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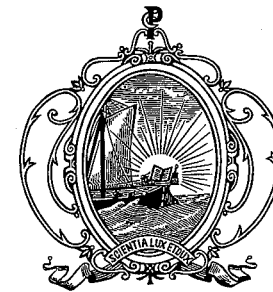
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# THE MODERN PILGRIM

*Multidisciplinary Explorations of Christian Pilgrimage*

Paul Post, Jos Pieper & Marinus van Uden



PEETERS

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## 2. THE "PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE IN THE NETHERLANDS" PROJECT

### AN ORIENTATION<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

The Places of Pilgrimage in The Netherlands (Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland = BiN) project, an inventory and description of places of pilgrimage in The Netherlands past and present, was initiated in 1993 by the P.J. Meertens Institute. Information about pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites in The Netherlands has been limited and fragmentary. That can be seen in the presentation of various analytical investigations and theories, which rest on weak foundations because of the lack of fundamental data. Basically documentary in purpose, in combination with source and empirical research BiN is intended to broaden knowledge in this field, and thereby generate and stimulate innovative and well-founded research. Focusing attention on Dutch pilgrimage culture fits well with the increasing interest in pilgrimage, pilgrimage sites, appearances and miracles that is to be found in international scientific research.

In addition to a first presentation of the inventory project in this chapter, at the same time we also wish to give an account of the orientation of the BiN project. For this, the project will be related to recent

<sup>1</sup> P.J. MARGRY & P. POST: Het project "Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland": een plaatsbepaling, in *Volkskundig Bulletin. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse cultuurwetenschap* 20,1 (1994) 19-59; = Wallfahrt zwischen Inventarisierung und Analyse. Ein niederländisches Forschungsprojekt in historiographischem und methodologischem Kontext, in *Rheinisch-westfälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 39 (1994 [1995]) 27-65.

In 1997 Volume 1 of the BiN-project appeared: P.J. MARGRY & Ch. CASPERS (eds.): *Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland. Deel 1: Noord- en Midden-Nederland* (Amsterdam/Hilversum 1997). The volumes 2 (Noord-Brabant) and 3 (Limburg) are in preparation and will be published in 1998 and 1999. See for this Chapter now the Introduction of Volume 1: (1) Wetenschappelijke positionering, 8-11; (2) Opzet en werkwijze van het BiN-project, 12-24; (3) Classificatie van bedevaartplaatsen, 25-33; (4) Historiografie van inventarisatieprojecten, 34-44; (5) Structuur en gebruik van het lexicon, 45-48. Important for the theme of this part of the book are: THIJS (1996) and MARGRY (1996).

developments in international pilgrimage research, and in particular to the tradition of pilgrimage inventories. This determines the structure of this chapter: to achieve proper placement in the theoretical framework provided by existing research, the way in which general pilgrimage research has developed over the past years must be studied (Part 2)<sup>2</sup>; subsequently we will delve more deeply into the tradition of cataloging pilgrimage sites (Part 3); finally, resting on this background study, the structure and methods of the project will be presented (Part 4). The inventorization project raises a number of questions and problems which must be answered or solved through further research. Because of continuing discussion of the definitions of and terms used for pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites, establishing the scope of the project and setting definitions with regard to existing research is absolutely necessary.

## 2. TRENDS IN CONTEMPORARY PILGRIMAGE STUDIES

Interest in the theme of pilgrimage can be classified as follows:

- (a) First of all, there is interest in performing ritual acts, the practice of pilgrimage itself: that is to say, the devotional interest of the believers themselves. For some years now there has been evidence from a number of sources of revitalization in pilgrimage. As has so often been the case in the past, this revival is coupled with, among other things, a certain type of apologetic and devotional literature that could be termed "propaganda."
- (b) Connected with this is the swelling current of reports by pilgrims themselves which are published and circulated in The Netherlands and Belgium by various means.<sup>3</sup>
- (c) This interest is also reflected in popular academic literature. In addition to promotional literature and pilgrims' reports, which are an interesting and (particularly for the study of contemporary developments) often neglected source, there is a stream of general cultural/historical or touristic surveys appearing here and in other countries.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For a survey of the studies which have appeared since 1986, see the bibliography in PIEPER, POST & VAN UDEN (1994) 277-301.

<sup>3</sup> POST (1992b). Cf. Chapter 9 in this book.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, PLECHL (1988); HANSEN (1991); WASSER (1993); see further footnotes 118 and 121 here and the "Pilgerweg" series of guides from St. Otto Verlag, Bamberg; *Rom* (1984); *Fátima* (1986); *Assisi* (1988); *Umbrien* (1989); *Santiago* (1989); *Jerusalem*

- (d) In the fourth place, there is scientific interest. This is the track which will be followed through the rest of this essay, for various academic fields: social sciences, anthropology, historical disciplines and theology and various religious disciplines. The regional historical and/or anthropological studies and inventories of pilgrimage sites which are steadily appearing also belong to this category.<sup>5</sup>

For an image of academic research in The Netherlands and internationally on pilgrimage, to a large extent a sketch of the situation since 1988 can suffice, because a balance sheet for the preceding period has already been drawn up.<sup>6</sup> The years since that date have not witnessed any major change of direction in pilgrimage studies, but it is clear that the developments described in 1988 have further crystallized, or have undergone changes in part.

In the present survey, the emphasis lies on the social sciences, historical disciplines, and the grey area that lies between them.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the survey is primarily oriented to Western European Christian pilgrimage since the Middle Ages. Particular attention is devoted to a series of collections, often issued in connection with multidisciplinary conferences at national or international levels, which function as boundary markers of a sort for pilgrimage studies. In addition to several Dutch workshops and symposia on the relation of popular culture and pilgrimage, such as those at Heerlen and Amsterdam in 1991 and Nijmegen in 1992, there were important congresses dealing with pilgrimage in general or with certain sub-themes successively in Arezzo and Aachen in 1987, London and Bamberg in 1988 and Krems an der Donau in 1990.<sup>8</sup>

(1990); *Kevelaer* (1992); *Heiliges Land* (1993); and those from the regional "Kleine Pannonia-Reihe": *Wallfahrten zwischen Inn und Salzach* (1976); *Wallfahrten im Bayerischen Oberland* (1977); *Wallfahrten im Passauer Land* (1978); *Wallfahrten in und um München* (1980), edited by the Pannonia Verlag in Freilassing.

<sup>5</sup> See the preceding footnote and notes 118 and 121.

<sup>6</sup> POST (1988b).

<sup>7</sup> Other areas of expertise that are important for pilgrimage studies, such as archaeology, art history, historical geography and literary studies, cannot be discussed within the scope of this chapter. See for art history, geography and literary studies: POST (1994b) with ample bibliography (1994c); for (Christian) archaeology there are now the two volumes the papers of the 12th. international congress of Christian archaeology held in Bonn in 1991: *Akten* (1995).

<sup>8</sup> VAN UDEN & PIEPER (1991); POST (1991c); POST (1992b); WEGMAN (1992); EADE & SALLNOW (1991); *Wallfahrt und Alltag* (1990); FATUCCHI (1990); HERBERS (1988).

In this general survey, "pilgrimage" is the general point of departure<sup>9</sup>, although the theme must be placed within a wider context. It is precisely this broadening in connection with developments within the wider frame of research in the field of religious popular culture that is both one of the trends and one of the perspectives that will hereafter come to figure prominently.

### 2.1. Social Sciences

Within the wide field of the social sciences, the points of concentration are here cultural anthropology and the psychology of religion. The 1989 special "Pilgrimage and Modernity" issue of the international social sciences journal *Social Compass* is exemplary for this, in offering a good insight into the breadth of research into pilgrimage going on within the framework of the social sciences, with marked attention for the historical dimension.<sup>10</sup>

This issue of *Social Compass* also in part enters the field of cultural anthropology, where several interesting developments in pilgrimage studies can be traced. Changes in the way that the ideas of V. Turner are being dealt with, and the effects these changes in turn have, are especially striking. In the scope of this chapter, it is impossible to give a complete picture of the spectrum of anthropological work on pilgrimage, as this involves a range of religious traditions, and many studies of details from many parts of the world. But it is interesting, for instance, to see how G. Hersbach attempted to test what is termed the reaction model in the Dutch situation.<sup>11</sup> Following the work of other researchers, primarily from abroad, expressions of religious popular culture in general and pilgrimage in particular are viewed as protests and compensatory movements in periods of social or ecclesiastical change or renewal (i.e., the Industrial Revolution, Vatican II). Still another approach might be termed "metaphorical." Reader and Walter's collection of essays investigates the phenomenon of non-religious pilgrimage in modern culture

<sup>9</sup> Without resuming the discussion surrounding the definition and terminology of "bedevaart" and "pilgrimage," we would briefly note that in a general sense we will speak of "bedevaart" (here translated "pilgrimage") as much as possible, while theoretically the double "bedevaart/pilgrimage" would be more correct. (For a summary, see BERBÉE (1986), HARTINGER (1992) 99ff). See also sub 3.1.

<sup>10</sup> RÉMY (1989).

<sup>11</sup> See HERSBACH (1992); (1994).

(for instance, to military cemeteries or Elvis's Graceland) from this perspective.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps the most important research in cultural studies on appearances and visions from the late Middle Ages down to the present – a subject of immense import for pilgrimage studies because it touches upon the origin of many pilgrimage sites and holy places – has been done by the American anthropologist working in Spain, William Christian, Jr. His oeuvre is more strongly characterized by quality and an extreme reticence for theoretical pronouncements rather than by quantity and methodological detours.<sup>13</sup> Christian combines high quality source research with a creative handling and analysis of his material and is subsequently able to present it clearly. Here, therefore, Turner plays hardly any role.

The multidisciplinary inventory project carried out in Europe under the leadership of the Americans Mary Lee and Sidney Nolan occupies a place of its own.<sup>14</sup> It is being listed here although the project really involves the confluence of elements from cultural geography, anthropology, comparative religion and historical studies. The Nolans' study is the outcome of a research project which began 12 years ago. Central to the project is a data base which brings together information about 6150 Christian holy places ("shrines") in 16 Western European lands. Initial information was collected by mailing out questionnaires to various dioceses and umbrella organizations involved in organizing pilgrimages. The goal of the project is to describe and interpret the various dimensions of contemporary European pilgrimage, but because the data, arranged by classifications and types and often reduced to numbers, determines and limits the final analysis, typological analysis emphatically overshadows interpretation. Essentially, the book raises questions about the potential and even desirability of inventory projects, and about the correct basis for more diachronic and comparative studies. In part in the light of methodological perspectives raised later in this survey, precisely in view of the Nolans' large-scale project, national or regional pilgrimage inventory projects which are quantitatively more limited but more thorough would seem to merit priority. In the meantime, the Nolans

<sup>12</sup> READER & WALTER (1993). On pilgrimage as metaphor also: BAUMER (1977) 101-106.

<sup>13</sup> See for instance: CHRISTIAN (1981a); (1981b); (1984); (1989); (1992). Now: CHRISTIAN (1996).

<sup>14</sup> NOLAN & NOLAN (1989); see also the review by P. POST, in *Volkskundig Bulletin* 17 (1991) 84f.

themselves have continued along the broader path that they have been following; their project is now focusing on holy places on other continents.

The American/Scotch study of Protestant family reunions by the anthropologist Gwen Kennedy Neville is hardly known in continental Europe.<sup>15</sup> It applies the concept of "pilgrimage" in an exemplary way, and is decidedly more than an interesting case study of American Protestant family rituals. Following particularly in the footsteps of Turner and Geertz, family reunions are analyzed as a "pilgrimage system." In the Protestant context, one can speak of reverse pilgrimage; if the Roman Catholic system is characterized by "travelling outward from home," the Protestant pilgrimage is a "return home" from a diaspora situation. In particular, the general sketch of pilgrimage as a social and cultural process in both Roman Catholic and Protestant contexts is of interest for pilgrimage studies in general. How the Protestant side in The Netherlands will relate to the new interest in pilgrimage is an interesting subject for further research.<sup>16</sup>

The provocative collection *Contesting the Sacred* also comes from the corner of anthropology. The book is a product of the major congress on pilgrimage mentioned earlier which was held in London in July, 1988.<sup>17</sup> The somewhat pretentious introduction is intended to shake up pilgrimage research, and attempts "to set a new agenda for the study of pilgrimage." According to the editors, Eade and Sallnow, the following elements are to adorn this new agenda: first of all, and before all else, pilgrimage is "an arena for competing religious and secular discourses." A very emphatic call is made to leave behind classical but limited models like Turner's, for which concepts such as "liminoid," structure, anti-structure and *communitas* are central<sup>18</sup>, as these are experienced as straitjackets. This fits with the postmodern dismissal of all prevailing paradigms. After all, Turner's theory can nowhere really be demonstrated: one always encounters a multiplicity of behaviours and experiences.<sup>19</sup> In particular, the group experience which is so central for Turner often appears to be entirely absent.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> NEVILLE (1987) 13ff.

<sup>16</sup> MARGRY (1993a), particularly 193f.

<sup>17</sup> EADE & SALLNOW (1991).

<sup>18</sup> See TURNER & TURNER (1978); see also the critical review of this study by VAN HERWAARDEN (1980). Cf. TURNER (1969).

<sup>19</sup> MORINIS (1992) 8.

<sup>20</sup> See what Morinis has to say about this in his "Introduction" in MORINIS (1992) 1-28, and the German discussion on the definition of "Wallfahrt." For that, see sub 3.1. and footnotes 9, 129 and 131.

There are many questions to be raised about Eade and Sallnow's "agenda." Thus, it could be asked if this agenda is really as new as is suggested. On further examination, and certainly after reading the articles included in the collection, have these writers really distanced themselves from Turner? In other words, isn't there more discontinuity being suggested than is really the case? Is the call for empirical description of the phenomenon of pilgrimage in all its variety really a new agenda?

This agenda was also, and particularly, the subject of criticism by the anthropologist Morinis, who saw Turner's merit as lying in the indicatory and heuristic value of the concepts he employed. Morinis urged, as for instance some European ethnologists had already done, that attention be given to individual pilgrims and their motives.<sup>21</sup> The goal of the pilgrimage, the holy place, is however dropped from the picture by Morinis; he is oriented entirely and exclusively to the "journey," thus, at least for Christian pilgrimage practice, missing the mark.

Likewise more nuanced and less obstreperous than Eade and Sallnow is a short sketch of pilgrimage research that Driessen gave in a recent collection about Islamic pilgrimage practices.<sup>22</sup> Driessen placed more emphasis on continuity in the research. He sees pilgrimage research posing three enduring questions for anthropology (although he also extends this to other disciplines): a) How does the religious aspect relate to the other aspects? b) What does the journey mean for the participants? c) What theoretical approach is most suitable for obtaining insight? It is the absence of precisely the synthesizing, theoretical studies that Turner's work could inform which Driessen laments in current pilgrimage research. According to him, the absence of this dimension has to do with the fact that until recently anthropology was occupied with group cultures, and operated within the boundaries of group experience. For a long time, a sacred journey which, by definition, broke through the boundaries of the group fell outside its field of vision. Now that there are increasing numbers of case studies available, the time is ripe for comparative and synthetic studies. Driessen's call for a new theory is thus diametrically opposed to Eade and Sallnow's rather fashionable "deconstructive" model.

Finally, a few remarks regarding psychology of religion. Within the framework of a programme of research on pilgrimage at the University

<sup>21</sup> MORINIS (1992) 1-28. European ethnologists such as G. Korff, M. Scharfe and H. Gerndt have for some time been occupied with research into motivations. See SCHARFE (1991).

<sup>22</sup> DRIESSEN (1991).

for Theology and Pastoral Care at Heerlen, a number of empirical social science surveys have been carried out since 1986. Popular religious practices such as pilgrimage are studied there as designs for the human search for answers to questions of existence and finding meaning in life. This research has provided more insight into particularly the profile and motives of Dutch pilgrims, and with it, also into the definition of pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites.<sup>23</sup>

## 2.2. Between Social Science and Historical Disciplines: "Volkskunde" or European Ethnology

"Volkskunde" or European ethnology lies in the academic "grey area" between historical disciplines and social science, and so does the work of Alphonse Dupront. Dupront merits separate mention because of an important collection of essays which appeared in 1987, *Du Sacré*.<sup>24</sup> The book is important methodologically because Dupront, from the position of an historian, enters into dialogue with the social sciences (in particular, anthropology) to search for new ways of analysis and interpretation with regard to various forms of religious experience. The book indicates how important Dupront is for contemporary pilgrimage studies.

With regard to "Volkskunde" or European ethnology, it would seem that pilgrimage is still one of the important elements in the international study of folklore. Apart from the modest contribution of Dutch scholars on the field of European ethnology, it can be said that pilgrimage plays a less prominent role, in contrast to the 1960s and 1970s, in international ethnological studies, which are, as is well known, dominated by German-language work. Würzburg, but also Bonn, Bamberg and Munich, can still continue to be regarded as the important centres of research, and it is still true that the *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* from the Görres Gesellschaft is an important platform for pilgrimage studies.

While it is true that Turner and other too rigid research models are no longer being used, on the other side it appears that the interchange between historical disciplines and the social sciences has led to thriving, innovative studies such as that by Freitag.<sup>25</sup> From the somewhat emotional

<sup>23</sup> PIEPER, POST & VAN UDEN (1990). In this book: Chapter 1.

<sup>24</sup> DUPRONT (1987); see the review by P. POST in *Volkskundig Bulletin* 15 (1989) 91-95.

<sup>25</sup> FREITAG (1991).

reactions in circles of European ethnology<sup>26</sup> to the "political" pilgrimage study by the historian Rebekka Habermas<sup>27</sup>, it appears that people there sometimes still find it difficult to accustom themselves to new theoretical formulations and modern conceptual systems. However, it must be admitted, the content is sometimes also not much more than old wine in new wineskins.

An important part of the pilgrimage research in Germany, Austria and Switzerland still consists of a stream of local and regional folklore and cultural/historical inventories and pilgrimage studies, often varying considerably in quality. Others examine the cultural artifacts of pilgrimage (pennants, prints, pilgrims' badges, etc.). As we will see hereafter in some detail, while inventories occupy a prominent place among them, sadly enough the majority have too weak a scientific foundation to serve as part of the basis for further analytical or comparative research. An exception to this which should be mentioned here, but still an initiative, is the "Kultstätten-Kurzkataloge" from Würzburg.<sup>28</sup> But all told, it appears that European ethnological pilgrimage studies, after the often stimulating debates of the 1980s, share in the more general "crisis" in German "Volkskunde" studies.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the appearance of retrospective and historiographic (European) ethnological studies synthesizing earlier work can be placed in this light. On the theme of pilgrimage, Hartinger's fine synthesis *Religion und Brauch* and Scharfe's textbook on *Brauchforschung*, for instance, still need to be mentioned.<sup>30</sup>

## 2.3. Historical Disciplines

It goes without saying that the lion's share of pilgrimage studies can be credited to historical disciplines. In a field this broad, it is particularly difficult to keep pilgrimage in sharp focus. Many studies active in the wide terrain of religious popular culture of the past often yield up direct or indirect contributions to pilgrimage research. In addition to the flood of methodological studies about popular culture (including religious),

<sup>26</sup> See for instance BRÜCKNER (1993b) particularly 92-94.

<sup>27</sup> HABERMAS (1991).

<sup>28</sup> DÖRING et al. (1982).

<sup>29</sup> On this "crisis," see for instance W. BRÜCKNER, in *Bayerische Blätter für Volkskunde* 19 (1992) 193-196; 20 (1993) 84-98, but also the reaction from H. BAUSINGER, *ibidem* 20 (1993) 131-138.

<sup>30</sup> HARTINGER (1992): particularly "Wallfahrtswesen" sub 2.2., 99-121; SCHARFE (1991).

there are various studies on themes such as relics, Eucharist, piety, saints and their cults, models of saintliness, miracles, visions and so forth.<sup>31</sup> The cult of Mary and Marian appearances, subjects so important for pilgrimage studies, are also amply represented.<sup>32</sup>

As was the case with European ethnology, a quick survey of the studies specifically handling pilgrimages establishes that the "classic track" is also dominant here: many source publications and a rich palette of case studies<sup>33</sup> and pilgrimage inventories. The adjective "classic" should also indicate that over the past few years few if any innovative tendencies have been visible in historical pilgrimage research.

With regard to Santiago de Compostela, during these years a separate series of *Jakobus-Studien* – traditional in form – has been started in Germany<sup>34</sup>, and there are regular conferences on the subject. In The Netherlands we can point to the thorough study by Jan van Herwaarden in which *The Book of St. James* and *The Pilgrim's Guide* are central.<sup>35</sup> Further, the "classic" track in The Netherlands is represented by Verhoeven's highly professional dissertation on Delft as a goal of pilgrimage.<sup>36</sup>

For all that, however, the perspective in historical pilgrimage studies appears to be shifting toward subjects which are on the interface between historical disciplines, anthropology, sociology and European ethnology. Pilgrimage is being situated in a dynamic force field of processes of appropriation, with attention for the relationship between image and ritual.<sup>37</sup> A fine example, in which Marian pilgrimage is analyzed by an historian, using the tools of social science with input from the perspective

<sup>31</sup> DIERKENS & DUVOSQUEL (1990); HILHORST (1988); ZIKA (1988); DELUMEAU (1989); DINZELBACHER & BAUER (1990); DÜNNINGER (1990); LÄPPLÉ (1990); BRANDENBARG (1992); VROOM (1992); WYNANDS (1992); WINGENS (1993).

<sup>32</sup> ORSI (1985); R. LAURENTIN: "Bulletin Marial," regularly included in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* (see f.i.: 69 (1985) 611-643, 70 (1986) 101-150); KSELMAN & KSELMAN (1986); BARTOLOTTI & BARTOLOTTI (1988); TURI (1988); ZIMDARS-SWARTZ (1991); recently added to these was an Austrian catalogue listing all the known appearances of Mary over the past two millennia: HIERZENBERGER & NEDOMANSKY (1993).

<sup>33</sup> Santiago de Compostela still scores very highly, but many researchers also focus on Rome or Jerusalem.

<sup>34</sup> HERBERS (1988); GANZ-BLÄTTER (1990); PLÖTZ (1990).

<sup>35</sup> VAN HERWAARDEN (1992).

<sup>36</sup> VERHOEVEN (1992). See now for Amersfoort: THIERS (1994).

<sup>37</sup> See for instance the articles by ROOIJAKKERS, WINGENS and MARGRY in the collection: MONTEIRO, ROOIJAKKERS & ROSENDAAL (1993). See for the fundamental concept of "appropriation" now: FRIJHOFF (1997b).

of the common people and the elite, is the previously mentioned study by Freitag. But the innovative research regarding Germany and France quite frequently comes from foreign – particularly American – universities, as in the studies by Kselman, Sperber, Devlin and Soergel.<sup>38</sup> The historiographic and methodological innovations that play a role in this have been described by Frijhoff.<sup>39</sup>

#### 2.4. Theological and Religious Studies

Now that popular religious expressions have almost entirely disappeared from the agenda in theological and religious studies, studies of pilgrimage have become scarce in those fields. Those working from theological and religious perspectives were working from a relatively isolated position. The theme was viewed almost entirely in the context of popular religion as relevant to pastoral care. The debate over popular and elite culture and definitional questions in the case of pilgrimage thus bypassed many of the researchers involved.

For The Netherlands, one exception to this has been liturgical studies, in which multidisciplinary research on the theme of pilgrimage has taken place. In addition to the liturgical studies component in the Heerlen pilgrimage programme<sup>40</sup>, one can also point both to Snoek's study<sup>41</sup> and, in particular, to Caspers's study on eucharistic piety in the late Middle Ages.<sup>42</sup> The situation outside The Netherlands is much less defined by debate and traffic across academic borders, as is reflected by the absence of such forces for renewal in the 1987 special "Pilgrimage and Liturgy" issue of the journal *La Maison-Dieu*, and other sources.<sup>43</sup>

Beyond that, in this international connection one can mention at least one isolated study, that of Hüttl dealing with Church history, in which Church, the common man and royalty are central.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> KSELMAN (1983); SPERBER (1984); DEVLIN (1987); SOERTEL (1993). See now: BLACKBOURN (1993), ARETZ (1995) and CHRISTIAN (1996).

<sup>39</sup> FRIJHOFF (1992a).

<sup>40</sup> For a summary, see POST (1992b); (1994b); and our Introduction.

<sup>41</sup> SNOEK (1989).

<sup>42</sup> CASPERS (1992).

<sup>43</sup> See now the recent specials of *Concilium* and *Communio: Pilgrimage* (1996) and *Bedeavaart en pelgrimage* (1997); cf. LAMBERTS (1997).

<sup>44</sup> HÜTTL (1985).



### 2.5. Synthesis: Crossing Borders, Subsiding Debate, Broadening Scope and Inventories

If we now place the most important trends, themes and perspectives along side one another, we are led to the following conclusions:

(a) A first observation involves the small amount of traffic across academic borders to be seen from our vantage point. Only a modest amount of multi- or interdisciplinary pilgrimage research exists. The collection which came out of the great London conference<sup>45</sup>, with such high aims, is perhaps symptomatic of this; ultimately it was compiled strictly from within the boundaries of cultural anthropology.

(b) Further, it is striking how the discussions and social, ecclesiastical and academic/theoretical debates which to a large degree determined pilgrimage research in the period until about 1985, have since to a great extent died down. One can think of the debate around the dichotomy between popular and elite culture, or the discussion about the definitions and terminology regarding pilgrimage, and about popular religion, once so important in theological circles.

The greatest achievement of the debate around popular and elite culture appears to be a certain consensus about the concept of culture in contemporary cultural studies. This consensus proceeds from a broad and interactive concept of culture, and through that, in an analysis of cultural actions, offers the possibility of comprehending dynamics, the process of change, and particularly dissynchronous and sometimes conflicting appropriations and grants of meaning. Pilgrimage must be placed in a broad cultural force field, on the interface between history, anthropology and European ethnology. This is true not only for general analytical studies, but equally for case studies of pilgrimage sites, and for the inventories of pilgrimage sites which are an extension of them. Adequate attention must be given to these inventories, because new perspectives in research will be stimulated strongly by the increase in factual material available.

Some remarks about the theoretical concepts of Victor Turner also fit within this context of less vocal discussions. Although, from the perspective of theory, to a large degree Turner's thought still determines pilgrimage research done by anthropologists, it is being dealt with more critically. Anthropologists appear to be parting ways from Turner. This

<sup>45</sup> EADE & SALLNOW (1991).

departure can take one of three forms. It can be a call to leave great theoretical models behind completely, or a postmodern argument for small reports on the basis of local "discourses." Closely connected with this is the plea to concentrate particularly on the personal "discourse" of the individual pilgrim in research, and not simply proceed from an amorphous communal depiction.<sup>46</sup> The "farewell to Turner" can also be sounded as a challenge to develop new models to succeed Turner – perhaps in part built on his theories – in which comparative, structural and diachronic aspects can together be given a place. As, among other reasons, the weaknesses of large scale projects such as that of the Nolans seem to indicate, it is precisely here that inventory projects again seem to have a role to play.

(c) The key concept of broadening has already been mentioned. This expansion involves a number of closely interrelated areas, such as an expansion of object, of context, of presentation of the questions, and of sources and methods employed.

First of all there is the important aspect of the definition of pilgrimage. The discussion on this point seems to have relieved the above mentioned debate about definition and terminology. There are researchers who wish to maintain pilgrimage as a metaphor which can be employed broadly.<sup>47</sup> We have already in another context referred the dangers associated with this<sup>48</sup>, but there also can be productive applications of a broader – non-religious – use of the idea of pilgrimage.<sup>49</sup> We can also see how, in dealing with the problem of definition, some place the emphasis on the journey (particularly Morinis), while others stress the place (see the key concept of "shrine" in both Christian and the Nolans). Every inventory project, especially, will have to return to this always topical discussion, and have to assume a standpoint related to the current position in pilgrimage research.

A related expansion of the research perspective lies in studies that wish to set their sights on other segments than the traditional ecclesiastical pilgrim or participant in organized pilgrimage. Increasingly scholars are turning their attention to the individual pilgrim, who shuns organized

<sup>46</sup> AZIZ (1987).

<sup>47</sup> See, for instance, ABÈLES (1988); ELLWOOD (1991); DAYAN (1990); MILES (1988); SCHARFE (1989).

<sup>48</sup> PIEPER, POST & VAN UDEN (1990). See Chapter 1 in this book. See now however the also broader use of "pilgrimage" in POST (1998).

<sup>49</sup> For instance, NEVILLE (1987).

pilgrimages. It is in this research that the new types of pilgrims come to the fore, too.

These expansions also touch especially on the perspective of contextuality. It is of great importance to place pilgrimage in the context of dynamic cultural processes such as ways of dealing with the past<sup>50</sup>, ways of dealing with nature, the search for identity, folklorism, invention of tradition, the tension between tradition and modernity<sup>51</sup>, the culture of travelling<sup>52</sup>, etc.

As yet, the contours of the new "agenda" and the process of shaping the theoretical framework of future pilgrimage research are being delineated primarily by the expansion we have just sketched, through multidisciplinary projects in which comparative elements, in particular, are also taken into account. One of the most important perspectives for future pilgrimage investigations lies in continuing and increasing the interchange across the boundaries of academic disciplines. It is therefore not without reason that at the moment, the most interesting research is taking place on the interface between the social sciences and historical studies.

But operating on this sort of cutting edge also has its dangers.<sup>53</sup> For instance, there can be a strong inclination to move to a sort of "shameless eclecticism," bringing together bits and pieces of usable insights for a model or theory from all sorts of places, or not too closely observing accepted procedures in disciplines other than one's own, whether it be handling and analyzing statistics in the social sciences or investigating sources in history. The critical reservations we noted with regard to the large-scale American inventory project especially touch on this point.

(d) Lastly, a final observation regarding inventories, by way of a bridge into the next section. We are now able to locate pilgrimage studies which conduct inventories generally in the larger framework of contemporary pilgrimage research. Following from what we have already said regarding them, three general lines can be distinguished. There is the "traditional" and "classic" track of regional and national inventories, especially within ethnological and the historical disciplines. Next, we have the Nolans' large-scale data base project. The call by Eade and Sallnow

<sup>50</sup> READER (1987); POST (1991b); (1991c); (1991d); (1992b).

<sup>51</sup> *Volkskunde zwischen Tradition und Modernisierung* (1991).

<sup>52</sup> BAUSINGER, BEYER & KORFF (1985).

<sup>53</sup> See FRIJHOFF (1992b).

(and also that by Morinis) for empirical research based on case-studies could be seen as a third line. Although phrased in different ways, we see here a search for a solid foundation for new syntheses and new theoretical constructions, and particularly for innovative comparative research in which inventory projects could play an important role.

In the next section we will pause to spend considerable time examining the tradition of pilgrimage inventories itself, and the changing contexts in which these have been conceived and carried out.

### 3. FROM ANALYSIS TO INVENTORY AND VICE VERSA

More pointedly, one might ask how the survey of trends and themes just provided, and particularly the perspective with regard to expansion and multidisciplinary research which has been sketched out, is related to the large segment within pilgrimage research that is oriented toward inventorying and describing pilgrimages and pilgrimage sites. Are the many German and French inventories, the American data bases and now a Dutch project perhaps a sign that points to a crisis in this field of research? After all, when confronted with stagnation or the loss of bearings, one is perhaps more quickly inclined to direct attention on (or to flee into?) the more primary activities of collecting, cataloging and describing.

Our view is that innovative research in the field of pilgrimage can only take place when there is sufficient, processed basic information in hand. One of these instruments and sources is a scientific inventory of places of pilgrimage. In the Nolans' American investigation, one can see just how fatal the lack of such work can be. The position of The Netherlands in their statistical/analytical processing is inaccurate, because both the number of, and the image of Dutch pilgrimage sites employed were entirely incorrect.<sup>54</sup> Especially in social science research, the perimeters of the investigation are not always sound, which results in too wide a spectrum being handled in certain investigations, and there being too little reliance on systematic research.<sup>55</sup> This possibly is a result of an overwhelmingly one-sided approach that, rather than the pilgrimage site, takes the phenomenon of pilgrimage much more as its point of departure.

<sup>54</sup> See Chapter 2 in NOLAN & NOLAN (1989), in which, because of limited insight into the real Dutch situation, untrustworthy distribution maps and tables are to be found.

<sup>55</sup> MORINIS (1992b).

A detailed and complete inventory of pilgrimage sites is of fundamental importance not only as the basis for research and analysis, but also as basic material for new views on the phenomena of pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites. In this connection one should recall the shape of Turner's and Morini's theories, with their emphasis on only one dimension. Likewise, inventory work is necessary within the research framework of casuistry and empiricism. For that reason too it is again important to set up an inventory such as this, taking into account methodological expansion, and working diachronically, up to and including the present.

The problems surrounding the perimeters of the investigation and definitions require that the Dutch BiN-lexicon project can be placed in the perspective of the tradition of catalogues of pilgrimage sites. An account of the widely divergent ways in which pilgrimage sites were and are described – from histories of local cults compiled by pastors through systematic historical, folkloristic or scientific topographies – will be worthwhile, in order to trace developments in the methods applied in inventories over the past centuries. When using certain kinds of works – especially histories produced by pastors – modern research must apply a form of historical criticism. The emphasis on the German language area in the following survey is to be explained by the particularly strong tradition there.

### 3.1. Inventory Projects In Historical Perspective

#### *Prior to the 20th Century*

The oldest descriptive enumerations of pilgrimage sites and holy places were chiefly practical in purpose.<sup>56</sup> Like the *Pilgrim's Guide* to Santiago de Compostela<sup>57</sup>, the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*<sup>58</sup> and guides to the Holy Land<sup>59</sup>, they were a functional instrument for offering pilgrims more opportunities for obtaining grace at the venerated holy places. It is only in the 17th century that more general, systematic surveys appear, within the framework of the Counter Reformation and the propagation of

<sup>56</sup> See RICHARD (1981); HERBERS (1988); HOWARD (1980).

<sup>57</sup> For the function of this guide, see the introduction to the Dutch translation: VAN HERWAARDEN (1992).

<sup>58</sup> HUYGENS (1970); see also, for instance, WOODRUFF (1933).

<sup>59</sup> One of the earliest guides, about 685 CE, is: MEEKAN (1958); for guides which were incorporated in travel reports, see further: RÖRICH & MEISNER (1880); WASSER (1983).

Marian devotion. Although the Jesuit Jakob Gretser categorized all the important Christian pilgrimage sites in his *De sacris et religiosis peregrinationibus libri quatuor*<sup>60</sup>, most of the survey works which appeared during this period dealt with Marian holy places. The first was Locrius's work of 1608, followed by Gumpfenberg's great *Atlas Marianus* in 1657, with 1200 Marian locations.<sup>61</sup> Not only were there surveys for the whole of the Western Christian world, but there were also regional works such as, for instance, those of Ertl, De Santa Maria and Wichmans compiled for Austria, Portugal and Brabant, respectively.<sup>62</sup> Setting aside the propagandistic element, that it was chiefly Marian pilgrimage sites which received the lion's share of attention in these is also a consequence of the clearly delineated form of the cult. In the light of the "offensive" that the Church was conducting against the diverse forms of "popular," non-Marian devotion, the description of pilgrimage sites of a more "popular" signature was consciously avoided.

After the 17th century, such pilgrimage catalogues are rather scarce until the first half of the 19th century. The limitations placed on devotions, pilgrimages and processions in the German states and imperial Austria contributed to this decline. While it is true that descriptions of pilgrimage sites begin to appear in various works of Church history and Protestant disputational texts, one cannot speak of systematic treatment of pilgrimage sites. Under the influence of the general revival of religion and devotion, a new interest in pilgrimage grew up in the course of the 19th century.<sup>63</sup> On the one hand, this interest was historic and scientific in nature, as reflected in Migne's great *Encyclopédie Théologique*, in which one finds an almost anthropological understanding of pilgrimage sites – Christian and non-Christian, ancient and modern – in the article by De Sivry and Champagnac in volumes 43 and 44.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, many publications were chiefly propagandistic in character. The most important reasons for the revival in the publication of survey works, again chiefly of Marian pilgrimage sites, were the stream of Marian

<sup>60</sup> Ingolstadt 1606.

<sup>61</sup> LOCRIUS (1608); GUMPFENBERG (1657).

<sup>62</sup> ERTL (1735); DE SANTA MARIA (1707-1723); WICHMANS (1632). In addition there appeared many other more general works, such as: SPINELLUS (1619); MAYR (1655); SPERELLI (1679); RHO & BOVIO (1737); RENATO (1768).

<sup>63</sup> See CHÉLINI & BRANTHOMME (1982) 295-318: "La renaissance des pèlerinages au XIXe siècle."

<sup>64</sup> DE SIVRY & CHAMPAGNAC (1859).

appearances beginning in the first quarter of the 19th century, the elevation of Immaculate Conception to the status of dogma in 1854, and the further centralized stimulation of Marian devotion from Rome. The need for academic foundations – sometimes pseudo-historical – for old, national holy places likewise played a role. Within the publications, the descriptions in the entries for each holy place were more extensive, chiefly in the elaboration of their origin and miracle narratives and historical development. These treatments were almost exclusively written by representatives of the Roman Catholic Church. In addition to general works<sup>65</sup> there particularly appeared national surveys for France<sup>66</sup>, Belgium<sup>67</sup>, Germany<sup>68</sup>, Austria<sup>69</sup>, Switzerland<sup>70</sup>, and Italy, Spain and Portugal<sup>71</sup>. *Maria's Heiligdommen* was published for The Netherlands and Belgium.<sup>72</sup> Not only national, but also regional surveys appeared, such as the works of the Belgian Friar Minor Schoutens organized by provinces.<sup>73</sup> Protestants also applied themselves to the theme, as in the anti-Papist *Roomsche Feest- en Heilige Dagen* by J.G. Swaving, and the later, more moderately critical consideration of pilgrimages to holy places in The Netherlands and across its borders by the Protestant minister Van der Kemp.<sup>74</sup>

#### *The 20th Century, Prior to World War II*

Only around the turn of the century does more distance become possible. A general historical/critical and ethnological/scientific interest in pilgrimage sites was growing. Although this interest initially was especially the province of representatives of the Church, we see how later this kind

<sup>65</sup> For instance: *Pèlerinages célèbres* (1894).

<sup>66</sup> In the second half of the 19th century there was a deluge of such publications in France; we will here list only: HAMON (1861-1867); DE GAULLE (1869).

<sup>67</sup> R[EUME] (1859).

<sup>68</sup> MEHLER (1864) and later the smaller HEIZMANN (1932).

<sup>69</sup> KALTENBAECK (1845); DONIN (1872) and the voluminous book by Pastor A. Hoppe, HOPPE (1913).

<sup>70</sup> VEUILLOT (1893) later followed by: BURGERNER (1864) and CHÈVRE (1898).

<sup>71</sup> ZANELLA (1839-1847); DE LAFUENTE (1889); PIMENTEL (s.a.).

<sup>72</sup> *Maria's Heiligdommen* ([1881]). This was followed by a second part in ([1882]).

<sup>73</sup> SCHOUTENS (1877), and his other volumes on the provinces of Oost- en West-Vlaanderen (1875), Limburg, Antwerpen, Henegouwen, Luik, Namen and Luxemburg.

<sup>74</sup> SWAVING (1824), VAN DER KEMP (1880).

of research is also being carried out by persons and institutions not related to the Church. As a representative of the first we must mention the seven volume standard work written by the Dutch Redemptorist Kronenburg, who produced a unique study of the history of Marian devotion in The Netherlands in his *Maria's Heerlijkheid in Nederland*.<sup>75</sup> The book is still conceived with 19th century breadth, but has a critical approach to older sources remarkable for its time, and presents an almost exhaustive treatment from the beginning to its own day. Few books of comparable thoroughness have appeared. In Germany the Jesuit Stephan Beissel produced various scientific studies, including the 1913 description of Marian pilgrimages with a list of the most important places of pilgrimage in the world.<sup>76</sup> However, as had also been the case for most 19th century material, much else was the work of industrious pastors and amateur historians who often took over existing literature and sources word for word with little critical sense, or consciously distorted it.<sup>77</sup>

This is also still often true for clerical works from the years between the World Wars. Nevertheless, this was a period of transition for inventories of pilgrimage sites. The first representative of this transition was R. Kriss with his investigation of Bavarian pilgrimage sites and their votive usages.<sup>78</sup> But it was particularly the rise of institutes for the study of "Volkskunde" or European ethnology that provided an impulse for new research resting firmly on ethnocartographic methods, in which distribution maps were compiled based on a system of correspondents and questionnaires. The initiative for the compilation of a national atlas of "Volkskunde" ("Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde") appeared in Germany at the end of the 1920s; in the process regional questionnaires were also mailed out.<sup>79</sup> This was also noticed in The Netherlands, but it

<sup>75</sup> KRONENBURG (1904-1914), with: [SCHEEPERS] (1931).

<sup>76</sup> BEISSEL (1913) 299-492, with on pages 374-379 a list of Dutch Marian shrines; see also: BEISSEL (1910).

<sup>77</sup> Aspirations for official recognition often emanate from such works, in which absolutely anywhere might be included as a pilgrimage site. Regarding the dangers of these compilations, see: DÜNNINGER (1982) 172f.

<sup>78</sup> KRIS (1930); this study was reprinted in two volumes in 1953-1955, to which a third volume was added in 1956: "Theorie des Wallfahrtswesens."

<sup>79</sup> The two "Fragebogen" which were circulated in Rhineland in 1931 and 1934 are of importance for pilgrimage research; see COX (1989/90). This article also contains a test publication of the questionnaire. Further, the articles about this area by F. Heckmanns appeared in these years: HECKMANN (1929) and (1930); QUASTEN (1936).

was only after the Second World War that, as a result of Dutch and Belgian cooperative efforts, the *Volkskunde-atlas van Nederland en Vlaams-België* was published.<sup>80</sup>

Particularly because of personal sensitivities, questions pertaining to religious popular culture, and in particular pilgrimage, rarely appeared in the *Atlas* questionnaires that were regularly distributed by the then "Volkskunde" Commission among their correspondents beginning in the 1920s. It is telling that the only time that such matters were extensively broached in a questionnaire, it happened under the title of "Folk Medicine and Popular Meteorology in Connection with the Veneration of Saints." This questionnaire concentrated on the popular customs surrounding illness and "saint-healers" or "healing saints" for people and animals. The presentation of the data from the questions ultimately appeared in the third installment of the *Volkskunde-atlas*.<sup>81</sup>

#### *After World War II*

A new interest in pilgrimage research arose after the Second World War, once again often inspired by the experience of the loss of old "traditional" religious customs in a modern, secularized society. The revitalization that many pilgrimage sites underwent through the thanksgiving pilgrimages after the end of the war once again temporarily brought extra attention to the phenomenon. On the other hand, it appears that the sharp rise in the theft of votive paintings in Germany was also an extra stimulus for research.<sup>82</sup>

The most important project was set up in Austria. There the five volume *Österreichs-Gnadenstätten in Kult und Brauch* was compiled by Gustav Gugitz.<sup>83</sup> It was an innovative work, which, in reaction to the existing pilgrimage studies that generally approached their subject from a religious or art historical angle, instead treated pilgrimage sites according to methods of European ethnology, in a "kultdynamische" manner.<sup>84</sup> The strictly topographic arrangement and the inclusion of religious prints and other images and an extensive bibliography and source listing also made it a model for many European ethnologists. One drawback of "der Gugitz" was, however, that it often stopped short of the present; many

<sup>80</sup> Regarding the origins of this atlas, see: DEKKER (1989a); see also: DEKKER (1989b).

<sup>81</sup> DE MEYER (1968).

<sup>82</sup> BRÜCKNER (1959).

<sup>83</sup> GUGITZ (1955-1958).

<sup>84</sup> See Gugitz's "Vorwort" in Volume I, VII-XI.

descriptions ended in the 19th, and sometimes the 18th century. Later, in 1971 and 1979, on the basis of a new questionnaire sent out, a cartographic handling of the larger pilgrimage sites appeared in the *Österreichischer Volkskunde-Atlas*.<sup>85</sup>

#### *Germany*

In the meantime, in Germany in 1949 the Bavarian Landsstelle für Volkskunde in Munich issued a questionnaire about *Wallfahrtsvolkskunde*. The limited approach is expressed in the fact that this involved only a *Bestandsaufnahme der Votivgaben*. Some years later the Amt für rheinische Landskunde in Bonn tried to follow this up with its own questionnaire.<sup>86</sup>

In the 1970s Germany once again saw an expansion in interest in pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites. There was a need to make a census of all cultus locations by means of systematic projects. These were often multi-purpose projects which recorded the wealth of pilgrimage artifacts – votive gifts and paintings, processional objects, images and architecture – at the same time. This interest was not only carried through by academics with a background in history, "Volkskunde" or European ethnology, anthropology or theology, but was supported – often very intensively – by the Catholic Church and, in particular, the dioceses involved. The first concrete steps were taken in 1975 with the creation of a comprehensive and systematic data base of all pilgrimage sites in Bavaria, divided by diocese, at the Institut für Volkskunde at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Inspired by Gugitz, they projected a seven volume manual. The project was collectively designed in Munich (Kriss-Rettenbeck) and Würzburg (Brückner).<sup>87</sup> Various questionnaires were sent out, but because of the large number of pilgrimage sites and limited finances, the pilgrimage project ground almost entirely to a halt.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Relating to a double question about "Marien-Gnadenstätten" in the religious "Volkskunde"-questionnaire, treated on page 73 (1971): "Die großen marianischen Gnadenstätten der gegenwart und ihr regelmäßiger Wallfahrtszuzug" and on page 116 (1979): "Die bedeutendsten Wallfahrtsorte Österreichs und Südtirols."

<sup>86</sup> At the end of the 1960s, for the Institut für geschichtliche Landskunde, Klaus Beitzl began with an inventory for the Rhineland, on the basis of the 1959 "Wallfahrtsorte" questionnaire for the area of the diocese of Cologne. The project, however, has remained in the initial phase.

<sup>87</sup> For the activities and development of this project, see: *Bayerische Blätter für Volkskunde* 3 (1976) 74-101; 4 (1977) 35-37; 6 (1979) 3-56.

<sup>88</sup> Except for the small Bavarian dioceses of Passau and Eichstätt, which were treated by W. Hartinger and W. Pötzl, respectively.

Through their methodological studies, the pilgrimage research that had become highly developed at Würzburg under the direction of W. Brückner<sup>89</sup> and H. Dünninger<sup>90</sup> soon became the focus for German pilgrimage studies.<sup>91</sup> Various case studies were treated according to methods and techniques of the "Volkskunde" or European ethnology.<sup>92</sup> One rarely, however, encounters studies there which attempt a synthesis.<sup>93</sup>

The projects were an impetus for reflections on the development of new methods and techniques, on the one hand for tracking down old pilgrimage sites by means of pilgrim's badges, devotional and pilgrimage prints, archive material, secondary literature and questionnaires<sup>94</sup>, for instance, and on the other hand through better structuring and systematization of the data obtained, and through refinement of the definitions for the conceptual apparatus. Especially with regard to the latter, to this day German research is marked by rather opaque forest of terms, concepts and definitions.

The structuring of the data was advanced by the development of a "Dokumentationsschema" that was composed in Würzburg.<sup>95</sup> It comprises a fixed plan of aspects that are necessary to be able to arrive at a description of pilgrimage and cultus sites which is complete and fulfills the standards of historical and ethnological research, and includes artifacts and the use of visual resources, archive material, etc. This led in 1982 to the appearance of the first initiative, the *Kurzkataloge* of *Kultstätten* for the archdiocese of Freiburg and several dioceses. The organization is scientific, but at the same time is rather sharply confined to the present. Unfortunately this "Zwischenbericht" has never been worked

<sup>89</sup> For his rich oeuvre, see: KLOTZ & FIDLER (1990) 93-142.

<sup>90</sup> His most important work in this field is DÜNNINGER (1961/1962).

<sup>91</sup> See, for instance, the interim situation as described in: BRÜCKNER (1982).

<sup>92</sup> For instance, the ethnological ("volkskundliche") pilgrimage studies: BRÜCKNER (1978); (1979); DÜNNINGER (1979).

<sup>93</sup> We are not taking into account the semi-popular survey works regarding this part of Bavaria by Karl Kolb, who operates outside of the project; these include: KOLB (1974); (1976); (1979) and (1980).

<sup>94</sup> In 1978-79, for the "Wallfahrtinventarisierung in Bayern bzw. Franken" project, the Institut für deutsche Philologie sent out the "Statistische Erhebung zur Inventarisierung von Wallfahrts- und Andachtsstätten im Regierungsbezirk Unterfranken" questionnaire. It was the intention to produce a "Deutschland-Gugitz" or "Wallfahrts-Dehio" (the "Dehio" is a multivolume, solidly researched German art tour guide) for Bavaria.

<sup>95</sup> DÖRING (1982). Regarding the problems of this inventory research, see: BRÜCKNER (1982).

out into a definitive catalogue.<sup>96</sup> The museum world has also produced a study of images and religious prints from the culture of pilgrimage, in addition to votive gifts.<sup>97</sup>

New pilgrimage projects were also set up in Bonn.<sup>98</sup> Zender's important synthesis of the veneration of saints in the Rhine and Meuse region appeared in 1959.<sup>99</sup> His *magnum opus* offered entirely new insights into the spread of the adoration of saints in the Middle Ages. Despite its innovative approach and the treasure trove of data, the often undifferentiated handling of source materials and its cartographic treatment has often restricted its usefulness for modern research. Various large and small surveys also appeared over the years in regional historical journals.<sup>100</sup>

#### *France, Benelux and Other Countries*

In its execution, Zender's geographic research on saints shows similarities with the French tradition, the tone for which was established by the anthropologist Arnold van Gennep with his many thematic studies of cults of "healing saints."<sup>101</sup> Van Gennep set the precedent for primarily French research focused on saints to whom worshippers turned for health problems, considered by region. We here list Leproux's work, or Bensa's fine anthropological study of the Perche-Gouët, with its inventory and analysis.<sup>102</sup>

Marian research once again experienced a flowering in postwar France. A great eight volume work appeared under the title *Maria, études sur la sainte Vierge*, two volumes of which were devoted to descriptions of

<sup>96</sup> In 1983 the impetus was given to revise the catalogue, and the not always too precise data was checked on the spot and amended by two staff members; as a result, a second, revised edition will appear. Several years ago, a new edition of places of pilgrimage in the archdiocese of Freiburg also appeared, and although based on the *Kurzkataloge* and edited by a former staff member, it offers relatively little new information: BROMMER (1990).

<sup>97</sup> This involves the series *Gnadenstätten im Erzbistum München und Freising* from the Diözesan Museum für christliche Kunst des Erzbistums: STEINER (1979) and STEINER & BRENNINGER (1986).

<sup>98</sup> For instance, "Umfrage zur rheinischen Volkskunde, nr. 2: Heiligenverehrung, Prozessionen, Wallfahrt," consisting of 133 questions, most with several parts, sent out by the Amt für rheinische Landeskunde.

<sup>99</sup> ZENDER (1959).

<sup>100</sup> BERGMAN (1953); VAN GILS (1959); (1960); WEBER (1974).

<sup>101</sup> Especially the series of monographs of regional studies of devotions and folklore that begins with: *Le Folklore du Dauphiné* (1932-1933).

<sup>102</sup> LEPROUX (1957); Bensa (1978).

Marian holy places throughout the world.<sup>103</sup> The strength of Rome's campaign to promote Marian devotion could be seen once again in 1954, the Marian Year, when the whole Church was circularized with a letter which called upon people to make Marian holy places better known.<sup>104</sup> In France, this led to the founding of the Centre de documentation des Sanctuaires et Pèlerinages, which published a monthly bulletin with historical, religious and iconographic descriptions of French pilgrimage sites, both those devoted to Mary and to other saints.<sup>105</sup> After the Second Vatican Council an initiative also was taken, under the title *Orbis Marianus*, to set up a ten part series with descriptions based on "sources sûres" from Vatican Archives of all the "crowned" (miraculous) images of Mary in the world.<sup>106</sup> Likewise, in Spain and Portugal the documentation of Marian pilgrimages and worship set the tone.<sup>107</sup>

Taking an approach that is more or less analogous to that of the French geographical studies of saints, in 1968 Knippenberg published his *Oude pelgrimages vanuit Noord-Brabant*.<sup>108</sup> A year later, working from France, Frijhoff compiled a survey of pilgrimage sites in the Northern Netherlands during the Ancien Régime.<sup>109</sup> Belgium, despite its rich diversity of pilgrimage sites and devotions, remained at the level of incidental treatments of individual pilgrimage sites<sup>110</sup> or general guides<sup>111</sup> that were superficial in nature. Berbée rightly remarks of them, "Neither

<sup>103</sup> DU MANOIR (1949-1971); we refer here to Volume 4, with descriptions of shrines in Europe and Asia, and volume 5 with those in Africa, Asia and the Americas, and a supplement to volume 4.

<sup>104</sup> The three volume work by I. Couturier de Chefdu Bois appeared the same year: COUTURIER DE CHEFDUBOIS (1954).

<sup>105</sup> Its contemplated activities were also to include a "dictionnaire-atlas" of pilgrimages, maps of shrines for each department of France, and a general bibliography: see the "Présentation" by director J. Ramond in the first issue of *Sanctuaires et pèlerinages. Bulletin du Centre de documentation*, May, 1955. Issue 41, the last (?), appeared in May, 1956.

<sup>106</sup> Of the projected ten volumes, only one appeared: DEJONGHE (1967).

<sup>107</sup> See, for instance, general works such as those by SANCHEZ PEREZ (1943); PÉREZ 1941-1948; and DOS REIS (1967); and regional surveys such as BARREIROS (1931), and QUELHAS BIGOTE (1948). For (Spanish speaking) Latin America: VARGAS UGARTE (1931).

<sup>108</sup> KNIPPENBERG (1968).

<sup>109</sup> FRIJHOFF (1969).

<sup>110</sup> For instance, THYSSEN (1922), and more recently, LANTIN (1971).

<sup>111</sup> For instance, CAUBERGHE (1967), or SLOSSE [ca. 1980].

their terminology nor research methods were characterized by any great analytical consciousness."<sup>112</sup>

In the meantime the first results of the cooperative Volkskunderaad Rhein-Maas, established by European ethnologists from The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and the German Rhineland in 1979, appeared. The book *Wallfahrt im Rheinland* was compiled in 1981 for the first theme, "Pilgrimage."<sup>113</sup> A year later a bibliography of all pilgrimage literature dealing with the Rhine/Meuse region appeared.<sup>114</sup> As a follow-up, in The Netherlands a pilgrimage project inventorying sites in Limburg, the area around Cuyk, Nijmegen and the Peel was carried out. Since then, however, no other work has been done.<sup>115</sup>

Increased attention for the phenomenon of pilgrimage at the beginning of the 1980s did produce two other publications. In 1981 there appeared a sort of promotional work dealing with a number of pilgrimage sites in the Benelux.<sup>116</sup> The following year a descriptive inventory of still-existing pilgrimage sites in the province of North Brabant was published.<sup>117</sup> In other European lands increasing numbers of inventories of pilgrimage sites were rolling from the press.<sup>118</sup>

We will mention only one of these projects here. Together with Thomsen, Brückner's student Daxelmüller published important research into the problems of and the methods to be used in tracing pilgrimage sites of the Middle Ages which have disappeared in areas which became Protestant.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>112</sup> BERBÉE (1986) 173.

<sup>113</sup> PESCH (1981). This book came about as a result of the "Wallfahrt (Prozession) im Rheinland. Vorumfrage zur Bestandserhebung" circulated by B. Heizmann in 1979. This inventory was under the auspices of a collaboration between the ARL and the Volkskunderaad Rhein-Maas. With regard to the realization of this inventory, see A. DÖRING in BRÜCKNER (1982) 251-258. The long-announced "Wallfahrten" section in the *Geschichtlicher Atlas der Rheinlande* will not appear for the present.

<sup>114</sup> *Bibliographie Bedevaart* (1982).

<sup>115</sup> The Commission régionale Wallonne Rhin-Meuse and the Musée de la Vie Wallonne has also compiled an exhaustive questionnaire about "Les pèlerinages en Wallonie," but it too never reached the stage of implementation.

<sup>116</sup> Reference is made here to the appendix that Th.G.A. Hendriksen added to the translation he made of ANTIER (1979): "Supplementary remarks about places of pilgrimage in the Dutch-speaking region and the whole of the Benelux [= Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxemburg], added by the translator" (p. 326).

<sup>117</sup> MARGRY (1982).

<sup>118</sup> For instance, ADAIR (1978); *Santi e Santuari* (1979); HEIM (ca. 1980); PURCELL (1981); MARCUCCI (1983).

<sup>119</sup> DAXELMÜLLER & THOMSEN (1978).

Academic interest in the religious subculture also was growing in the communist countries of Eastern Europe in the 1970s, and it was particularly pilgrimages that appeared to attract wide participation from among the population in Poland and Hungary.<sup>120</sup> All things considered, Germany and Austria remain the most important lands, where there have almost continually been efforts undertaken to compile popular and semi-scientific inventories of pilgrimage sites.<sup>121</sup>

With reference to this diachronic survey, there follow several remarks regarding frequently encountered problems or insufficiencies of a methodological nature from which pilgrimage inventories suffer.

### 3.2. Problems

Problems of a methodological nature can be identified in most of the inventories. In the first place, under the influence of the strong tradition of organized pilgrimages, or what are termed processional pilgrimages, an approach has grown up that is much more oriented to pilgrimages than to pilgrimage sites. That could clearly be seen in the discussion of definitions which took place among German pilgrimage specialists.<sup>122</sup> But it also appeared there that adequate research perimeters had not yet been established, and that the criteria had to be sharpened to produce a sound inventory.

A second general problem, which is also found through the whole of the 20th century, is associated with the tradition of clergy writing descriptions of pilgrimages. The research and its publication is supported financially, with staff, and/or morally, especially by dioceses and archdioceses. Already, very early in the 20th century, that expressed itself in an emphasis on spiritual considerations, pilgrimage as spiritual experience, and the repression of popular cultural elements.<sup>123</sup>

In Germany almost all of the publications appeared with support, financial or in personnel, from German dioceses. For the most part, the

<sup>120</sup> BUJAK & YOUNG (1976); BANGÓ (1979).

<sup>121</sup> Several examples: FISCHER & STOLL (1977/1982); UTZ (1981); LÄPPE (1982); MACHER (1981); SCHROUBEK (1985); WYNANDS (1986); CASEL & STEEL (1987); PLECHL (1988); BREMS (1988); BRÜCKNER (1989); PFISTER & RAMISH (1989); BROMMER (1990); *Zu Fuss, zu Pferd* (1990); OBERHAUSER (1992).

<sup>122</sup> See footnotes 9, 129 and 131.

<sup>123</sup> See, for instance, the work compiled by Bishop Christian Schreiber: SCHREIBER (1928).

authors there also come from clerical circles. This has, in part, resulted in great qualitative differences in the publications. Where the inventories in the archdioceses of Freiburg and the diocese of Aachen were organized in a reasonably scientific manner<sup>124</sup>, the content of Schlafke's recent publication for Cologne is weak.<sup>125</sup> Like Pfister and Ramisch's book on the archdiocese of Munich and Freising, in this book the publication is legitimized by referring to the promotional efforts for the veneration of saints emanating from Pope John Paul II. That this is in practice chiefly the veneration of Mary can also be seen in Schlafke's work; it would appear from the major attention given to things Marian, and to sites favoured by the Pope, and the lesser attention for "volkstümliche" pilgrimage sites, that a strategic ecclesiastical choice has been made. The accompanying images reinforce this: there are a lot of quiet architectural studies, but in the full colour photographs there are hardly any expressions of popular devotion to be seen.

Another problem is the limitation imposed on a great number of publications because of economics and marketing principles. Because of the growing market fueled by cultural/historical interest, publishers of books on the subject of pilgrimage slant them strongly in the direction of architecture and art history. One sees that particularly in the more popular publications like the colourful diocesan guides to pilgrimage sites that have appeared in the *Grosser Kunstführer* series from Schnell & Steiner in Munich.<sup>126</sup> But Hansen's great guide to German pilgrimage sites also appeared in 1991 with the subtitle, *Ein Kunst- und Kulturführer*.<sup>127</sup> Such intentions however have the result that attention for Kult and Brauch, and the developmental history of the cultus remains very limited, while on the other hand attention for churches, chapels, altars, sculpture and such things is greater, in particular in the illustrative material. There is little or no case history analysis for each site.

### 3.3. Taking Stock

All in all, the balance that can be drawn up in the field of pilgrimage inventory and description at the moment is not positive. If we leave

<sup>124</sup> For Freiburg see note 96; for Aachen see WYNANDS (1986).

<sup>125</sup> SCHLAFKE (1989).

<sup>126</sup> FISCHER-WOLPERT (1983); JÖCKLE & GRAMER (1983); see also HOTZ (1983).

<sup>127</sup> HANSEN (1991).



aside works from the Counter Reformation, catalogues of pilgrimage sites only really took shape in the 19th century. They are then shaped by official, ecclesiastical attitudes. On the one hand, they supported the ongoing devotional offensive, and on the other, they formed a legitimation for the pilgrimages which were being revived on all sides. Only at the beginning of the 20th century does a scientific approach have a chance, especially with the *Volkskunde-Atlas* projects in German-speaking countries, The Netherlands and Belgium, although there was a strong emphasis on “healing saints.” After the Second World War the inventorying of pilgrimage sites found itself in a broader scientific context. But the ambitious (too ambitious?) projects ground to a halt because of insufficient theoretical foundations and financial problems. The gap which was in part created by this certainly did provide room for dozens of inventories of pilgrimage sites, many commercial, and most of them at a superficial level and often organized from an ecclesiastical perspective in which there was, for instance, no room for “unofficial” devotions. Moreover, this pilgrimage research, even that in folkloristic circles, generally did not run right up to the present day, which means that it is of limited value for social-scientific investigations, for instance.

The following scheme for an inventory of Dutch pilgrimage sites – without any influence on its content from either clerical or market/economic forces – has been drawn up on the basis of the conclusions from the preceding historiographic survey, and the acquaintance it provides with the problems which have confronted individual inventory projects, to enable it to meet the demands of modern scientific research.

#### 4. THE PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE IN THE NETHERLANDS (BIN) PROJECT

In 1992 it was decided to devote one of the three new lexicographical and data base projects at the P.J. Meertens Institute in Amsterdam – a research institute of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Arts – to the yet almost unexplored field of cataloging and describing pilgrimage sites in The Netherlands. The goal of the project was to be the compilation of an up-to-date data base and the publication of a multi-volume lexicon with descriptions of all historic and modern Dutch pilgrimage sites.

The quality of such a scientific project is to an important degree determined by definitions and specifications that are as clear as possible. It is precisely such inventory projects that run the risk, by not being

clear about what does and does not belong in their field of investigation, of becoming imbalanced. In addition to discussing the concepts to be employed, in the following section we will discuss the geographical and chronological perimeters and religious range of the project. That all this is not a simple matter can be seen from the fact that definitions and specifications are still the subject of study, and as a consequence are not entirely settled. This chapter is a presentation of the project, and is particularly situated in the development of multidisciplinary pilgrimage research as that has been sketched out here: going first from analysis to inventory, and subsequently again arriving at a new analysis from the inventorization.<sup>128</sup>

#### 4.1. The Concept “Place of Pilgrimage”

The point of departure for the BiN project are places of pilgrimage (“bedevaartplaatsen”), and the pilgrimages which are directly connected with them. In vernacular Dutch, the terms “pelgrimsoord” and “pelgrimages” are also used for these. There has already been a considerable discussion in Dutch sources about the distinctions between “bedevaart” and “pilgrimage.” We do not have to repeat that discussion here, since Berbée has presented a clear and adequate summary of the differences in meaning.<sup>129</sup> Aside from urging that the difference in meaning be kept in mind, there is in fact no classical “pilgrimage” or “pelgrimsoord” within Dutch territory<sup>130</sup>, so our further discussion here will relate only to “bedevaart” and “bedevaartplaatsen.”

The “place” is primary in the project, and the pilgrimage as an act is derivative. In the literature – and certainly in foreign literature – there are likewise various terms used for what Dutch terms a “bedevaartplaats.” Therefore the definition of this concept is generally far from clear. One time the pilgrimages (individual or group) to the site will be the point of reference, and another time the holy place itself, but there is also the attempt to encompass the nature of the site of worship and pilgrimage in the language used.

<sup>128</sup> See now the Introduction in MARGRY & CASPERS (1997); see also our note 1.

<sup>129</sup> BERBÉE (1986); (1987).

<sup>130</sup> Thus this does not include journeys which could be considered “pilgrimages,” made by persons who travel *from* The Netherlands through the Christian world *to* the Holy Land, Rome or Santiago de Compostela, for instance.

To some degree this coincides with the discussions that are ongoing over, on one side, Turner's *communitas* thesis and on the other the German controversy over the question of whether pilgrimage must always be viewed in a group context, or whether what happens on an individual basis can also be characterized as pilgrimage.<sup>131</sup> According to the "Würzburger Begriffsdiktatur" one cannot speak of a place of pilgrimage in a case where only individuals come to worship. This standpoint has later been adequately contested.<sup>132</sup> Although the question served a good purpose in stimulating the discussion of pilgrimage, it in fact was a tempest in a teacup, a sort of misunderstanding with regard to the specific meaning in Franken of the questionable word *Wallfahrt*.<sup>133</sup>

For obtaining a picture of the culture of pilgrimage, it is clearer to take the cult object and the whole holy place or sacred space – the place of pilgrimage – as the point of departure, than (as was often the case in Germany) the act of pilgrimage, whether group or individual. The pilgrimage forms only one component of the whole cultus; the holy place itself is after all the centre around which all rotates.<sup>134</sup> In this, we are taking a position diametrically opposed to that of Morinis, who considers the holy place itself, or the goal of pilgrimage in general, is subordinate to the journey which must be undertaken to reach it.<sup>135</sup> The impression exists that in Morinis too the classical (and possibly non-Christian) "pilgrimage" perspective has the upper hand. In opposition to this, for research the anthropologists Eade and Sallnow attach importance to the central holy place.<sup>136</sup>

As a rule, places of pilgrimage are coupled with the veneration of saints or relics. It is not, however, always the case that devotions to saints or relics are indicators of the existence of pilgrimage and pilgrimage sites. There is absolutely no equivalence to be drawn with the devotion to saints in general which is stimulated by the Church and sanctioned through the list of canonized saints and beatified individuals. The forms

<sup>131</sup> See KRIS (1963); DÜNNINGER (1963).

<sup>132</sup> BRÜCKNER (1970) and HARTINGER (1992) 99-101.

<sup>133</sup> "Wallfahrt" there has the meaning of a processional pilgrimage conducted by a group, and not of a pilgrimage carried out by an individual.

<sup>134</sup> See POST (1988b) 6ff and HARTINGER (1992) 102. This is not to say that the activity of pilgrimage itself cannot be taken as a subject: see, for instance, BAUMER (1977).

<sup>135</sup> MORINIS (1992) 14.

<sup>136</sup> The pilgrimage site is "the very *raison d'être* of pilgrimage, the notion of a holy place;" see EADE & SALLNOW (1991) 6-16.

of veneration for saints (often national saints) or holy days (for instance Corpus Christi) prescribed in the cycle of the liturgical calendar certainly can not be reckoned as devotions such as are customary in pilgrimage sites, because of the lack of a tradition of a specific devotion connected to a particular place. By definition, such devotions, and also the daily, private devotions before the image of a saint, or at a Marian chapel or Lourdes grotto, fall outside of the field of investigation for the Dutch inventory project, as they do not necessarily indicate a place of pilgrimage. Devotion to a saint, or the holiness of a place are thus not absolute elements for determining whether a certain place is a pilgrimage site. What then distinguishes a pilgrimage site from the place or location where only the simple adoration of a saint or relic, not connected with pilgrimage, takes place?

The Roman Catholic Church itself does not recognize the existence of "pilgrimage sites;" so far as the Church is concerned, there are only places which are "holy." For this reason, pilgrimage research often speaks of "holy places." In canon 1205 of the new *Codex Iuris Canonici* holy places are defined as places which, through consecration or blessing have been set apart for the celebration of worship or for the burial of the faithful. Among the places which fulfill this definition for the Roman Catholic Church are churches, chapels and private chapels, altars, church yards and cemeteries and shrines (*sanctuarium*).<sup>137</sup> Thus the definition of a "holy place" is wider than that of what we consider a "place of pilgrimage." As used in present Church law, the concept of *sanctuarium*, the shrine which a church or other holy place can be, comes closest to what we understand by "pilgrimage site." The *Codex* of 1983 lists the requirements for a "shrine" (in the sense of a place of pilgrimage) as follows<sup>138</sup>: it must attract numerous believers, for the particular reason of piety, and, in the case of a new shrine, have the approval of Church authorities. For the rest, the concept of *sanctuarium* has passed through a process of development, and was only introduced by the Church as a new definition for a pilgrimage site during the course of the 18th and 19th century.<sup>139</sup> These aspects can be used as a starting point for our definition process, but they are not satisfactory, since they require the fulfillment of a modern definition laid down by the Church itself, in

<sup>137</sup> *Codex Iuris Canonici* [CIC] (1983) can. 1205-1243: "De Locis sacris." See now: VAN DE WIEL (1995).

<sup>138</sup> CIC, can. 1230; CARLEN (1987) 46-47.

<sup>139</sup> See CARLEN (1987) 45.

which the place of pilgrimage must meet a number of strict conditions set by the Church. For the purposes of the BiN project, this makes the terms “holy place” or “shrine” on the one hand too wide, and on the other hand too limited, and therefore unsuitable.<sup>140</sup>

No unequivocal terminological canon exists for scientific pilgrimage research. In Germany and Austria it is only in the past few years that “Orte” has come to replace “Fahrten” as the express focus of attention. There too scholars were seeking suitable terms, but for the most part they spoke only of *Wallfahrten* and they refrained from using the term *Wallfahrtsorte*. In the pilgrimage literature there, in addition to the concept of pilgrimage site (*Wallfahrtsort*) one encounters diverse other terms such as sanctuary (*Heiligtum*), cultic site (*Kultstätte*<sup>141</sup>), place of grace (*Gnadenstätte*) and devotional site (*Andachtsstätte*). These are terms which were incorporated into pilgrimage research in the 19th century in German-speaking lands, and still exert a powerful influence.<sup>142</sup> In French scholars speak of *lieu cultuel* or *lieu de pèlerinage*, but most frequently use *sanctuaire*; in English “place of pilgrimage,” “sanctuary” or “shrine” are used, while anthropologists often have a preference for the more general *lieu sacré* or “holy place.” The variation in terms still creates confusion because various inventories divide pilgrimage sites into diverse categories without giving any further definitions.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>140</sup> For that matter, *locus sanctus*, in its historic Christian sense, as used to characterize the authentic religious sites in the Holy Land and surrounding areas and in Rome, is of equally little use as a term for a pilgrimage site. See MARAVAL (1985). This involves a catalogue of the holy places in the Byzantine section of the Roman Empire, compiled on the basis of contemporary pilgrims’ accounts and guides and classical historical sources.

<sup>141</sup> The distinction that is made in Germany between *Primär- und Sekundärkulte* (see: DÖRING (1982)) is not meaningfully applicable. After all, the “second tier” pilgrimage sites thus characterized, that function as substitute “daughter” sites for important existing places of pilgrimage such as Our Lady of Banneux, Lourdes, Fátima, La Salette, etc., are nothing more than an individual object of adoration, or grow up into a pilgrimage site with its own status and tradition, in the way that in the past the spread of the adoration of Cornelius from Kornelimünster led to the rise of new places of pilgrimage.

<sup>142</sup> See, for instance, HERCHENBACH (893).

<sup>143</sup> Brückner too found that the terms “grundsätzliche Klärung bedürfen,” but he and his colleagues in Bavaria never got around to that. They fell back on old definitions, as in the case of “Gnadenbild,” which was designated as “Jenes Kultbild das – wie man im Barok sagte – sich als Wundertätig erwiesen hat.” They also fell back on “Gnadenstätten” and “Kultstätten” in place of the general term *Wallfahrtsstätten* in order not to exclude “Kleinkultstätten;” in principle, they wished to include everything that deviated from the normal (“kirchlich liturgische”) cultus (see the files “Wallfahrtingventarisierung,” Institut für Deutsche Philologie, Würzburg).

Particularly in the German terms, the topographic distinction is clear: site or place. That indicates that a specific location is being distinguished. The veneration must be more or less connected with a definite place. Things become more difficult when we look at the other distinguishing terms in the definitions: pilgrimage, holy, cult, grace and devotion. These are all terms which express that which can happen at such a place, in a religious (and specifically Christian) sense: pilgrims come to it, the place is considered as “holy,” a cultus can be identified, people can “find” grace and “perform” devotions. The terms are not, however, interchangeable among themselves. As we have already said, more places than cultic sites can be holy; there are many more cultic sites than those to which pilgrims come; while places of grace are still more difficult to define, because that is a subjective term. It is impossible to objectively define what a person experiences as grace. Devotion or pious godliness is, once again, a phenomenon which is found very widely within the normal religious actions of believers.<sup>144</sup> Just as grace can be experienced at other locations besides pilgrimage sites, devotion can take place anywhere. Thus the terms *Gnade-* and *Kultstätte* can also include many more places than pilgrimage sites.

Because of its provisional character, in the Würzburg *Kultstätten-Kurzkataloge* of 1982 the compilers did not feel up to the task of classifying the pilgrimage sites generally under “*Wallfahrtsorte*,” but under the broader “*Kult- und Andachtsstätten*.”<sup>145</sup> Nevertheless they considered *Kultstätte* analogous to *Wallfahrtsstätte* in the narrower meaning, and *Kultort* to *Wallfahrtsort* in the broader. This meant that at one *Ort* (place in the sense of location, a city or town) there could be more than one *Stätten* (place, in the sense of a specific holy place). The same parallel can be seen in The Netherlands: here there can also be multiple places of worship or holy places within the confines of a pilgrimage site or location. This, now, is how we will understand “pilgrimage site:” as the geographically more or less separate sacred space, within which one or more devotional cults take shape.<sup>146</sup> At the same time we opt unambiguously for the term “pilgrimage site” rather than “holy place,” or any other term which would have a less clear connotation.

<sup>144</sup> Regarding the problems surrounding these terms, see: DAXELMÜLLER (1988).

<sup>145</sup> DÖRING (1982) 9.

<sup>146</sup> For the sake of clarity, descriptions of the various cult sites located at one pilgrimage site will be handled separately, each under its own name. In everyday speech, however, the name of the village or city is often used to designate the pilgrimage site itself, the sacred space of worship.

#### 4.2. The "Boundary Crossing" Element

Before giving the working definition of a pilgrimage site that we intend to employ in the Dutch inventory project, the transitional aspect of pilgrimage, the degree to which it involves stepping outside boundaries, briefly demands our attention. Pilgrimage is characterized by a devotional going and returning, a "re-placing." The re-placing can not be understood in the limited meaning which Morinis grants it. As we saw, in his view "pilgrimage" can be reduced to only the journey or trip. There is, however, a very serious question whether the "journey" is really the defining element. Rather one can follow Kötting, for whom these essential, successive aspects define a pilgrimage: the leaving of one's own parish, consciously going to a holy place or object of a cultus possessing particular grace, followed by a return home.<sup>147</sup> Although in this description of the "boundary crossing" element, "parish," with its strong ecclesiastical connotations, perhaps could better be replaced by "one's own local environment," a sufficient beginning has already been made here at relativizing the element of journeying.<sup>148</sup> The pilgrimage site is absolutely central, and the likewise distinctive and determinative element of going and returning has its place within it.

#### 4.3. Working Definition

For an institutionalized cultus to be considered as a place of pilgrimage, within the context of the organized BiN project, it must fulfill a number of conditions. In summary, the characteristics to be employed, both more spacious and more specific than has been usual to date, are as follows:

- There is evidence of a tradition, whether continuous or not, of devotional acts which are specifically connected with a particular cult object (a saint or image thereof, relic, spring, other object or a remembered element, as, for instance, a miracle or legend).

<sup>147</sup> KÖTTING (1950) 11.

<sup>148</sup> In judgements about a pilgrimage site, one must take into account the fact that, in addition to pilgrims, there can also be many persons who do not leave their home parish, or their own doorstep, to participate in the cultus. This is not a relatively new element in pilgrimage culture, but something that, it has recently been established, also was true for the Middle Ages (see: VERHOEVEN (1992) 123-126). In fact, the community of pilgrims seems almost always to be a combination of persons from both the local area and outside it. The social circumstances and sensitivity to fluctuations of pilgrimage

- The cultus is connected with a specific, more or less permanent<sup>149</sup> location, or better, a sacred cultic space<sup>150</sup>, in which, in the opinion of the visitor, blessing and grace are more present than in other places, whether these other places are consecrated or not.
- Religious feeling is the inspiration for the pattern of acts performed by the visitor at the place.<sup>151</sup>
- There is evidence that the veneration is ritually rooted in time and space, for instance being expressed on particular holy days and specifically connected ritually with worship.<sup>152</sup>
- People come to the place regularly, whether individually or in groups.<sup>153</sup>
- Among these visitors, there must be those whose pattern of religious behaviour displays aspects which are transitional or otherwise transcend conventional boundaries.<sup>154</sup>

sites is accompanied by the fact that places with a broadly spread aura can change into almost entirely local devotions. Likewise it often happens that more or less consciously established devotions have been able to develop into little more than a local cultus. In practice, though, it appears that both forms of cultic practice still continue to be called, and experienced as, real places of pilgrimage.

<sup>149</sup> This is linked with the dynamic of localization for places of pilgrimage; because of political or religious reasons, places of pilgrimage sometimes have been transferred to new locations.

<sup>150</sup> "Space" is the better term, because on pilgrimage days, for instance, spatial modifications are often introduced into the church, or the cultic space is enlarged to include an area outside the chapel or church (other connected chapels, crosses, processional parks, shops). In the case of larger pilgrimage sites, the pilgrimage space is often permanently separated from its surroundings; on this, see POST (1989b); (1990c).

<sup>151</sup> This does not say that there are not visitors who come to a pilgrimage site because of other, and/or subsidiary motivations; the chief motivation, however, should be religious; on this, see PIEPER, POST & VAN UDEN (1990) 194-199 [in this book: Chapter 1]. The chief non-religious factors appear to be recreation (tourism), social motivations (going with others), accompaniment (helping or assisting someone) or curiosity. For the patterns of actions, see BAUMER (1977).

<sup>152</sup> Often there is evidence of institutionalization of the devotion by means of confraternities, the printing of special pictures or booklets, and announcement of the pilgrimage by means of posters and articles in the media.

<sup>153</sup> Although possibly an unnecessary addition, this has still been included here because of the discussions which have been carried on around definitions. The ritual aspect of the veneration in fact also implies that as a rule pilgrims will come at least once a year, and often on one or more special feast days as well. Apart from that, a fixed day is not strictly necessary: compare BENSA (1978) 9, who suggests that in addition to a ritualized devotion and specific place, a fixed date is also necessary for a devotional cult.

<sup>154</sup> This is meant in the sense used by Van Gennep, and thus is related to the "liminal" and "liminoid" from Turner's terminology; see TURNER (1969).

In summary, a pilgrimage site is characterized by veneration of a cult object, as performed by religiously inspired persons and defined through a particular or ritualized devotional tradition, and for which the persons involved have undertaken a specific "journey" at a particular time and to a particular, fixed location, which, through custom and devotion, has come to be considered as sacred.

#### 4.4. Geographic Limits

It has been decided that the project will describe places of pilgrimage in The Netherlands. Given that the approach of European ethnology plays an important role in the research, the primary choice has been to observe the current national boundaries as the geographical limits for the present. By choosing the modern boundaries, the project also links up with comparable research and inventory projects in other countries. From practical considerations and to simplify cooperation with other academic disciplines, as a rule the present national boundaries are also projected into the past. For The Netherlands, this choice has quite a few consequences, in view of the fact that through the Middle Ages and during the *Ancien Régime* the country has undergone considerable changes in its size and the location of its borders. In relation to pilgrimage sites, this factor is still more serious because religious developments in Dutch history led to the removal of pilgrimage shrines to beyond the national boundaries. Because of this peculiar situation, which has fundamentally influenced pilgrimage practices in areas along the borders, it was decided that the historical situation could not be ignored. This means that pilgrimage sites that were previously within the Northern Netherlands, and places that have arisen just over the borders and, so far as the nationality of the pilgrims is concerned, are "fed" primarily from The Netherlands, are also to be included in the project. These pilgrimages to foreign pilgrimage sites, which literally cross borders but fall within the historically determined Dutch "Kultraum," will be listed along with the adjoining Dutch province.<sup>155</sup> Now that the outer boundaries have been indicated, the internal boundaries can be determined.

<sup>155</sup> There is presently consideration being given to including, in the form of an appendix, an enumerative description of the more important, further distant foreign places of pilgrimage that are regularly visited by Dutch pilgrims, such as, for instance, Banneux, Beauraing, Scherpenheuvel, Lourdes, Rome, Jerusalem, Fátima, Santiago de Compostela, Medjugorje, etc.

The places of pilgrimage will not be dealt with alphabetically for the entire country, but separated in three parts: the North and central provinces (1), Noord-Brabant (2) and Limburg (3).<sup>156</sup> This has the advantages of doing greater justice to regional diversity, and of making it easier to consult and compare the data by region. Arrangement according to diocesan boundaries in The Netherlands, such as generally been the practice for Germany, was considered and rejected. The advantages which might accompany such a division (for instance, the distribution of devotional cults by diocese) make little sense here, because the present diocesan lines are relatively new and, moreover, are little known.

#### 4.5. Religious Limits

A "pilgrimage" is a religious (or at least semi-religious) act by a person or group of persons for the purpose of venerating a person or object, and is to be encountered in almost every culture around the world. A place is included here as a pilgrimage site when the pilgrims come to it with a *religiously inspired* devotion for the person or object venerated at the holy place, in the course of which a specific pattern of acts (whether or not a formal ritual) is carried out. It is not yet certain whether we must add the condition that this veneration must stand within the Christian tradition. The understanding of non-Christian devotional locations, such as, for instance, the grave of Comenius in Naarden or the memorial garden for the Bijlmer airplane disaster, is still so limited that the consequences, practical and otherwise, of employing the more open definition are not yet clear.

The distinguishing criterion is, in the first place, to be found in the phrase "religiously inspired," which by definition excludes secular "hero worship" or the particular veneration of writers, sports heroes or media stars<sup>157</sup>, because in general these lack a religious motivation and a definite location for the adoration determined by tradition. In practice, this will mean that in Europe, and particularly in The Netherlands, the vast

<sup>156</sup> Volume 1 appeared in December 1997; volumes 2 and 3 are planned for 1998 and 1999.

<sup>157</sup> In this, we are not saying that the religious, or semi-religious, plays no role among the practitioners of pop music and their admirers; see: B. VAN DE KAMP: Wat heeft rock & roll toch met religie?, in *Oor* nr. 25/26 (december 1993) 4-7. See now: J. KOENOT: *Voorbij de woorden. Essay over rock, cultuur en religie* (Averbode/Baarn 1996).

majority of pilgrimage sites and devotions will fall within the religious framework of the Roman Catholic Church. Naturally, cults of veneration inspired by the (Eastern) Orthodox Churches, the Protestant tradition and Judaism are by definition within the scope of the project, as elsewhere in Europe Protestant pilgrimages have been identified and described, but there are few if any of these in the Netherlands.

As has been said above, the decision to include a place in the listing is *not* dependent on ecclesiastical approval or disapproval of the devotion or of its status as a pilgrimage site. The formal canonization or beatification of the person venerated, the authentication of the relic, or the authenticity of the miraculous occurrences are likewise not conditions. For the sake of scientific completeness, inclusion of pilgrimage sites which are not officially acknowledged is not an option. Moreover, such pilgrimage sites are at least as important, if not more important, for a thorough analysis of the dynamics of the culture of pilgrimage.

#### 4.6. Limits Regarding Date

The point of departure for this project is to include all the places of pilgrimage which can be traced since the introduction of Christianity in The Netherlands. This means that in regard to time, the choice has been made not to set any limit with respect to the present. On the contrary, from the ethnological perspective it is necessary to describe all modern, active places of pilgrimage. From a strictly historical perspective the omission of pilgrimage sites which no longer exist would be unacceptable, not only because of the possibility for comparative investigations with other countries, but moreover because of the peculiar religious/ecclesiastical development of The Netherlands, and with it, also, of the practice of pilgrimage. Pre-Christian cults, such as may have been practiced among the Roman or Germanic population, thus fall outside the perimeters of the project.

#### 4.7. Tracing and Handling Places of Pilgrimage

After definitional questions, the next necessary step in the project is to arrive at a complete survey of all pilgrimage sites which have ever existed in The Netherlands. For this purpose, already existing surveys of pilgrimage sites are being used, various data banks consulted, and a large number of local studies examined, and, finally, in October 1993 a double

questionnaire<sup>158</sup> was sent to parishes and cloisters, and historical associations and local history societies in The Netherlands. By these means, an almost complete survey of pilgrimage sites can be compiled for modern times.

The Middle Ages is the period which will pose the most problems. It will not be possible to assemble a complete list of pilgrimage sites for that era, on the one hand because of the lack of sources, which will mean that many cult devotions will have dropped from sight, and on the other hand because sources in this field often provide information that is unclear, making it difficult to establish whether one is dealing with a *pilgrimage* site.<sup>159</sup> In almost every chapel and church votive offerings and candles were presented before the image of a saint, and other rituals connected with pilgrimage were practiced. For this period, therefore, supplementary research in various published and archival sources and collections of cultural artifacts (badges, medals, *insignia*) will have to be done.<sup>160</sup> Not only for the Middle Ages, but also for the 17th and 18th century, one must exercise caution with regard to reports of pilgrimages. It is precisely in the sources from the Protestant side that "devotions" are often stereotypically characterized as "pilgrimages."

After the round of research, a rough list comprising about 900 places of pilgrimage has been reduced to 650. A complete, definitive list of places will never be able to be obtained; not only are the Middle Ages only comprehensible in part, but also at a later date certain devotions, for whatever reason, remain hidden from view. None the less, the vast majority of Dutch places of pilgrimage will be able to be described.

#### 4.8. Perspectives

In 1999, the results of the BiN project must be recorded in a three-volume reference work, and be available for research at the Meertens Institute in the form of a realizable electronic data bank and a physical documentation and source collection. They will form the basis for further research in all relevant academic disciplines. It is our intention that, precisely through this bipartite arrangement, further investigations in

<sup>158</sup> "Volkskunde" Questionnaire No. 64 A+B "Bedevaartplaatsen en bedevaarten": Department of European ethnology, Meertens-Institute, Amsterdam).

<sup>159</sup> For the problems and limits of research in this period, see: Dünninger in BRÜCKNER (1982) 177-178.

<sup>160</sup> For the methods to be used in this, see DAXELMÜLLER & THOMSEN (1978) *passim*.

the field of the culture of pilgrimage, ritual conduct, and also the history of religion and religious popular culture can be stimulated, and the BiN should generate innovative and well-grounded research conclusions. It will make it possible, for instance, to pose questions and perform research diachronically and synchronically, which will permit greater insight into the typologies of cultus and pilgrimage. For this, the strict approach from the perspective of the place of pilgrimage, rather than pilgrimage itself, will offer still greater clarity. The inclusion of modern pilgrimage culture will give the whole an added value, especially for disciplines such as anthropology, European ethnology, theology and ritual and religious studies.

In short, as far as we are concerned, there is no crisis in research. The time is now ripe to fill lacunae in the knowledge of Dutch pilgrimage culture, and thereby promote reinvigorated analytical, diachronic and comparative research. We hope that BiN can begin to provide an important contribution to a stimulating new "pilgrimage agenda" for those working in cultural studies.