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Pilgrimage and the Desire for Meaning

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Pilgrimage and the Desire for Meaning¹

*Whan that Aprill with his showres soote
The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,
And bathed every veyne in swich licour,
Of which vertu engendred is the flour;
Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breath
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth
The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his half cours yronne,
And smale foweles maken melodye
That slepen al the nyght with open ye
(So priketh hem nature in hir corages),
Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages,
And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes
To ferne halwes, kowthe in sondry londes;
And specially from every shires ende
Of Engelond to Caunterbury they wende,
The hooly blisful martir for to seke
That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke.*

Geoffrey Chaucer, "General Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales*

Spring comes. The tender crops push through the earth seeking sun, and people are provoked to travel. Chaucer connects the onset of spring to an attraction experienced by ordinary folk as well as palmers—practiced (even professional) pilgrims—to go on pilgrimage. People went in search of far-flung holy places, or more locally, to Canterbury, fulfilling a thanks-pledge to the famous English martyr Thomas à Becket who had helped them into health. These represent, in poetic shorthand, some reasons people went away from home: why they went on pilgrimage in Chaucer's England.

In this essay, I focus on the practices and theories of pilgrimage, largely (but not exclusively) in the Middle Ages, and largely (but not exclusively) in the Christian traditions.

1. The State of the Question

What do contemporary scholars think is at stake in the study of pilgrimage?

One ordinarily thinks pilgrimage is travel performed as an act of devotion to places considered by the community of believers to be holy. Which are those places? Sites of pilgrimage devotion stud the earth from its deepest caves to its seas and skies.² Almost all religious traditions find the sacred in some *place* and celebrate movements to and from this place. In the Jewish traditions, one thinks of Jerusalem. In the Christian traditions, one includes Rome with Jerusalem; in the European Catholic traditions, one wraps in such older sites as Canterbury and Compostela with the modern Lourdes and Fátima. In the United States, one thinks of the Mormons' Salt Lake City and of recent suggestions that the Southwest's mysterious Chaco Canyon may be a pilgrimage center;³ in Mexico, of Guadalupe. In the Islamic traditions, Mecca has primacy as the focus of *hajj*, prescribed by Muhammad as one of the Five Pillars of Islam, but Medina and Jerusalem also have special importance for Muslims. Hinduism and Shintoism celebrate their own sacred sites, and in 1998 (with the Winter Olympics set in the pilgrimage site of Nagano), media attention has been accorded to Japan's Buddhist pilgrimage around the temples of Shikoku, the "trail of tears."⁴

The revolutionary work of Victor and Edith Turner in 1978 led scholars to define pilgrimage as that time and space in which people travel through (and to) literal, cultural, and emotional margins; the Turners use the flexible term "liminality" to define the pilgrimage experience.⁵ Pilgrimage studies have boomed since the Turners' study; the subject has come to fascinate scholars from several disciplines and every ideological stripe who watch, listen to, and even participate in sacred, civic, and secular pilgrimages. Recent post-modernist theorists who care about historical precision have challenged the notion that "pilgrimage" is a category rather than a clustered set of behaviors. Such scholars note that pilgrimage phenomena are rife with tensions and conflicts, and these tensions and conflicts have huge stakes where there are struggles for cultural or religious persistence, or even dominance. However—and this is my methodological contribution to the current discussion—pilgrimage also subsumes contest

and competition into a discourse which I call “confluent.” Competing discourses, that is, may do more than co-exist; they may be concurrent in motion, flowing together through space as well as time. This state of confluency characterizes not only groups with differing needs and beliefs traveling to the same sacred site, but also individual persons whose private and often competing desires, drives, and identities co-exist, flowing together beyond the margins of the corporeal into the corporate. I think this confluency may be what makes community, especially ethical community, possible. Our self-consciously complex world requires us simultaneously to respect and to acknowledge cultural difference (in contemporary shorthand, the “Other”), and also to search literally and symbolically for common space. “In understanding the divide between “us” and “them,” it is this common space we all share that needs to be elaborated and defined.”⁶

Common space. Common space moves beyond current ideas of “common ground” to encompass movement; confluency suggests not only a place to stand but a way to move. A theory of confluency helps us understand what is *common* in common space; it honors both the division and the connection between the individual and larger communities. Although, for example, the believers’ pilgrimage observes the corporeal space and time of holy days, even non-believers who happen to be alongside them (and who consider themselves to be taking a holiday), sustain the community’s incorporation of the holy into its history. And vice versa: the vacationers’ secular antics define and amplify the boundaries of the believers’ experience of the sacred. Common space produces and is produced by confluency.

2. Models and Mythscapes of Pilgrimage

“Thanne longen folk to *goon on pilgrimages*”

Many of you have doubtless been on pilgrimage to the “sacred.” When I asked my ten-year-old godchild Anna to define “the sacred,” she didn’t miss a beat: “of course,” she said, “it means a horse,” taking this to be a self-evident fact of universal desire. I too appreciate the quality of horses, especially those White Horses (remembered mostly in pub names today) whose hooves once beat the rhythm of Britain’s mythic Middle Ages. Anna’s response reminded me of a visit we made not long ago to Japan, a holiday that turned from voyeuris-

tic tourism into pilgrimage. In Kyoto, we saw a note posted that The Ceremony of the White Horse would take place the following morning at the Shinto shrine of Kamigamo a bit outside the city. Although we couldn't find any further information about the event, we made our way with some difficulty to the shrine—and just in time. It was the depths of snowy, bitter mid-winter. As we approached the shrine itself, we were offered warming cups of hot beef tea from an enormous iron cauldron. The bare branches of the trees that surrounded the shrine fluttered with thousands upon thousands of strips of evenly-tied white paper on which the donors' desires had been carefully inscribed by the shrine calligraphers who lined the high road: it looked like a global convention of Monarch butterflies. The shrine sanctuary at the top of the steep staircase was small; the ceremonially garbed monks almost overflowed the space. Suddenly a boy arrived, leading the huge white horse. The abbot welcomed the horse by offering it a fistful of grain, then he walked with the horse slowly around the inner sanctuary. Then the boy and horse left, the monks filed back to the monastery, and the handful of witnesses dispersed. As we stood chatting about Welsh stories, white horses, and what the form of this ritual might mean, a young American (a doctoral student in anthropology from Berkeley, naturally) came up to us: "I heard you talking. Would you like to meet the Abbot?" We were full of questions, wanting to know about the elements and antiquity of the ceremony, its meaning to the monastic community and to the witnesses. The anthropologist had no answers, but hoped to find some. The Abbot served us tea formally, pursued with deep curiosity what little information we could offer about American and European horse rituals, and then addressed our questions. "I don't know," he said, "how old this ritual is, but we've been doing it for a very long time. Tell me," he said, "what do you think it means?"

Anna *knows*: sacred is a horse.

The idea of "the sacred" is at the core of human cultures, encompassing notions of the consecrated and the forbidden, even aspects of violation. The classic dichotomy of immanence and transcendence provides only one of many contested vocabularies used to define sacrality. What interests me here is that throughout human history people have thought not just that *things* but that particular *places* hold

or reflect sacredness, and that people therefore longed to leave the security of place—to go out of place, to “go on pilgrimages” to those places, for the knowledge, will, and desires of the god who acts in history is known to particular people in particular places. The spatial dimension of religious self-understanding needs fuller consideration. *Space* is a crucial and combustible subject that needs increased transdisciplinary understanding combining the diverse perspectives of the social sciences as well as the traditional fields of humanities.⁷ And pilgrimage space is found everywhere, since the phenomenon itself is known in most varieties of local, ethnic, and New Age religions as well as in the major historical religions of Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and Shintoism. Places of pilgrimage devotion are as various as are people’s religious beliefs. Devotion focuses on the natural (mountains, rivers, trees, and animals) the cultural (churches, shrines, temples, relics, icons), and even the human (in early Christianity and even now in Hinduism, for example, holy persons are sometimes goals of pilgrimage).⁸

In its largest sense, pilgrimage is a metaphor of choice for life lived from a spiritual perspective. Religious discourse constantly invokes the language of pilgrimage, imaging human life as a meaningful journey, whether or not believers expect individual salvation. The Latin word for pilgrimage [*peregrinatio*] derived from *per agros*, “through the fields”: pilgrimage is travel, a choice of homelessness on a temporary or permanent basis. This notion, of course, is one that Augustine amplified from biblical texts both in *The Confessions* and in *The City of God*, contrasting the heavenly-bound pilgrim (*peregrinus*) with the earthly citizen in their joint movement through life: in Augustine’s view, Christians have their true “citizenship” in the City of God even while they are on earth, and thus all Christians are invariably and permanently pilgrims. Exile and alienation are primary pilgrimage themes, as is the desire for the sacred. But in its ordinary non-metaphorical sense, pilgrimage is movement from an earthly home into sacred space towards visiting a sacred goal, with the hope if not expectation of a return home.

So while pilgrimage is a journey *to* the sacred place, it is usually also a journey back. It seems that pilgrims recuperate from raw con-

tact with the sacred by returning home, and they often bring some new quality—moral, spiritual, or even material—as part of the pilgrimage memory. This basic movement of the journey itself is often a highly ritualized processional, of coming and returning. During various Holy Week processions in Jerusalem, or during ritual processions inside and around Mecca that move to and from the Ka'ba, or during the ritual movements of the Torah scrolls in the synagogue, one approaches and retires. In unusual cases, some pilgrims become immigrants, but ordinarily the pilgrim is a vessel who, once filled with sacred contact at the holy place, then returns home. While we know that pilgrimage is a cycle, its modes of regeneration for pilgrim groups are unclear. The routes and processes of return have not been adequately studied or interpreted. Is it enough to note that the sacred is overbearing and unbearable? As Melczer says,

Moses descends from Sinai as soon as he possibly can; the three apostles are nearly blinded by the Transfiguration on Tabor; the soldiers must *necessarily* fall asleep in order to eschew witnessing the great mystery of the Resurrection...the circular quality of the pilgrimage...presupposes, on the level of human experience, nature's essentially cyclic mode of regeneration: the two-beat alternation of death and renewal.⁹

From deepest antiquity, people have been drawn—if only as far as the burial site of their revered ancestors—to worship their gods and remember their dead. One of the most basic and hardest of human rites is the disposition of the dead. Pilgrimage in several religions is built around some cult of the dead and other overlapping notions: often the veneration of holy objects, and often participation in communal worship. Christianity additionally developed the notion that the earthly remains (the relics) of variously understood sacred figures are in themselves powerful, capable even of producing transformations and miracles.¹⁰

Pilgrimages are profoundly bodily: one moves physically through space to seek the physical presence of, if not contact with, the sacred. Touch is surprisingly essential, but visual and even olfactory proximity is valued. Contact with the living saint, or the holy person's bodily remains, or some textual traces of the sacred, is crucial to the pilgrim:

an age old synagogue practice that mandates kissing the Torah; Muslim *prostatio* assures a five-point contact with the surface of the earth because the spirit of Allah, having descended among his faithful, is dwelling on the surface of the earth; Christ's hand grazes the eye of the blind; St. Peter cures with his shadow. The mode of the physical contact may be variable; but its principle knows no compromise.¹¹

The sacred and the bodily mingle in a complicated tension. Body yearns for bodily contact. (My godson Louis defines the sacred as "a caring touch.") Medieval Christians, for whom pilgrimage was a voluntary activity, associated pilgrimage with the procession of Christ's passion and death, and with the cleansing of sins, and thus elevated strenuous physical exertions, even bodily pain, into goals of pilgrimage: body is repelled by body. All religions do not comparably idealize such masochism, but all seem to share some notion of bodily devotions. The goal of physical restoration, of renewed bodily health, propels much pilgrim fervor: think of ancient sacred springs, think of modern Lourdes. The usual social marginality of the sick and the handicapped is frequently inverted at pilgrim sites, where those otherwise at the margin occupy the center, and the visibly impaired become vessels of liminality and hope.¹²

In one major religion, Islam, the pilgrimage to Mecca is a requisite demonstration and public affirmation of membership in a faith community. Islam demands that its adherents situate themselves in ritual movements through sacred space. The annual pilgrimage of Muslims to Mecca in Saudi Arabia—the *hajj*, one of the five pillars of Islam and a well-defined pilgrimage required once in a Muslim life—was woven out of the fabric of peaceful annual pre-Islamic religious, social, and economic gatherings before the time of Muhammad. Ever since the purification movements and personal pilgrimages of Muhammad (A.D. 570–632) himself, the shrines of Mecca have been consecrated exclusively to Allah, and the rituals of the *hajj* have endured and been elaborated. Believers from different nations, races, and languages gather together for one month at Mecca each year; its resident population of about 150,000 swells with pilgrims. Geographers assert that Mecca has more visitors annually than any other city in the world.¹³ The influence of Mecca embraces all Muslims, not only because the scale of the pilgrimage is enormous,

but also (even today) because its impact on those who have made the *hajj* extends to the home-community. The returning pilgrim brings non-*hajjis* together in conversations aimed at spiritual renewal.

Time follows calendrical rhythms on the moveable calendar of Islam, but the mythscape of the Islamic pilgrimage is institutionally fixed: the *hajj* is the “axis of Islam’s tendency to centralize and unify sacred space.”¹⁴ Mecca is the ontological center of Islam; its space is so sacred that it is available only to Muslims. On the other hand, the pilgrimage in Mecca is shared by differing sects within Islam; despite some notable ruptures, it is claimed that usual sect antagonisms within Islam are re-synthesized into Islamic unity within Mecca through the vehicle of shared space, shared worship, and constant discussion groups.¹⁵ Mecca and Medina are sites forbidden to non-Muslims. Transgression by air or land is viewed as a violation, and boundary stones on all routes leading into these cities mark the barrier (30 km out) beyond which non-believers may not pass.¹⁶

Pilgrimage takes place *to* and also *in* Mecca as pilgrims fix their devotions on the holy shrine which contains the Black Stone, the Ka‘ba, considered by Muslims to be the earthly center of life, but the *hajji* does not stop at that one fixed point, since the six days of movement through sacred space are ritually mapped in Mecca. Pilgrims are cycled in rhythms of rites from the Ka‘ba around the city’s holy sites, and then in huge numbers they walk between the two hills of al-Safa and al-Marwah. After the ritual slaughter and before departure, pilgrims return once more to the core of Mecca as they visit the Ka‘ba for a final time. For Muslims, all prayer is situated in space, aligned with Mecca: the air is carved in constant evocation of the Ka‘ba. As Annemarie Schimmel notes, the “one direction of prayer [*qibla*] around which the people of the world are placed, as it were, in concentric circles has been and still is the most visible sign of the unity of the Muslims; it is, so to speak, the specialization of their beliefs in one and only one, God.” The earthly Ka‘ba is thought to exist in space as a precise mirror of the Heavenly Ka‘ba. This notion renders space itself newly problematic, since it is believed that Mecca’s Ka‘ba is situated exactly opposite the heavenly Ka‘ba: “a number of pious Muslim scholars in our day have tried to figure out how to determine

the *qibla* in our space age—what does an astronaut do to find the proper direction when flying outside of earthly coordinates?”¹⁷

Sometimes pilgrims don't get “there,” and sometimes they don't come back. Elvis Presley's Graceland has attracted permanent pilgrim immigrants,¹⁸ and one continuing phenomenon of pilgrimage is that many pilgrims are for generations in the process of traveling toward Mecca. Recent anthropological work has concentrated on dozens of impoverished, deliberately temporary communities of transient pilgrims all across the Sudan. These *peregrini* (to use the Latin understanding of that term as “resident alien”) of Muslims from West Africa (predominantly Northern Nigeria) consider themselves on pilgrimage to Mecca, even though many of their families have long lived (sometimes as long as five generations) in the same area of the Sudan. “And not only do they define themselves as being on their way; to the outside observer, they live and act as if they were on the way. Their Sudanese hosts, too, accept this self-ascription, commonly addressing them with the revered title of ‘*Hajj*’, pilgrim.”¹⁹ Uprooting and pilgrimage—chosen exile and inflicted exile—often go hand in glove. People (think of the uprooted millions) often subsume their unending uprootedness in spiritual understanding.

Mecca is the goal of a singular pilgrimage, however long postponed, and it is a site reserved for the faithful. Another model of pilgrim fervor is Jerusalem, a site that beyond all other places on earth attempts intellectually and physically to make its various sacred spaces available to pilgrims of diverse beliefs. “My heart, my eye, my daughter, my mother, great mountain,” Jerusalem is known by all these names, and at least seventy more to Jews around the world. Jerusalem is the pupil of the Jewish eye, it is said; and on that pupil is etched for eternity the image of the holy temple.”²⁰ Solomon built the first temple in Jerusalem sometime between 961–922 BC. Its third incarnation was destroyed with particular ferocity by the Romans in 70 AD along with the genealogies of the Levite tribe (from which alone priests could be drawn to perform sacrifices, the essential worship of the temple). All that remained after the Roman destruction of Jerusalem was the large foundation on which the temple once stood and to which Jews (when allowed to do so) made and now make pilgrimage to lament its destruction. In the seventh century, Islam took

Jerusalem, and Muslims built the Dome of the Rock on the platform of the Temple, leaving only the Western Wall (the Wailing Wall) as a site of pilgrimage for Jews. The very name of the city was expunged; the Romans re-named it *Aelia Capitolina*. But by the time 300 years later that Constantine recreated the city, the Christian image of the encircled Heavenly Jerusalem had so impressed itself on early-Christian culture that “the image made the city: it was not the city that made the image.”²¹

What Jerusalem and the Holy Land around it offer their pilgrims is the chance at least to walk in the footsteps of sacred history by visiting sacred sites where each of their traditions believe significant events in the history of salvation occurred. With all its other meanings, and more than any other place, Jerusalem continues to represent the contest for sacred space, for Jerusalem is the sacred city *par excellence* for Jews, Muslims, and Christians. And not just the city. Jerusalem is surrounded by a considerable stretch of sacred geography: Hebron lies to the south, and there pilgrims can visit the tombs of Abraham and Sarah and other patriarchs and matriarchs. Hebron has been a site of particular conflict. In 1929 Hebron saw the massacre of the Jews in the mosque traditionally shared by Jews and tolerant Muslims, and just a few bitterly remembered years ago, Muslims at worship in that mosque were massacred by a Jewish settler. Bethel, where Jacob wrestled with the angel, lay to the north of Jerusalem; Christians would add the site of Jacob’s well, where Jesus later met the much-married woman. To the south, in Judah, is Bethlehem, where Constantine built a big basilica; now it is the site of mounting tensions between Christian Arabs and Muslim Arabs. Less architecturally notable is Nazareth, even though it is there that the gospels say that Jesus first announced his mission to his neighbors. Jericho, to the southeast of Jerusalem, was taken to be the site of Jesus’ baptism by John. There, from the “straunge strandes” of the Jordan, Christians soon picked up the habit of getting palms to carry home. From that symbolic habit, “palmer” became an English word denoting all pilgrims, especially well-traveled ones—as Chaucer says, “And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes.”

Shortly after the construction of the two mosques on the Mount of Zion in the seventh and eighth centuries, Muslim piety decided that

Muhammad had taken flight from Zion: for the last 1000 years, Muslim pilgrims have flocked there to revere the Rock bearing the hoofprint of the preternatural donkey Muhammad mounted to make his heavenly ascent. Mount Zion became truly liminoid in the Islamic traditions: it is the threshold between heaven and earth.

From its earliest moments, Christianity crafted its message of salvation through the metaphor of pilgrimage: long before Augustine of Hippo's elegant formulations, the story of Jesus visiting Emmaeus reminded believers that all Christians are only on pilgrimage here in this fleeting world. This pilgrimage took varieties of earthly forms, one of which was pilgrimage to the groundscape of Jesus himself. Helena's relics and Constantine's piety added the status of secular approval to private piety, and Christian pilgrims traveled to Jerusalem from the late antique period—our first record is that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim from about 333 A.D. For Christians, whose pilgrimage to Jerusalem literally re-enacts the path of Jesus in the ritual drama of Christian worship, the point of most intense liminality is the compound of the Holy Sepulcher, within the walls of the ancient city, a space defined by Constantine as the site of the crucifixion as well as the burial of Christ. The grand public space of the Holy Sepulcher's connected courtyards and arcades was destroyed in the early eleventh century by an Egyptian caliph; after the first Crusade re-conquered Jerusalem for Christendom, a more modest church was built. Today this smaller, badly cluttered space is served by clergy representing all the diverse rites of Christianity: it is marked by rancorous competition as well as by inspiring moments of encounter.

This notion of encounter and competition is perhaps the most remarkable fact about Jerusalem's sacred sites and pilgrimage goals. "Each group brings to Jerusalem their own entrenched understandings of the sacred; nothing unites them save their sequential—and sometimes simultaneous—presence at the same holy sites."²² Jews come to the Wailing Wall; Muslims to the Dome of the Rock; and Christians of different sects are drawn to differing paths and churches, differing liturgies and images. Jerusalem, like Mecca, attracts pilgrims from a vast multitude of nations and cultural traditions, but unlike Mecca, Jerusalem attracts pilgrims whose varying religious rituals and beliefs expose the enterprise of shared sacred space in its full fragility. As

Glenn Bowman says, “Jerusalem does not, in fact, appear so much as a holy city but as a *multitude* of holy cities—as many as are the religious communities which worship at the site—built over the same spot, operating at the same moment, and contending for hegemony.”²³

The contest over sacred space conveys itself in other arenas as well, often in instances when sacred and civic goals compete and/or enmesh. Public and processional pilgrimages often forge and assert ideas of community even while contesting them—and thus demonstrate a principle of confluency. Two modern pilgrimages in France illustrate forms this tension takes as an oscillation and accommodation between sacred and civic space. In the Middle Ages, the early cult of Martin of Tours (374–397) was so vivid to Christians that Tours became an important link on the chain to Santiago as well as a goal in itself; the burial tomb of Martin served to reposition the ancient city as secular space was organized around the sacred, but the shrine was destroyed in the French Revolution because it was thought to have too many royal and military links. From 1860, however, when the tomb of Martin of Tours was dramatically rediscovered, pilgrimage to his shrine church in Tours was promoted in an attempt to reclaim France from anti-clericalism and secularism. Long reviled when not ignored, the pilgrimage to Tours was fully revived. The cult of Martin, patron of the masculine French military, easily accommodated strains of secular nationalism, especially anti-Prussian sentiments. The coincidence of the 1918 declaration of Armistice with the feast of Martin was read as confirmation of the saint’s righteous intercession, a patriotic melding of the goals of church and state. “Close to the saint’s tomb may be seen the simple homage of a believer for whom France’s sacred war was won through prayer, military strategy, and action: ‘To saint Martin 11 November 1918 Foch Marshal of France.’”²⁴

Orléans, the site of the presumed “miracle” of Joan of Arc’s military victory over the English in 1429, presents an annual city pageant on the eighth of May, suspended only in time of war, that draws pilgrims and nationalists from all of France. The pageant dates from 1435, long before the trial that led to Joan’s ecclesiastical rehabilitation. In 1929, to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Joan’s victory, to commemorate her canonization in 1920, and to memorialize the warmer relations of church and state, a pilgrimage to Orléans and a

presentation of the city pageant culminated in a highly formalized, separate-but-equal ceremony honoring Joan. Identical platforms were erected on either side of the town square for the civic and church parties. Gaston Doumergue, the president of the Republic, along with Raymond Poincaré, président du Conseil, led the civic party, while Cardinal Lepicier, the papal legate, led the clerical group. Poincaré broke the carefully rehearsed ritual with a memorable statement about shared space:

My lord cardinal, my presence here today and that of my government means that the French Republic is neither atheist nor antireligious, but traditionalist....Like all great nations, France knows that it must adapt its traditions to present necessities. But it also knows that it cannot deny those traditions without forswearing itself. And it rejoices, here in Orléans, in Joan of Arc who is at once a national heroine and a saint of the Church, to find again its traditions, national and Christian.²⁵

Simultaneous, contradictory perceptions of space mark certain pilgrimage routines.

Space in Jerusalem then differs significantly from space in Mecca: the *hajj* carves Islamic unity into space in Mecca; in Jerusalem, pilgrims bring their own maps, their own cultures and practices, with them. A third model is provided by pilgrimage in medieval Europe, for during the Middle Ages, Europe carved its roads, monasteries, churches, and cities to impress its pilgrim goals on space itself. Individual believers and Christian communities negotiated their lives through private as well as processional journeys to sacred sites. All Christians, as was the church itself, were seen in Augustine's powerful articulation, as moving on pilgrimage. This world, in Columbanus's statement, is but a mirage, a temporary (if enticing) exile from the permanent heaven beyond it. Those who chose the monastic life of monks and nuns most fully embodied the life of the Christian pilgrim who lived out this understanding of "unstable" life as a state of spiritual and physical exile. In the early Middle Ages, and especially in Irish and English Christianity, wandering ascetics often celebrated their homelessness as a superior form of religious life: the metaphor of pilgrimage was inscribed in the enactment of pilgrimage in order to yoke Christian theory to Christian

practice. In the latter part of the Middle Ages, monastics tended to stay in their cloisters, but the metaphor of Christian life as pilgrimage held its relentless grip. The very pattern of the monastic day, the *opus dei*, marked a pilgrimage externally through the liturgy and internally through rigorous self-examination. But, as Giles Constable remarks, pilgrimage away from the monastery to sacred sites did not entirely lose its appeal to the contemplative:

As the ideal of physical stability weakened in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and was replaced by a more personal view of stability of profession, the ideal of peregrination reemerged, and many of the hermits and reformers of that time were wanderers in body as well as in spirit, spending periods in ascetic exile away from their homes and going on pilgrimages to Rome, Compostela, and the Holy Land.²⁶

It is hard to know why Christians would go in vast numbers (as they did and now do again, with 99,436 documented persons walking the whole length of the 500-mile-long Spanish side of the Camino de Santiago in 1993)²⁷ to Santiago de Compostela, situated the north-western corner of Spain rather than to Rome or (when possible) Jerusalem—perhaps because this pilgrimage was inspired by millennial thought? Perhaps because it imaged itself as the rallying point of the Christian *reconquista* over Islam and provided a hyper-masculine, hyper-Christian, hyper-militant mythic figure of apostolic grandeur in Santiago himself? Perhaps because—like Islam, unlike Judaism—Christianity encourages a “conversion” identity among its adherents; the cult of Santiago projects the physical achievement of pan-European religious identity? In addition, of course, the grand *camino* to Santiago, with its awesome physical difficulties, allowed otherwise secular Christians to participate in inward re-conversion, that realignment of spiritual life along a path of bodily privation. Many of the pilgrims were from France, many others began their travels from Aachen. These pilgrims were surely incited by a fervor as militant as it was religious, since the cult of Saint James was deeply linked with the actual history propelled into heroic myth of quasi-saintly heroes like Charlemagne and Roland. The French were engaged in, and northern Europe was transfixed by, the *reconquista* of Spain from Islam. Following the road and the cult of St. James allowed even the non-combatant to assert crusading fervor.

The several radiating medieval pilgrimage routes to Compostela converged at Roncesvaux in the Pyrenees; these routes were underwritten both by those who wanted to sustain and those who wanted to subvert local or supralocal powers. Over the course of the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries, the roads were richly elaborated until the whole route became a dazzling “Broadway of saints, relics and reliquaries.”²⁸ The cockleshell swiftly became the symbol of the Santiago pilgrim. This multivalent symbol of perfection represented geometry, baptism, Venus—whose shrine is not far away from Santiago on the Spanish coast—and the Virgin Mary. The pilgrim shell became and remains the reigning symbol of medieval Christian pilgrimage, more universally recognized than even the palms of Jerusalem.

The story of Santiago is one of the great medieval mythic agglomerations. Three Jameses are synthesized into one: St. James is a mythic blending of two apostles (James the Greater and Lesser, with James, the “brother of the Lord” and first bishop of Jerusalem, probably the author of the Epistle of James). Elements of all three get confused and put together in medieval Spanish stories, but they are finally combined in this figure thought from before the first millennium to be a kinsman of Christ. This blood kinship was so important that some bishops of Santiago claimed to outrank the Pope, who is a successor merely of the apostle Peter. The myth seems to have originated in the first half of the ninth century but saw many subsequent improvements. James, one was told, went to Spain to spread the Gospel and was martyred there near the city of Saragossa. Saragossa fell to the Muslims and many Christians converted to Islam. Santiago was so disgusted by Christian infidelity that his relics decided to abandon Saragossa. In the middle of one night, his stone coffin picked itself up, rose in the air, went down to the River Ebro, floated downstream to the Mediterranean, sailed south and west through the Straits of Gibraltar into the open Atlantic, turned north and came to rest in a little Galician village harbor. Bishop Gelimer, about the year 814 (the year of Charlemagne’s death), had a vision in which it was revealed to him that Santiago’s bones were now lying in an old cemetery called Compostela (field of the stars). Pilgrims clustered. In 997 the terrible

Moor Almanzor destroyed the original church of Compostela, but he didn't destroy the tomb of St. James, since Muslims revered Christ as a prophet and considered his disciples holy men: the cult of Santiago prospered. In one tradition, the Apostle became Santiago Matamoros, James the Moor Slayer (an attribution remembered on the Texas-Mexico border). Santiago Matamoros is said to have materialized again and again throughout the centuries of the Reconquest and to have turned the tide of battle after battle, sometimes in one battle slaying as many as 75,000 Moors by himself. A different, gentler image of Santiago is also carved into the stone and the imagination of the Middle Ages; it represents Santiago himself as a pilgrim with the cockleshell, as if he is also making his own way to his own shrine.²⁹ Space and time nostalgically ricochet in this image.

The Santiago pilgrimage mapped much of Western Europe in the high Middle Ages—the eleventh through thirteenth centuries—with an increasing absorption of roadways into the arena of sacred space. Routes were elaborated to encourage sacred tourism, with increasingly frequent “roadstops” for visits to relic-laden churches in the newest architectural styles or to local shrines. Christian pilgrimages to local folk shrines were and are sometimes quite specialized, even idiosyncratic. Some even cause us to interrogate our definitions of “Christian” and of “sacred.” Take, for example, one inverse (if not perverse) folk pilgrimage, that of the *narcotraficantes*, drug traffickers, to the shrine of Jesús Malverde in Culiacán, in the Sierra Madre region of northern Mexico. During the course of the twentieth century, Malverde's story has congealed as a variation on the Robin Hood theme. Resentment of class and economic inequities fueled the 1910–1917 Mexican revolution; these resentments were tied to a view of the institutional Catholic church as a tool and ally of the repressive upper class. “Substitution” stories (always a feature of spiritual history) of local, anti-establishment folk *santos* who disrupted and foiled traditional authorities gained popularity, attracting adherents whose pilgrimages and worship replicated parallel rituals attached to imported saints. The myth of the bandit Jesús Malverde, who may originally have been an outlaw named Jesús Mazo, hanged in 1909, goes into the gruesome, beyond the ordinary life of Robin Hood who robbed from the rich and gave to the poor. It is reported that “a rural police-

man shot an arrow into Malverde's leg. When the wound developed gangrene, Malverde asked an associate to turn his body over to the police after his death in order to collect a reward on his head. The reward money was to be distributed among the poor. According to the legend, enraged police hanged Malverde even after he was dead."³⁰ On Malverde's feast day in May³¹, pilgrims gather at his shrine in a large blue shed across the street from the state capitol in the notorious drug trafficking city of Sinaloa. The *narcotraficantes* and local farmers are attracted to Malverde's "outlaw mystique"³² and believe that proper devotions to the folksaint will guarantee an abundant opium poppy and marijuana crop. At his family chapel, Amado Carrillo Fuentes (the Mexican drug lord who died in August of 1997) kept an effigy image of Malverde, a kind of "family" saint whose intercession guarantees safe delivery of drugs to the United States. Just as pilgrims to Santiago wear scallop shells, pilgrims to Sinaloa wear Malverde scapulars. Hitmen reputedly ask him to bless their bullets. Completing the circle, *narcotraficantes* provide the Jesús Malverde Funeral Service free to the local poor.

3. Pilgrimage and Desire

"Thanne *longen* folk to goon on pilgrimages"

Why do people want to go on pilgrimage? Like Malverde's *narcotraficantes*, Chaucer's pilgrims go on pilgrimage because they want to give thanks, to make satisfaction to the saint who helped them. But human desires are never uncomplicated, never entirely direct. David Lodge's *Small World: An Academic Romance* tells the story of professorial travels. Yearning for fame and adventure (rather than a search for the sacred) takes faculty away from "home" institutions to international meetings. "The Modern Conference," he says, "resembles the pilgrimage of medieval Christendom in that it allows the participants to indulge themselves in all the pleasures and diversions of travel while appearing to be austere bent on self-improvement."³³

The desire for sacred journey encompasses as many motives as the imagination holds. People go on pilgrimage out of guilt and gratefulness, to honor vows made in moments of terror, to beg for help and (most often, it seems) for health, to seek miracles, to bond with their kind and kin, to do penance and to receive punishment, to avoid debts,

to make money, to avoid their physical confines, to seek the marvels of the world. Pilgrims assuage a basic fear—fear that there is no “there” there. They seek solace in space for the anxiety of human exile and fear of abandonment, including fear of sacred abandonment—the “zimzum” of the kabbalistic tradition, the creative vacuum of God’s withdrawal. The desire for sacred journey engages the usual mosaic of mixed human motives, mapping out on the earth itself each pilgrim’s inevitably complicated desires.

Pilgrimages are journeys to the sacred, but the sacred is not something which stands beyond the domain of the cultural; it is imagined, defined, and articulated within cultural practice...it is at the sites whence pilgrims set out on their searches for the centre that pilgrims learn what they desire to find. At the centres where they go in expectation of fulfilling that desire pilgrims experience little other than that which they already expect to encounter.³⁴

Pilgrimage represents different things to different people, but it also represents “different things, though in various proportions, to one and the same individual.”³⁵ The *common space* of the self: confluency.

It is important (especially in the context of the mission of the Maguire Center for Ethics) to ask what ethical issues beyond the individual person the fact of pilgrimage and sacred journeys pose. Of all the scholarly contributions of the past twenty years, the precise studies of geography (belittled in Anglo-American university culture) have been most valuable, teaching us about the materiality of pilgrimage at the same time that studies show how much of the earth is thought to be numinous space.³⁶ Geographers and demographers graph a phenomenal rise in pilgrimage travel throughout this century, especially in the last ten years. (Could this renewed desire for the sacred be millennially inspired?) The contemporary impulse to go on pilgrimage may be tied to the rise of environmentalism as we recognize that cultures have damaged nature. Pilgrimage asserts both that the earth has sacred sites and that human beings move collectively through space. Covering the earth on pilgrimage asserts a notion of the human appreciation of earth’s necessity if not sacrality. Common Space.

The Face of God is hidden but the rictus of death is ever present. Pilgrimage to the sacred variously presumes or asserts that life is meaningful: pilgrimage provides a *shape* to the presumption or hope for meaning. In the late thirteenth century, Dante expressed that idea as profoundly as any artist when, mid-way in his own life, caught in a forest of sin and meaninglessness, he felt lost in anxiety. He forged a response to his pain in his poem, *The Divine Comedy*, a pilgrimage which drew all space and history into the presence of the sacred. Dante casts himself in the role of the solitary pilgrim who is able to see God because he has learned to know and *desire* God properly. He has moved out of the broken self into a whole.

This is one model of how to live as if life has meaning and perspective, as though one can achieve a totalizing grasp on “truth.” This way of thinking has not disappeared with empiricism and the modern secular mentality. Toni Morrison’s explicit project as a writer is to resuscitate what she calls “discredited knowledge,” myths that “point ... the way.”³⁷ Alongside and in addition to our contemporary ideologies, that is, many people lead “medieval” lives. In his recent novel *Medieval in L.A.*, Jim Paul tells the story of a weekend pilgrimage to Los Angeles, where he falls into what he calls his medieval self:

This was the essential medieval thing, that I assumed the world, moving toward it from my own intentions, from my names for it. The underlying premise, that one’s own position was universal, that one’s meaning was the world, this was the main flow, it seemed, and the modern moment had been but an eddy.

So I’d failed in my thinking. So be it, I thought.
I’d be medieval.³⁸

As Paul understands, this expectation of a totalizing “truth” is but a myth of mastery. And an expectation of one universal meaning, of congruity with the sacred, or of wholeness, is not the whole of medieval thought, which always seethed with discourses of fragmentation that saw life itself is an interruption. Chaucer begins *The Canterbury Tales*, his poem on pilgrimage, with:

“Whan that April with his shoures soote

The drought of March hath perced to the roote”

“Perced to the roote”: the earth’s vital impulse in the face of absence or death is matched by the human yearning to go on pilgrimage. Life is the struggle of restlessness against rest; this piercing into life exiles us from our quiet roots.

Augustine, a restless man, who more than most constructed the image of life as pilgrimage, described his desire for God, his pilgrim’s goal, as a desire for rest: “I have no rest until I rest in You.”³⁹ The original fantasy is that we are always broken, that wholeness escapes us. Chaucer’s poem shows us how nature and culture are pierced and propelled by restless desires, in some cases the desire to go on pilgrimage that creates selfhood and tests its limits in space. (“When you travel,” says Elizabeth Hardwick in *Sleepless Nights*, “your first discovery is that you do not exist.”) Pilgrimage is an antidote to absence. Purposeful human movement to the sacred persists as a profound affirmation of human agency. Pilgrimage is a way of provoking and containing the shuttles of desire which otherwise find satisfaction only in the imagination and fulfillment only in paradise. Meaning is the willful gift that people full of conflicting desires, like those on Chaucer’s pilgrimage, give themselves and each other. They shape their common space as they move confluently.

Appendix: Anthropologies of Pilgrimage

What is the modern history of pilgrimage studies? Until recently, most analyses of pilgrimage have focused on its Christian forms. Durkheim's 1912 classic, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, provides one grid on which scholars have assessed models of "the sacred" and of pilgrimage.⁴⁰ Durkheim characterized religious festivals in small-scale, aboriginal societies as unifying, morally re-energizing institutional moments; subsequent historians and anthropologists have often invoked his functionalist theory of cultural coherence and applied it to large-scale cults. However, an alternative paradigm (mentioned above) found favor in the late 1970s. This new model, still the best-recognized anthropological and institutional model for the study of pilgrimage, was developed by Victor and Edith Turner in their 1978 study, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. Their mentor, Arnold van Gennep, developed the fundamental vocabulary about rites of passage,⁴¹ those transitions that are marked by three phases: a separation or detachment from the ordinary leads to an ambiguous "outsider" status, a "betwixt and between" phase of ambiguity—a walking on the margins termed "liminality"—which is finally resolved into a new stability (aggregation) and the resumption of ordinary life.⁴²

The Turners apply this model of change to the elliptical journey of Christian pilgrimage. They identify pilgrimage as a transitional state, not just as a break with but a reversal of one's prior state. They argue that Christian pilgrimage subverts and potentially transforms rather than reinforces the dominant social order. Developing a dialectic between so-called "primitive" and Christian rites of passage, they argue that sacred pilgrimage rites in small-scale societies:

are involuntary, take place at prescribed times, are undertaken by groups, and, most of all, serve to bolster society by instilling an appreciation of the everyday world to which the participants will be returning. In contrast, [Christian] pilgrimages are voluntary, can take place any time, are undertaken by individuals (even if they travel in groups), and, most of all, challenge society by turning participants away from earthly concerns to heavenly ones.⁴³

Pilgrimage, in other words, is a liminoid (if not quite liminal) phenomenon that is at least partially anti-structural, and “to the degree that it strips actors of their social personae and restores their essential individuality, it is the ritual context *par excellence* in which a world religion strives to realize its defining transcultural universalism; for to reach the individual is to reach the universal.”⁴⁴

The Turners view Christian pilgrimages as “whole, permanent institutions rather than as merely limited, ephemeral activities,”⁴⁵ and these institutions depend upon a complex model of solitary and social communion that they gloss with the term *communitas* or social anti-structure, “an essential and generic human bond ... spontaneous, immediate, concrete, not abstract. It is part of the ‘serious life.’”⁴⁶ Pilgrims, they argue, are propelled to achieve this *communitas*. “*Communitas* strains toward universalism and openness, it is a spring of pure possibility. It may be regarded by the guardians of structure as dangerous and may be hedged around with taboos, and associated with ideas of purity and pollution ... It has something magical about it.”⁴⁷ And further: “*Communitas* breaks into society through the interstices of structure, in liminality ... ; at the edges of structure, in marginality; and from beneath structure, in inferiority. Liminality, marginality, and inferiority frequently generate myths, symbols, rituals, philosophical systems, and works of art.”⁴⁸

While a Durkheimian, then, would emphasize the notion that religious rituals such as pilgrimage reinforce and strengthen the collective consciousness and established order by negotiating local and supralocal identities, a Turnerian would instead view pilgrimage as a locus of release from social constraints and a formal mode of subverting established order: both interpretive strategies, however, share the presumption that there is “an” established order just as they share the same definition of pilgrimage within fields of social relations. Anthropologists and geographers who have recently tested the Turners’ theories (especially of *communitas*) against modern practice in a variety of field settings have generally found them inapplicable; one of the most notable insights about modern pilgrimage practice as it has been observed by scholars is that pilgrims carry with them not only their own beliefs but also their own sense of status. Pilgrims reinforce their sense of social boundaries rather than dissolve them in *communitas*.⁴⁹

Thus reigning paradigms, like reigning queens, are quickly outmoded: both Durkheim and the Turners are now out of fashion. In these last few years, anthropological and geographical studies have tended to be claimed by that branch of postmodernist thought that labels itself explicitly deconstructionist. These studies recognize,

that pilgrimage is above all an arena for competing religious and secular discourses...[and] the theoretical discourse about pilgrimage becomes more diversified and discrepant, being less concerned to match empirical instances with a preconceived ideal—whether analytically or theologically inspired—than to deconstruct the very category of “pilgrimage” into historically and culturally specific behaviors and meanings. For, if one can no longer take for granted the meaning of a pilgrimage for its participants, one can no longer take for granted a uniform definition of the phenomenon of “pilgrimage” either.⁵⁰

The postmodern critique of the late 1990s thus tries, as John Eade and Michael Sallnow say,

to develop a view of pilgrimage not merely as a field of social relations but also as a realm of competing discourses....It is these varied discourses with their multiple meanings and understandings, brought to the shrine by different categories of pilgrims, by residents and by religious specialists, that [constitute] the cult itself. Equally, a cult might be seen to be constituted by mutual *mis*-understandings, as each group attempts to interpret the actions and motives of others in terms of its own specific discourse.⁵¹

Anthropologists and theorists like Eade and Sallnow, Alan Morinis⁵² and (especially) Glenn Bowman⁵³ further our understanding with their thoughtful attention to discourse “contesting the sacred.” Pilgrimages, as discourse, are performed in an environment permeated with tensions—in space for spatial dominance, in culture for cultural dominance, in ideology for ideological dominance, etc.. These tensions surface in pilgrimages, whatever the perspective from which they are examined—whether considered from functional, social, ecological, material, biological, structural, oppositional, or other perspectives.⁵⁴ In my judgment, pilgrimage also *subsumes* contest and competition into a discourse which I have termed “confluent.” Competing discourses co-exist synchronously, but they may also be

confluent: concurrent in motion, flowing together through space as well as time. This state of confluency characterizes not only groups with differing needs and beliefs traveling to the same sacred site, but also individual persons whose private and often competing desires, drives, and identities co-exist, flowing together beyond the margins of the corporeal into the corporate. I argue further that confluency may be what constitutes community, especially ethical community, in a self-consciously complex world.

This is not merely an affirmation of difference, the “new orthodoxy,” as Jonathan Dollimore terms it, of postmodern virtue that risks being “a sentimental charity concealing a more fundamental indifference.”⁵⁵ In “The Commitment to Theory,” Homi Bhabha (one of post-modernism’s most eloquent practitioners) is skeptical about

ways in which cultural theory uses the “Other” to deconstruct the epistemological “edge” of the West; the problem being that the “Other” is cited, quoted, framed, illuminated, encased in the shot-reverse-shot strategy of a serial enlightenment while at the same time losing its power to signify, to negate, to initiate its desire, to split its “sign” of identity, to establish its own institutional and oppositional discourse. Even as otherness is being affirmed it is also being fore-closed.⁵⁶

Thus, no ethical or even workable community can merely give lip service to the rights of the “Other” in its field of vision and experience with whom it is not (for any reason) in sympathy. In “Us and Them,” S.P. Mohanty argues that at the same time that we need to respect and acknowledge cultural difference, we (intellectuals and citizens alike) need to search for common space. He argues for a concept “of agency as a basic capacity which is shared by all humans across cultures. And in understanding the divide between “us” and “them,” it is this common space we all share that needs to be elaborated and defined.”⁵⁷

In my theory of confluency, common space provides the model by which we can understand varieties of practices *as they change* and varieties of routes *as they are traversed* unlike the notion of “common ground,” this theory of confluency suggests not only a place to stand but a way to move. As I said above, this theory of confluency helps us understand what is *common* in common space; it honors both the division and the connection between the individual and larger communi-

ties. “Understanding is a re-discovery of the ‘I’ in the ‘you,’” Karl Morrison argues in *I Am You*.⁵⁸ “The self is a subject involved in an ongoing process of knowing other subjects; what it knows of itself is primarily its capacity to engage in this ongoing process of change and growth.” Postmodernist theorists postulate theories of hermeneutics on the interpretation that all human persons and all cultures are (in either a direct or a metaphorical sense) texts to be read.⁵⁹ Morrison insistently shifts the metaphorical ground in order to recuperate a sense of meaning and of meaningfulness; he moves us from the post-modernist ground of the subject actively confronting a text to the ground of the subject actively confronting another subject.⁶⁰ Acts of conscious agency in which Subjects intermix with and confront other Subjects are emblemized by pilgrimage. Pilgrimage studies thus provide scholars one useful venue in which to begin the crucial cultural conversation about common space.

Endnotes

- 1 I want to acknowledge my gratitude to the many students and colleagues with whom, to my great advantage, I have studied medieval pilgrimages over the past several years, especially to the SMU colleagues with whom I collaborate: Jeremy Adams, Bill Babcock, Annemarie Carr, Jo Goyne, Donna Mayer-Martin, Ken Shields. In preparing this paper, the bibliographical dexterity of my student Matthew Ervin was almost as useful as his deeply probing questions. This paper was offered as a public lecture under the auspices of the SMU Maguire Center for Ethics and Public Responsibility, and I want to thank the Director of the Maguire Center, Professor William F. May, for his kind invitation to participate in this program, and Mr. Cary Maguire for his generous support of the Center.
- 2 See R.H. Stoddard, "Major Pilgrimage Places of the World," in *Pilgrimage in World Religions*, S.M. Bhardwaj and G. Rinschede, eds., Presented to Prof. Angelika Sievers on the occasion of her 75th Birthday, *Geographia Religionum*, Interdisziplinäre Schriftenreihe zur Religionsgeographie, Band 4 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1988), pp. 17–37.
- 3 See, for example, W. James Judge, "Chaco Canyon-San Juan Basin," in *Dynamics of Southwest Prehistory*, Linda S. Cordell and George J. Gumerman, eds., A School of American Research Advanced Seminar Book (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989). pp. 209–261: "I would argue that the "visits" to Chaco during the prior periods developed into formal pilgrimages during this period (A.D. 1050–1115). By this I mean they became regularly scheduled ritual events where goods were transported to Chaco Canyon from outlying locations and were consumed and services performed there under a ritual metaphor" (241). My colleague in Anthropology, Professor Michael Adler, kindly provided me access to the survey of recent theories found in the (unpublished) paper, "The Lowry Community Patter Survey Research Design and Proposal," (May, 1993) by James W. Kendrick, Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University, USA. Pilgrimages from a variety of religious traditions are analyzed in G. Rinschede and S.M. Bhardwaj, eds., *Pilgrimage in the United States*, *Geographia Religionum*, Interdisziplinäre Schriftenreihe zur Religionsgeographie, Band 5 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990).
- 4 See Hiroshi T. Shimazaki, "The Shikoku Pilgrimage: Essential Characteristics of a Japanese Buddhist Pilgrimage Complex," in *Sacred Places, Sacred Spaces: The Geography of Pilgrimages*, Robert H. Stoddard and Alan Morinis, eds., *Geoscience and Man*, Vol. 34 (Baton Rouge: Geoscience Publications, Louisiana State University, 1997), pp. 269–97.
- 5 Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*, *Lectures on the History of Religions*, n.s. 11 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).
- 6 S.P. Mohanty, "Us and Them: On the Philosophical Bases of Political Criticism," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 2.2 (1989): 1–31; reprinted in and cited

- from *New Formations* 8 (1989): 55–80, at 71. My attention was drawn to this essay by Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence*, p. 331.
- 7 See Annemarie Schimmel, “Sacred Geography in Islam,” in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographies of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, Jamie Scott and Paul Simpson-Housley, eds. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), pp. 163–190, at p. 182.
 - 8 For a survey of international pilgrimage routes and goals, see Chris C. Park, *Sacred Worlds, An Introduction to Geography and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 259.
 - 9 William Melczer, *The Pilgrim’s Guide To Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993), p. 6.
 - 10 See Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
 - 11 Melczer, *Compostela*, p. 3. See Brown, *Cult*, and also Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption, Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, Zone Books, 1992).
 - 12 In “The body as a principle of holism: Three pilgrimages to Lourdes,” in Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred*, pp. 30–50, Andrea Dahlberg observes that the “pilgrim at Lourdes who is identified as suffering physically is treated and often explicitly identified as being closer to the sacred than is the “healthy” devotee. He or she is therefore approached as a mediator between this world and the next. In this sense, sick pilgrims can be said to perform the role of saints,” p. 46.
 - 13 See James Steel Thayer’s “Pilgrimage and Its Influence on West African Islam,” in Morinis, *Sacred Journeys*, pp. 169–87.
 - 14 Schimmel, “Sacred Geography,” in Scott and Simpson-Housley, *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces*, p. 164.
 - 15 Juan Eduardo Campo, in “The Mecca Pilgrimage in the Formation of Islam in Modern Egypt,” pp. 145–162 in Scott and Simpson-Housley, *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces*, illustrates sect tensions and eruptions in Mecca.
 - 16 Park, *Sacred Worlds*, p. 265.
 - 17 Schimmel, “Sacred Geography,” in Scott and Simpson-Housley, *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces*, p. 164.
 - 18 See J.W. Davidson, Alfred Hecht, and Herbert A. Whitney, “The Pilgrimage to Graceland,” in Rinschede and Bhardwaj, *Pilgrimage in the United States*, pp. 229–52.
 - 19 C. Bawa Yamba, *Permanent Pilgrims, The Role of Pilgrimage in the Lives of West African Muslims in Sudan*, International African Library 15 (London: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute, 1995), p. 1.
 - 20 Roger Housden, “The Western Wall,” in *Sacred Journeys*, Jennifer Westwood, ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1997), p. 162.
 - 21 A lecture delivered on January 1981 in CORE 1312: Images II: The Medieval Pilgrimage, a course taught at Southern Methodist University.
 - 22 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” to *Contesting the Sacred*, p. 14.
 - 23 Bowman, “Christian ideology,” in Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred*,

- p. 98. In a powerful insight, Bowman concludes that “[p]ilgrimages are journeys to the sacred, but the sacred is not something which stands beyond the domain of the cultural; it is imagined, defined, and articulated within cultural practice.” p. 120.
- 24 Brian Brennan, “The Revival of the Cult of Martin of Tours in the Third Republic,” *Church History* 66.3 (1997): 500.
- 25 As quoted in Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc, The Image of Female Heroism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), p. 265.
- 26 Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, The Trevelyan Lectures Given at The University of Cambridge, 1985 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 150.
- 27 Westwood, *Sacred Journeys*, p. 37.
- 28 Melczer, *Compostela*, p. xiii.
- 29 Melczer, *Compostela*, p. 66, argues that the image of Santiago as pilgrim dominates that of Santiago as Matamoros, but offers no comparative or statistical evidence.
- 30 Ray Sanchez (*Newsday*), *The Seattle Times* (Feb. 26, 1997). See also Westwood, *Sacred Journeys*, p. 28.
- 31 In light of “substitution” theory, it is interesting to note that May 3 is the traditional feastday of El Niño de Atocha.
- 32 Ray Sanchez (*Newsday*), *The Seattle Times* (Feb. 26, 1997).
- 33 David Lodge, *Small World: An Academic Romance* (rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995). Lodge’s trilogy of novels about academic life are a running commentary on pilgrimage and human desire for meaning.
- 34 Bowman, “Christian ideology,” in Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred*, p. 121.
- 35 Melczer, *Compostela*, p. 42.
- 36 See the various studies in *Geographia Religionum, Interdisziplinäre Schriftenreihe zur Religionsgeographie*, Bands 1, 2, 4, 5, and 8. Some of the most thorough studies of European pilgrimage are those of Mary Lee Nolan, such as “Pilgrimage and Perception of Harzard [sic] in Western Europe,” in Bhardwaj and Rinschede, *Pilgrimage in World Religions* (Vol. 4 in the series), pp. 41–64.
- 37 Louis Menand comments on this quality in Morrison’s fiction in “The War Between Men and Women: The sixties come to an all-black town in Oklahoma,” *The New Yorker* (January 12, 1998): 78–82.
- 38 Jim Paul, *Medieval in LA* (San Diego: A Harvest Book, Harcourt Brace & Company, 1996), p. 194.
- 39 Augustine, *Confessions*, I, 1.
- 40 Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, J.W. Swain, trans. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1964).
- 41 Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (1908; New edition, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).
- 42 Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, p. 2.
- 43 Robert A. Segal, review of Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, in *The*

- Journal of Religion* 60.3 (July 1980): 346–47.
- 44 John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, eds., “Introduction” to *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 4.
- 45 Segal’s review of Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, pp. 346–47.
- 46 Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, p. 250.
- 47 Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, p. 250.
- 48 Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, p. 251.
- 49 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” to *Contesting the Sacred*, p. 5.
- 50 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” to *Contesting the Sacred*, pp. 2–3.
- 51 Eade and Sallnow, “Introduction,” to *Contesting the Sacred*, p. 5.
- 52 See especially Alan Morinis, ed., *Sacred Journeys, The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, Foreword by Victor Turner, Contributions to the Study of Anthropology, Number 7 (London: Greenwood Press, 1992).
- 53 See Glenn Bowman, “Christian ideology and the image of a holy land: The place of Jerusalem pilgrimage in the various Christianities,” in Eade and Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred*, pp. 98–121.
- 54 These perspectives are not cognitively exclusive. Debates about causality are as endemic to contemporary anthropology—and as susceptible to overschematization—as they were to ancient philosophy. On causality in general, see William Child, *Causality, Interpretation and the Mind* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). On multiple levels and typologies of desire see G.F. Schueler, *Desire, Its Role in Practical Reason and the Explanation of Action* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: A Bradford Book, The MIT Press, 1995).
- 55 Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 331.
- 56 Homi Bhabha, “The Commitment to Theory,” *New Formations* 5 (1988): 5–23, at 16. As quoted in Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence*, p. 331.
- 57 S.P. Mohanty, “Us and Them: On the Philosophical Bases of Political Criticism,” *Yale Journal of Criticism* 2.2 (1989): 1–31; reprinted in and cited from *New Formations* 8 (1989): 55–80, at 71. My attention was drawn to this essay by Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence*, p. 331.
- 58 Karl Morrison, *I Am You: The Hermeneutics of Empathy in Western Literature, Theology, and Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), as cited in Patricia Eberle’s review, *Speculum* 67.4: 1018.
- 59 As one example of this view, see Dennis Foster, *Sublime Enjoyment: On the Perverse Motive in American Literature*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- 60 See Eberle’s review in *Speculum* 67.4.

THE CARY M. MAGUIRE CENTER FOR ETHICS AND PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

The leaders of Southern Methodist University believe that a university does not fully discharge its responsibility to its students and to the community at large if it hands out knowledge (and the power which that knowledge eventually yields) without posing questions about its responsible uses. Through the Cary M. Maguire Center for Ethics and Public Responsibility, SMU strives to foster the moral education and public responsibilities of those whom it empowers by:

- Supporting faculty research, teaching, and writing in ethics that cross disciplinary, professional, racial/cultural, and gender lines;
- Strengthening the ethics component in SMU's undergraduate and professional curriculum;
- Awarding grants to SMU students who wish to study issues in ethics or engage in community service.

SMU also believes that a university and the professions cannot ignore the urban habitat they helped to create and on which they depend. Thus, while not an advocacy group, the Maguire Center seeks to be integrally a part of the Metroplex, attending to the moral quandaries and controversies that beset our common life. To that end, the Center:

- Has created an Ethics Center Advisory Board of professional and community leaders;
- Organizes local seminars, colloquia, and workshops featuring SMU and visiting scholars;
- Publishes occasional papers and books based on the Center's endeavors that will be of interest to both academics and the general public.

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