# Table of Contents

**Preface** ix  
**Acknowledgments** xiii  
**Abbreviations** xvii  

## Introduction  
1 The Early Middle Ages: A World without Crowds? 1  
The Crowd as Historical Subject 3  
The Crowd Regime of the Early Middle Ages 10  
Sources and Structure 12  

1 The Roman Legacy 15  
Crowds in Roman Antiquity 15  
The Crowd from the Republic to the Principate (c. 400 BCE–300 CE) 17  
The Crowd in Late Antiquity (c. 300–600) 19  
Scale 23  
Functions 25  
Ambivalence 27  
The End of the Roman Crowd Regime in the West 31  
The Legacy of Roman Crowds 33  

2 Numbers 35  
Number and Scale 35  
Early Medieval Demography: Evidence, Causes, Trends 36  
Regional Heterogeneity 40  
Population Pools and Carrying Capacities 44
## Contents

### Sizes of Gatherings
- Numbers and Crowds

### 3 Peasants and Other Non-Elites: Repertory and Resistance
- The Problem of Non-Elite Crowds
- Peasants: Far from the Madding Crowd?
- Horizontal and Vertical Coordination
- Spirituality and Recreation
- Resistance
- Repertory and Resistance

### 4 The Closed Crowd: Elite Venues and Occasions for Gathering
- Predictability, Hierarchy, Unity
- Religious Gatherings
- Gatherings in “Public” Life
- Intra-Elite Competition and Conflict: The Case of Tours
- The Solemn Assembly
- Ramifications of the Closed Crowd

### 5 Words
- Semantic History
- Crowds across Languages
- Blurring Distinctions: Populus
- Christianization: Contio
- Erosion of Negative Connotations: Turba
- Crowd Words Transformed

### 6 Representations
- Patterns of Representation
- Topoi, Type Scenes, and Their Sources
- Qualities of the Crowd in Early Medieval Discourse
- Crowds and Sanctity
- The Crowd as Witness
- Bad Crowds
- Epilogue: Into the Eleventh Century
Contents

Conclusion 171

The Crowd in the Early Middle Ages 171

Ramiifications 174

Notes 179

Index 297
Introduction

The Early Middle Ages: A World without Crowds?

What became of Roman crowds after Roman Antiquity? In the fifth and sixth centuries, a civilization famous for riots, triumphs, bread and circuses, and mass acclamations gave way to a quieter world. Urban and demographic decline meant that large and frequent gatherings grew rare. By 650, the ruins of the Colosseum, built in the first century to accommodate an audience of fifty thousand in a city of one million, could have held Rome’s population twice over. Across Europe and the Western Mediterranean, the crowds of old Rome became a memory. But they were not replaced all at once by the forms of collective behavior most commonly associated with the Middle Ages. Such quintessentially “medieval” crowds as acts of peasant unrest, mass preaching, popular heretical movements, pogroms against Jews, and collective armed pilgrimages to the Holy Land only arrived on the “stage of public events” much later, after the year 1000, when European populations and cities were expanding again.

This book is about gatherings in Europe during the five hundred years between an age of circuses and an age of crusades.

Scholars generally characterize c. 500–1000 as a time of quiescence in European collective life. The standard view is that the Western Roman Empire gave way to a largely rural, peasant-centered political economy, increasingly aristocrat-dominated by the 700s and 800s. Decentralization was still the rule when much of Western Europe came under the sway of the Carolingian empire (eighth to early tenth centuries). Compared to the north, southern Europe (coastal Spain, Provence, Italy, the eastern Adriatic) retained greater urbanism, population density, and integration with Byzantine and Islamic societies. But even city-rich Italy lacked the multitudes of Constantinople, Córdoba, or Baghdad. As a result, scholars see early medieval crowds as either epilogue to ancient Rome or preface to high medieval Europe. The consensus, closer to a default than a position staked out, is that the de-urbanized, depopulated early
Middle Ages was a time in which masses did not play a decisive role in social, political, or economic life: a world without crowds.

There is some truth to this view, depending on how one defines the crowd. Urban riots were a statistical rarity in the early Middle Ages, though factional squabbles involving gatherings were not uncommon. Known peasant revolts across the whole period can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The mass entertainments and mass politics of old Rome, which lasted in the East, vanished in the West. But gatherings of many kinds retained their importance. Early medieval European sources are full of crowds—just not the sort historians have trained themselves to look for.

A gang of harvesters stands waiting for beer rations at the end of a long day in the fields. Merchants at a busy port jostle along the piers. A grumbling populace makes a count think twice about releasing a prisoner. Before a throng of grieving supplicants, a bishop resurrects a child thought to be dead. An abbess vindicates the chastity of her nuns against an accusation by processing before local onlookers. In an annual assembly, nobles hear decisions promulgated as troops muster for war. A town’s multitudes clamor as magnates set out to the hunt. A ruler bathes in hot springs near his palace, surrounded by a hundred subjects. A priest asks God to protect and Mary to intercede on behalf of the people assembled in a church. Hundreds flock to see new relics of saints brought from distant lands, bringing gifts to the saints’ earthly stewards. Supporters of rival candidates for bishop shout slogans and wave banners. As a pope takes power, crowds of clergy and laymen acclaim him as their chosen one. From the sphere of heaven, troops of angels and saints look down on the inhabitants of this world. At the end of time, “multitudes, multitudes” will gather in the valley of decision to be judged by the Lord.4

Crowds like these are ubiquitous in early medieval sources. In conceptual isolation, agricultural, mercantile, liturgical, ecclesiastical, monastic, elite, non-elite, and imaginary gatherings have enjoyed scholarly interest. But scholars have not brought these disparate crowds together to ask what unites them in this age of the crowd’s scarcity. Indeed, some may doubt whether such gatherings, excepting rare acts of non-elite crowd resistance and the rowdy politics of southern cities, were really “crowds” at all.

The argument of this book is that the history of early medieval crowds, taken as a whole, tells a meaningful story: one of systemic, scalar change in economic and social life and of reorganization in the world of ideas and norms. In the early medieval West, gatherings became a scare resource, and this changed how people thought about them and what it was possible to do with them. At the same time, early medieval culture remained bound up with a Roman past marked by abundant multitudes. Crowds, being open to the imagination, escaped the confines of real-world demographic limits. The lens
of the crowd allows us to see how reality and ideal responded to drastic change.

There were meaningful differences in how post-Roman crowds worked from setting to setting, particularly between the more urbanized south and the less urbanized north. But the crowd as subject illuminates early medieval Europe’s structural coherencies in diachronic and synchronic comparison. By contrasting the early medieval European case to the Roman past and later medieval future, or to the Byzantine and Islamic present, a new crowd regime in Western Europe, c. 500–1000, comes into view.

What happened to collective behaviors—riots, assemblies, armed bands, violent groups, peaceful gatherings, religious processions, mass calamities, and laboring crowds—and the words, images, and ideas that stood for them between c. 500 and c. 1000?

In broad terms, in the wake of fifth- to seventh-century urban and demographic change, physical gatherings became smaller, less frequent, and less spontaneous. The uses to which they were put were circumscribed. Crowds were more predictable, more controllable. Ideas about their legitimacy changed. A negative discourse of mobs attenuated. Without regular riots, the word for a “riot” (turba) was given over to more peaceable assemblies. This contrasts with contemporary Byzantium and Islam, where urban multitudes remained large, frequent, unpredictable, and discursively ambivalent.

Yet the early medieval European crowd regime, for all its peculiarity, was inventive and influential. Later European history owed more than has been recognized to this unusual chapter of crowd history. Laws of collective responsibility, politics of assembly, and the discourse of crowds, including both positive links between crowds and legitimacy and enduring negative associations between crowds and women, have early medieval roots. This book uses the crowd to situate the legacy of early medieval Europe in its wider history. But first, it is necessary to define what is meant by “crowd.”

The Crowd as Historical Subject

The fact that there is no concerted study of the crowd in early medieval Europe makes this period exceptional. Innumerable settings across human history have been examined through this prism. But what sort of scholarly subject is the crowd? The word alone casts a large semantic net. Even by a narrow definition, like the Oxford English Dictionary’s (“large number of persons gathered so closely together as to press upon or impede each other; a throng, a dense multitude”), there are endless ways of tackling “the crowd” as a topic of investigation.

First, there is the old crowd psychology, which defines the “crowd” as a gathering marked by shared mental alterity. Second, a sociological take on the
psychological crowd focuses on collective effervescence as a component of ritual. Third, literary scholars and art historians pursue crowd representations in speech, writing, or art. Fourth—and most commonly in the discipline of history—crowds become proxies for the motives of the socially marginalized. Each of these approaches (barring the first, perhaps) has something to recommend it, but all, as we will see, are unsuited to the early medieval story. A new synthetic approach, influenced by a more recent sociology of crowds, is proposed instead.

Crowd Psychology: The “Open” Crowd

In classic psychological theory, a “crowd” is a gathering in a state of alterity. Participants lose their sense of self, decouple from normal social roles, and feel, say, or do things they never would in everyday life. The history of crowds by this definition is the story of how contingent values and institutions interact with a transhistorical psychotropic. Within this framework, there have been two ways of proceeding, one focused on collective behavior as the dissolver of social order, and the other focused on it as the servant of social order. Elias Canetti (1905–94) articulated this as the difference between “open” crowds (spontaneous, egalitarian, temporary), and “closed” crowds (nonspontaneous, hierarchical, perennial), a distinction to which we will return.9

The best-known account of the “open” crowd comes from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century crowd psychology.10 Typical is Gustave Le Bon (1841–1931), author of the influential *Psychology of Crowds* (1894).11 Le Bon insisted that numbers alone do not make a crowd.12 Shared goals triggered a metamorphosis from mere gathering to “psychological crowd” (*foule psychologique*). He portrayed this shared crowd-mind as irrational, violent, and emotional, likening it to drunkenness, femaleness, childishness, and savagery, but acknowledging its power. Its natural impulse was to demolish, but its emotionality made it manipulatable.13

This approach casts an ambivalent shadow. Today, scholars are more inclined to study the antidemocratic, misogynistic, or racist politics Le Bon and his ilk smuggled into their ideas than to take them seriously.14 But the traditional crowd psychology influenced the theories of Freud and Bernays, guided the policies of dictators and populists, and still informs the more palatable sociology and anthropology of the crowd.

*Durkheim and Turner: The “Closed” Crowd*

The “closed” crowd, in Canetti’s terminology, is the domesticated version of the “open” one. Its theorists begin with the same premise that crowds trigger a state of giddy exception, but they ask how this state is used in the interests
of social order. Festivals solidify group identity. Focal rites direct attention, veneration, or hostility toward a target. Reversal rituals, like the carnival as world-upside-down of Mikhail Bakhtin, offer release from the burdens of hierarchy. This crowd breaks society apart in order to keep it going.

The foundational articulation comes from Le Bon’s contemporary, the French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917). “As soon as individuals come together,” he argued, “there arises from their interaction a kind of electricity that rapidly transports them to an extraordinary pitch of exaltation.” While this electricity was sometimes destructive, Durkheim believed “collective effervescence” provided stability to social realities. It made change (relatively) safely. The norm-bending “liminality” of collective action, as Arnold van Gennep (1873–1957) called it, facilitated rites of passage. The anthropologist Victor Turner (1920–83) developed an even rosier vision of this: crowd alterity as “communitas,” whose effects “flood their subjects with affect.”

The Durkheimian or Turnerian approach, focused on the making of social order through controlled deconstruction, has proven more attractive to historians than the pejorative essentialism of Le Bon. Both reuse the same trans-historical claim: minds transform in a crowd. But there is a deeper functional point: whatever their stated purposes, crowds serve as a social maintenance project. Perhaps some Romans grasped that games and circuses functioned as a “safety valve” to hinder riots or as a “microcosm of empire” to induce solidarity; it hardly matters. The social scientist seeks the crowd’s “etic” function (the outsider explanation), not its “emic” one (the insider explanation).

Limitations of “Open” and “Closed” Crowds

There is something to all this. Experiments have detected raised levels of opioids and endorphins as well as coordinated heartbeats in those performing or just watching synchronized activities. Societies doubtless adapted to changes in human physiology triggered by collective behavior. Nevertheless, there are problems with any definition of the crowd that stakes everything on mental transformation.

There are other, more fundamental, ways of characterizing collective behavior. Swarms of insects, schools of fish, flocks of birds, and herds of mammals perform coordinated behavior in which individual interactions add up to something greater. Although the mental or hormonal state of animals may alter when collective behavior is underway, that is not what defines the phenomenon. Instead, scientists stress an emergent problem-solving capacity, a kind of artificial intelligence arising from a cascade of individual stimuli.

This emergent collective problem-solving serves many functions: risk mitigation, exchange of care, acquisition of information. Crowd theory’s focus on altered mental states—put bluntly, how our one species reacts physiologically
to collective behavior—is limited. After all, gatherings do more in human societies than to flood minds with affect. They offer strength in numbers, a venue for resource exchange, an efficient mechanism for sharing news, an occasion for deliberation, a chance for pleasure, and a public sphere. All these functions might be accompanied by the shared altered mental state that interested Le Bon, Durkheim, and Turner. None of them require it.

There is also an evidential problem. How can historians detect fleeting mental transformations from second-hand reports? Across the literature, there is a version of Potter Stewart's test for obscenity: “I know it when I see it.” But what if participants are disengaged or faking it? Theodor Adorno argued that totalitarian crowds depend not on real mass unity, but on the coercive manipulation of its appearance. The “function” of the crowd in societies may be a result of seeming rather than being. This speaks to the enduring importance of discourse.

The Crowd in Discourse

The “crowd” is an idea as much as a reality. To cultural, literary, or intellectual historians, this makes it an important subject in its own right. One does not need to read the mind of dead participants or reconstruct ephemeral details of assembly, action, and dispersal. Discourse is revelatory on its own.

For premodernists, an influential model is Erich Auerbach (1892–1957). A historicist in the tradition of Vico, Auerbach believed representation was the key “to grasp the special nature of an epoch.” For him, crowd representations were particularly revelatory. Tacitus’s motiveless crowd reflected his aristocratic worldview; Ammianus Marcellinus’s grotesque crowd reflected late antique mannerism. Although scholars quibble with Auerbach’s historicism, his work has inspired studies of the literary crowd.

That includes work on the later medieval crowd (c. 1000–1500). Several studies explore the figure of the crowd in sermons, exempla, and literature. Alexander Murray has shown how twelfth-century university men nourished a snobbish discourse of mobs and rabble. Gary Dickson has probed the conception of crowds in later medieval spirituality, and the fears they awakened in thinkers like Roger Bacon, who worried that heresiarchs possessed a power of fascinatio, or “bewitchment,” over crowds, just as Gustave Le Bon thought that leaders enthralled crowds by a sort of hypnotism. Sara Lipton has explored the moral and civic significance of the crowd’s gaze in late medieval art and society, particularly with respect to the depiction of Jews. Two valuable articles on early medieval crowds, by Joaquín Martínez Pizarro and Hugh Magennis, were written in this literary mode.
In discourse history, evidential vices become virtues. If a text copies a type scene from the Bible, this reveals an authorial filter. If it oscillates between concrete gatherings (a crowd) and abstractions (the people), this illuminates a thought-world. Nevertheless, most discourse histories share Auerbach’s interest in the realities behind representations. They seek the economic, social, and political context behind crowds-in-texts.

The “Historical” Crowd: Rudé, Thompson, Davis

Since the mid-twentieth century, historians have approached that task in a particular way, focused on non-elite motivations. In the 1930s, the pioneer of bottom-up history Georges Lefebvre (1874–1959) attacked Le Bon’s crowd as vague and stereotyped. In 1961, the British Marxian historian George Rudé (1910–93) followed through with a definition of the crowd limited to “what sociologists term a ‘face-to-face’ or ‘direct contact’ group and not any type of collective phenomenon.” Rudé attacked scholars “preoccupied with mental states.” He criticized the mission creep of theorists who used the term “crowd” to describe all imaginable collectivities. This, he argued, conflated analysis with judgment. “The crowd” became everything good or everything bad about (non-elite) collectivity: “the people” versus “the rabble.”

Rudé jettisoned “crowds” he felt were irrelevant to social history: casual onlookers, crowds assembled “on purely ceremonial occasions,” event audiences whether passive or participatory, and “outbursts of mass hysteria.” Such gatherings, he argued, may be “fascinating material for the student of crowd psychology, but they may be of only casual interest to the historian.” He limited himself to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century “strikes, riots, rebellions, insurrections, and revolutions.”

This pruning was the culmination of a long-term effort in sociology and history to rescue a social-scientific concept from metaphorical contamination. In practice, it meant using prosopography and price/wage data to reconstruct the motives behind non-elite political crowds. Strikes, riots, and the like were not the flailing rages of a disgruntled underclass, but reasoned reactions to socioeconomic stimuli, filtered through contemporary values and expectations. Just as Rudé recast eighteenth- and nineteenth-century workers’ uprisings as reasoned actions, medievalists like Rodney Hilton, Michel Mollat, and Philippe Wolff found “real” socioeconomic causes for late medieval peasant revolts and heretical movements. Common folk grabbed firebrands, followed millenarian leaders, or attacked minorities not because of a mob mentality, but for identifiable reasons rooted in class-based antagonisms and economic hardships.
Still, something was missing. Rudé conceded that some crowds—moments of religious hysteria or pure rage, for instance—fell outside of the “historian’s” (meaning the social or economic historian’s) purview, and properly belonged to the psychologist or the scholar of religion. In the early 1970s, two historians, E. P. Thompson and Natalie Davis, reclaimed this terra incognita for history. In Thompson’s 1971 article “The Moral Economy of the Eighteenth-Century English Crowd” and Davis’s 1973 article “The Rites of Violence,” and in their related articles on English and French charivaris, they altered the way historians talked about crowds for decades.44

The Moral Economy and the Rites of Violence: Thompson and Davis

At the heart of both contributions was the cultural turn. Instead of seeking socioeconomic explanations for crowd behavior, they sought what Thompson called a “legitimizing notion,” the fact that “the men and women in the crowd were informed by the belief that they were defending traditional rights or customs; and, in general, that they were supported by the wider consensus of the community.”45

Thompson criticized earlier historians for treating food riots as lurching reactions to hardship. Food riots were not “spasmodic” responses to grumbling stomachs, but the work of offended minds, responding in a culturally rooted fashion. Eighteenth-century rioters saw themselves as upholding a violated “moral economy” of price and distribution. They were “fixing” the price of bread (a quasi-legal procedure); they felt they had to do this because the government and gentry had failed to. In Davis, religious violence worked similarly. The crowd’s exclamations mimicked the exhortations of pastors; its rough justice, the punishments of magistrates; its pageantry, routine liturgy, and folk tradition. For both, “the crowd” was a “curious continuation” of “repertory” under abnormal conditions: the people taking on the job of the authorities.46

These interventions prompted a shift. Formerly, non-elite crowds were seen as acting out of desperation. Doomed riots, orgies of violence, and ecstatic religious acts were quintessential “open” crowds. People suffering from what Durkheim called “anomie,” the sense of being left out, turned to group unruliness out of alienation. The “economizing” explanation restored some of these crowds to a more precise rationality—their misrule being rooted in specific hardships—but Rudé’s socioeconomic crowd was still saying a desperate “no” to a malign social order. Thompson and Davis, however, saw food riots and lynch mobs as would-be “closed” crowds. These crowds appealed to norms and aped official rituals. If people are primed by “repertory” (law, ritual) to

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu
think that the world is periodically made right by crowds, then riotous or ecstatic gatherings are not desperate rebellions against the status quo, but rational efforts to maintain it. This inversion—“open” crowds turn out to be “closed” crowds in anomic conditions—is central to Thompson’s “moral economy of the crowd” and to Davis’s “reasons of misrule” and “rites of violence,” and has proven justly influential.47

Still, in Thompson, Davis, and those influenced by them (including some critics), a breach, or a perception of a breach, always separates crowd and repertory. Thompson’s crowd defends a moral economy affronted. Davis’s religious rioters act because order has not been defended “officially” and “formally.”48 Officialness or formalness becomes the absence that defines a crowd. But how should historians identify the border between norm and exception? In practice, historians look for non-elites acting unusually. If laborers take arms against their masters despite the inevitability of defeat, if commoners engage in ecstatic acts despite recriminations, if neighbors attack neighbors despite the social damage it causes—in short, if collective behavior is non-elite, anomalous, and maybe a little hopeless—that makes it a “crowd.”

But the crowd–repertory dichotomy, for all its explanatory power, is as arbitrary and unprovable as Le Bon’s distinction between the gathering and the “psychological crowd.” If the distinction is between gatherings that resist public order (e.g., a riot that breaches a ruler’s palace) and those that constitute it (e.g., a procession organized by the ruler), the deciding factor is a sense of public order.49 But whose? If disruptive crowds turn out to be motivated by a desire to defend proper order after all, this distinction, as Suzanne Desan has noted, allows historians to have their cake and eat it too.50 It is as if historians uphold the crowd–repertory distinction in order to be able to blur it.

Moreover, dividing collective behavior into repertory and crowds insists that the defining function of gatherings is to regulate order. In “repertory,” order is shaped officially by elites; in a “crowd,” unofficially by non-elites. Hence, the former tends to be associated with elite domination and the latter with non-elite resistance, or, at least, agency. Certainly, it is possible to categorize gatherings this way. But if we consider other functions, the limitations of this approach become clear. In all premodern societies, a crucial function of gatherings is to act as venues of information exchange. Yet historians do not draw a categorical distinction between gatherings in which information is shared vertically by design (sermons, assemblies) and those in which it is shared incidentally and horizontally (harvests, markets). Such a distinction might be analytically useful, but it would not occur to anyone to insist that the former are “real” crowds and the latter are some other kind of gathering.
The Crowd Regime of the Early Middle Ages

How then should we define the crowd in early medieval Europe? One way would be to use the restrictive definition of the historiography—the crowd as non-elite transgressive extension of normal social behavior—and to ask how this stably unstable subject was affected by post-Roman scale change. Applying this approach to the early Middle Ages would mean investigating an imbalance in domination and resistance. The period is known for orderly assemblies organized by elites, not for popular uprisings. One finds, in Davis’s terms, “repertory” but not “the crowd,” in Canetti’s, “closed” but not “open” crowds. In 1980, Moore spoke for many when he argued that “the crowd” in its usual historiographical sense was largely absent in early medieval Europe.51

One could attempt to substantiate, explain, or add nuance to that observation. Did a lack of opportunities for resistant crowds deprive the marginalized of a means of asserting themselves? Did other weapons of the weak replace them? Hilton, Wickham, Goldberg, Rembold, and others have ably pursued these questions.52 One could dwell on regional exceptions. For instance, Italian cities held onto rowdier crowds than other regions of post-Roman Europe. Brown, Herrin, and West-Harling have located the causes in Italy’s greater urbanism and Byzantine political traditions.53 These are valid perspectives, but they exclude the nonpolitical majority of early medieval gatherings.

Another way would be to focus on discourse, to conduct a literary history in the Auerbachian mode centered on the early medieval depiction of collective behavior. Here, one could question Moore’s framing, and ask to what extent the apparent absence of historiographically familiar “crowds” is a mirage of the sources—and this is just what Moore himself wondered in a 2016 reconsideration of his 1980 argument.54 One could ask how classical and Christian patterns of representation influenced writers c. 500–1000. This book certainly considers the extent to which biblical and hagiographical topoi inform the legitimizing crowd that predominates in surviving texts, even as classical contempt for unruly crowds did not entirely die out.

But the present study is more interested in how physical and discursive crowds interacted. To do this, it proposes the concept of an early medieval “crowd regime,” a holistic ideal type of how collective behavior was organized and represented. In thinking about physical phenomena, it borrows the neutral term “gathering” from sociologist Clark McPhail.55 A “gathering” is a crowd in the most neutral sense: active or passive, large or small, orderly or disorderly.56 The term presupposes nothing about motivation, psychological state, or “officialness.” It simply refers to numbers. This offers a way forward that depends on neither the “madding crowd” of crowd theory nor the self-effacing distinction between “crowd” and “repertory.”
In thinking about the discourse history of crowds in this period—the blurring of technical differences, the attenuation of negative discourse, the tendency to associate crowds with legitimacy—this book balances two opposing tendencies. First, early medieval concepts drew upon classical and Roman models; second, they arose from new logistics of assembly. Instead of starting with prefabricated assumptions about what a “real” crowd must be, the goal is to trace the mutual interaction of gatherings and their representations.

The distinctive role of crowds in early medieval societies was a function of these different modalities. In diachronic and synchronic comparison, early medieval Europe was under-supplied with gatherings. Between c. 500 and c. 1000, many complex systems in the West—economies, social hierarchies, political regimes—adapted to a smaller demographic scale. But scale change, though it acts as a frame, does not fully explain the early medieval crowd regime. Post-Roman Europe was not much less densely populated than long stretches of the Iron Age before the Roman Empire. What sets this period apart is not downward scaling alone, but contraction alongside engagement with the Roman and Christian past.

In early medieval Europe, gatherings retained great importance. In economic and social life, they coordinated labor, information, and resources in seasonal venues. This made them easier to predict and manipulate by those controlling assembly. But although crowds ceased to be a weapon of the weak in the sense that non-elite uprisings were rare, as a tool of the strong, crowds had limits. Since resource extraction and authority depended on numbers, gatherings were an expensive necessity. They were vulnerable to resistance and misdirection too. In a world where taking dues, giving justice, providing pastoral care, and receiving political consent depended on the physical assembly of dependents or followers, refusal to assemble—or the choice to assemble on behalf of one lord as opposed to another—were effective tools of resistance and competition. A measure of this is a new pejorative discourse of rustic, foreign, and female crowds that arose from the 500s to the 800s, almost as a strategy of desperation, to replace the lost Roman language of rabblés and mobs. In discourse, crowds retained their electricity, but they were wired differently.

The dichotomy between crowd and repertory favored in the historiography—the religious riot versus the holiday procession—is not universal. It is best suited to demographically dense, economically complex societies with clear distinctions between public and private life, pronounced axes of domination and resistance, and regular non-elite recourse to crowd action in the form of riots and protests (complex anti-institutions whose existence cannot be taken for granted). These are the historical ecologies best known to crowd history. They include Greco-Roman Antiquity, the high and later Middle Age, the early modern West, the early industrial world, and our own times. But early medieval
Europe was a different environment. There was a blurrier distinction between public and private, so that differentiating “official” and “unofficial” crowds is difficult. While there are sometimes clear lines of domination and resistance, for most rural non-elites, passive resistance was a safer, more effective recourse than mass assembly. This meant that crowds served all the more powerfully as a source of legitimacy in this period, given the marshaling of resources and interclass cohesion it took to assemble them.

Sources and Structure
To trace this change, the present study uses texts, manuscripts, archaeology, artwork, and computational philology. The archaeology of churches, monasteries, palaces, cities, markets, and settlements in which gatherings assembled has improved markedly in the last half-century. It is easier than it once was to reconstruct a horizon of possibilities for gatherings in the post-Roman West. Early medieval narrative and literary sources are almost comprehensively word-searchable after decades of labor. Data-mining tools have enabled the comprehensive analysis of the early medieval language of crowds. Back in 1971, a valuable study focused on the use of the single term *populus* in two authors; now, with searchable databases rather than indices and concordances, it is possible to see at a glance, author by author, century by century, how thousands of texts used dozens of different crowd words. Deluxe images of crowds in manuscripts and the visual arts are increasingly digitized and published. Many of the logistical challenges of engaging upon a project of this purview have been eased by these developments. This book is aware of its debts: only thanks to decades of patient and skillful labor by others is it possible to ask these broader questions.

There are risks inherent to the sources of this period, which will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters below. Two should be foregrounded. First, early medieval written sources disproportionately represent the perceptions of elites, especially male ecclesiastical elites who monopolized (but never entirely) the written word. Second, such authors tended to use topoi inherited from the Roman and Christian literary past. One reason early medieval crowds seem so peaceful and pious is that early medieval texts were written by ecclesiastical authors copying hagiographical or biblical models. If we characterize these depictions as “typical” of early medieval perceptions of the crowd, we risk overstating or overinterpreting the evidence. It is not easy to say how typical one representation of the “crowd” really was in any given period. This study attempts to overcome this difficulty by putting the written evidence in conversation with nonliterary sources, but the methodological difficulty should be mentioned at the outset.
The Crowd in the Early Middle Ages is roughly divided into two parts. The first examines gatherings as physical phenomena. The second turns to the crowd as idea. A background chapter (chapter 1) sets up the Roman legacy with which the early medieval crowd regime was in conversation. A chapter on numbers (chapter 2) uses archaeology and demography to reconstruct the size and density of crowds in the early medieval West, showing the downward scaling in the possibilities for post-Roman gathering. The subsequent chapters (chapters 3 and 4) examine the resulting ecology of gatherings, in non-elite and elite contexts. Despite constraints upon assembly generated by the new demographic regime, the seasonality of agricultural labor, warfare, political culture, and liturgy allowed for the regular assembly of large numbers. Crowds, it will be argued, played a central role in questions of domination, resistance (including “slantwise” resistance), and competition, but in new ways.

In the second part, a chapter on words (chapter 5) traces the semantic history of crowd words and expressions in early medieval Latin, looking also to Gothic, Romance, Old High German, Old English, and Greek. This shows a loss of specificity and negative connotations in the vocabulary of collective behavior. Finally, a chapter on representation (chapter 6) uncovers some of the patterns with which early medieval writers described collective behaviors: clichés and type scenes that repeat themselves in hagiography, history, liturgy, poetry, and other genres. Here, the focus is on a discursive elision between physical gatherings and the wider abstractions of community or group they can be made to stand for. Attention is given to negative exceptions: the rustics, foreigners, and women used by elite authors to account for “bad” crowds. It concludes with the political, religious, and legal institutions organized around mixture of reality and ideal. The book ends with a transformation around 1000: an age of mass pilgrimages, great assemblies, open-air sermons, and, ultimately, crusades that marked a departure.

The historiography on the topic of crowds in the early Middle Ages directly has, until recently, been small, limited to a handful of literary studies, essays on violence in early medieval Italian cities, and work on peasant collective action. Yet the subject has ramifications for many spheres of interest for early medieval historians, and, in certain respects, has been touched on by many of them. Early medieval Christianity, from churchgoing to the cult of relics to councils, is bound up with crowds. Numbers were a scarce resource that elites struggled to control, making crowds a revealing vista onto early medieval social and political power. Gatherings are at the heart of a vibrant historiography on assemblies. Two excellent recent collections, on legal consensus and assembly culture, stress the order-making role of gatherings in the early Middle Ages. The subject also touches upon the efficacy and mechanics of early medieval law. Were crowds of witnesses called for in legal texts summoned
in reality, or did they prove more effective in the breach (that is, in protecting elites from prosecution)? Finally, this subject speaks to the way later medieval collective forms—from liturgical gatherings to parliaments—arose from early medieval precedents.67

A wider view illuminates all these questions. Even in the face of logistical hurdles to assembly in the early Middle Ages, bishops, abbots, abbesses, counts, kings, and queens found ways to mobilize gatherings to assert power over or extract resources from subjects and to legitimate religious or political behavior. Non-elites too developed uses for crowds, including acts of resistance by nonparticipation and ways of getting by that resisted the intentions of elites in a more “slantwise” manner.68 The prominence of the crowd in this period, its value as a way of organizing resources and legitimacy, was a reflection of the peculiar circumstances of early medieval Europe. This helps us grasp an essential truth about this period. Scholars have debated whether to understand Europe, c. 500 to 1000, as an extension of antiquity or as a prelude to the later Middle Ages.69 The “crowd” helps us see how this period was its own entity, an age of demographic and logistical constraint committed to remaining as Roman as possible. The history of how a Roman way of crowds gave way to a distinctively early medieval one illuminates the slipperiness of ideas, historiographical and otherwise, about crowds. It is a story that helps us recognize the instability of “the crowd” as we know it now.
INDEX

Aachen, 47, 108, 140, 151; archaeology of, 213n162, 214n164; miraculously dense crowds of, 149, 153; palace capacity of, 62
Abbo (abbot of Fleury), seditious crowd resisted by, 293n227
Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 54
Abd al-Rahman III (Umayyad caliph of Córdoba), 47
Abraham (biblical figure): numberless descendants of, 145; three hundred eighteen servants of, 52
Acts of Saint Sylvester (BHL 7725–43), as hagiographical model, 146
Adorno, Theodor, 6; on phoniness of totalitarian crowds, 182n23
Adrevald of Fleury (author of the Miracula Benedicti (BHL 1123–24)): topoi copied from Einhard by, 147; villainous crowd depicted by, 140, 272n253
Adso (abbot of Montier-en-Der): on crowds as signs of divine will, 71; on rustics, 69–70
Ælfric (abbot of Eynsham), 66
Æthelstan (English king), 57; assemblies of, 182n23
Æthicus Ister, Cosmographia, fantastic numbers of, 52
Agamben, Giorgio, 264n141
Agnellus of Ravenna (ninth-century historian): on amphitheater of Ravenna, 32; inflated figures of, 52; on mock-battles in Ravenna leading to violence, 162–63, 281n81
Agobard (archbishop of Lyon): crowd discourse of, 132; on peasant superstitions, 77, 161, 167, 293n206
agriculture, implications for peasant gatherings, 66–69
Aimoin (author and monk of Fleury, tenth and eleventh centuries), 147, 285n101, 293n227
Alcuin (English scholar, courtier to Charlemagne, abbot of St-Martin, Tours), 52, 91; conflict with Theudulf of Orléans over tumult at Tours, 111–12, 165; Latin style of, 252n205; negative crowd depictions of, 111–12, 132; unanimous crowd depicted by, 285n127
Aldebert (heretical eighth-century preacher with large crowds), 167
Aldhelm of Malmesbury: literary influence of, 147
Alexandria, 19, 21, 23
Althoff, Gerd: on deliberative vs. celebratory assemblies, 59, 115
Alvar, Paul, 128
Alypius (bishop of Thagaste, friend of Augustine), addiction to crowd entertainments of, 29–31, 162, 272n256
Amalarius (archbishop of Lyon, exegete of liturgy), 106, 279n54; on gender separation in church, 279n54
Amator (saint, bishop of Auxerre), child resurrected by, 2, 158
Ambrose (saint, bishop of Milan), 21
Ambrosius Autpertus, monastic crowd depicted by, 270n228
Ammianus Marcellinus (author of Res Gestae), 6, 21, 29, 275n12; negative use of term turba by, 136–37, 138
Amolo (archbishop of Lyon): advice to use blows against misbehaving crowds of women, 100, 168, 292n217; on crowds behaving exuberantly before unauthorized relics at Dijon, 53, 76, 78, 100, 167; on crowd size, 51, 217n203, 219n225
Amram Gaon (ninth-century Jewish sage), 126–27
Anastasius Bibliothecarius: on Byzantine numbers at joint-siege of Bari, 54, 159–60; negative crowd depiction of, 140; small numbers of council defended by, 53.
See also Louis II
Andernach, battle of (876), 53
Ando, Clifford, on acclamations, 18; on Roman trial procedure, 189n22
angaria (peasant hauling labor), 72
Angilbert (abbot of Saint-Riquier): collective liturgical arrangements of, 48, 91, 95–96, 100; Institutio de diversitate officiorum, 95–96
Angles (people), 22
Annales Bertiniani (Annals of Saint Bertin; Prudentius of Troyes and Hincmar of Reims): on mass deaths in a tsunami, 53; on peasant coniuratio (859), 64, 87, 235n199, 235n199; on Stellingas, 84–85
Annales Fuldenses (Annals of Fulda), on Viking numbers, 53–54, 84–85, 167
Annales Mettenses priores, 156
Annales Regni Francorum (Royal Frankish Annals), 147; multiplying gaze in, 159; word multitudo in, 149; word turba avoided by, 140
Annales Xantenses (Annals of Xanten), 84
annona (Roman grain dole), 24, 26, 193n90
Anskar of Bremen, 282–83n96
Anstrudis of Laon (abbess), 270n228
Antioch, 23, 26
Antoine Constitution (212), 19
Antoine Constitution of (212), 19
Antonine Constitution (212), 19
Antonine Plague, 38, 202n35
Anthony of Egypt (saint), 146, 147
Arabic: crowds denoted in, 166; crowd words of, 127–28
araturas (peasant plowing labor), 72
Arcadius (Roman emperor), 29–30
Archanaldus of Angers, 269n225
Arena, Patrizia, 25; on classical polysemy of turba, 136
Arezzo, 45; Siena’s jurisdictional conflict with, 46, 55, 74, 95
Armenian language, 129
armies, 84, 109–110, 117, 137, 150; angelic, 2, 102; crowds or peoples denoted as, 113, 123, 124, 125, 126, 220n139, 264n126; episcopal entourages lamented as, 56; Roman, 25, 137, 164; size of, 53–55, 159–60, 219n229; taxes for, 73, 74
Arras, eleventh-century heretics of, 169, 292n222
art, 6; isocephalic crowds in, 98, 172, 175, 276n25
assemblies, secular, 2, 3, 9, 10, 55, 56, 105, 107, 145, 171, 173; information and, 116; non-elite, 71, 86; oaths and, 74–75; parliaments and, 186–87n64; politics of, 113, 114–15, 176; in Roman era, 16–17, 20, 21; size of, 58–59, 62–63; sites of, 115, 117; “solemn assemblies,” 93, 112–16; visual representations of, 186n58; words for, 122–25, 134.
See also thing
Asturias, 41; non-elite revolt (c. 770) in, 81, 83, 87, 165, 234n164
Athenasius of Alexandria: Life of Anthony, 146; on number of fathers at Nicea I, 72
Audo (sixth-century Frankish iudex), home burned by crowd, 80
Audoenus (Audoin; seventh-century saint and bishop), as hagiographer, 217n211, 276n26
Audomar (saint), 270n228
Auerbach, Erich, 6–7, 10, 28; on Curtius’s concept of topos, 275n9; on representativeness of classicizing texts, 121
Augustine of Hippo (saint, bishop, and author), 29, 111; on the caterva, 266n176; on the crowd’s lure and power, 29–31, 162, 195n122; sermon audiences of, 94, 239n34; word turba used by, 138. See also Alypius
Augustus (Roman emperor), 28, 29, 116
Aurelian Walls (Rome), 24
Avars, 53, 54, 128
bacaudae (bagaudae), 19
Bacon, Roger, on hypnotic crowd leaders, 6
Bad Neuheim (salt production site), 49
Baghdad, 1, 4
Bailey, Lisa, 67–68
Baker, John, 115
Bakhtin, Mikhail, 5, 29
Baltherus (Balderich) of Säckingen (tenth-century hagiographer), 152, 282n87
Banerjee, Abhijit, 75, 290n98
Bannari, Michael, 121
Barbiera, Irene, 37. See also demography
Barcelona, 41, 53, 150, 207n86
Bari, Franco-Byzantine siege of (871), 53, 54, 159–60
barley, 66, 67, 227n22
Basel, 45
Basil I, Byzantine emperor, 54, 159–60. See also Bari, Franco-Byzantine siege of
Basque language, 128
Basra, 44
Baudonivia (nun and hagiographer), 275n14
Bauer, Franz, on “liturgical fragmentation,” 97
Bavaria, 39, 74, 103,
Beck, Hans Georg, 127
Bede (saint and author): on crowd of students, 152; on demographic decline, 43; dispute between saint and heretic before a crowd described by, 157–58; Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, 157; on retinue size, 56–57
Benedict VIII (pope), 160
Bernardino da Feltre (preacher), 62
Bernardino da Siena (preacher), 62
Bertin (saint), 129
Biddle, Martin, on settlement typologies, 45, 211n135
Biraben, Jean-Noël, 39–40
birds: crowds of, 5, 70; as pests, 66, 67, 70
Birka, 46
Bisson, Thomas: on celebratory character of assemblies, 114–15
blinding, 79, 165
blindness, 157, 272n261, 273n1, 287n150
Bloch, Marc: on churches as sites of gathering and business, 99; on demography, 36, 168; on peasants, 71, 78, 91–92
Blumer, Herbert (crowd theorist), 184n40
Bodo and Ermentrude (early ninth-century peasant couple), 77
Boethius: on psychological limits of crowds, 114; on public recognition by circus crowds, 27
Bohstedt, John: critique of E. P. Thompson, 185n44
Boniface (Carolingian count), 159
Boniface (saint, bishop of Mainz), 167; feast day of, 57, 102
Bordeaux, 42, 61
Boserup, Ester: on population and technology, 201n24
Bowes, Kim, 37
Brescia, memorial book (liber memorialis) of, 103
Brioude (Saint-Julian’s), 154
British Isles, 56–57, 157; demographic trends in, 37, 40, 42–43; in Roman era, 22, 25
Brookes, Stuart, 115
Brown, Peter, 10, 23, 198n2
Brunhild (Merovingian queen), 161–62
Bruttium (Calabria), 138
Buc, Philippe: on texts and ritual, 157, 163, 237n4
Bührer-Thierry, Geneviève, 110
Burgundians, 22, 123
Byzantium (Byzantines), ix, 1, 3, 44, 52, 55, 79, 135, 159–160, 165, 171, 220n246; acclamations in, 254n233; ancient Roman civilization linked to, 17, 21, 166, 188n9; Greek crowd vocabulary of, 119, 127, 131, 142; Italian cities influenced by, 10; politics and spectacle in crowd culture of, 22, 32–33, 54, 166, 197n146; topoi in the literature of, 274n15
Caesar, Julius, 29, 208n90
Caesarius of Arles (saint, author), superstition criticized by, 76–77
Calpurnius Siculus, Titus (Roman poet), 24
Cameron, Alan, 194n113, 195n124, 195–96n127
Canetti, Elias: as crowd theorist, ix; on “open” vs. “closed” crowds, 4, 10, 64, 93, 94, 117, 163, 168, 173, 256n264, 289n180. See also closed crowds caplim (peasant wood-cutting labor), 72
Caracalla (Roman emperor): baths of, 19, 24
carropera (peasant carting labor), 70
Cassiodorus, Senator (sixth-century author), 32, “Catos don’t go to the circus,” 23, 194n114; on “excess” permitted by the circus crowd, 28–29, 194n114–17; on food supply, 19; on Rome’s turbae, 138–39
Cassius (martyr), 151, 280–81n76
Castiglioni, Maria, 37. See also demography
Çatalhöyük, 16
cereals: production of, 67–68; in Roman era, 24; threats to, 70
Chang’an (Chinese city), 23
Chilperic I (Merovingian king), 31, 80, 164
christianity: discourse of crowds shaped by, 119, 132–35, 137–38, 141; in late antique crowds, 19, 21–22, 25
Christian of Stavelot: on ethnic dancing preferences, 232n122; on wisdom of crowds, 146
Chrodegang (saint, bishop of Metz), 131
cities and towns: early medieval decline of, 35, 38, 39; early medieval unrest in, 78–81; historiographical importance of, 174–75; cities and towns: early medieval decline of, 35, 38, 39; early medieval unrest in, 78–81; historiographical importance of, 174–75; Charles the Bald (Frankish king and emperor), 47, 56, 59
Charles III (“the Fat,” Frankish emperor), 57, 113
chestnuts, 66, 67, 68; as metaphor, 160
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 17, 25, 133
circumcelliones, 17, 19, 24
circuses, 5, 18, 28–29, 30, 41, 55, 100, 136, 173; “bread and circuses,” 1, 26, 28, 32; church-going as competition to, 195–96n127; collapse of, 15, 190n12; factions (demoi) and, 17, 24, 27, 130; Merovingian, 31; pious disdain for, 147. See also chariot racing Circus Maximus, 18, 23, 25; capacity of, 23
Cividale, memorial book of, 103
celtic fringe, 15
celtic languages, 121, 126
Cenwulf (bishop of Worcester), 57, 63
Ceoefrith (abbot of Warmouth-Jarrow), 56–57
circuses
Charlemagne (Charles; Frankish king and emperor), 54–55, 79, 91, 151, 214n164; army of, 150; canal project of, 74; Life of, 57, 147; oaths required by, 75; party to Alcuin’s and Theodulf’s dispute, 111–12; peasants’ legal recourse sought by, 166; retinue of, 56, 108, 140
China, 16, 23, 27
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 17, 25, 133
circumcelliones, 17, 19, 24
circuses, 5, 18, 28–29, 30, 41, 55, 100, 136, 173; “bread and circuses,” 1, 26, 28, 32; church-going as competition to, 195–96n127; collapse of, 15, 190n12; factions (demoi) and, 17, 24, 27, 130; Merovingian, 31; pious disdain for, 147. See also chariot racing Circus Maximus, 18, 23, 25; capacity of, 23
Cividale, memorial book of, 103
in Roman Antiquity, 16, 23–25. See also demography

Clermont, 45, 70, 79, 99, 154, 163; plague outbreak at, 217n211

closed crowds, 4–6, 8–10, 27, 65, 93–118, 168, 173. See also Canetti, Elias

Clovis I (Frankish king), 195n126

Cobb, Paul, 166, 261n82

cempo (compulsory Roman purchase of provisions), 24

Coleman, Edward, on assemblies, 113

Coleman, Emily, on infanticide, 37

Coleman, Kathleen, on audiences and sponsors at Roman games, 27

Collins, Samuel, on Alcuin’s depiction of the crowd, 111

Cologne, 45

Colosseum, 1, 18; capacity of, 179n1; ominous lightning strikes of, 189n12; post-classical use of, 32, 196n135, 197n140

Columbanus, 154, 273n1; alone among animals, 279n59

Comacchio, 46

Commodus (Roman emperor), 29

Compiègne, 61, 213n161; site of placitum for peasants of Mitry, 47, 73, 74, 89

cenci (lay collectives in Lombard law), 71–72. See also gilds

Condedus (saint, preacher to turbae), 269–70n227

coniurationes, 68, 72, 87

conspirations, 72

Constance, 45

Constantine (antipope in 768), 164

Constantinople, 1, 20, 23, 26, 44

Constantius II (Roman emperor), 137

cntio (concio): alternative spellings of, 264n238; ancient and late antique meanings of, 133–34; antiquarian use of, 134–35; Christianization of, 134; negative Roman meanings of, 133. See also words for crowds

Coptic language, 128

Corbie, 47

Córdoba, population of, 42, 208n89

corvadas (corvées), 72

Corvey, 103

councils, ecclesiastical, 21–22, 41, 56, 115, 117, 171; churches as venues for, 99; Germanic word for, 122; numbers of, 52–53, 58–62

Council of Chalcedon (451), 22, 52

Council of Chalon (647–53), 61

Council of Constantinople I (381), 52

Council of Constantinople II (533), 22

Council of Douzy (871), 57

Council of Ephesus (432), 22

Council of Nicea (325), 22, 52

Council of Orléans (549), 59

Council of Paris (614), 59–60

Council of Piacenza (1095), 61–62

Council of Toledo (646), 56, 58

Council of Toulouse (844), 56

Courtisols, placitum publicum of (847), 50–51, 55, 217n201
courts, 18, 50–51, 74–75

Cremona, 79
crowd psychology, approaches to, 4, 295–96n26

crowd regime, early medieval, 10–12, 116–17, 172–75
crowds, historiography and social science of, 3–8. See also gathering

Curtius, Ernst Robert, 144

Cyprian Plague, as demographic factor, 38

Dacians, 18

Dalla Zuanna, Gianpiero, 37. See also demography

Damasus (pope), 21

Damian (archbishop of Ravenna), crowd control by, 162–63

Danes, 64, 87. See also Vikings

Daniel (book of the Bible), for apocalyptic number of ten billion, 52, 218n218

Dante Alighieri, on crowds, 176, 183n30

Davies, Wendy, on peasant coordination, 71

Davis, Natalie Zemon, 8, 9, 10, 69, 88; on concept of “repertory,” 8–9, 10, 64–65; criticism of, 185n44

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu
deer, 70, 149
Delbrück, Hans: criticism of, 54, 219n237:
on estimation of historical military figures, 53–54, 159
delegitimation of crowds, 158–68; fear, 167–68; fury, 161–63; gender, 168; greed, 167–68; numerosness, 159–60; otherness, 159–60; phoniness, 163–65; rusticity, 165–68
Demetrius (saint), 140
demography, 36–51, 174; archaeological evidence for, 37–38, 201n19, 201n24; of the British Isles, 43; carrying capacity of large pools, 45–46; carrying capacity of mid-sized pools, 47–49; carrying capacity of smaller pools, 49–51; causes of change in, 38–39; d index (demographic mortality index), 202n33, 204n51; effective population (N_e), 202n34; of Gaul, 42; gross estimated population change, 39–40; of Iberia, 41–42; of Italy, 40–41; logistical consequences of, 51; methods for measuring carrying capacity, 44–45; of Northern Europe, 42–43; scientific evidence for (osteological, isotopic, genetic, etc.), 38; of the Slavlands, 43–44; written evidence for, 36–47, 199–200n9, 200n12. See also depopulation
Deodatus (monk), accused by peasants of Mitry of mistreatment, 73
depopulation, late antique and early medieval, 1–2, 25, 32, 37, 38, 39–40; effects of, 22, 51, 174; limited explanatory power of, 171, 175. See also demography
Desan, Suzanne, 9; on the crowd historiography of E. P. Thompson and Natalie Davis, 185n.44
De Seta, Vittorio (filmmaker), 69
Desiderius (Lombard king), 54, 150
Desiderius of Vienne (saint, bishop of Vienne), martyrdom at hands of crowd of, 161–62
Devroey, Jean-Pierre: on demography, 37; on fertility, 205n57; on peasants, 69
Dey, Hendrik, on “urban armature,” 23, 48
Dickson, Gary, on high and late medieval crowd theory, 6
dies (peasant labor), 72
Dienesberger, Maximilian, 97
Dio Chrysostom, on autarkic rustics in the Roman empire, 24
Diocletian, Roman emperor, 19, 116
Dodilo (missus of the archbishop of Reims in the Courtisols case), 50–51
Donatists (late antique Christian sect), 21; circumcisiones of, 17
Dorestad (emporium): multitudes of poor at, 98; seasonal population of, 46; size estimate of, 213n151; as Viking target, 109
Douglas, Mary (anthropologist), 177, 182n17, 296n30
Dublin, 43
Duisburg, 47
Duflo, Esther, 75, 290n98
Durham, Liber vitae, 103
Durkheim, Émile, 4–6; on “anomie,” 8; on “collective effervescence,” 5, 182n16
Ebroin (Frankish magnate, mayor of the palace), 106–7, 248n149
“Edict” of Milan (313), 21
Edict of Rothari (Lombard law), 89
Edict of Thessalonica (380), 21
Effros, Bonnie, argument against Pirenne Thesis, 175
Egeria (fourth-century traveler to the Holy Land), turba used by, 138, 268–69n214
eggs: as dues exacted from peasants, 70; as rations for retinues, 58, 223n281
Einhard, 47; as Charlemagne’s biographer (Vita Karoli), 56, 104, 140, 147; relics of Petrus and Marcellinus translated by, 104, 149, 153, 156, 164–65; style of, 121
Elafius (father of a boy healed before crowd by a saint), 157
elections, 79, 96, 106–7, 110, 114, 164, 248n145; consensus important in, 151–52, 282n90; contested, for papacy, 233n140; topos of reluctant elected official, 144
Eleutherius of Tournai (saint), praised by many (multi), 153
Elites, ix, 65, 73–75, 93–118; approaches to, 186n63
Emma (Frankish queen), 247n128
Ems River, 42
Ennen, Edith, urban typologies of, 45
Entourages (retinues), 55–58, 105–6, 124, 125
Epidemics, 15, 80; in European demographic decline, 38–39. See also Antonine Plague; plague, bubonic; Yersinia pestis
Ermentrude (peasant woman). See Bodo and Ermentrude
Ermoldus (Ermold) Nigellus (poet), In honorem Hludowici Caesaris, 150, 280n67
Euergetism, 18, 22, 188n5. See also circuses
Ethiopic language, 128
Eusebius (archbishop of Thessaloniki), 140
Evagrius (translator), 146
Fagan, Garrett, 27
Famine, 38, 41, 67, 79
Feast days, 57, 69–70, 76, 77–78, 91, 95, 116, 162; collecting dues on, 73–74; visiting monasteries on, 102
Fertility rates (demographic), 37, 39, 204n50, 205n57. See also demography
Festus, Sextus Pompeius, 133, 264n141
Fish, 5, 66, 69, 228n55, 259n51
Flax, 66
Fleming, Robin, 115, 193n90
Flodoard of Reims, 169
Floods, 69, 155
Fontenoy, battle of (841), 53
Francia, Franks, 22, 47, 53, 54–55, 124; councils in, 58–62
Frankfurt, 47; failed ritual in assembly at, 113; palace’s capacity in, 62
Frechulf (historian, bishop of Lisieux), 52
Fredegar (chronicle), 109
Fredegund (Frankish queen), 80
Freud, Sigmund, crowd theory of, 4, 181n10, 182n11
Fridolin (saint), 152
Frisia, 42; dune-flattening tsunami in, 53
Fulda monastery, 57, 100, 102; number of monks in, 48
Fulk (archbishop of Reims): assassination of, 106
Funerary practices: among early Frankish kings, 198n2; gild arrangements for, 71; Roman, 15–16; for saints, 153
Gambling, 27
Garigliano, battle of (915), 53
Gathering, as value-neutral term for crowd, 10, 186n55–56
Gaul, 15, 19, 22, 42, 63, 172
Gellius, Aulus, on the contio, 133
Gender, 4, 27–28, 90, 95, 101, 144, 159, 168, 173, 193n97, 269n216
Gennesius (saint, bishop of Lyon), 106; miracle story of, 158
Gennesius of Jerusalem (saint), relics of, 155–56
Gennep, Arnold van, on liminality, 5
Genoa, 41, 45
Georgian language, 128
Gerbert of Aurillac, 247n128
Germanic languages, 122–26
Germanus of Auxerre, 157, 158
Gilds, 68, 71–72, 166; as context for Stellin-gas, 85; defensive, 88, 92, 100; other words for (concilium, coniuratio, collecta), 72, 120
Gladiators, 25, 26–27, 33, 117, 187–88n4; as addictive spectacle, 29–31; large numbers of, 18–19; as quintessential spectator sport, 117
Gniezno (Poland), 49
Goats, 70, 73
Godo (eighth-century centenarian cleric), 55
Goldberg, Eric, 10, 102; on hunting, 107; on peasant vulnerability, 87, 102
Goodson, Caroline, 41
Goslar (Germany), 49
Gothic language, 123
Goths, 22, 28–29, 31, 42, 123
Gowers, Bernard, on Norman peasants’ “revolt,” 86
Grain, 66, 67. See also cereals
grapes, 66, 67; harvest of, 68
Gratian (Roman emperor), 137
Greater Moravia, 43, 49
Greek language, 127
Gregory I (“the Great,” pope), 25, 36, 81, 88, 97, 138, 146; Dialogues, 146; Moralia in Job, 131
Gregory of Tours (bishop, historian, and hagiographer), 48, 111, 115, 165; Clermont church described by, 99; on Clovis I, 195n126; on false holy men, 167, 291n207; on harvesters, 50, 179n4, 216n194; on Jews, 260n74; on lynching, 241n55; on Merovingian circuses, 195n125; on nuns’ revolt at Poitiers (589–90), 101, 243n83; on plague, 217n211; on the poor, 290n188; on royal burning of tax documents, 200n11; on size of a mob in Carthage, 218n213; small cities idealized by, 45, 212n42; on staged rituals, 163–64, 289n186; town uprisings recounted by, 79–80, 87, 88, 161; writing style of, 121, 130, 131
Grundmann, Herbert, on semantic history as “seismograph,” 119
guilds. See gilds
Gundobad, Burgundian king, 114
Gunteram (notary of Pavia in Siena), 55
gynaeceae (women’s workshops), 72
Gyug, Richard, 272n256

Habermass, Jürgen, 105, 186n59, 246–47n124
hadith, 127
Hadrian I (pope), 79
Hadrian II (pope), 152
Hadrian of Canterbury, saint, 152
Hagia Sophia, 62
hagiography, works of
  Historia Translationis Helenae (BHL 3773), 147
  Passio Desiderii episcopi et martyr
  Vienensis (BHL 2149), by Sisebut, 161, 281n80
Passio Praejecti (BHL 6915–16), 98
Passio Prisci et sociorum (BHL 6930), 150
Passio Saturnini (BHL 7491), 141, dating of, 272n256
Translatio Genesii (BHL 3314), 156, 283n97
Translatio Marcellini et Petri (BHL 5233), by Einhard, 47, 104, 147, 153, 156. See also Einhard
Translatio Vincentii (BHL 8644–8646), by Aimoin, 147, 283n101, 293n227
Translatio Viti martyris (BHL 8718–19), 149, 154, 283n101
Vita Amatoris (BHL 356), by Stephen of Auxerre, 158
Vita Arnulfi (BHL 692), 153, 281n81
Vita Gaugerici (BHL 3286), 152, 281n80
Vita Hilarionis (BHL 3879), by Jerome, 147; for Hilarion’s distaste for circus, arena, and theater, 278n43.
See also Jerome
Vita Leudegarci (BHL 4849b), 106–7; authorship and dating of, 248n148
Vita Martini (BHL 5610), by Sulpicius Severus, 146
Hailstone, Catherine, on fear, 99
Halsall, Guy, on army sizes, 54, 219n229
Hamilton, Louis, on eleventh-century Italian crowds, 152
Hamwic, size of, 46
Han dynasty (China), 16, 23
Hannig, Jürgen, on consensus, 113, 114
Hardy, Thomas, Far from the Madding Crowd, 65
Hartmann, Wilfried, 115
harvests: gatherings affected by, 67–68; in Roman period, 24
Hastings, battle of (1066), 53
hay, 24, 66–68; harvest of, 68; haylofts, 50
Hebrew language, 126–27
Hedebuy, size of, 46
Heitz, Carol, on liturgy and space, 97–98
Helen, saint, 147, 156
Helianus, saint, 139
Herod Agrippa, king of Judea, 133, 265n153
Herrin, Judith, 10
Hilarion, saint, flight from crowd by, 147
Hildesheim, 46
Hilduin (abbot of Saint-Denis), 104, 140, 154–55
Hilton, Rodney, 7, 10
Hincmar (archbishop of Reims), 50, 51, 56, 59, 110, 115, 156; Collectio de ecclesia et capellis of, 56; on illicit revels, 77–78; on palace “multitude,” 108
Hincmar (bishop of Laon), 57
Hippodrome, 22, 32–33, 197n146. See also chariot racing; circuses
Honoratus (saint), 158
Honorius (Roman emperor), 26
Horace (Roman poet), 105, 121; word vulgus used by, 266n179
Horden, Peregrine, on urbanism, 174–75
Hrotsvit of Gandersheim (author of Pafnutius), 169–70
Hucbald of Saint-Amand, 272–73n261
Huguccio (Uguccione) of Pisa, 231n89
Hungarian language, 128
hunter-gatherers, 16, 204n50
hunting, 107–8; staged theatrical hunts (venationes), 26, 195n124
Hypatia, 19
ibn Ya’qūb, Ibrāhīm (Jewish traveler from Umayyad Spain), 43
incastellamento (spread of fortified sites), 49
Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum, 77, 291n206
Ine (West Saxon king), 54
Ingalheim, 47, 225n304; palace size of, 62
insects, 5, 70; in insulting comparisons, 54, 159–60
Ireland, 43, 126,
Isidore of Seville (bishop and author): on contio and derivations, 133–34, 265n157; games criticized by, 31–32, 195n123; multitudo and turba distinguished by (in De differentiis verborum), 128, 130, 134, 149; on numbers, 217n208; Old High German texts of, 259n45
Islamic Mediterranean, ix, 2, 3, 55, 165; army sizes in, 220n248; demography of, 41–42, 44, 207n81, 208n89
Italy, 10, 15, 22, 32, 39, 63, 79, 113, 123, 128, 134; demography of, 40–41; urbanization and deurbanization in, 37, 78, 172
Jay, Martin, “discourse” defined by, 182–83n25
Jericho, 16
Jerome (saint and author), 111, 136, 268n123; contio used by, 133; topos of saintly flight from the crowd (in Life of Hilarion, BHL 3879), 147; turba used by, 138
Jesus Christ, 101–2, 287n150; in Christ Stopped at Eboli, 24, 73 193n83; crowds as witnesses to miracles of, 130; logion of, 113–14; preaching before crowds by, 21, 145–46; pseudo-Christ of Bourges, 167; vulnerability of away from crowds, 106
Jews, 6, 44, 126–27, 160, 175; medieval manuscripts of, 261n75; medieval persecution of, 1, 169
John VII (pope), as patron of Santa Maria Antiqua at Rome, 98
John VIII (pope), death of, 161
Jonas of Bobbio (hagiographer), 273n1, 279n59, 284n111, on animals, 228n55
Jones, A.H.M., on homogeneity of Roman cities, 23; army size estimated by, 193n89
Joseph (bishop of Tours), 111–12
Joseph Tov-Elem, 127
Judas Iscariot, 140; crowdless Christ betrayed by, 106
Julian (“the Apostle,” Roman emperor), 29, 137
Jumièges, number of monks at, 48
Justianus II (Byzantine emperor): public vengeance of, 33
Juvenal (Roman satirist), on “bread and circuses,” 1, 26, 28, 32
Juvenals, Caius Vettius Aquilinus (Christian poet), 146; alternative text of Matthew 15:32 (plebs for turba), 268n210

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu
Kaldellis, Anthony: on republican ideology, 17, 127, 188n19; on Roman-Byzantine continuities, 17, 189n19
Kazhdan, Alexander, on capacity of Hagia Sophia, 62
Kempf, Damien, 131–32
Kohl, Thomas: on peasant coordination, 69; on peasant mobility, 50; on risks of peasants’ choices, 77
Kolberg (Kolobrzeg, Poland), 49
Komnene, Anna (Byzantine princess and author), on mass crusaders, 171
Kreiner, Jamie: on collective solidarity, 150; on episcopal access, 108; on episcopal entourage’s size, 57–58, 59
Krüger, Astrid, on litany of Lorsch Rotulus, 102
Kufa, 44
Larcia (woman in hagiography of Saint Denis), 140, 272n250
Late Antique Little Ice Age (LALIA), as demographic factor, 38–39; scholarship on, 203n40
Latham, Jacob, on pompa circensis, 25
latifundia, 24, 192n80
Latin language, 120–22
Latium, 49
Latvia, 44
Le Bon, Gustave (crowd theorist), 4–7, 9, 181–82n10–13; antidemocratic, misogynistic, and racist premises of, 4
Lechfeld, battle of (955), 53
Lefebvre, Georges (historian of French Revolution), 7
Lehmann, Paul, 144, 274n4
Le Jan, Régine, 110
Leo I (pope), on angelic consensus of councils, 114
Leo III (pope), ambushed by enemies, 161
Leoba (saint, abbess of Tauberbischofsheim), nuns in mass ritual ritually vindicated by, 2, 101–2, 153
Leovigild (Visigothic king), 41
Leodegar (saint, bishop of Autun), 106
Levi, Carlo, 24, 73, 193n83
Liber Glossarum, 135, 266n173
Liber Pontificalis (papal biographies), 32, 79, 107, 148, 152, 164–165, 254n236
libri memoriales (commemoration books, confraternity books), 49, 63, 102–3, 172
Lifshitz, Felice, on pastoral care by nuns, 102
Lipton, Sara, on crowds in late medieval depiction of Jews, 6
Liutprand (bishop of Cremona), in Constantinople, 57
Liutprand (Lombard king), legal decree on women in brawls, 90
Livy (Roman historian): on just indignation of crowds, 275n17; on “nature of the multitude” to serve or dominate, 165, 290n195
locusts: in disparaging metaphor for human numbers, 54, 145, 150, 159, 160, 171; as pests, 70
Loire River, 42, 64, 87
Lombardic language, 122, poor survival of, 123
Lombards, 22, 32, 55, 74, 83, 150, 174; assemblies of, 113; crowd-related laws of, 71–2, 89–91; the thing as institution of, 123, 192n66
London, 45; early medieval Lundenwic, 43, 46; modern riots in, 88; size of, 46
Lorsch Rotulus (Rogationtide litany with 534 saints’ names), 102
Lot, Ferdinand: heterodox interpretation of peasant coniuratio (859), 235n199; population estimates of, 37, 42
Lothar I (Frankish emperor), role in Stellingas, 84–85
Lothar II (Frankish king), 56, 59
Louis the German (East Frankish king), 56, 59, 113; language used by, 122; Lorsch Rotulus and, 102, 244n100; Stellingas suppressed by, 84–85, 235n183
Louis the Pious (Frankish emperor): Field of Lies (833) and, 117; hunts of, 249n162; penitential assemblies of, 93, 113, 253n225
Louis II (Frankish emperor of Italy): ghost-written letter to Basil I of, 54, 159–60; liber memorialis of Brescia possibly linked to, 245n108. See also Anastasius Bibliothecarius; Bari, Franco-Byzantine siege of Louis III (West Frankish king): retinue of (githigini), 53; Vikings defeated at Sau court by (881), 53–54, 219n233
Louis XIV (king of France), 37
Low Countries, 42, 209n106, 223n281; emporia of, 46, 98, 109
Lucania: in sixth century, 138; in twentieth century, 24
Lucca, 45, 200n12
Lucilius (addressee of Seneca’s Moral Epistles), 28, 135, 275n17
Luoyang (China), 23
Lupus of Troyes, 157–58
lynching, 145, 165; ambivalence of, 233n148; of disparagers of saints, 241n55; diverted threat of, 80–81; historiographical approach to, 8; of sixth-century tax collectors, 79–80, 88; of suspected witches and magicians, 81, 167
Lyon, 42, 59, 60
MacMullen, Ramsay: on number of church councils, 22; on performance time of Roman acclamations, 20; on Peter Brown, 192n55; on sermon audience sizes, 62, 99
Magalhães de Oliveira, Júlio César: on crowds in Late Antiquity, 19; late antique crowd violence catalogued by, 20, 82
Magdeburg, 47
Magennis, Hugh, on crowds in Old English hagiography, 6
Mainz, 45, 101
malaria, 39, 203n43
manopera (peasant hand-work labor), 70
Mansuetus (saint), 69–70
Marcus Aurelius (Roman emperor), 29
Marseille, 37, 42, 45, 60, 79, 80; plague at, 212n142; polyptychs of, 200n11
Martin (saint, bishop of Tours): crowds defending honor of, 76, 81, 91, 111–12, 241n55, 252n207; feast day of, 74; influential Life of (BHL 5610) by Sulpicius Severus, 146
Martínez Pizarro, Joaquin, 6: on Agnellus of Ravenna’s depiction of violent crowds, 162–63; on type scenes, 144, 274n7–8
Mauck, Marchita, on Paschal I’s decoration of S. Prassede, 241n52
Maurice, saint, 151
Mauricius, bishop in Istria, blinded by his flock, 79
Maurya empire (India), 16
Maya civilization: ballgame of, 16; cities of, 33
McCormick, Michael: on crowd in rituals, 188n9; on elite retinues, 105; entourage sizes extrapolated by, 58–59, 61; on Plea of Rižana, 242n68; spatial estimates of churches and palaces by, 62
McCune, James, on sermons, 97
McPhail, Clark (crowd theorist), concept of “gatherings,” 10, 186n55–56
Mees, Rob, on Alcuin’s and Theodulf’s dispute, 112
Mehmet II (Turkish sultan), 17
Melve, Leidulf, on “public sphere,” 105, 247n125
Metz, 45; many churches of, 46; turbae of, in Paul the Deacon’s Liber episcopis Mettensisib, 131–32
Mieszko I (Polish ruler), 43
Milan, 21, 32, 41, 172; as large city in Latin Europe, 45; revolt at (983), 79; monastery of Sant’Ambrogio at, 73; Pataria (Patarines) of, 292n221, 294n1
Milkulčice (Greater Moravian site), 49
millet, 69; metaphorical use of, 160
mills, milling, 66, 69, 139, 243n84; as site and occasion for gathering, 104
mining, 38, 49
Mitry, peasants of, 47, 73, 89
mob (rabble; riot) in discourse: early medieval persistence of, 131; early medieval use of, 125, 130–31, 135; later medieval ideas of, 6; Roman ideas of, 3, 27–28, 121; as unruly and non-elite by nature, 7

Modoin (Frankish poet), 151, 281n83

Mohenjo-Daro, 16

Mollat, Michel, 7

monks, monasteries, 47–49, 56–58, 76, 81, 100–103, 154

Moore, R. I.: early medieval continuities acknowledged by, 175, 273n262; on return of “the crowd” (c. 1000) to the “public stage,” 10, 127, 168–69, 171, 175, 256n267

Moses (biblical figure), 145

multiplying gaze, 159–60. See also locusts

multitudo: in the Annales Regni Francorum, 141; numerical associations of, 51; plebeian associations with, 121, 131; polysemy of, 129. See also words for crowds

Murray, Alexander, 6

Muschiol, Gisela, on pastoral care by nuns, 102

Muzzarelli, Maria Giuseppina, on later medieval preachers, 62

Naismith, Rory: on money, 215n187; on peasant agency, 69

Naples, 41, 45, 79, 128, 172; uprising of mancipia near, 81, 88

Nebelivka, 16

Nelson, Janet: on entourage size, 57, on peasant coniuratio (859), 87

Nero, Roman emperor, 18, 29, 32; claque hired by, 289n183

Nigel of Canterbury, 257n3

Nithard (author of ninth-century Histories), 84

notices (peasant labor duties), 72

non-elites, 9, 12, 64–92, 117, 121, 125, 130–31, 141, 144, 158–59, 165–68, 172, 176

Norrie, James, 176

North Africa, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 30, 128, 266n176; Frankish raid in, 159

Notker (late ninth-century author, biographer of Charlemagne), 57, 150, 220n45

Nuffelen, Peter van, on “virtue-based” crowd behavior, 20

nuns, nunneries, 2, 48, 79, 94, 148; lay crowds and, 101–2, 154; turbae of, 139

oats, 66

Odo of Cambrai, 293n232

Oexle, Otto Gerhard, 69

Old Church Slavonic language, 126

Old English language, 124–25

Old High German language, 124, 125, 131, 134

Old Irish language, 126

Old Norse language, 125

Old Saint Peter’s church, Rome, 98

Old Saxon language, 124

olives, 66, 67, 68, 73

Orléans, 42; acclamations by sixth-century Jews of, 260n74; councils at, 60–61; eleventh-century heretics of, 169; Tours assault on men from, 91, 111–12, 165

Ostrów Lednicki (Poland), 49

Ottink, Marijke, on populus, 129

Ottonian dynasty, 47, 49, 214n164

Oviedo, 41

Pacatus Drepanius (fourth-century panegyrist), 136

Paderborn, 47; capacity of palace at, 62

Paris, 42, 45, 49, 53, 59–61; Merovingian circuses at, 31; Merovingian tax collector’s home burned at, 80; sieges of (845, 885–86), 53, 54

Parthenius, 79–80

Paschal I (pope), 98

Passau, 45

passive resistance, 92, 173

Paulinus (missionary), 94

Paul the Deacon, 134; Liber de episcopis Mettenibus, 131–32

Pavia, 39, 45, 76

peasants, 64–92; agrarian labors of, 66–68; collective labor by, 68–69; definitions of, 65–66, 226n11; dues and taxes as gather-
ings for, 73–74; horizontal coordination among, 71–72; Latin terms for, 226n10; revolts and resistance by, 81–83, 85–92, 165; royal exactions upon, 74–75; spirituality of, 75–78; vertical coordination by lords of, 72–74

Pekáry, Thomas, catalogue of Roman-era uprisings by, 20, 82

Persian language, 129

Persians, 16, 27, 128; armies of, disparaged by Ammianus Marcellinus as turbae, 137

Pfäfers, Liber Viventium of, 103

Philip (antipope, 768), 164

Philip the Arab (Roman emperor), 19

Philo of Alexandria, on crowds, 27

Phocas (East Roman emperor), 33

Photios I (patriarch of Constantinople), accusations against, 114

Piacenza, 62; xenodochium at, 76

pigs, 31, 58, 66, 70; counterfeit relics and, 77

Pippin II (Frankish mayor of the palace), 156

Pippin III (Frankish king), 140

Pirenne, Henri, 36, 45

Placitum ("plea," judicial assembly), 50, 55, 56, 95, 134. See also Arezzo; Courtisols; Mitry; Siena

plague, bubonic, 38–39, 217n111; demographic significance of, 203n41, 204n46, 204n51

Plea of Ržana (804), 74, 242n68

pleonasm, 130, 132

pluralization, 120; of early medieval crowd vocabulary, 130

Pohansko (Czechia), 43, 49

Poitiers, 60; battle of (732), 53; nuns’ revolt (589–90) at, 48, 79, 101

Poland, 43–44, 49

Polypsticks, 36–37, 49, 199–200n9, 200n12; as demographic evidence, 37, 50; as evidence for peasant obligations, 66, 73–74; landless individuals within, 227n26; placitum of Courtisols preserved in, 217n201; of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 37, 42. See also demography

pompa circensis, 25. See also circuses

Pompey, 28

population. See demography

populus, 12, 28, 91, 94, 173; in liturgy, 75; non-Latin equivalents of, 124, 126, 130; polysemy of, 128–132, 142; plebeian associations with, 131; Roman, 16, 88; Romance evolution of, 122. See also words for crowds

Pössel, Christina, 107, 249n152, 253n223

Power, Eileen, 77

Poznań (Poland), 49

Præiectus (saint): guard dogs’ attacks avoided by, 108; shrine of, 98

Pratsch, Thomas, on topoi, 274n5

Priscian, 126, 260n64

Priscus (saint), 150

Proba (Christian poet), 146

Protoromance languages, 121–22

Prudentius (bishop of Troyes, part-author of Annals of Saint Bertin): on massacre of the coniuratio (859), 87–88; on tsunami, 53

Prudentius (late antique Christian poet), 146, 277n136

Puglia (Apulia): signs of decline in, 37; signs of growth in, 206n70

pulses, 66

Purcell, Nicholas, on urbanism, 174–75

Quierzy (Frankish palace), 47

Qur’an, 127; crowd words in, 127–28

rabble. See mob

Radegund (saint, queen, and monastic founder), 48

Rainald of the Melinais (preacher and hermit), 169, 293n230

Rammelsberg ore deposits, 49, 215n87

Rashi (Schlomo Yitzchaki), 127

Ratger of Fulda, 102, 223n175

Ravenna, 39, 41, 78, 172; Agnellus of Ravenna’s account of eighth-century massacre in, 78, 162–63

Reccopolis, 37, 207n84
INDEX

reduplication, as linguistic feature of crowd language, 130

Regensburg, 45, 47, 292n224

Regino of Prüm: on the slaughtered peasants of Prüm, 57; on the Stellingas, 53–54

Regnobertus (saint), 139

Reichenaue, 156; confraternity book of, 63, 103, 172

relics, 21, 66, 75, 96, 99, 144, 147, 149, 156, 157, 168; counterfeit, 77; cult of, 13, 76, 103–4, 164–65; draw of, 48, 76, 94, 152–53; illicit, 53, 77, 167; and processions, 154–55; translation of, 2, 98, 139, 151

religious gatherings, 94–104

Rembold, Ingrid, 10, 85

Remiremont: liber memorialis of, 103; nunnerly of, 48

rents, 73–74

repertory, 8–10, 11. See also Davis, Natalie Zemon

Rhine River, 42, 137, 170; Charlemagne’s canal project and, 74

Rhône River, 42

Richard II (duke of Normandy), 85–86

Richer of Saint-Rémyn, 169

Riga (peasant piecework labor), 72

riots, 2, 7, 34; in ancient Rome, 18–19; as deterrent, 117; over food, 8; medieval decline of, 142; social scientific criticism of concept of, 7; over taxes, 80, 87; words for, 18, 111, 135–36. See also mob; tumultus; turba

Röckelein, Hedwig, 104

rodents, 70

Roman Antiquity, 1, 15–34; riots in, 18; urbanism in, 16, 17, 39

Roman law, 16, 18, 111, 135–36, 141

Romano, John, 94


Roncevaux, 53

Roscius Gallus, Quintus (actor), 17

Rothari (Lombard king), laws about gatherings of, 89–90

Rudé, George (crowd historian), 7–8, 88

Rudolf of Fulda, 101, 276n12

Russell, Josiah (demographer), 36, 39–40; causal importance of plague for, 202n39

rye, 66, 67

Saint-Denis, monastery, 48, 49, 109

Saint Donatus, Arezzo (cathedral church), 55, 269n226

Saint-Gall monastery, 48, 57, 102, 103, 139

Saint-Germain-des-Prés monastery, polyptych of, 37, 42

salt production, 38

Salvius (saint, bishop of Amiens), 151

Salzburg, 47, 103

Samarra, 44

Santa Maria Maggiore basilica, Rome, 97, 98

Santa Sabina basilica, Rome, 97

San Vincenzo al Vulturno, monastery, 48

Saracens, 54, 148, 159, 160

Saturnius of Cagliari (saint), 141

Saucourt, battle of (881), 53

Savonnières, summit at (862), 59, 115

Saxons (Saxony), 22, 53, 124, 160; mass execution of, 54–55; Stellingas among, 84–85

Scandinavia, 15, 43, 255n4.6

Schofield, John, 45, 46

Schleswig-Holstein, 42

Schroeder, Nicholas, 69, 70

Scott, James: on passive resistance, 93, 236n207; on “public transcript,” 93, 117

Sedulius, Scotus, 146

sheep, 70

Scheldt River, 42, 87

Seine River, 37, 42, 64, 87, 109, 166

Sen, Amartya, on causes of famine, 38

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (the Younger), 28, 117–18, 135, 139; on moral danger of crowds, 29

Sergius I (pope), defended by Roman crowd, 79

© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.
sermons, 9, 70, 96–97; high and late medieval, 13, 62
Severus, Septimus (Roman emperor), 19
Shaw, Brent, on late antique collective violence, 24
Sidonius Apollinaris (bishop and author), 138
Sieben, Hermann, on conciliar logic, 114
Siena, 40, 45; Arezzo’s jurisdictional conflict with, 46, 55, 74, 95
Sigloardus (missus of the archbishop of Reims), 50–51
Sisebut (Visigothic king and author), on violent mob, 161–62, 163, 288n170
slantwise resistance, ix, xiv, 13, 14, 92, 159, 166–68, 176; defined, 88, 166–68, 187n68
slavery, slaves, Roman, 15, 27. See also unfreedom
Slavic languages, 126
Slavlands, 15, 43–44, 159
Slootjes, Daniëlle, 191n54, 262n98
Soissons, 31, 61, 102
solitude: eleventh-century interest in, 169–70; entourages and, 105–6; in Stoic training, 28
Spain (Iberian Peninsula), 15, 19, 22, 41–42, 63, 71, 128, 140, 172
Spanish language, 122, 128
spectaculum, spectacula (Roman entertainment), 26–32; as metaphor for “spectacle,” 101
spelt, 66, 67, 69
Speyer, 45
Stamford Bridge, battle of (1066), 53
Stará Kouřim (Czechia), 49
Stellingas (Saxon peasant revolt, 840s), 81, 84–85, 86, 165; explanations for, 85; gilds and, 85; meaning of name, 85; significant timing and location of, 87
Stephen (saint and protomartyr), 21, 145, 161; festival of (December 26), 75
Stephen of Auxerre, 287n151–52, 269n224
Stephen III (pope), 164
Stettin (Szczecin, Poland), 49
Steuer, Heiko, 45, 46
Stewart, Potter (Supreme Court justice), 6
Strasbourg, 45, Oaths of (842), 122
strikes, 7
Suetonius, 24
Sueves, 22
Suger (abbot of Saint-Denis), 109, 149
Sulpicius Severus (hagiographer), 146
Sünskes Thompson, Julia, catalogue of Roman-era uprisings by, 20, 82
“superstition,” 76–77, 166–68, as slur for gatherings, 141, 144, 159
Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius, 268n109
Syriac language, 128
Tacitus, Cornelius, 28
Táin Bó Cúailnge (Irish epic), 126
T’ang dynasty (China), 23
Tarquimpol, 45
taxation, 73–74, 80, 87
Ten Thousand Martyrs, 151
Terence, 170; as model for Hrotsvit, 293n234
Tertry, battle of (687), 53
Tertullian, on desire to be seen at spectacles, 27, on contiones, 133
Theoderic, Ostrogothic king, 28–29, 123; on circuses, 31
Theodore of Tarsus (saint, archbishop of Canterbury), 152
Theodosian Code, ceremonial Western approval of (438), 20–21
Theodosius I, Roman emperor, 29, 136, 137
Theodulf (bishop of Orléans): Alcuin’s conflict with, 91, 111–12; on crowd (turba) of pious monks, 279n53; on crowds offering bribes, 74, 286n142; on hostile crowds, 80–81
Theudebert I, Merovingian king, 80
Theuderic II, Merovingian king, Desiderius persecuted by, 161–62
Theuderic III, Merovingian king, 106, trust in the multitude, 156
INDEX

Thietmar of Merseberg, story of the chestnuts and the millet, 160
thing (Ding, thinx), 22, 122–23, 125; and the verb thingare, 71, 113, 123, 192n66. See also assemblies, secular; words for crowds
Thiota (woman preacher), 167–68, 291n211
Thompson, E. P., 28, 85; as crowd historian, 7–9; on “moral economy” of the crowd, x, 8, 87, 165–66; on official acknowledgment of rioters’ reasons, 88, 112, 165–66; on riots as deterrents, 117; scholarly critiques of, 185n44
Tiberius (Roman emperor), disliked for spurning games, 29
Tilléda, 47
Tilly, Charles, x, 78, 256n263
Toledo, 37, 41; as council site, 56, 58
topoi (literary commonplaces), 12, 143–70; biblical models for, 146–46; classical models for, 144–45; definition and historical use of, 144–45; early medieval models for, 147; late antique models for, 146–47. See also type scenes
Toto (duke of Nepi), in contested papal election of 768, 164
Toubert, Pierre, 37; on incastellamento, 49
Toulouse, battle of (721), 53, 56
Tours, 45, 53, 76, 80, 111–12, 163
Trajan (Roman emperor), 18
Treaty of Meersen (870), 59
Trier, 32, 45, 79–80, 122, 196n134, 212n140
tumultus, 101, 111–12, 125–26; persistent negative connotation of, 131. See also words for crowds
turba: Ammianus Marcellinus’s use of, 136–37; Christianization of, 137–39; Isidore of Seville’s use of, 128; lost technical and negative connotations of, 3, 48, 11, 130, 131–32, 139–40; non-Latin equivalents of, 124, 126; persistence of negative connotations of, 140–41; in Roman law, 135–36; Roman meanings of, 18, 28, 31, 135–36. See also riots; words for crowds
Turin, revolt at (897), 79
Turner, Victor (anthropologist): on “communitas,” 5, 182n19; on crowds that “flood their subjects with affect,” 5–6, 177
type scenes, 7, 143, 153, 173; defined, 144, 274n77; monastic foundation scene, 154; sources of, 144–47. See also topoi
Udalric (twelfth-century formulary compiler), 265n164
Ulphilas (biblical translator), 123
Ullmann, Walter, 187n67
Ulpiusn (Ulpiusan), Domitius, 136
unfreedom, 66, 67, 73, 81, 83, 88–90; peasant disputes focused on, 50–51; numerous forms of, 229n70. See also slavery, slaves uprisings. See peasants; riots
Urban II (pope), 62
urbanism. See cities and towns
Uruk, 16
Utrecht, 45, 47
Valentinian III, Roman emperor, 29
Valle T rita (Abbruzzo, Italy): efficacy of passive resistance exemplified by, 88; as site of peasant conflict with San Vincentio al Volturno, 81, 83–84, 86
Vandals, 22, 32, 42, 123; universal agreement in poetry of (Dracontius), 281n80
Venantius Fortunatus, 147
Venice, 41, 45, 46; crowd politics in, 79
Vergil: Aeneid, 145, 257n8, 273n1, 275n14, 275n15; on crowds and masculinity, 28, 145; influence of, 146, 273n1, 275n13; man (vir) calming the raging crowd simile (Aen. 1.148–53), 28, 121, 145, 194n109; on vulgarity of crowds, 121, 130
Verona, 41, 45; high medieval demographic growth of, 226n7; revolt at (968), 79
Verus of Orange (saint), collective lament for, 153
Vico, Giambattista, 6. See also Auerbach, Erich
Victorinus (martyr), 151, 280–81n76

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu
INDEX

wheat, 66, 67, 69; in wheat and chaff metaphor, 25. See also cereals

Wickham, Chris, 10, 69, 89, 113; on defining peasants, 226n386; on peasant mode and demography, 39, 204n48, 204n50; on peasant resistance, 81, 82, 84, 236n200

Wilkin, Alexis, 50

William of Jumièges, 85–86

Wolff, Philippe, 7

Wollin, 49

wolves, 70

words for crowds, 3, 119–42; Arabic, 127–28; Celtic, 126; Germanic, 122–26; Greek, 27, 127, 130; Hebrew, 126–27; Latin, 120–21, 128–42; Protoromance, 121–22; Slavic, 126. See also contio; multitudo; populus; thing; tumultus; turba; vulgus

Worms, 45, 102

Wright, Roger, 121

WUNC (worthiness, unity, numbers, commitment), 236n263. See also Tilly, Charles

xenodochium (plural xenodochia), 76

Yersinia pestis, genetic evidence for, 203n41, 204n51, 210n111. See also plague, bubonic

York, 43

Zeno (saint), 139

Zerner-Chardavoine, Monique, 37

Zosimus (historian), 28, 194n113

Zürich, 47

Victricius of Rouen (fourth-century missionary and author), 146, turba used for saints by, 138, 269n215

Vienna, 45

Vigilius (pope), mocked and pelted by disgruntled Romans, 79

Vikings (Northmen), 43, 53–54, 64, 72, 87, 92, 103, 110, 166; peasant resistance against, 64, 87, 110, 235n199, 235n199; population pressure and, 43, 210n108

Visigoths, 22, 37, 41, 123, 174; assemblies and, 113; church councils and, 41–42, 56. See also Spain

Vitus (saint), 154

Vouillé, battle of (507), 53

vulgus (quintessential Latin word for non-elite crowd), 28, 121, 130–31. See also mob; non-elites; words for crowds

Wace, 86

Waldipert (faction leader in ninth-century Rome), 164

Wamba (Visigothic king), 31–32

Wandrille (saint), 140

Warin (abbot), as leader of relic procession, 154–55

Weber, Max, 45

Werla, 47

Werner, Karl Ferdinand, on army size, 54, 220n43

Weser River, 42

West, Charles, 50; on entourage size, 57; on peasants, 69

West-Harling, Veronica, 10

For general queries, contact info@press.princeton.edu