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The demise of the Great Tradition
(Lecture note)

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The history of friendship

When Ivan Illich used the Greek word philía, he included the sense that Antiquity gave to it. Philía was the ultimate good to be attained by the institutions of the polis. Yet, when the Latin fathers referred to friendship, they used the Latin word amicitia. However, this is not sufficient reason to give amicitia a Christian pedigree and leave philía to the "Pagans". Was Cicero, who wrote de amicita a Christian, or were the Greek fathers Pagans because they still called friendship "philía"?

Ivan Illich rarely used the term "pagan", and when he did, it was more than often in order to deride its derogatory use. An example of it is an unpublished article in Italian on what he called therapeutic tolerance. Etymologically, the word "Pagan" is utterly respectable. In Latin, pagus is the land and the people who live on it. The paganus is the rural man, the "villager", the "peasant", a word that, like "pagan" comes from paganus. "Pagan" acquired its pejorative meanings among early urban Christians. I see Ivan Illich as a reader of the Gospel who had renounced all forms of therapeutic tolerance. I think that, by deliberately using the word philía, he implicated the broad history of friendship that begins much before the Christian era. By looking at friendship "in the mirror of the past",[1] he was hoping to give new incentives to its practice, today.

Yet, I do not imply that there is no difference between the "pre-Christian" and the Christian understandings of philía and amicitia. In fact, between the Athenian style of philía in Aristotle's time and monastic amicitia in the Middle Ages,[2] the landscape of "friendship" was shaken by the analogue of an earthquake. According to Illich, this catastrophe is epitomized by the parable of the Samaritan. In other words, the history of friendship can be divided into a "pre-" and a "post-Samaritan" periods. In the Greek polis, a free man's friend was another free man of the same city. Hospitality could extend the possibility of friendly relations to members of other cities[3], but Barbarians, that is mumblers of incomprehensible tongues were excluded from that possibility. Friendship was attuned to a specific place: the Thou was embedded in an ubi. The Greek term for that local attunement is tonos.

> The Greeks had the notion of tonos, that can be understood as "just measure", "character of what is reasonable" or "proportion".[4]

By breaking the bounds that restricted friendship to ethnic proximity, that is by inaugurating friendship by choice in disregard of given boundaries, the Samaritan potentially disembedded friendship from the tonos of a place. He opened the door to the possibility of a break of pro-

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1   Illich, Ivan, In the Mirror of the Past, London: Marion Boyars Publishers Ltd, 1992.

2   Fisk, Adele, Friends and Friendship in the Monastic Tradition, CIDOC Cuaderno No 51, Cuernavaca, Mexico: CIDOC, 1970.

3   Illich, Ivan, Hospitality and Pain, conference at the Fourth Presbyterian Chruch of Chicago's Loop, November 23, 1987. French version published as: "L'origine chrétienne des services," in Ivan Illich, La perte des sens, Paris: Fayard, 2004, pp. 9 - 43.

4   Illich, Ivan, La Perte des sens, Paris: Fayard, 2004, p. 243.

portion, of the sense of "the fitting", of the "just measure". Yet, this possibility was not a fatality. One way to understand the parable is to stress that it gave friendship a new liberty: as the Samaritan, you may now elect your friend outside of given bounds. However, many early Christians interpreted the "may" as an "ought" (you ought to treat anyone as the Samaritan treated the beaten Jew). Accordingly, they created special institutions dedicated to the exercize of charity by proxy: xenodocheia and hospices, the Latin matricula.[5] Some early fathers admonished them: "If you go on opening hospices, you will cause the practice of hospitality to perish." It seems to me that the institutionalization of charity and the concomitant decay of hospitality in the early Christian centuries are the first historically documented examples of what Ivan called "the corruption of Christianity" or the corruption of the Gospel by Christianity. This corruption occurs when the good news of an unprecedented kind of freedom rooted in charity (that is agapè, love) is translated into charitable institutions. This corruption is a break of proportion.

A sense of proportion

> Proportion was also a directing principle for the experience of one's body, of the others, and of the relations between the genders. Space was simply understood as a familiar cosmos, perceived as the order in which things are initially placed. For that relation, that tension, or that mutual inclination of things, for that tonos, we no longer have a word today.[6]

One exists in relation to, or, said otherwise, One exists in relation to Another. This is the primitive meaning of ex-sistere, to stand in front of. In ancient perceptions, One could not exsist without Other. That sense of existing as standing in front, as vis-à-vis has at least two consequences:

1. There is no existence in the void.
2. Reality is so to speak in the hinge: in relations and not in isolated objects.

There are no single notes in ancient music, but tones and harmonies; no insular individuals in a community; no single words in Homer's epics; no topos (place) withouit a cosmos; no living without their dead; no here without a there; no body without its specific place, that is no humoral soma without a humoral ubi (where). Each one of these topics has been the object of Illich's and his friends' and colleagues' inquiries.

No notes but tones in ancient music

The Greek spirit had two bases: appropriateness of expression - fond in the rule of ethos - and the tone as ana-logía, proportion or ratio. Antiquity ignored the concept of note, had no idea of a sound of this kind. The independent or solitary note was so alien to Plato's worldview as was the individual. Music was local. It was coherent, in harmony with a community conceived as an ethos, not as a conglomerate of individuals - what is now called a population.

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5   Michel Rouche, "La matricule des pauvres: Évolution d'une institution de charité du Bas Empire jusqu'à la fin du Haut Moyen Âge", in Michel Mollat, comp., Études sur l´histoire de la pauvreté (Moyen Âge - XVIe siècle), Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1974, pp. 83 - 110.

6   Illich, Ivan, La perte de sens, op. cit., p. 244.

Music attuned the <u>ethos</u>, that is the mode of a song, to the singers' <u>ethnos</u>. It was the harmony between an ethos and its proportion made audible. The history of music shows how, from the end of the 17th century on, the introduction of the tempered scale (which makes C sharp equal to D flat) allowed to reconstruct music as a combination of notes. An instrument was soon invented to celebrate the ideal of the new music: the <u>piano forte</u>, which sacrifices the local harmony between singers and musicians for the benefit of a global accord between individual notes. It cannot inspire a sense of proportion, because it is a machine that produces just that: notes, that Helmholtz will redefine as quantified vibrations.[7]

No words in Homer's epics[8]

We should not forget that words - just as philosophy and ethics - are critters of the alphabet. Originally, the Greek language did not have a word for "a word", identified individually.[9] The authors mentioned in footnotes 8 and 9 have all insisted on two related aspects of the genesis and development of the alphabet since about Homer's time:

1. The specificity of the alphabet among other forms of writing.
2. The growing gulf that severs the island of the alphabet from the lands of orality.

Walter Ong spoke of the "technologizing of the word" as a characteristic of the alphabetic revolution in Ancient Greece. He also insisted that, in this light, what we call "philosophy" and "ethics" should be seen as technological products.

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7   Rieger, Matthias, Helmholtz Musicus. Eine Studie über Helmholtz' Objektivierung der Grundlagen der Musik, dargestellt anhand einer Textanalyse der Tonenempfindungen (1877), Ph.D dissertation, Bremen, 2001.

8   Parry, Milman, The Making of Homeric Verse. The Collected Papers of Milman Parry, edited by Adam Parry, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
    Pope, M.W.M., "The Parry-Lord Theory of Homeric Composition,", in Acta Classica, Vol. VI, 1963, pp. 1-21.
    Lord, Albert Bates, The Singer of Tales,
    Bartok, Bela and Lord, Albert B., Sero-Croation Folk Songs. Texts and Transcrolptions of Seventy-Five Folk Songs from the Milman Parry Collection and a Morphology of Serbo-Croatian Folk Melodies, New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.
    Lord, Albert B., ed. and transl. Serbocroatian Heroic Songs collected by Milman Parry, bilingual edition, with musical transcriptions by Bela Bartok and prefaces by John M. Finley and Roman Jakobson, Cambridge and Belgrade: Harvars University Press and Serbian Academy of Science: 1954.
    Lord, Albert B., ed., Slavic Folklore, A Symposium, Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1956.
    Havelock, Eric, The Greek Concept of Justice,
    Ong, Walter, Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word, London and New York: Routledge, 1988 (1982).
    Goody, Jack, ed., Literacy in Traditional Societies, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
    Foley, John M., Oral Traditional Literature, Slavica Publishers Inc., 1981.
    Goody, Jack, The Interface between the Written and the Oral, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987 (a book with such an ugly title should not be quoted). Olson, David and Torrance, Nancy, Literacy and Orality, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

9   Havelock, Eric, A. The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences, Princeton Series of Collected Essays, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Ivan Illich has added an important chapter to this tradition. In his study of the "Art of Reading" of Hugh of Saint-Victor,[10] he observed a parallel mutation of the perception of tools and of the text: on the one hand, the passage from organic to instrumental tool, on the other, the transition from the auditive to the visual page. He saw in this "break in the history of reading" the missing link in the origin of Western modernity, a powerful insight that has still to bear its fruits.

No living without their dead

Modernity can be shown to have broken the traditional relation between the dead and the living. The German historian Arno Borst[11] has expressed this break in humourous terms. Many groups have been discriminated against: the Pagans, the illiterates, the Blacks, the Jews, the Indians, the homosexuals, the Young, the Old, the red-haired, the computer illiterates. But never had any group been excluded to the point of being denied ex-sistence, as are today the Dead.

Some twenty years ago, Ivan proposed to several friends an argument for a novel. The Dead would gather secretly and convene that, since the modern world was so inhospitable to them, they would leave it alone. This playful insight has inspired my own essays on the historicity of space perceptions.[12] I came to understand that it is the denial of the presence of the Dead and the erasing of their traces that allowed the dominion of abstract space over concrete places and the "cleansing of the soil" (Flurbereinigung) which is the landmark of the ethnocide of Europe's peasantry. The demise of the Dead also allows modern architecture that is the design of houses with the help of representation techniques derived from scientific space.

No body without a historical ubi

The confrontation of the body with the stuffs among which it exists is perhaps the most prototypical experience of the vis-à-vis.

In his essays on the imagination of matter, Bachelard established a distinction between movements that entail "an essential destiny that endlessly changes the substance of the being," and "the vain destiny of fleeting images and a never-ending dream."[13] The first category of motion defines walking, in which every step reveals new aspects of the inexhaustible richness of reality. The second kind defines the "windshield glance" of mechanical transportation that brackets the body from the haptic experience of stuff. Bodiless, motion is a dream. On the contrary, the walker's movements bring still invisible existents - which were at best only present in thought or in memory -- into the realm of his vision. Nature seizes the walker in her motions. For him, the world is an experience of mutual seizure.

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10 Illich, Ivan, In the Vineyard of the Text. A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.

11 Borst, Arno, Lebensformen im Mittelalter, Frankfurt/a.M.: Ullstein, 1973.

12 Robert, Jean, Raum und Geschichte, Hagen: Fernuniversität, 1998.

13 Bachelard, Gaston, Water and Dreams. An Essay on the Imagination of Matter, Tr. and ed. by E.R. Farrell, Dallas: Dallas Institute of the Humanities and Culture, 1983, p. 6.
    Original: L'eau et les rêves: essai sur l'imagination de la matière, Paris: J. Corti, 1956.

Transparent like an X-ray, the anatomic body of modern medicine is the outcome of a disincarnate gaze that does to the flesh what the car driver's or the usual passenger's glance does to nature. Barbara Duden has written books and articles on the decline of the humoral body and the rise of the spectral body of modern medicine. Severed from the cosmos' currents, enclosure of the envious individual, it is also the public place on which the fetus develops.[14]

In every one of these instances, modernity appears as the demise of a relation, the breaking apart of a "hinge", the blurring of a "tone". Ivan proposed the term proportionality in order to provide his friends and colleagues with a catchword to locate the multiple rupture which constitutes modernity. This new insight complements an old idea for which Illich considered himself a debtor of Karl Polanyi. Remember Polanyi's sear7ch for "the origins of our time".[15] To my knowledge, here is the first author who has tackled the question of the specificity of modernity, that is of the characteristics that makes our time unlike any other historical epoch. Polanyi could define the "march to modernity" as a progressive disembedding of instrumental spheres ("economics", "religion", "politics", "education") out of polyvalent, ambiguous, and, I shall now say: proportionate relationships. Louis Dumont, who has written the preface to the French edition of Polaniy's The Great Transformation, takes individualism as modernity's most specific trait.[16] In Gender,[17] Illich saw the demise of vernacular gender and the rise of "economic sex" as a specific trait of modernity.

Yet, the notion of a historic breach with a previously innate sense of proportionality provides in contrast an array of new definitions of the specificity of modernity. For instance: Modernity is the time in which music became a global accord between individual notes, paideia gave

14   ,Duden, Barbara, "History of Body Perception", Fall 1985, Ms.
      ---, Medical Sciences: Alternative Insights and Approaches, Historical concepts of the body, Clairmont, May 1985.
      ---, Historical Perceptions of the Body, Bibliography for Seminar "Body and Space", Claremont, April 1986 Drgl, ---, "Ad Weltkörper, Gespräch mit Ivan Illich", Ms ("Wir verwenden Weltkörper so wie der Geograph von Weltteilen spricht").Ms
      ---, "Scanning as Skinning", Ms.
      ---, Women and Science: The social construction of woman as a scientific fact, Fall 1987, Ms.
      ---, "The Pregnant Woman and the Public Fetus", Paper presented at the national convocation of Pro Familia, Frankfurt a.M. Dec.1987 (Original: "Die Geschichte vom öffentlichen Foetus", Vortrag Fachtagung Pro Familia, Frankfurt a. M. 4.Dezember 1977).
      ---, "Historical Perceptions of the Body, Bibliography for Seminar Body and Space, Claremont, April 1986", Ms.
      ---, The Woman beneath the Skin. A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1991. Original: Geschichte unter der Haut, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987. Duden, Barbara, Der Frauenleib als öffentlicher Ort. Vom Mißbrauch des Begriffs Leben, Hamburg, Zürich: Luchterhand, 1993.
      Barbara Duden, Lee Hoinacki, Ivan Illich and Sebastian Trapp, Zur Geschichte des Blickens, available at Kreftingstrasse 16, 28203, Bremen or at www.pudel. uni-bremen.de , pp. 97 - 115.
      ---, "Introduction" to Workbook # 1 of the Body Academy, @: International Women's University, @.
      ---, "Introduction" to Program, @: International Women's University, @.
15   Polanyi, Karl, The Great Transformation. The political and economic origins of our time, Boston: Beacon Press, 1957 (1944).
16   Dumont, Louis, Essais sur l'individualisme. Une perspective anthropologique sur l'idéologie moderne, Paris: Seuil, 1983.
      ---, Préface de l'édition française de Karl Polanyi, La Grande Transformation: aux origines politiques et économiques de notre temps, Paris: Gallimard, 1983.
17   Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1982.

way to a universalist educational dream, the <u>Thou</u> has no <u>tonos</u>, the <u>we</u> no place, the Dead are not only absent but nonexistent, society is composed of individuals, and poems of words, the here has no There, the down no Up, the outside no Inside and the historical body does not face a humoral <u>ubi</u>. And I also mentioned Illich's assertion that the "break in the history of reading" that occurred in the second half of the XIIth century is the missing link in the origin of Western modernity. He was more explicit in one of his last essays, still unpublished in English:

> To allow <u>lectio spiritualis</u> [which tended to be silent] to overshadow <u>lectio divina</u> [which was a reading aloud from a page that was a kind of musical score] was [...] a major betrayal of tradition. The fact that it could happen [...] remains for me a mystery. Yet, as a historian, I try to understand the conditions in which that betrayal could take place. I do not know any older, clearer and better documented example [...] of the interaction of <u>hubris</u> and technology which is specific of modern time. It can be presented symbolically as an interaction between <u>studium</u> and <u>scriptorium</u>.[18]

In the light of historical instances, modernity appears as the debunking of a cosmic understanding of being. Illich associates this understanding with "the Great Tradition".

> About a century before the French Revolution, the notion of proportion as directing idea or orientation - fundamental condition of finding one's position - began to get lost. Until now, there is almost no awareness of that demise in cultural history. The correspondence between up and down, right and left, macro and micro was intellectually recognized and confirmed by the senses until the end of the XVIIth century.[19]

The Great Tradition

In a way, the demise of the Great Tradition is the loss of the sense of the "good". The "good" can simply be the "fitting", the perception of what is appropriate here and now. In <u>Gender</u>, Illich called it "probity".[20] In Ocotepec, a machete fits into a man's hand, a basket at a woman's arm. For a woman to carry a machete does not infringe any absolute moral <u>value</u>. It is simply unfitting.

Taken humbly as a gift, the freedom expressed by the Samaritan embodies the best, the Good News. In contrast, the good of which the Great Tradition is the bearer is not the best, but simply, what is adequate now, proportionate to a <u>tonos</u>, convenient here, "fitting" in this particular valley. The Great Tradition is not specifically Christian, but it survived at least one millennium and a half in Christianity before it was finally expelled. The style of modernity resulting from that expulsion raises unusual questions about the relationship between the <u>earth</u> of the "Pagan" heritage and the <u>salt</u> of the "Christian" news. Illich's critique of Christianity is unique in that it attempts to recover a sense of the good without rejecting the best.

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18   Illich, Ivan, La Perte des sens, op. cit., p. 183 (my re-translation).

19   Illich, Ivan, La Perte des sens, op. cit., p. 243.

20   Illich, Ivan, Gender, op. cit., note 82, p. 112: "I propose using this term to designate the subject's perception of the gender line as a norm relevant for him or her."

Like friendship, the Great Tradition has a "pre-Samaritan" as well as a "post-Samaritan" history. I take the floor of the Sienna cathedral to be an illustration of the incorporation of the "pre-Christian" past into the Christian tradition.

Illustration[21]

Though the Great Tradition is not specifically Christian, its demise is. The historically attested Christian elimination of the good in the name of the institutionalization of the best is a mystery of evil over which theology might shed some light, sometime. It seems to me that, the few times that Ivan spoke overtly of theology, it was always to face this mystery. Being who he was, it required an uncommon courage. Though he did not eschew the best for the sake of the good, he knew that quietist interpretations of that mystery of evil would only worsen the abyss, whose sight can be extremely unsettling for Christians. He was as apophatic as was possible: he <u>showed</u> rather than <u>said</u>. For my part, I have decided that his voluntary silence must be respected as long as the question "what to do?" will be compatible with our historical condition, that is as long as there will humanly remain something to attempt in the face of the catastrophe.

A historical approach to a theological question

Why did the reception of the Gospel unleash such powers of evil?[22] I believe that it cannot be answered, but only faced as a mystery of sin.

The historical reception of the Gospel is manifest as Christianity. Illich thought that the corruption of Christianity - or the corruption which is Christianity, as he initially said - can be historically documented.

> My theme is a mystery of faith, the mystery of an abyss of evil that could not have occurred if, in the history of salvation, there were not a corresponding contrary height. But understand me well: I do not speak as a theologian, but as a historian.[23]

The theologian might ask the question, but it is the historian who attempts an answer. It seems to me that the research could be divided in the following headings:

> I. Define a sense of proportion that is not specifically Christian. Document its corruption at the eve of the Christian era.
> II. Ask if there were not "Christian remedies" to that breachof proportion.
> III. Document the demise of these remedies in the late Christian era.

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21 Santi, Bruno, Der Marmorboden des Doms von Siena, Firenze: Scala, 1982, pp. 17-32.

22 "Si non venissem et locutus fuissem eis, peccatum non haberent; nunc autem excusationem non habet de peccato suo" (John, 15.22).

23 Bremen speach on the history of the university.

I. A pre-Christian sense of proportion

I already mentionned the Greek notions of the tonos and of analogía. Yet, more than analysing concepts, I have observed the traces that the Dead left on the soil. In these traces, I attempt to read the relation of a topos (place) to a comos (order of places). I see the The Dead's traces are the expression of both a historical sense of place (topos) and the perception of an order (cosmos).

An antique community's center was a fire, a hearth, a focus in Latin, a hestia in Greek. It's where any house and household started. The Greek city was a big household around Hestia Koinè, the common hearth, which was also a granary.

The graves were on the separation line, that is on the horizon between "us" and "them", the visible and the invisible. Hearth and grave related as house fire and threshold, the center of the city and its limits, the world of the living and the domain of the Dead, Hestia, goddess of the hearth and Hermes, god of gravestones and borders. The Dead were the warrants of all fix points, landmarks, milestones, without which no surveying was possible. Such a world knew right and left, up and down, inside and outside. It was a cosmos in which everything had its unique topos, a topocosmos.[24]

Early Christianity unsettled the antique topocosmos. Certain legends, as for instance the story of Thecla[25] suggest that graves became very early the attracting points, soon the centers of unheared of social formations: communities of renouncers, women and men who, not unlike India's living Dead or sanyasis[26] had extinguished their fires, in other words, had turned their back to common domestic existence, but, unlike the Indian living Dead, founded communities, even cities. Archaeology and history confirm that the demise of the antique order was concomitant with a topocosmic revolution that made the grave central and the hearth peripherical.

II. Christian remedies to the loss of proportionality

The grave that was now central was symbolically an empty grave. In Merowingian and Carolingian times, the ordering principle of the territory was no longer the house (oikos, domus), which had been the great metaphor of all antique socialization processes, but a completely new version of the Roman juriprudential term, familia. In Roman law, the familia was constituted by the house slaves (famuli) and, dependents (clientes) and the house itself with all its material belongings. A Roman pater familias would carefully distinguish his kins from his familia: the expressions domestici mei or coniux et liberi mei or cognati mei designated his wife and children and relatives in opposition to the slaves and dependents living under the same roof - that is, in opposition to his familia.[27]

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24   Bourdieu, Pierre, Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle, Genève: Droz, 1972.

25   Dagron, Gilbert, Vie et Miracles de Sainte Thècle. Prâxeis tes Hágias Apóstolou kai Mártyros tou Christou Theklas kai thaúmata, Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1978.

26   Dumont, Louis, Homo hierarchicus. Essai sur le système des castes, Paris: Gallimard, 1966.

27   Robert, Jean, op. cit., KE 3, p. 70.

Early Christians gave the term familia a completely new sense, that, though different from its Roman antecedent, is incommensurable with the modern family. The early medieval familia was a hierarchical order that bound together a community of living and of Dead. The largest familia was the communio sanctorum. Local earthbound familiae arose around the tombs of holy men and women, true fathers and mothers of their confoederati. The earthly representant of a saint father was soon called abbas, abbott, and the abbay became the great territorial unit of the early Middle Ages. In this early age, the word domus, house, almost never referred to the abode of local people.[28] This was called mansus, huoba[29] in old German, a word that referred to the land, not to the house. Archaeologists confirm the general inexistence of the individual houses in Merowingian times.[30]

According to Jean Chapelot und Robert Fossier, the village is the great social invention of the Middle Ages. It reconciled Christianity with the house. The center of the village is the cemetery around the church. The grave remain the center, but it allows now the hearth, often in the form of a bread oven, to become again the center of the house.

Though its fullfledged form will not appear before the XIth century, the village begins taking shape in the Carolingian period. According to Chapelot and Fossier:

> The village community is a not a feature of all societies, in western Europe, and perticulary in France, it is a relatively recent invention [...]. It appeared in the early Middle Ages and stabilized itself between the 10th and the 12th centuries. The village remained the elementary cell of all communitary life during one thousand years [...].[31]

The same authors also wrote: "The history of the village and of the family contain the whole history of the West." Two points are imprtant: 1) The history of the village cannot be severed from the history of the western family; 2) but this is very different from the antique familia. During centuries, the village will be the sea of ongoing negotiations about thresholds and who looks upon them. It has a "skin": the powers that be are represented in the village, but they are

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28 Rouche, Michel, "La destinée des biens de Saint Rémi durant le Haut Moyen Age", in: Walter Janssen and Dietrich Lohrmann, ed., Villa - Curtis - Grangia, München: Artemis Verlag, 1983 S.47-68.
Devroey, Jean-Pierre, Le Polyptyque et les Listes de Cens de l'Abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims (IXe- XIe Siècles), Reims: Travaux de l'Académie Nationale de Reims, 1984.

29 Kuchenbuch, Ludolf, "Bäuerliches Genus im Frühmittelalter?", Stephan Pfürtner, Hrsg., Wider den Turmbau zu Babel. Disput mit Ivan Illich, Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1985, S.131-145, analyses the gender relations in the mansus or huoba (modern German: Hufe).
Schmid, Wolfgang, "Etymologische Bemerkungen zu ahd. huoba, 'Hufe'", in Heinrich Beck, Dietrich Denecke, Herbert Jahnkuhn, Hrsg., Untersuchungen zu eisenzeitlichen und frühmittelalterlichen Flur in Mitteleuropa und ihrer Nutzung, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1979, S. 71-73. The words 'Huoba', Hufe have the same origin as Greek kepos, garden.
Duby, Georges, L'économie médiévale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval, Paris: Flammarion, 1977 (1962), sees the origin of medieval agriculture in the 'domestic garden" (that is in the 'Hufen') of the Merowingian epoch.

30 Chapelot, Jean and Fossier, Robert, Le village et la maison au moyen âge, Paris: Hachette, 1980.

31 Chapelot, Jean und Fossier, Robert, Le village et la maison au moyen âge, op. cit., p. 16.

"tamed", mediated by a sense of local autonomy. The French historian Robert Muchembled associates the birth of the Nation-state with a growing oppression of village subsistence.[32]

The historical subject of village life was the peasant, a word that comes from Latin paganus. Reinhard Wenskus has shown that the peasant, that is the villager is as much a novelty as the village itself.[33]

III. The demise of proportionality and the ethnocide of the European peasantry

I personally think that the demise of proportionality since the end of the 17th century coincides with the growing repression and the final extermination of the European peasantry and village life. I think that this repression can be followed in the history of the enclosure of the commons.[34] The desarticulation of village life in the epoch of what certain historians have called "proto-industrialization"[35] paved the way to the ultimate "cleasing of the soil" (Flurbereinigung) and its macadamization.

Meanwhile, paideia, the attument of common sense to a community's customhad already given way to a universalist education. It was as if Alexander's dream - to substitute a universal Greek oikumene for the city-states, each founded on its ethos - now nourished the monstruous dream of a global accord. At the end of the 17th century, oikonomia - sound husbandry and art of the household was redefined as the science of universal value formation under the shadow of scarcity. In a land left without peasants and the thresholfs of their villages, highways erased the Dead's traces, while Value eroded earthbound senses of the good.

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32 Muchembled, Robert, Culture Populaire et Culture des Élites dans la France Moderne, XVe - XVIIe siècles, Paris, 1978 (zitiert in Illich, Genus, 1983, Note 119).

33 Reinhard Wenskus, Herbert Jahnkuhn und Klaus Grinda, Wort und Begriff "Bauer", Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975. The peasant and the villager are identical: p. 18.
    Before the XIth century, the man of the land was called agricola, rusticus, servus, colonus, and more often homo pauper in Latin, and ackarbigengo, skalk, lantsideling, winzuril in Germanic. Every word defines a specific context. The general concept of "a peasant" was still inexistant.

34 Polanyi, Karl, The Great Transformation, 0p. cit.
    Dumouchel, Paul, L'ambigüité de la rareté, in: Paul Dumouchel et Jean-Pierre Dupuy, L'enfer des choses, Paris: Le Seuil, 1979.

35 Sabean, David, "Intensivierung der Arbeit und Alltagserfahrung auf dem Lande - ein Beispiel aus Würtemberg," Sozialwissenwschaftliche Informationen 6 (1977), p. 148-152, quoted in Ivan Illich, Gender, op. cit., p. 174.