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WAITING FOR THE END? APOCALYPTICISM, HERESIES, *PAX DEI* AND INVASIONS AROUND *ANNO DOMINI* 1000

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The article discusses mass millenarian and apocalyptic attitudes and expectations around *Anno Domini* 1000. Despite the fact that a number of written sources have painted a vivid picture of apocalyptic and millenarian sentiments, no answer has been provided to the question of the root cause of such sentiments, that is, the factors that gave rise to them on the eve of, and following, *Anno Domini* 1000. The author argues that the outburst of millenarian and apocalyptic moods was just "the tip of the iceberg" of the mass insecurity and fear which had been around for generations and were recorded by some chroniclers. The uncertainty and fear resulted from foreign invasions, rising anarchy and the lack of strong authority and order in most of western Europe. Therefore the question of apocalyptic sentiments can be approached not in terms of spiritual and religious attitudes only, but as a desperate outburst of fear. The author concludes that instead of the popular name "Time of The End," the decades around 1000 AD could be defined as "Time of Fear." The fear in question operated at both the personal and social levels and affected souls and bodies alike.
Keywords: millenarianism, apocalypticism, *Anno Domini* 1000, *Pax Dei*, *Treuga Dei*, heresies, Viking invasions, Saracen invasions, Magyar invasions.

The problem of "The End" around 1000 AD has attracted the attention of historians for decades, and there have been different interpretations of the written evidence on public sentiments in those times. The millennial year, or *Anno Domini* 1000, was originally discussed within the context of nineteenth-century French historiography. The discussion was initially introduced by François Plaine but was further developed by other historians.[1] The topic was subsequently approached by scholars working in the mid- and late twentieth century; it has also been at the centre of more recent scholarship.[2]

[1] See Plaine, François. "Les prétendues terreurs de L'An Mille." *Revue des Questions Historiques*, t. XIII, 1873, pp. 145–164.; Rossières, Raoul. "La légende de l'An Mil." *La Revue politique et littéraire*, t. XIV, № 39, 1878, pp. 919–924.; Orsi, Paolo. "L'Anno Mille." *Rivista storica italiana*, № 4, 1887, pp. 1–56.; von Eicken, Heinrich. „*Die Legende von der Erwartung des Weltunterganges und der Wiederkehr Christi im Jahre 1000". Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 23, 1883, S. 302–318.

[2] See, among others, *Duval, Frédéric*. *Les terreurs de l'an mille*. Paris: Bloud, 1908.; Vasiliev, A. "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East." *Byzantion. International Journal of Byzantine Studies*, vol. XVI, fasc. 2, 1944, pp. 463–502.; Lot, Ferdinand. "Le mythe des terreurs de l'an mille." *Mercure de France*, № 300, 1947, pp. 639–655.; Focillon, Henri. *L'an mil*. Paris : Armand Colin, 1952.; Duby, Georges. *L'An Mil*. Paris, 1967.; Le Blevec, Daniel. *L'an mil*. Paris, 1976.; Pognon, Edmond. *L'an mille*. Paris, 1981.; *Poly, Jean-Pierre.* "L'Europe de l'an *mille*". *Le* Moyen Age. Paris, 1982, t. 2 , pp. 19–72.; Fossier, Robert. *Enfance de l'Europe*. Paris, 1982, pp. 290–301.; Milo, Daniel. "L'an mil: Un problème d'historiographie moderne." *History and Theory*, XXVII, № 3, 1988, pp. 261–281.; Bois, Guy. *La mutation de l'an mil*. Paris, 1990.; Delort, Robert. "France, Occident, monde à la charnière de L'an Mil." *La France de l'an Mi*l. Paris, 1990, pp. 6–26.; *Freund*, Stephan. „*Das Jahr 1000. Ende der Welt oder Beginn eines neuen Zeitalters*?" *Der Tag X in der Geschichte*. Stuttgart, 1997, S. 25–49.; Schneidmüller, Bernd. *Jahrtausendwende. Ein Magdeburger Vortrag über*

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At present the term "millennial year" and its content are the subject of controversial discussions in historiography, and no definitive end of the dispute is in view.

Anno Domini 1000 was not identified as a fatal year by its contemporaries; this happened much later, around 1600 AD. It was closely connected to feelings of intense fear and anxiety at the end of the first millennium of the Christian era. The emergence of this myth was associated with *Annales Ecclesiastici* by the Catholic Cardinal Caesar Baronius (1538–1607). In fact, most of the chroniclers, who produced their texts at the millennium, did not mark the year 1000 AD as special or in any way unusual. Rather, their attention was drawn to the years 993, 1007, 1016, 1033 and a few others from the same period. At present some historians maintain that the year 1000 AD was directly related to medieval apocalyptic and millenarian expectations. One of the most notable contemporary scholars investigating the problem about the millennial year 1000 is Professor Richard Landes of the University of Boston in the USA.[3] His views and analyses are largely shared by Bernard McGinn, Richard Abanes and Thomas Head.[4]

First, the supporters of the thesis of the special role of the year 1000 AD argue that the use of the so-called *Dionysian era* was quite common in the Carolingian period, and this is borne out by the *Easter tables* which were present in all major monasteries and churches. In these tables the year *Anno Domini* was specially noted, and monks and priests spread knowledge about it among the common people. The second argument is that in Latin Christendom there existed a tradition of anticipation of the end of the world. When the second date for the supposed end of the world, or 801 AD, passed (the first one was about 500 AD), the year 1000 since the Incarnation of Christ was adopted as the next, and last, date of the end.

Moreover, supporters of the theory of the importance of the year 1000 have argued that the evidence provided by historical sources was often indirect rather than direct. Evidence of this kind was linked to an increase in the number of pilgrimages and the Synodal movement, which were most active in the periods 1023–1033 and 990–1000. Last but not least, there is the argument that the period around the year 1000 was celebrated as special and was connected to Christian chiliastic and apocalyptic moods by chroniclers such as Raoul Glaber, Adémar de Chabannes, Teetmar of Meersburg and others. The supporters of the thesis conclude that the apocalyptic expectations about 1000 AD had contrasting manifestations in a Europe, which was fundamentally united by Christianity, but was nevertheless fragmented for historical and cultural reasons (Landes, "Relics" 290).

On the other hand, some modern-day and contemporary researchers of this problem are of the opinion that the year 1000 since the birth (or crucifixion) of Christ was not marked by strong chiliastic and apocalyptic movements (Rauth 164, 173, 172–196.; Brook 131–133). In support of this opinion, such authors put forward the following arguments. First, they believe that there are real reasons for the year 1000 and the period around it to be eschatologically marked. Their second objection is that there is little evidence supporting the fact that the year 1000 was associated with apocalyptic moods of fear and terror of its advent. These authors point out that there is insufficient information about strong chiliastic and apocalyptic movements, and that they are not related to the year 1000, but to the years 968, 1010 and 1033. On the basis of this analysis, they infer that 1000 was just another ordinary year, and that some of the information provided by chroniclers should not be taken into account as evidence of any radical changes in society. They maintain that the year 1000 had social dimensions in terms of the apocalyptic moods which were not typical of the aristocracy, but characterized the perceptions of commoners, the lower clergy and representatives of certain monastic orders. The historians in question connect the period around the year 1000 with the evolution of the feudal system in western Europe rather than with any apocalyptic or chiliastic attitudes.

Vorstellungen und Wirklichkeiten im Mittelalter. Magdeburg, 2000; Stepanov, Tsvetelin. *V ochakvane na kraya: evropeyski izmereniya, ok. 950 – ok. 1200 g.* Sv. Kliment Ohridski UP, 2016. According to Tsvetelin Stepanov, in western Europe, there was an increasing interest in the *Apocalypse* and *the End*, and the two issues were mutually conditioned.

[3] See Landes, Richard. *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of history*. *Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034*. Harvard University Press, 1995.; Landes, Richard. "Millenarismus absconditus: L'historiographie augustienne et le millénarisme du haut Moyen age jusqu'à l'an Mil."*Le Moyen Age*, 1992, t. XCVIII, pp. 354–377.; Landes, Richard. "Sur les traces du Millenium: La "Via Negativa"."*Le Moyen Age*, t. XCIX, № 1, 1993, pp. 5–26.

[4] See Mc Ginn, Bernard. *Visions of the End*. New York, 1979.; Abanes, Richard. *Endtime Visions: The Road to Armageddon?* New York, 1998.; Head, Thomas and Richard Landes. *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000*. Ithaca, 1992.

Such opposing views on the expectations of The End and 1000 AD have been around for many decades, and the dispute is unlikely to be completely resolved. This is mostly due to the scarcity of information provided by historical sources, which are also rather vague on the issue, and differences in research methodologies employed by historians. Also, the analysis of the arguments for and against mostly testifies to apocalyptic attitudes based on biblical texts and popular prophecies, thus focusing on mental-religious traditions and attitudes. For this reason the present article aims at producing an interpretation of attitudes resulting from by far more numerous factors, including Norman, Saracen and Magyar pressures on western Europe. Besides, the article discusses the heresies and the *Pax Dei* and *Treuga Dei* (Peace of God and Truce of God) movement of the eleventh century as part of the overall picture of mass sentiment associated with 1000 AD.

Apocalypticism and millenarianism were essential features of the spiritual and religious life of medieval Europe. Apocalypticism reflects the views of the end of the earthly world, which will be accompanied by horrors, destruction and torture of sinful humanity. Christian apocalypticism proceeds from the last Book of the Bible, known as the Book of Revelation. Although it is part of the Bible and Christianity, the Apocalypse can be linked to eschatological ideas, which were widespread among Jews between the first century BC and the first century AD. The belief in the establishment of an earthly kingdom of God is closely linked to Jewish expectations about the emergence of a secular messiah. Having been under foreign occupation and political slavery for a long time, the Jews expected an earthly Saviour who would restore the past glory of Israel. These expectations are embodied in apocalyptic books such as the Book of Enoch and the Book of Ezra in which various details of the coming of the Messiah, the destruction of enemy nations, the rebirth of the world and universal resurrection can be found.

As a result messianism intertwined with apocalyptic attitudes. In the early centuries of the spread of Christianity, millenarianism spread rapidly throughout Asia Minor. Despite its considerable influence and the fact that it was supported by theologians in the early centuries of the Church, millenarianism did not become part of the apostolic tradition and was not incorporated into church doctrines (Bardy 1760–1763). Among the prominent supporters of millenarianism was St. Augustine of Hippo, but over the years he partially changed his position and adopted a more balanced view. St. Augustine believed that the idea of universal resurrection should be understood in a spiritual rather than a physical sense, but towards the end of his life he defended the position that the Second Coming would not occur in the near future. According to St. Augustine, the Second Coming would occur in six thousand years of human history, corresponding to the six days in which God had created the world. This interpretation was adopted by Western theologians in the Middle Ages and as a result millenarianism was not maintained by the Catholic Church as part of its apostolic tradition.

However, millenarian expectations and ideas persisted among the lower classes and acquired immense popularity in times of natural disaster and political and military turmoil. Very often these two lines combined in the religious consciousness and believers held that the Second Coming of Christ would be preceded by the Apocalypse. Thus, with the approach of the third eschatological date, *Anno Domini* 1000, in the count of the years after Christ, preconditions for a new chronological change no longer existed. The starting points, or the Incarnation, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, were already properly and accurately recorded (Landes, "Apocalypse" 290–291). It was for the first time that the Latin Christian world faced such an eschatological end date, which intensified apocalyptic attitudes. As a result, two basic groups were formed among the supporters of millenarianism in medieval society. The first was that of popular mass supporters, and the second was associated with educated religious circles, whose moods and attitudes differed from the chiliastically oriented mainstream.

One of the famous chroniclers, who testified to millenarianistic sentiments, was Raoul Glaber, who lived in the eleventh century and described the events of the period between 900 and 1044. According to him, fear of a looming year 1000 was commonly spread in different regions of western Europe among the uneducated and superstitious (*Ex Rodulfi Glabri* 69; Raul Glaber 64–65, 153–157, 171). The author also testifies that after the year AD 1000 had passed without accidents, some began to speculate and argue that the Second Coming would occur in AD 1033, that is, 1000 years after Christ's Passion and Resurrection. But when the Chronicle reaches this year, the author notes only the death of several famous rulers and senior church officials and an unusual gathering of pilgrims in Jerusalem.

Naturally, the monk Glaber, who lived in Burgundy, did not have precise and extensive observations on the whole of western Europe, but his historical essay provides information of the direct link between millenarian

and apocalyptic expectations around the year 1000. In some cases the reader is left with the impression that the author simply connects some facts and events with the age of the millennium, but in others it is clear that many events are indeed linked to a growth in millenarian sentiment, mostly on the eve of the year 1033 or 1000 years since the Resurrection of Christ.

Moreover, the chronicler Glaber testifies explicitly to the spread of such expectations and fears among the common people. According to him, the appearance of Halley's Comet in AD 989 was seen by the masses as a sign from God, but the chronicler refrains from providing a definitive interpretation or a commentary after the event (*Ex Rodulfi Glabri* 66; Raul Glaber 95). In this case, Glaber gives evidence of the fact that the natural phenomenon of the comet gave rise to a mighty wave of millenarian feeling, but he himself apparently preferred to remain sceptical. The author mentions two solar eclipses, in AD 1033 and AD 1039, which were connected with cataclysms. Glaber also provides a description of another eclipse, which occurred in 1044, which is rather remarkable for its intertwining of rational knowledge with religious mysticism. The chronicler explains that natural phenomena are caused by God, but adds that the common people accept them with horror and with the thought of impending torment and destruction. Another event with a strong influence on the masses, which is represented by Glaber in his chronicle, is the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in the Bay of Naples, which occurred in the year 993 (*Ex Rodulfi Glabri* 87; Raul Glaber 64, 171–172, 198). All this presents a picture of a spread of apocalyptic and millenarian sentiments, which reached its apogee about a thousand years after the birth of Christ.

It should be pointed out that this attitude was reinforced by the general uncertainty provoked by years of famine, disease and war. Besides the written sources of the era, some anthropological studies based on archaeological material provide clear evidence of the uncertainty of life in that era. Research into the demographics of the rural population in the early Middle Ages has provided evidence of short life duration (Kazakov and Donkova 312-314). The average mortality rate equalled the birth rate, and the analysis of skeletons has shown that endogamy, or marriages between close blood relatives, led to degenerative diseases and higher mortality. Many diseases were caused by food scarcity, monotonous diet and avitaminosis, which often led to rickets in children. Neuroses common in those times explain some paralyses, there used to be cases of hysterical neurosis with multiple personality disorder and maniacal behaviour. Written sources often speak of what appears to be acute mania or depression associated with seizure disorders. Such people were frequently assumed to have been possessed by the devil.

Without a doubt, a close parallel can be drawn between demographics and diseases, on the one hand, and the strong apocalyptic and millenarian sentiments among the common people around *Anno Domini* 1000, on the other. The above mentioned factors were a significant reason for the emergence and spread of apocalyptic and millenarian sentiments. The people of those times, suffering from chronic insecurity about their own as well as their relatives' lives, easily accepted the idea of a devastating Apocalypse and a Second Coming.

Based on the above, we can conclude that the period between AD 1000 and AD 1033 was marked by strong outbursts of religious feeling among the lower classes, who approached *Anno Domini* with strong millenarian and apocalyptic expectations. The year 1000 was just another specific chronological point in this restless and disturbing period in the history of the Latin West. At the same time, it should be noted that it would be a grave mistake to exaggerate the significance of *Anno Domini* 1000 in the history of the Christian West. In this atmosphere of highly religious moods, a movement among monks and, more generally, in clerical circles, appeared in the south of France. It was the *Pax Dei* movement which originated in the lands of the Duchy of Aquitaine. In a short time, the *Pax Dei* received broad public popularity and became a powerful and highly influential religious and social factor.

At the end of the tenth century, in France and then to the south of the Loire, the decline of royal power led to a crisis of public authority and caused deep social transformations. According to some researchers, the changes began during the second half of the tenth century and continued over the next two centuries (Fossier, "Les mouvements" 259–260). That position was taken up by other historians as they focused their research on the decades around the turn of the first millennium after Christ. The general situation in the Kingdom of the West Franks (*regnum Francorum occidentalium*) during the period in question was characterized by several essential traits. First among those were the consequences of the invasion of the Normans and the Magyars that ravaged Europe in the tenth century. Demographic and economic stabilization occurred after this collapse, but the negative results were there until the eleventh century. Another specific feature of the period in question

was a new model of rulership, which was constructed as a result of the decline of the Carolingian authorities, and was most evident in the Kingdom of the West Franks.

The old Carolingian system of political and administrative organization was radically changed and a patchwork of many small domains, which were under the rule of local and relatively autonomous castellans, appeared in its place (Lemarginier 407). The choice of the new Capetian dynasty in AD 987did not change the balance of power in some regions of France, but they were few in number. In most regions the decline of the central authority led to frequent clashes or feuds between local and regional representatives of the aristocracy. Among these volatile and troubled regions were also the Duchy of Aquitaine and the Duchy of Auvergne, where the processes of political, religious and social change led to the emergence of the *Pax Dei* movement.

The church hierarchy was also affected by the changes in the system of power and despite the fact that the acquisition of church property by secular parties was not a novelty, the phenomenon worsened during the period under consideration. Offenders were getting more in number and church leaders could not rely on help from their lay protectors or defenders. Local castellans often interpreted their provisional rights (*advocatia et vicaria*) over church land as an authorization to operate the same. Those, who were called defenders of the churches, used church property for their own needs and profit against the authority of law and church canons and often practised violence against the clergy and monks. Another characteristic of Frankish society on the eve of the emergence of the *Peace of God* movement was the widespread practice of blood feuds and private wars (the so-called *faida*, *faidus*). Feuds and private wars were inherent to the nobility and their roots could be traced back to the ancient German law of the transitional period from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (Wallace-Hadrill 122; White 195).

Undoubtedly, such changes marked a state of decay and anarchy. This increased the sense of instability and insecurity among the common people. The basis of their uncertainty and fear, however, was not so much their religious sensibility, but the specific threats and horrific experiences and terrifying stories of Norman, Saracen and Magyar raids. Norman attacks ravaged West Francia primarily in the ninth century, but the south western French coast was also under their attacks between 966 and 970 AD.[5]

Fear of the Magyars was particularly strong in the first half of the tenth century (Reuter 128–129; Ekkehard 114–118, 136–141). In 910, the Magyars defeated an army of Franconians and Swabians, commanded by King Louis the Child, in the vicinity of Augsburg in Bavaria. Between 917 and 925, they raided vast regions of Rhaetia, Swabia and Provence. During the same period Muslims were attacking and ravaging the Alpine regions, Piedmont and northern Italy. Significantly, the important Italian town of Pavia was sacked by the Magyars around 924. Around 937, Magyar horsemen launched a fierce series of raids on Capuan and Beneventan territory and the area around Naples, which also coincided with the intensification of Muslim raids on Calabria (Kreutz 100–101).

In 953–955, a civil war in Germany broke out between King Otto I and his son Ludolf which allowed the Magyars to raid western Europen territories again. According to some written sources, they raided throughout Franconia and Bavaria with a great force. The Magyars crossed the Rhine at Worms and moved into Lorraine, then moving into north eastern France, Rheims, Chalons and into Burgundy. From there they moved into northern Italy, raided Lombardy and finally returned home. In 954, they launched new massive raiding campaigns throughout Bavaria, Italy and the Alpine regions, but were finally crushed at the Battle of Lechfeld on 10 August 955 when the heavy cavalry of Otto I defeated a larger Hungarian army in Bavaria, near the city of Augsburg.

The devastation and destruction that accompanied Magyar raids were so widespread that they had a tremendous impact on those witnessing the events and inspired Latin writers such as Remigius of Auxerre and Liudprand of Cremona to depict these invaders as the biblical Gog and Magog, unleashed on the world to inflict divine punishment (Pohl 30; Sager 27). Among the written evidence of the horror of Magyar devastation is also a letter sent to the Bishop of Verdun (Landes, *The Apocalyptic Year* 337–338). While the letter rejects the view that the Magyars were Gog and Magog, it nevertheless confirms the existence of mass fear and the attitude that those pagans were perceived as a sign of the biblical Apocalypse.

The tenth century and the eve of the year 1000 AD were also marked by the fear of Saracen raids. In 902, the Muslims conquered Sicily and their rule over the island lasted for more than two centuries. In 920 AD,

[5] West Francia (*Francia occidentalis, regnum Francorum occidentalium*) was the western part of Charlemagne's Empire and the earliest stage of the Kingdom of France, lasting from about 843 until 987.

Muslim forces crossed the Pyrenees, entered Gascony and reached as far as the gates of Toulouse. The arrival of Iberian Muslims in Provence signalled the effective decline of Frankish naval power in the western Mediterranean. The Muslims established themselves at Fraxinetum and used it as a base of operations to raid the western Mediterranean, Provence and northern Italy until their expulsion in 972. Throughout the tenth century, Muslim raiders from Fraxinetum, Monte Garigliano, north Africa and Sicily continuously assaulted Italy and West Francia, devastating much of the territory of these regions, not unlike the Viking invasions in northern Europe (Bloch, *Feudal Society* 5–10; Lewis146–147; Haywood 113).

In 953 AD, Otto I sent representatives to Cordova to ask Caliph Abd al-Raḥmān to call off some Muslim raiders who had set themselves up in the Alpine passes and were attacking merchant caravans going in and out of Italy. Grenoble was recaptured from the Muslims in 965. In 972, the Muslims in the Sisteron district of France surrendered to Christian forces and their leader asked to be baptized. At the same time, the situation south of the Pyrenees remained quite uncertain. In 981 AD, Ramiro III, King of Leon, was defeated by Al-Mansur (Muhammad Ibn Abu'Amir*)* and was forced to pay tribute to the Caliph of Cordova. Four years later, Al-Mansur sacked Barcelona and thus came close to the territories of the Southern Franks. The last decade of the tenth century was marked by new Arab conquests, giving rise to fear and uncertainty. In 997, Muslim forces marched out of the city of Cordova and headed north to capture Christian lands. They arrived in the city of Compostela on the 11th of August and burned it to the ground. Although the wars between Christians and Muslims in Spain would proceed with particular ferocity over the next few decades, the range of the hostilities shifted to the south, which reduced fears of invasion north of the Pyrenees. Despite the fact that they were not so numerous, the raids of Muslims in Italy greatly increased the fears of Christians. The monastery of Monte Cassino was destroyed for the second time by Arabs in 994, and Muslim raiders sacked the Italian city of Pisa a decade later. Like the clashes on the Iberian Peninsula, the intensity of Arab attacks dropped towards the end of the eleventh century.

Next, significant changes in religious life and organization can be identified as an important characteristic on the eve of the millennium. They occurred in the development of the Clunian monastic reform, which followed strict standards in church life and led to the implementation of the Gregorian reform. Reforms within the Church reached a climax between 980 and 1020 AD (Dunbabin 155). The progress of significant ecclesiastical reforms was most visible in the lands of Normandy and Aquitaine. Their dukes managed to preserve the Carolingian ideal of secular and religious harmony, which was manifested in their personal presence at the councils for the *Pax Dei* and their direct support of the council's decisions. Due to the above mentioned circumstances, the *Pax Dei* movement started in Aquitaine and Burgundy in the last quarter of the tenth century. In 975, Bishop Guy Le Puy called a large council in the open field under the walls of the episcopal city to condemn those who attacked churches and the clergy in his diocese. Under a threat of excommunication, the Bishop requested the knights and the armed peasants (*milites ac rustici*) to take an oath to protect the peace. Moreover, Le Puy called on neighbouring bishops to support the decision of the council and to appeal to the masses, using the sacred pantheon of their dioceses, to support the religious enthusiasm of the laity (Head and Landes 5).

The earliest known written decisions concerning the *Pax Dei* are associated with the council of Sharru in 989 AD, where three types of crimes were penalized with excommunication: robbery of church property, violence against the clergy and stealing livestock from peasants. Later councils for the *Pax Dei* followed the model established at the council of Sharru. In the next decade, several regional councils and gatherings of bishops, monks and commoners (in the presence of the relics of saints) followed the example of the council of Sharru. Thus the geographical area of the movement shifted from southern to central France, from Narbonne and Ruergue to Auvergne and Burgundy. The first councils showed a typical characteristic of the movement that corresponded with the religious enthusiasm around *Anno Domini* 1000. It was the worship of relics of saints, the faith in their healing and miraculous powers and the sanctification of the place or event at which they were present. In this sense, millenarianism and *Treuga Dei* were inextricably linked to the cults of Christian saints or were a consequence of such cults of saints. Indicative of this is the description of the transfer of the relics of St. Yunianus to the council in Sharru, which was the work of Letaldius of Missy (Letaldius 823-826). Several councils for peace were conducted in the years that followed the year 1000, and the movement was most intense between 1020 and 1030 AD. A record of twenty councils, not only in the

territories of Aquitaine and Burgundy, but also in Catalonia, Provence, Narbonne, Berry, Flanders, Champagne and Normandy, was set in this decade.

Once the events of 1033 were described by the chronicler Raoul Glaber, the movement suffered significant changes. In 1038, Bishop Emon organized a militia of peace and then for the first and last time his followers were forced to defend the peace with weapons in their hands, not only by means of excommunication, which was practised most widely. Last but not least, church reforms and the diocesal conciliar movement were a response to a threat that increased the overall sense of uncertainty and fed the growing sense of anarchy: the threat of heresies (Tailor 57–61).

The period's chronicles paint the early eleventh century as a time of rising heresies, or rather a rising fear of heresies. From around the year 1000, some written sources speak, in alarmed tones, of a new heresy which had appeared in Aquitaine. Some of them called the heretics "Manichees" and claimed that the heresy had also taken root in other parts of the West. Landes finds in Adémar de Chabannes's accounts of heresy evidence of communities that sought to prepare for "The End" with the simplicity of early Christians, thus threatening the spiritual and doctrinal authority of the established Church.

Several incidents attest to heresy in north eastern Francia from the turn of the tenth century into the 1040s. In about AD 1000, in the village of Vertus (the diocese of Reims), the peasant Leutard professed ideas apparently transmitted to him by a swarm of bees. He appeared learned and became a preacher, converting many peasants to his beliefs. (*Ex Rodulfi Glabri* 89–91; Raul Glaber 77–78). The first documented executions of heretics in medieval Europe occurred in Orleans in 1022, when thirteen or so were burned. Several Cathar heretics were discovered in Toulouse and put to death in the same year. Those were not the first ever Christian-on-Christian heresy executions in the West, but they marked a revival of the practice after some six centuries of disuse.

In 1025, some heretics of Arras were reconverted by Bishop Girard I. They were apparently the followers of Gunduan, an Italian heretic. Further south, the diocese of Chalons-sur-Marne was a heretical centre for several decades. Also, many heretics, essentially peasant converts, were punished in 1015 and 1043 in the diocese of Chalons (Herigeri 226–228). Next, heretics appeared in Italy in the diocese of Milan and near Turin in 1028 and 1040 (Heresies 86–89). Moreover, Adémar de Chabannes describes the heretics in his history as messengers of the Antichrist, who turned the common folk from faith. (173, 185, 194). Despite discussions about the origin of those early heresies (native-born or influenced from abroad, spiritual or socio-economically oriented), the data cited above are indicative of of strong fear, both individual and collective. Such uncertainty and fear provoked a stronger reaction by local bishops.

In 1040, the *Pax Dei* movement changed and adopted ordinances for the protection of unarmed people and the Church. It was the *Treuga Dei* (Truce of God), which outlawed all offenders of the peace. The *Treuga Dei* councils and decisions went much further than those of the *Pax Dei* in the regulations of the rights of the *milites* to use weapons. Moreover, the *Treuga Dei* councils pronounced the shedding of Christian blood a sinful deed under a threat of excommunication. The same practice was adopted at the council of Clermont in 1095, where Pope Urban II confirmed the *Treuga Dei* and called the knights on a crusade for the release of the Holy Sepulchre from the Seljuks.

As a result, the *Pax Dei* and *Treuga Dei* movement gradually became part of secular law and jurisdiction, and in the Holy Roman Empire, several emperors and dukes disseminated the decisions of the *Treuga Dei*, thus directing their vassals against external, foreign enemies. In this way the *Treuga Dei* was co-opted by secular authorities and became part of the settling of the constitutional order and establishment of peace in the eleventh century. In France, around the middle of the twelfth century, the *Pax Dei* became a royal peace, and secular authorities took control of the legitimate use of violence. Therefore, we can point out that the *Pax Dei* and *Treuga Dei* movement was a successful attempt to restrict disintegration, internal anarchy, mass fear and insecurity.

In conclusion, the millenarian and apocalyptic events, and the conciliar movement around 1000 AD, could be approached and analysed in terms of their backgrounds and origins. Certainly, they were the result and product of a popular and long-lasting view of the Second Coming and the Book of Revelation as well as of a wave of social energy; but what if a strong sense of uncertainty and fear also played their part?

Undoubtedly, the millenarian sentiments were caused by a combination of objective circumstances, such as wars, years of famine, earthquakes and celestial phenomena, and the expectation of the Second

Coming played an important role in laying the foundations of the *Pax Dei* and *Treuga Dei* movement. To a considerable extent, that mass movement redirected enormous spiritual energy towards a secular political and social mainstream. The idea of imposing and keeping the peace and order became a unifying element between the Church and secular society as represented by some of the nobility as well as the urban and rural populations. At first sight, it seems that the *Pax Dei* was a religious movement, but its councils dealt with a wide range of religious and secular matters. The main efforts of the movement's supporters were directed towards the problems of order and disorder. Thus, these diocesal councils sought a regulation of public life, which was inextricably linked to the spiritual and religious foundations of medieval society. Moreover, the local councils and the *Pax Dei* and *Treuga Dei* movement could be regarded and analysed as an incidental and spontaneous reaction against this dangerous outbreak of popular and even aristocracy-shaped anarchy.

According to some researchers, a pervasive fear of the end was not typical of the whole of medieval society but rather characterized its better educated members (Stepanov 37). This, however, does not negate the existence of pervasive fears among broad masses of the population, which were provoked and instigated by the attacks of Normans, Saracens and Magyars. That is why it was not so much a fear of the millennial year 1000, but mostly fear of certain specific threats that provoked the above mentioned apocalyptic attitudes.

Undoubtedly, in the decades following *Anno Domini* 1000, the social system and order underwent a tremendous ordeal, and this is borne out by the appearance of heresy and the of *Pax Dei* and *Treuga Dei* movement. All this paints a vivid picture of insecurity and fear, fomented over a lengthy period of Norman, Saracen and Magyar raids. That is the reason why the above mentioned events and movements could be identified and marked as clear signs of deep social crisis and disintegration. Therefore, instead of the popular name "Time of the End," the decades around 1000 AD could be defined as "Time of Fear and Anarchy," when a combination of spiritual and physical fears concerning the welfare of souls and bodies alike, operated at both the personal and social levels. Apocalyptic attitudes and the expectation of the Antichrist were just some of the manifestations of such mass fears and insecurity in the vague and troubling times of a transition between two millennia.

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