the French is to endure with such undaunted vigor that no one will ever be able to harass the ecclesiastical men, especially not the wild antichrist to come. Wherefore you should hold as a fact that the strength and fortitude of the French empire will be weakened by this sin to a point where it will not be able to safeguard ecclesiastical men from tyrants; therefore above all these men must be punished for this sin.

Furthermore, know that if there are many future wars between the French and their adversaries, that the Lord thus revealed it to me in a sign on the last Feast of St Michael after the capture of our Lord King John.]

Unfortunately the text has been corrupted by the remarkable ignorance of the scribe or copyist: the meaning remains deeply obscure.

37 See note 34 above.

38 de hoc gallo habeo opiniones duas...Prima est que hic gallus nigrus erit summus pontifex qui Jone prefato in papatu succedet...et vocatur gallus quia erit natione gallicus sollempniter coronatus ut gallus Et vocatur nigrus aut quia erit homo magne poenitentie sicut in canticis nigra sive dicit ecclesia si formosa Aut quia ad litteram niger erit in colore aut quia forsitan possibile foret que esset habitus nigri...Per pullis eius ego intelligo evangelicos viros qui in diebus illius affirmantur ad ecclesiasticas dignitates ad irrigan-dum orbem...qualiter certum est que gallus iste vicarius Christi est Et pulli sunt evangelici viri...Secundo opinione est que gallus iste niger erit unus terrenus imperator affirmendus de genere gallicorum post mortem ut puto vel circa bestia ascendentis de mari quem reperator afirmet ad imperium sine electione alamannorum...Et pulli eius multi gallici nobiles destinabunt hinc inde ad curam universi. (MS Vat. lat. 753, ff. 39v-40r)

[Concerning this rooster I have two interpretations...The first is that this black rooster will be a Pontiff who will succeed the aforementioned Jonas in the papacy...and he will be called 'gallus' since he will be crowned solemnly as such in the Gallic nation, and he will be called black since he will either be a man of great mercy, just as in songs one calls the church either dark or well-formed (on this point see Brown's marginal note, quoted in note 36 above) or he will literally be black of color, or perhaps it means he might wear a black habit...By his chicks I understand evangelical men, who in those days will be affirmed to ecclesiastical dignity to wash over the

earth...in any case it is certain that this *gallus* is the vicar of Christ and his chicks are evangelical men...My second opinion is that the black cock will be a world emperor affirmed of Gallic stock—after the death or thereabout, I believe, of the beast rising from the sea—whom the restorer will affirm to imperial authority without election of the Germans...and his chicks will be many Gallic nobles who will thenceforth be appointed to the care of the world.]

39 See note one, above.

40 *Gaudeo de reparatione futura sed contristor de imminenti* (*Vade mecum*, f. 196r), “I am hopeful about the future, but am concerned about the events at hand.” Brown’s edition has *Gaudeo de reparatione futura, sed contristor de imminenti*, p. 497.

41 Robert Lerner, “Medieval Prophecy and Religious Dissent,” *Past and Present* 72 (1976), pp. 3-24.

42 See above, note 38. Similarly, in the *Vade mecum* John speaks of the final French conqueror of Jerusalem, who *affirmet contra morem alemanice electionem in imperatorem romanum* (f. 200v), or who *assumet, contra morem Alamanica electionis, in Imperatorem Romanum*, ed. Brown, p. 502.

43 See above, note 28.

44 See note 29 above.

45 Bignami-Ocier, pp. 53, 186.

46 Adriano Capelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature latine et italiane* ed. Ulrico Hoepli. 6th ed. (Milan, 1990), Table VIII, “Testamento olografo dell’eremita frate Antonio da Montebono:”

Ego frater Antonius hermita dictus de Montebono et professus sub regula tercii ordinis prefati beati Francisci, et qui longo tempore sum solitus habitare tanquam pauper heremita in hermeritorio contiguo monasterii Sancti Systi de Placentia, Dei gratia sanus corpore, mente et intellectu, volens facere meam plenam ordinationem secundum mandatum dicte regule de certis meis rebus et specialiter de omnibus meis libris quorum nomina infra scribuntur....Item, liber in duobus quaternis in quo sunt prophetie Thelosfori presbyteri et heremite ad dominum Antonium de Adorniis ducem Janue.

[I, Father Antony, said hermit of Montebono and a professed under the third rule of Saint Francis, and who for a long time am to live alone as a

poor hermit in the hermitage near the Monastery of Saint Systi of Piacenza, by the grace of God being of sound body, mind, and spirit, wishing to make my full ordination to the second level of the said Rule, am concerned about certain of my things, particularly all of my books, which are listed below...Item, a book in 32 pages, in which are the prophecies of Telesphorus, priest and hermit, to Lord Anthony of Adorno, Doge of Genoa...]

If the name Telesphorus were not enough evidence to assume that this is the same Telesphorus of the study, the dedication to the Lord (doge) Antonio of Genoa—the man to whom the *libellus* of Telesphorus was dedicated—is. See Franz Kampers, *Die Deutsche Kaiseridee In Prophetie Und Sage* (Munich, 1896; rep. 1969), p. 124: “Der tractat trät eine Widmung an den Dogen Adorno von Genua, welche vom 3. September 1386 datiert ist.”

47 Franz Kampers, *Die Schrift des Telesphorus*, p. 235 ff, as cited in Bignami-Odier, p. 214.

48 Lerner, “Return,” p. 71: “There remains an urgent need for a detailed study of Telesphorus’ work; currently even his nationality remains uncertain.”