

THE AWESOME HERMIT

The Symbolic Significance of the Hermit as a Possible Research Perspective¹

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Romuald then dwelt ... in the territory of Rainerius, who afterwards became Marquis of Tuscany. Now this Rainerius had put aside his own wife on the grounds of consanguinity and married the wife of a relative whom he had persecuted and killed. This is why Romuald, so that he would not become a participant in the crime, did not want to remain in the territory as a guest, but sent him a gold piece for water and another for wood. Although Rainerius refused them, preferring to give his property rather than to receive anything from the holy man, nevertheless he eventually accepted them rather than have Romuald leave.

When Rainerius had become lord of the region, he used to say that "Not the Emperor, not any other man, is able to strike great fear into me in the way that the appearance of Romuald terrifies me—before his face I do not know what to say, nor can I find any excuses by which I could defend myself." In truth, the holy man possessed by divine gift the grace that whatever sinners, especially powerful men of the world, would come into his presence would soon be struck with internal trembling ("tremefactis visceribus") as if they were in the presence of the majesty of God.

—Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*.²

According to Peter Damian's *life* of Romuald of Ravenna, written about fifteen years after Romuald's death between ca. 1025 and late 1027,³ the very sight of the holy hermit so overwhelmed the future Marquis Rainerius that he could neither bear to face him nor to lose him. Rudolph Otto does not describe the "*mysterium tremendum*" more graphically.⁴ What terrors must have racked Italy at the turn of the millenium if Romuald's very presence had this effect on all sinners!

Yet Romuald was no isolated figure. In the eleventh and early twelfth century, crowds of clerics and laymen, men and women, rich and poor flocked to the mountains and forests in what has been called a "Renaissance of eremitical asceticism."⁵ Peter the Hermit (d. 1115), riding on his donkey, led tens of thousands of poor men to their deaths on the ill-fated "Popular Crusade."⁶ Norbert of Xanten (d. 1134), barefoot and clad in skins, received from the

pope himself permission to preach throughout Europe, and ultimately founded the Praemonstratesian order and ascended to the Archbishopric of Magdeburg.⁷ Less fortunate was the similarly clad Henry of Lausanne (d. post 1136) whose authority to preach was revoked but who continued on a heretical career for many more years.⁸ Eilbert of Crespin (d. 1140) dwelt in a reclusory so surrounded by suppliants that it appeared to be a city under siege, a place where crowds of men too numerous to secure private confession would yell out their sins to the saint.⁹ Not only the hermit's hagiographers but even the critics who disparaged the rabble ("vulgus") who followed him attest his popularity.¹⁰ Perhaps its best witness is the new vernacular literature where the hermit, not the priest or monk, becomes the representative of the Church.¹¹

Why were Romuald and his fellow hermits so popular? Scholars have answered in different ways: medieval historians have made unsystematic observations, anthropologists and sociologists have abstracted the hermit's social role out of his religious milieu, and religious studies scholars have developed a possible way to return it by focusing on the holy man's presentation of Christ. In this study I indicate the achievements and limitations of these methods, and then propose a different approach to the problem of the hermit's popularity—examination of the hermit as a religious symbol—which not only incorporates the best insights of the previous methods but also provides a basis for future studies of radical ascetics in general.

Medieval and Western Church historians have tended to analyze the hermit's popularity descriptively and non-systematically. The resulting diversity is illustrated in the best available survey of the eleventh/twelfth century heremital revival, the published reports of the conference on hermitism held at La Mendola in 1963. In the opening address Cinzio Violante suggested that the hermit became a familiar medieval figure because he had more opportunity than the monk to mix with the common people and because his non-conformity and extravagant excesses appeared marvelous to the popular mentality. Jean Leclercq noted that the hermit's forest home was, in romances anyway, the refuge of lovers and the home of beasts who could lead hunters to him. Étienne Delaruelle implied that the hermit's apostolic work, especially his evangelical poverty,

reinforced the influence of his preaching, penitential preaching that otherwise might not have been available to the masses. Anna Maria Finoli emphasized that the knight and hermit both ventured in the mysterious world of the forest and both had a heroic individualistic conception of life which led them to abandon the usual, the mediocre, the banal for an ideal of perfection. All these observations have some merit, but no single one of them convincingly explains widespread popular veneration. Their very diversity brings to mind the descriptions of the elephant given by the blind men in the ancient fable, each describing the beast in terms of the part held.¹²

Students of cross-cultural religious phenomena have a broader perspective on hermit popularity. They postulate a social function for the hermit, seeing not only the hermits of Western Christianity but also other radical ascetics such as the *malamatis* of Islam, the *bikkhus* of Sri Lanka, and the prophets of Israel (whose very conduct was to offer "signs and wonders"). They all are said to exhibit "charismatic leadership," Max Weber's concept of leadership by the gift of God, an irrational leadership demanding total assent which can serve as a focus of opposition to established institutions and thus may be favored in traditional societies in times of crisis.¹³

In recent years scholars have attempted to elucidate why charismatic leadership is so often attributed to dramatic ascetics. Mary Douglas claims that the body image naturally reflects religious and social perceptions, and that therefore the shaggy unkempt ascetic provides the perfect focus of opposition to tightly organized societies.¹⁴ Weston La Barre sees the holy man as a perverted father figure for societies that choose to respond to social distress by reverting back to childhood.¹⁵ Victor Turner finds that the distance from the world established by the pilgrim (a figure distinguished from the hermit by the fact that he is going someplace) makes him a potential witness to value beyond the structured society, a symbol of a *communitas* that transcends the structures of everyday life.¹⁶ Despite widely different presuppositions, these authors see the conspicuous ascetic as an expression of non-secular value—by remotion we might say as an expression of the sacred.

Such insights help explain the fear and trembling that seized the future Marquis Rainerius when he beheld Romuald. Romuald was “wholly other.” Rainerius links the fear to Romuald’s face, which suggests Emmanuel Levinas’ philosophical conception of the “face” of another as the one vehicle that breaks a person’s infinite egocentricity and leads to an awareness of independent values.¹⁷ Also fearsome was Romuald’s presence and aspect—presumably his unshaven hair, emaciated body, bare feet and bare legs, unwashed hair shirt, filthy fur overgarment, and staff—which produced a total effect so awesome, that upon meeting Romuald the Emperor Henry II cried out, “Would that my soul were in your body!”¹⁸

Yet the cross-cultural theories of the impact of ascetics do not fully elucidate Romuald’s charisma. Few saints’ *lives* speak abstractly of *sanctitas*, and none of *communitas*. Rainerius perceived Romuald through his Christian tradition—a mediated perception. To him Romuald presented Christian holiness, not “the holy.”

Some scholars, particularly in religious studies, have begun to solve the problem of how a holy man is perceived by stressing his recapitulation and perceived recapitulation of his religious founder. Masaharu Anesaki traced Nichiren’s “thorough going conformity to, or emulation of, Buddha’s deeds and works.”¹⁹ Earle Waugh emphasized the Sufi perception of Mohammed as archetype.²⁰ And most recently William Clebsch has identified in religious men different types of Christian spirituality, finding “a variety of Christianities, evinced in various manifestations of Christ.”²¹ This orientation is theologically impeccable: it places the perception of the holy man’s sacredness at the orthodox heart of his religion.

Yet the recapitulation of Christ model may not be fully adequate to describe how the hermit’s holiness is perceived. Although Rainerius did not attempt to explicate his feelings of awe, a priest did, whose toothache Romuald’s power had healed, when he loudly began to thank God that “truly an angel of God, truly a holy prophet, a great light hidden from the world appears in our region”—he would have continued in this vein except that Romuald’s disciples, who knew that such words upset their master, were finally able to quiet him.²²

Of course, Christ might well have been perceived explicitly or implicitly in Romuald. He had traded the great war horse that Emperor Otto III had given him for an ass, which Damian says was “an animal he rode more freely, out of love of our Redeemer who had ridden on the back of an ass.” He healed a man by blowing on him “just as our Redeemer is read to have blown, when he deigned to bestow the Holy Spirit on the apostles (John 20:22).”²³

Even more prominently, however, Romuald seemed to be a prophet. Not only did the priest hail him as a holy prophet, but he was derided as a false prophet when one of his nine reported foretellings appeared improbable. In ecstasies he received divine wisdom to expound the Scriptures. His fasting and rags gave him a prophetic appearance. He healed as Elijah healed Naaman in the Jordan (IV Kings 5:10). And in an unhistorical projection Peter Damian says that he died at 120 years of age, which is the age Moses attained.²⁴

Romuald also appears as a heroic warrior: not a military warrior—for it was a turbulent family feud that prompted Romuald’s first ascetical retreat—but a spiritual warrior. Romuald, a soldier of Christ (“miles Christi”), fights perpetually. His asceticism wars against his own body. He battles with demons, so successfully that requests for advice force him to agree to write a *Libellus de Pugna Demonum*. He miraculously avoids assassination. A heroic paradigm underlying all these conflicts is revealed by the challenges Romuald issues to his enemies, insults in the style of contemporary epic: to his own carnal nature, when good food was served, “O gullet, gullet, you know how sweet, how delightful this food is to you—but woe to you, for you will never taste it;” to Satan prowling about the hermitage (actually to some monks compelled by natural necessity to leave camp at night), “Where are you going now, most evil one? What is there in the desert for you who have been thrown out of heaven? Get going, you dirty dog! Vanish, you old snake!”; to the devil appearing as an Ethiopian, “Behold, I am prepared—come and show if you have any strength! Are you completely powerless? ...”²⁵

Romuald is also associated with even less Christian aspects of the sacred, aspects focused in the medieval image of the wild man, a hairy, unkempt, solitary, irrational being, living in uncivilized

space, embodying aspects of ancient pagan dieties such as Pan and Silvanus and witnessing the same psychological dynamics that had called forth these predecessors.²⁶ Romuald is similarly unshaven, ragged, often solitary; he feigns madness on one occasion, and associates with a hermit reckoned insane by the less devout; he lives in swamps, cemeteries, and other wild places. He spent so much time in one swamp that he temporarily lost his hair and turned green.²⁷

Even more is echoed in Romuald. For a priest healed of toothache he is "truly an angel of God," an image Damian also evokes when he compares Romuald to one of the Seraphim.²⁸ His mystical experiences are twice compared with Paul's.²⁹ He is a virtual martyr.³⁰ He imitates the desert fathers.³¹ He is a temple of the Holy Spirit.³²

Romuald's impact on Rainerius and others involved a complex interaction of historical circumstances, a cross-culturally known charismatic role, and a contemporary Christian perception of his role that went far beyond imitation of Christ. What is needed is a research stance that can handle all these variables. I propose that historians of religion might do well to treat the hermit as a religious symbol, a single image expressing various aspects of the sacred. The word symbol has been misused and abused, but this rough handling has given it a valuable ambiguity for it can express at one and the same time the symbol as a cipher (an arbitrary sign), the symbol as a sign with some inherent connection with its referent(s), and the symbol as the reality itself. A religious symbol, thus, is something which designates the sacred, is a channel for the sacred, or is in some mysterious way the sacred reality itself. The religious symbol tends to sum up what is known about the sacred, and gains in power by being multivalent, by synthesizing many references into a single image.³³

Scholars have rarely treated ascetics as religious symbols. They have studied "divine men" where the human and divine mix explicitly; they have noted institutionalized sacred roles; but they have not analyzed systematically the other ways in which men act as a cipher for or a channel for the sacred.³⁴ Mircea Eliade, the preeminent historian of religions, recognizes that a life history may

become a paradigm, but never treats the ascetic as a "hierophany."³⁵ The most recent symposium on medieval symbolism is similarly silent.³⁶

Yet a change may be underway. Peter Brown describes the prophetic and angelic aspects of the Late Roman Syrian monk and notes that such a holy man is "a living icon bringing dribblets of the sacred into the world."³⁷ Here in *Numen* in 1981 Ilana Friedrich Silber finds that the Theravadin village monks are primarily expected to conform to a highly stylized image, so that "it seems that monks are not fully required to adhere to the highest values, it is enough if they symbolize them."³⁸

To demonstrate that the hermit can be profitably analyzed as a religious symbol, one need look no further than the first hermit of Christian tradition, John the Baptist. His charisma was well described nearly 2000 years ago, when Jesus is said to have replied to John's disciples:

What went you out in the desert to see? A reed shaken with the wind? But what went you out to see? A man clothed in soft garments? Behold, they that are clothed in soft garments are in the house of kings. But what went you out to see? A Prophet? Yea, I tell you, and more than a prophet. For this is he of whom it is written: 'Behold, I send my angel before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee (Malachi 3:1).'

Mathew 11:7-10

Christ here is fully aware that John himself was a wonder. Men went out not just to hear his preaching but to *see* him. He had a charisma that could not be solely explained in terms of his accessibility, his poverty, his collected asceticisms, or his camel's hair jacket. He was a *locus* of the sacred.

Christ's words here attempt to describe this holiness. True, the task is technically impossible if the sacred is presumed to be ineffable, but Christ is able to interpret the sacredness well enough for the tradition by linking John to two sacred categories accepted by his audience. John was a prophet—a man who could convey the divine message to men. And he was more than a prophet. He was an ἄγγελος, a messenger, in Latin translation an angel. That Christ could have proceeded even further is illustrated by Peter Damian's acclamation of the Baptist as "patriarch, prophet, angel, apostle, evangelist, virgin, martyr, precursor, and friend of the bridegroom."³⁹ To multiply the resonances of the sacred individual

is rhetorically effective, so long as he apparently conforms to the sacred categories cited and so long as the hagiographic language itself has not become too devalorized by such encomiums. Since the primary aim of a hagiographer, according to the dean of the Bollandists, Baudouin de Gaiffier, is to "further the cult of the saint,"⁴⁰ one would expect that a virtuous hagiographer would assimilate his hero to all the sacred models he could.

What do these categories mean? In the case of John the Baptist Christians have unanimously accepted him as a literal prophet but have divided on whether or not he was an actual angel.⁴¹ One advantage of viewing the hermit as a religious symbol is that this term's inherent ambiguity enables us to avoid the sometimes impossible task of determining how literally a popular audience might interpret the sacred categories applied to its holy patrons.

Romuald's impact can be understood when he is viewed as a symbol, for he was perceived to stand in a direct relationship to the sacred, a relationship that human beings in the world could only perceive and express by analogy with other sacred models. Like other pious Christians, Romuald himself, in designing his life, would have conscientiously assimilated himself to sacred paradigms: he would have lived angelically, spoken out like a prophet, followed Christ, and preached apostolically (a rich analysis of ancient and medieval Christian models can be found in Jean Leclercq's *La vie parfaite*).⁴² Sometimes he would have done this indirectly by imitating other holy men such as the desert fathers. He would not have been immune to the popular awe attached to warfare and wilderness. About fifteen years after his death, his witness of Christian sacredness was memorialized and almost certainly extrapolated in the *Vita Romualdi* by Peter Damian, whose sources were disciples and friends of the saint, men who also might well have seen in Romuald an angel of God, a holy prophet, a great light hidden from the world. Moreover, Damian will have conformed their reminiscences to his own and to his audience's conceptions of the holy life, tending to expand not only orthodox Christian images but also more popular ones. Yet, given the fact that Romuald was hailed as a saint while he lived, that a continuous community tradition spans the fifteen years between his life and Damian's work, and that Damian is a relatively conscientious

author, there is no reason to presume that the essential character of the perception of Romuald's sacredness differs greatly from the way it was seen during his lifetime.⁴³ We thus find him intimately involved with the sacred models of his contemporary Christianity; he verifies them by revealing them, and they verify his mission by placing his power into an accepted context.

The symbolic perspective provides a way to understand the popularity of the medieval hermit. He was venerated because he was connected with and expressed the sacred. This recognition pulls together the diverse observations advanced by the La Mendola scholars: his curious extravagances witness a reality beyond normal life; his mysterious forest places him into a pre-Christian sacred realm; his poverty is the poverty of Christ and of the apostles; his knightly connections link him to heroic values. The symbolic perspective reveals that to explain the hermit's popularity solely in terms of his alleged greater propinquity to the common people or of his curiosity-provoking asceticism is as inadequate as it would be to explain the crucifix's popularity in terms of the availability of materials or of its aesthetic qualities—in reality both are popular primarily because they efficiently condense the multiple resonances of Christian mythology. They are symbols that admirably convey the sacred.

One of the least studied areas of religion is the role of holy men, the role of modeling within a tradition. Can recognition of the hermit and other radical ascetics as religious symbols provide a basis for research? At least it should help avoid the impressionistic quality of non-selective description, the deemphasis on the mediating tradition characteristic of sociological abstraction, and the far too timeless image, constant despite varying shades and emphases, that results from concentration on recapitulation of the founder. At best it enables the holy man to be recognized for his essential holiness, whose expression in all sorts of orthodox and folk images, an expression varying over time, provides a remarkable index of change as well as of continuity.

The symbolic perspective may help illuminate changes in the hermit's social importance. Why, for example, do hermits suddenly have a new popularity in eleventh/early twelfth century Western

Europe? In what ways were they symbolically efficient religious symbols for that society? In what ways did they express the sacred better than, for example, the monks of Cluny? And why and how did the eremitical movement institutionalize and decline in relative importance after the mid-twelfth century?

Comparison of the sacred resonances attributed to holy men might help reveal significant similarities and differences between various regions and schools of asceticism. For example, does the hermit's unusually great popularity in medieval England rest on any differences of perception of him versus his fellows on the Continent? Or can the symbolic perspective shed light on the exact relationship between the tenth century Italo-Greek hermits and the Latin revival of hermitism first in Italy and then in the north—are the Italo-Latin hermits perceived in ways closer to the Italo-Greek hermits than are the northern hermits, the pattern that would be postulated if diffusion were a factor? What are the sources of the eremitical revival in seventeenth century France?

Finally, recognition of the hermit's symbolic function may provide a basis for cross-cultural comparison of ascetics. Although universal biographical patterns have not yet been well studied, the tight cluster of traits that comprise the radical ascetic life provides a possible place to begin. How do the values attached to a Western Christian hermit compare to those attached to a ragged Sufi wanderer or to a Ceylonese hermit? How do the similarities and differences of their religious traditions affect their witness of the sacred?

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¹ I dedicate this study to Richard Martin and to all the members of the Department of Religious Studies of Arizona State University whose hospitality and encouragement made my work there in Spring 1981 an exciting interdisciplinary experience.

² *Petri Damiani Vita Beati Romualdi*, ed. Giovanni Tabacco (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 94; Rome, 1957), lx, pp. 82-83 [hereinafter cited as *Vita Romualdi*, followed by the chapter numbers in Roman, and the page numbers in Arabic].

³ The dates of both Romuald's death and of the composition of the *Vita Romualdi* are less certain than the literature suggests. The *Vita Romualdi*, prol., p. 9, explicit-

ly places Damian's work about fifteen years after the death of Romuald. However, the nearly universal dating of Romuald's death to 1027 rests ultimately on the testimony of Guido Grandi (d. 1742) that he had read this date in many codices and that it represented the tradition of Romuald's Camaldolese order, testimony vitiated by Grandi's authorship of various hagiographical forgeries and by his experiments with other dates (see Tabacco, "Prefazione," *Ibid.*, p. liv). Using the *Vita Romualdi* and diplomatic evidence, Tabacco placed Romuald's *obit* between 1023 and 1027, and therefore Damian's *life* of Romuald between ca. 1038 and ca. 1042.

Today we can narrow the possible range to between ca. 1040 and ca. 1042, thanks to the revised chronology of Peter Damian's entry into monastic *life* set forth in Giovanni Spinelli, "La data dell'ordinazione sacerdotale di S. Pier Damiani," *Benedictina*, 19 (1972), pp. 595-605. Spinelli's location of Damian's ordination in Ravenna in 1036/1037 or later, prior to his entrance into monastic life, does not permit composition of the *Vita Romualdi* before about 1040, even if Damian had only a minimum novitiate, because of his known two year monastic stay at Pomposa (see Dante Balboni, "San Pier Damiano, maestro e discepolo in Pomposa," *Benedictina*, 22 (1975), pp. 73-89), prior to residence at San Vincenzo at Cagli (*Patrologia Latina*, v. 144, cols. 124, 430) where he wrote at least part of the *Vita Romualdi* (*Vita Romualdi*, lvii, p. 98).

⁴ See especially Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy, An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*, 2nd ed., trans. John W. Harvey (1950, rpt. London, 1971), pp. 12-24.

⁵ The Renaissance terminology and a concise overview of the movement itself are found in Ernst Werner, *Pauperes Christi: Studien zu sozialreligiösen Bewegungen in Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums* (Leipzig, 1956), pp. 13-17 and 25-28.

⁶ On Peter, still basic is Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit: Ein kritischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Leipzig, 1879). Peter's later career is described in Charles Dereine, *Les chanoines réguliers au diocèse de Liège avant saint Norbert* (Université de Louvain Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 3 sér., 44; Louvain, 1952), pp. 137-59.

⁷ *Vita Norberti*, iv-v, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, v. 12 (1856), pp. 673-74.

⁸ On Henry of Lausanne's costume and popularity, see Marcia L. Colish, "Peter of Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, and the Façade of Saint-Gilles," *Traditio*, 28 (1972), pp. 451-60; esp. 453; and Robert Ian Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (New York, 1977), passim, esp. pp. 46-114.

⁹ Robert of Ostrevant, *Vita Aiberti*, iii, ed. *Acta Sanctorum*, v. 1 of April (1675), p. 678.

¹⁰ Among the uncommitted or hostile witnesses to the new popularity of hermitism are Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, II, viii, ed. *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux* (Paris, 1879), v. 4, p. 142; Marbode of Rennes, *Epist.*, vi, ed. *Patrologia Latina*, v. 171, cols. 148-85, Ivo of Chartres, *Epist.*, cxcii, ed. *Patrologia Latina*, v. 161, col. 201; Paganus Bolotinus, *De Falsis Heremitis Qui Vagando Discurrunt*, lines 86, 133-36, 320-38, ed. Jean Leclercq, "Le poème de Payen Bolotin contre les faux ermites," *Revue bénédictine*, 48 (1958), pp. 79, 80, 84; the anonymous author of verses against Geoffrey Babion, lines 1-20, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Mittheilungen aus Handschriften," *Neues Archiv*, 8 (1883), p. 192; and Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII xvi-xxvii, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, v. 4 (Oxford Medieval Texts; Oxford, 1973), pp. 326, 330-32.

¹¹ On the frequency of hermits in Romance literature, see Charles P. Weaver, *The Hermit in English Literature from the Beginnings to 1660* (George Peabody College for Teachers Contributions to Education 11; Nashville, Tenn., 1924); Anna Maria Finoli, "La figura dell'eremita nella letteratura antico-francese," *L'Eremitismo in Occidenti nei secoli XI e XII: Atti della seconda Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 30 agosto-6 settembre 1962* (Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Contributi, ser. 3, var. 4; Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 4; Milan, 1965) [hereinafter *Eremitismo*], pp. 581-91; and Angus J. Kennedy, "The Hermit's Role in French Arthurian Romance (c. 1170-1530)," *Romania*, 95 (1974), pp. 54-83.

¹² *Eremitismo*, pp. 18, 27, 218-28, 587.

¹³ Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, trans. Ephraim Fischoff et al. (New York, 1968), v. 1, pp. 241-54; v. 3, pp. 1111-57. An overview of Weber's theory of charisma and of subsequent interpretations can be found in S. N. Eisenstadt, "Introduction," *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers* (The Heritage of Sociology; Chicago, 1968), pp. ix-lvi. Current developments can be found in Bryan R. Wilson, *The Noble Savages: The Primitive Origins of Charisma and Its Contemporary Survival* (Quantum Books; Berkeley, 1975); Goerge P. Boss, "Essential Aspects of the Concept of Charisma," *The Southern Speech Communication Journal*, 41 (1976), pp. 300-13; Julien Freund, "Le charisme selon Max Weber," *Social Compass*, 23 (1976), pp. 383-95; Thomas E. Dow Jr., "An Analysis of Weber's Work on Charisma," *The British Journal of Sociology*, 29 (1978), pp. 83-93; and Constans Seyfarth, "The West German Discussion of Max Weber's Sociology of Religion since the 1960s," *Social Compass*, 27 (1980), pp. 9-25.

¹⁴ Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York, 1970), pp. 65-81, 85-86.

¹⁵ Weston La Barre, *The Ghost Dance: Origins of Religion* (New York, 1972), pp. 329, 346.

¹⁶ Victor Turner, "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal," *History of Religions*, 12 (1972-73), p. 221, rpt. in *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, NY, 1974), p. 208. Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978), pp. 11, 31, 34. Turner's perspective is developed further in André Drooger, "Symbols of Marginality in the Biographies of Religious and Secular Innovators," *Numen*, 27 (1980), 105-21.

¹⁷ Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Duchesne Studies Philosophical Series 24; Pittsburg, 1969), pp. 79-81.

¹⁸ *Vita Romualdi*, xiii, lii, lxiii, lxv; pp. 35, 95, 105, 108.

¹⁹ Masaharu Anesaki, *Nichiren the Buddhist Prophet* (1916, rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1966), p. 133.

²⁰ Earle Waugh, "Following the Beloved: Mohammed as Model in the Sufi Tradition," *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion*, ed. by Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps (Religion and Reason 11; The Hague, 1976), p. 76.

²¹ William A. Clebsch, *Christianity in European History* (New York, 1979), p. vi.

²² *Vita Romualdi*, xlvi, p. 88.

²³ *Ibid.*, xxvi, liii; pp. 54, 96.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii, xxii, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxvi, xxxviii, xliiii, xlvi, l, lv, lvi, lxv, lxxviii; pp. 35, 48, 66, 67-68, 69-70, 76-77, 81, 86, 88, 93, 97, 107, 111-13.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, i, iii, vii, xvii-xviii, xxiv, xxxiii, xli, xlv, lii, lxi-lxiii, lxvi; pp. 14-15, 19, 26-27, 39-44, 51, 69, 70-72, 83-84, 86-87, 95, 102-04, 108-09. On epic insults, see Gerald Herman, "The Battlefield Taunt: Violence and Humor in the *Chansons de Geste*," *Annuaire mediaevale*, 13 (1972), pp. 125-34.

²⁶ Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment and Demonology* (Cambridge, 1952), passim, esp. 1, 9-10, 24-30. The wild man has now merited his own exhibition at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, catalogued by Timothy Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980).

²⁷ *Vita Romualdi*, i, xiii, xvi, xx, xxiii, xxxv; pp. 14, 35, 38, 45-46, 50, 74.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, xxxv, xlvi; pp. 74, 88.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, xxxi, li; pp. 68, 93.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, xxxviii, lxiii; pp. 79-81, 105.

³¹ *Ibid.*, viii, xxxiii, lii, lxiii; pp. 28, 73, 95, 105.

³² *Ibid.*, xl, p. 83.

³³ A brief historical survey of the word symbol and its interpretations can be found in René Alleau, *La Science des symboles: Contribution à l'étude des principes et des méthodes de la symbolique générale* (Bibliothèque scientifique; Paris, 1977), pp. 29-62, who also provides a select bibliography (pp. 273-83). In regard to social science symbolic research, see Raymond Firth, *Symbols Public and Private* (Symbols, Myth, and Ritual Series; Ithaca, NY, 1972), pp. 54-240. An excellent introduction to the wide range of interdisciplinary studies on symbolism is Ioan Lewis, *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross Cultural Studies in Symbolism* (London, 1977).

³⁴ On "divine men" see Ludwig Bieler, *Θεῖος ἄνθρωπος: Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (1934-35, rpt. Darmstadt, 1967). On sacred roles see G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, trans. by J. E. Turner (1938, rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1967), pp. 192-241.

³⁵ Mircea Eliade, *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries: The Encounter between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic Realities*, trans. Philip Mairet (1960, rpt. New York, 1967), p. 32.

³⁶ Neglect of the symbolic function of the hermit can be seen in the complete absence of this subject in *Simboli e simbologia nell'alto medioevo, 3-9 aprile 1975*, 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 23; Spoleto, 1976). Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny's suggestively titled "L'homme comme symbole: Le microcosme" limits itself to the classical image of man as microcosm (v. 1, pp. 129-95). A theoretical framework that could be applied to ascetical symbolism is set forth in Jacques le Goff, "Les gestes symboliques dans la vie sociale. Les gestes de la vassalité" (v. 2, pp. 678-84), but no such application has been made.

³⁷ Peter Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *The English Historical Review*, 88 (1973), pp. 12, 21, rpt. in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1982), pp. 268, 281. "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 61 (1971), p. 95, rpt. *ibid.*, p. 140. See also *The Making of Antiquity* (Cambridge/London, 1978), p. 94.

³⁸ Ilana Friedrich Silber, "Dissent through Holiness. The Case of the Radical Renouncer in Theravada Buddhist Countries," *Numen*, 28 (1981), p. 174.

³⁹ Peter Damian, *Sermo xxiii: In Nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae*, ed. *Patrologia Latina*, v. 144, col. 636.

⁴⁰ Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Hagiographie et historiographie: Quelques aspects du problème," *La storiografia altomedievale, 10-16 aprile 1969* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 17; Spoleto, 1970), p. 140.

⁴¹ The Christian tradition identifying John the Baptist as an angel is treated in Jean Daniélou, *The Work Of John the Baptist*, trans. Joseph A. Horn (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 145-46.

⁴² Jean Leclercq, *La Vie parfaite: Points de vue sur l'essence de l'état religieux* (Tradition monastique 1; Paris, 1948).

⁴³ Damian's *Vita Romualdi* describes the living Romuald as a holy man who receives many valuable donations from awestruck magnates and who wins so many people for the eremitical life that he threatens to turn the world into a hermitage; a man so revered as holy that plotters attempt to capture and/or kill him to secure his relics (*Vita Romualdi*, xiii, xxvi, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvii, xliii, xliiii, xlv; pp. 35, 55, 70-71, 74-75, 78, 85, 104-06, 108). This testimony is corroborated by documents and by the testimony of Bruno of Querfurt (d. 1009), evidence set forth by Tabacco in *Eremitismo*, pp. 73-121. On the general respect for Damian's integrity, see, for example, the article in F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (London, 1974), p. 1072.