HOMO VIATOR: MEDIAEVAL IDEAS ON ALIENATION AND ORDER

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Homo Viator — man is a wayfarer. He is a wanderer between two worlds, but in more than one sense. He may have around himself an aura of divine being like the long-suffering godlike Ulysses or Plato's Eleatic Stranger or Prospero, Shakespeare's exiled island prince. Or he may be surrounded by an atmosphere of demonic horror like the Medusa and Caliban, monstrous beings who have become, or have always been, deeply estranged from gods and men. Indeed, *Homo Viator* can be so sublime and so low that I was doubtful whether I should bring him to our banquet tonight in either form. But already Plato has suggested on the occasion of an even more famous Symposium that to the feast of the wise both the good and the less good unbidden go — and so I hope that you will receive with good grace, and not without concern for his ultimate fate, a stranger and wayfarer who may travel as a pilgrim from and to an eternal order or may defy order as an alienated rebel or may assume the guise of a fool or be a victim of delusion.

The concepts of *via*, *viator*, the related ones of *peregrinus*, *peregrinatio*, and of *alienus*, *alienatio* on the one hand, and of *ordo*, *ordinare* on the other, are quite essential ingredients of early Christian and mediaeval thought and life. Nobody will expect me to sketch their entire history during the Middle Ages nor to trace fully their relation to modern ideas, especially to the hypertrophy of alienation ideology in our own time.

Modern studies on alienation outnumber those on order far more than a hundred fold. The apparently inexhaustible possibilities of application of the concept of alienation to the realities of our age are vividly illustrated by Gerald Sykes'

collection of excerpts from "alienated" literature. I may perhaps quote from his introduction:

... we are chronologically far beyond the day when the Schoolmen told us with mediaeval simplicity that alienation meant estrangement from God [this mediaeval simplicity, as we shall see soon, and hardly to our great surprise, was not always as simpleminded as Mr Sykes would seem to imply], we are now confronted with secular accusations that do no less damage to our self esteem. Rousseau has told us, and a romantic chorus has echoed, that we live alienated from nature; Marx has told us, and a Communist chorus has echoed, that we live alienated from society; Kierkegaard has told us, and an Existentialist chorus has echoed, that we live alienated from ourselves.[1]

Of even greater interest for the phenomenology, and retrospectively the history, of alienation is the quite recent book by Kenneth Keniston, entitled *The Uncommitted*, which deals with alienated youth.[2]

In characteristic contrast, there is, I think, only one great contemporary book on the idea of order, Eric Voegelin's *Order and History*, which however has not yet progressed beyond Judaic and Greek Antiquity.[3] All I can attempt tonight is to draw some cross-sections for the Middle Ages, with a few more general perspectives.

Assuming that the Middle Ages began somewhere around the time of Gregory the Great, I may first introduce a few utterances of this epochal simplifier of the patristic tradition. These texts will naturally lead us back to some of the earlier Fathers and to Holy Scripture itself, as well as forward to that half-millennium in which the monk-pope Gregory was recognized as one of the great masters of the West.

In the *Moralia*, his great commentary on the book of Job, Gregory intimates that the fallen angel is the *alienus*, the alien or stranger, *par excellence*[4] — no doubt because he was considered to be the first among the beings alienated from God and from the divine order through a breakdown of love.

Similarly, the *alieni*, against whom the biblical writer of the book of Proverbs warns the young man, are interpreted by Gregory in his *Pastoral Rule* as *spiritus maligni*, as demons.[5]

Again in the *Moralia*, he says: "Let then the iniquitous flourish, for they are alien to the flower of the eternal heritage."[6]

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[1] G. Sykes, *Alienation: The Cultural Climate of Our Time* I (New York, 1964), xiii.

[2] K. Keniston, *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society* (New York, 1965).

[3] E. Voegelin, *Order and History*, 3 vols. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1956 f.). Meanwhile, cf. the excellent work by J. Rief, *Der Ordobegriff des jungen Augustinus* (Paderborn, 1962), also J. Krings, *Ordo: Philosophisch-historische Grundlegung einer abendländischen Idee* (Halle, 1941). Specialized Studies on the terminology and ideology of order in the Middle Ages are a real desideratum. A beginning has recently been made by G. C. Waterson, *Une étude sémantique du mot ordre et quelques mots de la même famille dans le français du moyen âge* (Genève, 1965) and by B. Willson in the studies cited below, note 80.

[4] Gregory the Great, *Moralia* XII, 36, 41, Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (henceforth cited: *PL*) LXXV, 1005 C: *Quis vero alienus nisi apostata angelus vocatur?* (to Job xv 19). Cf. also *Moralia*, XXXIV, 3, 6, *PL*, LXXVI, 720 D (to Osee VII 19).

[5] Gregory the Great, *Regula Pastoralis*, III, 12 (36), Migne, *PL*, LXXVII, 67A (to Prov. v 9). Cf. also *ibid.*, III, 24 (48), *PL*, LXXVII, 95D (to Prov. v 17 and Ps. liii [liv]5).

[6] *Moralia*, XXI, 4, 8, Migne, *PL* LXXVI, 193C f.: Nunquid non perditio est iniquo et alienatio ope-

In such passages one finds in all sharpness one of the two principal Christian meanings of strangeness and alienation. Alienation in this sense is indeed essentially a failure to love God and a refusal to adhere to the order which he had given. It is, therefore, something very evil, something to be avoided at all cost. This conception is based on Holy Scripture and is found innumerable times in early Christian and mediaeval literature. According to the Vulgate, God told Israel: "Thou shalt not have strange gods (*deos alienos*) before me."[7] It is not surprising, therefore, that in a number of early Christian texts such as those from Gregory the Great, Satan, the angel who attempted to compete with the power of God over man and the whole world, could be called αλλότριos, *alienus*, the stranger.[8] In a milder form, connotations of mischief connected with this type of alienation still survive in the German word *Allotria*, which means prankishness, and also in the Viennese dialectic noun for a rascal: "*Hallodri*."

There is also that other great symbol of estrangement of man from God and of men from men: the building of the tower of Babel, with its consequence, the multiplicity and diversity of languages and peoples.[9] According to Gregory the Great's mystical interpretation, for instance, Babylon, the "city of confusion," generates the sterile mind of those who are not disposed to the order of the right life.[10]

Let us now look at a Gregorian text of a different kind, likewise found in the *Moralia*. There the great Pope says that temporal comfort on this earth is to the just man what the bed in an inn is to the *viator*, to the traveller on his journey: he will rest in it bodily, but mentally he is already somewhere else. And sometimes the just on his travels through life will even seek out discomfort and refuse to dwell in the pleasantness of transitory surroundings, lest by delight found on the journey he be delayed from reaching his fatherland, and by attaching his heart to the road of peregrination he lose his reward when the heavenly *patria* finally comes into sight. The just, therefore, do not settle for good in this world —

rantibus iniquitatem? (Job xiii 3) . . . alienatio erit reprobis. . . . Floreant igitur iniqui a flore aeternae haereditatis alieni. . . .

[7] Exod. xx 3.

[8] For the use of ἀλλότριos, as applied to the evil one, the enemy, i.e., the fallen angel, Satan, in very early Christian liturgy and theology, cf. F. H. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (*Texts and Studies* i, 3 [1891]) 143 f., note 2, also F. X. Gokey, S.S.E., *The Terminology for the Devil and Evil Spirits in the Apostolic Fathers* (Washington, D. C., 1961), 172, note 97. Neither the Old nor the New Testament use the term ἀλλότριos for the fallen angel or devil, but in Luke x 19 the term ἐχθρόs; the meaning is similar to ἀλλότριos. Professor Gershom G. Scholem kindly drew my attention to the studies by L. Jung, "Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan Literature," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, xv (1924–25) and xvi (1925–26), and by B. J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels* (Philadelphia, 1952), but they contribute nothing to the terminology of angelic alienation; the same is true for A. Lods, "La chute des anges," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, vii (1927) 295 ff.

[9] For the history of the biblical story of the tower of Babel from ancient to modern times, see now the monumental work of A. Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker* (Stuttgart, 1957 ff.).

[10] *Moralia*, vi, 16, 24, Migne, *PL*, lxxv, 742D: "Et quia Bablyon confusio interpretatur" (see Gen. xi 9 and cf. Borst, *op. cit.* i, 116 f.; see also Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus* 20, 37, Migne, *PL* xl, 337), "recte infecunda mens Bablyonis filia vocatur, quae in eo quod nequaquam bona opera germinat, dum nullo ordine rectae vitae componitur, quasi confusione matre generatur."

they know that they are only pilgrims and guests in it. They desire to rejoice where they belong and cannot be happy in a foreign land.[11]

Here then, we have a second conception of strangeness, one which perhaps has even deeper roots in Scripture, especially in the New Testament, and also in the earlier Fathers of the Church, than the first. I mention the First Epistle of St Peter ii 11. "Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims," then the Epistle to the Hebrews xi 13: " . . . confessing that they are pilgrims and strangers on the earth," and finally Psalm xxviii 13: "For I am a stranger, with Thee," namely with God, "and a pilgrim as all my fathers were."

According to that great anonymous document of the mentality of the early Church which is the Epistle to Diognetus, the terrestrial lot of Christians is eminently that of strangers:

They reside in their own fatherlands, but as if they were non-citizens; they take part in all things as if they were citizens and suffer all things as if they were strangers; every foreign country is a fatherland to them and every fatherland is to them a foreign country . . . They dwell on earth, but they are citizens in heaven . . .[12]

This text anticipates the well-known Augustinian idea of the *Civitas Dei peregrinans*,[13] which so greatly influenced Christian thinking on man's historical destiny. The metaphor, too, of the *viator*, the traveller, who seeks only temporary comfort in an inn on the road is found in Augustine's works,[14] whence Gregory

[11] *Moralia*, viii, 54, 92, Migne, *PL*, lxxv, 857C–858A: "At contra justi . . . sic . . . temporali refoventur subsidio, sicut viator in stabulo utitur lecto: pausat et recedere festinat; quiescit corpore, sed ad aliud tendit mente. Nonnunquam vero et adversa perpeti appetunt, in transitoriis prosperari refugiunt, ne delectatione itineris a patriae perventione tardentur, ne gressum cordis in via peregrinationis figant et quandoque ad conspectum coelestis patriae sine remuneratione perveniant. . . . Justi itaque hic se construere negligunt, ubi peregrinos se et hospites noverunt. Quia enim in propriis gaudere desiderant, esse in alieno felices recusant. Cf. also *Registrum Epistolarum* IX, 217, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistol.* ii, 204: . . . mala hominum in terra aliena portatis. Peregrinatio quippe est vita praesens: et qui suspirat ad patriam, ei tormentum est peregrinationis locus. . . . "

[12] *Epistola ad Diognetum*, v, 5 and 9, ed. K. Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter* i (Tübingen, 1924), 144. Cf. also Origen, *Contra Celsum* viii, 75, *Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller, Origenes* ii, 292.

[13] Cf., for instance, Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, i, preface, and xviii, 51, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, xlvii, 1, and xlviii, 650; also *Enchiridion*, 56 (15), Migne, *PL*, xl, 258. See also Bachiarius, *Professio Fidei*, 2, Migne, *PL*, xx, 1022A: ". . . civitas cui renovatus sum . . . patria est" (on Bachiarius cf. below, note 17).

[14] Cf., for instance, *Sermo*, xiv, 4, 6, *Migne, PL*, xxxviii, 114: "Sed audiat dives. . . . Utatur mundo tanquam non utens (cf. I Cor. vii 31). Sciat se viam ambulare et in has divitias tanquam in stabulum intrasse. Reficiat: viator est. Reficiat se et transeat. Non secum tollit quod in stabulo invenit." Cf. also *Sermo*, lxxx, 7, *ibid.* 497, *Sermo*, clxxvii, 2, *ibid.*, 954, and clxxviii, 8, 9, *ibid.*, 965; furthermore. *Tractatus in Johannem* xl, 10, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* xxxvi, 356, and *Tract. in Joh.* xli, 13, *ibid.*, 365. It is not impossible that the metaphor of the inn is of Gnostic origin, in which case it might have reached Augustine through the Manichaeans, cf. below, p. . . . , note 20. Augustine uses the concept of *viator* (*via*) almost as frequently as that of *peregrinus* (*peregrinatio*), he contrasts both concepts with those of *perventor* or *possessor*, which designate the man who has received his eternal reward in heaven; cf. for instance, *Enarratio in Psalmum*, xxxvi, 9, *Corpus Christ., Ser. Lat.* xxxviii, 343, *Sermo*, cv, 2, 2, Migne, *PL*, xxxviii, 619, *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum*, iii, 7, 19, Migne, *PL*, xliv, 602, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, ii, 13, 20, *ibid.*, xliv, 164, *De natura et gratia*, 12, 13, *ibid.*, xliv, 253. Cf. G. N. Knauer, "Peregrinatio Animae," *Hermes*, lxxxv (1957) 216 ff.; L. Boros, "Les catégories de la temporalité chez saint Augustin," *Archives de philosophie*, xxi (1958), especially 354 ff.; F. Körner, "Homo Viator," *Salzburger Jahrbuch für Philosophie*, v/vi (1961/62) 89 ff. (to Augustine's *Contra Academicos*, ii, 2, 5).

the Great may have taken it. The *topoi* of *xeniteia* and *peregrinatio*, of pilgrimage, of homelessness, of strangness in this world, are among the most widespread in early Christian ascetic literature, and not a few ascetics, monastic and otherwise, practiced it by voluntary and migratory exile from their fatherland.[15] The early Christian personal names Peregrinus and Viator had in late Roman times occurred also among pagans, derived perhaps from the social status of the *peregrinus* (a free man who is not a Roman citizen) and from the office of the *Viator* (helper of old-Roman magistrates or priests),[16] but in Christian times these names may well have had the spiritual connotations with which we are here concerned.[17]

In this connection, I may mention a famous essay by Father Hugo Rahner, in which he has shown how the Fathers of the Church could beautifully interpret the heroic travels of Ulysses as a type of the Christian's journey through terrestrial life. Ulysses had himself tied to the mast so that he would not be lured to disaster by the songs of the Sirens. Similarly, the Christian stranger on earth, the *peregrinus*, could be said to travel through strange and awesome seas in a ship, which is the Church, affixed to the mast of the Cross, absorbing the sweet and far from meaningless Siren songs of the world, without being deflected from the right course.[18]

Now it is obvious that strangeness in the second sense so far discussed is conceived of as something relatively good, though it is not without connection with strangeness in the first sense, which is evil. In everything that will follow we must then remember that mediaeval thought had derived from its early Christian sources not one, but two ideas of alienation, and was to make them lastingly its

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[15] Cf. H. v. Campenhausen, *Die asketische Heimatlosigkeit im altkirchlichen und frühmittelalterlichen Mönchtum* (Tübingen, 1930). In this connection, cf. the illuminating book by G. H. Williams, *Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought* (New York, 1962), important among other things for the twofold symbolism of wilderness and desert as holy or demonic, which is thus part and parcel of the twofold symbolism of alienation.

[16] After the famous edict of Caracalla (212), granting the vast majority of inhabitants of the Empire Roman citizenship, the old juridical term of *peregrinus* gradually lost its original meaning; cf. J. Gaudemet, "L'étranger au bas empire" in *L'étranger=Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, IX, 1 (Bruxelles, 1958), 208 ff. For the names Peregrinus and Viator in late Roman and early Christian times, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XIX, 655 f., and VIII A, 2, 1940 f.; see also XIX, 656 f., the comprehensive article by K. v. Fritz on that more than strange Peregrinus Proteus, whose life as a cynic and as a temporary Christian, Lucian has satirically described; cf. G. Bagnani, "Peregrinus Proteus and the Christians," *Historia*, IV (1955), 107 ff.

[17] At the beginning of the fifth century, the monks Bachiarius (*Professio Fidei*, 2, Migne, *PL*, XX, 1024B) and St Vincent of Lérins (*Commonitorium*, 1, *ibid.* L, 637C) call themselves simply *peregrinus*— the former with reference to *Psalm* XXXVII 17 — and do not use their names. For the possibility that the anti-Priscillianist Bachiarius is identical with an otherwise unknown pseudonymous anti-Priscillianist Peregrinus, cf. O. F. Fritzsche, "Über Bachiarius und Peregrinus," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XVII (1897) 211 ff. — For the Peregrinus (or the Peregrini) who edited the Bible in the early Middle Ages, cf. B. Fischer, O.S.B., "Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters," in: *La Bibbia nell' alto Medioevo* (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medievo, X, Spoleto, 1963) 532 ff. For Bachiarius, cf. now also A. M. Mundó, "Estudis sobre el *De Fide* de Baquiari," *Studia Monastica*, VII (1965), 247 ff.

[18] Cf. H. Rahner, S.J., *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery* (London, 1963), 328 ff.: "Odysseus at the Mast," cf. also T. Klauser, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst*, VI, 15: *Das Sirenenabenteuer des Odysseus — ein Motiv der christlichen Grabkunst?*, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, VI (1963), 71 ff.

own: estrangement from God and estrangement from the world. While alienation in the sense of a more or less radical detachment from the temporal terrestrial world was considered a Christian's duty and privilege, the necessity for it would not have arisen, had not in the Christian view a great calamity overtaken the universe at its very beginning and alienated it from the perfect order in which God had created it. The rebel angels, and upon their instigation Adam and Eve, had violated that order out of lack of love for God and consequent disobedience to his command. Had this not happened, no one need ever have felt himself to be a stranger. But it did happen, and therefore St Paul could say that, as long as he is in this body, man is an exile from the Lord.[19]

This original calamity, through which the world had become a strange place, Christianity saw in voluntaristic and ethical terms, whereas late ancient syncretism, and especially Gnosticism, saw it in terms of a fatally predetermined cosmic drama. The "alien life" was a primary symbol of the Gnostics who carried the concept of alienation into the realm of deity itself.[20]

Marcion went farthest in this respect when he separated the supreme God and his Redeemer-Son Jesus Christ completely from the Creator-God of the Old Testament. For Marcion, the Father and the Son, both of them spiritual light by their nature, were aliens to this evil world of creation, which again was alienated from them in the first and evil sense of the two senses of alienation mentioned. Jesus, the supremely good stranger on this earth, was of course alienated from it in the second meaning of our terminology.[21]

It is clear that not only the orthodox early Christians, but also the Gnostics had a double concept of alienation. But only the orthodox seem to have felt that the type of alienation which meant detachment from this world somehow belonged together with man's attempts to reestablish the disturbed terrestrial order of creation in such a way that it would reflect, however imperfectly, the celestial order.[22]

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[19] 2 Cor. v 6 (Vulgate): " . . . dum sumus in corpore peregrinamur a Domino."

[20] Cf. H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist I* (Göttingen, 1934), 96 f., *id.*, *The Gnostic Religion*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1963), 49 ff., 55 f., 75 ff.; Simone Pétrement, *Le dualisme chez Platon, les Gnostiques et les Manichéens* (Paris, 1947) 164 ff. — The "inn" as symbol of an alien world, which we found in Gregory the Great and St Augustine (cf. above pp. 235 and 236), occurs also in the *Hymn of the Pearl*, contained in the third-century *Gnostic Acts of St Thomas*; cf. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 3rd ed., II (Tübingen, 1964), 350, versus 21–23, also 303 for further translations from the Syriac text and for literature. Augustine probably knew the *Hymn of the Pearl*, since he tells us that the Manichaeans used the *Acts of St Thomas* and even quotes them; cf. *Contra Faustum*, XXII, 79, Migne, *PL*, XLII, 452, *Contra Adimantium*, XVII, 2, 5 ff, *loc. cit.*, XXIV 1263 (see Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *op, cit.*, 299, 304 f.) See also the Manichaean Coptic *Kephalaion*, XLI, ed. H. J. Polotsky, *Kephalaia*, I (Stuttgart, 1940), 228, where a catechumen's house is compared to an inn. Among recent studies on the influence of Manicheeism on St Augustine, cf. especially W. H. C. Frend, "Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition in Roman North Africa," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, IV (1953), 13 ff., P. J. de Menasce, O.P., "Augustin Manichéen," in: *Freundesgabe für Ernst Robert Curtius*, (Bern, 1956), 79 ff., A. Adam, "Das Fortwirken des Manichäismus bei Augustin," *Z. Ki. Gesch.*, LXIX (1958), 1 ff.

[21] Cf. A. v. Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*, 2nd ed. (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, XLV [1924], reprint, Darmstadt, 1960), especially 118 ff.

[22] That the relationship between world-alienation and world-order nevertheless remained a problem

The hierarchical idea of the Middle Ages taken in its widest sense was the exact opposite of, and even a reaction against, the conclusions which the Gnostics and Manichaeans drew from what they took to be the all-pervasive estrangement and disorder of this world, conclusions which were over-spiritual and antinomian, exaggerated, and desperate. In the orthodox view, the wayfarer's life was conducted within a universal order which was in itself good and which was made up of many more particular orders. St Paul had said: "the powers that be are ordained of God,"[23] and a very old liturgical prayer of Roman sacramentaries asks the Lord that the course of the world be directed peacefully according to His order.[24] The existence of order as well as its mere relativity on earth were treated more philosophically by St Augustine, especially in his early dialogue *On Order*,[25] and more theologically and mystically by Ps.-Dionysius the Areop-agite in his books on the *Celestial* and *Ecclesiastical Hierarchies*.[26] Ps.-Dionysius made the Church fully conscious of its hierarchical structure, centered in the priesthood and reflecting the celestial hierarchy of angels around the supreme High Priest Christ. This hierarchical order is not altogether static, it continuously passes through a process of mystical purification of souls in which they progressively give up all things which detract from concentration on God. Here, too, one might speak of estrangement from the world, though the Areopagite to my knowledge does not use such terms as alienation or pilgrimage to characterize the ascetic's response to the human condition. He rather speaks of renunciation of all division in the soul and of the resulting perfect unity of life. This perfection is achieved above all by the monks who in the ecclesiastical hierarchy form the highest among the non-sacerdotal orders. Ps.-Dionysius explains the term monk, μοναχός, derived though it is from μόνος, sole, not by the monks' solitary life, but rather by the rejection of all divisiveness, by the perfect single-mindedness of their devotion to God.[27]

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to be solved ever anew, will be seen in the following pages; for the underlying metaphysical problem in general, cf. A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (1936, reprint, New York, 1960), especially 315 ff.

[23] Rom. xiii 1 f. (Vulgate): . . . non est enim potestas nisi a Deo; quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt. . . .

[24] *Sacramentarium Veronense* ("Leonine Sacramentary"), ed. L. C. Mohlberg, O.S.B., L. Eizen-höfer, O.S.B., and P. Siffrin, O.S.B. (*Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes* I, Roma, 1956), 81 no. 633: "Da nobis, domine deus noster, ut et mundi cursus pacifico nobis tuo ordine dirigatur et aecclesia tua tranquilla deuotione laetetur." This prayer is still found in the *Missale Romanum*, as collect for the fourth Sunday after Pentecost. Cf. also *Sacram. Veron.* 127 no. 996: "Deus cuius arbitrio omnium saeculorum ordo decurrit. . . . "; furthermore, important for the relationship between alienation and order, *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Aeclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli* (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*), ed. Mohlberg, Eizenhöfer, and Siffrin (*Rer. Eccles. Doc., Ser. Maior, Fontes* IV, Roma, 1960), 85, no. 546: "Deus qui errantes ut in uia possent redire ueritatis tuae lumen ostendes, da cunctis qui christiana professione censentur, et illa respuere quae huic inimica sunt nomini et ea quae sunt apta sectari" (cf. *Sacram. Veron.* II, 11 no. 75 and *Miss. Rom.*, collect for the third Sunday after Easter).

[25] De ordine, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, LXIII, 121 ff. Cf. also *De civitate Dei*, XIX, 13, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, XLVIII, 679: " . . . pax omnium rerum tranquillitas ordinis. Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dipositio." Cf. J. Rief, *Der Ordobegriff des jungen Augustinus* (Paderborn, 1962).

[26] *De coelesti hierarchia*, Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, III, 119 ff.; *De ecclesiastica hierarchia, ibid.*, 369 ff.

[27] *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 6, 1, 3 and 6, 3, 2, *loc. cit.*, 532 D f. and 533 D. For the various interpreta-

There can be no doubt that monasticism and mysticism, which were so closely connected with one another, played a great role in the history of the relationship between alienation and order. When Keniston, in the remarkable book which I mentioned before, holds that the very order of mediaeval Catholicism led to its demise, because the individual had no way out of it,[28] he seems to forget these two phenomena of mysticism and monasticism. One might say that in the Middle Ages they played the role of what Keniston calls "Utopia": the vision of a higher order, of a nobler society.[29] One might ask whether the mediaeval dialectic of alienation and order did not maintain for centuries essential utopian elements, understood in Keniston's sense — we might call them ideals of perfection — the decline of which in our time he so rightly deplores.

Let me quote two of the monumental sentences in which the greatest of all monastic lawgivers enumerates the "Instruments of Good Works": " . . . to make yourself a stranger (*alienum*) to the deeds of the world" and " . . . to prefer nothing to the love of Christ."[30]

These are general principles of St Benedict's Rule. He also gave them special applications.

It is well known that in his very first chapter Benedict defines the purpose of the Rule by distinguishing true monks from sham monks, among whom the worst are the so-called *gyrovagi*, those who are forever unstable wanderers according to their own will and never become steadfast.[31] *Stabilitas*, steady perseverance in the monastery, is one of the greatest virtues of the Benedictine monk, which he must vow before his reception.[32] Benedictine *stabilitas* is of course something very different from the ordinary wayfarer's temporary sojourn in the *stabulum*, that inn of worldly comfort, of which we heard Augustine and Gregory the Great speak. For monastic *stabilitas* represents a higher order.[33]

This is not the place to go into a detailed analysis of how monastic *stabilitas* is connected with the conception of the "Two Ways," the strait one, which leads through a narrow gate to life, that is to say, to steadfastness with God, and the broad one, which through a wide gate leads to perdition.[34] Let me only say that

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tions of the term "monk" in the authors of Christian Antiquity and of the Middle Ages, cf. G. M. Colombas, O.S.B., "El concepto de monje y vida monastica hasta fines del siglo V," *Studia Monastica* I (1959) 257 ff., and J. Leclercq, O.S.B., *Etudes sur le vocabulaire monastique du moyen âge* (*Studia Anselmiana*, XLVIII, Roma, 1961).

[28] Keniston, *op. cit.* 321: " . . . a hierarchical order of Being which . . . seemed to embrace and reconcile every possible dichotomy, opposition, and polarity. Yet . . . the very success of mediaeval Catholicism led to its demise: men and their experience were so inextricably 'placed' in an ordered chain of Being and in a hierarchical society that they rebelled. . . . "

[29] Cf. Keniston, *op. cit.*, 326 ff.

[30] Benedict, *Regula*, 4, 20 f., ed. R. Hanslik, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, LXXV, 30: "Saeculi actibus se facere alienum, nihil amori Christi praeponere."

[31] *Regula*, 1, 10 f., *ibid.* 18 f.

[32] Cf. *Regula*, 4, 78, *ibid.*, 35; 58, 9 and 17, *ibid.*, 134 and 136; 60, 9, *ibid.*, 141; 61, 5, *ibid.*, 142.

[33] Cf. also below, note 61, about the Benedictine ideal as "stabilization" and interiorization of *peregrinatio*.

[34] Cf. Matt. vii 13 f., Luke xiii 24. For the Jewish moral treatise on the "two ways," which probably formed the background of these Gospel texts and also of *Didache*, 1, 1 (ed. K. Bihlmeyer, *Die Aposto-*

the *topos* of "Two Ways" is developed much more fully and logically in that *Regula Magistri*, which has lately become so famous, than in the Rule of St Benedict. One may find there a very telling, though not yet fully-evaluated, argument, if not for the priority of the Rule of the Master, for a common source of both rules.[35] But I must not allow the fascinating problem of the relationship between Benedict's and the Master's monastic legislation to alienate me from the order of my argument. There can be no doubt at any rate that a new investigation of the mediaeval phase of the history of the "Two Ways" concept would be an important part of a study of *Homo Viator* ideology.[36]

To return to Benedict, he is at great pains to explain that rank and order in his foundation must be quite independent from any worldly considerations. Keeping in mind the twofold meaning of alienation, one might perhaps describe the monastic intention paradoxically as follows: no alien order must alienate the monk

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lischen Väter I [Tübingen, 1924], 1), of Ps.-Barnabas, *Epistle* 18 ff. (*Florilegium Patristicum* I [Bonn, 1911], 64 ff.), of *Pastor Hermae, Mandatum,* 6 (*Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller, Apostolische Väter* I, 31 ff.), cf. J. P. Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres* (Paris, 1958), 131 ff., 159 ff., 280 ff., where the relationship to the "sons of light and the sons of darkness" in the *Manual of Discipline* of the "Dead Sea Scrolls" is also discussed.

[35] The *Regula Magistri* is found in Migne, *PL,* LXXXVIII, 943 ff., but cf. now the diplomatic edition by Dom H. Vanderhoven and F. Masai, *La Règle du Maître* (*Publications de Scriptorium,* Bruxelles-Paris; Anvers-Amsterdam, 1953), and also the edition and French translation by A. de Vogüé, O.S.B., *La Règle du Maître* (*Sources Chrétiennes,* Paris, 1964). In the *Regula Magistri* the "Two Ways" occur first in the Prologue (*PL* LXXXVIII, 944 f.) and then again in chapter 7, "On Obedience" (*ibid.,* 960 f.). In the latter text the "broad way" is applied to worldly men and bad monks (Sarabaites and Gyrovagi), the "straight way" to good monks (Cenobites). In the *Rule of St Benedict,* the "broad way" is not mentioned at all and the "narrow way" only once and very briefly, in chapter 5, "On Obedience," without much intrinsic connection with the surrounding text or with the rest of the rule. There can be little doubt that the use of the "Two Ways" motif in the *Regula Benedicti* presupposes the much fuller and logical development of the same motif in the *Rule of the Master*: in the so-called *Thema* (*PL,* LXVIII, 945 B-946B) and in the exhortation which corresponds to St Benedict's Prologue (ibid., 947D-952A) it is linked to an elaborate treatment of man's condition as pilgrim and wayfarer. The consistent use of the "Two Ways" *topos* in the *Regula Magistri* has rightly been adduced as an argument for its "priority" vis-à-vis the *Rule of St Benedict* by Dom A. Genestout in his epochal study "La Règle du Maître et la Règle de S. Benoît," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique,* XXI (1940), 74 f., and also in his later article "Unité de composition de la Règle de S. Benoît et de la Règle du Maître," *Studia Benedictina* (*Studia Anselmiana,* XVIII–XIX, Roma-Città del Vaticano, 1947), 270. However, this priority is not necessarily a chronological one. For, since the *Regula Magistri* contains certain passages identical with interpolated readings of the *Regula Benedicti,* the most plausible solution of the problem seems to be that both rules have used a common source — which included the full development of the "Two Ways" metaphor, still to be found in the *Regula Magistri.* This source is better preserved in the Rule of the Master, who, nevertheless, wrote somewhat later than St Benedict, since he also used an interpolated version of the latter's rule; cf. in this sense Theresia Payr, *Der Magistertext in der Überlieferungsgeschichte der Benediktinerregel* (*Studia Anselmiana,* XLIV, Roma, 1959), especially 71 f.

[36] In the Middle Ages and Renaissance the Iudaeo-Christian tradition of the concept of the "Two Ways" is paralleled by, and in part intertwined with, the classical tradition, which begins with Prodicus' story of the Choice of Hercules and with Pseudo-Pythagorean symbolism of the two branches of the letter Y. Cf. E. Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege* (*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg,* XVIII, Leipzig, Berlin, 1930), especially 42 ff.; T. E. Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Story of Hercules," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XVI (1953), now also in Mommsen's *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies,* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1959), 175 ff.; S. C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven and London, 1962), 175 ff.

from his alienation from an alienated world. The inner-monastic order depends normally only on seniority of conversion to the monastic state and on the meritorious life of the monk, also on the decision of the abbot, who takes the place of Christ in the monastery.[37] Even a priest who comes from outside is subject to these principles.[38] On the other hand, every true *peregrinus*, that is to say, the authentic pilgrim and stranger who knocks at the door of the monastery, is to be received as if he was Christ Himself.[39] He must be shown all the respect due to one who may be a wayfarer through this life on the road to the heavenly fatherland. Early mediaeval saints' lives show very clearly that genuine monastic, and generally speaking ascetic, *peregrinatio* was highly esteemed as a radically Christian way of life, which possessed its own *stabilitas*.[40]

All through the Middle Ages, and especially in the West, the monastic order remained a great prototype of the more comprehensive order of Christendom, which of course extended far beyond monasticism. In this respect, too, Gregory the Great was an epochal figure. In his allegorical interpretation of Ezechiel, he speaks of the three orders of the faithful in the Old and New Testaments: the order of the preachers, that of the continent, and that of the married.[41] This three-fold division became canonical in the Middle Ages, but was simplified by applying it to the clerics, monks, and laymen.[42]

Gregory also adduced the graded order of the angelic hierarchies of heaven as an argument for the acceptance of higher and lower ranks on earth. Such graded order was to him the presupposition for peace, love, and concord. "No society," he says, "could exist in any other way than if it was maintained by such a great differentiated order."[43]

Indeed the idea, if not always the reality, of order dominated a millennium or more of mediaeval history. This was true for the Church, the Empires, and Kingdoms, and for all aspects of Christian society.

It is rather characteristic for the Middle Ages that they could call infringements of this sacred order alienation. The best-known though late example is the mediaeval non-alienation or inalienability oath in which bishops or kings swore

[37] Benedict, *Regula*, especially chapter 63, *De ordine congregationis*, ed. Hanslick, *loc. cit.* 145 ff.; cf. also 2, 18 ff., *loc. cit.* 22f. Cf. also M. Thiel, O.S.B., "Der Ordnungsgedanke in der Regel des hl. Benedikt," *Studia Benedictina* (*Studia Anselmiana*, xviii–xix, Roma-Città del Vaticano, 1947) especially 101 ff.

[38] Cf. *Regula*, 60, *loc. cit.* 140 f.

[39] *Regula*, chapter 53, *De hospitibus suscpiendis*, *loc. cit.*, 123 ff., especially 53, 1f. and 15, *loc. cit.* 123 and 124 f; 56, 1, *loc. cit.* 131; also chapter 61, *De monachis peregrinis, qualiter suscipiantur*, *loc. cit.* 141 ff.

[40] Cf. J. Leclercq, "Mönchtum und Peregrinatio im Frühmittelalter," *Römische Quartalschrift*, lv (1960) 212 ff., where Dom Leclercq uses the appropriate formula *"stabilitas in peregrinatione"* (217).

[41] Cf. Gregory the Great, *In Ezechielem*, ii, *Homilia*, iv, 5, Migne, *PL*, lxxvi, 976B, and *Homilia*, vii, 3, *ibid.* 1014A; also *Moralia*, xxxii, 20, 35, *ibid.*, 657B, where Gregory speaks of "leaders" or "masters" (*rectores*) rather than "preachers."

[42] Cf. for instance, Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi*, i, 31, ed. and trans. R. W. Southern (London, etc., 1962), 54 f.; Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Animae*, i, 173, Migne, *PL*, clxxii, 597D.

[43] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Registrum Epistolarum*, V, 59, *Monum. Germ. histor.*, *Epist.* i, 371: "Neque enim universitas alia poterat ratione subsistere, nisi huiusmodi magnus eam differentiae ordo servaret."

not to alienate the property rights of the Church and the Crown, respectively.[44] In a different context, Benjamin Nelson, in his book on the *Idea of Usury*, has shown how the mediaeval concept of a universal Christian order led to the rejection of the Old Testament permission to take interest from foreigners.[45] While a Christian might be alienated from the world, he should not be a stranger to his brother, whatever his origin, who shares with him the same sacred order. The two great commandments "Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God"[46] and "Thou shalt love Thy neighbor as Thyself"[47] stood against two great disorders: alienation of man from God and alienation of man from man, or comprehensively against any alienation from the order of Christendom.

To exemplify the mediaeval ideology of order further, let us take a short-cut and recall Andrieu's great edition of the so-called *Ordines Romani* of the early Middle Ages.[48] There we find a cross-section of the ordered, liturgical activities of the Roman church before the eleventh century. Though these *Ordines* are of course limited by their scope, they may serve for orientation in that aspect of the Middle Ages where it really was Pope Gregory's "great differentiated order." For we find among these Roman *Ordines* not only detailed instructions for the service of the Mass and for the divine office of priests and monks, for the books to be used in the liturgy, and for various feasts and fasts, but also a general ordering of those moments of life which were considered the most sacred at least by two of the conventional orders of Christian society: by the clerics and laymen. I am referring here to the *Ordines* of baptism[49] and of the obsequies of the dead,[50] also to the *Ordines* of the ordination of clerics beginning with the lower clerical orders and going all the way up to the ordination of the Roman pontiff,[51] and finally to the Ordines which describe the *benedictio* or *ordinatio* of the greatest of all laymen, the Emperor, when he came to Rome to receive the crown from the Pope.[52]

Among the types of *ordo*, dealt with less fully or only indirectly in the early mediaeval *Ordines Romani*, but at considerable length in their successor, the *Pontificale Romanum* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[53] I shall presently

[44] Cf. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957) 347 ff.: "Inalienability," with ample bibliography. See also P. N. Riesenberg, *Inalienability of Sovereignty in Medieval Political Thought* (New York, 1956), and H. Hoffmann, "Die Unveräusserlichkeit der Kronrechte im Mittelalter," *Deutsches Archiv*, xx (1964) 389 ff.

[45] Cf. B. N. Nelson, *The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood* (Princeton, 1949).

[46] Cf. Matt. xxii 37.

[47] Cf. Matt. xxii 39.

[48] Cf. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge,* i–v (*Spicilegium Lovaniense*, xi, xxiii, xxiv, xxviii, xxix, Louvain, 1931, 1948, 1951, 1956, 1961).

[49] *Ordines Romani*, xi, xv, xxviiiA, Andrieu, *loc. cit.*, ii, 417 ff. iii, 116 ff. and 421 ff.

[50] Cf. *Ordo Romanus*, xlix, Andrieu, *loc. cit.*, iv, 529 f.

[51] Cf. *Ordines Romani*, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvA, xxxvB, xxxvi, xxxix, xlA, xlB, Andrieu, *loc.cit.*, iii, 603 ff. iv, 33 ff., 73 ff., 99 ff., 195 ff., 283 ff., 297, 307 f.

[52] Cf. *Ordines Romani*, xlv, xlvi, xlvii, Andrieu, *loc. cit.*, iv, 459 ff., 483 ff., 503 ff.

[53] Cf. M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain du moyen âge* i–iv (*Studi e Testi*, lxxxvi–lxxxix, Città del Vaticano, 1938–1941).

single out the order of penitents, the monastic and religious orders, and the order of knighthood.[54] These three inter-related embodiments of the idea of order can lead us back to the idea of alienation and to the stranger and pilgrim, of whom for a moment we almost lost sight, in other words to that dialectic of order and alienation which I think is so characteristic for the mediaeval period.

In passing, I must stress two points. First: the Middle Ages, too, of course, sometimes forgot that all terrestrial order is relative, they only too often failed to remember that Augustine had conceived of the *Civitas Dei* as *peregrinans*. They were far from immune to the danger of idolizing imperial theocracy or papal hierocratism or communal self-rule, be it monastic, feudal, or political.[55]

Secondly: as regards the foreigner or stranger in the literal sense, the outsider in relation to a community, the Middle Ages were on the whole not very favorably disposed toward him, except if he was privileged either for spiritual reasons, as in the case of pilgrims, or for intellectual reasons, as in the case of the universities, or for material reasons, as in the case of merchants.[56] And yet, mediaeval men asserted ever anew that the order of the world would become spiritually lifeless if it did not transcend itself through various modes of alienation from what seemed the

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[54] The early mediaeval penitential and monastic ritual and corresponding order of life were in part incorporated in the Sacramentaries and in the monastic *Consuetudines*, respectively; cf., for instance, the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, in the new edition of L. C. Mohlberg, O.S.B., L. Eizenhöfer, O.S.B., and P. Siffrin, O.S.B., *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Aeclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes,* iv, Roma, 1960), and the new *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum,* i, ff. ed. K. Hallinger, O.S.B. (Siegburg, 1963). In the Roman Pontifical of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which is in part based on the old *Ordines Romani* and in part on the so-called Roman-German (Ottonian) Pontifical of *ca* 960 (cf. Andrieu, *Pontifical Romain,* i, 3 ff., and C. Vogel and R. Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle* i–ii [*Studi e Testi* ccxxvi–ccxxvii, Città del Vaticano, 1963], penitential ritual and monastic "ordinations" (benedictions) have found their appropriate place beside clerical ordinations and other matters. An *ordo* for the "ordination" of a knight occurs in Roman Pontificals for the first time at the end of the thirteenth century, namely in the *Pontifical of Guillielmus Durandus,* i, 28, Andrieu, *Pontifical Romain,* iii, 447 ff. The exact relationship between the *ordines,* used in the making of a knight, and those for monks, rulers, and orders of knighthood deserves to be investigated fully.

[55] In this connection the great twelfth-century controversy between monks and canons regular concerning the relative rank and value of their respective orders is very significant. Out of the vast literature I refer only to E. Meuthen, *Kirche und Heilsgeschichte bei Gerhoh von Reichersberg* (Leiden, Köln, 1949), especially 29 ff: "Ethos und Ordo."

[56] I cannot here discuss in detail the problems connected with the legal and social-economic position of foreigners or strangers in the mediaeval world, among whom the "*Fahrende Leute,*" vagabonds of all kinds, including jugglers and mimes, *clerici vagantes* and minstrels, clowns and fools (cf. also below, p. 257), were the worst off, at least if they were not especially protected by the great. Good studies on the "stranger" in the Middle Ages are found in the volume of articles in comparative institutional history, entitled *L'étranger = Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin,* x (Bruxelles, 1958), with contributions by F.L. Ganshof and others. Canon law doctrine, which held as a matter of principle that the personal rights of foreigners are not less than those of citizens and which allowed to the former a considerable amount of exemption from the laws of both their guest country and their home country — cf. W. Onclin, "Le statut des étrangers dans la doctrine canonique médiévale," *ibid.,* 37 ff. — had only limited effect on secular legislation and juridical practice. Cf. also E. Faure, "Saint Ambroise et l'expulsion des pérégrins de Rome," in *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras,* i (Paris, 1965), 523 ff., and F. Garrisson, "A propos des pélerins et de leur condition juridique," *ibid.,* ii (1965), 1165 ff.

ordinary scheme of things. The following examples will continue to illustrate the fact and the problems of alienation in its interaction with the ordered cosmos of the Middle Ages.

In the early Church the *Ordo paenitentium* had constituted penitents as an institutionalized group, and in the East had even subdivided them according to *stationes* or penitential grades.[57] The Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks from the sixth to the eighth century simplified the institutional element by their well-known penitential tariffs, but they also—and this is much more important—revitalized the whole concept of penance by choosing *peregrinatio*, homelessness and exile, as one of their principal penitential and ascetic practices and by making it fructify in various missionary centers of western Europe.[58] This development is not altogether without connection with the increasing popularity of pilgrimages to the foremost shrines of Christendom.[59] These pilgrimages—though at times they led to outright disorder—were not only an expression of spiritual fervor, but also an occasion for contact between different social and ethnical groups and for human experiences of all kinds.[60]

Within the monastic order a shift from the stationary to the wayfaring and missionary *habitus* repeats itself on a vast scale between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, supplementing and in part replacing Benedictine *stabilitas* by various forms of ascetic and "apostolic" *peregrinatio*.[61] At least in its general outline this latter movement, which was hermitical rather than coenobitic in its origins and in part remained so, is too well known to mediaevalists to require detailed description.[62] It ranges from the great hermit of the Ravenna marshes,

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[57] Cf. J. Grotz, *Die Entwicklung des Busstufenwesens in der vornicänischen Kirche* (Freiburg, 1955); also B. Poschmann, "Busstufen (Busstationen)," in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, II (Stuttgart, 1954), 814 ff., und J. A. Jungmann, "Bussriten," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, II (Freiburg, 1958), 824.

[58] Here I may refer to my remarks in "Greatness in Mediaeval History," *Catholic Historical Review*, L (1964), 8 f., note 28, and to the literature mentioned there. Cf. further C. Vogel, "Le pèlerinage pénitentiel," in *Pellegrinaggi e culto dei santi in Europa fino alla Iª crociata* (Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale IV, Todi, 1963), 37 ff. The missionary motive must not be exaggerated, since the ascetic motive remained predominant; cf. Leclercq, "Mönchtum und Peregrinatio," cited in note 40, 221 ff.; also B. de Gaiffier, "Pellegrinaggi e culto dei Santi," in the above-mentioned Acts of the Todi Congress, 9 ff., especially 32 f.

[59] Cf. B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrten in der alten Kirche* (Münster, 1950) 306 f.; Jean Leclercq, "Monachisme et pérégrination du IXᵉ au XIIᵉ siècle," *Studia Monastica*, III (1961), 33 ff., especially 37 ff.; E. R. Labande, "Recherches sur less pélerins dans l'Europe du XIᵉ et XIIᵉ siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xᵉ–XIIᵉ siècles*, I (1958) 159 ff., 359 ff. Cf. also the studies of de Gaiffier and Vogel, cited in note 58.

[60] Professor Erwin Panofsky kindly drew my attention to this aspect of mediaeval pilgrimages. Of this whole complex of variegated facts — which would warrant a special investigation — Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* are an incomparable document. Cf. also J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life* (trans. from the French by Lucy T. Smith, London, New York, 1961), 192 ff.: "Pilgrims and Pilgrimages."

[61] On the other hand, as Leclercq, "Monachisme et Perégrination" (cited in note 59), 44 ff., has shown, Benedictine, and especially Cistercian, monasticism re-interiorized the ascetic conception of *peregrinatio* in the sense of a *"peregrinatio in stabilitate,"* that is to say, of self-exile from the world in the monastery.

[62] Cf., for instance, E. Werner, *Pauperes Christi* (Leipzig, 1956); M. D. Chenu, O.P., "Moines, clercs, laics," in his collected articles, published under the title *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris,

from St Romuald, around the year 1000, via the French wandering preachers around 1100 to the Mendicant Orders of the thirteenth century. St Francis and the first companions of his order began as wandering hermits, and in his Third Rule the saint of Assisi still saw the members of his foundation as *peregrini et advenae*, as strangers and pilgrims.[63]

In the Middle Ages the monastic order was often identified with the *militia Christi* or *militia spiritualis*;[64] the *militia saecularis* of the knight, on the other hand, could be conceived of as an *ordo* also. It will suffice to recall the half-monastic orders of knighthood, which grew up in the age of the crusades, the late mediaeval secular orders of knighthood, such as the Garter and Golden Fleece, and the Books of the Order of Chivalry, such as that by Ramon Lull, which, among other things, contained rituals for knightly benediction or ordination ceremonies.[65]

It is very interesting to see how feudalism, which originally was rather localized and static, fell under the dynamic spell of the *peregrinatio* idea, without which the chivalric ideals of the High Middle Ages could hardly have developed. This happened in two stages, and in both of them motifs of estrangement and of lost or reintegrated order are intertwined. First and most obviously, chivalry coalesced with the mediaeval pilgrimage movement in the great pilgrimage in arms aimed at recapturing Jerusalem, the ideal center of the Christian world. I am, of course, referring to the Crusade.[66] Second, in conjunction with the rapid slackening of the crusading spirit, there arose in the literature of the second half of the twelfth century that fateful image of the knight-errant who must seek out the hostile forces of the world and find his own self in a ceaseless course of *avanture*.[67]

Such a *chevalier errant* is, for instance, Chrétien de Troyes' Yvain,[68] who must

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1957) pp. 225 ff.; H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen des Mittelalters* (reprint with additions, Darmstadt, 1961).

[63] Cf. *Regula Bullata*, 6, ed. H. Boehmer, *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi* (Tübingen, Leipzig, 1904), 32. For the Franciscan mystical version of the *peregrinatio* idea see St Bonaventure's *Itinerarium mentis ad Deum*, in *Tria Opuscula*, 3rd ed. (Quaracchi, 1911).

[64] Cf. A. Harnack, *Militia Christi* (Tübingen, 1905); H. Emonds, O.S.B., "Geistlicher Kriegsdienst: Der Topos der militia spiritualis," *Heilige Überlieferung* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens*, Ergänzungsband, Münster, 1938), pp. 21 ff.; J. Auer, "Militia Christi," *Geist und Leben*, XXXII (1959), pp. 340 ff.; also C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (reprint Darmstadt, 1955), p. 10 f., pp. 185 ff.

[65] See the essay by E. F. Jacobs, "The Beginnings of Mediaeval Chivalry," and that by A. T. Byles, "Medieval Courtesy Books and the Prose Romances of Chivalry," both in E. Prestage, *Chivalry* (London, 1928), pp. 37 ff. and pp. 183 ff., respectively. Cf. Ramon Lull, *Libre del Orde de Cavaleria*, ed. M. Obrador y Bennassar, *Obres de Ramon Lull*, I (Palma de Mallorca, 1906), pp. 203–247; see also E. A. Peers, *Ramon Lull* (London, 1929) pp. 120 ff., and A. Llinares, *Raymond Lulle: Philosophe d'action* (Grenoble, 1963) pp. 344 ff.

[66] Cf. P. Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade* (Paris, 1954); see also my article, quoted in note 58, 10, notes 30 f., and the study of Vogel in the Acts of the Todi Congress cited in note 58, especially 82 ff., also A. Dupront, "La spiritualité des croisés et des pèlerins d'après les sources de la première croisade," *ibid.*, 449 ff.

[67] Cf. the excellent pages on Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide* in R. B. Bezzola's *Le sens de l'aventure et de l'amour* (Paris, 1947).

[68] Cf., for instance, the significant passage in Chrétien's *Yvain*, 259 ff., ed. T. B. W. Reid (Man-

travel through *leus estranges et sauvages*,[69] through the alien wilderness of the world. He seeks *avantures*[70] in which he can exercise his prowess and through which he can prove himself a worthy companion of that precariously balanced symbol of order which is the Round Table of King Arthur. He must choose the *sentier tot droit*, the straight road, though it be full of thorns and darkness and danger.[71] He triumphs in his adventures and gloriously seems to fulfill all the demands of the order of chivalry; but he becomes alienated from the highest aspect of that order, from love itself. For through the excessively self-centered character of his knight-errancy Yvain betrays and loses the love of his beautiful wife and is driven into that alienation which is madness.[72] The *chevalier errant* is a multivalent symbol: he can be absorbed by the world, or transcend it, or be destroyed by it.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that the chivalric milieu of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries differs from that of the earlier *Chansons de Geste* chiefly through the fact that even more than valor, loyalty, and faith it is love of the beautiful and courtly lady which is its great inspiration.[73] No longer, therefore, is it always the love of God and adherence to hallowed sanctions which are the touch-stones of order or alienation.

In other respects, too, the relation of man to the divine order and to its terrestrial representations enters into a problematic stage at that time. The ordered relationship between the two universal authorities, Empire and Papacy, is breaking up, while the *peregrinatio* motivation of the crusade movement is disintegrating.[74]

One of the greatest poetic symbols of errant knighthood, invented during the Middle Ages, the figure of Tristan, expresses one possible reaction to the new situation. Tristan's life and love take their course against the background of an order which has lost all true coherence, the court of the ignoble King Marke.

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chester, 1942) 8, where the *chevalier errant* allows himself only one night's rest in the friendly castle in which he is *herbergié*. Cf. above, 236 for the symbol of the "inn."

[69] *Yvain* 763 ff., *loc. cit.*, 22: Par montaignes et par valees / Et par forez longues et lees / Par leus estranges et sauvages / Et passa mainz felons passages / Et maint peril et maint destroit. . . .

[70] *Yvain* 361 ff., *loc. cit.*, 11: 'Et quo voldroies tu trover?' / Avantures por esprover / Ma proesce et mon hardement. . . .

[71] *Yvain* 768 f., *loc. cit.*, 22: Tant qu'il vint au sentier tot droit, / Plain de ronces et d'oscurté . . . /

[72] Cf. *Yvain* 2774 ff., *loc. cit.*, 77 ff. The motif of madness from love occurs frequently in mediaeval romances and is still very much alive in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Canto XXIII, stanzas 132 ff. For Tristan's feigned folly, cf. below note 76. On folly in the pathological sense, cf. pp. 251 ff., concerning Opicinus de Canistris, and especially note 113; see also pp. 257 ff., on the contiguous but not identical phenomenon of the "fool" in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

[73] As evidenced, for instance, by the famous treatise of Andreas Capellanus, *De amore*; cf. the annotated translation by J. J. Parry (New York, 1941).

[74] No man was as conscious of the potentialities of the beginning disintegration as the greatest mystic of the Middle Ages, St Bernard of Clairvaux. Cf., for instance, his admonition to his disciple, Pope Eugene III, concerning the dangers of legalistic bureaucratization of the Roman Curia and of self-alienation of the papacy itself from its spiritual office, in *De consideratione*, I, 5, Migne, *PL*, CLXXXII, especially 735: "Nunquid tu alienus?" (cf. Prov. v 17). "Cui non alienus, si tibi es? Denique qui sibi nequam, cui bonus?" (cf. Eccles. xiv 5). "Memento proinde, non dico semper, non dico saepe, sed vel interdum, reddere te ipsum tibi."

Tristan and Isolt in Gottfried of Strassburg's profoundly tragic version of the story[75] feel justified in making their purely human love the center of their whole universe. The greatness of Gottfried's poem consists not least·in the incomparable way in which the exclusiveness of this love is shown to issue into demonic ir-rationality[76] and ultimately into the wish for suffering and death for the sake of a love which cannot be fully realized in terms of any order, human or divine.

The quite un-Christian perversion of the *peregrinatio* motif in Gottfried's *Tristan* is significant. I remind you of the famous incident in which Isolt's honor is saved by a blasphemous ordeal. She is carried to the ordeal by a poor pilgrim in whom nobody else recognizes Tristan, and thus she can swear that she has never lain in any man's arms except in those of her husband and of the stranger.[77] She then triumphantly carries the red-hot iron without being burned. In two al-most sneering verses Gottfried observes that *der vil tugenthafte Krist wintschaffen alse ein ermel ist* — the law of Christ can be turned inside-out like a sleeve.[78] Here Gottfried's Tristan, a "pilgrim of love," to use the terminology of a later age,[79] is quite alienated from the Christian order.[80]

[75] Cf. now especially G. Weber, *Gottfrieds von Strassburg Tristan und die Krise des hochmittelalter-lichen Weltbildes um 1200* (Stuttgart, 1953).

[76] The irrational element is isolated as it were in the poem known as the *Folie Tristan,* which sur-vives in a Bern manuscript (ed. E. Hoepffner, *La Folie Tristan de Berne,* 2nd ed., Paris, 1949) and in an Oxford manuscript (ed. E. Hoepffner, *La Folie Tristan d'Oxford,* 2nd ed., Strasbourg, 1943). Here Tristan appears at Marke's court in the guise and habitus of a fool. He plays his role so well that for a long time even Isolt refuses to accept his true identity.

[77] Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isolde,* 15,554–15,768, ed. W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde und Flore und Blanscheflur,* ii (Berlin, Leipzig, s.a.), 28 ff. For the Indian parallels, and perhaps sources, of the ordeal motif in the Tristan legend, cf. Helaine Newstead, *The Origin and Growth of the Tristan Legend,* in R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1959) p. 300 f.

[78] Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isolde,* 15,739 f., ed. Golther 33. In the literature on Gott-fried's poem the word *wintschaffen* is normally interpreted as "windy" in the sense of changeable, fickle, and capricious like the weather; so also Weber, *op. cit.* i, 270. This, however, does not explain the use of the metaphor in connection with *ermel,* "sleeve." *Wintschaffen* here seems to mean "shaped so that it can be turned." Cf. W. Müller and F. Zarncke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* — to which my colleague, Professor Franz Bauml, kindly drew my attention — ii, 2 (Leipzig, 1866) and iii (1861), 682, where *"wintschaffen"* is correctly derived from *"winden"* ("to turn"), whereas M. Lexer, *Mittel-hochdeutsches Handwörterbuch,* iii (Leipzig, 1878), derives the word from *"wind."*

[79] Professor Erwin Panofsky kindly draws my attention to Charles d'Orléans (1394–1465); cf. his *Rondeau,* lxxvii, ed. P. Champion, *Charles d'Orléans: Poésies,* ii (Paris, 1924), 333: A qui vendez vous voz coquilles/Entre vous, amans pelerins? See also the word play on pilgrim-palmer and palm-to -palm in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet,* i, 5. Even in the eighteenth century the pilgrimage of love motif occurs, for instance, in Watteau's so-called *"Embarquement pour Cythère"*; explained by M. Levey, "The Real Theme of Watteau's *Embarkation for Cythera,*" *The Burlington Magazine,* ciii, 697 (April, 1961), 180 ff. (again suggestions of Professor Panofsky).

[80] Cf. Weber, *Tristan* i, 217 ff. and ii, 186–209, on "Inordinatio" and the "Eros- und Ordo-Krise" in Gottfried, which he connects with the "neo-dualism" of the Cathari and others, which was one of the great problems of twelfth- and thirteenth-century society in the West. For *ordo* and *inordinatio,* *mâze, fuoge,* and *unmâze, unfuoge* in German literature of that period, see also the recent studies of B. Willson, "Ordo and Inordinatio in the Nibelungenlied," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur,* lxxxv (1963), 83 ff and 325 ff., also "The Ordo of Love in Walther's Minnesang," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte,* xxxix (1965), 523 ff., and "*Amor Inordinata* in Hartmann's 'Gregorius'," Speculum, lxi (1966), 86 ff.; also "The Grail King in Wolfram's Parzival," *The Modern Language Review,* lv (1960), 553 ff.

Yet, around 1200, when Gottfried wrote, there were still many great possibilities of reestablishing the balance between a Christian world order and a Christian conception of world alienation. This work of reconciliation, in which many great protagonists of the age had a share, has also found its great poetic symbol: Perceval, the child of the *gaste forest soutaine*,[81] the wild and solitary wood, Perceval, the seeker and finder of the Holy Grail.

The Grail romances are no longer centered around the somewhat tarnished splendor of Arthur's Round Table, but around the castle in the wilderness, where the Grail's mysteries are celebrated and protected by an unsullied knightly order. Yet even the perfect splendor of the Grail and of its community are temporarily in abeyance, because of the faithlessness of the Grail King, which has caused the Grail country to become a "Waste Land,"[82] symbol of corrupted life. Perceval, too, was long lost in the fantastic woods of adventurous combats and loves and caught in the maze of courtly etiquette. In Wolfram von Eschenbach's poem, *Parzival*, which in more than one way is the most perfect version of the story, the hero is driven to alienation from God by *zwivel*, by doubt of the rightness of the divine order[83] — doubt which is represented as latent in him,[84] and more clearly breaks out later in his misfortunes,[85] and is resolved in two stages: first, by the chance phenomenon of three drops of blood on the snow, which evoke the image of the beauty and love of his wife,[86] secondly, and decisively, by the encounter with the hermit Trevrizent, whose conversion from knightly search for adventure to other-worldly God-centeredness is the example which indirectly directs Perceval to the subordination of all striving and of all love to the divine wonder of the Holy Grail.[87] Thus, Perceval is ready to be redeemed himself and also to restore the right order of the world, symbolized by the Grail. He and his wife are crowned as the Grail's new king and queen. Wolfram von Eschenbach can end his *Parzival* on a hopeful note:

He whose life so ends that God is not alienated from the soul through the body's guilt, and who nevertheless can retain the good will of the world with dignity, he has achieved a useful work.[88]

Half a century after Wolfram, St Thomas Aquinas expressed in more abstract terms the idea of an order in which all that is good in human nature is included, when he said: "Grace presupposes nature, and perfection presupposes the per-

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[81] Cf. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Roman de Perceval*, 75, ed. W. Roach, *Le Roman de Perceval ou le Conte du Graal* (Genève, Paris, 1959), p. 3.

[82] For the motif of the "Waste Land" in the Grail Legends, cf. R. S. Loomis, *The Origin of the Grail Legends*, in Loomis, *Arthurian Literature*, pp. 278 ff.

[83] Cf. W. J. Schröder, *Der Ritter zwischen Gott und Welt: Ideen und Probleme des Parzivalromans Wolframs von Eschenbach* (Weimar, 1952), especially pp. 147 ff., 224 ff

[84] Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival* III, 119, 17, ed. K. Lachmann, 7th ed. (E. Hartl, Berlin, 1952), p. 66: ôwê muoter, waz ist got?

[85] *Ibid.* VI, 332, 1, *loc. cit.*, 163. wê, waz ist got?

[86] *Ibid.* VI, 282 f. *loc. cit.*, 140.

[87] *Ibid.* IX, 452 ff., *loc. cit.*, 218 ff.

[88] *Ibid.* XVI, 827, 19 ff., *loc. cit.* 388: swes leben sich sô verendet, / daz got niht wirt gepfendet / der sêle durch des lîbes schulde, / und der doch der werlde hulde / behalten kan mit werdekeit, / daz ist ein nütziu arbeit.

fectible."[89] This was a new formulation of hope for *Homo Viator*, the wayfarer on this earth.

In view of the wide use of the *viator* concept by Thomas and by other late mediaeval writers, it is not without interest to ask whether at that time if differs in any significant manner from the *viator* ideology of the Augustinian and early mediaeval tradition. And, indeed, there is a difference if only a subtle one. This is a wide field, and I should only like to note one remarkable fact: on several occasions Thomas says that Christ Himself during His earthly life, though always a full *comprehensor* of God, His Father, nevertheless was still a *viator*, because, like all human wayfarers, he was incarnate in a body.[90] Similarly, Guillaume de Deguilville, who around the middle of the fourteenth century wrote a great religious poem in two parts about man's spiritual pilgrimage, in this world and in the next, crowns it with an equally great third part in which the entire redemptive action of Christ Himself is described in terms of pilgrimage, *Le Pelerinage Jhesucrist*.[91] There is nothing quite like that in St Augustine or, to my knowledge, in patristic literature in general. If Augustine admits that Christ was not too fastidious to share in our *peregrinatio*, he immediately adds that—since He created everything—He was really nowhere a *peregrinus*.[92]

I need not belabor the point that through Thomas Aquinas the bodily con-

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[89] *Summa Theologica* I q. 2 a. 2 ad 1: "Sic enim fides praesupponit cognitionem naturalem, sicut gratia naturam, et ut perfectio perfectibilc." Cf. B. Stoeckle, O.S.B., *"Gratia supponit naturam"*: *Geschichte und Analyse eines theologischen Axioms (Studia Anselmiana*, XLIX, Roma, 1962), 109 ff.

[90] *Summa Theologica*, I q. 113 a. 4 ad 1: " . . . Christus, secundum quod homo, . . . secundum animam erat comprehensor, sed ratione possibilitatis corporis erat viator . . ."; *ibid.* III q. 15 a. 10c: . . . Christus autem ante passionem . . . simul erat comprehensor, in quantum habebat beatitudinem propriam animae, et simul viator, in quantum tendebat in beatitudinem secundum id, quod ei de beatitudine deerat"; cf. also *ibid.* II IIae q. 17 a.2 ad 1; III q. 8 a. 4 ad 2.

[91] Ed. J. J. Stürzinger (Roxburghe Club, London, 1897), cf. for instance, verses 1294, 1337 f., and 10, 381 ff., pp. 44 f. and 335 f., on the beginning and end of Christ's pilgrimage: His Incarnation and His return to heaven. Deguilville's other two "Pilgrimages," *Le Pelerinage de Vie Humaine* and *Le Pelerinaqe de l' Ame.* were edited by Stürzinger for the Roxburghe Club in 1893 and 1895, respectively.

[92] Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum*, CXLV, 1, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, XL, 2105: "Qui enim, ut nobiscum esset, descendit ad nos, facit, ut cum illo simus, ascendere ad se. Interim ipse peregrinationem nostram non fastidivit; quia nusquam est peregrinus, qui condidit omnia." Cf. also *Sermo*, XCI, 7, 9, Migne, *PL*, XXXVIII, 571: "Ipse autem qui ostendit peregrinantibus formam servi, servat pervenientibus formam Dei. De forma servi stravit viam, de forma Dei condidit patriam"; *Sermo*, CCCXLVI, 2, *ibid.*, XXXIX, 1523: "In fide nobis via est, in specie autem veritas et vita"; *Sermo Mai*, XCV, ed. G. Morin, O.S.B., *Sancti Augustini Sermones post Maurinos repertos=Miscellanea Agostiniana*, I (Roma, 1930), 344: "Homo Christus via tua es, Deus Christus patria tua est. Patria nostra veritas et vita, via nostra Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis"; see M. Comeau, "Le Christ, chemin et terme de l'ascension spirituelle d'après saint Augustin," *Recherches de science religieuse*, XL (1951/52), 80 ff., T. Bavel, "L'humanité du Christ comme lac parvulorum et comme via dans la spiritualité de saint Augustin," *Augustiniana*, VII (1957), 245 ff., L. Galati, *Christo la via nel pensiero di S Agostino* (diss., Fac. Theol., Pont. Univ. Gregoriana, Roma, 1957). Similarly, Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, XIX, 35, Migne, *PL*, LXXVI, 98B ff. (to Job xxviii 23: "Deus intelligit viam eius, et ipse novit locum illius"): "Aliter ergo ipsa sapientia (i.e., Christ) habet viam, atque aliter locum. Viam per humanitatis transitum, locum vero per statum (corrected from Migne's *"flatum"*) divinitatis." Gregory calls Christ not *viator*, but *via*, in accordance with John xiv 6; cf. *Moralia*, XXIX, 21, 40. The *viator* is, as in Augustine, not Christ, but post-adamitic man; cf. above, p. 236.

dition of *Homo Viator*, which was also that of Christ incarnate, though it always remained something to be transcended, nevertheless was vindicated to a large degree. So also for Dante, it was not only the spiritual goodness of a glorified Beatrice, but also the recollection of her corporeal earthly beauty, which extracted him from the *selva oscura*,[93] the dark wood, that old symbol of alienation, in which, *nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita*,[94] he had lost the straight path, *la diritta via*,[95] that old symbol of order.

However, the new reconciliation between alienation and order, a great achievement of the century of Wolfram, Thomas, and Dante, was not destined to penetrate lastingly into Christian society of the late Middle Ages. It is deeply significant that Dante did no longer adhere to the tradition which saw Ulysses, that great symbol of *Homo Viator*, as a type of the Christian *peregrinus* on the road to his heavenly home.[96] Dante's Ulysses never returns to restored order in his fatherland, for out of measureless curiosity he pursues his erratic course through the seas until he is smashed against the Mountain of Purgatory, which likewise is not for him.[97]

I know of no better way to exemplify the late mediaeval alteration of the relationship between order and alienation than by a few remarks about that enigmatic cleric of Pavia and Avignon, Opicinus de Canistris who, a generation after Dante, expressed his thoughts about the world and himself in strange drawings which are preserved in the Vatican Library and were made known principally by Richard Salomon.[98]

These drawings with their accompanying inscriptions are really pathetic to look at, and not only because Opicinus probably was a pathological individual. Opicinus tried to use old and new schemata and symbols of cosmological and political order[99] for the elucidation of his individual existential problems, which were in part very practical—troubles with his native city Pavia[100] and unsatisfied ambitions in papal Avignon[101]—and in part psychological—real or imaginary moral shortcomings and an all-pervading sense of guilt.[102]

[93] *Divina Commedia, Inferno* i, 2.

[94] *Ibid.* i, 1.

[95] *Ibid.* i, 3. Cf. also Dante's *Convivio* iv, 12, where human life is seen as the journey of a pilgrim (*peregrino*), who, if he is a good wayfarer (*buono camminatore*) on the straight road (*ottima e diritissima via*), will finally reach his place of rest in city and inn (*posa, albergo, cittade*).

[96] Cf. above, note 18.

[97] *Inferno* xxvi, 90 ff. Cf. P. W. Damon, "Dante's Ulysses and the Mythic Tradition," in: *Medieval Secular Literature* (*UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Contributions,* i, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1965), 25 ff.

[98] For the drawings in Cod. Pal. lat. 1993, cf. R. Salomon, *Opicinus de Canistris: Weltbild und Bekenntnisse eines avignonesischen Klerikers des 14. Jahrhunderts* (*Studies of the Warburg Institute,* i A [text] and i B [plates], London, 1936); for the drawings in Cod. Vat. lat. 6435, cf. Salomon, "A Newly Discovered Manuscript of Opicinus de Canistris," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* xvi (1953), 45 ff.

[99] Cf. Salomon, *Opicinus*, text vol., 97 ff.

[100] Cf. *Ibid.*, 24.

[101] Cf. *Ibid.*, 25 f., 46 f.

[102] Cf. *Ibid.*, 30 ff., 40 ff.

His drawings, which have rightly been called confessions, are pathetic because in no way did Opicinus succeed in his purpose to reconcile·through them his own personality with God and the world. Gone is the luminously balanced synthesis of the macrocosmic and microcosmic orders which can be found, for instance, in a Hildegard of Bingen's (ob. 1179) visionary writings and in the beautiful miniatures which illustrate them.[103] Opicinus still uses the old devices of cosmological imagery—concentric circles, ellipses, squares, rectangles,[104] and a vast repertoire of Christian and astrological-mythological iconography.[105] But not only has the whole system of microcosmic-macrocosmic correlations become chaotically complicated, obsessively repetitious, and confusedly elaborate in his hands, it also in the midst of all its complications seems to serve two as it were short-circuited aims: to glorify the rigid and over-organized hierocratic world view of the Avignon papacy,[106] which was Opicinus' employer, and, on the other hand, to unburden his own conscience by projecting his sense of guilt upon the world. Salomon has shown how, for this latter purpose, Opicinus used the then relatively recent invention of the so-called portulan maps, through which a much more realistic picture of the geography of the Mediterranean area and the Atlantic coast from Ireland to North Africa had been supplied.[107] Such maps form the background of almost all of Opicinus' drawings, but they are never used by him for purely geographic reasons. For him they are symbols of the world and, therefore, of sin. He moralizes and even demonizes geography, for he often transforms the outlines of continents and seas into demonic figures [108] and even incorporates such a demonic map into his own portrait by placing this map in a medallion over his breast.[109] He thus wants to indicate what is going on in him; he symbolizes the innermost state of his mind,[110] which he feels is as sinful as that of the world and as monstrous as demonized geography.[111] A late friend of mine, who was both a psycho-

[103] Cf. H. Liebeschütz, *Das allegorische Weltbild der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen* (*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, xvi, Leipzig, Berlin, 1930); also the German translation of Hildegard's *De operatione Dei* in H. Schipperges, *Hildegard von Bingen: Welt und Mensch* (Salzburg, 1965), with good reproductions of the miniatures of the Lucca manuscript and discussion of the symbols and structure of Hildegard's cosmos (pp. 322 ff.). See furthermore W. von den Steinen, *Homo Caelestis*, i (Bern, München, 1965), 277 ff. (zu Tafel 242/G in Band ii).

[104] Cf., for instance, Salomon, *Opicinus*, plates I, VIII, XIV, etc. (Cod. Pal. lat. 1993).

[105] Cf. *Ibid.*, text vol., 97 ff., 110 ff.

[106] While Hildegard of Bingen's beautiful imagery had been theocratic, Christocentric, and anthropological — see the combined image of the God-Man and man in the Lucca codex, cf. Schipperges, *op. cit.*, plate after p. 48 — Opicinus' drawings show the world, in so far as it is not dominated by sin (cf. below), as encompassed by enormously large, but lifeless personifications of the Church and as centered in schematic representations of papal hierocracy; cf. for instance, Salomon, *Opicinus*, plates XIII, XV, XVI, XX, XXXI, XXXIII, 36, XXXVI, 40 and 44 (Cod. Pal. lat. 1993).

[107] Cf. Salomon, *Opicinus*, text vol. 55 ff.

[108] Cf. Salomon, *Opicinus*, text vol. 65 ff., and, for instance, plates V, XXIV, XXVII, XXVIII (Cod. Pal. lat. 1993).

[109] *Ibid.*, plate XXIX (Cod. Pal. lat. 1993), cf. text vol. 68 ff. and 268 ff.

[110] Cf. the inscription in the medallion: *Revelatio cogitationum mearum* . . . , and that on the right side of the portrait: *Talis sum ego interius* . . . ; cf. Salomon, *Opicinus*, plate XXIX and text vol., 269.

[111] It is characteristic also that Opicinus used mediaeval medical, and especially gynaecological illustrations in his pictorial attempt of a reckoning with the evils in the world and in his own soul; cf. Adelheid Heimann's appendix to Salomon's *Opicinus*, text vol., 316–321.

analyst and an art historian, Ernst Kris, has suggested that the disjunction of content and expression in Opicinus' drawings, as well as many other special symptoms, reveal psychotic alienation, more exactly schizophrenia.[112] Very likely Kris was right. Nevertheless, we are confronted here with factors that go beyond personal pathology and are symptomatic also for a historical situation.[113]

Around 1330, when Opicinus flourished, or rather languished, the Middle Ages had already been gripped by the first spasms of that dreadful mass alienation which expressed itself in the interrelated phenomena of witch cult and witch hunt.[114] In them external projection of internal troubles occurred on a gigantic scale. There had been relatively little of this in the ordered cosmos which extended from Augustine to Dante. Demonic possession, it is true, had then too been dreaded as supreme alienation from God, but it was considered to be something internal and spiritual. The sacred ecclesiastical rites of exorcism had been used against it,[115] and, it would seem, with a fair amount of success. Demons had been very real, but they had remained very different from men. Age-old magic beliefs about human witches, and especially about locomotion through the air on the part of women who had been transformed into witches, had been combatted by the Church along with sorcery, which, on the whole, was considered to be a

[112] E. Kris, "A Psychotic Artist of the Middle Ages," in his *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* (New York, 1952) pp. 118 ff., and especially the psychological interpretation of Opicinus' interest in maps and gynaecological illustrations as symbolizing a mixture of mythological and pathological attitudes in his mind.

[113] Any attempt at a full study of pathological alienation in the Middle Ages and of the mediaeval attitude to it — desirable as such a study would be — would far exceed the scope of this paper and the competence of the author. At least since the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, under the impact especially of the newly absorbed Graeco-Arabic tradition, there existed in the West, too, an intermittent consciousness of the problematic relationship between physical and psychic illness on the one hand and social and spiritual deviation on the other, including also the belief in supranatural influences which in the case of pathological alienation would be mostly deemed demonic, but at times could be seen as divine instrumentalities guiding men toward the highest forms of the spiritual life. This whole complex has been best studied in the case of the "melancholy" temperament; cf. R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (London, 1964), especially pp. 73 ff. on William of Auvergne, and more generally pp. 75 ff. Further references I owe to the kindness of Professor Charles D. O'Malley and of Mrs. Ynez V. O'Neill. See especially the interesting article by H. Schipperges, "Zur Psychologie und Psychiatrie des Petrus Hispanus," *Confinia Psychiatrica*, IV (1961), 137 ff.; Peter of Spain (really from Lisbon), one of the greatest scholars of the thirteenth century (who became Pope John XXI in 1276), saw mental illness as psycho-somatic deviation from the God-founded cosmic order. The article by Edith A. Wright, "Mediaeval Attitudes towards Mental Illness," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, VII (1939), 352 ff., in which the various examples of love-madness in mediaeval literature are called "psychotic," seems to me entirely misleading. — For the rest, cf. above, notes 72 and 76, and below, notes 126 and 141.

[114] The most coherent history of witchcraft in the Middle Ages is still that by J. Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter und die Entstehung der grossen Hexenverfolgung* (München, Leipzig, 1900); see also the same author's *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns* (Bonn, 1901, reprint Hildesheim, 1963); cf. H. C. Lea, *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft*, ed. A. C. Howland (reprint New York, London, 1957).

[115] Cf. A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1909), II, 514 ff.; J. Daniélou, "Exorcisme" *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, IV / 2 (Paris, 1961), 1995 ff. Cf. also F. J. Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual* (Paderborn, 1909) and the recent article by K. Thraede, "Exorzismus," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Lieferung, 49 (1966), 44 ff.

devilishly inspired reality. To believe that human beings themselves could become quasi-demons, through the help of devils or demons, had been held an outgrowth of delusion, and if obstinately maintained, had been considered heretical.[116]

Yet, as early as the middle of the thirteenth century the reality of new dualistic heresies, which had begun to penetrate the West a hundred years earlier,[117] seems to have produced the belief in the possibility of a demonization of human beings. From the fourteenth century onward the belief in *human* witches triumphed, and, most importantly, it triumphed in the minds not only of the persecutors but also of the victims. It is now fairly generally admitted that witches did exist in the sense that they were convinced that they were witches and that they acted accordingly.[118] How and why did this great change come about?

No doubt it had something to do with the great twelfth- and thirteenth-century outburst of the natural *bios*, especially with a new upsurge of erotic vitality,[119] with which Gottfried of Strassburg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, the author of the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*, Dante, and others all had wrestled, each in his own way, and which, nevertheless, had not been tamed. Against the irrational and antinomian dangers which accompanied the new consciousness of love and sexuality, the Church still had to offer the antidote of ascetic and mystical estrangement from the world or at least self-denial for the sake of a higher order. The trouble was that too many people began to refuse such an antidote, and others preferred the radical dualism of the heretics, with its extremes of perfectionism and irresponsibility.[120] Once internal disorder of the human person had become a common phenomenon, an obsessive urge to assert externally through acts of rebellion and deviation, the existence and power of the forces of disorder also became compelling for many. It is not surprising to be told by Opicinus, who was a guilt-ridden believer, that he was tempted by irresistible impulses of laughter during Mass,[121] or to read so often in late-mediaeval witch literature that witches initiated their career by the desecration of the consecrated host, or by other acts of blasphemy and obscenity.[122] It is likewise not surprising that exor-

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[116] Cf. especially the late-Carolingian *Canon Episcopi* in Regino of Prüm, *De synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*, II, 371, ed. F. G. A. Wasserschleben, (Leipzig, 1840), 354 ff. For Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* (ca 1020), cf. Hansen, *Zauberwahn*, pp. 82 ff. The *Canon Episcopi* became general Church law through its reception by Gratian, *Decretum* c. 12, C. 26, qu. 5 (there mistakenly quoted as a canon of the early Christian Council of Ancyra). In spite of its opposition to the belief in the transformation of women into witches, it contributed to the later belief in witchcraft through its admission of the reality of various other kinds of sorcery.

[117] Cf. A. Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart, 1953).

[118] Cf., G. Zilboorg, *The Medical Man and the Witch during the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1935); L. White, Jr., "The Spared Wolves," *Saturday Review*, 13 Nov. 1954, pp. 23 ff.; also C. Williams, *Witchcraft* (London, 1941).

[119] Cf. E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (*Bollingen Series* xxxvi, New York, 1953), pp. 108 ff., especially p. 113, on Bernardus Silvestris and on the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century.

[120] Cf. Borst, *Katharer*, pp. 175–180.

[121] Cf. Salomon, *Opicinus*, text vol., 29.

[122] Cf., for instance, the famous and infamous work by H. Kramer (Institoris), O.P., and J. Sprenger, O.P., *Malleus Maleficarum* (first printed 1487) II, 1, 1, trans. M. Summers (Bungay, Suffolk, 1928) 96.

cism was much less effective against witches than it had been against the older forms of possession,[123] since at least subconsciously there was probably no wish to be exorcised of demons, but rather a desire to be identified with the demoniac world.

Up to a point, then, the witch hunters were not altogether wrong when they claimed to be confronted by a new situation to which older attitudes of the church could no longer apply.[124] What they did not realize, and perhaps did not want to realize, was that in accepting the delusions and obsessions of their victims as reality they incurred the same disorder or disease as the latter.

Even though Opicinus de Canistris may have been a pathological case, he still had more than an inkling of the true nature of this kind of alienation. In not a few of the inscriptions of his drawings he blames himself for a propensity toward *iudicium alienum*, that is to say, for his tendency to judge others when he should rather judge himself.[125] He could not yet fully know that what he calls *iudicium alienum* would transform inner disorder, be it moral or pathological, into mass persecution.

But there can be little doubt that the witch hunts were one great *iudicium alienum*, a condemnation of alienated people by other alienated people[126] who, while they pretended to vindicate love of God against the devil, completely forgot that they were supposed to love their neighbor like themselves[127] and not to cast out the mote out of their brother's eye while they had a beam in their own.[128]

I believe that western Christendom was at that point of its history seized by a new kind of alienation which had not existed or at least not existed in the same degree in Christian Antiquity and in the earlier Middle Ages.

These periods, as we have seen, had conceived of alienation in two senses: as

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[123] Cf. H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, i (New York, 1888), 506 f.

[124] Cf., for instance, Nicholas Jacquier (Jacquerius), O.P. *Flagellum haereticorum fascinariorum* (1458), in Hansen, *Quellen*, 136; Vincent Dodo, O.P., *Apologia* (1506), in Hansen, *op. cit.* p., 276; Bernard of Como, O.P., *Tractutus de strigiis* (ca. 1508), *ibid.*, p. 282, cf. also Hansen, *Zauberwahn*, p. 145.

[125] Cf. the five examples from the Cod. Pal. lat. 1993, given by Salomon, *Opicinus*, text vol., 45, especially the end of the inscription (top center), reproduced by Salomon on plate XXXVII, 51: Unusquisque igitur primum diiudicet semet ipsum, priusquam assumat iudicium alienum. . . .

[126] This was recognized and strongly asserted by one of the earliest and most humanely Christian opponents of the witch craze, the great Netherlandish doctor Johannes Weyer (Wierus), especially in his work *De praestigiis daemonum et incantationibus ac veneficiis* (Basileae, 1563), see especially Book III, *De lamiis*, and also Books IV–VI in which the delusional character of the phenomenon and of its juridical prosecution is analyzed in great detail. Cf. also C. Binz, *Doctor Johann Weyer*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1896), and G. Zilboorg, *The Medical Man and the Witch during the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1935) 109 ff., especially p. 131 ff.; Zilboorg, however, interprets Weyer's view somewhat too much in line with purely medical views. Books I and II clearly demonstrate that, if Weyer did not believe in witches, he certainly did not doubt that the devil existed, and that demonic and magic forces were realities. For the by no means simple relationship between the witch-phenomenon and pathology, cf. G. Rosen, "Psychopathology and the Social Process: I. A Study of the Persecution of Witches . . . ," *Journal of Health and Human Behavior*, i (1960), 200 ff. (a reference which I again owe to Mrs O'Neill). For the possible role of drug-induced hallucination, cf. B. Barnett, "Witchcraft, Psychopathology, and Hallucination," *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, cxi (1965), 439 ff.

[127] Matt. xxii 39.

[128] Matt. vii 3 ff.; cf. Luke vi 41 f.

estrangement from God or as estrangement from the world for the sake of God. Whatever we think about these mediaeval views, we can probably all agree that the dreadful inhumanity of the late mediaeval and early-modern witch craze, closely connected as it was with the revival of dualistic heresy and of the persecution and torture of heretics, constituted alienation of a different type. For the first time in Christian history there were let loose in full force the vast potentialities of man's alienation from *man* which we have since come to know so well. And it must be noted that this alienation was not limited to the realms of witches and heretics and of their persecutors. To convince ourselves of this we may read, for instance, the accounts of the sophisticatedly murderous doings of a Gilles de Rais, one-time companion in arms of St Joan of Arc, Marshal of France, whose inhumanity has few parallels in the history of cruelty.[129]

That man has become alienated from himself, from his very humanity, and for that reason also from other man, has been the great and constant lament of the western spirit in modern times, sometimes with, more often without, overtones from the Christian tradition.[130]

Must we close on this note of doom, as if the Middle Ages had not only brought about their own downfall, but also left to the modern world a heritage of self-destruction? I think not.

The mediaeval conception of *Homo Viator*, of the wayfarer in a strange world, who is also a pilgrim toward a divine order, was never quite lost. On the one hand,

[129] Cf., for instance, E. Gabory, *Alias Bluebeard: The Life and Death of Gilles de Raiz* (New York, 1930). Perrault's "Bluebeard" was not modelled after Gilles de Raiz, whose crimes were considerably less simple than those of the legendary wife-killer.

[130] Many great names of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, from Hegel, Kierkegaard and Baudelaire, to Marx, Dostoevski, Nietzsche, Freud, and beyond, could here be mentioned. For Hegel, cf. *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1807), VI, B, a: "Die Welt des sich entfremdeten Geistes," ed. G. Lasson, in *Sämtliche Werke*, II (Leipzig, 1907), 319 ff. For Hegel's debt to Fichte, cf. A Gehlen, "Über die Geburt der Freiheit aus der Entfremdung," *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, XI (1952–53), 338 ff. For Marx's reinterpretation and transformation of Hegel's concept of alienation, cf., for instance, K. Löwith, "Man's Self-Alienation in the Early Writings of Marx," *Social Research*, XXI (1954), 204 ff.; G. Caire, *L'aliénation dans les oeuvres de jeunesse de Karl Marx* (Aix-en-Provence, 1957). According to Hegel, culture ("*Bildung*") and faith ("*Glauben*") themselves constitute an alienation of the spirit, overcome first by the utilitarian matter-of-factness of the Enlightenment, which however leads to the absolute freedom of Terror ("*Schrecken*" — *la terreur* of the French Revolution), and only then hopefully can return to higher forms of morality and religion. This attempted return was one of the two main aspects of Romanticism and of its pilgrimages to new artificial Paradises, the other being an evermore acute sense of actual estrangement from God, from the world, from man. Cf. E. D. H. Johnson, *The Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry* (Princeton, 1952), and Bella S. Van Bark, "The Alienated Person in Literature," *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, XXI (1961), 183 ff., with penetrating analyses of Baudelaire's prose poem *L'étranger* and of Dostoevski's *Notes from the Underground*. The dilemma continued, from Rimbaud — "*Je est un autre*" (*Lettres du voyant*, cf. Enid Starkie, *Arthur Rimbaud* [New York, 1947], 124 ff.) — and Francis Thompson — " 'Tis ye, 'tis your estrangèd faces / that miss the many-splendored thing" (*The Kingdom of God*, Stanza 4) — to Camus — "*Les hommes meurent et ils ne sont pas heureux*" (*Caligula* I, 5) — and Gabriel Marcel — "Perhaps a stable order can only be established on earth if man always is acutely aware of his condition as a traveller. . . . Does not everything happen as though this ruined universe turned relentlessly upon whomever claimed that he could settle down in it to the extent of erecting a permanent dwelling there for himself. . . . " (*Homo Viator*, translated by Emma Craufurd [Chicago, 1951] pp. 153 ff.).

the principle of inalienability of sacred order, in its political and ecclesiological aspects, could lead to the renewal and emergence of sacred liberties as well as to the perpetuation of sacred authority — as it did, for instance, in the development of representative government. On the other hand, the ideology of estrangement recaptured some of its earliest poignancy when it became ever clearer in late mediaeval and modern times how little true order *Homo Viator* can expect to find in the terrestrial world.[131] New shades of realistic resignation and also of ineradicable hope appeared in the imagery of pilgrimage which remained an important part of the great tradition of the Middle Ages and of its continuation in modern times from Langland and Chaucer and Bosch to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, to the mid-nineteenth century Russian *Pilgrim* to Leon Bloy's *Pèlerin de L'Absolu*, to Gorki's *A Night's Lodging*, and beyond. And it should not be forgotten that the Second Vatican Council recently reasserted the pilgrim-like condition of the Church and mankind against ecclesiastical triumphalism.[132]

More original, perhaps, than any other contribution which the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance made to the old dialectic of alienation and order was the great reinterpretation of folly, with all its ambivalence,[133] the integration of the wise fool into a new Christian humanism. It has been said, with slight over-simplification, that the fool was the *personnage régnant* of the Renaissance,[134] just as the pilgrim and wayfarer had been the *personnage régnant* of the Middle Ages.

Apotropaic, even divine, functions had been ascribed to alienation through physical and mental abnormality, through madness, through foolery and masks, through playfulness or poetic exaltation since very ancient times. The mediaeval Christian tradition, too, had known not only the challenge of the fool who says: "There is no God,"[135] and the half-suspect existences of the *mimus, ioculator, clericus vagans*, and minstrel,[136] but also the fool in Christ,[137] the Tumbler of Notre Dame,[138] a feast of fools,[139] and an "order of fools," whose patron Marcolf had

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[131] Perhaps something of this feeling entered into Ockham's insistence that God's *potentia absoluta* far transcends all human efforts to understand rationally and to develop hierarchically God's *potentia ordinata*, as revealed on this earth. Though the authors themselves do not draw any such conclusions, I may refer here to E. Hochstetter, "Viator Mundi: Einige Bemerkungen zur Situation des Menschen bei Wilhelm von Ockham," in *Wilhelm Ockham* (1349–1949) (Münster, 1950), p. 1 ff., and to M. A. Schmidt, "Kirche und Staat bei Wilhelm von Ockham," *Theologische Zeitschrift*, VII (1951), 265 ff.

[132] Cf. *Constitutio dogmatica de Ecclesia*, c. 7, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, LVII (January 30, 1965).

[133] Cf. above, notes 72 and 76 on folly in mediaeval romances, also notes 113 and 141.

[134] Cf. W. Kaiser, *Praisers of Folly: Erasmus, Rabelais, Shakespeare* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 3.

[135] Ps xiii (xiv) 1: Dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus.

[136] Cf. above, note 56.

[137] I Cor. iv 10: Nos stulti propter Christum. For Jacopone da Todi madness on behalf of Christ was the true way to Him. Cf. *Laudi*, LXXXIV, 11 ff., ed. Franco Ageno (Firenze, 1953) p. 341: Chi pro Cristo ne va pazzo / a la gente si par matto: / chi non ha provato el fatto / pare che sia for de la via. Cf. also *Laudi* XXXIII, 37, p. 340: e la pazia li par ritta via.

[138] Cf. the English translation of the French thirteenth-century miracle, in Alice Kemp-Welch, *Of the Tumbler of Our Lady and Other Miracles* (London, 1908), pp. 3–33.

[139] Cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I (London, 1903), 274 ff.

been permitted to challenge and ridicule even Solomon's wisdom.[140]

This is not to forget that in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance pathological folly was often treated with inhuman lack of understanding—though not perhaps to the degree permitted by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century rationalism.[141] It still remains true that the age between Chaucer and Cervantes was able to look at a wide range of human folly—from simple foolishness to vicious or noble madness—in terms of healing laughter and not without purifying tears. This age held up a mirror to itself in Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*[142] and in the institution of the court jester and fool, who was allowed to tell the truth.[143] Eccentricity became sanctity in San Filippo Neri,[144] and Shakespeare raised the common *topos* of the fool to the highest human level. King Lear, great symbol of a disintegrating order of sacred kingship, acts foolishly against the background of his

[140] Cf. Barbara Swain, *Fools and Folly during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York, 1932), especially pp. 30 ff., on the figure of Marcolf, and 49 ff., on John Lydgate's *Ordre of Folys*. The late mediaeval conceit of an order of fools goes back no doubt to that of the *ordo vagorum* which occurs in the Goliardic poems of the twelfth century. No such orders ever existed in an organized form, but Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (reprint, Garden City, N. Y., 1955) 175, has well brought out the link between the terminologies and the realities of the *ordo vagorum* and the old *gyrovagi* (cf. above . . .). The glorification of tavern life in the self-persiflage of the Goliardic poets and their successors — e.g., the Archpoet's famous *Mihi est propositum in taberna mori*, to which Professor Lynn White in this connection wittily drew my attention — does in a sense constitute an ironical metamorphosis of the makeshift *stabulum* of terrestrial life according to the Gnostic and Augustinian traditions (see above . . .), which, too, continued and can be found as late as Dryden's *Palamon and Arcite 3:* "Like pilgrims to th' appointed end we tend; / The world's an inn, and death the journey's end." I owe this reference to Mr Anthony Gagliano.

[141] Cf. the brilliant, though not exactly scholarly, essay by Michel Foucault, *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (Paris, 1961), especially ch. 1: "*Stultifera navis*," where the author treats among other things of various methods through which late mediaeval society tried to rid itself of "fools," e.g., expulsion on board ship; cf. G. L. Kriegk, *Heilanstalten Aerzte, Geisteskranke im mittelalterlichen Frankfurt a.M* (Frankfurt am Main, 1863), 16 f. One cannot be certain how far such actions had symbolic meaning. The ship's journey on the tempestuous sea is at any rate a very old symbol of life in the world; the ship itself and its passengers can symbolize evil or good (the latter when it symbolizes the Ark of Noah and the Church or the wood of the Cross; cf. also above . . . about Ulysses). In late mediaeval Nerlandish lenten entertainments, fools' ships played a considerable role; see, for instance, Jakop von Oestvoren's poem *Blauwe Scuut* (1413 or 1414), ed. E. Verwijs, *Van Vrouwen ende van Minne* (Groningen, 1871), pp. 94 ff. and Introduction xxiii ff.; cf. D. T. Enklaar, *Varende Luyden* (Assen, 1937), pp. 35 ff., also G. Bebermeyer, "Narrenliteratur," *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, II, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1965), 592 ff. (an article kindly drawn to my attention by Professor Wayland D. Hand). The origins of such customs were no doubt both ritualistic and moralistic. All this forms the background of one of Jerome Bosch's most famous paintings, "The Ship of Fools" (cf. L. v. Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch* [New York, 1960], p. 220 f.), and of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (see below).

[142] For Erasmus' *Moriae Encomium* (1512) and its difference from such a forerunner as Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1494), in which folly is still inveighed against rather than allowed to speak for herself, cf. E. Panofsky, "Renaissance and Renascences," *Kenyon Review*, VI (1944), 234 f.

[143] Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 372 ff.; also J. Doran, *The History of Court Fools* (London, 1858), Enid Welsford, *The Fool: His Social and Literary History* (New York, 1935), Erika Tietze-Conrat, *Dwarfs and Jesters in Art* (London, 1957).

[144] Cf. L. Ponnelle and L. Bordet, *Saint Philippe Neri et la société romaine de son temps, (1515–1595)* (Paris, 1958).

fool's wisecracks, but finally in his own madness he comes close to a higher wisdom, if only in suffering and death. It can hardly be accidental that Lear calls out in anguish over the dead body of Cordelia: "and my poor fool is hanged."[145] "Fool," though then not an uncommon term of endearment, means here probably more than that. Cordelia, who was foolish in terms of the corrupted order of the world, reminds us that in the perfect goodness of a human being order of self and alienation from self are one.

There are of course those who would throw away that characteristically mediaeval synthesis of order and alienation, which we have passed in review. Let me conclude, then, with the prudent words of Lear's professional fool, when the mad king was about to throw away all his clothes in the midst of a perilous storm on the heath:

> Prithee, nuncle, be contented;
> 'Tis a naughty night to swim in.[146]

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[145] *King Lear* V, 3, 305
[146] *Ibid.* III, 4, 114 f.